

ED 718 - 16-1

Band 16: WRI - War Resisters' International:  
Allgemeine Mitteilungen und Informationen

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# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

## NACHRICHTEN BLATT

Vom 28. bis 30. Dezember 1956 tagte der Rat der Internationalen der Kriegsdienstgegner in Köln. Anwesend waren: Harold F. Bing (Vorsitzender); Frank Dawtry (Grossbritannien); Hem Day (Belgien); Hagbard Jonassen (Dänemark); Wim Jong (Holland); Heinz Kraschutzki (Deutschland); Stuart Morris (Grossbritannien); Bernard Salmon (Frankreich).

Wir freuen uns, mitteilen zu können, dass folgende Beschlüsse gefasst wurden:

### Tag der Friedensgefangenen (1. Dezember 1956)

Zeitschriften, Tageszeitungen, Organisationen und Einzelpersonen in über zwei Dutzend Ländern einschliesslich Russland und Polen halfen mit, den 1. Dezember in der ganzen Welt zu einem eindrucksvollen Tag der Solidarität und Hilfe für eingekerkerte und internierte Kriegsdienstgegner zu machen. DER TAG DER FRIEDENSGEFANGENEN WIRD HIERMIT ZU EINEM ALLJAEHRLICHEN ANLASS ERNANNT, DER JEWEILS AM 1. DEZEMBER STATTFINDEN SOLL. Zahlreiche Kriegsdienstverweigerer in Gefängnissen und solche in skandinavischen und holländischen Alternativdienstlagern haben die Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner gebeten, all denen zu danken, die mitgemacht haben, da es unmöglich ist, all den Hunderten, die Weihnachtswünsche sandten, persönlich zu danken.

### Dreijährliche Konferenz Roehampton (b. London) 15. - 19. Juli 1957

Nähere Angaben über diese Konferenz sind nun erhältlich. Es soll eine Diskussions-Tagung auf Englisch, Französisch und Deutsch sein, mit besonderer Betonung der praktischen Seiten der Friedensarbeit: Was unternahmen die W.R.I. Sektionen in England und Israel während des Angriffs auf Aegypten? Was tun die französischen Pazifisten im Hinblick auf Algerien? Was sollten sie tun? Welches sollte unsere Einstellung zu den Gruppen des Weltfriedensrates sein, da diese nun nicht mehr einstimmig sind?

Alle Anmeldungen werden nun entgegen genommen (£6.6s für die ganze Konferenz), aber infolge der beschränkten Unterkunftsmöglichkeiten muss den offiziellen Delegierten Vorzug gegeben werden. Die Sekretäre der israelischen und der indonesischen Sektionen beabsichtigen, teilzunehmen. Wir erwarten die erste Nachkriegs-Delegation von Polen, und von allen europäischen Sektionen Vertreter anwesend sein.

es Thomas.

(Alle Anmeldungen an den Sekretär, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England)

INTERNATIONAL JA, wir gehen nach Indien!

Der Rat bestätigte seine Absicht, die dreijährliche Konferenz 1960 in Indien abzuhalten, zwischen dem 15. Dezember 1960 und 15. Januar 1961. Die genauen Tage sind noch festzusetzen. Die Mitglieder des Rates sind sich des "Zuversichtsmomentes" in diesem Beschluss bewusst und werden schon heute beginnen, die Mittel für die hohen Reisekosten zusammenzubringen. Es wird dies das erste Mal sein, dass die W.R.I., die ihr 36. Lebensjahr beginnt, eine Konferenz ausserhalb Europas abhält.

Gegenwärtige Internationale Lage

Der Rat erliess folgende Erklärung zur allgemeinen Veröffentlichung und zum Gebrauch der angeschlossenen Organisationen:

"Der Rat der Internationalen der Kriegsdienstgegner, der Ende 1956 in Deutschland zusammentrat und die neuesten Ereignisse besprach, stellte fest, dass das vergangene Jahr weiteren unwiderlegbaren Beweis gebracht hat davon, dass mit Waffengewalt nichts erreicht werden kann, sei es in der Befreiung oder Unterdrückung von Kolonialvölkern wie in Nordafrika oder Cypern, im Schutz nationaler Interessen wie im nahen Osten oder in der Erlangung bzw. Unterdrückung der politischen Freiheit wie in Ungarn.

Im Gegenteil, in all diesen Fällen hat die Anwendung von Waffengewalt die Spannungen erhöht und Lösungen schwieriger gemacht. Die Absicht gewisser Kreise, Lösungen aufzuerzwingen durch Anwendung von überwältigender Waffengewalt erwies sich als undurchführbar. All diese Tatsachen bestätigen die Grundprinzipien der Internationalen.

Demgemäss bestätigt der Rat aufs neue seine Ablehnung von Krieg und Gewalt, zu welchem Zweck es auch sei. Er ruft alle Völker auf, der Gewalt zu entsagen und zu versuchen, ihre Regierungen vom weiteren Waffengebrauch abzuhalten. Er ruft die Völker dazu auf, ihre Regierungen dringend zu ersuchen, die Beilegung von Streitigkeiten auf dem Wege der Unterhandlung, auf Basis der Gerechtigkeit, anzustreben und positive Anstrengungen zu machen zur Behebung der wahren Kriegsursachen, seien diese politischer, wirtschaftlicher, sozialer oder psychologischer Natur.

Der Rat ermutigt alle Mitglieder der Internationalen und alle übrigen Pazifisten, der Zukunft mit Vertrauen entgegenzusehen und doppelte Anstrengungen zu machen, damit die Grundsätze der Gewaltlosigkeit und der friedlichen Lösung aller Probleme allgemein angenommen werden."

Protokoll der Sitzung No. 15 des Exekutivausschusses

vom Samstag, den 23. März 1957  
 10 Uhr 15 in Lansbury House.

23.3.57

ANWESEND:

Frank Dawtry, Stuart Morris, Lionel Penrose (gemeinsamer Schatzmeister) am Nachmittag; Harold F. Bing (Vorsitzender) und Arlo Tatum (Sekretär).

ED 718-46-3

ENTSCULDIGT:

Margaret Penrose (gem. Schatzmeisterin).

1. ANNAHME DER TAGESORDNUNG:

Zur Tagesordnung wurde hinzugefügt: 4 (A) j iii Vorschlag der dänischen Sektion; 6(b) ii Kosten der Broschüre Hem Day; 4(J) e Ernennung eines finanziellen Agenten; 10 P.P.U. Sommerkurs und XXXX Jahresversammlung. Darauf wurde die Tagesordnung angenommen.

2. PROTOKOLL:

Das Protokoll der Exekutivausschuss-Sitzung No. 14 wurden in der zirkulierten Form angenommen und vom Vorsitzenden unterzeichnet.

3. AUS DEM PROTOKOLL SICH ERGEBENDE GESCHAFTTE:(A) Dreijährliche Konferenz.

(a) Photograph. Der Sekretär berichtete, dass ein Photograph ersucht wurden sei, von und für die Teilnehmer Photographien zu machen, dass er aber noch nicht geantwortet hätte.

(b) Bücherstand. Harry Mister und Dora Dawtry haben sich bereit erklärt, für den Bücher Verkaufsstand die Verantwortung zu übernehmen. Der Ausschuss gab der Hoffnung Ausdruck, dass es den beiden möglich sein werde, im Institut zu wohnen, um nicht jeden Abend die Reise nach Hause unternehmen zu müssen.

(c) Tagesordnung.

(i) "Die Befreiung einer Kolonie". Da der Sekretär der französischen Sektion die Zentrale informiert hatte, dass es der Sektion nicht möglich gewesen war, viel im Hinblick auf Algerien zu unternehmen, wurde diese Frage von der Tagesordnung gestrichen. Darauf wurde beschlossen, Banwari Choudri zu besuchen, über die gegenwärtigen Bemühungen zu sprechen, die in Indien unternommen werden, um gewaltlos eine Sozialreform herbeizuführen. Ferner wurde beschlossen, falls noch eine weitere Umstellung nötig sein sollte, T. Yamaga, internationaler Sekretär der japanischen Sektion zu bitten, zum Thema "Gegen die A und H Bomben" zu sprechen, vorausgesetzt dass er kommen kann.

(ii) "Die Integration verschiedener Rassen". Bayard Rustin wird wahrscheinlich nicht an die Konferenz kommen, aber die amerikanische Sektion erwägt es, Roy Finch, Orlie Pell oder Edward Gottlieb als offiziellen Delegierten zu senden. Der Ausschuss hofft, dass derjenige, der kommt, Bayard wird ersetzen können als Einleiter der Diskussion dieses Themas.

(iii) "Reise nach Russland" und "Wirtschaftliche Kriegsursachen".

Angebote von F. Laugier (Frankreich) und F. Rona (Oesterreich), an der Konferenz über obige Themen zu sprechen, wurden vom Ausschuss mit aufrichtigem Dank abgelehnt.

- (d) Diskussionseinleiter. Alex Comfort kaman der Konferenz nicht teilnehmen. Der Ausschuss hofft, dass Dr. Lidl (Deutschland) oder Heberto Sein (Mexico) das Thema "Beziehungen zwischen Welt-Friedensbewegungen" einführen kann.

Michael Tippett (England) hat sich bereit erklärt, am letzten Konferenztag teilzunehmen und die Abschluss-Ansprache zu halten. Allen Skinner (England) hat sich bereit erklärt, zusammen mit Joseph Abileah (Israel) die Diskussion  $\ddot{u}$  "Während der Suez Krise" zu eröffnen.

- (e) Dolmetscher. Der Sekretär berichtete, dass diese Frage ziemlich gut geregelt sei und nahm weitere Vorschläge des Ausschusses entgegen.

- (f) Besondere Gäste. Den Nachfolgenden wurde finanzielle Hilfe zum Besuch der Konferenz angeboten und sie hoffen, kommen zu können: S. Mamesah (Indonesien), B. Choudhri (Indien), ein Mitglied aus Polen, ein Mitglied aus Jugoslawien und T. Yamaga (Japan). P. Pitter (Deutschland) hat Hilfe abgelehnt, aber hofft, zu kommen. Ein russisches Mitglied kann nicht kommen, weil seine Gattin äusserst krank ist. Auf Ersuchen von T. Yamaga wurde eine besondere Einladung an J. Kubo gesandt. L. Eisenmenger (Oesterreich) wurde Hilfe angeboten, aber sie hat nicht geantwortet. Zwei südafrikanische Mitglieder können nicht kommen. Der Ausschuss lehnte ein Gesuch um finanzielle Hilfe ab. Anna Kethly hat geschrieben, dass sie vielleicht an die Konferenz kommen werde. Für B. Chudhri genehmigte der Ausschuss £40 und ersuchte den Sekretär, demjenigen Mitglied zu danken, das angeboten hatte, diesen Betrag zu ergänzen.

- (g) Bisherige Vorschläge für die Wahl der Ratsmitglieder. Bis jetzt haben eine oder mehrere Sektionen die folgenden zur Wahl vorgeschlagen: Als Vorsitzender - Harold F. Bing (England). Für den Rat: F. Dawtry und S. Morris (England), G. A. Bishop (Australien), S. McHalliday (Wite), J. Abileah (Israel), B. Choudhrie (Indien), W. Jong (Holland), J. van Lierde (Belgien), H. Kraschutzki (Deutschland), A. J. Muste und B. Rustin (U.S.A.), P. Martin und E. Salmon (Frankreich), H. Jonassen (Dänemark), G. Gjessing (Norwegen) und D. Lund (Norwegen, wohnhaft jedoch in Indien). In allen Fällen von allen ist die Zustimmung bereits eingetroffen oder wird erwartet. Diese Vorschläge kamen lediglich von der englischen, der irischen, der australischen und der dänischen Sektion, sodass noch weitere erwartet werden. Nach dem 10. Mai werden keine Vorschläge mehr angenommen.

- (h) Bisherige Anmeldungen. Der Sekretär berichtete, dass die Anmeldungen nur sehr langsam eingehen, dass in den bisher eingetroffenen jedoch bereits verschiedene Länder vertreten seien.

- (j) Verfassungsfragen.

- (i) Stellung der Ratsmitglieder. Stuart Morris warf die Frage auf, ob die Ratsmitglieder nicht das Recht haben sollten, an den dreijährlichen Konferenzen zu stimmen, da sie über die Geschäftsfragen gut orientiert seien und im Falle einer Wiederwahl die Entscheidung der Konferenz auszuführen hätten. Nach eingehender Diskussion beschloss der Ausschuss, der Konferenz folgenden Zusatz zu

Bestimmung  
~~Regel~~ 2 der vorgeschlagenen Verfassung und Regeln  
Ausführungsbestimmungen zu unterbreiten: "Jedes Rats-  
mitglied, das an einer internationalen Konferenz teil-  
nimmt, hat Anrecht auf eine Stimme in allen Fragen  
ausgenommen die Wahl des Rates und seines Vorsitzenden."

- (ii) Anrecht auf Unterbreitung von Traktanden, <sup>übereingestimmt</sup> usw. ~~Es wurde/~~  
~~bestimmten~~, dass nur eine Sektion oder deren offizielle  
Delegierte, wie auch der Rat oder dessen Exekutive Be-  
schlüsse vorschlagen, Traktanden der Traktandenliste  
zufügen, Änderungen unterbreiten etc. können und dass  
dies klar genug aus der neuen Verfassung und <sup>den</sup> Ausführ-  
ungsbestimmungen hervorgehe.
- (iii) Änderung der Ausführungsbestimmungen (Dänische Sektion)  
Der Ausschuss <sup>pflichtete</sup> der von der dänischen Sektion  
vorgeschlagenen Änderung von Bestimmung 3 der Aus-  
führungsbestimmungen bei und schlug hierfür folgenden  
Wortlaut vor: "Provisorische Traktandenlisten sollen  
allen Sektionen nicht weniger als drei Monate vor der  
Konferenz zugestellt werden und definitive Traktanden-  
listen nicht weniger als sechs Wochen vor der Konferenz."  
Hierzu wurde bemerkt, dass aus diesem Wortlaut die  
Angabe von Zeit und Ort ziemlich automatisch folgen  
würde."
- (k) Teilnahme. Der Ausschuss war der Ansicht, dass ein W.R.I.  
Mitglied, das nicht gleichzeitig Mitglied einer bestehenden W.R.I.  
Sektion seines Landes ist, nicht an W.R.I. Konferenzen teil-  
nehmen könne, vorausgesetzt dass es nicht von der Mitglied-  
schaft in der Sektion ausgeschlossen wurde oder ihr aus Ge-  
wissensgründen nicht beitreten konnte.
- (m) P.P.U. Empfang. Der Ausschuss ersuchte Stuart Morris, der  
P.P.U. seinen aufrichtigen Dank zu übermitteln für das An-  
erbieten der P.P.U., im Zusammenhang mit der Konferenz einen  
Empfang zu veranstalten. Aus der Diskussion ergab sich, dass  
hierfür keine passende Zeit frei wäre und es wurde daher vor-  
geschlagen, dass der auf dem Programm figurierende gesellige  
Anlass eine gemeinsame P.P.U. - W.R.I. Veranstaltung sein  
solle. Wenn sein Komitee diesen Vorschlag annimmt, wird  
Stuart in jeder Weise helfen.
- (B) Literatur.  
Das W.R.I. Nachlagebuch ist auf englisch, deutsch und französisch  
im Druck erschienen und versandt worden. Die Esperanto und spa-  
nische Ausgabe ist noch beim Drucker. War Resister No. 75 auf  
englisch und deutsch soll in <sup>einigen</sup> Tagen versandt werden. Die  
Auskünfte über Militär- und Alternativdienst werden gegenwärtig  
ins Dänische und Holländische übersetzt. Die "Bibel" der Zitate  
von Hem Day soll die französische Ausgabe von War Resister No. 75  
ersetzen.
- (C) Thanet Peace Fellowship.  
Da diese Gemeinschaft der P.P.U. angegliedert ist, wird sie  
als der W.R.I. indirekt verbunden und nicht als Sektion im üb-  
lichen Sinne angesehen. Arlo berichtete, dass der Sekretär dieser  
Gemeinschaft sich als ausserordentlich hilfsbereit erwiesen  
hätte, um jedes eventuelle Missverständnis aufzuklären.
- (D) Früher gewährte Unterstützung.  
Der Sekretär übermittelte den Dank der Empfänger.
- (E) Nansen Pässe.  
Seit 1951 haben U.N.O. Reisepapiere die Nansen Pässe des Völker-  
bundes ersetzt. Es scheint somit, dass letztere als ein abgeschlo-  
ssenes Kapitel betrachtet werden können. Der Vorsitzende schlug  
vor, sich beim europäischen Rat für naturalisierte Franzosen zu  
verwenden, denen Deportierung oder Binkerkerung droht wegen  
Verweigerung, in die französische Armee einzutreten.

ED 748-16-6

- (F) Esperanto Kongress.  
Fred Parker hatte sich bereit erklärt, im Zusammenhang mit dem Kongress die übliche W.R.I. Zusammenkunft zu organisieren. Der Ausschuss dankt ihm hierfür und billigt die nötigen Auslagen für ein Inserat und Zettel.
- (G) Israelischer Kriegsgegner.  
Die israelische Gesandtschaft setzt ihre Ur ersuchung betr. angebliche Brutalität gegenüber einem gefangen gesetzten Kriegsgegner, Benjamin Gut, fort. (Seither hat die Gesandtschaft erklärt, dass die Behauptungen "grundlos" seien. A.T.)
- (H) Konferenz Vorbereitung.  
Der Sekretär berichtete, dass er mit Doris Wheeler übereingekommen sei, dass sie Karl Struve und dessen Frau beherberge, sodass Karl während den letzten beiden Wochen vor der Konferenz im Bureau helfen könne.
- (J) Dreijährliche Konferenz 1960.
- (a) Ort. Vom Leiter von Gandhigram ist ein provisorisches Angebot zur Beherbergung der Konferenz eingegangen und man hofft, diese dort abhalten zu können.
  - (b) Angebotene Mithilfe. Verschiedene indische Mitglieder haben sich anboten, mit der Organisation zu helfen, darunter B. Choudhri und Sri Ram Sharma. Der Sekretär fühlt sich sehr ermutigt.
  - (c) Vorschläge Choudhri. B. Choudhri hat praktische Vorschläge gemacht, die zur geeigneten Zeit in Betracht gezogen werden. Es scheint, dass in Indien weitgehende finanzielle Hilfe zu erhalten ist, sowie eine Ermässigung der Bahnbillate Eisenbahnfahrkarten der Delegierten.
  - (d) Brief Prasad. In Beantwortung eines Briefes des Sekretärs, hat der Präsident von Indien geschrieben: "Sie werden verstehen, dass es mir nicht möglich ist, jetzt schon zu sagen, bei der (1960) Konferenz mitzuwirken, aber ich möchte gerne über die weiteren Fortschritte auf dem Laufenden gehalten werden." Auf Ersuchen des Sekretärs hat sich Dr. Prasad bereit erklärt, in einigen Wochen Kenneth Rivett (Australien) zu empfangen. K. Rivett wird auch das Thema der 1960er Konferenz zur Sprache bringen.
  - (e) Finanzieller Vertreter. Auf Vorschlag des Sekretärs wurde beschlossen, B. Choudhri zu ersuchen, als Finanz- und Konferenzvertreter der W.R.I. in Indien zu anten und ihm für die tatkräftige Hilfe zu danken, die er uns bereits gibt. Es wurde ferner beschlossen, dass, wenn Bhoudhri einverstanden ist, die indischen Spender gebeten werden sollen, ihre Beiträge an ihn und nicht an die Zentrale zu senden.

#### 4. BRITISCHE H-BOMBEN-VERSUCHE.

Stuart Morris gab vertrauliche Auskunft über seinen Besuch auf der japanischen Gesandtschaft mit Arlo, wo sie ganz freundlich empfangen wurden. Es scheint nicht, als ob der Plan, Schiffe in die verbotene Zone zu senden, zur Ausführung komme - hauptsächlich aus finanziellen Gründen. Der Ausschuss nahm mit Interesse und Dank Kenntnis von den Schritten, die Stuart und der Sekretär im Namen der W.R.I. unternommen hatten.

#### 5. FINANZIELLES:

##### (A) Bericht bis zum heutigen Datum.

Gemäss Albert Billett's Bericht sind bis zum 20. März £4,700 in Beiträgen eingegangen, wesentlich mehr als im Vorjahr. Der Banksaldo beträgt £1158.17s.7d. Der Bericht wurde in der dem Protokollbuch beigefügten Form angenommen.

Während den ersten sechs Tagen nach Versand des all-jährlichen Appells haben 275 Personen (aus England) Beiträge gesandt. Von diesen gaben 125 wenigstens einen Schilling mehr als letztes Jahr, 19 hatten letztes Jahr nichts gegeben und 10 hatten noch nie beigesteuert. Der Ausschuss glaubt, dass man hinsichtlich des Endresultats dieses Appells optimistisch sein darf.

(B) Billigung von Auslagen.

- (a) Auslagen der Zentrale. Auslagen im Betrag von £398.16.4. seit der letzten Ausschuss-Sitzung wurden gebilligt sowie zu bezahlende Rechnungen im Betrag von £6.0.10, beides gemäss Beilagen zum Protokollbuch.
- (b) Besondere Auslagen. Da Hem Day's Broschüre mehr kostet als die gewährten £40, genehmigte der Ausschuss einen zusätzlichen Betrag von £19 und die Bezahlung des Portos, da Hem die Broschüre an die Leute auf Liste der französischen Sprechenden verschickt, zwecks Kostenersparung.

6. ERSUCHEN PAUL ANDRÉ.

Der Ausschuss genehmigte die Beifügung eines gedruckten Zettels zu mit der von Paul André versandten Vierteljahresschrift, vorausgesetzt dass die Kosten nicht zu Lasten der W.R.I. seien.

7. W.R.I. SOMMER KURS (1958).

Der Ausschuss pflichtete dem Vorschlag des Sekretärs bei, dass die W.R.I. versuche, unmittelbar vor oder nach dem 1958 Ratsitzung einen W.R.I. Sommerkurs für junge Leute zu halten. Der Sekretär wurde gebeten, ausfindig zu machen, ob dies im Zusammenhang mit dem skandinavischen Sommerkurs möglich wäre, in welchem Fall der Rat seine Sitzung in der Nähe abhalten müsste.

8. KONFERENZ DES "STANDING JOINT PACIFISTS COMMITTEE".

Da der Sekretär ein Mitglied des Unterkomitees für einseitige Abrüstung des S.J.P.C. war, erklärte sich der Ausschuss einverstanden, dass er an die Konferenz gehen solle, an welcher der Bericht dieses Unterkomitees erstattet würde. Der W.R.I. erwachsen hieraus keine Unkosten, da diese vom S.J.P.C. getragen werden.

9. VERTRETUNGEN:

- (A) P.P.U. Jahresversammlung und Sommerkurs. Der Ausschuss war einverstanden, dass Arlo an beide P.P.U. Veranstaltungen als freundschaftlicher Vertreter der W.R.I. gehen solle.
- (B) Konferenz I.L.C.O.P. Der Ausschuss war einverstanden, dass Arlo und der Vorsitzende die W.R.I. an der August I.L.C.O.P. Konferenz in Oxford, England, vertreten sollen.

10. VERSCHIEDENES.

Der Vorsitzende berichtete kurz über Briefe von Jack Goundry, Lincoln Efford und einem russischen W.R.I. Mitglied, die jedoch keine Beschlussfassung erforderten.

11. DATUM DER NÄCHSTEN SITZUNG: 18. Mai 1957, 10:15 Uhr, Lansbury House.

Da keine weiteren Geschäfte vorlagen, wurde die Sitzung um 16:20 Uhr aufgehoben.

ED 718-16-8

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

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ENGLAND

25. Juli, 1957

## NACHRICHTENAUSGABE

Delegierte aus 20 Ländern versammelten sich im Froebel Educational Institute, Roehampton, England für die vom 15. bis 20. Juli, 1957, gehaltene dreijährliche Konferenz der W.R.I.

Die englische Schriftstellerin Vera Brittain hiess die Konferenz im Namen der Gastgebersektion, der P.P.U. willkommen.

Unter anderen sprachen auf der Konferenz: Dr. Walter Lidl, ein Funktionär der deutschen Sektion; Joseph Abileah, der Sekretär der israelitischen Sektion; Bayard Rustin, der Sekretär des War Resisters League der Vereinigten Staaten; Servius Mamesah, der Sekretär der Indonesischen Sektion; Theodor Michaltscheff, der Sekretär der deutschen Sektion; Allen Skinner (Grossbritannien) und Hem Day (Belgien).

Delegierte aus Neuseeland und Japan waren am weitesten gereist, ein Quäker aus Polen wurde auch besonders herzlich willkommen geheissen.

Bengt Lillas aus Finnland erfreute die Versammlung mit der Nachricht, dass eine Kriegsdienstverweigerergruppe in Finnland gegründet worden sei.

Nach der Annahme von neuen Statuten wählte die Konferenz einen zwölköpfigen Rat, der die W.R.I. in den nächsten drei Jahren leiten soll. Harold Bing bleibt Vorsitzender - er wurde einstimmig gewählt. Hagbard Jonassen (Dänemark) wurde bei der unmittelbar nach der Konferenz stattfindenden Ratssitzung zum stellvertretenden Vorsitzenden gewählt.

Der Komponist Michael Tippett hielt die Schlussrede, in der er auf die vor der W.R.I. und den ihr angeschlossenen Organisationen liegenden Aufgaben hinwies.

Er herrschte ein kameradschaftlicher Ton in allen Aussprachen, der am Ende der letzten Sitzung seinen Höhepunkt erreichte, als alle Delegierten die W.R.I.-Erklärung in ihren eignen Sprachen wiederholten.

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ENGLAND

den 20. Oktober, 1957

## NACHRICHT

der zweite jährliche

### TAG DER GEFANGENEN FUER DEN FRIEDEN

am Ersten Dezember, 1957

Vorläufige Berichte an die Zentrale aus Westdeutschland, U.S.A., Norwegen, Israel, Dänemark und Grossbritannien zeigen an, dass am diesjährigen Tag der Gefangenen für den Frieden, dem 1. Dezember, vielfältige Aktionen stattfinden werden.

An diesem Tag wird es Demonstrationen, Versammlungen, Paraden und darauf bezügliche Predigten von vielen Kanzeln geben. Mehr Gruppen und mehr Einzelnen als voriges Jahr werden den auf der Ehrenliste stehenden gefangenen Kriegsdienstverweigerern Weihnachtsgrüsse schicken. Einige Gefangene auf der Ehrenliste des vorigen Jahres erhielten je 500 Karten. Dieses Jahr wollen wir versuchen, diese Zahl zu verdoppeln.

Der Strom von Grüssen an unsere gefangenen Brüder stärkt ihren Mut und macht einen grossen Eindruck auf das Gefängnispersonal. Die Mutter eines jungen Gefangenen sagte, dass die vorjährigen Grüsse in dem Gefängnis, wo sich ihr Sohn befand, "Grund zum Staunen und zu monatelanger Unterhaltung" gewesen seien.

Dieses Jahr liegen den belgischen und italienischen Parlamenten Gesetzesentwürfe vor, die das Recht auf Kriegsdienstverweigerung anerkennen. Es ist dies ein weitere Ansporn für unsere Aktionen am Tag der Gefangenen für den Frieden.

Vom 15. November an sind die Namen und Adressen der gefangenen Verweigerer zu erhalten von:

Die Friedensrundschau, Hamburg 13, Bornstr. 6,  
Deutschland.

Fellowship, Nyack, New York, U.S.A.

Pacifisten, Lysbro Skole, Silkeborg, Dänemark.

Peace News, 4 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, Gross-

oder direkt von der W.R.I-Zentrale.

britannien

ED 718-16-10

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone **3117**  
LABURNUM

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

10.57

## BLITZNACHRICHT

DRINGEND

"Peace News", die in London erscheinende pazifistische Wochenschrift ist von der suedafrikanischen Regierung verboten worden.

Ogleich das Verbot am 19. September in dem Regierungsblatt erschien, wurde es im Ausland noch nicht bekannt gemacht, waehrend suedafrikanische Leser versuchten, die Aufhebung des Verbots zu erreichen. Ihre Bemuehungen waren erfolglos.

DIE INTERNATIONALE DER KRIEGSGEGNER FORDERT NUN IHRE SEKTIONEN, DIE HERAUSGEBER ALLER ZEITSCHRIFTEN, DIE SICH UM DEN FRIEDEN BEMUEHEN, ALLE ORGANISATIONEN UND EINZELPERSONEN, DENEN DIE FREIHEIT DER PRESSE AM HERZEN LIEGT, AUF, IHREN PROTEST DER SUEDAFRIKANISCHEN BOTSCHAFT IM EIGENLAND VORZUTRAGEN UND DER ZENTRALE DER W.R.I. EINE ABSCHRIFT ZU SENDEN.

Helft uns, die suedafrikanische Regierung zu ueberzeugen, dass sie einen grossen Fehler begangen hat, wenn auch nur vom Standpunkt internationaler Beziehungen! "Peace News" predigt die Gleichheit aller Rassen; die suedafrikanische Regierung tut es nicht. Wenn die suedafrikanische Regierung recht hat, braucht sie offene Diskussion nicht zu fuerchten.

Protestiert sofort bei dem Vertreter jener Regierung in eurem Lande und vergesst nicht uns mitzuteilen, was ihr getan habt.

Die Internationale der Kriegsgegner (W.R.I.)

Institut für Friedensforschung und Dokumentation - Archiv

ED 718-16-11

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 6977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

November 1957

Lieber Freund!

Beiliegend erhalten Sie die Verbesserungen und Zusätze zu unserer Ehrenliste der Gefangenen Kriegsdienstgegner.

Könnten Sie eine besondere Anstrengung machen, jedem einen Weihnachtsgruss zu senden, da die kurze Zeit verhindert, dass wir die Ergänzungsliste an Personen und Organisationen ausser Europas senden.

Dazu vielen Dank für den Beistand, den Sie unserem jährlichen "Tag der Gefangenen für den Frieden" leisten.

Ihr ergebener

*Arlo Tatum*

Arlo Tatum  
Allgemeiner Sekretär



# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 36977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

ED7 15-16-13

November, 1957

## Tag der Gefangenen für den Frieden - 1. Dezember

Lieber Freund!

Hier ist Ihre Ehrenliste für 1957 der Gefangenen Kriegsgegner; dieses Jahr kommt sie etwas früher, auf den Wunsch vieler. Wir hoffen Sie werden so viel Gebrauch wir nur möglich davon machen.

Darf ich Sie hiermit daran erinnern dass keinerlei Gruss auf den Weihnachtskarten der Gefangene geschrieben werden darf, sondern nur Name und Adresse des Senders.

Im vorigen Jahr erhielten einige auf der Ehrenliste je ungefähr 500 Grüsse. Mit Ihrer Hilfe hoffen wir diese Zahl zu verdoppeln, also schicken Sie doch so viel wir möglich, und bewegen Sie andere, es auch zu tun.

Wenn Sie uns über irgendwelche besondere Öffentlichkeit, Treffen, Kundgebungen, usw., die im Zusammenhang mit dem Tag der Gefangenen für den Frieden stattfinden, berichten können, so würden wir das sehr anerkennen.

Mit freundlichem Gruss,

*Arlo Tatum*  
Arlo Tatum  
Allgemeiner Sekretär

ED 718-16-14

PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY - HONOUR ROLL

LE JOUR DES EMPRISONNÉS  
POUR LA PAIX -  
LA LISTE D'HONNEUR

FRIEDENSGEFANGENEN - TAG  
EHREN LISTE

Names and Addresses of War Resisters in Prison  
at Christmas Time 1957 and New Year 1958

Noms et adresses de résistants à la guerre qui se  
trouvent en prison à Noël, 1957 et au Nouvel an 1958

Namen und Adressen von Kriegsgegnern, die Weihnachten  
1957 und Neujahr 1958 im Gefängnis sind

BELGIUM - BELGIQUE - BELGIEN

<u>Name - Nom</u>	<u>Address - Adresse</u>
Fernand CORNELIS	<u>Prison de Forest, Bruxelles, Belgique</u>
Marc GARCET	<u>Eben-Emael, Belgique</u>

DENMARK - DANEMARK - DENEMARK

Danish war resisters are in three camps. The addresses to  
which a collective greeting may be sent are as follows:-

Les résistants danois se trouvent en trois camps. Pour  
envoyer des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants d'un camp,  
on peut écrire aux adresses suivantes:-

Dänische Kriegsverweigerer befinden sich in drei Lägern. Die  
Adressen, wohin ein gemeinschaftlicher Glückwunsch gehen kann, sind:-

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (1) Tillidsmaendene,<br>Militaernaegterlejren,<br>Gribskov, Maarum, Denmark.    | (2) Tillidsmaendene,<br>Militaernaegterlejren,<br>Oksbøl, Denmark. |
| (3) Tillidsmaendene,<br>Militaernaegterlejren,<br>Kompedal, Engesvang, Denmark. |  |

There are at least 20 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their  
addresses are not known.

Il y a au moins 20 Témoins de Jehovah en prison. On ne  
connait pas leurs adresses.

Es sind wenigstens 20 Zeugen Jehovahs in Gefangenschaft.  
Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

FRANCE - FRANKREICH

Maison d'Arrêt, 31 Rue du Cambout, Metz (Moselle), France

Jacques BLONDEL	Serge BOUILLE
Jean COMPTE	Raymond DAGUERRET
Henri ELSAESSER	Valentin FAFFER

Maison d'Arrêt, 31 rue du Cambout, Metz (Moselle), France

Eugène JUNG	Nicolas KOSC
Georges MAUFRAN	Guido MILIANI
Guy PLANCHE	Jean RAGUENEAU (7 yrs. in prison)
Pierre SIX	Robert THIERRY- (7 années de prison (7 Jahren im Gefängnis)

Prison de Fresnes (Seine), France

Jean BIELECKI	Claude BOURILLE
Paul BOUSSOU	Casimir FASNY
Marcel FILON	Michel GUITTARD
François MAILLARD	Jean-Claude RAPHAEL
Henri SIKORA, No.6002, 2me divison, cellule 195	Edouard TRONINA
René VAL	César WAVRO

Fort de Montluc, Lyon (Rhône), France

René BOISSADIE	Marcel COCHARD
Gaston COULY	Jean GERBER
Christian LABITTE	Henock MARCHIACZIK
Michel MAUNIER	François MEYER

Lucien VUILLAMIER

Maison Centrale de Fontevrault (Maine & Loir), France

André CESBRON	Pierre INTERING
Sylvestre KAINAP	Paul MEUNIER
Alain PARÉ	Henri PECIAK
Tadése PIOTROWICZ	Fedèle VANCOPENOLLE

Prison de Rennes, Boulevard Jacques Cartier, Rennes (I. et V.), France

Jean CHENU	Dominique REZER
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Maison Centrale de Clairvaux, (Aube), France

Jean CLAUDEL	Louis SCHMITT
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Othon NISSELBECK

Prison de Lisieux, 15 Boulevard Craismes, Lisieux (Calvados), France

Joseph DOMANSKI	Joseph POPEYE- (7 yrs. in prison (7 années de prison (7 Jahren im Gefängnis)
Gilbert BARBIER	<u>24 rue de l'Annonciation, Paris 10me, France</u> (6 yrs. in prison) (6 années de prison) (6 Jahren im Gefängnis)

Michel BERNARD 3 rue de la Solidarité, Montrouge (Seine), France

Christian DESMAZIERES 57 Rue Carnot, Levallois-Perret (Seine), France

Richard DROZAN 34 rue des Flandres, Noyelles sous Lens, France

Roger DUCROUX l'Etape (B.duR.), Domaine du Travèze, France

Michel FLAMEIN c/o Marcel Flamein, 22 rue Forbin, à Rosendael (Nord), France.

Serge GUEU Prison de Poissy, (S. et O.), France

Jean-Paul HOEBERLE Prison d'Orléansville, France (M.A.1404 Couloir No. 5)

Jean LAVIGNAC Prison de Constantine, Algérie.

Marcel LEGENDRE Fort du Hâ, Bordeaux (Gironde), France

Pierre LORENZINI 34 rue Sisley, Lyon (Rhône), France

André MEIFFRED c/o M. Ciraud, Col d'Artaud, Villa la  
Pitcheunette, La Seyne (Var) France.

Jean MYSLIKOWSKI c/o M. Wladislaw Myslikowski, à Loupeigne, par  
la Fere en Tardenois (Aisne), France

Pierre de NARDO c/o Mme. de Nardo, 21 rue Lalande, Lyon, France

Richard PARYBYLSKI Prison - Fort Nomeri, à Bizerte, Tunisie.

Jean PIEPRZYK M. Rudolph Pieprzyk, Rue des Fossés, Tremblay-  
les-Gonesse, (S. et O.), France

Simon PIOTROWICZ 53 rue de Raucourt, Masny, (Nord), France

Jean-Claude REZER c/o Mme. Luthi, 9 rue du Château à Ancenis  
(L.I.), France. (7 years in prison)  
(7 années de prison)  
(7 Jahren im Gefängnis)

Jean ROSZYK No. 1149, cellule 75, Maison Cellulaire de  
Loos (Nord), France  
(6 years in prison)  
(6 années de prison)  
(6 Jahren im Gefängnis)

Edmond SCHAGUENE 54 rue de la Mer Rouge, à Mulhouse-Dornach  
(Ht. Rhin), France (9 years in prison)  
(9 années de prison)  
(9 Jahren im Gefängnis)

Joseph VERSCHAEVE c/o Mme. Jean Cavroy, 21 rue des Wingles,  
Noyelles sous Lens, (P. de C), France

GREAT BRITAIN - GRANDE BRETAGNE - GROSSBRITANNIEN

Peter BLIGHT H.M. Prison, Pattison's Farm, Aldington,  
Nr. Ashford, Kent, Gt. Britain

Brian M. MOORE c/o "Edhilton", Bridgewood, Maidston Road,  
Nr. Rochester, Kent, Gt. Britain

Alex McH. TURNER c/o 13 Union Road, Macduff, Banffshire, Scotland,  
Gt. Britain

HOLLAND - HOLLANDE

Berend BOERTIEN Eliz, Hogeveen, Dorpsstraat 41, Holland

Olof de GRAAF Amsterdam - West, Elis. Wolffstraat 65, Holland

Chris HEILBRON Amsterdam-West, Orteliusstraat 58, Holland

Arnold van KESSEL Rotterdam, Dirk Muidenstraat 26, Holland

Jan van NES Eindhoven, Floralaan W 200, Holland

Wybren POSTMA Franeker, Zilverstraat 51, Holland

Hendrik ROMKEMA Hemrik nr. 40, Holland

John TAKKENBERG Zaandam, Plateaanlaan 10, Holland

Johannes de WIT Herenveen, Burg. van Ensstraat 11, Holland

Other Dutch war resisters are in 4 groups. The addresses to which collective greetings may be sent are as follows:-

Les autres résistants hollandais se trouvent en 4 camps. Pour envoyer des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants d'un camp, on peut écrire aux adresses suivantes:-

Andre holländische Kriegsgegner umfassen vier Gruppen. Adressen, wohin Gemeinschaftswünsche gesandt werden können sind:-

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) Kees Besse,<br>Dienstweigeraarskamp Vladder,<br>Holland.                 | (2) Henk van Buiten,<br>Rijks psychiatrische<br>inrichtingen,<br>Woensel, Eindhoven, Holland. |
| (3) Simon Meijer,<br>Kamp Emmeloord, Kamer 17,<br>Emmeloord, N.O.P., Holland | (4) Wolter Bergsma,<br>H.T.O. gebouw,<br>Rijswijkseweg 342, Den Haag,<br>Holland.             |

HOLLAND - HOLLANDE

There are at least 30 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

Il y a au moins 30 Témoins de Jehovah en prison. On ne connaît pas leurs adresses.

Es sind wenigstens 30 Zeugen Jehovahs in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

ITALY - ITALIE - ITALIEN

Caserma Sant'Angelo - Gaeta (Littoria), Italy

Giuseppe GAZZOTTI	Antonine BORGO
Maure di LIDDO	Luigi FLORINDO
Giovanni TADDEI	Ennio ALFARANO
Sr. VILLANOVA	Giuseppe TIMONCINI

Castello Angioino - Gaeta (Littoria), Italy

Mario MORONI SETAIOLI	Flavio FRANCESCHETTI
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Francesco TUTTOLANI Carcere Militare - Gaeta (Littoria), Italy

Antonio BIANCHEDI Carcere Militare - Peschiera del Garda (Verona) Italy.

Franco RIZZO Via Pigafetta, 29 Torino, Italy.

There are at least 30 in prison. Their addresses are not known.

Il y a au moins 30 en prison. On ne connaît pas leurs adresses.

Es sind wenigstens 30 in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

NORWAY - NORVEGE - NORWEGEN

The addresses to which a collective greeting may be sent are as follows:-

Pour envoyer des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants d'un camp, on peut écrire aux adresses suivantes:-

Adressen, wohin Gemeinschaftswünsche gesandt werden können sind:-

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) Civilarbeiderne,<br>Havnås leir,<br>Mysen, Norway.  | (2) Civilarbeiderne,<br>Hustad Leir,<br>Julshamn, Norway. |
| (3) Civilarbeiderne,<br>Dillingöy,<br>pr. Moss, Norway. |   |

SWEDEN - SUEDE - SCHWEDEN

The addresses to which a collective greeting may be sent are as follows:-

Pour envoyer des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants d'un camp, on peut écrire aux adresses suivantes:-

Adressen, wohin Gemeinschaftswünsche gesandt werden können sind:-

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,<br>Åsbro, Sweden.                                       | (2) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,<br>Sunnanås, Gävle l, Sweden. |
| (3) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,<br>Universitetets skogsförvaltning,<br>Uppsala, Sweden. | (4) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,<br>Revingehed,<br>Sweden.     |

(5) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,  
Garnisonsbrandkaren,  
Boden 19, Sweden.

(6) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,  
Björkö,  
Adelsö, Sweden.

U.S.A. - ÉTATS-UNIS - VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Federal Correctional Institute, Danbury, Conn., U.S.A.

Aaron W. HOOVER  
Gerald S. SMITH

Earl H. MARTIN  
Jesse J. TOLBERT

Federal Correctional Institute, Terminal Island, California, U.S.A.

Vern DAVIDSON

John MARTINSON

Federal Prison Camp, Tucson, Arizona, U.S.A.

Joe Mike AYRES

Arthur P. CLARK

Nick KLUBNIKIN

Federal Correctional Institute, Mill Point, W. Va., U.S.A.

Mose L. SWARTZENTRUBER

There are at least 93 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

Il y a au moins 93 Témoins de Jehovah en prison. On ne connaît pas leurs adresses.

Es sind wenigstens 93 Zeugen Jehovahs in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

AUSTRALIA - AUSTRALIE - AUSTRALIEN

ISRAEL - ISRAËL

NEW ZEALAND - NOUVELLE ZELANDE - NEU SEELAND

NORWAY - NORVÈGE - NORWEGEN

None in prison this year.

Cette année il n'y a pas de prisonniers.

Kein Gefangener dieses Jahr.

SWITZERLAND - SUISSE - SCHWEIZ      BELGIUM - BELGIQUE - BELGIEN

Names, if available, will follow on supplementary list to be sent out later.

Noms, si procurables, à suivre dans la liste supplémentaire qui sera expédiée plus tard.

Namen, falls erhältlich, werden mit einer vervollständigten Liste später folgen.

NOTE

Our supplementary list referred to above will not be sent to individuals and organizations outside Europe, as the time-factor renders it unusable.

"Wir können nicht,  
selbst wenn wir es wüssten,  
abseits der Welt  
und der Probleme  
unserer Kameraden stehen"

Grace M. Beaton  
(1898-1957)

"WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL"  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield,  
Middlesex, England.

Die Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner im Jahre 1957:

1. Die neunte Dreijahreskonferenz brachte in Roehampton, England, über 100 aktive Pazifisten aus 20 Ländern zusammen.
2. Es wurde zum zweitenmal der Jahrestag der "Gefangenen für den Frieden" am 1. Dezember organisiert, eine sehr bemerkenswerte internationale Demonstration, welche tausende von Pazifisten in nahezu zwei Dutzend Ländern umschliesst.
3. Wir druckten dringend benötigte pazifistische Literatur in Spanisch, Indonesisch und Esperanto, sowohl als auch in Deutsch, Französisch und Englisch.
4. Es wurden ermutigende Schritte unternommen, um Gruppen in Chile, Equador, Island, Nigeria, Kenya, Argentinien und Finnland zu bilden. Einzelne werden erfolgreich sein; keine wird total versagen.
5. Entsendung eines Besuchers zu gefährdeten Freunden und Mitgliedern der W.R.I. in Spanien und Portugal.
6. Brieflicher Kontakt mit einer wachsenden Anzahl von Leuten in kommunistischen Ländern wurde weiter unterhalten.
7. Die Militärdienst-Reglemente der ganzen Welt wurden von uns geprüft und gedruckt, ein einzigartiger, wertvoller Beitrag für unsere Bewegung.
8. Wir fuhren fort den in Not geratenen Dienstverweigerern und deren Familien zu helfen.

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Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

~ 4. 1958

WAR RESISTERS'  
INTERNATIONAL

LANSBURY HOUSE  
88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK, ENFIELD  
MIDDLESEX, ENGLAND

ED 718-16-18

With Compliments

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

GERMAN SITUATION

For several years the I.d.K., German Section of the W.R.I., has had in mind its relationship to the "G.d.W", an anti-conscription organisation.

When the introduction of conscription could not be prevented, the G.d.W's general programme moved further toward that of the I.d.K. In some situations, the two organisations worked together on the local level.

The idea of a merger on the national level has been "in the air" for at least two years. As supporters of the idea grew in number, those who opposed it also seemed to become more vocal. It became clear that Herr Köper, head of the G.d.W. was a strong personality who attracted or repelled, leaving very few "neutrals" among the more active I.d.K. members. Heinz Kraschutzki, for example, has supplied in considerable detail his reasons for not trusting Köper, who is called a "witch-hunter" and "stooge for the Social Democratic Party (S.P.D.)" by his enemies, who appear to be numerous. Köper is a member, but not an official, of the S.P.D.

MEETING RE MERGER

A special membership meeting of I.d.K. was rather hastily called, and then postponed, to vote on the merger with G.d.W. It was ultimately held in May and Hilda von Klenze attended as a representative of the W.R.I. Executive Committee. Argumentation centred (principally) around a proposed constitutional clause (for the proposed new G.d.W.-I.d.K. organisation) which has come to be called the "Independence Clause":

"In the sense of this obligation (that is our international declaration) the member has to support his National Committee in fulfilling his tasks and to strive that the independence of the organisation will ever be maintained from all interest-groups and political parties who are one-sided fixed in the cold war as Communist and militant anti-Communist circles and the corresponding camouflage-organisations."

This paragraph was bitterly resented by a minority of I.d.K. members, who felt it provided a Constitutional basis for "witch-hunting". It was unacceptable to the majority, which voted against its inclusion in the Constitution of the proposed new organisation. The merger as such was therefore not voted upon.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SUGGESTION

Hilda von Klenze represented the Executive at the special general meeting, carrying with her recommendations as per Executive Minute No. 5 of Meeting No. 3. (25th January, 1958). They found favour with the opponents of the merger (on the basis of the "Independence Clause") but not with the proponents.

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE MERGER MEETING

The G.d.W. met, disbanded, and re-formed under the proposed merger Constitution, which incorporates the W.R.I. Declaration as the basis of membership. The name "Verband der Kriegsdienstverweiger in der W.R.I" was adopted, and also incorporated into the Constitution, which was then accepted. Herr Keller, Acting Chairman of the I.d.K., was among those who resigned his post and participated in the formation of the new organisation. He and Herr Köper, referred to earlier, are co-Chairmen.

The I.d.K. also met again, and new officers were elected. Both of these separate meetings were harmonious, which was considered significant by the participants.

THEN

Instead of accepting the majority decision of delegates, certain I.d.K. groups (and/or only the delegates or officers of certain groups) decided to leave the I.d.K. and join the new V.K. Whether this was proper, or, if proper, done in an acceptable way, is disputed.

No charges of misconduct on the part of VK on the national level, or on the part of any individual representing it, have reached Enfield Headquarters. All such charges are levelled against the Hamburg group of the VK and against the I.d.K. All persons so charged are either former I.d.K. members in the VK or I.d.K. members, or both. In other words, the bulk of the membership of the VK comes from the disbanded G.d.W., and so far as is known none of them is responsible for the controversy in Hamburg.

"IN DER W.R.I"

The Hamburg I.d.K. Executive, all in favour of and members of the new VK, sent a circular letter to all I.d.K. members, enclosing a VK enrolment form. The letter suggested that, with exceptions, all those who did not go into the VK because of the "Independence Clause" were Communist sympathisers. For this action, on the recommendation of Theodor Michaltscheff, they were expelled by the I.d.K. and a temporary Hamburg I.d.K. Executive appointed pending elections. The W.R.I. Secretary communicated to Theodor his personal regret over the expulsions.

Also on the circular letter was the Constitutional name of the VK, therefore including the phrase "in der W.R.I.". An official letter of protest went to Herr Westendorf, Hamburg Chairman, from Harold Bing, although action on the matter actually was taken before the letter could be translated, posted and received. Through the good offices of Rüdiger Frank and Gerhard Grüning (both VK and I.d.K. members) the world "angemeldet" was added, according to Herr Grüning, who

(Cont'd).....

said the word means "applied to". (Later, Gerhard Ralle of Munich sent W.R.I. Headquarters an envelope from the VK (postmarked 16th June) to him, on which "in der W.R.I." stood without the qualifying word "angemeldet".) It should be noted that the formal application for affiliation had not yet been received. This arrived on 25th May, and was the first letter received by the W.R.I. from the VK.

### PUBLIC STATEMENTS

Early in June Herr Westendorf made a statement to the press. He was quoted as saying that the Hamburg I.d.K. was in danger of falling under the influence of "left wing radicals" and had been dissolved. At the telephoned request of Theodor Michaltschiff a press statement was issued by the W.R.I. Secretary (without consultation) denying Westendorf's allegations.

Konrad Tempel has written that the veiled suggestion of Communist influence is untrue, and that both he and Hela Stolle, both members of the National VK Committee take strong exception to the statement. On the other hand, he declares that Westendorf was correct in saying the Hamburg I.d.K. is dissolved. They, the elected Executive, called a membership meeting for June 2nd. "By a legal majority of three fourths of the members present (90) it was decided to dissolve the Hamburg County group. That did not mean that individual I.d.K. membership was lost".

Herr Westendorf issued a second statement to the press, declaring that he had been misquoted as regards "Communist influence". "This is not what I said and this is not my opinion", stated Herr Westendorf.

On the other hand, the I.d.K. Executive was expelled between the calling of the meeting and its taking place. The 2nd June meeting was declared unofficial by the National I.d.K. and, therefore, not empowered to take any official decision whatever.

Without going into great detail it is difficult to convey the complexity of the situation which exists on the date of writing, 23rd June. (Herr Keller has written Theodor that the VK may prohibit persons who keep their I.d.K. membership from sitting on VK Executive, but this has not been discussed.)

Principal sources of information for this Secretary's summary are: Hilda von Klenze (England), Theodor Michaltschiff (Hamburg), Gerhard Grüning (Frankfurt), Rüdiger Frank (Freiburg), Hans Konrad Tempel (Hamburg), Rosa Lohse Link (Stuttgart), Wilhelm Ude (Bad Gandersheim) and Heinz Kraschutzki (Berlin). Although their opinions are in serious conflict, the W.R.I. Secretary is convinced of their loyalty to the principles of the W.R.I., and their earnestly sincere desire to have a dynamic movement in Germany.

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

ED 718-16-21

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

8th May, 1958

## NEWS FLASH

A cable dated 7th May signed by Lyle Tatum, Chairman of the sponsoring organisation for the vessel the "GOLDEN RULE", was received to-day as follows:

CREW OF GOLDEN RULE SENTENCED SIXTY DAYS IN  
JAIL THIS AFTERNOON FOR CRIMINAL CONTEMPT

We wish to thank those of you who protested the arrest of these four pacifists who sought, at the risk of their lives, to prevent continuation of the Eniwetok H-bomb tests now being carried out by the United States Government.

We again urge you to send your protests to:

President Dwight Eisenhower,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

and/or to the representative of the United States Government in your own country.

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

The War Resisters' International extends its sympathy to the family and many friends of Gérard de Lecaze Duthiers, who passed away this week. He was Président d'Honneur of the Ligue d'Action Pacifiste, French Section of the W.R.I.

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone

Esburnham 3077

ED 718-16-22

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

~ 1.8.58

## RAT DER "WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL"

Der Rat der "War Resisters' International" traf vom 17. bis 20. Juli in Store Røstrup (Dänemark) zusammen, um einen Überblick über die Arbeit des vergangenen Jahres zu gewinnen und Pläne für das kommende Jahr zu entwerfen. Mitglieder aus Grossbritannien, Frankreich, Belgien, Holland, Westdeutschland und Dänemark nahmen an der Tagung teil.

### DIDERICH LUND

Diderich Lund (Norwegen) wurde einstimmig zum Rat hinzugewählt. Er ist vor kurzem aus Indien zurückgekehrt, wo er fünf Jahre bei einem technischen Hilfswerksprojekt tätig war, das von den indischen und norwegischen Regierungen unter der beratenden Mitwirkung der Vereinigten Nationen organisiert wird.

### REISE DES SEKRETÄR NACH NIGERIEN

Angesichts des äusserst ermutigenden Zustroms von nigerischen Mitgliedern zum W.R.I. bestätigte der Rat die Entsendung Arlo Tatum zur Gründungstagung der nigerischen W.R.I.-Gruppe, welche am 1. Dezember 1958 in Verbindung mit dem "Tag der Gefangenen für den Frieden" stattfindet. Mr. C.A.O. Essien und seinen Mitgliedern ist der fortschreitende Erfolg dieser Mitgliedwerbung zu verdanken.

Arlo Tatum beabsichtigt, ausser Nigeria auch Ghana zu besuchen. Dies ist seine erste Reise zum afrikanischen Erdteil.

### ZEHNTE DREIJAHRSKONFERENZ 1960

G. Ramachandran, der Sekretär des "Gandhi Memorial Trust" und einer der Gründer des Gandhigram, hat sich bereiterklärt, für die Organisation der 1960 stattfindenden Dreijahreskonferenz, und zwar um Weihnachten herum im Gandhigram in Südindien, mit verantwortlich zu sein. Der Rat bestätigte, dass die Konferenz in zwei Phasen stattfinden soll, und zwar soll die erste ausschliesslich für W.R.I.-Mitglieder sein, während zur zweiten alle Pazifisten und sonstige Friedensfreunde eingeladen werden sollen.

Er wurde vereinbart, dass Arlo Tatum, der bereits einige Monate vor der Konferenz seine Reise nach Indien antreten wird, Isräl auf seiner Hin- oder Rückreise besuchen soll.

### JOYCE RUNHAM BROWN

Der Rat begrüsst Joyce Runham Brown als ehrenamtliche Schatzmeisterin. Es wurde dankbar vermerkt, dass, nachdem ihre Ernennung bekannt geworden war, eine Anzahl von Sonderbeiträgen eingegangen sind, um das Andenken ihres Vaters, H. Runham Brown, des 1949 verstorbenen Gründers der "War Resisters' International", zu ehren.

b.w.

SOMMERSCHULE FÜR DIE JUGEND, 1959

Im kommenden Jahre wird die W.R.I. in Europa eine internationale Sommerschule für die Jugend abhalten. Sie wird von den Jugendlichen selbst organisiert werden unter Mitwirkung von Niels Jonassen, dem Unterschriftleiter des W.R.I. Niels wird in zwei Monaten seine Arbeit bei der W.R.I. aufnehmen.

NEUE GRUPPEN

Der Rat nahm mit Freuden Mitgliedschaftsanträge der im Juni gegründeten neuen finnischen Gruppe der W.R.I. sowie der holländischen Friedensorganisation "ANVA", mit der die W.R.I. seit mehreren Jahren in enger Zusammenarbeit steht, entgegen. Beiden Anträgen wurde stattgegeben.

Ebenso begrüßte der Rat dem Mitgliedschaftsantrag des Verbandes der Kriegsdienstverweigerer, einer neuen deutschen Friedensorganisation. Ein diesbezüglicher Beschluss soll jedoch erst nächstes Jahr gefasst werden. In Deutschland befindet sich die Friedensbewegung im Zuge der Umorganisation. Man hofft jedoch, dass sich die Lage bis zum Juli 1959, wenn der Rat in Belgien wieder zusammentrifft, geklärt haben wird.

DIE KRISE IM MITTLEREN OSTEN

Der Rat fasste den folgenden Notbeschluss:

"Der Rat der W.R.I., der am 20. Juli 1958 in Store Restrup (Dänemark) zusammengetreten ist, gibt seiner tiefen Besorgnis über die sich im mittleren Osten entwickelnde Lage Ausdruck. Er drückt wiederholt seine Überzeugung aus, dass die betreffenden Probleme nicht mit Gewaltmitteln gelöst werden können und bedauert, dass die seit der Suezkrise herrschende Paise nicht dazu ausgenützt worden ist, um zu versuchen, den jetzigen Schwierigkeiten durch Verhandlungen und Versöhnungsmassnahmen vorzubeugen.

Er begrüsst die vorgeschlagene Besprechung zwischen den Staatsoberhäuptern und richtet an die betreffenden Mächte das dringende Ersuchen, sich auf eine Politik der Nichteinmischung in die Fragen des mittleren Ostens zu einigen. Dies würde die Zurückziehung aller fremden Truppen sowie das Verbot weiterer Waffenlieferungen mit sich bringen sowie die Planung eines gemeinsamen Unternehmens, durch das den Ländern des mittleren Ostens ausreichende Hilfe gewährt wird, und zwar in solchem Masse, dass eine Erhöhung des Lebensstandards der betreffenden Völker möglich wird".

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

INTERNATIONALE SOMMERSCHULE

Nach der Tagung des W.R.I.-Rates trafen ungefähr 100 Personen aus 12 verschiedenen Ländern in Store Restrup zusammen, um eine Woche lang eine Sommerschule abzuhalten, die von der W.R.I. und deren skandinavischen Gruppen unterstützt wurde.

Unter den Rednern befanden sich fünf Mitglieder des Rates, und zwar Pierre Martin (Frankreich), Heinz Kraschutzki (Deutschland), Stuart Morris (Grossbritannien), Diderich Lund (Norwegen), und Harold Bing, Vorsitzender der W.R.I.

Die lebhaften Diskussionen konzentrierten sich auf die ökonomischen und psychologischen Ursachen des Krieges und deren Überwindung.

Es war eine grosse Anzahl junger Leute anwesend, die sich an der Diskussion darüber, wie die internationale Friedensbewegung ein wirksameres Instrument zur Schaffung einer harmonischeren Welt werden könne, lebhaft beteiligten.

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LADURNUM 3977

ED 71B-16-23

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

den 15. September, 1958

## NACHRICHT

Tag der Gefangenen für den Frieden, 1. Dezember, 1958

Personen und Organisationen aus 16 Ländern nahmen an dem ersten Tag der Gefangenen für den Frieden in 1956 teil. In 1957 die Anzahl steigerte sich, und 19 Länder beteiligten sich.

NUN ist es Zeit mit den Vorbereitungen für den dritten jährlichen Tag der Gefangenen für den Frieden zu beginnen.

Sie können und sollen

1. Weihnachtsgrüsse an Gefangene senden und Andere veranlassen das Gleiche zu tun.
2. Publiziere die Leiden der Nazarener in Jugoslawien. (Beachte den beigeschlossenen Artikel, der für sofortige Veröffentlichung ist.)
3. Schreibe zur lokalen Zeitung. Schreibe zum französischen Konsul, der am nächsten ist und verlange die Befreiung der 120 inhaftierten Militärdienstgegner.
4. Arrangiere spezielle Versammlungen und Demonstrationen am 1. Dezember.
5. Halte das W.R.I. Bureau über Ihre Pläne am Laufenden und berichte Ihre Aktivitäten nach ihrem Stattfinden. Dies ermöglicht uns, sie einer weiteren Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen.
6. Sende eine Botschaft an das Hauptbureau zur Verlesung durch den General Sekretär bei der Gründungsversammlung der W.R.I. Sektion in Nigeria, die am Tag der Gefangenen für den Frieden, 1. Dezember, 1958 in Uyo, Nigeria, stattfinden wird.

Um weitere Information und Vorschläge schreibe zum

General Sekretär, Lansbury House,  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middx., England.

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LAGURNUM 3977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

ED 718-16-24

November, 1958

Lieber Freund,

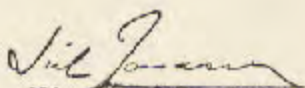
Hiermit die im letzten Augenblick gemachte Änderungen und Hinzufügungen zur Ehrenrolle der Kriegsdienstgegner, die Weihnachten im Gefängnis verbringen werden.

Bitte tun Sie Ihr Möglichstes, damit jeder dieser Kriegsdienstgegner Weihnachtsgrüsse erhält. Aus Zeitmangel ist es uns leider unmöglich dafür zu sorgen, dass ausserhalb Europas befindliche Personen und Organisationen diese Information rechtzeitig erhalten.

Wir danken Ihnen nochmals für Ihre Unterstützung an unserem alljährlichen "Tag der Friedensgefangenen". Könnten Sie uns vielleicht einen Bericht über Ihre Tätigkeit in Aussicht stellen? Ein derartiger Bericht würde uns sehr nützlich sein.

Mit freundlichen Grüssen,

Ihr

  
Niels Jonassen  
Assistenzsekretär

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF WAR RESISTERS IN PRISON AT  
CHRISTMAS TIME 1958 and NEW YEAR 1959

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LISTE SUPPLEMENTAIRE DE RÉSISTANTS À LA GUERRE QUI SE TROUVENT EN  
PRISON À NOËL 1958 ET AU NOUVEL AN 1959

\*\*\*\*\*

VERVOLLSTÄNDIGUNGSLISTE VON KRIEGSGEGNER, DIE WEIHNACHTEN  
1958 UND NEUJAHR 1959 IM GEFÄNGNIS SIND

\*\*\*\*\*

FRANCE - FRANKREICH

Please add to the previous list:

S'il vous plaît ajouter à la  
première liste:

Bitte hinzufügen zu der  
früheren Liste:

Jean FILON	<u>Prison de Fresnes (Seine), France</u>
Marcel FILON	<u>Prison des Baumettes (Bouche du Rhône), France</u>
Hénok MACIAZYK	<u>Fort de Montluc, Lyon (Rhône), France</u>
Jean PEIPRZYK	<u>Fort du Hâ, Bordeaux (Gironde), France</u> (5th year in prison) (5. Jahr im Gefängnis) (cinquième année de prison)
Tadée PROKOWICZ	<u>53 rue de Raucourt, Masmy (Nord), France</u>

HOLLAND - HOLLANDE - NIEDERLAND

Johnie BLAAUW	<u>Delfzijl, Willemsstraat 33, Holland</u>
Berend BOERTIEN	<u>Elim, Hogeveen, Dorpsstraat 41, Holland</u>
Jan LOUWEN	<u>Nauerna 38, Assendelft, Holland</u>
Hendrik ROMKEMA	<u>Hemrik nr. 41 (Fr), Holland</u>
Jaap VISSER	<u>Rotterdam, Delftweg 21, Holland</u>
Jan WIEPJES	<u>Wormerveer, Houtkade 33, Holland</u>

ITALY - ITALIE - ITALIEN

Please add to the previous list:

S'il vous plaît ajouter à la  
première liste:

Bitte hinzufügen zu der  
früheren Liste:

Felice TORGHELE	<u>c/o Cesare Torghele, Pianezze Scurrelle, Valsugana (Trento), Italy</u>
-----------------	---

U.S.A. - ÉTATS-UNIS - VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Please add to the previous list:

S'il vous plaît ajouter à la  
première liste:

Bitte hinzufügen zu der  
früheren Liste:

Pvt. William Eugene CALLAHAN, US. 56291807, <u>United States</u> <u>Disciplinary Barracks, Lompoc, California, U.S.A.</u>
Donald Bruce REED, <u>Youth Correctional Institute, Englewood,</u> <u>Colorado, U.S.A.</u>

U.S.A. - ETATS-UNIS - VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Please delete the following names from the first list, as the men have now been released from prison.

Effacez-vous les noms suivants s'il vous plaît parce que les hommes ont été libérés de prison.

Bitte streichen Sie in Ihrer früheren Liste folgende Namen; die Betreffenden sind entlassen.

Nick KLUENIKIN

Mose L. SWARTZENTRUBER

GREAT BRITAIN - GRANDE BRETAGNE - GROSSBRITANNIEN

Please add to the previous list:

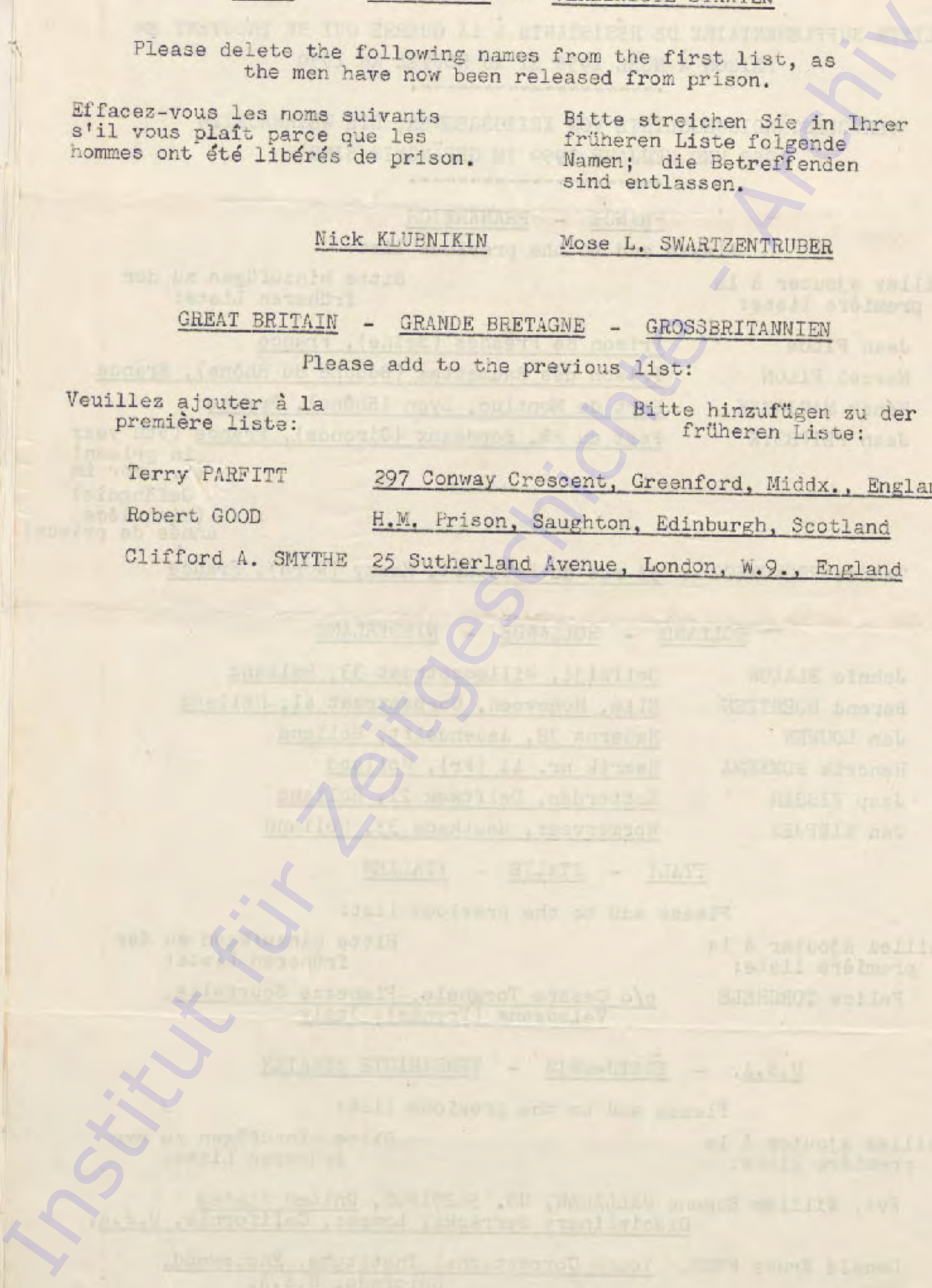
Veillez ajouter à la première liste:

Bitte hinzufügen zu der früheren Liste:

Terry PARFITT 297 Conway Crescent, Greenford, Middx., England

Robert GOOD H.M. Prison, Saughton, Edinburgh, Scotland

Clifford A. SMYTHE 25 Sutherland Avenue, London, W.9., England



It is for these reasons that we have deemed it necessary and useful to organise an international work and study camp. Practical work seems of importance to us, since it shows that objectors are already going beyond mere words, and that they are putting into practice what they would like to see their own countries doing on a large scale.

WHAT HAVE OPEN-MINDED AND RECOGNISED SCIENTISTS TO SAY ?

JEAN ROSTAND, French biologist, 1894-

(Speaking of the present situation): "The only honourable conclusion to this state of affairs would be for the scientists themselves to take the offensive and to resolve to refuse their co-operation - their complicity - in the criminal acts, which at the present time, are being planned under their direction and with their aid. Collective objection .... men of integrity everywhere going on strike against this work for death .... unfortunately this time has not yet come; but, in the meantime, all men of good will should rise against atomic weapons of every kind, in every place, and whatever the political and ideological motives used to justify their existence and use. To consent to atomic war, is to betray, in spirit, the human beings of tomorrow."

(1)

ALBERT EINSTEIN, German physicist (American since 1940), 1879-1955

"Those who really wish to abolish war should act resolutely so that the States to which they belong will renounce a part of their sovereignty in favour of international institutions; they should be ready in the event of any form of conflict, to make the States to which they belong submit to arbitration by international courts. They should act as energetically as possible to ensure that all States disarm. No progress can be hoped for, if aggressive patriotic and military education of the people is not abolished."

(2)

BERTRAND RUSSELL, English philosopher and mathematician, 1872 -

(Speaking of education): "The idea should be fostered, in all men, that the whole of humanity is one family with common interests; that cooperation is of more importance than competition; and that to love one's neighbour is not only a moral duty as taught by word of mouth in church, but also the wisest of policies insofar as his personal happiness is concerned."

(3)

LINUS PAULING, American chemist, 1901-

"I believe that the development of terrible nuclear weapons, which are so destructive that if they had to be used one day they would annihilate the whole of civilisation, impels us to enter a new era in the history of humanity, an era of peace and reason, in which international conflicts will not be settled by war and by force, but by appealing to reason, so that justice may reign between all nations and be used for the benefit of all peoples."

(4)

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

ED 718-16-26

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

November, 1958

## FRIEDENSGEFANGENENTAG - ERSTER DEZEMBER

Lieber Freund!

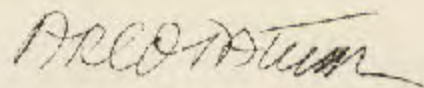
Hiermit unsere Ehrenliste über inhaftierten Kriegsdienstverweigerern. Wir hoffen, das Sie sie möglichst viel gebrauchen werden.

Darf ich Ihnen daran erinnern, dass keine Mitteilungen auf den Weihnachtsgrüssen geschrieben werden dürfen; nur Name und Anschrift des Senders. Offene Postkarten dürfen an französische Inhaftierten nicht gesendet werden.

Vorriges Jahr wurden bis 700 Grüssen von Kriegsdienstverweigerern auf der Ehrenliste empfangen. Mit der Ihrigen Hilfe hoffen wir dieses Jahr 1.000 zu erreichen. So senden Sie bitte so viele Grüsse wie möglich, und vordern Sie andere dazu auf, dasselbe zu tun.

Fals Die über speziellen Treffen, Demonstrationen u.s.w., die in Zusammenhang mit dem Friedensgefangenentag arrangiert werden, berichten können, werden wir sehr froh sein davon zu hören.

Hochachtungsvoll,



Arlo Tatum  
Generalsekretär

## PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

## HONOUR ROLL

## FRIEDENSGEFANGENEN TAG

## EHREN LISTE

Names and Addresses of War Resisters in Prison  
at Christmas Time 1958 and New Year 1959

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

Namen und Adressen von Kriegsgegnern, die Weihnachten  
1958 und Neujahr 1959 im Gefängnis sind

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

BELGIUM - BELGIEN

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address - Adresse</u>
Fernand CORNÉLIS	<u>Prairies No. 19, Trixhes, Flémalle-Haute, Belgique</u>
Marc GARCET	<u>Rue Istahelle, Eben-Emael, Belgique</u>
Lucien GOSSET	<u>C.F.P. de Smindja par Zaghouan, Tunisia</u>
Stéphane MEUTER	<u>42 rue Quinaux, Schaerbeek, Bruxelles, Belgique</u>

Prison de Forest, Bruxelles 19, Belgique

Jacques DEMAUDE                      Albert DE LEEUW

Prison de Saint-Hubert, Belgique

Michel BROGNIET	André FERLA
Claude DAUCHOT	Gilbert HOUBEN
Roger DELAHAUT	Jacques LIÉTART
André DUMONT	Gilbert RENDERS
Freddy FERET	Gilbert TARE

DENMARK - DENEMARK

There are Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

Es sind Zeugen Jehovahs in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

(Other Danish war resisters are in three camps.)

(Andre Dänische Kriegsdienstgegnern befinden sich in drei Lägern.)

FRANCE - FRANKREICH

Prison de Loos (Nord), France

Serge KESTELOOT                      Simon PROKOWICZ

M. JOURDAN

Prison de Metz, 31 rue du Cambout, Metz (Moselle), France

Daniel AUCOURT	Nicolas KOSC
Jacques BERLEUX	Jean-Pierre LALLOUX
Jacques BLONDEL	Henri LAVIGNAC
Jean COMPTE	Georges MAUFRAN
Jean DYZMA	Daniel MILIANI
André GUYARD	Guido MILIANI
Michel TERRAY	

Fort de Montluc, Lyon (Rhône), France

Marcel COCHARD	Roger DUCROUX
Christian LABITTE	

Prison de Fresnes (Seine), France

Henri SIKORA	Jean POSLUSNY 1/3SS 17404
Rene VAL	

Fort du Hâ, Bordeaux (Gironde), France

Joseph CHARRON	Michel COCHARD
Jean CHENU	Dominique REZER
Serge SCANTAMBULO	

Maison Centrale de Fontevault (Maine et Loire), France

André CESBRON	M. SERMADIRAS
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Centre Penitencier d'Alger, 2 rue Volland, Alger (A.F.N)

Pierre BRINIO	Jean-Paul HOEBERLÉ
Jean SANTERRE	

Claude BERREUR	<u>8 rue Montalivet, Paris 8e, France</u>
Jean BIGLIONE	<u>7 Villa Henri, Romainville (Seine), France</u>
Michel GUITTARD	<u>39 rue des Peupliers, Paris 13e, France</u>
Pierre INTERING	<u>12 rue de la Pepinière, Wittenhein (Ht. Rhin)</u> <u>France</u>
Pierre LORENZINI	<u>chemin de Galas, Billieres (Basses-Pyrénées)</u> <u>France</u>
Georges PERSONNAZ	<u>Moirans, Isère, France</u>
Richard PRZYBYLSKI	<u>Prison des Beaumettes (Bouche du Rhône), France</u>
Jean RAGUENEAU	<u>90 rue du Marsan, Bordeaux (Gironde), France</u>
Lucien VUILLAMIER	<u>Fort Hatry, Belfort (Territoire de Belfort)</u> <u>France</u>

GREAT BRITAIN - GROSSBRITANNIEN

H.M. Prison, Leicester, England

Thomas R. COOKE	Gary SAMPSON
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Leslie PIDCOCK	<u>30 Jaunty Crescent, Base Green, Sheffield 12,</u> <u>England.</u>
Lawrence E. SADLER	<u>23 Grove Road, Warley, Birmingham, England</u>
Derek SANDERSON	<u>25 Thorn Bridge Drive, Frecheville, Sheffield 1</u> <u>England</u>
Anthony UPTON	<u>24 Rushdale Avenue, Sheffield 8, England</u>
James WARD	<u>9 Craithie Road, Doncaster, England</u>

HOLLAND - NIEDERLAND

There are Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

Es sind Zeugen Jehovahs in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

Names if available, will follow on supplementary list to be sent out later.

Namen, falls erhältlich, werden mit einer vervollständigtem Liste später folgen.

ITALY - ITALIEN

Caserma Sant'Angelo - III° Reparto Castello Angioino, Gaeta (Latina) Italia

Ennio ALFARANO	Flavio FRANCESCHETTI
Antonio BORGIO	Mario MORONI SETAIOLI
Antonio DI NARDO	Francesco TUTTOLANI

Mario VILLANOVA

Via G.C. Ceccarelli, 30 - Caiossi (Forli), Italia

Giuseppe TIMONCINI	Giacomo TIMONCINI
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Alberto CORTINI	<u>c/o Italina Cortini, Via S. Agelli 6, Ronco (Forli), Italia</u>
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Giuseppe GAZZOTTI	<u>c/o Speranza Gazzotti, Via Mittarelli, 32, Faenza (Ravenna), Italia</u>
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Renzo PASI	<u>Caserma 30, Maggio, Peschiera (Verona), Italia</u>
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Giovanni TADDEI	<u>Roseto degli Abruzzi (Teramo), Italia</u>
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Enrico ZACCARINI	<u>I° Reparto Castello Angioino, Gaeta (Latina), Italia</u>
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There are at least 6 others in prison. Their addresses are not known.

Es sind wenigstens 6 mehr in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

NORWAY - NORWEGEN

Forced Labour Camp:	Sivilarbeiderma,
Zwangsarbeitslager:	Dillingöy Leir,
	Sperrebotn, Norge.

U.S.A. - VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Johnny FREEDOM	<u>Federal Correctional Institute, Englewood, Colo., U.S.A.</u>
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Nick A. KLUBNIKIN	<u>Federal Correctional Institute, Terminal Island, Calif., U.S.A.</u>
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Jonas W. NOLT	<u>Federal Correctional Institute, Allenwood, Pa., U.S.A.</u>
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Robert SMITH	<u>Federal Correctional Institute, Petersburg, Va., U.S.A.</u>
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Daniel STAUFFER	<u>Federal Correctional Institute, Danbury, Conn., U.S.A.</u>
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Mose L. SWARTZENTRUBER	<u>Federal Correctional Institute, Mill Point, W. Va., U.S.A.</u>
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AUSTRALIA  
AUSTRALIEN

ISRAEL  
ISRAËL

NEW ZEALAND  
NEU SEELAND

FINLAND

None in prison this year  
Kein Gefangener dieses Jahr

The addresses to which collective greetings may be sent are as follows:-

Die Adressen, wohin ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche gehen können sind:-

DENMARK - DÄNEMARK

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) Talsmændene,<br>Militærnægterlejren,<br>Gribskov, Mårum, Danmark        | (2) Talsmændene,<br>Militærnægterlejren,<br>Oksbøl, Danmark |
| (3) Talsmændene,<br>Militærnægterlejren,<br>Kompedal, Engesvang,<br>Danmark |   |

NORWAY - NORWEGEN

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) Sivilarbeiderne,<br>Havnås Leir,<br>Mysen, Norge | (2) Sivilarbeiderne,<br>Hustad Leir,<br>Farstad, Norge |
|--|--|

SWEDEN - SCHWEDEN

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,<br>Åsbro, Sverige  | (2) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,<br>Sunnanås, Gävle l,<br>Sverige |
| (3) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,<br>Universitetets skogsför-<br>valtning,<br>Uppsala, Sverige | (4) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,<br>Revingehed,<br>Sverige        |

SWITZERLAND - SCHWEIZ

Names, if available, will follow on supplementary list to be sent out later.

Namen, falls erhältlich, werden mit einer vervollständigten Liste später folgen.

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ED 718-16-201  
WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

3rd November, 1959

Dear Friend,

Prisoners for Peace Day,  
1st December, 1959

We take pleasure in sending you this 1959 Honour Roll of imprisoned war resisters, for your use in connection with PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY, 1st DECEMBER.

Please make the maximum use of this information, and the occasion itself, for we want Prisoners for Peace Day to grow into the kind of demonstration governments cannot ignore.

We are moving in that direction; each year the number of participants increases, as does the amount of publicity received. In at least two instances, last year's goal of 1,000 greetings for every person on the Honour Roll was achieved, but we know the movement is capable of doing far better. This year the International Fellowship of Reconciliation is officially supporting Prisoners for Peace Day, and has called for December 1st to become a day of prayer.

Do not hesitate to seek wide support, for it is not only pacifists who feel that conscientious objection to military service is a human right.

Please let us know at once if you want additional copies of the Honour Roll, or additional information.

Yours sincerely,

*Sheila A. Head May Way*

Sheila Head & May Way

W.R.I. Staff

P.S. Arlo Tatum is in the U.S.A. on a lecture tour, and will lead the Prisoners for Peace Day demonstration at the U.N. Headquarters.

## WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

Telephone

Laburnum 3377

3rd November, 1959

NEWS RELEASE

THE FOURTH ANNUAL

PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

1st DECEMBER, 1959

Only once each year does the world pacifist movement divert its attention from the pressing issues of the day to pay tribute to some of its own members.

Initiated in 1956 by the 38 year old War Resisters' International (Enfield, Middx., England), Prisoners for Peace Day has now become firmly established, and has the support of many who are not pacifists, but see the imprisonment of conscientious objectors to military service as a violation of religious freedom and civil rights.

France, which had become infamous for its harsh treatment of objectors, now confines its "cat and mouse" imprisonment to a total of five years, but legislation granting some form of legal status to "C.Os" is yet to be achieved.

Yugoslavia has now become the chief offender because of sentences (sometimes repeated) of up to 15 years for refusal of military service. So far as is known, about 200 members of a religious sect known as the Nazarenes are currently in prison.

Last year two Italian objectors, whose names and prison addresses appeared on the W.R.I.'s "Honour Roll" received over 1,000 Christmas greetings each, from all over the world. The sending of cards to the imprisoned is the principal activity on 1st December, but Prisoners for Peace demonstrations will be held in dozens of cities throughout Europe and abroad.

Arlo Tatum, American-born General Secretary of the War Resisters' International, will lead a demonstration at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, calling for the recognition of conscientious objection to military service as a basic human right.

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation has called upon its members and "Christians everywhere" to observe Prisoners for Peace Day by offering prayers for "both the courageous men in prison and those responsible for their imprisonment".

For further information write to:

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL,  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield,  
Middx., England.

# PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

## HONOUR ROLL

# FRIEDENSGEFANGENEN TAG

## EHREN LISTE



Names and Addresses of War Resisters in Prison  
at Christmas Time 1959 and New Year 1960

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

Namen und Adressen von Kriegsgegnern, die Weihnachten  
1959 und Neujahr 1960 im Gefängnis sind

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

DENMARK - DÄNEMARK

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address - Adresse</u>
Laurids LARSEN	Store Rye, Astrup pr. Sindal, Denmark

There are 50 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

Es sind 50 Zeugen Jehovahs in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

(Other Danish war resisters are in two camps)

(Andre Dänische Kriegsdienstgegnern befinden sich in zwei Lägern.)

FRANCE - FRANKREICH

Prison de Metz, 31 rue du Cambout, Metz (Moselle), France

Christian BERLEUX	Daniel MILIANI
Serge BOUILLÉ	Guido MILIANI
André GUYARD	Jean PYSMA
Georges MAUFRAN	Michel TERRAY

Abbaye de Tanquant, par Fontevrault (Maine et Loire), France

Robert BEUGIN	Pierre LORENZINI
Roger DUCROUX	Yves LORENZINI
Joseph FIORAVANZO	Dominique REZER
Christian LABITTE	Jean POSLUSZNY

Camp de Casabianda, par Aléria, Corsica

Jacques ALEXANDRE	Pierre MICHAU
Gilbert BLEIVEIS	François MICHEL
Jean DAUVERGNE	Edgar NEHOU
Pierre GUYOT	Michel RÉ
Alban LIECHTI	Francis RENDA
Jean-Marie SAMSON	

Centre Penitencier d'Alger, 2 rue Volland, Algerie

Benjamin COLARD	Rene PEREZ
León CZERNIAK	Guy PONS
Jean Louis MORITZ	Roland YVARD

Maison d'Arrêt de Rennes (I. et V.), 56 Bd. J. Cartier, France

Jean CHENU	Michel COCHARD
Henri ELSAESSER	

Section Spéciale de Timfouchi, SP.87.374, (A.F.N.)

Jean CLAVEL	Lucien FONTENEL
Paul LEFEBVRE	

Prison de Fresnes, (Seine), France

Henri CHEYROUSE, Cellule 298. 3eme Division  
 Jean FILON, 19.929. 1ere Division  
 Serge MAGNIEN, Cte.21.177-CNO, Cellule 27.

Prison de Loos, Les Lille (Nord), France

Georges JOURDAN	Serge KESTELOOT
-----------------	-----------------

Maison Cellulaire de Nice (A.M.), 1 rue de la Gendarmerie, France

Jean-Bernard MOREAU	Henri SIKORA
---------------------	--------------

Centrale de Fontevrault (M. et Loire), France

Jacques CELER	André CESBRON
---------------	---------------

Fort du Hâ, Bordeaux (Gironde), France

M. CHEREAU	Serge SCATAMBULO
------------	------------------

Prison des Beaumettes, par Marseille (B.d Rh.), France

Pierre BRINIO	Claude RAULT
---------------	--------------

Name

Address - Adresse

Jean BIGLIONE	<u>7 Villa Henri, Romainville (Seine), France</u>
Jacques BLONDEL	<u>14 rue Eugène Gathe, Goussainville (S.et O), France</u>
Etienne BOULANGER	<u>Camp d'Ecrouves, par Toul (M.et M.), France</u>
René BOYER	<u>Prison d'Amiens (Somme), France</u>
François CHANEKA	<u>23 rue Surçon, Bordeaux (Gironde), France</u>
Marcel COCHARD	<u>62 rue des Minimes, Montmille-sur-Saône, (Ain), France</u>
Jean COMPTE	<u>Chez Mme. Mathieu, 32 Bd. V. Hugo, Cachan (Seine) France</u>
Marcel FILON	<u>27 Avenue de la Concorde, Seuran (S. et O), France</u>
Michel GUITTARD	<u>39 rue des Peupliers, Paris 13e, France</u>
Jean-Paul HOEBERLÉ	<u>12 rue de Bretagne, Mulhouse (Ht.Rhin), France</u>
Jean-Pierrè LALLOUX	<u>Hautond, par Vic-sur Artuis, (Pas de Calais), France</u>
Léandre LETOQUART	<u>Maison Centrale de Melun (Seine et Marne), France</u>

Jean le MEUR Prison de Constantine, Algerie  
 René NAZON Prison de Nimes, 1 rue des Rampes du Et.Claude  
 (Gard), France  
 Pierré PERRON 22 rue du Général Leclerc, Chevilly, Larue (Sein),  
 France  
 Georges PERSONNAZ à Moirans, (Isère), France  
 Charles PHUL 52 Avenue du Docteur Jean, à Saintes, (Charente  
 Maritime), France  
 Richard PRZYBYLSKI 6 rue de la Ferme, à St. Denis (Seine), France  
 Jean SANTERRE 12 rue de Bretagne, Mulhouse (Ht. Rhin), France  
 Georges TERMIGNON chez Mme. Fabre, 8 Passage Dumas, Kouba, Alger,  
 Algerie.  
 René VAL à Maurecourt, par St. Quentin (Aisne), France  
 Jean VENDART Prison de Ney, à Toul (M. et Moselle), France  
 Claude VOISIN Prison de Tulle, (Corrèze), France

GREAT BRITAIN - GROSSBRITANNIEN

Joseph T. BUNYAN 11 Stokesley Street, London, W.12, England  
 Rex DUNHAM No. 89 H.M. Frison, St. Loyaes Street, Bedford, England

There are Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.  
 Es sind Zeugen Jehovahs in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

SWITZERLAND - SCHWEIZ

Louis FRÖHLICHER Prison "Saint-Antoine", Geneva, Switzerland

U.S.A. - VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Federal Prison, Springfield, Mo., U.S.A.

John DECKER Charles Edgar GARRISON  
 Bradford LITTLE

Federal Prison, Sandstone, Minnesota, U.S.A.

Ammon HENNACY Arthur HARVEY

Federal Prison, Allentown, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

Karl MEYER Jacob Weaver NOLT

Don FORTENBERRY Federal Prison Camp, Seagoville, Texas, U.S.A.

Ed LAZAR Federal Prison, Danbury, Connecticut, U.S.A.

Marjorie SWANN Federal Prison, Alderston, West Virginia, U.S.A.

There are 81 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

Es sind 81 Zeugen Jehovahs in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

AUSTRALIA - None in prison this year

AUSTRALIEN - Kein Gefangener dieses Jahr

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Die Adressen, wohin ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche gehen können sind:-

DENMARK - DÄNEMARK

(1) Talsmændene,  
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Mårum, Danmark

(2) Talsmændene,  
Kompedallejren,  
Engesvang, Danmark

NORWAY - NORWEGEN

(1) Sivilarbeiderne i Havnås Leir,  
c/o Berge Furre, N.G.O.,  
St. Olavs gate 32,  
Oslo, Norge

(2) Sivilarbeiderne,  
Hustad Leir,  
Farstad, Norge

BELGIUM

SWEDEN

HOLLAND

ITALY

BELGIEN

SCHWEDEN

NIEDERLAND

ITALIEN

Names, if available, will follow on supplementary list to be sent out later.

Namen, falls erhältlich, werden mit einer vervollständigten Liste später folgen.

NORWAY - There are Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

NORWEGEN - Es sind Zeugen Jehovas in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

N O T E

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Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

## WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

deutsch

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

4 November 1959

Lieber Freund,

Friedensgefangenen Tag  
1 Dezember, 1959

Wir freuen uns Ihnen eine Ehrenliste der eingesperrten Dienstverweigerer einzusenden, zur Verwendung in Verbindung mit dem Friedensgefangenen Tag, 1 Dezember.

Bitte machen Sie den bestmoeglichen Gebrauch von dieser Information und dem Anlass selbst, denn wir wollen Friedensgefangenen Tag sich in einem solchen Ausmass sich entwickeln sehen, dass Regierungen ihn einfach nicht ignorieren koennen.

Wir machen Fortschritte in dieser Richtung. Jedes Jahr vermehrt sich die Anzahl der Teilnehmer, sowohl als das Ausmass der Publizierung, das man ihm zuwendet. In zumindest zwei Faellen war das Bestreben im vorigen Jahr, jeder Person auf der Ehrenliste 1000 Gruesse zukommen zu lassen, erreicht. Aber wir wissen unsere Bewegung ist imstande viel mehr zu tun. Der Internationale Versoehnungsband wird offiziell dieses Jahr die Sache unterstuetzen, und hat aufgerufen, den 1. Dezember zu einem Gebettag zu machen.

Zoegern Sie nicht um weitgehende Hilfe anzugehen, denn es sind nicht nur die Pazifisten die fuehlen dass Gewissensauflehnung zum Militaerdienst ein Recht des Menschen ist.

Bitte lassen Sie uns umgehend wissen, falls Sie weitere Kopien der Ehrenliste haben wollen, oder weitere Information.

Ihre Aufrichtigen

*Sheila A. Head May Way.*  
Sheila Head & May Way  
W.R.I. Personal

NB. Arlo Tatum ist in U.S.A. auf einer Vortragstour, und wird eine Friedensgefangenen Tag Demonstration zum United Nations Hauptquartier fuehren.

## PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

## HONOUR ROLL

## FRIEDENSGEFANGENEN TAG

## EHREN LISTE



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at Christmas Time 1959 and New Year 1960

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 Georges PERSONNAZ à Moirans, (Isère), France  
 Charles PHUL 52 Avenue du Docteur Jean, à Saintes, (Charente Maritime), France  
 Richard PRZYBYLSKI 6 rue de la Ferme, à St. Denis (Seine), France  
 Jean SANTERRE 12 rue de Bretagne, Mulhouse (Ht. Rhin), France  
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 René VAL à Maurecourt, par St. Quentin (Aisne), France  
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 Rex DUNHAM No. 89 H.M. Prison, St. Loyes Street, Bedford, England

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Federal Prison, Springfield, Mo., U.S.A.

John DECKER Charles Edgar GARRISON  
 " Bradford LITTLE

Federal Prison, Sandstone, Minnesota. U.S.A.

Ammon HENNACY Arthur HARVEY

Federal Prison, Allentown, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

Karl MEYER Jacob Weaver NOLT

Don FORTENBERRY Federal Prison Camp, Seagoville, Texas, U.S.A.  
 Ed LAZAR Federal Prison, Danbury, Connecticut, U.S.A.  
 Marjorie SWANN Federal Prison, Alderston, West Virginia, U.S.A.

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NORWAY - NORWEGEN

- (1) Sivilarbeiderne i Havnås Leir, c/o Berge Furre, N.G.O., St. Olavs gate 32, Oslo, Norge
- (2) Sivilarbeiderne, Hustad Leir, Farstad, Norge

BELGIUM

SWEDEN

HOLLAND

ITALY

BELGIEN

SCHWEDEN

NIEDERLAND

ITALIEN

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Institut für Völkergeschichte

12

## WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

Telephone  
LAEURNUM 3977

den 17. November 1959

WICHTIG

Lieber Freund,

Inliegend der Nachtrag zur Ehrenliste der gefangenen Kriegsgegner, mit Zusätzen und Aenderungen welche uns seit dem Versand der Hauptliste zugegangen sind.

Bitte vergessen Sie nicht dass diese Liste nur an Personen und Organisationen in Europa geschickt wird. Wir hoffen deshalb dass Sie sich besonders anstrengen werden um Karten an die Freunde deren Namen in der Liste enthalten sind zu schicken, denn sie werden weniger Glückwünsche erhalten.

Es wäre sehr freundlich von Ihnen wenn Sie uns wissen lassen würden was Sie aus Anlass des "Friedensgefangenen Tag" zu tun gedenken. Wir hoffen einen guten Bericht für den Kriegsgegner No.86 zu bekommen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Sheila A Head      May Way

Sheila Head & May Way

W.R.I.- Personal.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF WAR RESISTERS IN PRISON AT  
CHRISTMAS TIME 1959 and NEW YEAR 1960

.....

ED 717-16-37

LISTE SUPPLEMENTAIRE DE RÉSISTANTS À LA GUERRE QUI SE TROUVENT EN  
PRISON À NOËL 1959 ET AU NOUVEL AN 1960

.....

VERVOLLSTÄNDIGUNGSLISTE VON KRIEGSGEGNER, DIE WEIHNACHTEN  
1959 UND NEUJAHR 1960 IM GEFÄNGNIS SIND

.....

BELGIUM - BELGIQUE - BELGIEN

Marc GARCET Rue Istahelle, Eben-Emael, Belgique  
Jacques DEMAUDE Prison de Mons, Belgique

FRANCE - FRANKREICH

Please delete the following name from the first list, as  
the man has now been released from prison.

Effacez-vous le nom suivant Bitte streichen Sie in Ihrer  
s'il vous plaît parce que ersten Liste den folgenden  
l'homme a été libéré de prison. Namen; der Betreffende ist entlassen.

Léandre LETOQUART, Maison Centrale de Melun (Seine et Marne), France

GREAT BRITAIN - GRANDE BRETAGNE - GROSSBRITANNIEN

Please alter the number on the previous list to read:

Veillez changer le nombre Bitte ändern Sie die Nummer  
sur la première liste auf der Vorhergehenden  
comme suite: Liste in:

Rex DUNHAM, No. 891, H.M. Prison, St. Loyes Street, Bedford, England

HOLLAND - HOLLANDE - NIEDERLAND

Gerrit BUURMAN Apeldoorn, Mariastraat 80, Holland  
Gjalt VAN DER MEULEN Dokkum, Professor Huibertstraat 5, Holland  
Klaas VAN 'T VEER Zaandam, Westzanerdijk 95, Holland

There are 50-60 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses  
are not known.

Il y a 50-60 Témoins de Jehovah en prison. On ne connaît pas  
leurs adresses.

Es sind 50-60 Zeugen Jehovahs in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen  
sind unbekannt.

The addresses to which collective greetings may be sent are  
as follows:

Pour envoyer des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants d'un  
camp, on peut écrire aux adresses suivantes:

Die Adressen, wohin ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche gehen  
können sind:

- (1) Hylke Hoekstra, Rijks Psychiatrische Inrichtingen, Woensel, Eindhoven,  
Holland
- (2) Dienstweigeraarskamp, Vledder, Holland

-2-  
ITALY - ITALIE - ITALIEN

Caserma Sant'Angelo, Castello Angioino,  
Primo reparto, Gaeta, Italia

Renzo PASI

Rolando Larenzini PIPERNO

Enrico ZACCHERINI

Caserma Sant'Angelo, Castello Angioino, Terzo reparto, Gaeta, Italia

Fernando DE STEPHANIS

Antonio DI NARDO

Guerrino DI FURIA

Turio FRANCESCHETTI

Antonio BORGO

Via Rovereto 75, Schio (Vicenza), Italia

Alberto CORTINI

presso Cortini Italiana, Via S. Agelli 6, Ronco Forlì,  
Italia

Giuseppe GAZZOTTI

Via Mittarelli 32, Faeuza, Ravenna, Italia

Arnaldo QUAGLIA

Strada Circonvallazione, Castellamonte, (Torino),  
Italia

Angelo RAINERO

Via Savona No. 36, Asti, Italia

Ignazio TEPPATI

Manicomio Criminale, Aversa (Napoli), Italia

Giacomo TIMONCINI

Via G. C. Ceccarelli 30, Caiossi, Forlì, Italia

Giuseppe TIMONCINI

Via G. C. Ceccarelli 30, Caiossi, Forlì, Italia

SWEDEN - SÜEDE - SCHWEDEN

The addresses to which collective greetings may be sent are as follows:

Four envoyer des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants d'un camp, on peut écrire aux adresses suivantes:

Die Adressen, wohin ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche gehen können sind:

(1) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,  
Åsbro, Sverige.

(3) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,  
Universitetets  
skogsförvaltning,  
Uppsala, Sverige.

(2) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,  
Sunnanås,  
Gävle 1, Sverige.

(4) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,  
Revingehed,  
Sverige.

U.S.A. - ÉTATS-UNIS - VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Please add to the previous list:

Veuillez ajouter à la  
première liste:

Bitte hinzufügen zu der  
früheren Liste:

Marvin TAMARKIN

Federal Correctional Inst., Tallahassee, Florida,  
U.S.A.

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

ED 718-16-38

8th November, 1960

Dear Friend,

I have great pleasure in enclosing the Prisoners for Peace Day Honour Roll for December 1960 and I am sure that you will take every opportunity of expressing your sympathy and support for the young men in prison by sending Christmas greetings to as many of them as possible.

If demonstrations are being organised for Prisoners for Peace Day in your town I hope you will join in. In fact use any means at your disposal of acquainting the public of the plight of Prisoners for Peace.

The days of conscription in England, Australia and New Zealand are drawing to a close and we are very thankful for this. Unfortunately other countries are introducing conscription and in France the situation becomes steadily worse.

Again this year among the Prisoners for Peace in the United States are some who are serving sentences for taking non-violent action against weapons of mass destruction. It seems likely in the future that many more in other countries will suffer imprisonment for similar activities. We would ask you again to support those we have listed here and to keep in your thoughts countless Prisoners for Peace throughout the world whom we are unable to name.

Yours fraternally,

*Tony Smythe*  
Tony Smythe  
Assistant Secretary

## N.B. IMPORTANT TO FRENCH PRISONERS

Ordinary Christmas cards can be sent to the private addresses of French prisoners only. The prison authorities will now only allow C.O's to receive letters in sealed envelopes - only a greeting and the name and address of sender should be used, however.

THIS DOES NOT APPLY TO ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

If you should receive any of your cards back you may take it that the prisoners have been moved to other prisons or have been released. Alternatively, some prisons have been known to prevent C.O's from receiving greetings.

PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY 1960

## HONOUR ROLL

FRIEDENSGEFANGENEN TAG

## EHREN LISTE



Names and Addresses of War Resisters in Prison  
at Christmas Time 1960 and New Year 1961

Namen und Adressen von Kriegsgegnern, die Weihnachten  
1960 und Neujahr 1961 in Gefängnis sind

AUSTRALIA - AUSTRALIEN

As conscription has ended there are no C.O.'s in prison

Da die Aushebung ist zu Ende gebracht worden, sind es  
keine Kriegsdienstverweigerer ins Gefängnis

DENMARK - DANEMARKNameAddress - Adresse

Laurids LARSEN

Postbox 1, Nr. Snede, Denmark

(Other Danish war resisters are in two camps)

(Andre Dänische Kriegsdienstgegnern befinden sich in zwei Lägern)

The addresses to which collective greetings may be sent are as follows:  
Die Adressen, wohin ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche gehen können  
sind:

Tillidsmandene  
Gribskovlejren  
Maarum St.  
Denmark

Tillidsmandene  
Kompedallejren  
Engesvang St.  
Denmark

FINLAND - FINLAND

There are many Jehovah's Witnesses in a military camp on an island  
but the address is not known

Es sind viele Zeugen des Jehovas in einem militärischen Lager auf  
einer Insel aber die Anschrift ist unbekannt.

-2-  
ITALY - ITALIE - ITALIEN

Caserma Sant'Angelo, Castello Angioino,  
Primo reparto, Gaeta, Italia

Renzo PASI

Rolando Larenzini PIPERNO

Enrico ZACCHERINI

Caserma Sant'Angelo, Castello Angioino, Terzo reparto, Gaeta, Italia

Fernando DE STEPHANIS

Antonio DI NARDO

Guerrino DI FURIA

Turio FRANCESCHETTI

Antonio BORGO

Via Rovereto 75, Schio (Vicenza), Italia

Alberto CORTINI

presso Cortini Italiana, Via S. Agelli 6, Ronco Forlì,  
Italia

Giuseppe GAZZOTTI

Via Mitterelli 32, Faeuza, Ravenna, Italia

Arnaldo QUAGLIA

Strada Circonvallazione, Castellamonte, (Torino),  
Italia

Angelo RAINERO

Via Savona No. 36, Asti, Italia

Ignazio TEPPATI

Manicomio Criminale, Aversa (Napoli), Italia

Giacomo TIMONCINI

Via G. C. Ceccarelli 30, Caiossi, Forlì, Italia

Giuseppe TIMONCINI

Via G. C. Ceccarelli 30, Caiossi, Forlì, Italia

SWEDEN - SÜEDE - SCHWEDEN

The addresses to which collective greetings may be sent are as follows:

Four envoyer des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants d'un camp, on peut écrire aux adresses suivantes:

Die Adressen, wohin ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche gehen können sind:

(1) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,  
Åsbro, Sverige.

(3) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,  
Universitetets  
skogsförvaltning,  
Uppsala, Sverige.

(2) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,  
Sunnanås,  
Gävle 1, Sverige.

(4) Vapenfria Värnpliktiga,  
Revingehed,  
Sverige.

U.S.A. - ÉTATS-UNIS - VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Please add to the previous list:

Veuillez ajouter à la  
première liste:

Bitte hinzufügen zu der  
früheren Liste:

Marvin TAMARKIN

Federal Correctional Inst., Tallahassee, Florida,  
U.S.A.

- Michel GUITTARD 39 rue des Peupliers, Paris 13e, France
- Christian LABITTE 4 rue d'Alsace, Pontarlier, (Doubs), France
- Marcel COCHARD 62 rue des Minimes, Montmille. sur Saône, (A.M.), France
- Henri CHEYROUSE 47 rue Ganneron, Paris 18e, France
- François CHANECKA 23 rue Surcon, Bordeaux (Gironde), France
- Regis KESTELOOT 89 rue Pierre de Roubaix, (Nord), France
- Jean-Michel COCHARD Chemin de la Musse, Plessis-Cellier, Chatenay-Nantes (Loire Atlantique), France
- Paul SOULIAN 21 rue de Fresse, Fontainbleau (S. et M.), France
- Claude NEVEU 46 rue de Lys, Pont de Nieppe (Nord), France
- Lucien LATINI Bt. H.L.M rue Commandant Braine, Cantelonne-Villerupt, France
- Antoine ORENGO 6 route de Castelan, Menton (A.M.) France
- Alban LIECHTI 29 rue Rousselet, Paris 7e, France
- Charles PHUL 52 Avenue du Docteur, Jean-Saintes (C.M.), France
- Christian BERLEUX 23 rue de la Renaissance, Soissons (Aisne), France
- Jean FILON 27 Avenue de la Concorde, Sevran (S.O.), France
- André VIDAL 101 rue Douaumont, Mericourt, Pas de Calais, France
- Guido MILIANI Mancieulles (M. et M.), France
- Jean DYSMA 8 rue Thiers, Avion (Pas de Calais), France

Centre Penitencier d'Alger, 2 rue Volland, Algerie

- Benjamin COLARD René PEREZ
- Guy PONS Georges Termignon
- Roland YVARD

We have not been able to find either the private or prison addresses of the following conscientious objectors. You will not be able to send them Christmas greetings but we hope you will agree that their names should be listed as a token of our support.

Leider konnten wir weder die Privatadressen noch den Gefängnis-aufenthalt folgender Kriegsdienstverweigerer ausfindig machen. Man kann ihnen daher keine Weihnachtskarten senden; jedoch sind Sie sicher damit einverstanden, dass wir ihre Namen als Zeichen unserer Unterstützung veröffentlichen.

- Gilbert BOISTARD Pierre MONIER
- Pierre BRINIO Monsieur RAULT
- Jean SANTERRE André CESBRON
- Jacques CELER Georges MAUFRAN
- André GUYARD Serge BOUILLE
- Daniel AUCOURT Jean le MEUR
- Pierre GUYOT Jean CLAVEL
- Lucien FONTENEL Paul LEFEBVRE

There are both in France and Algeria many other objectors whose names and addresses we do not know.

Sowohl in Frankreich wie in Algerien sind viele andere Kriegsdienstverweigerer, deren Adressen uns nicht bekannt sind.

GREAT BRITAIN - GROSSERITANNIEN

None in prison this year  
Kein Gefangener dieses Jahr

-4-

HOLLAND - NIEDERLAND

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address - Adresse</u>
Gerrit BUURMAN	Apeldoorn, Mariastraat 80, Holland
Jan KAAT	Zaandijk, Karl Marxstraat 8, Holland
Robert BRONS	Amstelveen, van IJsselsteinlaan 30, Holland
Tinus MOLTHOOP	Nieuwe Pekela, Onstwedderweg 28, Holland

The addresses to which collective greetings may be sent are as follows:-  
Die Adressen, wohin ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche gehen können sind:-

Ruud van den Akker	Tristan Koomen
Dienstweigeraarskamp	Rijks Psychiatrische
Vliedder	Inrichtingen
Holland	Eindhoven, Holland

There are 50-60 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

Es sind 50-60 Zeugen Jehovas in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

ISRAEL - ISRAËL

None in prison this year  
Kein Gefangener dieses Jahr

ITALY - ITALIEN

Carcere Militare di Gaeta, Castello Angioino, Gaeta, Italy

ROCCO d'Angelo

Carcere Militare, Peschiera sul Garda, Italy

NELLO di Stefano

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address-Adresse</u>
Alberto CORTINI	Presso Italiana Cortini, Via S. Agelli 6, Ronco, Forli, Italy
Giacomo TIMONCINI	Via G.C. Ceccarelli 30, Caiossi (Forli), Italy
Giuseppe TIMONCINI	Via G.C. Ceccarelli 30, Caiossi (Forli), Italy
Stefano ALEMANNO	Via Generale Penna 4, Orti - Alessandria, Italy

NORWAY - NORWEGEN

The addresses to which collective greetings may be sent are as follows:-  
Die Adressen, wohin ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche gehen können sind:-

Sivilarbeiderne	Sivilarbeiderne
Den sivile arbeidstjeneste	Hustad Leir
Mysen, Norway	Farstad, Norway

There are Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.  
Es sind Zeugen Jehovas in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt.

U.S.A. - VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Federal Prison Camp, Allenwood, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

Levi I. HERSHBERGER	Daniel N. SWARTZENTRUBER
David W. MILLER	Eli J. MILLER
Benjamin C. YODER	"

Federal Correctional Institution, Sandstone, Minnesota, U.S.A.

Robert E. McGRATH ☆ Larry SHUMM

☆ Hiram HOLDRIDGE, Jr. ☆ Neil HAWORTH

☆ Omaha Action participants

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address - Adresse</u>
Hubert Dexine SPRINKLE	620B, Forest Street, Greensboro, N.C., U.S.A.

There are at least 56 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known

Es sind wenigstens 56 Zeugen Jehovahs in Gefangenschaft. Ihre Adressen sind unbekannt

---

BELGIUM	SWEDEN	SWITZERLAND
BELGIEN	SCHWEDEN	SCHWEIZ

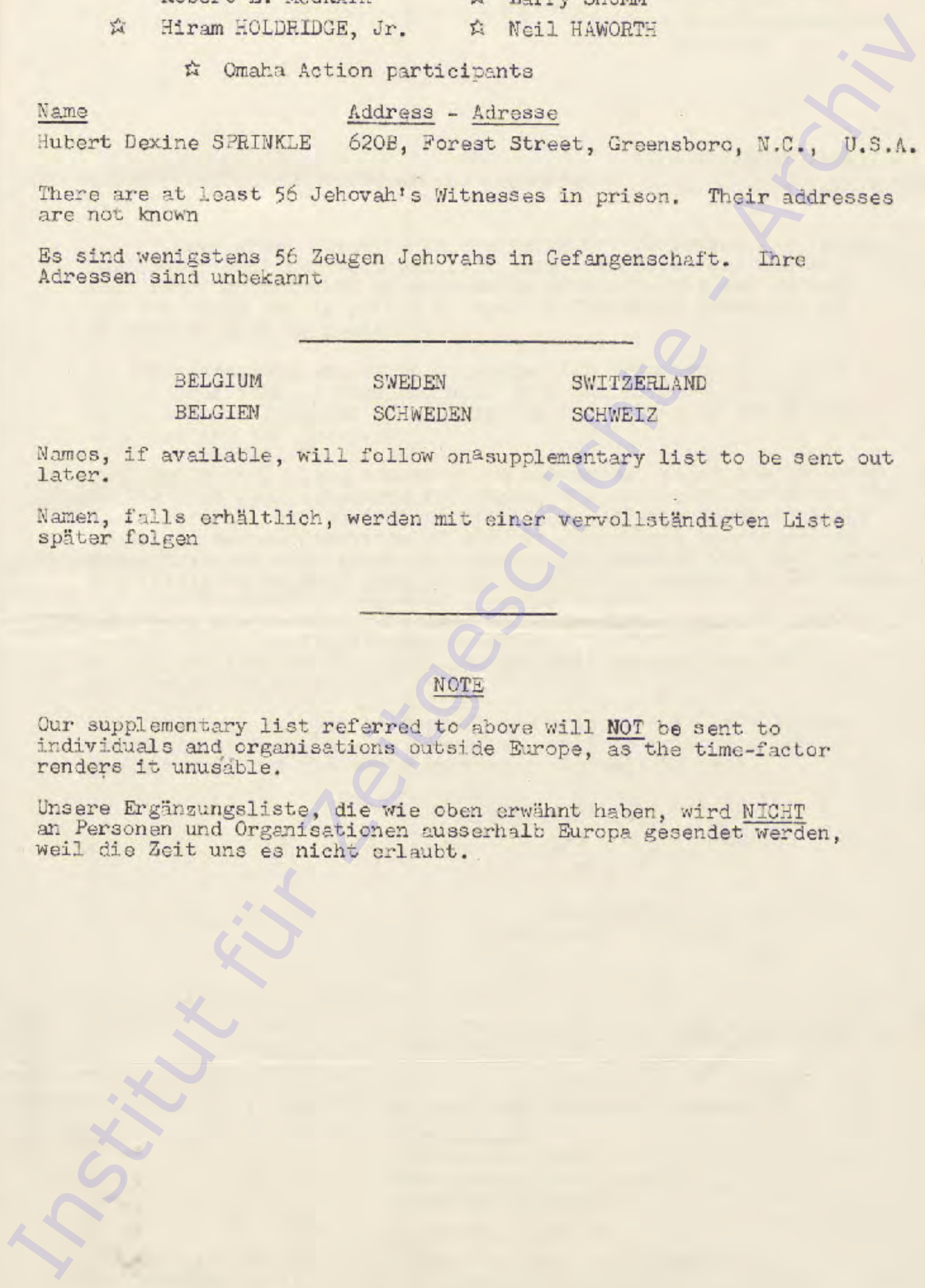
Names, if available, will follow on a supplementary list to be sent out later.

Namen, falls erhältlich, werden mit einer vervollständigten Liste später folgen

NOTE

Our supplementary list referred to above will NOT be sent to individuals and organisations outside Europe, as the time-factor renders it unusable.

Unsere Ergänzungsliste, die wie oben erwähnt haben, wird NICHT an Personen und Organisationen ausserhalb Europa gesendet werden, weil die Zeit uns es nicht erlaubt.



# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

ED 718-16-42

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

13th November, 1961.

Dear Friend,

I have great pleasure in enclosing the Prisoners for Peace Day Honour Roll for December 1961, and I am sure that you will take every opportunity of expressing your sympathy and support for the young men in prison by sending Christmas greetings to as many of them as possible.

If demonstrations are being organized for Prisoners for Peace Day in your town, I hope you will join in. In fact, use any means at your disposal of acquainting the public of the plight of Prisoners for Peace.

While in England conscription has ended, there are included on the list four Prisoners for Peace, who have been sentenced for their part in the non-violent civil disobedience demonstrations organized by the Committee of 100. The Committee is organizing demonstrations throughout the country on December 9th, and there are likely to be many more people in English prisons by Christmas.

Over the last year we have had some success in our campaign on behalf of the Yugoslavian Nazarenes. In future those who refuse military service will receive only one sentence of a maximum of six months.

We would ask you to support the prisoners we have listed here and to keep in your thoughts countless Prisoners for Peace throughout the world whom we are unable to name.

Yours fraternally,

*Tony Smythe*

Tony Smythe  
Assistant Secretary

*G. Grünig*

Die W.R.I. hat für Ihr Land zum Kassierer ernannt:

Karl Struve,  
für War Resister,  
Neue Sparkasse v. 1864,  
Hamburg-Bergedorf,  
Girokonto 34/35161

Es wird für Sie vielleicht bequemer sein, Ihre Spenden an ihn zu senden. Bezeichnen Sie sie bitte deutlich "Für die War Resisters' International"

1961

**PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY**  
**LA JOURNEE DES PRISONNIERS POUR LA PAIX**  
**FRIEDENSGEFANGENEN TAG**

**1st December 1 décembre 1 Dezember**

**HONOUR ROLL**  
**LA LISTE D'HONNEUR**  
**EHREN LISTE**

Names and Addresses of War Resisters in Prison at Christmas-time 1961 and New Year 1962.

Noms et Adresses de Résistants à la Guerre qui se trouvent en prison à Noël 1961 et au Nouvel An 1962.

Names und Adressen von Kriegsgegnern, die Weihnachten 1961 und Neujahr 1962 im Gefängnis sind.

\* Jehovah's Witness

\* Témoin de Jéhovah

\* Zeugen Jehovahs

**FRANCE — FRANCE — FRANKREICH**

*Prison Militaire, 2e Régiment, RAMA, Castres (Tarn) France*

Jean-Pierre Hemon

*Maison d'arrêt, Loos les Lits, France*

André Feret (Cellule 18, Section D)

Luc Monnier

*Prison de Loos (Nord), France*

\* Pierre Brinio  
Francis Cardon

Yves Dubouch  
Albert Fasquelle

Antoine Golabeck  
\* Régis Kesteloot

Anthème Laurence  
Gérard Segard

*L'Etape, domaine de la Trevaresse, Rognes (B.d.R.), France*

\* Charles Actis  
\* Marius Banaszek,  
André Biervaque  
\* Gilbert Boistard  
\* Daniel Cibrarion

\* Claude Dewitte  
\* Frédéric Diedrich

\* Bernard Gabel  
Gérard Manceau

\* Jean-Marie Ochenowski

\* Edmond Micazwinski

\* Pierre Perron

\* Richard Przybylski

\* Christian Pylveteau

\* Gérard Quevilly

\* Marc Seignobos  
\* Georges Termignon  
\* Michel Terray  
\* Gérard Thomas  
\* Jean Ullicl

*Bâtiment A., Marseille-Mazargues, B. du R., France*

René Nazon (Cellule 2.25)

*Sanatorium de Liancourt, Liancourt (Oise), France*

Antoine Orengo

*Maison d'arrêt, 18 Grande rue St. Michel, Toulouse (Haute Garonne), France*

Jean Lagrave Jean Pezet

Eric Pot

*Prison de Fresnes (Seine), France*

Sylvain Carrel  
Henri Cheyrouse

\* Jean-Michel Cochard  
Michel Duran

Roland Lebreton  
M. Ohrant

*Fort du Hâ, Bordeaux (Gironde), France*

Georges Cherau

André Bernard

*Abbaye de Tanquant, Fontevrault (Maine et Loire), France*

\* Raymond Daguenet                      \* Dominique Rezer                      \* André Vidal

*Prison de Rennes, Bld. Jacques Cartier, Rennes (I. et V.), France*

\* Robert Bengin                      \* Jacques Celer                      \* Joseph Fioravanzo                      \* Jean-Paul Hoerberle  
\* Jean Biglione                      \* Jean Compte                      \* Jean-Claude Francois                      \* Pierre Lorenzini

*Prison de Poitiers, Poitiers, France*

\* Guy Brzyszczy

*Prison des Baumettes, Marseilles (B.d.R.), France*

Valentin-Mario Colomba                      René Nazon

*Maison d'Arrêt, 1 rue Maurice Barrès, Metz (Moselle), France*

Paul Grosz                      \* Bernard Vanbaelinghem

*Caserne Donop, Nancy, France*

Michel Hanniet

*Fort de Montluc, Lyon (Rhône), France*

Janura Jaroslaw

*Prison de Reims, Reims, France*

\* Vladislav Palucki

*Prison du Cambout, Metz (Moselle), France*

\* René Philippo                      \* Moise Vivien  
\* Jean Posluszny, 17 bis Place (du Champ de Foire, Limoges (Hte-Vienne) France  
Paul Actis, 1 rue du Tonkin, Villeurbanne, France  
François Chancka, 23 rue Surcon, Bordeaux (Gironde), France  
Paul Colas-Berna, 24 rue Soleysel, Saint-Etienne (Loire), France  
\* Guy Grosmann, 8 rue Hargaut, Lunèville (M. et M.), France  
\* Charles Lambrecht, 4 rue Philippe Delorme, Roubaix (Nord), France  
\* Lucien Latini, H.L.M. rue du Cdt Braine, Cantelonne-Villerupt (Moselle), France  
Alban Liehti, 29 rue Rousselet, Paris 7ème, France  
\* Jean-Claude Mozer, 17 rue Molière, Montreuil-sur-Seine, France  
Claude Neveu, 46 rue des Lys, Pont de Nieppe (Nord), France  
\* Daniel Peter, 8 rue de l'Hippodrome, Villeurbanne, France  
Charles Phul, 52 Avenue du Docteur Jean, Saintes (Ch.M.), France  
Joël Rault, 7 rue Barbès, Beaucaire (Gard), France  
\* Paul Soulian, 21 rue de Presse, Fontainebleau (S. et M.), France

We have not been able to secure the private or prison addresses of the following conscientious objectors. You will, therefore, not be able to send them Christmas greetings, but you will surely share our opinion that the names should be given as a sign of our support.

Nous n'avons pu trouver ni les adresses particulières ni les adresses des prisons, des objecteurs de conscience dont les noms suivent. Par conséquent vous ne pourrez leur envoyer des salutations pour Noël, mais vous serez sûrement de notre avis qu'il faut en donner les noms en signe d'appui.

Leider konnten wir weder die Privatadressen noch den Gefängnisaufenthalt folgender Kriegsdienstverweigerer ausfindig machen. Man kann ihnen daher keine Weihnachtskarten senden; jedoch sind Sie sicher damit einverstanden, dass wir ihre Name als Zeichen unserer Unterstützung veröffentlichen.

Daniel Aucourt	Benjamin Collard	Christian Marena	René Rocher
Jacques Alexandre	Jean Dauvergne	Georges Maufren	Domingo Rodriguez
André Badzek	Claude Francois	Pierre Michau	Gilbert Schmitz
* Gérard Beauvils	Robert Greard	François Michel	Robert Simeon
Yves Bel	Rodolphe Guichard	Jean-Louis Moritz	Jean Vendart
Gilbert Bleveis	André Guyard	Edgar Nehou	Claude Voisin
André Bouaidar	Pierre Guyot	Jacques Nourri	Claude Voron
Michel Bourgeois	René Huyh	René Perez	Roland Yvard
René Boyer	* Gilbert Lorenzini	Guy Pons	Christian Fiquet
Jean Bruet-Mochet	* Yves Lorenzini	Francis Renda	Maxime Mignerat
André Cesbron			

ED 7-11-10-41

## GREAT BRITAIN — GRANDE BRETAGNE — GROSSBRITANNIAN

*H.M. Prison, Drake Hall, Eccleshall, Staffs.*

Hugh Bliss

*H.M. Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, London, S.W.2.*

George Clark

*H.M. Prison, Holloway, London, N.7*

Carol Farrow

*H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubbs, Du Cane Road, London, W.12*

Robert Gould

## HOLLAND — HOLLANDE — HOLLAND

Robert Brons, IJsselsteomstraat 30, Amstelveen, Holland

Henk Bok, Camstrawei 33, Firdgum (Friesland) Holland

Piet de Heer, Driehuizen B 56, Stompetoren, Holland

Edo Reijnders, Trompstraat 24, Oldenzaal, Holland

## SWITZERLAND — SUISSE — SCHWEIZ

*Etablissements pénitentiaires de Bochuz, Orbe, Switzerland*

André Pache

*Prison de St. Antoine, Genève, Switzerland*

Alain Charrotton

Gérald Jousson, 14 Luserna, Genève, Switzerland

## U.S.A. — ETATS-UNIS — VEREINIGTE STAATEN

*Federal Correctional Institution, Allenwood, Pa., U.S.A.*

Levi L. Herschberger

*Federal Correctional Institution, Chillicothe, Ohio, U.S.A.*

Donald Bruce Reed

*Federal Correctional Institution, Ashland, Kentucky, U.S.A.*

Donald Martin

*Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Connecticut, U.S.A.*

William Henry

*Federal Correctional Institution, Terminal Island, Calif., U.S.A.*

Stanley L. Rhodes

## BELGIUM — BELGIQUE — BELGIEN

There are 30 conscientious objectors in prison. Their names and addresses are not known.

Il y a 30 objecteurs de conscience en prison. On ne connaît pas leurs noms et adresses.

Es sind 30 Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Gefängnis. Ihre Namen und Adressen sind unbekannt.

The addresses to which collective greetings may be sent are as follows:—

Pour envoyer des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants d'un camp, on peut écrire aux adresses suivantes:—

Die Adressen, wohin ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche gehen können sind:—

## DENMARK — DANEMARK — DANEMARK

Tillidsmaendene

Gribskovlejren

Maarum st.

Denmark

Tillidsmaendene

Kompedellejren

Engesvang st.

Denmark

## HOLLAND — HOLLANDE — HOLLAND

De Raad van Gewetensbezwaarden (Bauke Kootstra)

Rijks Psychiatrische Inrichtingen

Woensel,

Eindhoven, Holland

Dienstweigeraars

Kamp Vledder

Vledder

Holland

## NORWAY — NORVEGE — NORWEGEN

Sivilarbeiderne  
Hustad Leir  
Farstad  
Norway

Sivilarbeiderne  
Den sivile arbeidstjeneste  
Mysen  
Norway

## SWEDEN — SUEDE — SCHWEDEN

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Sunnanås  
Gävle 1  
Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
S.-J.-skolan  
Revingehed, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Oskar-Fredriksborg  
Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Lt., Fack 50,  
Brandkåren  
Stockholm-Arlanda  
Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Björkö  
Adelsö  
Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Asbro  
Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Garnisonsbrandkåren  
Boden 19, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Brandstationen  
Lfv.  
Bromma 10  
Sweden

## WEST GERMANY — ALLEMAGNE L'OUEST — WEST DEUTSCHLAND

An die Mitglieder der Staatlichen  
Zivildienstgruppe,  
Bonn-Venusberg,  
Universitäts-Kliniken,  
Germany

An die Mitglieder der Staatlichen  
Zivildienstgruppe,  
Tübingen,

Universitäts-Kliniken,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Goddelau-Ehrfelden,

Heil- und Pflegeanstalt,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Werner Kappler,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden,

Remscheid-Lüttringhausen,  
Evang. Krankenanstalten Stiftung Tannenhof,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Rolf Jürgensen,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden beim Deutschen  
Roten Kreuz,

Bonn-Lengsdorf,  
D.R.K.-Hauptlager, Hauptstrasse,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Fritz Grömping,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden beim Bayrischen  
Roten Kreuz,

Ebenhausen bei Ingolstadt,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Hans-Christian Lembke,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden beim Deutschen  
Roten Kreuz,

Wolffhagen/Hessen,

D.R.K.-Hilfszug,

z. Hd. von (c/o) Eghard Müller,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden,

Neuenkirchen über Bremen-Vegesack,  
Evang. Hospital,

z. Hd. von (c/o) Gerhard Koesling,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden,

Westerland/Sylt,

Nordseeklinik,

z. Hd. von (c/o) Erik O. Fritzenwalder,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden,

Bad Hersfeld/Hessen,

Kreiskrankenhaus,

z. Hd. von (c/o) Klaus Cassuben,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden,

Bethel bei Bielefeld/Westfalen,

v. Bodelschingsche Anstalten,

z. Hd. von (c/o) Jürden Voss,  
Germany

An die Mitglieder der Zivildienstgruppe der  
Nothelfergemeinschaft der Freunde,

Frankfurt/Main,

Germany

6. 12. 61

INTERNATIONALE DER KRIEGSDIENSTLEGNER

Deutscher Zweig der War Resisters' International

Gegr. 1921 - vertreten in 89 Ländern der Erde

Präsident d. Deutschen Zweiges: D. Martin Niemöller

Ehrenmitglied: Nobelpreisträger Prof. Linus Pauling USA.

Ortsverband Essen-Werden (Alois Stoff)

Essen-Werden, d. 25.11.61

Eiffmannstr. 4

Tel. 49 29 22

Sehr geehrte Dame! Sehr geehrter Herr!  
Liebe Freunde!

Dieser Kundbrief soll einiges über unsere Arbeit aussagen, sowie um jegliche Unterstützung der Friedensarbeit aller Bereitwilligen bitten. Zunächst möchten wir allen für die geleistete Unterschrift zum Appell Prof. Paulings "Keine Weitergabe von Atomwaffen" danken. Es wurden spontan mehr als 5000 Unterschriften abgegeben. Dank der eingegangenen Spenden konnten die Unkosten der Vortragsreise Prof. Paulings bis auf einen Restbetrag über DM 700,- in ihrer Gesamthöhe beglichen werden.

Einweis: Wer es vom Land Nordrhein-Westfalen einrichten kann, den rufen wir auf, am 2. Dezember 1961, 16.30 Uhr in Essen-West auf dem Bahnhofsvorplatz

im Rahmen eines Fackelzuges für die Einstellung aller Atombombenversuche, für allgemeine totale Abrüstung, für das Leben der Welt, für eine atomwaffenfreie Zone und endlich für den Abschluß eines Friedensvertrages mit Deutschland nach 16 Jahren Kriegsende, zu demonstrieren. Auch bei sehr schlechtem Wetter bitten wir um starke Beteiligung. Diese Demonstration ist gleichzeitig eine Parallelkundgebung zu den Sternmärschen der Friedensfreunde in Kanada "Christmas March for life". Durch rege Anteilnahme aller Friedensfreunde soll diese Aktion ein mahndes Gewissen werden für alle verantwortlichen Staatsmänner in Ost und West. Die ausländischen Fernsehstationen werden insofern für ein weltweites Echo dieses Friedensappelles Sorge tragen. Wir bitten, im Sinne der Losungen Transparente anzufertigen. Fackeln zum Preis von DM 1,- an Ort. Die Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft beteiligt sich am Aufruf zur Fackeldemonstration.

Der 1. Dezember ist für uns der Gedenktag für die inhaftierten Kriegsdienstverweigerer.

Am 14. November wurde ein kath. Jugendleiter wegen Nichtbeachtens eines Stellungsbefehles zu 1 Jahr Gefängnis verurteilt. Vorher war er sechs Wochen Einzelhaft.

In Kevelaar sind bei einem Wehrdienstverweigerer im Zeitraum von sechs Wochen fünfmal Polizeibeamte gewaltsam eingedrungen, nachdem das Gehöft umstellt war. Sie hatten weder einen richterlichen Durchsuchungsbefehl noch einen Haftbefehl.

Ein Mitglied der IdK, Hermann Weidlich, Datteln, wurde am 13. Okt. 1961 vom Dortmunder Gericht zu 18 Monaten Gefängnis verurteilt. Weidlich ist ein aktiver Antimilitarist.

In Zuge der weiteren Kriegsvorbereitung sollen jetzt sämtliche Kraftfahrzeuge für den Tag X registriert werden. Aus Gründen der Konsequenz kann es für die IdK keinen Zweifel unterliegen, daß jedes IdK-Mitglied dieser Aufforderung keinesfalls Folge leisten kann. Man wird nicht auf der einen Seite aus moralischen, ethischen und sonstigen Gründen den Kriegsdienst verweigern und auf der anderen Seite durch Zurverfügungstellung der Kraftfahrzeuge den Kriegsvorbereitungen Vorschub leisten. Jeder Autobesitzer kann bei Herrn Gerhard Ralle, München 23, Gedenstr. 10, Plaketten "Kein Automobil bleibt zivil" zum Preise von DM 1,- bestellen.

Wir befinden uns in der Bundesrepublik in einem Stadium der Kriegsvorbereitung. Wer dabei tatenlos zusieht, unterstützt das und macht sich mitschuldig. Wir müssen aufgrund der derzeitigen "Verteidigungs"-Anstrengungen an folgendes erinnern: Als Deutschland 1945, nachdem der "größte Feldherr aller Zeiten" die ganze Welt in ein grauenhaftes Chaos gestürzt hatte, bedingungslos kapitulieren mußte, waren sich die Alliierten darin einig, daß der deutsche Militarismus für alle Zeit

aus der Welt geschafft werden müsse. Darals galten die Deutschen, die unter vielen anderen Kriegen auch den Ausbruch der beiden Weltkriege verschuldet hatten, als Kriegsverbrecher, als unverbesserliche Militaristen. 10 Jahre später hatten die gleichen "Alliierten" die gleichen Säbelrasseler zu Verbündeten und inzwischen zur größten Kriegsmacht Europas ausgebaut, was nicht nur bei unseren Todfeinden (nach Bundeskanzler Adenauer), sondern auch bei unseren "Verbündeten", den gestrigen "Erbfeinden" wegen der schon sprichwörtlichen traditionellen deutschen Kriegslüsterheit schwerste Bedenken hervorgerufen hat. Was aber den letzten Rest eines früher vielleicht noch irgendwo vorhanden gewesenen Moralbegriffs auslöscht, ist die Aufstellung zweier deutscher Heere gegeneinander, wozu der Herr Bundespräsident Lübke, dem das Wohl des ganzen Volkes oberstes Gesetz sein muß, vor Offizieren und Beamten der Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr erklärt: "Ein Soldat der Bundeswehr kann in die Lage kommen, einmal gegen seine eigenen Landsleute kämpfen zu müssen", das heißt also, daß nicht nur Deutsche sich gegenseitig umbringen, sondern nahestehende Verwandte sich im Kriegsfall feindlich gegenüberstehen und sich abschlagen müssen. - - -

Die IdK-Gruppe Essen-Werden wandte sich in einem Protestschreiben an Ministerpräsident de Gaulle gegen die Gewaltmethoden der französischen Algerienpolitik. Das algerische Volk hat einen Anspruch auf Selbstbestimmung. Die Ermordung, Folterung und Verfolgung von Menschen sind einzustellen. Unsere Bundesrepublik hat sich das Recht genommen, gegen Verbrechen des Ostens hysterisch zu schreien und die Augen vor den Verbrechen ihres christlichen Natopartners, Frankreich, zu verschließen. So sind z. B. in Paris 60 Algerier mit Steinen um den Hals bestialisch ertränkt worden. Millionen Algerier leiden in Konzentrationslagern. Wir empfehlen, weitere Protestschreiben an de Gaulle zu richten.

Am 7.10. führten wir einen Demonstrationzug von Bonn nach Godesberg durch mit der Hauptforderung: Einstellung aller Atombombenversuche und Westberlin als Sitz der UNO. Den Botschaften der vier Großmächte wurde in einem Schreiben die Forderung vorgelegt, die UNO nach Westberlin zu verlegen.

Aufklärung unseres Volkes auf breitester Grundlage tut not. Folgende Bücher und Broschüren können durch uns bezogen werden:

	Preis
1. Ist die allgemeine Wehrpflicht demokratisch, christlich, sozialistisch v. Prof. Dr. Franz Rauhut	DM 0,50
2. Wehrpflicht und Kriegsdienstverweigerung Herausgeber:	Friedensrundschau DM 0,20
3. 99 Fragen für Kriegsdienstverweigerer	Dr. Walter Lidl DM 1,--
4. Wer ist die IdK	Friedensrundschau DM 0,10
5. Ratgeber für Wehrdienstverweigerer	Prof. Rauhut DM 0,30
6. Scheidung der Geister und der Wege	Friedensrundschau DM 0,20
7. ABC der Kriegsdienstverweigerung	" DM 0,50
8. Wenn wir den Krieg nicht abschaffen, wird der Krieg uns abschaffen	Philip Noel-Baker M.P. DM 0,50
9. Notdienst und Grundgesetz	Verlag Konkret Prof. Ridder DM 0,10
10. Gewissen und Kriegsdienstverweigerung	Dr. Michaltscheff DM 0,10
11. Nicht zu diesem Preis (Verteidigung der Demokratie)	" " DM 0,10
12. Kriegsdienstverweigerung als moralische Pflicht und soziale Aufgabe	" " DM 0,30
13. Feigheit und Kriegsdienstverweigerung	Friedensrundschau DM 0,10
14. Der gewaltlose Kampf und seine Mittel	" DM 0,50
15. Krieg, Kriegsdienst, Ersatzdienst	" DM 1,--

16. Gewissen vor dem Prüfungsausschuß Teil I	Friedensrundschau	DM 0,60
17. Gewissen vor dem Prüfungsausschuß Teil II	"	DM 0,60
18. Die Friedensrundschau (nicht zeitgebunden mit aktuellen Aufsätzen)		DM 0,60-0,80
19. Das Bildbuch um Martin Niemöller "Der Mann in der Brandung"	Verlag: Stimme d. Gemeinde	DM 14,--
20. Leben oder Tod im Atomzeitalter	Nobelpreisträger Prof. Pauling	DM 12,--

Des weiteren empfehlen wir die Tageszeitung "Westdeutsches Tageblatt", Dortmund, Westenhellweg 9 1/2. Bei Postzustellung Monatspreis DM 4,54; sie ist eine der wenigen Tageszeitungen, die nicht den Kalten Krieg propagiert und sich somit nicht der ideologischen Kriegsvorbereitung schuldig macht.

Als Monatszeitschrift möchten wir die Bildillustrierte "Pro Die Liga" zum Preis von DM 1,-- sowie die Friedensrundschau zum Preis von DM 0,90 monatlich empfehlen.

Weiterhin sollen neue Einzelmitglieder für die IdK geworben werden und Möglichkeiten für die Gründung von neuen Gruppen der IdK erkundet werden. Der Monatsbeitrag beträgt lt. Bundeskonferenz am 14.10.61 DM 2,--.

Die auswärtigen Einzelmitglieder zahlen ihren Beitrag auf Postscheckkonto Essen 143464, Werner Weber, Essen-Werden, Brückstr. 8. Wer nicht Mitglied werden will, uns aber unterstützen möchte, den bitten wir um Förderungsbeiträge für Aktionen ebenfalls auf Konto Weber. Noch nicht abgerechnete Karten für Pauling-Kundgebung auf dieses Konto einzahlen.

Die IdK-Gruppe Werden dankte dem Botschafter Kroll für seinen politischen Alleingang. Man muß den Frieden wagen.

Falls die Atombombenversuche nicht eingestellt werden, beabsichtigen wir, als nächstes auch vor der amerikanischen Botschaft zu demonstrieren. Je zweimal demonstrierten wir vor der franz. u. sowj. Botschaft gegen alle Atombombenversuche. Dazu haben wir ein Recht, da wir gleiches auch bei den Amerikanern durchführen.

Prof. Harder spricht in der Mitgliederversammlung am 2.1.62 in Essen, Gaststätte Figge um 19.30 Uhr.

Weiterhin werden Unterschriften für den Appell Prof. Linus Pauling dankend entgegen genommen. Wir bitten Sie, uns hierbei zu helfen. Zur Erleichterung der Arbeit legen wir ein Formular bei.

Wir sprechen nochmals die Bitte aus, nach Möglichkeit am 2.12. an der Fackeldemonstration in Essen teilzunehmen.

Zum Schluß möchten wir allen danken für die ideale sowie finanzielle Unterstützung unserer Arbeit. Die Friedensarbeit hat uns allen große Aufgaben gestellt, die wir auch bewältigen, wenn wir viele aktive Kräfte gewinnen können. Aber auch eine ideale und nicht zuletzt finanzielle Unterstützung ist dazu nötig. Deshalb erbitten wir Spenden auf das Postscheckkonto Essen 143464, Werner Weber, Essen-Werden, Brückstr. 8.

Mit freundlichem Gruß  
gez. A. Stoff

ED 7-12-16-47

INTERNATIONALE DER KRIEGSDIENSTGEGNER  
Deutscher Zweig der War Resisters' International

Beitrittserklärung

Der Krieg ist ein Verbrechen an der Menschheit. Ich bin daher entschlossen, keine Art von Krieg, weder direkt noch indirekt, zu unterstützen und an der Beseitigung aller Kriegsursachen mitzuarbeiten.

....., den ..... (Eigenhändige Unterschrift)

Beitragshöhe: .....  
Beruf: ..... Anschrift: .....  
Familienstand: .....  
Geburtsdatum: .....  
Geburtsort: .....  
Eintrittsdatum ..... Ruf: .....  
(Name u. Anschrift i. Blockschrift)

Auszug aus der Satzung der IdK

Die Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner - IdK - ist weder an irgendeine Partei noch an ein Glaubensbekenntnis gebunden. Sie steht auf dem Boden der allgemeinen Menschenrechte, tritt für friedliche Lösungen von Konflikten ein und lehnt jede Unterdrückung des Gewissens ab.

Mitglied der IdK können Männer und Frauen über 17 Jahre oder im wehrpflichtigen Alter werden, die vorbehaltlos vorstehende Erklärung unterschreiben.

Die Höhe des Mitgliedsbeitrages bestimmt das Mitglied entsprechend seinem Einkommen. Der Mindestbeitrag ist 2,-- DM monatlich. In Härtefällen kann der Beitrag auf Antrag herabgesetzt werden.

Die IdK stellt jedem Mitglied gegen Einsendung eines Paßbildes und 1,-- DM einen Mitgliedsausweis aus. Er ist Eigentum der IdK und muß ihr beim Erlöschen der Mitgliedschaft zurückerstattet werden.

Ein Mitglied kann ausgeschlossen werden:

- a) wenn es gegen die Grundsätze der IdK verstößt,
- b) wenn es durch sein Verhalten das Ansehen der IdK schädigt,
- c) wenn es seine Beiträge 1 Jahr lang ohne ausreichenden Grund nicht bezahlt hat.

Wir arbeiten weder einseitig mit dem Osten gegen den Westen noch mit dem Westen gegen den Osten.

Wir unterstützen aber jeden Vorschlag für eine totale Abrüstung aus Ost und West.

Bitte in Druckschrift ausfüllen

Name: ..... Anschrift: .....

Mitglied IdK: ja/nein      Tel.: .....      PKW: ja/nein

Ich bestelle folgende(s) Broschüre/Buch laufende Nr. lt. Rundschreiben:  
.....

Ich abonniere ab ..... das Westdeutsche Tageblatt (Tageszeitung).

Ich abonniere ab ..... Die Liga, Zeitschrift f. Völkerverständigung.

Ich abonniere ab ..... Die Friedensrundschau.

Ich möchte Mitglied der IdK werden und fülle unseitige Beitrittserklärung aus. Ja/Nein

IdK-Gruppen-Bildung möglich in: .....  
(dazu 7 Mitglieder erforderlich)

Ich würde mich an einem Sitzprotest im Ruhrgebiet für totale Abrüstung und für die Einstellung aller Atombombenversuche beteiligen. Ja/Nein

Bitte um Benachrichtigung, wenn ein Autokorso oder eine Demonstration durchgeführt wird. Ja/Nein (Zutreffendes unterstreichen).

Möchte aktiv oder finanziell die Arbeit unterstützen.

Bitte angeben, wer von bis wann und an welchem Ort seinen Ersatzdienst leistet.  
.....

Es ist mir möglich, an Ostermarsch 1962 teilzunehmen.

Karsamstag: Ja/Nein      Derselbe beginnt für das Ruhrgebiet  
1. Ostertag: Ja/Nein      Karsamstag morgens in Duisburg. Näheres  
2. Ostertag: Ja/Nein      wird noch bekanntgegeben.

Für die Arbeit der IdK bzw. des Friedens gebe ich folgende Anregung/Kritik:  
(Kurzfassung) .....

Folgende Personen würden sich für die Friedensarbeit interessieren:  
.....

Ich/Wir unterstütze(n) den Friedensappell Prof. Linus Pauling, USA:  
"Keine Weitergabe von Atomwaffen"

(Name)

(Beruf)

(Wohnort)

(Wohnung)

bitte wenden!

INTERNATIONALE DER KRIEGSDIENSTGEGNER  
Ortsverband Werden (Alois Stoff)

ED 712 - 16-48  
E.-Werden, Dat. d. Poststempels  
Eiffmannstr. 4  
Tel. 49 29 22

Sehr geehrte Dame, sehr geehrter Herr!

Wie Sie vielleicht schon erfahren haben, gelang es uns, Prof. Dr. Linus Pauling für eine Vortragsreise in der Bundesrepublik am 12./13./14. und 15. September in Hamburg, Frankfurt, Essen und München zu gewinnen.

In diesem Zusammenhang können wir weiter mitteilen, daß bereits über 5000 Unterschriften für den Appell: "Keine Weitergabe von Atomwaffen" abgegeben wurden. Wir danken auch Ihnen für die geleistete Unterschrift.

Durch Spendeneinnahmen konnten bis auf einen Restbetrag von DM 900,-- die Unkosten der Vortragsreise in Höhe von DM 5.000,-- gedeckt werden. Erwarten wir zuviel, wenn wir Sie um einen Beitrag zur Deckung der restlichen Unkosten sowie für die weitere Friedensarbeit bitten? Wenn Sie uns helfen wollen, der drohenden Kriegsgefahr entgegenzutreten, so überweisen Sie bitte den Betrag, der Ihnen möglich ist, auf das Postscheckkonto Essen 1434 64 Werner Weber, Essen-Werden, Brückstr. 8. Der kleinste Betrag ist eine große Hilfe.

Wir hoffen, Sie nicht vergeblich gebeten zu haben und zeichnen mit dem Ausdruck vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner  
gez. A. Stoff

~~X~~ Aufzug zum Sitzprotokoll  
Duisburg 9. 12. 67

(meist ldk)

= beim Gew. Abt.<sup>4</sup>

**Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner  
Ortsgruppe Essen-Werden**

**Alois Stoff**

Heidhauser Straße 89 • Postscheckkonto Essen 122279  
Organisation Nordrhein-Westfalen



Ahem  
Alois Maunier  
Grouchy Straße / M  

---

Bunroyst. 47 II

ED 718-16-50

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone: LABURNUM 3977 Telegraphic Address: NOFRONTIER, ENFIELD

HAROLD F. BING, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., *Chairman*  
HAGBARD JONASSEN, M.A., Ph.D., *Vice-Chairman*  
JOYCE RUNHAM BROWN, *Hon. Treasurer*

LANSBURY HOUSE  
88, PARK AVENUE  
ENFIELD, MIDDX., ENGLAND

~1.62

Dear Friend

Our ability to wage peace is, fortunately, not proportional to the amount of money at our disposal; the truth of the pacifist case and the goodwill of our members remain the most powerful weapons in our hands. In them lies the hope of victory at a time when defeat holds out a grim prospect for all classes, all creeds, all nations and, indeed, for humanity itself. Nevertheless, the barest practical needs of our International must be provided for and in 1962 we again look to you to help us.

The modern State extorts money from its unwilling citizens who are discouraged from asking questions about the uses to which it will be put. They cannot say NO and refuse to pay. You can say NO to the W.R.I. but you never have, and the continuation of our struggle is dependent on this. You do have control over the deployment of our resources and the wishes of each contributor are given every consideration. You can ask questions and we are only too happy to answer them.

We are using the opportunity presented by this Annual Appeal to reprint the Declaration Folder of the W.R.I. Some of you will have seen it before. Others have not. In it you will find the tasks we have set ourselves, tasks which are vital in the struggle for peace and the establishment of non-violent principles in the organisation of society. We hope you will give the folder to a friend who should take an active interest in our work.

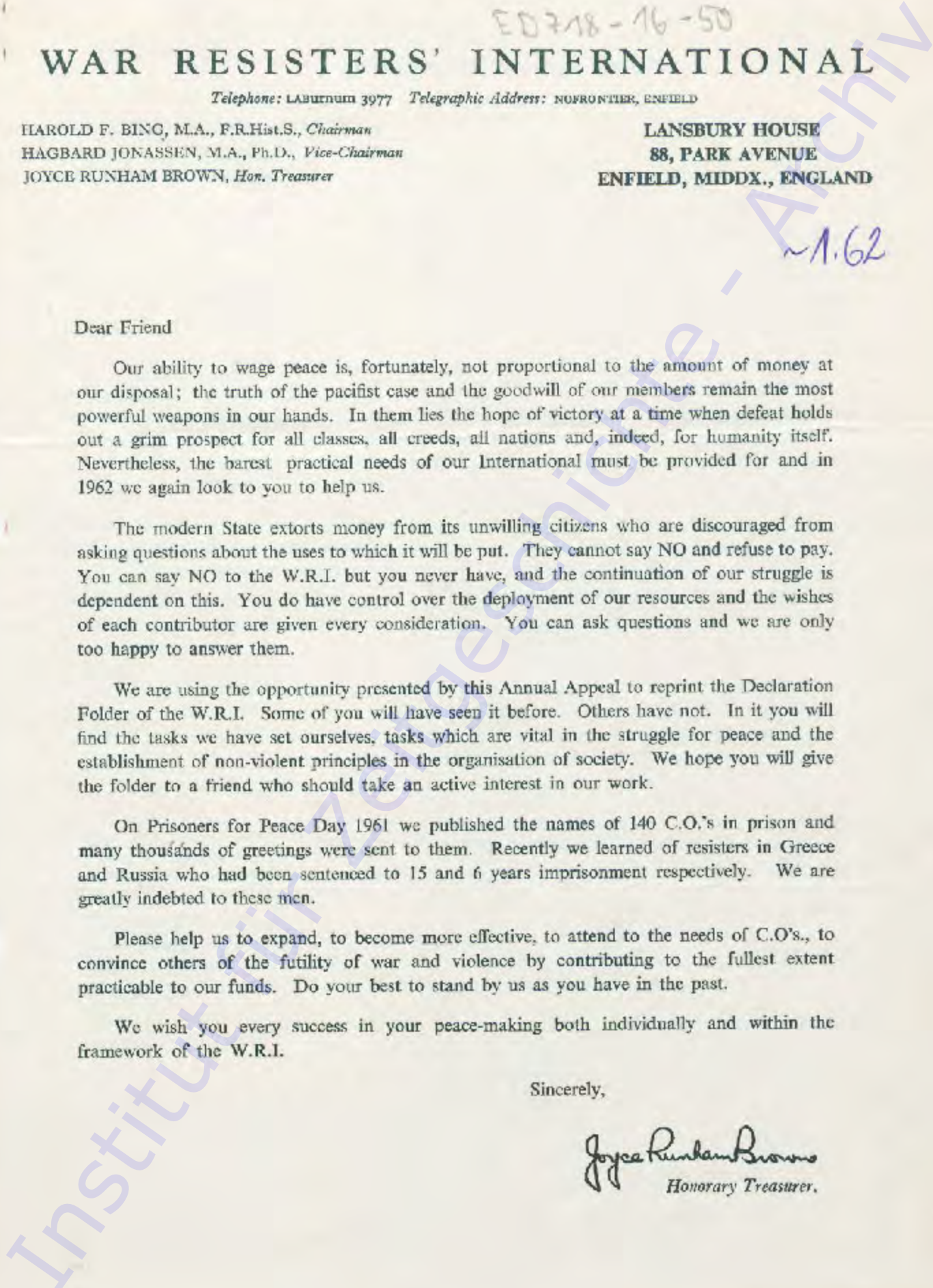
On Prisoners for Peace Day 1961 we published the names of 140 C.O.'s in prison and many thousands of greetings were sent to them. Recently we learned of resisters in Greece and Russia who had been sentenced to 15 and 6 years imprisonment respectively. We are greatly indebted to these men.

Please help us to expand, to become more effective, to attend to the needs of C.O.'s., to convince others of the futility of war and violence by contributing to the fullest extent practicable to our funds. Do your best to stand by us as you have in the past.

We wish you every success in your peace-making both individually and within the framework of the W.R.I.

Sincerely,

*Joyce Runham Brown*  
*Honorary Treasurer.*



DECLARATION

Date.....19

"War is a crime against humanity. I therefore am determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war."

.....  
(Signature)

Mr./Mrs./Miss .....  
(block letters)

Address: (block letters)  
.....  
.....  
.....

I am interested in the work of the WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL, and would like to be placed on the mailing list to receive the quarterly "WAR RESISTER" in English/French/German. (Delete which language not required.)

Mr./Mrs./Miss .....  
(block letters)

Address: (block letters)  
.....  
.....  
.....

Send to:

The General Secretary,  
War Resisters' International,  
Lansbury House,  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
England.

ED 718-16-52

**WAR**  
**RESISTERS'**  
**INTERNATIONAL**

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv



Printed in England by the Westminster Press, London, W.9

## THE WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

was founded at Bilthoven in Holland in 1921, under the name of "Paco," by representatives of groups of war resisters in four European countries. In March 1923 it was re-organised under the name of The War Resisters' International and the Headquarters transferred to England.

In 1962 there are 34 affiliated organisations, three associated publications and one associated organisation in 23 countries, representing all five continents.

### DECLARATION

(Adopted in 1921, and slightly altered at the Ninth Triennial Conference, 1957)

"War is a crime against humanity. I therefore am determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war."

### IMPLICATIONS OF THE DECLARATION

(Each member will implement the Declaration according to his own circumstances and in the light of his own conscience. The following statement is based on one adopted at the foundation of the International.)

We are convinced that violence cannot preserve order, defend our homes, achieve social justice or give security to any nation. In fact, experience has shown that in all wars order, justice and liberty disappear. We hold, however, that consistent pacifists have no right to take up a merely negative position, but must recognise the obligation to seek effective non-violent means of achieving our ends.

We recognise that war begins in the hearts and minds of men, but that there are agencies which seek to manipulate and exaggerate our human frailties, creating fear, hatred and antagonism between groups of people. Among the causes of war we regard the following as the more important to-day:

### INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL 1960-1963

Harold F. Bing (*Chairman*)

Hagbard Jonassen (*Vice-Chairman*)

Joyce Runham Brown (*Honorary Treasurer*)

Joseph Abileah	(Israel)
Banwarilal Choudhri	(India)
Johan Galtung	(Norway)
Jean van Lierde	(Belgium)
Stuart Morris	(Great Britain)
Bayard Rustin	(U.S.A.)
G. Anthony Bishop	(Australia)
Danilo Dolci	(Italy)
Heinz Kraschutzski	(Germany)
Pierre Martin	(France)
Michael Randle	(Great Britain)
Bill Sutherland	(Ghana)

DIRECT CONTACT with the International Secretariat is encouraged. Anyone is welcome to receive W.R.I. literature as published, although those in a position to do so are asked to contribute annually the minimum of five shillings (U.S.A. \$1.00), or the equivalent. To facilitate contributions, the W.R.I. has Financial Agents in Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland, India, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States of America.

### ORGANISATION

In 1925 the first International Conference was held at Hoddesdon, England, and, except during the Second World War, Conferences have been held at three-yearly intervals since that date. Apart from England, subsequent Conferences have been held in Austria (1928), France (1931), Denmark (1937), Germany (1951), and France (1954). At the 1957 Conference at Roehampton, England, there were representatives from twenty countries. The 1960 Triennial Conference was held at the Gandhigram in India and during it the idea of a World Peace Brigade was initiated.

At these Conferences the Chairman and the governing body, called the Council, are elected by the official delegates of Sections. The Council meets annually and its Executive Committee at least four times a year.

The quarterly organ of the W.R.I., "The War Resister," is published in English, French and German. A booklet in Esperanto is published annually, and occasionally literature is prepared in other languages. In addition, many W.R.I. Sections have their own publications.

For further information apply to:

The General Secretary,  
War Resisters' International,  
Lansbury House,  
38 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
England.

### (1) Colonialism and Economic Imperialism

People have not only the desire, but the right to govern themselves and to select their own economic, social and political structures, without outside coercion, control, or interference.

### (2) Intolerance

Refusal to tolerate differences between races, religions and ideologies, which are not in themselves causes of war, may often lead to violence.

### (3) Economic Injustice

Two-thirds of the world's population lack the necessary food, clothing and shelter. To ignore their need drives them to violence.

### (4) Military Preparedness

Money spent on H-bombs cannot also be spent on bread, and vast accumulations of armaments are a threat to world peace. The threat of nuclear weapons, far from being a deterrent, only increases fear and suspicion.

### (5) Nationalism

Movements or governments which make claims for their own people inconsistent with the well-being of others provoke the spirit which leads to war.

### (6) The State

An important cause of war is the prevalent claim to sovereignty of national States. The State exists for man, not man for the State. The recognition of the sanctity of human personality must become the basic principle of human society, and the brotherhood of all peoples the basis of international relations.

### AIMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL

The War Resisters' International seeks to replace prejudice with understanding, hatred with tolerance, and cynicism with hope, so that our society will be transformed and world brotherhood become a living reality.

Our aim is to give practical expression to our beliefs, beginning with the unconditional rejection of war, and to succour and support those individuals and groups which are dedicated to the abolition of war.

The cost to the individual is often very heavy. Young men have resolutely resisted militarism and conscription and faced poverty, ostracism, loss of liberty and even death. Many thousands have passed through prison; hundreds are in prison now, as you read these words.

The International remains uncommitted to any particular political or religious doctrine, and thus can freely and effectively present the pacifist message in a great variety of situations.

### SERVICES OF THE INTERNATIONAL

The War Resisters' International acts as co-ordinating centre for its autonomous affiliated organisations (called Sections). On their behalf it:

SEEKS to encourage the formation of pacifist organisations where none exist.

SEEKS AND MAINTAINS CONTACT with isolated war resisters in countries where it is dangerous to oppose government policies, giving support and encouragement.

GIVES financial and other support to war resisters in legal or personal difficulty, and to their families.

ACTS as an information centre, and makes possible the exchange of news, opinions and concerns. To facilitate this service the W.R.I. has over sixty volunteer translators with a working knowledge of twenty-one of the world's languages.

The International has obtained the release from prison and penal settlement of scores of war resisters and during the Second World War, saved many from concentration camps. It has helped numerous members to settle in new lands, and still offers this service.

The W.R.I. serves the war resistance movement in these and many other ways and symbolises the movement's unity of purpose.

A unique compilation of the military service regulations of the world, constantly being revised and supplemented, has been especially useful in pressing governments to grant the legal right of conscientious objection to military service.

The annual observation of "Prisoners for Peace Day" on December the first, is a growing witness of solidarity with war resisters suffering imprisonment in loyalty to our common ideals.

The W.R.I. co-operates with kindred organisations for the furtherance of common ends, and places its views before governments, the United Nations, and other bodies as opportunities arise.

### MEMBERSHIP

ORGANISATIONS: Any pacifist organisation, whether national or local, may affiliate, provided every individual member of such organisation accepts the International's Declaration or some statement which the International Council can recognise as its equivalent. Affiliation cannot be accepted if applied for merely on a majority vote.

As one of the objects of the International is to create a fellowship of war resisters, it is desirable that there should be not more than one Section in any country, or, if that is not practicable, as few as possible, and it is the policy of the International to encourage the closest co-operation between such Sections.

INDIVIDUALS: For individuals, membership of the International is normally through membership of an affiliated organisation but, from countries where there is as yet no affiliated movement, direct individual membership is accepted.

### FINANCE

Owing to varying conditions and currency restrictions, no fixed fee is demanded as a condition of membership from either organisations or individuals, but it is expected that when circumstances do not render it impossible, both organisations and individuals will make such contributions towards the expenses of the International Headquarters as their means allow. In addition, the International shall raise funds by direct appeal, affiliated organisations co-operating when possible.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 3

held at

Dick Sheppard House, London, W.C. 1.

Saturday, 17th February<sup>62</sup> at 10.30.a.m.

26.8.63 use

17.2.62

PRESENT: Harold F. Bing (Chairman), Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treasurer), Jean van Lierde and Stuart Morris. Staff: Arlo Tatum and Tony Smythe (Acting Secretary). Interpreters: Norman Edwards (morning session) and Arthur Uloth (afternoon session). A vote of thanks for the invaluable help of the interpreters was taken when the meeting adjourned.

The Executive learnt of the deaths of John Fletcher, former Treasurer of the W.R.I., and the wife of Vladimir Tchertkoff. Stuart Morris had attended John Fletcher's memorial service on behalf of the W.R.I. and a letter of condolence, signed by the Committee and the Staff, was sent to Vladimir Tchertkoff.

APOLOGIES: The Vice-Chairman, Hagbard Jonassen, had been asked to attend in view of the importance of decisions to be taken at the meeting but because of other commitments had been unable to accept. Michael Randle was one of the accused on trial at the Old Bailey (Central Criminal Court) for offences under the Official Secrets Act. It was agreed to send him a telegram congratulating him on his marriage on the 9th of February and offering best wishes for the outcome of the trial.

AGENDA: The circulated Agenda was approved with additions as recorded in these Minutes.

1. MINUTES:

The Minutes of Executive Meeting No 2 (3.12.61) were approved as circulated, and signed by the Chairman.

ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES:

10. World Peace Brigade Conference

Members took note of the official report of the Conference previously circulated and Arlo Tatum outlined the subsequent progress of the Brigade.

Report by Arlo Tatum

Michael Scott (Gt. Britain), Jayaprakash Narayan (India) and A.J. Muste (U.S.A.) had agreed to serve as the Chairmen. The list of sponsors was growing and already included some of the principal figures in the international peace movement. Of the W.R.I. Council, Hagbard Jonassen had agreed to be a Sponsor and Stuart Morris, Michael Randle, Bayard Rustin and Bill Sutherland had joined the Council of the Brigade. In his temporary capacity as the General Secretary of the W.P.B., Arlo had found difficulty in getting adequate communication between the three regional committees. This made the task of organising W.P.B. projects more difficult, especially the proposed Peace Action Day on May 19th.

There were no representatives from Eastern European

countries at Beirut and there had, as yet, been no reaction from previously sympathetic individuals to the Conference Report. However, the Esperanto version had not been long circulated which might account for the lack of response.

The W.P.B. Working Committee had asked if the W.R.I. office facilities could be used until May 19th, the date on which Arlo would terminate his W.P.B. Secretaryship. No-one had yet been found to take his place. It was difficult to raise funds for the W.P.B. without damaging the W.R.I. by appealing to the same sources. The American Committee had contributed 200 dollars for Michael Scott's fare to Africa as well as paying the fares of Bayard Rustin and Bill Sutherland. They had all gone to Addis Ababa to attend a Conference of the Pan-Africa Freedom Movement for Eastern and Central Africa. Afterwards they hoped to have talks with Central African leaders about the contribution the Brigade could make in that region.

Letters calling for cooperation on Peace Action Day had been sent to W.R.I. Sections and other organisations. (See item 6)

#### Report by Stuart Morris

Stuart Morris as the official W.R.I. delegate to the Beirut Conference gave his report. His personal impression had been that what had emerged was something quite different from what had originally been intended, even though the ideas had been by no means clear at any stage. The W.P.B. was a new pacifist movement based on individual membership and with no provision for the affiliation of organisations. The association of organisations was of a limited character and allowed them no part in administrative or policy decisions. In most people's minds a necessary feature of the Brigade was the training of volunteers who could be sent into areas of tension and conflict. This was coupled with the idea of constructive work and on a wider plane assistance to underdeveloped communities. Membership was not confined to those who could offer themselves for training. For every "soldier" in the field there had to be ten civilians at home. It was not to be an international protest movement against nuclear weapons and the Statement of Principles implied opposition to all war. There would be no competition with large scale technical assistance programmes and with established work camp movements, although limited help to these wider schemes could form part of the work of the W.P.B. The W.P.B. was a three-pronged organisation based on renunciation of war; activity in areas of tension and conflict, including small assistance schemes; the creation of a world wide movement to get people to free themselves from a belief in violence. Two projects, one in southern Africa and the other in Kashmir, had been considered. It was, however, much easier to organise for the third objective because, while only a small band of volunteers could participate in specific projects, millions could join world wide demonstrations such as the Peace Action Day. The danger was that original objectives would get overshadowed by protest demonstrations. Although there were no Communists at Beirut, the way had been left open for them, should they want to support the W.P.B.

The views of those Council Members who had commented on Arlo's and Harold's memoranda on the future of the W.R.I. were read, and a discussion followed. It was agreed that a memorandum should be drawn up by Tony Smythe to include points for and against a merger of the W.R.I. and the W.P.B. which had been raised in the discussion, in the letters from Council Members and in the original memoranda. Stuart emphasized that it was important for the Staff not to be subjected to a period of doubt about the future of the W.R.I. He thought that the discussion was completely premature, as the question of merging a permanent and well established organisation with another, in a very fluid and early stage of its development could not justifiably arise for some time to come.

In the view of the Executive the creation of the W.P.B. had inevitably led to considerable discussion within the Council as to the probable effect on the future of the W.R.I. and whether there would remain a place for both organisations in the world pacifist movement. After careful consideration of the situation the following resolution was agreed to:

"The Executive Committee of the W.R.I. welcomes the establishment of the W.P.B. and is ready to cooperate in its activities. However, it believes that the W.R.I. has its own particular contribution to make and therefore recommends to Council that no steps be taken to amalgamate the W.R.I. and the W.P.B. for at least three years."

The resolution would be taken to reflect the official attitude of the W.R.I. until the Council Meeting in July. It was hoped that the envisaged memorandum and the resolution would stimulate adequate discussion within the Sections and amongst members of the Council.

N In response to the W.P.B. Working Group's request that the use of W.R.I. office facilities should be extended until May 19th, Executive agreed, after consulting the Acting Secretary, that this should be done. It was hoped, however, that the Working Group would make every effort to find new premises before that date.

2.B. Study Conference 1962

All the practical arrangements were now complete. The Conference would take place at Breidablick School, Holte, near Copenhagen, from 29th July to 4th August (6 days). The cost was 25/- per day with £1 Conference fee for the week. There was accommodation for 40 at the school itself, and camping sites nearby. Niels Jonassen had undertaken to look after the organisation in Denmark. A programme was in process of being drawn up by a working group. It was hoped that the Committee of 100 and Action Civique Non-Violente would each send a speaker. Stuart Morris said that the P.P.U. was willing to give financial help to young pacifists going from Britain.

16. Triennial Conference 1963

Tony Smythe reported on his efforts to find a suitable place to hold the Conference. Frieda Bacon had given him useful contacts. The International Peace Institute in Vienna ( a department of the World Peace Council) had been approached. Executive decided there was no objection to utilising any facilities it had to offer, especially as members from Eastern European countries might find it more possible to attend. Enquiries had also been made in Belgium. Other sites outside Austria would be tried if no definite arrangements could be made soon. The matter was becoming increasingly urgent. The dates suggested for the Conference were 21st - 28th July, 1963.

18. Charter Plane

Stuart Morris and Joyce Runham Brown reported on the money still owing to the W.R.I. for fares to India. Hein van Wijk and Alwar Sundell had not yet indicated their willingness to pay the full amount. It was decided to ask Hein, in view of his financial difficulties and the misunderstanding that had occurred before his departure for India, to settle by a payment of £100.

ARISING FROM EXECUTIVE MINUTES :

15. General Secretaryship

Tony Bishop, Stuart Morris, Michael Randle, Bayard Rustin, Bill Sutherland and Arlo Tatum had been present at a meeting with Devi Prasad in Beirut at which his appointment as Secretary of the W.R.I. was discussed. On behalf of the War Resister's League Bayard Rustin had offered £100 towards Devi's travelling expenses to Europe and £1 per week for the first year of his employment in addition to his salary to help with initial expenses. In view of this development

Executive agreed to engage Devi as Co-Secretary with Tony Smythe. Tony's salary would be increased by 10/- per week when Devi took up his appointment some time in July.

#### 16. Council Meeting 1962

A draft Agenda was drawn up for immediate circulation. It was decided to ask Alfred Tucker to serve as interpreter. Banwarilal Choudhri's suggestion that, in view of the new situation, an enlarged Meeting should be called with all members and some ex-members of Council attending, was rejected as, at present, there was not sufficient justification to warrant extra expense. A coffee party would be held during the Meeting at the Friends' International Centre so that British members and others would have the opportunity of meeting members of Council. As A.J. Muste would be attending the W.P.B. Council Meeting immediately after, he would be asked to observe at the W.R.I. Council Meeting during the session at which the W.P.B. would be discussed. It was hoped that a similar invitation to attend the W.P.B. Council Meeting would be extended to a representative of the W.R.I. Council.

#### 4. UNESCO Consultative Status

Harold Bing reported on the various practical difficulties inherent in an association with UNESCO. Obligations involving maximum cooperation in the activities of UNESCO, sending delegates to Conferences and acquainting all our members with the UNESCO programme were possibly too great for the W.R.I. to undertake at the moment. The general issue of cooperation with governmental organisations was open to objection by anarchist members. Any decision on consultative status was a matter for Council rather than the Executive.

#### 5. W.R.I. in Nigeria

Stuart Morris had asked a British member Robert Burke who was going to Nigeria to take up the matter of the duplicator sent by the P.P.U. to Mr Essien with his family and the executors of his estate. He hoped to be able to report on the matter at a later meeting. News of the Section had been received from Mr Okon, the Acting Secretary. A National Committee Meeting had been held in January and a General Meeting was to take place shortly.

#### 6 B. Universal Esperanto Congress

In addition to Tony Smythe and Alfred Tucker, Anthony Brooke had agreed to speak at the W.R.I. Meeting. The subject would be the World Peace Brigade.

#### 3. Applications for Association and Affiliation

The World Citizens Group in Sweden had withdrawn its application for affiliation. More information had been received from the Nigerian Association for the United Nations but Executive did not consider that the application for association could be accepted within the terms of the W.R.I. Constitution. The Freundschaftsheim was considering an association with the W.R.I.

#### 7. Jehovah's Witnesses in Greece and Russia

Stuart Morris had asked the Greek Ambassador in London to see a delegation. His request had been refused by the military attaché who had informed him that conscientious objection did not exist under Greek law. He was still trying to contact the Ambassador and it was suggested that he should ask for an individual appointment rather than press for a delegation. No news about the Jehovah's Witness prisoners in U.S.S.R. had been received from the Soviet Peace Committee. Amnesty was taking an interest in these cases.

14. ILCOP

The Meeting scheduled for February 9th had been postponed until March 23rd. Stuart Morris would be the W.R.I. delegate and the P.P.U. and the W.R.I. would share his travelling expenses.

8. Letter from Conan Shaw

P.P.U. member Frances Morgan had volunteered to go to hear the tape. She would make a report to the Executive.

2. FINANCE

A. Current Statement

Albert Billett's report, which was accepted, showed a bank balance of £359 in the NO. 1 Account and £5 in the NO. 2 (Salaries) Account on the 24th January, 1962. As a result of the Annual Appeal £948 had been banked since.

B. Approval of Expenditure

Payments totalling £4,087. 11. 7. since Albert's last report on the bank statement, dated 28th August, 1961, were approved for payment, as attached to the Minute Book. Bills totalling £193. 6. 8. had been paid since the last bank statement.

C. Caisse de Solidarité

The accounts of the Caisse de Solidarité (Solidarity Fund, Switzerland), dated 1.1.60 - 15.12.61, had been received. The W.R.I. contribution of £10 was recorded. Executive agreed that after it was ascertained that the Fund was in need of contributions £10 should be sent. This would not exclude the possibility of a further contribution in the near future.

D. Dr. Fred William's Bequest

The Executor of the Will of Dr. Fred Williams (Australia) had informed the Office that a bequest had been made to the W.R.I. There were, however, insufficient funds in the residue of the estate and the bequest had to lapse. It was agreed to write to Fred William's widow expressing gratitude for his great services to W.R.I. during his lifetime and appreciation of his intention to help the W.R.I. after his death even though this had proved impossible.

E. Financial Agent in Belgium

Jean le Bon had resigned as W.R.I. Financial Agent and Treasurer of the I.R.C. as from the 31st March, 1962. His place would be taken by Michel Erler.

F. Acting Secretary's House

Because of the difficulties Tony Smythe had encountered in finding suitable accommodation for himself and his family, Arlo Tatum had investigated the possibility of his obtaining a mortgage on a house from the St. Pancras Building Society, using the Tchertkoff Fund (now deposited with the Society) as a surety. The Society had found the arrangement acceptable. The Fund would be frozen until such time as the balance and the mortgage account had been reduced to a certain figure. Executive agreed that Tony should go ahead and look for a suitable property.

### 3. FREUNDSCHAFTSHEIM

The Executive Committee of the Freundschaftsheim had invited the W.R.I. to appoint a representative to the newly formed Kuratorium, an advisory body of individuals and representatives with wide experience in work for peace. Executive felt that it would like to know more about the composition of the Kuratorium and the powers which would be delegated to it. A decision was deferred until the next Meeting.

### 4. ADVERTISING

A Norwegian member, Alf Knag, had suggested that the W.R.I. should advertise in countries where there were no Sections. Aims and principles should be put forward and appeals for members and funds made. Executive agreed that the idea offered possibilities and suggested that the Staff set up a pilot scheme in one particular country.

### 5. CONSCRIPTION IN EAST GERMANY

Conscription had been introduced in East Germany, following an unanimous vote in the People's Chamber on January 24th. Call up ages were between 18 and 26 and the period of training 18 months. The Acting Secretary had written on behalf of the Executive to the Deutscher Friedensrat urging that objectors be treated with understanding and sympathy while protesting in general against the introduction of conscription. At that stage it was not known that no provision had been made for conscientious objection, as was revealed later. Stuart Morris and Heinz Kraschutzki had also corresponded on this matter. Stuart pointed out that the D.D.R. had at one stage invited young men from the Federal Republic to avoid call-up by seeking refuge in the Eastern Zone. What would be the position of those young men now? Executive agreed that a protest should be made to the East German Government and that a full explanation should be demanded of the Deutscher Friedensrat. It hoped that the IdK and the VK would find it possible to cooperate in opposing a move which could only lead to an increase of tension in Germany.

### 6. SITUATION OF W.R.I. IN GERMANY

A discussion took place on the continuation of difficult relations between the Sections in Germany and the consequent disillusionment of individual members. As the situation was not improving, the Executive accepted the Acting Secretary's suggestion that the W.R.I. should call talks between representatives of the Council and the Sections in Germany, if the idea of such a meeting met with an adequate response. The meeting should be held at the earliest possible opportunity.

### 7. PEACE ACTION DAY, MAY 19TH

The W.P.B. had called upon the W.R.I. as well as its Sections to join actively in the projects being planned for May 19th. After considerable discussion Executive agreed that the W.R.I. should help in every way possible, recognizing that lack of success in the Brigade's first venture would make success unlikely in the more exciting projects to come. The Staff would recommend all the Sections to join with the Brigade and other cooperating organisations to make May 19th a noteworthy, world-wide demonstration for peace.

### 8. PIERRE MARTIN'S MEMORANDUM ON AFRICA

Executive noted the memorandum and referred it to a full discussion on Africa at the Council Meeting.

### 9. DATE OF NEXT MEETING: Sunday, 6th May, at 10.00 a.m. at Dick Sheppard House

The Meeting adjourned at 6.40 p.m.

*an ongoing*

ED 749-16-57

MEMORANDUM ON THE FUTURE OF THE W.R.I. AND ITS RELATIONSHIP  
WITH THE WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

as requested by Executive Committee No. 3, 17th February 1962

Council members and Sections<sup>\*</sup> will have received all documents issued by the W.R.I. and the World Peace Brigade (W.P.B.) which could be expected to throw some light on our future development. The intention of this memorandum is to put before you the various views expressed by members of the Council and the Staff in the discussions which followed the statement by Arlo Tatum in a Letter to Council, dated 11th January, 1962, which seemed to suggest that he thought an eventual merger between the W.R.I. and the W.P.B. desirable. It would be true to say the discussion would have arisen in any case as there were Council members and individuals close to the W.R.I. at the Beirut Conference who came to similar conclusions. A resolution was passed by the W.R.I. Executive (Meeting No. 3, item No. 10 arising from Council Minutes), welcoming the establishment of the W.P.B. while affirming the belief that the W.R.I. had a distinct contribution to make still and that no steps to amalgamate the two organisations should be taken for at least three years. Executive was, in effect, recommending this policy to Council members both as a basis of discussion and as a safeguard to prevent the position of the W.R.I. becoming ambiguous or uncertain in any way during the period leading up to the Council meeting. A further intention was to stabilize the position for three years but it is quite clear that Council must make its own decision and that, therefore, the time limit suggested has only a restricted value.

For simplicity's sake I am going to list below the various points which have been made for and against a merger and a separate category of other comments, using quotations from members' letters and the two memoranda wherever possible. No attempt has been made at discussion and I have tried to avoid registering the same points twice.

For a Merger

1. Many of the same people active in the W.R.I. are likely to be active in the W.P.B.
2. The W.P.B. is "a new international pacifist organisation with its Principles and Aims stated in terms of non-violence rather than war resistance."
3. There is no need for two such organisations, especially when the same principles are observed and the same people involved. The W.R.I. could be seen by such a merger to be merely re-adjusting itself to suit modern conditions.
4. "Those W.R.I. Council members who have accepted responsibility in the new movement, would probably give priority to it, as the possibilities for effective work are really compelling."
5. It will be difficult "for the W.R.I. to compete with this new movement, also stationed in Britain." There is already some confusion in people's minds between the W.R.I. and the W.P.B., especially as both have been using the same Headquarters at Enfield up to now.
6. "A limited source of funds (i.e. for two international pacifist organisations) is no small consideration and financial problems loom large - so do problems of personnel."
7. "This new movement will do things the W.R.I. is somehow unable to do." Therefore interest might be transferred from the W.R.I. to the new fields of activity offered by the W.P.B. (See point 3 Other Comments).

☆ Confidential Memoranda by Arlo Tatum and Harold Bing sent only to Council

8. If the merger were considered desirable "I think the W.P.B. might specify refusal of military service as an act of civil disobedience."
9. There is a possibility that the W.P.B. would take over certain functions of the W.R.I., leaving it with a diminished field of responsibility. It might come to be nothing more than an international Board for Conscientious Objectors.
10. "The resolution of the Beirut Conference makes the further existence of the W.R.I. rather dubious."
11. To make full use of the dynamic appeal of the W.P.B., organisational link-ups of some sort should be established as soon as possible. This might inevitably lead to a merger and this process should not be obstructed.
12. Without the W.R.I. the W.P.B. has little chance of making the maximum impact. The take-over of W.R.I. facilities and staff would be of immense practical value.

#### Against the Merger

1. "The World Peace Brigade, which is undoubtedly capable of becoming a vital factor in changing the world situation, exists at present on paper. Until it has become an effective organisation, there can hardly be any question of its replacing existing peace or pacifist organisations." - "Discussion is completely premature." "The question of merging a permanent and well established organisation with another in a very fluid and early stage of development could not justifiably arise for some time to come."
2. "Financial appeals will tend to compete." - Therefore, "We shall have to see to it that we raise additional money for the W.P.B. and not only divert it from the W.R.I." - "We must try to get money for the Brigade from other sources than the usual W.R.I. ones and once we get rolling, we can do it."
3. "I am convinced that a significant number of W.R.I. members could not conscientiously support the approach of the W.P.B." - "In Israel the local W.R.I. does not want to sponsor the W.P.B." - "In England, Holland, France and the U.S.A. there are still others of importance who are not happy with non-violent action."
4. "I do not want the Constitution (W.P.B.) in any way to be geared to suit those people (item 3) at the expense of the new vital elements who would be enthusiastic about non-violent action but not-----concerned about conscientious objection."
5. "One of the main purposes of the W.R.I. up to now has been to work for the recognition of the right of conscientious objection." - "It means that if the W.R.I. decides to merge with the W.P.B., it will be necessary the following day to establish a new W.R.I. to take care of C.O.s because the W.P.B. will use and must use most of its strength in other fields."
6. "Though the two organisations have a common object, they have still different projects to tackle."
7. The W.R.I. must continue the objective of coordinating national pacifist movements and encouraging the formation of new pacifist groups. No adequate provision has yet been suggested for the Constitution of the W.P.B. which would enable organisations to have a positive influence on policy and actions.

#### Other comments

1. "I suggest that the next annual conference (Council meeting) should be enlarged. All Council members should be requested to attend-----and also a few prominent former Council members." -

"This should take decisions and recommend them to various Sections."  
(This suggestion was rejected by the Executive Committee at its last meeting.)

2. Sufficient time will elapse before the Triennial Conference in 1966 to enable adequate discussion within the Movement to take place so that the practical advantages and disadvantages of a merger will become apparent. The choice in 1966 would therefore not be based on theoretical considerations but would be a purely objective one in the light of a development of both organisations.
3. "If----the W.P.B. is going to enrol a large individual membership of people who sympathise with Non-Violence, then clearly it is going to compete for members with the W.R.I. Sections and similar organisations."
4. If, as seems likely at the moment, the activities of the Peace Brigade become centered on Africa, it is conceivable that the most effective organisational solution would be to establish Headquarters in Tanganyika and a European Centre c/o W.R.I. Headquarters in London.
5. If the W.P.B. continues to indulge in very specialized activities, such as are being undertaken in Africa at the moment, the question of a merger would not seem to be particularly urgent. A merger could be considered at a point when it became obvious that the movement was ready for such a development. In other words, when the majority of pacifists came to regard non-violent action and constructive work as an integral part of their pacifism.

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All the points raised are worthy of your consideration and we hope that after considerable discussion in the Sections a clear attitude will emerge, if possible by the time of the Council meeting and certainly by the Triennial Conference in July 1963.

In the meantime it is important that such discussions should not in any way interfere with the work we have set ourselves. No one has put our dilemma more clearly than our Chairman Harold Bing when he said in a memorandum circulated to Council Members, "None of us, I hope, want to keep organisations in existence for merely sentimental reasons, if they have ceased to perform a useful function. What we have to ask ourselves is: "What is the specific function of the W.R.I.? Has it a task distinct from that of the W.P.B.? If both are doing the same thing, only one organisation is necessary. If they have different tasks or different approaches, then there is a place for each, and it is desirable that their respective spheres should be clearly defined to avoid useless duplication and to make clear the purpose of each to prospective members and subscribers."

The census of the views of Council members might provide an accurate guide to the state of mind of the movement in relation to this question. These are my estimations, based on opinions stated in letters and conversations:

Out of 15 officers and Council members

against the merger	8
for the merger	3
no comment	3
don't know	1

Some members believe that a merger could not be ruled out indefinitely.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

NEWS FROM SECTIONS

February, 1962

26.8.63 *ude*

GERMANY

All peace groups in the Federal Republic have been very active recently. They have voiced their stand against the preparation for war which has included the extension of the military service period from 12 to 18 months and the distribution of the Government pamphlet "Everyone has a Chance" into every household in Western Germany. The pamphlet has been condemned both by the INTERNATIONALE DER KRIEGSDIENSTGEGNER (IdK) and the VERBAND DER KRIEGSDIENSTVERWEIGERER (VK) which maintain that that no-one has a chance in a nuclear war and that the printing and circulating of 17 million leaflets is a sheer waste of the taxpayers' money. IdK put its opposition to the pamphlet and the Government's Civil Defence Programme in a nutshell by passing this resolution: "The whole Civil Defence idea is nothing else but psychological preparation for war which we - for the sake of the survival of the whole world - must oppose with all the powers we can muster."

The VERBAND DER KRIEGSDIENSTVERWEIGERER - in cooperation with other groups - has brought out a pamphlet "Air Defence - What Every Citizen Must Know" which shows that, in fact, the implementation of "A Policy without the Bomb" offers the only real solution.

The IdK Düsseldorf Group has parodied the "Everyone has a Chance"-pamphlet by issuing its own version:

"When the bomb falls, be calm, turn your face away, put a briefcase in front of the most important part of the body. Because not every briefcase is able to stand up to 30 million degrees, you better have an extra briefcase handy."

"When the bomb falls, take a white linen cloth and walk slowly to the burial ground. "Why slowly?", you ask. - So as not to create chaos on the burial ground."

"My Car Stays Civilian."

Both the IdK and the VK have taken a strong stand against the Federal Government's note of warning to all car owners to be ready to give their vehicles for Government use in an emergency. IdK maintains that those who do not want to support war preparations, should refuse to place their private cars at the Government's disposal. At present the law allows citizens to refuse military service for reasons of conscientious objection, so a provision for them to refuse car service for the same reason would seem to be logical.

A car-sticker campaign has been launched and already tens of thousands of private vehicles carry a sticker saying "MY CAR STAYS CIVILIAN." Several VK and IdK Groups are active in selling these stickers.

A "MY CAR STAYS CIVILIAN" protest ride has been planned for the Federal Republic for March 10th.

### Awaken the Constructive Forces in Children

"It is time we started educating shopkeepers", seems to have been the leading thought in the minds of both Bremen and Kaufbeuren IdK Groups in December. The Kaufbeuren Group distributed 1,000 leaflets called "Don't buy any warlike toys" and the Bremen Group sent an Open Letter, signed by the Chairmen of both the FoR and the IdK Groups in Bremen to all the shops in Bremen selling toys and books. This Open Letter stressed that education for peace and constructive work should be started when children are young and receptive. It also stressed the responsibility of adults: "We are living in a time when the destructive forces seem to find their way everywhere and the future of our world and of the humanity depends on whether we succeed in helping the constructive and reconciling forces to break through."

"There are many possibilities lying dormant in a child and it depends on us grown-ups whether the forces of destruction or construction, hate or love, ruthlessness or goodness take the upper hand. We believe that the young generation must be brought up in such a way that it will be able to help in building a more humane world. Even the toys and books given to a child can help in this."

After asking the toy shop managers not to display or sell warlike toys or books describing war, the Open Letter concludes: "Please help us to awaken the constructive forces in children. You as a salesman carry a heavy responsibility. Please give good example to others!"

### Marching at Easter

Very detailed and systematic preparations are going on for the Easter Protest March in Germany. Hans Konrad Tempel writes about this in "ZIVIL", the publication of VERBAND DER KRIEGSDIENST-VERWEIGERER:

"The present situation in Germany forces us to the greatest possible activity. The desire on the part of West Germany to get nuclear weapons heightens decisively the tension in world politics and increases the threat of nuclear war. We therefore demand that

- ☆ Germany gives up the idea of getting nuclear weapons, for the whole of Germany
- ☆ Germany refuses the stationing of troops equipped with nuclear weapons on German territory
- ☆ Germany agrees that an atomfree zone will be established in Central Europe, guaranteed by the Great Powers and the U.N. "

### FINLAND

The idea of marching for peace has now got as far as Finland. "FREDSPOSTEN", the organ of the Swedish-speaking pacifists in Finland, reports in its January issue under the heading "Active Peace Politics even in Finland": "A quiet crowd of about 300 people marched on Finland's Independence Day through Wasa. In the forefront went a bearer of the Finnish flag and after him followed men and women, young and old who protested against war's insanity, against arms race, against military service and against nuclear test

In the crowd could be seen, among others, the white haired "peace professor" Felix Iversen who was one of the speakers at the peace meeting held in the Town Hall after the march.

### GREAT BRITAIN

The Porchester Group of the Peace Pledge Union which draws its members from the North Kensington and Notting Hill Gate areas of London, where strong anti-colour feeling has in recent years led to rioting and disorder, has for the past two years been occupying a stall in the Portebello Market there for the sale of pacifist literature. Portebello Market is one of about a hundred open-air markets in London where traders sell a wide variety of wares from their stalls in the street.

There is another aspect of this determined and self-sacrificing effort to sell pacifism every Saturday; it has welded a new and small group into a loyal and strong whole; the members have been drawn to gether by this bond of shared work, and now they are meeting once a fortnight instead of once a month, and taking it in turns to pose the questions they get asked, and to discuss the answers.

W.R.I. Council Members Bill Sutherland and Bayard Rustin and Michael Scott of the Africa Bureau are now in Tanganyika consulting with African leaders about the first Non-Violent Action Project of the World Peace Brigade in Northern Rhodesia. Volunteers have been called from all over the world to form an international team.

EO 718-16-61

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

4th June, 1962.

## PRESS RELEASE

### Editor of French journal on hunger strike

To hold the French Government to promises which it made to him, 74 year old Louis Lecoin, Editor of the journal Liberté, started an indefinite hunger strike on 1st June.

Louis Lecoin had already a long record of militant action for libertarian causes, (he had supported in turn the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee, the Ascaso-Durutti-Jover Committee, the Gary Davis Committee and founded Solidarité Internationale Antifasciste - S.I.A.) when he undertook the publication of the journal Liberté, which immediately launched a campaign in France for the legal recognition of conscientious objection.

France has for many years been the country holding in its prisons the greatest number of men condemned for refusal to bear arms.

Nearly 500 years of imprisonment have been inflicted upon these men since the beginning of the Algerian war.

General de Gaulle and several members of the Debré Government made it known that conscientious objectors would be liberated immediately after a cease-fire in Algeria and would be assigned to social service.

The Committee for Aid to Conscientious Objectors, which included personalities like Albert Camus and Abbé Pierre, was created to support this action. It is because the present Government has remained deaf when reminded of promises previously made that Louis Lecoin felt it was his duty to undertake a hunger strike on the premises of Aid to Conscientious Objectors.

In a letter addressed to President de Gaulle, which was published in Liberté, Louis Lecoin declared: "Please remember that you admitted to Abbé Pierre some three years ago that it was absurd and unworthy to continue to treat conscientious objectors like delinquents. And since then nothing has changed for them, although you are in a position to do everything..."

"We will not quibble about good intentions which remained dormant for so long; things are not as bad as they were - the Governments which preceded you did not see the thing in the same light. But now it would be a very serious matter if these intentions were not rapidly translated into action. It would almost amount to perjury."

( Continuation )

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
288 Park Avenue  
New York 17, N.Y.

"Today when so many so-called superior officers disobey or are only partially obedient, who would have the affrontery to dissent if you gave freedom to conscientious objectors, those who have done no harm to anyone?"

"Set them free, M.le Président, and thus, into the bargain, you will enable me to stay alive."

Released by

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, and based on a news release issued by Pierre Martin, Assistant Secretary of Secours aux Objecteurs de Conscience, 20, rue Alibert, Paris 10. Tel. BOL 41-44.

Institut für VZ-Geschichte - Archiv

ED 718-16-62

WAR RESISTER'S INTERNATIONAL

88, Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND

4th June, 1962

TO all friends of Conscientious Objectors

PLEASE support the action of Louis Lecoin on behalf of French conscientious objectors by all the means at your disposal.

If possible try to form supporting committees and involve well-known personalities. Send letters to the Press, draw attention to the problem, bearing in mind that amnesty has already been granted to many violent extremists in the Secret Army Organisation while non-violent war resisters remain in jail. Send telegrams to President de Gaulle at: Palais de l'Elysée, Paris and also letters explaining in full the case for conscientious objection.

Send copies of all these communications to:

Secours aux Objecteurs de Conscience,  
20, rue Alibert,  
Paris, 10, France

After years of persecution help Louis Lecoin and his co-workers to put an end to this gross infringement of a basic human right.

Yours fraternally

*Tony Smythe*

Tony Smythe  
Secretary

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

22nd June, 1962

PRESS RELEASE

PACIFIST FASTS FOR THREE WEEKS IN FRANCE FOR THE  
RELEASE OF THE 150 C.O.'S IN PRISON

French Government considering statute for Conscientious  
Objection

On June 1st Louis Lecoin, Editor of the pacifist journal Liberté at 74 years of age started fasting until such time as the French Government would agree to fulfil its promises with regard to the introduction for legislation to give legal recognition to conscientious objectors.

President de Gaulle had admitted that to treat conscientious objectors as criminals was unjust. He even went as far as decreeing that no man should receive more than a total of five years imprisonment for refusing military service.

Nothing more has been done and there are now about 150 objectors in French prisons - many of them having been there for over three years. Friends of conscientious objectors in France and abroad have made every effort, through legal and constitutional channels, to see that justice was done, but without success.

All the conventional means having been exhausted, Louis Lecoin felt that he could only resort to the ultimate weapon at the disposal of any individual, that of fasting, if necessary, to death. He has now not eaten for 22 days and is very weak. His medical advisors believe that he has possibly no more than five days to live.

Other pacifists, including Louis Lecoin's daughter and Lanza del Vasto, who at one time worked with Gandhi in India and has since started the non-violent direct action movement in France, started to fast with Lecoin on the 18th June. Four of these supporters are now conducting their fast in the Headquarters of the Service Civil International in Paris. They are not only demanding that all conscientious objectors in prison should be released immediately but that they should be given the possibility of doing some constructive social work to help with the influx of repatriated French settlers from Algeria. They point out that on 9th June a young man who had refused to be inducted into the army was arrested while working on the site of a reception centre for these refugees. The Director of the site said that he was already shorthanded and he could not understand why the police should take away such a valuable worker.

WHAT HAS BEEN GAINED BY LOUIS LECOIN'S FAST? On 22nd June the British reports that 28 C.O.'s have been released from prison because they were only unwilling to fight in Algeria. Now that the war has ended they are willing to serve. The Government has also promised that it will take action in the question of legal recognition before the end of next month. There seems to be no concrete evidence to support either of these reports. Promises have been made before and it is because they have been unfulfilled

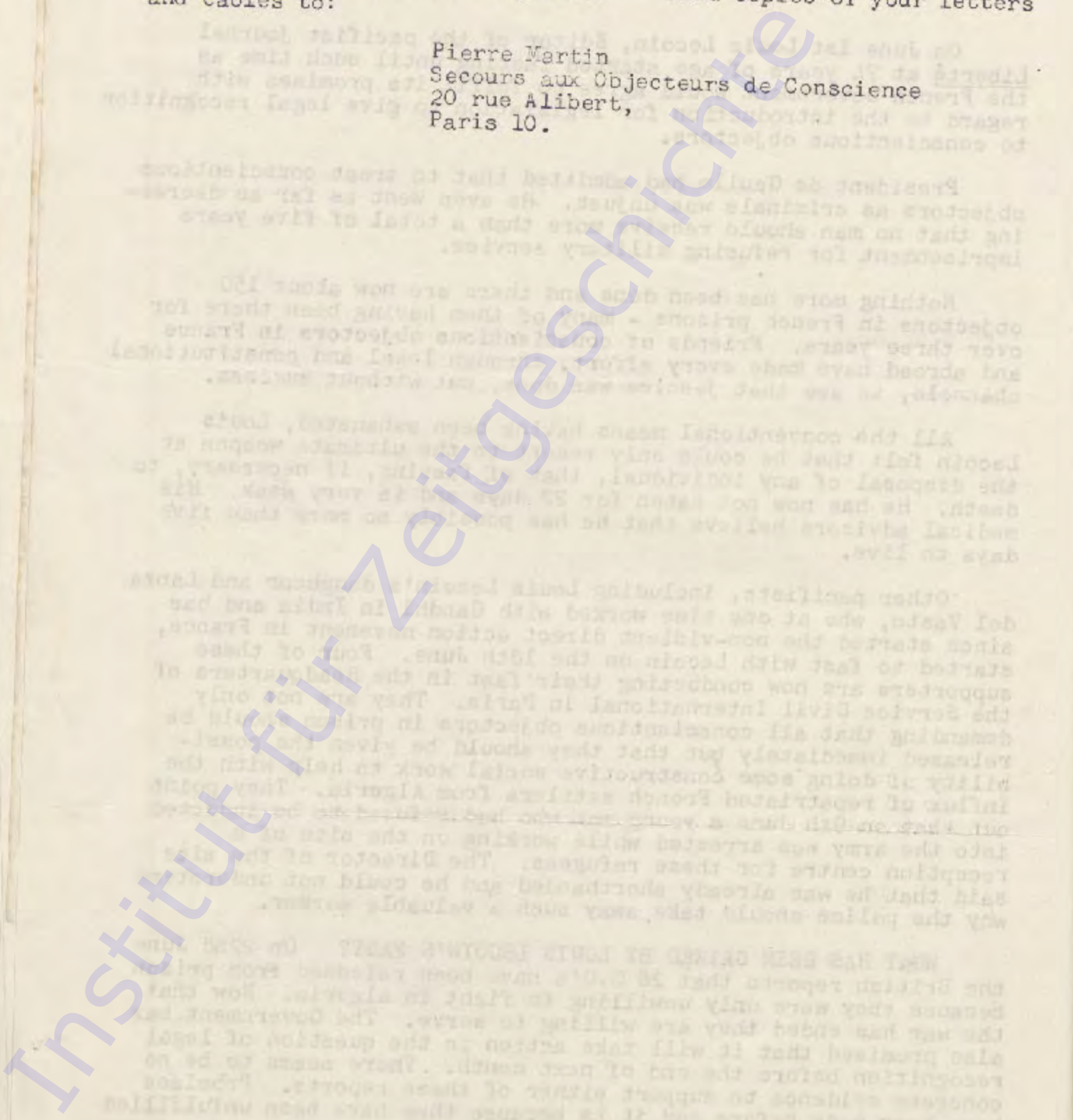
that Louis Lecoin is now risking his life. No conscientious objectors have been released from prison yet.

The W.R.I. wishes to associate itself with Louis Lecoin's non-violent struggle for French conscientious objectors and demands that the French Government should release all those in prison immediately and thereby save the life of this courageous fighter for peace and justice.

We are asking all those in sympathy with Louis Lecoin's aims to write to President de Gaulle calling for the release of all conscientious objectors in prison. Send copies of your letters and cables to:

Pierre Martin  
Secours aux Objecteurs de Conscience  
20 rue Alibert,  
Paris 10.

On June 1st, 1941, Louis Lecoin, a conscientious objector, was arrested by the French authorities. He was held in prison for a period of five years. During this time, he was subjected to various forms of torture and punishment. He was also forced to work in a factory. He was released from prison on June 1st, 1946. He has now been living in Paris for several years. He is now working as a journalist. He is also active in the French peace movement. He is a member of the War Resisters International. He is also a member of the French League for Human Rights. He is also a member of the French League for the Abolition of War. He is also a member of the French League for the Abolition of Capitalism. He is also a member of the French League for the Abolition of the Death Penalty. He is also a member of the French League for the Abolition of the Atomic Bomb. He is also a member of the French League for the Abolition of the Arms Race. He is also a member of the French League for the Abolition of the Military-Industrial Complex. He is also a member of the French League for the Abolition of the Arms Race. He is also a member of the French League for the Abolition of the Military-Industrial Complex.



WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONALESTIMATES FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1963EXPENDITURE

<u>Item</u>	<u>Estimated 1961-62</u>	<u>Expended 1961-62</u>	<u>Estimated 1962-63</u>
Salaries & Insurance	2,600	2,390	3,000
Pension Fund	52	52	60
Superannuation	83	25	25
Rates and Insurance	200	217	110
Repairs			40
Heat & Light	60	67	70
Office Stationery & Supplies	330	195	200
Telephone	55	67	55
Postage	500	440	450
Sundries	125	163	150
Bank Charges & Exchange	15	45	15
Audit and Accountancy	65	75	75
Printing	650	661	1,000
Participation in Conferences	125	89	150
Study Conference	50	22	80
Official Travel	175	89	500 ☆
Council Meeting Expenses	250	463	250
Annuity re Special Donation	120	131	-
Depreciation	60	60	65
India Conference	-	141	-
Reserve Fund for Devi Prasad's return fare	-	-	100
Reserve Fund for 1963 Conference	-	-	100
	<u>£5,515</u>	<u>£5,392</u>	<u>£6,495</u>

☆ Includes Devi Prasad's travelling expenses to the Headquarters

INCOME

<u>Item</u>	<u>Estimated 1961-62</u>	<u>Received 1961-62</u>	<u>Estimated 1962-63</u>
Contributions to Headquarters	4,100	4,542	4,850
Contributions to Agents Abroad	1,350	1,384	1,420
Rent	65	65	65
Sale of Literature & Badges	30	61	60
Sale of Stamps	50	106	100
Interest re Special donation	85	103	-
Other Building Society Interest received	-	53	-
	<u>£5,680</u>	<u>£6,314</u>	<u>£6,495</u>

YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1962

1961

Subscriptions and Donations

4,458	Received Direct	4,542	9	6		
263	Received by Agents outside Great Britain	<u>1,383</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>		
4,721					5,926	0 5
67	Sale of Literature and Badges	103	0	7		
41	<u>Less: Purchases</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>4</u>		
26					61	10 3
65	Rent Received				65	0 0
117	Sale of Foreign Stamps				105	10 5
86	Building Society Interest received on Special Donation	102	17	4		
-	Other Building Society Interest received	<u>53</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>		
86					155	19 5
2,411	(Excess of Expenditure over Income for year ended 31st March, 1961)				-	- -

£7,426£6,314 0 6YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1962BALANCE AT 1st APRIL, 1961

6,674	brought forward				4,262	11 0
-	<u>EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1962</u>				921	16 7

£6,674£5,148 7 7

INTERNATIONAL31ST MARCH, 1962

1961

FIXED ASSETSFreehold Property at cost

2,000	Lansbury House, Park Avenue, Enfield	2,000	0	0
-------	--------------------------------------	-------	---	---

Furniture and Office Equipment

At valuation 1948 or subsequent cost, less proceeds of sale and depreciation as at 1st April, 1961

253		235	0	0
-----	--	-----	---	---

(additions during year)

44		-	-	-
----	--	---	---	---

297		235	0	0
-----	--	-----	---	---

62	235	60	0	0	175	0	0
----	-----	----	---	---	-----	---	---

Less Depreciation for year

2,235

2,175 0 0

CURRENT ASSETS

## Monies held on Deposit with Building Societies:

3,400	Special Donation	3,250	0	0
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69	Pension Fund	95	10	0
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50	(Collateral Security for advance re House Purchase)	-	-	-
----	---	---	---	---

327	General Fund	407	2	6
-----	--------------	-----	---	---

3,846		3,752	12	6
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## Sundry Debtors and Payments in

769	Advance	279	18	9
-----	---------	-----	----	---

-	World Peace Brigade	500	0	0
---	---------------------	-----	---	---

726	Cash Balances held by Agents abroad	689	19	3
-----	-------------------------------------	-----	----	---

898	Cash - At Barclays Bank Ltd.	858	3	0
-----	------------------------------	-----	---	---

10	In hand in London	4	16	5
----	-------------------	---	----	---

862	19	5	6,085	9	11
-----	----	---	-------	---	----

6,249

£8,260 9 11

£8,484

OF WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Expenditure Account and have obtained all the information and for that purpose. We have accepted as correct the returns made by Subject to this, in our opinion and to the best of our information Expenditure Account give a true and fair view of the state of the the surplus for the year to that date.

(Signed) WHITEHILL REYNOLDS &amp; CO

Chartered Accountants

BALANCE SHEET

1961

RESERVES AND GENERAL FUNDS

2,000	<u>Lansbury House Account</u>		2,000	0	0
	<u>General Fund Account</u>				
4,263	Balance at this date		5,034	7	7
	<u>Relief Fund</u>				
180	Balance at 1st April, 1961	213	14	8	
69	Add: Donations received during year	90	2	0	
249		303	16	8	
35	Less: Payments made for Relief	55	0	0	
214			248	16	8
	<u>Pension Fund</u>				
43	Balance at 1st April, 1961	69	10	0	
52	Add: Income and Expenditure Account - Allocation for year	52	0	0	
95		121	10	0	
26	Less: Pension Paid	26	0	0	
69			95	10	0
6,546			7,378	14	3

CURRENT LIABILITIES

1,938	Sundry Creditors and Expenses Accrued due	381	15	8	
-	Due to Travel Agency on behalf of World Peace Brigade	500	0	0	
			881	15	8

(Signed) JOYCE RUNHAM BROWN  
Honorary Treasurer £8,260 9 11

£8,484

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS

We have audited the above Balance Sheet and the annexed Income and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary Agents abroad of their collections, disbursements and cash balances held and the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet and Income and affairs of War Resisters' International as at 31st March, 1962 and of

Warwick House,  
 Warwick Court,  
 Gray's Inn  
 LONDON, W.C.1.  
 16th July, 1962

ED 718-16-68

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

RELIEF FUND

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

YEAR TO 31ST MARCH, 1962

<u>Balance at 1st April, 1961</u>		213	14	8
<u>Donations received during year to</u> 31st March, 1962		90	2	0
		<u>303</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>Less: Disbursements during year:</u>				
A. Lundquist-Bernhard (France)	5	0	0	
R. Porchet (France)	50	0	0	
		<u>55</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Balance at 31st March, 1962</u>		<u>£248</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

	Paid direct to W.R.I.	Paid to Agents out- side Britain	Relief Fund	Total	1960/61
Gt. Britain & Channel Islands	3,812 16 9		90 2 0	3,902 18 9	3,227
Australia	145 2 3	98 1 8		243 3 11	161
Belgium		9 9 7		9 9 7	4
Brazil				7 1	-
Canada	37 0 11			37 0 11	37
Ceylon	2 0 0			2 0 0	1
Colombia				- - -	7
Costa Rica	2 0 7			2 0 7	-
Cuba				- - -	2
Denmark	5 5 1	320 1 0		325 6 1	160
Eire	21 6 6			21 6 6	21
France		56 11 10		57 1 10	82
Germany	13 6 9	45 18 0		59 4 9	101
Ghana	1 0 0			1 0 0	2
Holland	3 0 0	108 15 9		111 15 9	130
India	9 2 0			9 2 0	11
Israel	7 1 8			7 1 8	59
Italy	6 6 5	4 0 0		10 6 5	16
Japan		2 9 1		2 18 7	3
Kenya	1 1 0			1 1 0	1
New Zealand	33 18 11	50 0 0		83 18 11	133
Nigeria				5 0	-
Northern Ireland	3 10 0			3 10 0	28
Northern Rhodesia				- - -	1
Norway	2 10 0	48 9 8		50 19 8	89
Poland				- - -	1
South Africa	20 0 0			20 0 0	19
Sweden	26 16 2	133 6 0		160 2 2	103
Switzerland	5 10 0	61 4 2		66 14 2	78
Tanganyika	5 0 0			5 0 0	-
U.S.A.	376 15 11	445 4 2		822 0 1	686
Venezuela				7 0	-
<hr/>					
	£4,542 9 6	£1,383 10 11	£90 2 0	£6,016 2 5	£5,163

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INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

<u>1961</u>						
2,473	Salaries and National Insurance	2,389	13	8		
83	Superannuation Premiums	25	0	0		
52	Pension Fund - Allocation for Year	52	0	0		
					2,466	13 8
2,608						
106	Rates, Insurance and Repairs	216	19	4		
59	Heating and Lighting	66	12	7		
330	Stationery and Office Supplies	195	4	0		
46	Telephone	67	7	5		
560	Postage	440	10	9		
134	Sundries	162	18	10		
	Bank Charges & Differences on					
16	Exchange	45	9	11		
96	Audit and Accountancy	75	0	0		
					1,270	2 10
1,347						
1,228	Printing	660	13	4		
35	Participation in Conferences	88	17	2		
66	Summer Study Conference	21	13	3		
	Travelling Expenses of staff and					
	others as authorised by the					
	Executive	89	10	5		
174					860	14 2
1,503						
199	Council Meeting Expenses				462	19 6
	Annuity paid re Special Donation					
124	received in 1959/60				131	0 7
62	Depreciation				60	0 0
1,583	India Conference (1960) Fund				140	13 2
	<u>Excess of Income over Expenditure for</u>					
	year ended 31st March, 1962 carried					
	forward to General Fund Account				921	16 7
<u>£7,426</u>					<u>£6,314</u>	<u>0 6</u>

GENERAL FUND ACCOUNT

2,411	(Excess of Expenditure over Income for the				-	-	-
	year ended 31st March, 1961)						
	<u>PART OF SPECIAL DONATION RECEIVED IN 1959/60</u>						
	<u>REFUNDED TO DONOR</u>				150	0	0
	<u>BALANCE AT 31ST MARCH, 1962</u>						
4,263	carried forward				5,034	7	7
<u>£6,674</u>					<u>£5,184</u>	<u>7 7</u>	

R E P O R T

on the Cambridge Conference on International Action  
7-8 July, 1962, organised by the International Sub-  
Committee of the British Committee of 100.

The Conference was preparatory to the W.R.I. Study Conference in Denmark and this report is mainly intended for participants in this Conference.

FIRST SESSION:

Past and Present Trends in Europe. Political, Military and Economic.

Speaker: Raymond Fletcher

In fact Raymond Fletcher, adviser on military affairs to Tribune, a British left-wing social democrat weekly paper, dealt mainly with military strategy. At the beginning of his talk Mr. Fletcher made reference to his own position on nuclear disarmament - he is not a unilateralist - and to the paper by Professor P.M.S. Blackett published in the New Statesman on 2nd March, 1962 - "The Real Road to Disarmament - the Military Background to the Geneva Talks". (1)

The military policies of East and West since 1945 contained, he said, a strong element of irrationality and were based on the position of the troops on both sides at the end of World War II. It was wrong to imagine that the world was confronted with two perfectly coordinated, monolithic power blocs, each united in its objective, which was the defeat of the other side whether or not this might entail a nuclear conflict.

Russian thinking was essentially conservative and her strategic aim had been to consolidate Soviet power established after 1940.

Up to 1949 she had aimed at conventional military strength and had continued with this emphasis until 1953. After this date the Air Defence Command was developed and the Mig 21, an interception fighter, proved to be particularly effective. A significant break through in rocketry was achieved which facilitated subsequent development in the nuclear field. Conventional forces and nuclear weapons were, from the beginning, made totally separate. The so-called Missile Arm which controlled nuclear weapons was autonomous and commanders of conventional forces had no say in nuclear affairs. Even when nuclear weapons were incorporated into Soviet Defence, conventional forces were kept up to scratch and continued to be vastly superior to Western conventional forces in Europe. There were 20 divisions in East Germany maintained with great efficiency. The tank T.54 was far superior to the latest British tank, the Chieftain.

The U.S.A. from the beginning relied on nuclear weapons until eventually the weakness of this policy became realised. The "Doctrine of Mass Retaliation" or the "New Look" originated not in the Pentagon but was put forward by Sir John Slessor of the R.A.F. General Maxwell C. Taylor was the author of the later "Strategy of Flexible Response" or the "New, New Look" which was similar to what the Russians were already doing and was quite opposed to "Mass Retaliation". The re-organisation of U.S. defences had aimed at maximum efficiency and preparation at all levels. "Tactical" or "Battle Field" nuclear weapons, as they were now called, had been incorporated into the system while there was an increasing tendency to put nuclear weapons under a separate command from conventional forces and to pull them out of the front line in Europe.

The "Doctrine of the Pause" had resulted in nuclear staff being held mainly in the U.S.A. itself and a conventional build-up of forces in Europe. The object was to force a break in the continuity of any military action so that, for example, if a conflict broke out in Europe the other side could be held long enough with conventional forces for both sides to reconsider the full implications of bringing nuclear weapons into play. The "Nuclear Threshold", or the point at which the weapons would be used, was no longer left to the commander in the field. Those in charge of nuclear weapons were in the main more terrified of their own stock-piles than those of the other side and more stringent measures were being taken to avoid accidents.

The B.A.O.R.'s exercise Spear-Point and other military manoeuvres, when chaos had resulted immediately nuclear weapons had been brought into action, indicated just how unrealistic present military assumptions were. There was a new device for making some missiles less accident prone and combination locks had been used in West Germany to prevent any attempt by the Germans to take over and launch an offensive eastwards.

There were these points to bear in mind:

1. There was an awareness of the dangers inherent in the situation on the part of the military commanders, with the possible exception of those in B.A.O.R.
2. The arms race was, from a military point of view, completely irrational because
  - (a) weapons became obsolete before they were ready for service;
  - (b) if a new device was discovered by one side it was immediately assumed that it was accessible to the other. It therefore became obsolete on discovery and a counter device had to be looked for - with the same results!
  - (c) a conflict which would result in the almost total destruction of both sides could hardly be the aim of any military strategy which was at least concerned with national interest and security.
3. The arms race was largely unrelated to political or ideological differences between East and West. It was not a case of Communist or Capitalist expansion bringing the defence mechanism of the other side into play. Nationalism was if anything a more dangerous and belligerent force.
4. There was a prospect for agreement because of the obvious common interest held by both sides in the removal of the threat.
5. The C.N.D. had had an effect on military policy (e.g. a high level plan had been put forward recently which advocated several unilateral proposals:
  - (i) The reduction of over-kill capacity
  - (ii) The closing of certain bases, including Polaris which was no longer necessary
  - (iii) The closing of the first strike systems which would make pre-emptive attacks impossible
  - (iv) The total withdrawal of Battle Field nuclear weapons from the European theatre. )

Mr. Fletcher was then asked a number of questions. The paper Juggernaut - the Warfare State (2) by Fred Cook was mentioned. It deals with the influence of a powerful pressure group in U.S.A. termed the Military - Industrial Complex by President Eisenhower.

A questioner suggested that the facts presented in the Juggernaut indicated that we could have no great faith in the eventual capacity of the U.S. to carry out a rational policy, militarily or in any other sense. The speaker agreed that Juggernaut was one of the best pieces of journalism produced in recent years and that it had made a great contribution to our knowledge of military affairs. He thought, however, that President Kennedy and the Defence Minister MacNamara were sufficiently concerned about the possibility of nuclear conflict and that they were probably strong enough to withstand pressure from extremist groups.

The attitude of the U.S.A. to the continued possession by Britain of nuclear weapons was discussed and it was thought to be inevitable that Britain would eventually forego her independent deterrent because, without assistance from the U.S.A., developments could not be continued.

One questioner doubted that Russia was really so conservative but Mr. Fletcher pointed out that if Russia had aggressive intentions in Europe the deployment of her troops in East Germany would be vastly different than at present.

About the influence of C.N.D. on the military the speaker pointed out that when the policy of nuclear deterrents was first formulated there had been no thought given to the possible moral consequences of such policies. However, military and political leaders were now exhibiting certain inhibitions about the use of nuclear weapons which, although they could not be put down to moral attitudes, might have been in part a response to public opinion. Alistair Buchan, the Director of the Institute of Strategic Studies, had pointed this out. The entry of Britain into the Common Market would mean an inevitable strengthening of NATO and the Western alliance and opposition to nuclear weapons would therefore become increasingly difficult. There were signs already that the Eastern bloc was worried about the military consequences of the economic development of Western Europe.

About Berlin the speaker said that it was generally recognised at a high level that the city was completely indefensible from the Western point of view. The difficulty was in working out the policy which would bring about the withdrawal of Western troops from Berlin without appearing to have suffered a major political defeat. Experts were now working on plans for a disguised withdrawal from Berlin. Mr. Fletcher's suggestions for immediate next steps by Britain were:

- (1) the recognition of East Germany
- (2) the withdrawal of British, French and American Forces from Berlin and the substitution of the U.N. Forces
- (3) possibly the U.N. itself should be established in Berlin

## SECOND SESSION

Conventional proposals for solutions of European problems and reasons for their failure. The different interpretations of unilateralism. Non-alignment, disengagement and unilateralism as an international concept.

Speaker: April Carter

April Carter, staff member of Peace News and founder member of the British Direct Action Committee, opened the discussion by relating military development to political and economic development in Europe, with special reference to the Common Market. It

was quite evident, she thought, that present C.N.D. policy would be much less relevant if and when Britain went in. NATO was at present an inefficient organisation but the Common Market would help the West to achieve military unity which could only mean the intensification of the Cold War. Already not only the Soviet Government but Yugoslavia and Afro-Asian nations were very troubled about future prospects. If Britain relinquished its independent deterrent and if bases were removed from this country - Raymond Fletcher had already stated that the Polaris bases no longer had a military significance - the C.N.D. and the Committee of 100 would be deprived of their dynamic and the development of a realistic policy in the future would prove difficult. Therefore a strategy had to be devised which would allow for adjustment in a changed situation. While opposing the Common Market perhaps we should put forward our own proposals for a unified Europe on a completely different basis. Perhaps our policy should contain some mention of disengagement which was already a fairly respectable concept and had been put forward in different forms by many eminent statesmen. The latest formula was contained in the 'Uden' plan which was achieving a certain amount of support in Northern Europe. The German people would regard disengagement as being in their favour. With the prospect of a withdrawal of troops from Germany and the establishment of United Nations authority in Berlin we would have to consider whether we could support a U.N. force. However, all these were great power solutions and the Committee had always been sceptical of agreement being reached through negotiation. We would have to evolve a united policy for a neutral and disarmed Europe. Up to now the difficulty in the nuclear disarmament movement's approach had been that while it offered a long term solution for the Cold War and activities which could be immediately undertaken to demonstrate opposition to nuclear weapons there had been nothing in between. We had not put forward phased proposals for the solution of Cold War difficulties.

April Carter suggested that, in view of the possible change in the régime in Spain and Portugal, we might try to link up with resistance movements in these countries so that a free Spain might become a neutral Spain. Links should also be established with the newly formed movements in Greece and Turkey. Policies in favour of disengagement and a nuclear-free zone in Europe would possibly engage the interest of people in Poland who seem to be more independently-minded than people in other Eastern European countries.

After some discussion and questions the Conference divided into three discussion groups devoted to these problems:

- (a) Should the Committee of 100 have a policy on the Common Market?
- (b) What was meant by disengagement generally and what did we mean by it?
- (c) To what extent was civil disobedience relevant to the development of an European peace movement?

The three discussion groups reported back in plenary session.

(a) On Common Market Policy

The main point of disagreement, which was later reflected in plenary discussion, concerned the question as to whether Britain's entry into the Common Market was inevitable or not. It was generally recognised that the outcome of a Common Market including Britain would be the strengthening of the Western military alliance; that German influence would be increased and Britain's independent military policies would have to be considerably revised; that the Movement would be required to do a lot of re-thinking and would have to put forward policies consistent with the new situation.

Those who thought that entry into the Common Market was inevitable also believed that we should immediately search for the more positive opportunities thus made available, i.e. internationalisation at Government level would make the same process more possible at the peoples' level. Labour would be more mobile and contact between national trade union movements could be facilitated. Industrial action at an international level was therefore conceivable, etc.

Others believed that the issue had been by no means yet decided and that the Committee should join with others in fighting Britain's entry. There were very good reasons for this within the framework of our own anti-nuclear case which we should voice when undertaking such opposition, therefore making our contribution a more positive one. At the same time if the campaign against the Common Market failed we would have to be prepared to meet the new situation. Some had doubts about the Committee becoming involved with an issue which to the general public at first sight did not seem directly relevant. Would it not therefore be better for people to express individually their views in other movements while leaving the Committee free of a definite policy?

(b) On Disengagement

It was generally agreed that from the power-political point of view some form of disengagement in Central Europe, including the disarmament of both East and West Germany and a nuclear-free zone, would facilitate further steps towards a resolution of the Cold War. The peace movements in Germany and Scandinavia, and also Italy, would welcome the adoption of any such plan. Disarmament in Germany coupled with withdrawals from NATO and the Warsaw Pact, would inevitably mean a solution of the division of Germany - the subject uppermost in the minds of most Germans, whether they supported N.D. or not. Some thought that the reunification of Germany should be part of the stated policy of the Committee, while others pointed out that the only satisfactory reunification from our point of view could come only after complete disarmament in that area and a radical change in the political structure.

The main opposition to the conventional conception of disengagement came from those who believed that to accept disengagement as a political objective implied acceptance of the great-power methods of doing things. No fundamental change could be expected from Governments and the very basis of the Committee's policy was that our appeal was directed at people rather than those in power. In short, disengagement, as it was now understood, did not fit in with the more revolutionary approach to the solution of world problems adopted from the start by the Committee of 100. If some form of disengagement came about it would be welcome because it made the chances of war in the near future less likely but it would also be largely incidental to the more radical struggle to undermine the power of the modern national state and hence make war impossible in the future.

(c) The Relevance of Civil Disobedience to the European Campaign

Although great progress had been made in Civil Disobedience techniques in Britain it could not be assumed that the peace movements in other European countries were yet ready to undertake action at this radical level. Because of the Common Market it was, however, absolutely essential to impose an international rather than national outlook on the Committee's activities. This meant, therefore, that the Committee of 100 should seek cooperation at all levels with all kinds of movements which were committed to a withdrawal from the power-struggle and unilateral nuclear disarmament, even when other aspects of their policies were not in a direct line with the Committee's own approach.

The possibility of co-operating, for instance, with unilateralist political parties like those in Norway, Denmark and Holland was posed, and also with the freedom movements in Spain and Portugal, as recommended by April Carter. It was also recognised that the peace movement of each country was moulded by certain purely national or regional concerns, such as the opposition in France to the Algerian war; the opposition to the Congo operation in Belgium; the division of Germany in the Federal Republic; New Guinea and Algeria in Holland. If cooperation was to be sought, then, with other national movements sympathy and, wherever possible, practical cooperation, would have to be offered by the movement in this country. If this had happened during the course of the Algerian war, for instance, the chances of developing strong liaison with the French Direct Action movement in the struggle against nuclear weapons would have been at the present time much more likely. As it was a valuable opportunity had been missed.

Most people found obvious difficulty in seeing how civil disobedience methods could be used in a meaningful way against a powerful and unified military alliance with the centre of authority in no one particular country. The sit-down outside a rocket base in Britain might in the context of United Europe become completely meaningless whereas some form of non-violent demonstration at NATO Headquarters would have more content. It was recognised that civil liberties in Britain extended further than in most other European countries and indeed this had been one of the difficulties confronting the Committee of 100 because, when a law was broken, it was not always easy to see the connection with nuclear weapons. Although there should not be an attempt to stress civil disobedience when encouraging liaison with other movements in Europe it was recognised that any sort of activity in countries like France or Germany would inevitably lead to breaking the law. People living under more authoritarian conditions tended to have greater scruples about undertaking civil disobedience but once the initial step had been taken the possibilities for action were probably greater than in Britain.

### THIRD SESSION:

Present state of the movement throughout the world and in Europe in particular.

Speaker: Tony Smythe

Tony Smythe, secretary of the War Resisters' International, described the world peace movement mainly with reference to Europe in order that the following sort of question could be answered: what was the peace movement? Where could we expect support, qualified support, or opposition? How much resistance potential in Europe was there?

Dealing first with the international organisations he described the function of the W.R.I., most Sections and members of which were sympathetic to non-violent methods. He did not think there was much chance of fruitful cooperation with the Communist-front World Peace Council but recommended that contact was worth maintaining with Peace Councils in Eastern Europe. Other international organisations were the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, an exclusively Christian body; International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace, which co-ordinated various national peace councils representing the least radical wing of the peace movement; World Peace Brigade for Non-Violent Action which represented the first attempt to use non-violent techniques on an international scale but which was still in an early state of development and considerable financial distress; the European C.N.D. Federation, about which it was difficult to discover anything concrete but that it existed; the World Citizens and World Government Movements, World Federation of Democratic Youth, Womens' League for International Peace and Freedom, etc. etc.

Before discussing all the European peace movements in detail the speaker emphasised the particular national pre-occupations of each, believing that these should always evoke a sympathetic response in the Committee if effective liaison was to be established in the future. He pointed out that nowhere in the world, with the possible exception of Japan, was a peace movement so strong as it was in Britain, therefore at first sight activities in other countries tended to be disappointingly limited. Aldermaston and the Sit-Downs in Britain had, however, stimulated interest all over the world and had encouraged the creation and development of unilateralist organisations.

The movements in the various European countries were described and special attention was given to Germany. The three pacifist movements there (Sections of the W.R.I.) were likely to be the most sympathetic to the Committee of 100. The right-wing attitude of the Social Democratic Party and its proscription of almost all the peace movement was a big factor in the political life of the Federal Republic. There had been sit-downs and large Easter marches but the likelihood of substantial support for the civil disobedience techniques was not so great as in some other countries. The Communist phobia dominated all peace activities and the policies of all the organisations in Germany had to be adjusted accordingly. The Deutsche Friedensunion was a political party which had started out with a radical policy in relation to nuclear weapons and the Cold War but owing to the outlawing of all Communist-front organisations in West Germany had become a refuge for displaced party members. The enthusiastic support by the East German authorities, both for the D.F.U. at election time and for the Easter marches, had not helped the cause of unilateralism very much while the introduction of conscription in East Germany, the refusal to give recognition to conscientious objectors, and the Berlin Wall had, in spite of everything, a certain unifying effect on the peace movement and had destroyed any illusions some peaceworkers might have had about the Democratic Republic.

A suggestion of an East/West demonstration against the Warsaw Pact and NATO has been received from Germany and it was felt that all possible support and assistance should be given by the British movement. After further discussion about Germany the speaker went on to examine the movements in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France and Italy and reference was also made to the U.S.A.

The ability of foreigners to make a radical contribution towards peace activities in other countries was mentioned and several examples, including the San Francisco/Moscow march, were cited. The Committee of 100 might explore the possibilities of contributing towards the development of the European movement in this way.

#### FOURTH SESSION:

Summing up future developments and recommendations to the National Committee of 100. (These recommendations, it was hoped, would also be considered at the W.R.I. Study Conference).

Speaker: Peter Cadogan

Peter Cadogan, secretary of the International Sub-Committee, put forward four basic recommendations which were discussed and revised by the Conference. Much of the discussion has been included in this report as part of the discussions arising from the groups earlier in the programme. It is therefore only necessary to quote the four recommendations:

1. In keeping with our opposition to NATO and the Warsaw Pact we urge that all troops in Europe be withdrawn to their homelands. In pursuance of this aim we shall rely on building up a strong international movement in the separate countries.

2. We shall informally but actively demonstrate our sympathy with the various radical struggles in other countries in so far as they are consistent with our opposition to war and meet with the general approval of members of our movement, e.g. against Franco in Spain. We shall cooperate when possible in particular circumstances with radical political parties that are opposed to military alliances and military weapons, e.g. the Pacifist Socialist Party in Holland.
3. As a meeting point of East and West, Germany is the principal centre of the Cold War. We see the prospect of Peace in a disarmed Germany free of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. We see this being brought about by a movement for disarmament based upon the activity of German unilateralists, East and West. We have no desire to seek the division of Germany ended by the victory of the Federal Republic over the D.D.R. or vice-versa. It is with these thoughts in mind that we recommend giving all the backing we are able to such suitable East/West German demonstrations as our friends in Germany might devise.
- 3(a). (Moved by Pat Arrowsmith) .... and furthermore suggest a march with international support from a NATO base in the West to a Warsaw Pact base in the East or to a town as near as possible to such a base.
4. We recommend that the attitude of the Committee of 100 to the Common Market be discussed at the next National Council Meeting.

☆☆☆☆☆

- (1) "The Real Road to Disarmament - the Military Background to the Geneva Talks" by Professor P.M.S. Blackett, published in the New Statesman on 2nd March, 1962.
- (2) "Juggernaut - the Warfare State" by Fred Cook, published in a special issue of The Nation

Both papers will be made available to participants at the W.R.I. Study Conference (limited number of copies and in English only.

☆☆☆☆☆

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
Lansbury House  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

(7.8.62  
WRI)

AND ITS FUTURE ROLE IN THE TASK OF PEACEMAKING

It would have been much better if I had longer experience in the Headquarters before presenting my ideas to you regarding the future of the International. I could have waited for the next Council Meeting, but that probably would have meant wasting time.

From what I have seen and studied during these weeks at the Headquarters, I have tried to understand the problems that face the future work of the War Resisters' International and its development. To my great satisfaction I felt that the organisation has in the past, as is expected of a revolutionary body, responded to the challenge of the day. The initiative the International took in establishing the World Peace Brigade is one example of this. This feeling has given me confidence and I believe that the W.R.I. will continue to be a non-violent movement of the "present" and will not lag behind the times. There are a few questions to which we would like the Council to give some thought:

W.R.I. in non-Western world

If the W.R.I. is an international movement, what has it to offer to someone in Nigeria or Burma who is either labouring on a farm or working in an office? I had the biggest laugh of my life the other day when one of our honourable members from Nigeria asked us if we could help by inviting the Portuguese to go and establish trading centres in their country. I could have and would have, if we were a trading firm, thrown this letter in the waste paper basket. Here I could not as it was one of the most valuable letters I have ever received. It threw a challenge in my face: "If you cannot offer a trading centre, have you anything else to offer?"

I sat down and started thinking. I thought perhaps I should send him a photograph of Louis Lecoin and ask him to start a campaign for Conscientious Objection. Fortunately I saw a face staring at me. It was the prisoner on the cover of "WAR RESISTER" No. 94. I turned the pages and saw - to my utter disappointment - that there was no conscription in Nigeria. (Africa and Asia are still too backward for such a law! Aren't they?) Then, could I ask him to organise anti-nuclear demonstrations? No. That was also far from the realities of his life. And though I have no figures to quote, more than half of the world's population would not understand the demonstrations in Trafalgar Square or Holy Loch.

Could I, therefore, ask you to tell us what message and programme we have for these millions? Or do we accept that our functions are limited and do not embrace the whole range of experience of human life? Can we not explore the possibility of creating new tools for peaceful living? Has not the time come when we must give serious thought to the second half of our declaration, "We shall strive for the removal of all causes of war"?

W.R.I. in the Western world

The fight for the recognition of Conscientious Objection is on and it will not be too long before most of the countries of the world have passed the necessary legislation to give legal status to C.O's. At the same time when some people are beginning to doubt the need for a C.O. movement, Lecoin's boldness created renewed confidence. France will soon have the bill passed. I have no doubt other countries, except perhaps the totalitarian states, will follow suit. And so a phase of our movement will be over. It will be a great victory.

Even after the battle is over the task of giving relief to C.O's will remain one of our major activities. But the more I think about this question, the more I tend to believe that if the movement is to be

a living and a strong one, relief should mainly be organised locally. We are happy to say that it has already started moving to this direction. The Headquarters, of course, should and would support wherever and whenever there was need. All the same, we must enlarge this programme and perhaps also widen the areas of relief. Even then it will be a more or less mechanical activity, which could be carried by a much smaller office.

A vast area will still remain almost untouched. The question of W.R.I. movement in Communist countries is very big. I am not suggesting any discussion on this point, nor am I asking you for a solution, for I believe it is a complicated problem which we should start working on at a personal level. It is a test-case for non-violence; not of the principles of non-violence, but of our non-violence on an individual and organisational scale.

What then remains for the W.R.I. to do in these Western countries? We must think seriously on this point and give a considerable amount of time to it during this meeting. There are so many forces working for peace. Could we try to help them come together? Can't we also take up research and action in the field of group-tensions? In short, can the W.R.I. lead a much wider non-violent movement to establish that "the recognition of the sanctity of human personality must become the basic principle of human society"?

#### W.R.I. and International Peace Movement

I have a feeling that the groups working against nuclear armaments and only at the demonstration level to express their indignation will start, if they have not already started, feeling that some kind of vacuum exists. Although I am convinced it is a living movement, it is still purely negative. Some of these groups have themselves become aware of this and are searching for new solutions. I understand there are people who say they are "disillusioned". Can a positive action programme be offered to these very potential peace forces? If we want the World Peace Brigade to develop in the direction originally envisaged at the Gandhigram conference, the W.R.I. should give it its continuous support and take an active interest in the functioning of the Brigade. This is desirable also from the point of view of preventing Peace Movement from disintegration. Wherever the W.R.I. message goes, it arouses interest, which is a great encouragement. But, at the same time it puts a heavy responsibility on our shoulders. We should be able to respond effectively and dynamically to the expectations in people's minds. We must put our heads and hearts together to come to some practical conclusions.

#### Suggestions: International Centre

There are some suggestions we want to put here. They are mainly concerned with the Head Office of the International. It is a pity that in spite of our being in London which is one of the great centres of the world, we are practically cut off from the rest of the 'world'. People who are interested in our work and would like to make visits, or whose visits we would like to arrange, get thoroughly discouraged when they learn how far away we are from central London. I have always attached the utmost significance to personal contacts. We find it very difficult to keep this up even with those who live in London. People come to London and go away without getting an inkling of our existence here. Although I am allergic to propaganda as such, I know what a difference it makes to be always in front of everybody's eyes. We are not terribly interested in putting up a W.R.I. name-plate somewhere near Kings Cross, but what we want is an International Centre which would be easily accessible and could also serve as a guest-house for those who are interested in peace, with a library, a good reading room, a meeting room and possibly a corner to spread a couple of beds, if needed. Under Gandhi's influence we have learned to give more importance to a home than just an office. There may be some practical difficulties in working out this project, but don't you think it is worth while to make our best efforts?

### Literature

Preparation of literature is another programme which, if we want to reach the masses, we must take up sooner or later. There is a great need for

- a) basic, simple literature on the history and principles of peace movements in English, also other languages
- b) fairly advanced literature in languages other than English.

We have to recognise that WAR RESISTANCE only cannot fulfil all the needs. It can and should be a forum and a medium of communication inside the W.R.I. itself. If the Council accepts the idea, we shall try to go ahead and explore the possibilities.

Going through some old files I thought it might be of some permanent interest to do a bit of research into our old records and to use them for writing a simple 'layman's history of the W.R.I.'; also file and catalogue them properly. It may also provide some valuable material to research workers in future. It is a time-consuming job and will have to be done slowly.

### Peace Clearing House

For our own work and of the whole peace movement as well it would be useful if we keep up-to-date information of organisations doing peace work directly or indirectly and also function as a clearing house.

### Finance

I did not touch the question of finances. It is our major problem, though we feel it greatly depends on the work. We strongly feel that our Council members should feel more committed in this matter.

Many sense the need which is being felt everywhere for an international leadership to peace movements. We visualise the W.R.I. playing that rôle. Somebody will have to come forward.

July 1962

Devi Prasad

~9.62

L A T E N E W S

ED718-16-77

Study Conference

The details of the W.R.I. Study Conference to be held in Denmark are near completion. The general theme will be RESISTANCE IN EUROPE and speakers with wide experience in the Direct Action field will contribute. The object will be to examine the possibility of developing an effective non-violent resistance movement throughout Europe.

Dates: 29th July - 4th August, 1962  
 Place: "Bleidablick" School in Holte, near Copenhagen  
 Cost: 25/- (DM 13.85) a day and £1 (DM 11,10) Conference fee for the week

A small Committee is being set up to arrange the programme and choose the speakers. There are only 40 available places, so put your name forward now if you wish to participate. Write to the Acting Secretary, W.R.I., 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

World Demonstration for Peace

The World Peace Brigade will go into action for the first time on SATURDAY, 19th OF MAY, 1962.

It is hoped that peace organisations throughout the world will join in a programme of one-day work camps, pickets, sit-ins, marches etc.

Christmas Greetings

C.C.'s in Germany, according to the Verband der Kriegsdienstgegner (W.R.I. Section), received a total of 12,324 Christmas and New Year Greetings in connection with Prisoners for Peace Day, 1961.

John F. Fletcher, formerly W.R.I. Treasurer for many years, died on December 27th, 1961. John Fletcher, a Quaker, was associated with the War Resisters' International since its inception.

All those members who knew him personally are grateful for his inspiring service to so many good causes.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 6

held at

Dick Sheppard House, London, W.C. 1 on Wednesday  
25th July, 1962 at 5 o'clock.

12.7.62

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman), Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treas.),  
Stuart Morris and Arlo Tatum. Staff: Devi Prasad and  
Tony Smythe (Secretaries)

APOLOGIES: Michael Randle

AGENDA: The agenda as presented was approved.

1. MINUTES:

The Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No. 5  
(22.6.62) were approved as circulated, and signed by the Chairman.

ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES

18. Charter Plane

It was reported that amounts still owing were: Felix Kowski  
DM 259, (underpayment due to clerical error): Alvar Sundell  
\$70.8.0. and Niels Mathiesen 240 N.Kr. It was hoped that these  
items would be cleared in the near future.

ARISING FROM EXECUTIVE MINUTES

16. Council Meeting 1962

A revised timetable agenda for the Council Meeting was  
presented by the secretaries and approved with minor additions.

2. FINANCE:

(a) Audited Accounts - 1961-62

Revised audited accounts for the year ended 31st March,  
1962 were presented by the Treasurer and examined in detail by  
the Committee. The Committee was still not satisfied as to the  
accuracy of these accounts in certain respects and the Treasurer  
was asked to take the matter up again with the Auditor and not  
to sign them until she was satisfied as to their accuracy.

(b) Estimates 1962-63

Revised estimates for the year 1962-63 were presented.  
Amendments to these were made to correspond with the revised  
accounts.

(c) Current Statement

Albert Billett's report, which was accepted, showed a bank  
balance at 28th June of £86.5.7. in Account No.1 and £138.13.1.  
in Account No.2 (Salaries). It was also reported that at the  
24th July 1962 there was a balance of £136.14.11. in Account No.1.

(d) Approval of Expenditure

Payments totalling £350.13.2. which had been paid were  
endorsed. Authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding  
bills amounting to £581.3.0. as and when money became available,  
both as attached in this Minute Book.

(e) World Peace Brigade

It was noted that the Peace Brigade still owed us £500 and it  
was agreed to draw special attention to the seriousness of this  
position to the Peace Brigade Council Members on our own Council.

(f) Bank Signature

Executive agreed that, following the resignation of Arlo Tatum from the Secretaryship, Devi Prasad should be added to those who can sign cheques on both accounts at Barclays Bank Ltd., and authorisations to Financial Agents. The following was minuted in accordance with Bank regulations:

"Name of Account: War Resisters' International  
Address: 88 Park Avenue, Enfield.

17th February, 1962

To  
BARCLAYS BANK LIMITED

We have to inform you that at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL (hereinafter called "the Association") held at Dick Sheppard House, London, W.C.1. this day

It was Resolved

THAT pursuant to the resignation of Arlo Tatum from the Office of Secretary of the Association Barclays Bank Limited be and is hereby directed that the authority of the said Arlo Tatum to bind the Association pursuant to the existing Mandate by the Association is terminated PROVIDED THAT all authorities, instructions, instruments and transactions authenticated by the said ARLO TATUM pursuant to the Association's said Mandate to Barclays Bank Limited and purporting to have been given, made, issued or entered into prior to receipt by Barclays Bank Limited of notice of this resolution shall have effect as between the Association and Barclays Bank Limited as though this resolution had never been passed.

THAT DEVI PRASAD of 26 Meadway, Bush Hill Park, be appointed Secretary of the Association and that Barclays Bank Limited be and is hereby directed to honour his signature as such Secretary pursuant to such Mandate by the Association to Barclays Bank Limited as may from time to time have effect.

PROVIDED THAT all authorities, instructions, instruments and transactions authenticated in accordance with the existing Mandate and purporting to have been given, made issued or entered into prior to receipt by Barclays Bank Limited of notice of this resolution shall have effect as between the Association and Barclays Bank Limited as though this resolution had never been passed.

We hereby certify the above to be a true copy from the Minutes.

HAROLD F. BING (Chairman)

C. A. Smythe (Secretary)

(g) New Zealand Financial Agent

Noreply had been received in this connection.

(h) Secretary's Expenses in Denmark

It was agreed that £100 (One hundred pounds) be made available to Tony Smythe for possible expenses in Denmark in connection with the Study Conference and Esperanto Congress.

(i) Withdrawal from St. Pancras Building Society

The Treasurer was authorised to withdraw money from the St. Pancras Building Society for the payment of wages should it become necessary before the next Executive Meeting.

(j) Travelling Expenses to Council Meetings

It was confirmed that Council Members unable to attend owing to distance could allow a travelling allowance of £25 per year to accumulate for expenses in attending later meetings within the same three-year period between Conferences.

3. DATE OF NEXT MEETING:

Wednesday, 12th September, 1962 at Dick Sheppard House, London W.C.1 from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. The meeting to be continued on the morning of the 13th September if necessary.

The meeting closed at 6.45 p.m.

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

DRAFT AGENDA FOR COUNCIL MEETING NO. 3

to be held at Campbell Hall, London W.C.1.

25th - 30th July, 1962

26.8.63 *Vide*

ED718-16-79

25.7.62

APOLOGIES

APPROVAL OF AGENDA

APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF MEETING NO. 2 (18th - 20th July, 1961)

MATTERS ARISING (Not elsewhere on Agenda)

10. Transfer of Headquarters
- Conscientious Objection as Human Right
12. Study Conference 1962
- 18A. Charter Plans
5. Individual Direct Membership with Headquarters
7. Relationship between Headquarters and Sections
8. International Peace Conference, The Hague, 1963
9. Proposed Activities for Sections and Members
10. Japan Anti-A. & H. Bomb Council

2. EXECUTIVE MINUTES

FINANCE

- a) Audited Accounts 1961 - 62
- b) Estimates 1962 - 63
- c) Current Statement
- d) Relief Fund
- e) Investments Committee
- f) Contributions from Sections

4. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

5. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1963

6. RÔLE OF PACIFISM IN AFRICA

7. LITERATURE

8. STAFF

9. CONSULTATIVE STATUS WITH U.N.E.S.C.O.

10. INTERNATIONAL LIAISON COMMITTEE OF ORGANISATIONS FOR PEACE

11. ASSOCIATION AND AFFILIATION

12. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

DATE OF NEXT MEETING

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

COUNCIL MEETING NO.3

held at Campbell Hall, Taviton Street, London, W.C.1.  
Wednesday 25th July 1962 - Sunday 29th July, 1962

PRESENT:

Harold F. Bing (Chairman); Hagbard Jonassen (Vice-Chairman);  
Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treasurer); Heinz Kraschutzki  
(W.Germany); Jean van Lierde (Belgium) 26th-27th July;  
Pierre Martin (France) 28-29th July; Stuart Morris (Gt.Britain);  
Bayard Rustin (U.S.A.); Bill Sutherland (Tanganyika) and Arlo  
Tatum (Gt. Britain). Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe  
(Secretaries) and May Way. Interpreters: Alfred Tucker and  
Inge Hyde. Wim Jong (Holland) was welcomed as an Observer.

The Chairman welcomed Council Members and expressed the Council's  
congratulations to Arlo on his recent marriage. During the Council  
Meeting a presentation was made to him in recognition of his seven  
years' service to the W.R.I.

APOLOGIES: Joseph Abileah (Israel); Tony Bishop (Australia); J.Galtung ;  
Banwarilal Choudhri (India) and Michael Randle (Gt. Britain).

It was agreed to send a telegram of greetings to Michael Randle  
(serving a sentence of 18 months' imprisonment in connection with  
the Wethersfield Anti-nuclear demonstration). It was also agreed to  
send a telegram to George Willoughby (U.S.A.) to convey our sympathy  
to those imprisoned in connection with EVERYMAN I and II protests in  
the Pacific.

APPROVAL OF AGENDA:

The Agenda, as circulated, was approved with the addition of  
the Leningrad Project and Observers at Council Meetings under "Any  
other Business". It was agreed to alter the order of the items so  
as to take the World Peace Brigade on 29th July when it was hoped  
that A.J.Musté (as observer from the World Peace Brigade) would be  
present.

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES:

Minutes of Meeting No. 2 (18th-20th July 1961 at Partinico,  
Sicily) were approved as circulated and signed by the Chairman.

MATTERS ARISING:

10. Transfer of Headquarters

The suggestion of having short-term travelling agents in Asia,  
Africa and Latin-America contained in the memorandum presented at the  
previous Council Meeting was approved as a continuing policy to be  
implemented as and when opportunity occurred.

12. Study Conference 1962

It was reported that 50 participants were expected. Council con-  
gratulated Tony Smythe on the excellent response to his efforts and  
wished him the best of luck in carrying through the Conference  
successfully.

It was also agreed to send thanks to Niels Jonassen for making the  
local arrangements.

18. Charter Plane

It was reported that there were three payments still outstanding  
which it was hoped would be cleared in the near future.

9. Memorandum on Activities of Sections and Members

It was reported that the memorandum which had been presented to the previous meeting had been found useful by one or two Sections and was still available if required.

10. Japan Anti-A & H. Bomb Council

It was reported that the Russian tests had produced a division of opinion in the Japanese Anti A. & H. Bomb Council which previously had been very much under Communist influence. The latest information suggested that the Council was still maintaining the Communist line but that a new non-aligned organisation called the National Council for Peace and Against Nuclear Weapons had been established. It was decided to contact this organisation and to ask our Japanese Section and Mrs. T. Kora for information about it.

There was some discussion on the value of participation in Communist-dominated Congresses, with particular reference to the recent congress in Moscow in which a number of Western pacifists had participated. Some members felt that this had been very valuable while others were doubtful as to its efficacy. It was agreed that, prior to participation in such congresses, a guarantee of freedom of expression for the pacifist viewpoint should be secured. It was also agreed to ask Sections for their views on the matter with a view to further consideration at our 1963 Triennial Conference.

2. SECRETARY'S REPORT:

Tony Smythe presented the Secretary's report which had already been circulated to Council Members, and answered questions thereon. The report was supplemented by (1) up-to-date information about Louis Lecoin's fast and the Bill for legal recognition of conscientious objection being presented to the French Assembly. (2) developments concerning C.O's in U.S.S.R. and Greece (by Stuart Morris); Eastern Germany (by Heinz Kraschutzki); New Legislation for Conscientious Objectors in Holland (by Wim Jong) and in Belgium (by Jean van Lierd). It was agreed to send a letter to the French Government, noting with satisfaction the steps so far taken and urging early implementation of their promises.

It was still hoped to carry out the conference with the Deutscher Friedensrat at a later date.

3. EXECUTIVE MINUTES:

The question was raised as to whether Minutes should be sent to Associate Organisations and Publications as well as to Sections. It was agreed that this should be done but that particular minutes might be marked "Not for Publication".

(a) Study Conference 1963

Devi Prasad reported the steps he was taking to explore the possibility of this being held in Poland.

(b) Freundschaftsheim

In view of the uncertain constitutional position of the Freundschaftsheim the question of W.R.I. participation in the Kuratorium was left to the decision of the Executive when the position became clearer.

(c) U.N.E.S.C.O.

The Chairman reported the conditions involved in the Consultative Status with U.N.E.S.C.O. and on his recommendation it was decided not to make application. It was understood, however, that I.L.C.O.P. was applying for Consultative Status.

4. FINANCE:

(a) Audited Accounts 1961-62

The Honorary Treasurer presented audited accounts which showed a favourable balance for the year ended 31st March 1962. She pointed out that Executive was not satisfied as to their accuracy and was therefore taking the matter up again with the Auditors and would not sign them until the matter was settled satisfactorily. The Treasurer pointed out that the accounts had only just been received from the Auditors and that the Executive which had examined them the previous evening was not satisfied.

(b) Estimates 1962/63

Estimates for the year 1962/63 totalling £6,495 were presented and accepted.

(c) Current Statement

The Treasurer reported that the amount in hand at the present time was less than £200 and the outstanding bills were approximately £600. She emphasised the seriousness of the situation which was partly due to a debt of the World Peace Brigade which owed us £500. Council Members who were members of the World Peace Brigade Council were urged to take the matter up urgently with the World Peace Brigade Council.

(d) Relief Fund

Tony Smythe pointed out that the improvement of the position of C.O.'s in many countries and the extent to which Sections were taking the responsibility for their own C.O.'s, the demands on our Relief Fund were becoming less. At the same time the Relief Fund did make an appeal to certain of our subscribers. Tony suggested that we might extend somewhat the area of our relief activities. It was agreed that the Executive be authorised to do this but that it was undesirable to make contributions to relief funds of other organisations.

(e) Investments Committee

In view of the fact that we had no money to invest this matter was dropped.

(f) Contributions from Sections

It was reported that the basis of contributions to the International from Sections varied greatly. Some contributed a proportion of their income; some a proportion of their surplus; others an arbitrarily fixed sum. After discussion it was agreed that it was impracticable to fix a general method of contribution but that the Secretary and Treasurer should send a personal letter to all Sections reminding them of their obligations and urging them to endeavour to increase their contributions.

5. GERMAN SITUATION:

Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft

A letter from Max Stierwaldt seemed to imply that the Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft had not carried out the condition of affiliation that all its existing members should be required to sign our declaration. The Secretary was asked to make further enquiries.

Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner and Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer

It was reported that Wilhelm Keller had resigned his Chairmanship of the V.K. on taking up an appointment in Austria and the new

leadership of the V.K. was more favourable to collaboration. Theodor Michaltscheff (Secretary of the I.d.K.) had attended the V.K. A.G.M. and had been warmly received. The prospects of closer co-operation between the two organisations were much more favourable.

6. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE - 1963:

It was reported that our Norwegian Section is making arrangements for the Conference to be held near Bergen in the week 21st-28th July, 1963 and final details would probably be available in September. The office would be sending out a circular to Sections concerning Nominations and Elections in due course.

It was suggested that the main discussions at the Conference would be: 1. War Resistance in the Nuclear Age: What is the relevance of individual refusal of military service? 2. Pacifism and Social Justice. 3. Pacifism and Current World Problems. Names of possible speakers were suggested.

Alfred Tucker was asked and agreed to be responsible for Interpretation Arrangements. The Norwegian Section was to be asked to investigate the possibilities of a Public Meeting, a Press Conference and Broadcasting in connection with the Conference.

7. MOVIMENTO PACIFISTA BRASILEIRA (M.P.B.):

It was reported that our member in Brazil, Enio Cardoso, with others had recently established a Pacifist movement and we had sent him the addresses of our members in that country. It was hoped that an application for affiliation might be forthcoming in due course. The Executive was authorised to accept such an application if satisfied that the conditions of affiliation were fulfilled.

8. OBSERVERS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS:

Council continues as always to have the right to invite people to attend for special reasons. Apart from that the Executive shall have discretion to deal with requests and invitations for attendance as an observer. Observers shall have the right to speak at the discretion of the Chairman.

9. UNITED TOWNS ASSOCIATION

Pierre Martin explained the plan for twinning towns in different parts of the world which had now been formalised in the establishment of a United Towns Association, a conference of which was to be held in Coventry at the end of August. The value of this scheme lay in the possibility of bringing peoples together on a non-ideological and non-governmental basis and of establishing direct links between towns on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It was agreed that it would be desirable to have a W.R.I. observer at the Conference in Coventry and Stuart Morris undertook to make enquiries and if possible to attend on the Council's behalf.

10. LENINGRAD PROJECT:

Barnaby Martin, Neil Hayworth and Bob Swann attended the Council by invitation to explain this project which is to fit out a boat to be called EVERYMAN III to sail to Leningrad and protest against the resumption of Soviet nuclear tests. The Council agreed to give its moral support and, if asked, its sponsorship to this project, to inform its Sections and urge them to co-operate where practicable.

11. FUTURE ROLE OF THE W.R.I.:

Davi Prasad presented to the Council a memorandum, copy of which is attached to these Minutes. After some general discussion the Council took the various sections in detail.

(a) W.R.I. in Non-Western World

In addition to the memoranda by Pierre Martin and Jean van Lierde, which had been circulated previously, a great deal of information about the situation in Africa was given by Bill Sutherland, Bayard Rustin and Jean van Lierde. It was realised that the situation in Africa was so different from that which we had experienced in the countries of European culture and tradition that new methods of operation would be necessary. Individual declarations and membership organisations were often unsuited to the conditions of Africa and similar countries and the need for flexibility was emphasised. It was recognised that it would be necessary to work through indigenous movements and native leaders rather than attempt to impose upon them European techniques and organisation. The same principles of action would apply to the countries of Asia and Latin America. Bill Sutherland was asked to co-operate with the officers in producing a memorandum on this aspect for wider discussion in the movement.

(b) W.R.I. in the Western world

The Chairman pointed out that, although we had been working in this field for 40 years, our movement was still a very small one. In the view of many, the problem of conscientious objection was less significant to-day in the struggle against war than it had been in the 1920's. It was felt generally that we had to take note of the rise of many new anti-war organisations using different techniques and that both internationally and in our Sections we had to consider ways of co-operation with them and the development of the philosophy and technique of non-violence in all fields.

(c) W.R.I. and the International Peace Movement

Tony Smythe said that in his experience new peace forces were developing on the international level which were looking for leadership which he thought the W.R.I. ought to supply. The desirability of a co-ordination of all anti-war forces was recognised but at the same time it was agreed that the W.R.I. must retain its specific pacifist character. The Council encouraged the Secretaries to give what help they could towards bringing the anti-war forces together.

Bayard Rustin proposed that the W.R.I. should take the initiative in calling a world youth conference (50-100 selected young people already active in and concerned for peace work) to discuss the problem of Non-Violence and Socio-economic Change under the leadership of outstanding personalities in this field. He thought the C.N.V.A. (Committee for Non-Violent Action in U.S.A.) would be willing to give financial and organisational support. The suggestion was favourably received and Davi Prasad, Bayard and the Chairman were asked to discuss the matter with A.J. Muste and J.P. Narayan during the forthcoming World Peace Brigade Council Meeting and to report to the Executive at its next meeting. It was appreciated that if the W.R.I. took responsibility for such a Conference in 1963, it would mean the postponement of the proposed Study Conference in Poland.

(c) International Centre

The Secretaries suggested that it would be desirable for the W.R.I. to have headquarters nearer the centre of London which could provide office and residential accommodation, together with a social centre for members and friends to meet and make contact with the W.R.I. It was recognised that the present location had certain advantages but on the whole the change suggested would increase the

efficiency of the work and the development of closer co-operation with existing movements having headquarters in London and with visitors from other countries. The Council authorised the Secretariat, in co-operation with the Executive, to explore the possibilities and make such changes as they felt desirable.

(d) Literature

The suggestions made in the memorandum were endorsed and the great need for literature suitable for non-European countries and in languages other than French, German and English was underlined by several members.

(e) Peace Clearing House

It was agreed that a general Directory of the peace movement, nationally and internationally, was the function of other bodies such as the National Peace Council and I.L.C.O.P. but the office was asked to go ahead with the compilation of a Directory of specifically pacifist organisations.

12. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE:

After a detailed discussion on the question of the relationship between the W.R.I. and the World Peace Brigade, it was generally accepted that the Brigade had a special and important function to play in the general pacifist movement, which function was distinct from the W.R.I. work. It was felt that both should retain their separate identities although working in the closest possible co-operation and friendliness. The Council of the World Peace Brigade would be meeting immediately after our Council Meeting and it was hoped the character of the Brigade work would become clearer.

13. MINUTES:

It was agreed that Council members should be asked to send in any corrections or enquiries concerning Minutes as soon as possible after receipt.

14. DATE OF NEXT MEETING:

The date of the next meeting of the present Council will be immediately prior to the opening of the Conference in Norway and the first meeting of the new Council will be immediately following the Conference.

The Chairman asked the Secretariat to express the Council's appreciation to the Warden and Staff of Campbell Hall. He also thanked Heinz Kraschutzki as one of our long-standing members of the Council and expressed Council's appreciation of his help and wished him happiness in his semi-retirement. He further expressed the Council's deep indebtedness to all members of the Staff.

The Meeting concluded with an expression of thanks to the Chairman and to the Interpreters.

## WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

7th August, 1962

LETTER TO COUNCIL & SECTIONS

Dear Friend,

Enclosed herewith are:

- ✓ 1. Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No. 6.
- ✓ 2. News Release No. 4 ?
- ✓ 3. Minutes of Council Meeting No. 3, together with Memorandum by Devi Prasad on the Future Role of the W.R.I., presented to Council Meeting.

Some members will already have received Nos. 1 and 2.

It will be of considerable help if comments and suggestions in connection with the Minutes are sent within a fairly short period after receiving them. The Council felt this would be more practical for taking action on matters, if necessary; moreover, there is a possibility of missing or forgetting points if we wait for the next meeting. Hence this request.

For obvious reasons the annual accounts are not included herewith. They will be sent with the Minutes of the next Executive Meeting which will take place on 12th September, 1962. (Agenda enclosed).

The W.R.I. Headquarters wish to give full support to the EVERYMAN III project which will carry "NO WAR" messages to the people of many countries, particularly of the Soviet Union. W.R.I. Sections and members are requested to do their best to make the endeavour a success by their help and co-operation.

To those of you Council Members who could not come to the meeting, I would only say how we missed you during these five days. We missed you particularly while discussing the future work of the W.R.I. Hope to see you all at next year's Meeting.

We wish to convey our thanks to Council Members who could make it possible to participate in the meeting.

With warmest greetings,  
Sincerely,

*Devi Prasad*  
Devi Prasad, Secretary

## WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

29th August, 1962

LETTER TO SECTIONS:

Dear Friends,

In connection with the next Triennial Conference of the W.R.I. which is due to take place in Norway next year between July 21st - 28th, the following information about elections should be noted and brought to the attention of your Executive Committees:

CHAIRMAN

Candidates for the office of Chairman must be nominated by a Section or by any five members.

Nominations must be received by the International Secretariat not less than six calendar months before the first day of the Triennial Conference, i.e. 20th January, 1963.

The Chairman shall be elected by postal vote of Sections and all votes must reach the International Secretariat not less than 120 days before 1st day of the Triennial Conference, i.e. 22nd March, 1963

COUNCIL

Candidates for election to Council must be nominated by a Section or by any five members. Nominations must be received by the International Secretariat not less than 90 days before the first day of the Triennial Conference, i.e. 22nd April, 1963.

Council Members shall be elected during the Conference but any Section not officially represented at a Triennial Conference shall have the right to cast its vote(s) by post. Such vote(s) to be valid must be received by the International Secretariat not later than one week prior to the opening of the Conference, i.e. 13th July, 1963.

GENERAL INFORMATION (as per Constitution and Rules)

1. Each Section shall be entitled to vote for not more than 12 candidates.
2. Nominations of candidates for election must be in writing.
3. The written consent of the candidates must be obtained by the nominators or the International Secretariat.
4. Announcements of nominations shall include the names of the nominators.
5. Sections shall be allotted 1 vote for every 50 members or part thereof but no Section shall have more than 5 votes.
6. Preliminary Agendas shall be circulated to all Sections not less than 3 months before Conference, i.e. April, and final ones not less than 6 weeks before the Conference, i.e. June 8th.

Will Sections bear point No.6 in mind if they wish to make suggestions for inclusion in the Agenda.

Yours sincerely,

*May Way*  
May Way (Secretary to Tony Smythe)

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

AGENDA

12.9.62

for Executive Committee Meeting No. 7 to be held at Dick Sheppard House, London, W.C.1. on Wednesday 12th September from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. and if necessary on Thursday morning.

APOLOGIES

APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE MEETING NO. 6 (25th July 1962)

ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES

18. Charter Plane
12. Study Conference 1962
- 3(a) Study Conference 1963
5. Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft
6. Triennial Conference 1963
7. United Towns Association
8. Leningrad Project
9. Future Rôle of W.R.I.
10. World Peace Brigade

2. FINANCE:

- (a) Audited Accounts 1961-62
- (b) Current Statement
- (c) Approval of Expenditure
- (d) World Peace Brigade

3. CONFERENCE REPORTS:

- (a) Esperanto Congress
- (b) I.L.C.O.P. Conference

4. STAFF:

5. ANY OTHER BUSINESS:

6. DATES OF NEXT MEETINGS

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 7

held at

Dick Sheppard House, London, W.C.1. on Wednesday,  
12th September, 1962 at 4 p.m.

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman); Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treas.),  
and Stuart Morris. Staff: Devi Prasad

APOLOGIES: Jean van Lierde, Michael Randle, Tony Smythe and  
Arlo Tatum

AGENDA: The circulated agenda was approved with a few  
additions as recorded in these Minutes

1. MINUTES: The Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No. 6 (25th  
July, 1962) were approved as circulated and signed by the Chairman.

ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES:

18. Charter Plane

No money had been received from persons who still owed amounts  
to the International in connection with the Charter Plane

10. Contacts with Communist Countries (under heading of "Japan  
Anti-A & H. Bomb Council" in last Minutes)

Two letters from Heinz Kraschutzki were read in which he  
emphasised the necessity of creating contacts between the  
Communist and non-Communist countries. A lengthy memorandum on  
the same subject had also been received from him. The Chairman  
agreed to study the memorandum and send his impressions to the  
Secretariat.

12. Study Conference 1962

In view of Tony Smythe's absence it was agreed to wait for  
the report of the Denmark Study Conference. It was expected that  
the report would be published in WAR RESISTANCE.

3(a) Study Conference 1963

In view of the proposed Youth Study Conference on Non-Violence  
and Socio-Economic Change (Item 11 (c)) it was agreed that if we  
succeeded in organising the Youth Conference we should postpone the  
idea of having a conference in Poland.

3(b) Freundschaftsheim

Devi Prasad reported his conversations with a member of the  
Kuratorium and some other people connected with the work of the  
Freundschaftsheim. It was decided to ask for a full report of the  
October meeting of the Kuratorium, in the light of which the  
Executive Committee could consider the matter further.

4(f) Contributions from Sections

Action on this matter was being taken by the office as per  
Council Minutes.

5. Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft

Devi Prasad reported on the discussions he had had with Max  
Stierwaldt and Helmut Hertling in Hamburg during his German tour  
after the I.L.C.O.P. Conference. They had assured Devi that action  
was being taken to get the signatures of all members of the D.F.G.

They were going to suggest to their A.G.M., to be held in November, that only those who had signed the Declaration should be considered full members of the D.F.G. They would create another category for those members who did not want to sign the Declaration. Executive decided to wait to hear of the final decisions taken at the A.G.M.

6. Triennial Conference 1963

The office had already sent a circular letter to Sections in connection with nominations for the International Council. The question was raised as to whether Associate Organisations and Associated Publications have the right to send nominations for the Council. After referring to the Constitution it was made clear that nominations can be sent only by Sections or by any 5 members. Associate Organisations and Associated Publications had only the right to vote.

9. United Towns Association

After making enquiries of the organisers of the United Towns Association Conference (which began on 12th September), Stuart Morris found that the W.R.I. could send an observer but not delegates. Stuart Morris would attend the Conference and report back to the next Executive Meeting. The Executive regretted the action of the U.K. Government in not allowing Conference delegates from East Germany to enter the country.

10. Leningrad Project

The latest situation of the Project was reported by Stuart Morris who is a member of the Project Committee. The boat was on its way to London and it was expected that it would be launched from a London dock some time during September. A public meeting was being organised in connection with this on September 14th.

11. Future Rôle of the W.R.I.

(a) Bill Sutherland's Memo on Africa

A memorandum on Africa by Bill Sutherland had reached the office and it was decided to send copies of it to Executive Committee members for their comments. On the basis of these a final memo would be prepared which would be sent to Council Members and Sections and might also be published in WAR RESISTANCE.

(c) Youth Study Conference

As per Council Minutes, A.J. Muste, Jayaprakash Narayan, Bayard Rustin, Harold Bing and Devi Prasad met during the World Peace Brigade Council Meeting and discussed the possibility of a Youth Conference on Non-Violence and Socio-Economic Change. The proposal was very much appreciated by A.J. Muste and Jayaprakash Narayan. In this meeting it was agreed that Bayard Rustin and A.J. Muste should write a note giving an outline for the proposed Conference and send it to Devi Prasad. This note would be circulated among organisations which might be asked to sponsor such a conference. The Secretary reported that the promised note had not yet been received. Devi also read to the Executive Committee the letter he had written on the 8th August giving his own ideas on the matter. Reminders had been sent to A.J. Muste and Bayard. The question of the place and time of the Conference was also discussed.

(e) Directory of Pacifist Organisations (under heading of Peace Clearing House in last Minutes)

As per the Minutes of the last Council Meeting the office was taking action towards compiling such a directory.

## 12. World Peace Brigade

Harold Bing attended the World Peace Brigade Council Meeting (July 30th - August 2nd) as an observer on behalf of the W.R.I. He reported briefly on the Meeting. He had written an article on the subject which would be published in the next WAR RESISTANCE. Harold expressed his satisfaction on the clarifications made during the Meeting on the functions and character of the Brigade. He felt that the work of the Brigade did not overlap with that of the W.R.I., as was feared previously. Among the current projects of the Brigade the following were the major ones: training centre in Tanganyika; participation, if necessary, in the march into Northern Rhodesia; march into South-West Africa; the London-Leningrad boat project and a Central-European project by the German Section of the Brigade.

## 2. FINANCE:

### (a) Audited Accounts 1961-62

The audited accounts for 1961-62 were presented by the Treasurer, approved by the Committee and signed by her.

### (b) Current Statement

The Current Statement showed a balance of £385.13.0. in No. 1 Account and £26.3.1. in No. 2 Account (Salaries) at the 31st August, 1962. It was also reported that on 11th September 1962 the balance in No. 1 Account was £89.12.1. The Executive expressed its concern over the financial situation. It authorised the Treasurer to withdraw up to £100 from our St. Pancras Building Society account if necessary for the payment of wages. A legacy of £118.2.10 had been received and paid into the bank for current expenditure. It was agreed that it should be repaid to the St. Pancras Building Society as soon as possible.

### (c) Approval of Expenditure

Payments totalling £711.17.5., which had been paid, were endorsed. Authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding bills amounting to £644.2.9., as and when money became available, both as attached in this Minute Book.

### (d) Relief Fund

Alfred Tucker's correspondence with Robert Porchet was placed before the Executive Committee. Robert, who was W.R.I. Financial Agent in France for many years, now finds himself in great financial difficulty owing to his very poor health. He is nearly blind and suffering from angina pectoris. Executive therefore decided to send him £15 quarterly beginning at the end of September.

### (e) New Zealand Financial Agent

R. Thurlow Thompson has very kindly agreed to act as the W.R.I. Financial Agent in New Zealand. He conveyed this to Headquarters in his letter of 20th August 1962 and had already started the work. The Executive expressed its gratitude to him.

## 3. CONFERENCE REPORTS:

### (a) Esperanto Congress

Tony Smythe had attended the Esperanto Congress in Copenhagen, (4th-11th August 1962). In his absence a report was read. Harold Bing agreed to send his written comments on it so that Tony could make necessary changes before the report was either sent out or

published in WAR RESISTANCE.

The next Esperanto Congress would be held in Sofia, Bulgaria, from 3rd-10th August, 1963. In view of the opportunities this Congress might present to make contact with Esperantists from East European countries, the Executive felt it desirable to appoint two representatives. The office was asked to make the bookings for two people as early as possible.

(b) I.L.C.O.P. (Now International Peace Bureau) Conference

Devi Prasad gave an oral report of the Conference held near Lake Constance, Switzerland, from 26th-30th August. He also reported briefly on the proceedings of the I.L.C.O.P. Members' Meeting, which was held on the evening of 30th August and morning of 31st August. In view of the very considerable financial improvement of I.L.C.O.P. the Members' Meeting discussed how I.L.C.O.P. could function more effectively and help the peace movement by becoming an active centre for exchange of information and co-ordination. Devi felt it would be better if future I.L.C.O.P. conferences had more precise themes to discuss. It was a satisfaction to know that the Members' Meeting also felt the need for this. The next Conference would discuss EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND ITS WORLD EFFECTS. The Conference would probably be held in France. It was decided by the I.L.C.O.P. Members' Meeting that Dr. Fritz Katz should cease to be Secretary from January 1963.

4. STAFF:

A request was received from May Way to work part-time, that is three full days a week. Marjatta Bryan asked if she could work for four full days a week instead of five during which she worked from 9-4. As there would not be any difference in hours worked, it was decided that her wages would remain unchanged. May would work on the basis of 6/- per hour. It was agreed that the Secretaries should try this arrangement and see how it worked and report to the next Meeting.

5. AMNESTY:

AMNESTY was organising a Conference in Bruges, Belgium, to discuss the theme RELIEF OF THE PERSECUTED 1962 over the weekend 28th-30th September, 1962. AMNESTY had asked if we could send representatives to participate in the Conference. Considering the matter from the financial point of view, it was not felt possible to send any delegates, but the Executive hoped that the office would ask for a full report of the Conference.

In the same letter AMNESTY mentioned the Conference on PERSONAL FREEDOM in London on 17th November and also invited the W.R.I. to appoint a person to submit a paper on Personal Freedom, based on the draft questionnaire enclosed with their letter. The Secretary was asked to send the available literature from our publications and ask AMNESTY if they would like further information and also write to them that we hope to be represented at the November Conference.

DEATH OF MRS. RAJBANSI DEVI:

It was learnt from a newspaper report that Mrs. Rajbansi Devi, the wife of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, former President of India, had died. It was recalled that Dr. Prasad had been Vice-Chairman of the W.R.I. for a long period. The Executive asked the Secretary to send a letter of condolence on behalf of the Executive.

DANILO DOLCI'S FAST:

Daniilo Dolci's letter of September 6th to Devi Prasad was read. Danilo had enclosed his statement regarding his fast and a copy of a letter he had written to the Italian Government. The Executive

appreciated the step he had taken but felt concerned about his health. The Executive also approved of the action taken by the Secretary, that is, sending telegrams and letters to Danilo and the Government of Italy, expressing the support of the W.R.I. for Danilo's fast.

8. CIRCULAR REGARDING A CONFERENCE IN AMSTERDAM:

The attention of the Executive was drawn to a circular issued by the International Sub-Committee of the National Committee of 100, in which the name of W.R.I. appeared supporting a conference in Amsterdam (10th-12th November 1962) to create an Anti-War International. It seemed that the organisers of the Amsterdam Conference had not fully consulted the W.R.I. before using its name in the circular. Although the Council, at its last meeting, encouraged the Secretaries to give whatever help they could towards bringing anti-war forces together, the Executive Committee felt that it would not be appropriate for the W.R.I. to associate itself with the efforts to create an international body. We should, no doubt, help in creating an atmosphere for mutual consultations among different groups and organisations on an international plane. The Executive asked the Secretaries to take up the matter with the International Sub-Committee of the Committee of 100 and clarify the W.R.I. stand in such matters.

9. ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION BY THE C.N.D.:

The Secretary brought to the notice of the Executive a circular issued by the European Federation Against Nuclear Armaments, proposing the establishment of an International Federation. He also briefly reported his conversations with some friends who were connected with this project. It was probable that the W.R.I. would be invited to participate in a conference to be held in London in January 1963. The question of sending representatives could be considered later, if we received an invitation.

10. W.R.I. NAME APPEARING ON A LEAFLET:

Stuart Morris brought to the notice of the Committee a leaflet published by the London Committee of 100. He pointed out that the W.R.I. is listed in this leaflet among organisations working for disarmament in this country. This may create a confusion among people that the W.R.I. works only against nuclear armaments and endorses the policies of the Committee of 100. This, the Executive Committee felt, should be made clear to the Committee of 100 which should also be advised that the proper procedure is to consult an organisation before using its name.

11. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AS A HUMAN RIGHT:

Stuart Morris informed the Executive that he had received a further letter from the Foreign Office, which stated that, although technically it would be open to the Government to propose an additional article to the draft Human Rights Covenants, the Foreign Secretary did not feel it would be appropriate to do so because the British representatives at the General Assembly had always made it plain that, while they were prepared to play their part in drafting, many of the articles were so imprecise as to make it impossible for the Government to accept the obligations of the Covenant as a whole.

In view of the unsatisfactory reply he had taken the matter up with Fenner Brockway and was arranging for the matter to be raised by question in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Requests would also be made to some of the Afro-Asian groups to see if any of them would sponsor an amendment or additional section. He had briefed Archbishop Roberts who had raised the matter of Conscientious Objection at the Accra Assembly. The Archbishop had expressed the hope that the matter would also be raised at the forthcoming Vatican Council, where it might at least be possible to get some statement about the universal recognition of the right of conscientious

ED 743 - 16 - 89

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

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ENGLAND

LETTER TO COUNCIL MEMBERS AND SECTIONS

28th September, 1962.

Dear Friends,

Enclosed herewith are:-

- ✓ 1. Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No. 7.
- ✓ 2. Copy of revised audited accounts for the year 1961/62 and estimates.
- ✓ 3. H.G. Friedrich's speech at the Study Conference, Denmark.

Also for Council Members: letters from Tony Smythe and Heinz Kraschutzki.

We have not yet received any comments on the Minutes of our last Council Meeting but, as always, we would like to hear your views and any suggestions you would like to make.

You will have noticed from the Minutes of the Executive Committee the financial situation the Headquarters are in. Our work is growing and so expenses, too, are increasing. Unless we make special efforts to collect funds, we may have to face a very difficult situation. Certain measures occur to us which could be taken to improve the situation:

Perhaps every so often our Sections' papers could print an appeal for funds specifically for the Headquarters. Perhaps there are some Sections which could afford a slightly higher annual contribution (we will be writing to you about this later). Perhaps a regular letter from the Headquarters in the Sections' journals would stimulate interest in the International and encourage people to contribute something for international work. We realise that already some Sections are giving as much as they can afford and that most of our income comes from individuals in countries where the Sections already give us considerable help, such as Britain, U.S.A. and Holland. However, we would like to have your comments on these suggestions and any further ideas which might occur to you.

The need for the consolidation of peace forces internationally is felt more and more every day. Bearing this in mind we welcome every opportunity for closer contact between Headquarters and Sections and between the Sections themselves. We hope that you will co-operate with our new policy of issuing more frequent news releases. Send us details of your activities in advance and your comments on their success afterwards.

With warmest greetings,

*Devi Prasad*

Devi Prasad  
Secretary

ED 718-46-90

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone : LABurnum 3977  
Telegraphic address:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

86 Park Avenue  
Enfield  
Middlesex  
ENGLAND

12th October, 1962

LETTER TO COUNCIL MEMBERS AND SECTIONS

Dear Friend,

Enclosed with this letter is the agenda for the next meeting of the Executive Committee on 4th November and a memorandum by Bill Sutherland on "Pacifism in Africa". Most of the items for the agenda arise from previous meetings and therefore need no further explanation. You will notice that we have elected to number the Minutes rather differently, limiting the matters arising and starting afresh with each meeting.

May I take this opportunity of reminding you that nominations for the Chairmanship of the W.R.I. should be sent to Headquarters not later than 20th January 1963. Also we would welcome further discussion and more suggestions for the agenda of the Triennial Conference. At the time of writing a suitable Conference Centre has not been found and we must apologise for the delay in getting such vital arrangements settled. Nevertheless you should ask your members to keep the week 21st-28th July 1963 free if they want to attend.

A word of clarification about the W.R.I. Study Conference documents which have been circulated to you for your information. For the most part they consist of set speeches or contributions to the discussion at the Conference and of course represent the views of the speakers and not necessarily those of all the W.R.I. members. We hope you will agree with us that the circulation of these documents gave an added usefulness to our Annual Study Conference. They were only sent to Council Members, Sections and those who attended the Conference.

If you have any comments on the Minutes of the last meeting or wish other items to be included on the agenda for the next meeting please write to us as soon as possible. We would especially like to hear about recent activities of the Sections.

Yours fraternally

*Tony Smythe*

Tony Smythe  
Secretary

MEMO ON AFRICA

ED 748-16-91

(12.10.62  
WRU)

-Bill Sutherland

The W.R.I. faces several conditions in the non-western world which it has not had to face before. First of all we have a proximity to the seat of power in various African countries; a chance to observe at close range, and to contribute to the solution of political problems. On the other hand, we are much farther away from the mass of the people because of language, cultural and other differences. We can attempt to overcome some of these differences through contact and study, but we must always recognise that there is another major reason why we cannot reach the people directly, unless assisted and encouraged by African leadership. This is the political fact that suspicion of the outsider has become quite general; a very natural phenomenon in view of a long period when trust was rewarded with betrayal, contact meant political and cultural suppression, etc. In present African situations, moreover, a far greater responsibility, for good or ill, is invested in the leader and the people will do nothing without reference to him.

Another condition which is analogous to the W.R.I. position vis-à-vis Naziism during 1930-45 exists as far as South Africa is concerned. Unless Western pacifists grasp the fact that to the politically aware African in every part of the Continent the Nationalist Government in South Africa represents an evil more horrible than the Nazi régime before World War II, they will not be able to appreciate the difficulties involved in deciding whether resistance to this régime will be violent or non-violent.

For decades pacifists have been 'speaking truth to power'. Some African leaders are now 'speaking challenge to prophecy', i.e., "You pacifists call for a non-violent society, a non-violent solution to conflict. We are ready to accept this; how do we start?"

For the War Resisters' International, with its association of various approaches to the pacifist position, there is necessarily a limitation on the possible answers to this challenge, i.e. answers acceptable to all. The following would seem to be steps upon which we could all agree:

1. Be informed. Learn to appreciate non-Western cultural concepts and the history and conditions out of which spring the present behaviour in non-Western countries. Do not project Western religious, cultural and social values where they do not apply, in making judgments upon non-Western societies. Demonstrate understanding and brotherhood through correcting the misconceptions and misunderstandings about non-Western countries which are rife in the so-called developed countries.

2. Meet the challenge of African leaders seeking non-violent solutions to conflict and the establishment of a non-violent society. There is very little time in the struggle for political independence or the years immediately following independence to work out different patterns of behaviour, different approaches to the new society. Consequently, African and Asian leaders fall back upon the same old conventional means which have resulted in societies, to a great extent, being miserable and uncreative and busily preparing for total destruction. The W.R.I. could offer the service of bringing together experienced men of non-violence with Africans who have a broad knowledge of their own circumstances and history to hammer out more creative and hopeful patterns of meeting conflict and establishing a healthy society. This should be done preferably at the request of African leaders who lean towards our approach.

3. People to people technical training and assistance. The possibilities of a non-violent society are often swept away at the very beginning of independence because the leadership sees no way to meet the immediate crying needs of its people, except through attempting a precarious balance between aid from the Great Powers and the economic, political, social and cultural independence of its people. Often through no evil intention of anyone the balance is lost because of the effect of Great Power aid - occasionally in spite of itself. There are small groups of our people all over the world, or people sympathetic to us - more particularly in Denmark in terms of our own contacts - who have an approach to technical aid and assistance which allows for a maximum of retention of the human aspects of the indigenous society, mutual education and a protection against external domination.

In general, the W.R.I. should be able to offer a qualitative person to person, small group to small group contact which would make contributions to non-violence in the non-Western world in a quiet, effective way.

☆☆☆☆☆

**WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL**

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Institut für Zeitgeschichte

ED 718-16-92

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

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ENGLAND

25th October, 1962

## LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friend,

The world is in a state of the greatest possible gloom and depression. Any moment it may blow up. Two of the many centres of tension have reached their peak. What will happen around Cuba when the Russian ships confront the American blockade, nobody yet knows. Near the Himalayan peaks Indian and Chinese armies are bent upon killing each other.

At this critical moment we feel that all the peace forces must act, and act immediately, to do their best to help restore the peace of the world. One may say that these peace forces are at present so meek that their voices would be ineffective, but last night's news of the response to Bertrand Russell's message has recreated and reinforced the confidence in the power of peaceful forces. This is why we feel that every organisation and even individuals who feel concerned about to-day's grim situation must express their feelings and put pressure on both sides in both cases to come to an understanding without a moment's delay.

I hope many of our Sections have already taken the necessary action but in case they have not yet done so we very strongly suggest that:

1. regarding the Cuban crisis they send telegrams to both sides concerned and letters and deputations to their local Embassies appealing that the question may be left to the U.N. to decide. The U.S.A. must withdraw the blockade and the Soviet Union should stop sending all kinds of armaments to Cuba.
2. pressure should be put on Indian and Chinese Governments directly and also through their Embassies to urge them
  - (a) to agree to immediate cease-fire
  - (b) to sign a no-war treaty
  - (c) to resolve their differences by negotiation, arbitration, mediation and other peaceful methods.

Please inform the Headquarters of the actions you take.

With best wishes  
Yours sincerely

Devi Prasad  
Secretary

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

## A G E N D A

Y. M. 62

for Executive Committee Meeting No.8 to be held  
at Lansbury House at 10 a.m. on Sunday 4th November 1962

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## APOLOGIES

## APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF MEETING NO.7 (12.9.62)

MATTERS ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES

18. Charter Plane
12. Study Conference 1962
- 3(b) Freundschaftsheim
5. Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft
9. United Towns Association

2. FINANCE:

- (a) Current Statement
- (b) Approval of Expenditure
- (c) World Peace Brigade
- (d) Caisse de Solidarité - Switzerland (Relief Fund)
- (e) Emile Veran - France (Relief Fund)

3. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE - 1963
4. STUDY CONFERENCE - 1963
5. ESPERANTO CONGRESS - 1963
6. AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE - November 1962
7. INTERNATIONAL C.N.D. CONFERENCE - January 1963
8. RELATIONSHIP WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES
9. MEMORANDUM ON AFRICA (Bill Sutherland's memo)
10. REMOVAL OF HEADQUARTERS
11. SECRETARY'S VISIT TO IRELAND
12. STAFF
13. DATE OF MEETING IN MARCH
14. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 8

held at

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middx.  
on Sunday, 4th November, 1962, at 10 a.m.

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman), Joyce Runhan Brown (Hon. Treasurer),  
and Stuart Morris. Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe.

APOLOGIES: Jean van Lierde, Michael Randle, Arlo Tatum.

AGENDA: The circulated Agenda was approved with additions as  
recorded in these Minutes.

1. MINUTES: The Minutes of Executive Committee No. 7 (12th September)  
were approved as circulated and signed by the Chairman:

ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES:

18. Charter Plane

Payments for the fare to India were still owing from Alwar Sundell (Finland) and Felix Kowski (West Germany). There had been no reply to letters sent by the office. Further letters were to be sent.

12. Tony Smythe reported that the Study Conference had been very successful. He referred Executive to the report in "War Resistance" and the Conference documents. The P.P.U. had drawn attention to the fact that no mention had been made of the P.P.U. by Peter Cadogan who gave a report on the British peace movement. Stuart Morris had sent a letter for "War Resistance" on this subject. Tony Smythe told the Executive that he himself had mentioned the P.P.U. and other peace groups orally after the report had been presented. The document had only been circulated to those who had attended and to Council and Sections for information. A letter in "War Resistance" would not be understood by the readers, most of whom would not have seen the report in question. It was agreed that Stuart's letter should be sent with other documents to conferees.

There was a discussion on the confusion about membership in countries where there were Sections. The Staff explained the procedure used when signed Declarations were received. It was made clear to the signatory that membership was held through the national Section. The signed Declaration was sent to the Section. A confusion in the office had led to lists being sent instead, but this matter would be put right.

The Executive re-affirmed that as the Broken Rifle badge had never been accepted as the emblem of the International, it could be sold to non-members. This would be valuable as a source of income.

3(b) Freundschaftsheim

There was fresh information on the Freundschaftsheim through Arlo Tatum and some of the workers of the Freundschaftsheim to Devi Prasad. Executive agreed in principle to send a representative

to the next meeting of the Kuratorium which will probably take place on November 27th. Before taking the final decision the office was asked to make sure that the representative going to the Kuratorium meeting would go as a delegate and not as an observer. He should be able to place the W.R.I. point of view before the Kuratorium and discuss it. The Executive asked Devi Prasad to go on the following conditions:

- a) that the day of the meeting suits him;
- b) that our financial position allows it;
- c) if possible, some other engagements on the Continent could be fitted in.

#### 5. Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft

From Max Stierwaldt's letter of October 20th, in which he commented upon the last Executive Committee Minutes, it seems not yet clear that the conditions for an affiliation are being met. Some members of the DFG have signed the Declaration and the Declaration is included with other material on the application form in current use. The difficulty is whether a new member would regard himself as committed to the Declaration if he had not signed it directly. The fact that only members who had signed would have the right to vote at DFG Conferences was noted with satisfaction and it was recognised that a requirement for established members to sign the Declaration was difficult to put into effect. The Secretary was authorised to write to the DFG asking that the matter should be discussed and clarified at the Annual General Meeting of the DFG on 9th November. The Chairman sent a letter of congratulation to the DFG on its 70th anniversary.

#### 9. United Towns Association

Stuart Morris reported on his visit to the Conference in Coventry by referring to an article which was published in the "Pacifist" and was circulated in a W.R.I. news release. He said that the rôle of non-municipal bodies was discussed and that it was generally considered that they had a part to play. Executive decided that the office should try to get a list of twinned towns and that we should assist contact between local peace organisations in these towns. There had already been a response to Stuart's article and many people had found it useful.

#### 10. A. and H. Bomb Council

Executive was referred to a pamphlet called "My personal Relations with Gensuikyo" by Earle Reynolds, the skipper of "Everyman III", which made it quite clear that the A. and H. Bomb Council was Communist dominated. An anti-Communist faction had broken away from the Council to form a new organisation. Zengakuren, a student Socialist organisation, seemed to be the main independent group working for peace in Japan. The C.N.D. had not invited the A. and H. Bomb Council to its Conference in January. Contact would be maintained but there seemed to be little point in considering representation at future conferences of this organisation.

## 2. FINANCE:

### a) Current Statement

Albert Billett's report, which was accepted, showed a bank balance at 31st October 1962 of £531.16.10 in Account No. 1 and £42.9.7. in Account No. 2 (salaries). It was also reported that on the 3rd November the balance in Account No. 1 was £243.11.5.

### b) Approval of Expenditure

Accounts totalling £438.19.7., which had been paid, were endorsed. Authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding bills amounting

to £119.4.5., as and when money became available, both as attached, in this Minute Book.

Executive again expressed its concern over the general financial situation. One legacy had been received recently but this had gone into the Building Society. The Staff were already taking special measures to deal with the situation, including appeal letters to those in U.S.A. who had not yet contributed. An advertising campaign in journals like "Peace News" was also considered. Executive decided to insert an emergency appeal in the edition of "War Resistance" ready for publication.

c) World Peace Brigade

£500 had been received from India which had enabled the account with our travel agents for W.P.B. fares to Tanganyika to be closed.

d) Relief Fund - Caisse de Solidarité (Switzerland)

It was reported that £10 had been paid to the Fund. Requests for further amounts would be considered sympathetically and £10 more was authorised in case of need. Executive asked that a detailed report of how the money was expended should be given by those responsible for the Fund.

3. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1963

A cable had just been received from Norway saying that a school in Stavanger would possibly be available on the pre-arranged date and that, if not, the third week in August would be free. The school contained 80 double bedrooms. The cost would be 30/- per day for each person. Executive decided that if the Conference could not be arranged in July, the third week in August would be acceptable. The availability would finally be known on 12th November. There was more discussion about the programme and speakers. It was decided to call the over-all theme "Future Role of the W.R.I." This would be divided into six sections:-

- a) Individual Refusal in the Nuclear Age;
- b) International Anti-war Movement;
- c) Pacifism and Social Justice;
- d) Current Issues;
- e) Relationship with the World Peace Council and its Sections;
- f) Pacifism in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

The Norwegian Section had indicated that the third of the original proposals, "Pacifism and Current World Problems", had not appeared as important as the other two. It was hoped that the new proposals would satisfy the movement and that suggestions and comments would be sent to the Office as soon as possible. If necessary, each of the subjects could be discussed in groups rather than in plenary session.

4. STUDY CONFERENCE 1963

Devi Prasad reported that a Conference place had been found near Chartres, France, for either the last week in August or the first week in September. There had been no practical response from A.J. Muste and Bayard Rustin. In view of this, Executive decided that we should organise the Conference on the usual W.R.I. Study Conference scale. It should be on the same subject as was planned for the International Youth Conference but it will, more or less, be confined to Europe. Perhaps the originally envisaged World Conference could be arranged in 1964. In that case the 1963 Study Conference would serve as a preparatory conference. It would be useful to encourage similar conferences in other regions. The timing of the Study Conference depended on the dates secured for the Triennial Conference.

5. ESPERANTO CONGRESS

The recommendations of a sub-committee, consisting of Harold Bing, Alfred Tucker (Honorary Assistant Secretary) and the two Secretaries, were put before the Executive and accepted. Alfred Tucker and Tony Smythe would attend the Universal Esperanto Congress in Sofia. Alfred would be encouraged to renew old contacts in Bulgaria and possibly Rumania. Tony Smythe would attend the Youth Esperanto Conference, if possible. It was decided to encourage as many individual members of the W.R.I. as possible to go. This was suggested in the current issue of "War Resistance" and a letter to this effect would be sent to Sections. A special pamphlet in Esperanto would be produced by next May. All the Esperanto contacts on the mailing list would be encouraged to attend the Conference.

6. AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE - November 1962

Tony Smythe referred to his letter to Council Members and to documents which had been circulated to Council Members and Sections, giving more details about the Conference and its origins. It was decided that Tony Smythe should attend as W.R.I. representative and that he should use the opportunity to meet members of the Dutch and, if possible, Belgian Sections. The Conference could be regarded as a follow-up to the Copenhagen Study Conference and as one of a series of international meetings. Reports would be circulated at a later date.

7. INTERNATIONAL C.N.D. CONFERENCE - January 1963

The W.R.I. had been invited to send at least two representatives. Tony Smythe had co-operated with Peggy Duff, the Secretary of the European C.N.D. Federation, in drawing up a list of organisations to be invited. It was decided that Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe would represent the W.R.I. and that either Harold Bing or Jean van Lierde would be included, if an invitation for three representatives was received. Executive decided to give the Conference its full support in the hope that it would help to draw together the international peace movement into closer understanding and active co-operation.

8. RELATIONSHIP WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

A letter and an article received from Heinz Kraschutzki had been circulated. Letters from Johan Galtung, Hagbard Jonassen and Arlo Tatum had been received in reply. These and others, if received in time, would be circulated in summarised form to Council Members. Because of the obvious interest Council Members had shown in this subject, it was decided to include our relationship with the World Peace Council on the Agenda of the Triennial Conference. Executive took special note of positive suggestions made by Hagbard Jonassen. His recommendation was that if it was not possible for an East German delegation to visit Britain, steps should be taken to initiate other such meetings, possibly in Denmark, with either East German, Polish or Czechoslovakian Peace Committees. Executive put forward an alternative proposal which was to invite all these Peace Committees, and in addition the Hungarian Peace Committee, to send one observer each to the Triennial Conference. If this were possible, provision would be made for a Day Conference immediately before the Triennial Conference, between Council Members and the observers. The Office was asked to continue to encourage discussion on this subject amongst the Sections and it was hoped that comments and alternative proposals would be made.

9. MEMORANDUM ON AFRICA

Bill Sutherland's memorandum had been circulated. It should be considered as one of the papers for the Triennial Conference. There would be more opportunity for discussion on this subject at the Triennial Conference.

#### 10. REMOVAL OF HEADQUARTERS

There was much discussion on the possibility of buying a house nearer to Central London, bearing in mind the W.R.I.'s current financial situation. It was recognised that a large enough house necessary for the envisaged international centre would cost not less than £10,000, which would mean a considerable drain on W.R.I.'s resources. Therefore a smaller house should be sought. Lily and Albert Billett would probably be moving from the downstairs flat at the beginning of January. This meant that the flat would then be empty and that we would lose an income from the rent. The Staff had not yet any definite proposals to make but they were asked to go on making investigations and to bring more concrete proposals to the next meeting of the Executive. The position was discussed in relation to the Secretaries' difficulties in finding suitable accommodation themselves.

#### 11. SECRETARY'S VISIT TO IRELAND

Tony Smythe had had an enjoyable and, from his point of view, successful visit to Ireland under auspices of the Irish Pacifist Movement. He had spoken to two meetings organised by the Irish Pacifist Movement, one organised by a political party and at three schools. He had also had a brief appearance on television. As his visit coincided with the Cuban crisis, he was able to engage in many other activities during his stay.

#### 12. STAFF

It was recognised that the employment of two part-time secretaries was not entirely satisfactory but in the present financial situation it was difficult to find any alternative. The voluntary help of the Treasurer had been very much appreciated in the recent weeks.

#### 13. THE CUBAN CRISIS

Measures taken by the Headquarters Staff during the crisis were reported. Telegrams had been sent to Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev and another to Mr. Khrushchev, expressing appreciation on his decision to withdraw the bases. A general appeal to action had been sent to all Sections. It was thought that in such situations the emphasis should always be put on individual responsibility and action and that the pacifist movement should immediately take steps to help ensure that such crises do not occur again. More detailed letters would be sent to Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev, commenting on the situation and explaining the W.R.I.'s position. So that the movement might be better prepared to meet future crises, it was decided to collect and distribute reports on actions taken by Sections during the crisis.

#### 14. SINO-INDIAN WAR

Again Sections had been asked to take appropriate actions. Letters were written to the Indian Embassy and the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in London. It was decided to send further letters to the Chinese and Indian Heads of State and the Heads of State of Soviet Union, Britain and U.S.A., asking them not to continue to supply arms. The danger was that with interference from outside the conflict would escalate into a world conflict and that India would be diverted from its policy of neutrality in the Cold War. Attempts had been made to contact members of the Indian peace movement but no replies had been received yet. They would be urged to oppose military preparations in India, to offer more constructive solutions and to recommend suitable activities for pacifists in other countries in support of their campaign.

#### 15. THE WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

Stuart Morris and Tony Smythe expressed concern about the position of the Brigade. At present the European office had no

money, apart from that which had been contributed towards the "Everyman III" project. It also seemed to be powerless to initiate new projects and to carry on the work in Africa. The difficulties arise from two main sources: a) the absence of any documentation from the Council Meeting in July; b) the lack of communication between the different regions.

16. WAR RESISTERS' GROUP IN ARGENTINA

A new Group has been formed in Argentina which, because of local difficulties, wanted to change the Declaration while becoming affiliated to the W.R.I. The difficulties of the new Group were regarded sympathetically and the suggestion was made that for the time being the Group should become an Associated Organisation. The Secretaries regarded the formation of the Group as being a very encouraging sign and would do everything to assist its development.

17. ISRAEL C.O.

Stuart Morris reported that the F.P.U. had contacted the Israeli Embassy in London about the information regarding a C.O. This information had been circulated by the W.R.I. to Council Members and Sections. The Embassy was making further inquiries.

18. PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

In view of the difficulty in getting the names and addresses of C.O's in prison in time for printing, it was decided to revert to duplicating the list for Prisoners for Peace. In its call to Sections the W.R.I. would stress the success in getting alternative service for C.O's in France. It would ask that the position of C.O's in Italy and Switzerland should be given special attention.

19. AMNESTY

Executive decided to send two representatives to a meeting organised by AMNESTY in London on "Personal Freedom in Western Europe" on November 17th. An attempt would be made to draw attention to the position of conscientious objectors.

DATES OF NEXT MEETINGS:

Sunday, 13th January, 1963, at 10 a.m. at Lansbury House

Saturday, 9th March, 1963, at 10 a.m. - Place not decided.

The Meeting adjourned at 5 p.m.

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

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BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

ED 718-16-97

13th November, 1962

## LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

I have sent letters to several peace organisations and individual pacifists in India, enquiring what the pacifist position is in regard to the China-India border conflict. I have so far received replies from some of them, and have also read in the English and Hindi Bhoodan weeklies about the present situation. It all seems worthwhile sharing with you. At the same time it may perhaps be useful if I give you an idea of what we have been doing at Headquarters in regard to this question.

Soon after the large-scale fight started on the Sino-Indian border, we wrote to nearly 35 international and national organisations in London, suggesting that they take some sort of action immediately. It was encouraging to see that many of them did act spontaneously and sent strong letters urging their Governments to come to an understanding on a cease-fire without losing any more time and human life. A circular was sent to all W.R.I. Council Members and Sections to the same effect. The Headquarters also wrote to the Embassies concerned. We felt that the situation should be taken seriously, as it shows the most dangerous signs of a major international conflict. We urged peace workers and organisations to express their feelings against the dangers of armed conflict which could involve the whole world.

It is quite understandable that the people in the Indian peace movement are finding themselves in a great dilemma. India is a very large country. The Secretary of the Shanti Sena Mandal wrote in his reply that it takes some time before people can be gathered for a consultation. He informed us that a special meeting of the Shanti Sena is being called to discuss the matter.

I noticed Vinoba Bhave's speech, published in "Bhoodan". In one speech he said that the war should stop immediately. He expressed the opinion that it would not be proper to oppose the Indian Government in its armed defence against the Chinese. According to him, opposing the Government is not advisable because the overwhelming majority of the people want to have a fully-armed defence programme. He pleads for internal unity and courage and, at the same time, a strengthening of village economy. In another speech he is reported to have said that the fight is between two ideologies: "Our fight is with Communism which the invader wants to impose on India". Implications of such a statement could be dangerous, as it would mean that the present conflict is not about borders but a fight against the Communist world as a whole. If India wants to limit the scope of the war with China, she must not, in any case, make it a war of ideologies. At this stage it is very difficult to say what the rank and file in the Sarvodaya movement feels about the whole question. The Annual Meeting of the Sarva Seva Sangh and the Annual Sarvodaya Conference will take place shortly (19th - 24th November). Presumably the India-China question will dominate the discussions.

It is encouraging to know that some Indian peace workers have sent a very appealing letter to Jayaprakash Narayan, asking him to

give a lead at this critical time. They suggest that a call be given to enrol one hundred thousand Shanti Sainiks who should go through a quick and emergent training to create at least one hundred centres along the entire border front.

The latest Hindi Bhoodan weekly reported that the Headquarters of the Shanti Sena is getting enquiries from Shanti Sainiks from all over the country, asking what they should do under the present circumstances. I wonder if it will not help pacifists in India to know exactly what pacifists outside India feel about this question. It might, to a great extent, help them in making decisions in the forthcoming Conference. What is more important to-day is that a world perspective should reflect in all local and national movements, rather than national movements isolating themselves, saying that it is a local affair.

A few days back I went to hear a speech by the Indian High Commissioner in London. It was a meeting of what is called the Indian Defence Committee which is collecting money for the defence of India. To my greatest horror I found that the whole thing has already started swinging to one side. The speech gave one a feeling as if India is abandoning her non-alignment policy and sounded pro-West. We distributed leaflets in the meeting, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith. It created considerable displeasure among the people present. Some even came and returned the leaflet saying that they had had enough of non-violence and negotiation.

To-day the major concern is that the conflict between the two countries must remain strictly localised, and ways and means must be found to resolve it peacefully. It is equally important that non-violent defensive measures are also organised urgently and that to that effect Shanti Sena be built up on a large scale. Peace volunteers from other countries may also be invited to join this army.

I have written this letter with the hope that peace forces all over the world will come together in averting a major crisis which has the potentiality of involving humanity in a World War.

Yours sincerely,

Devi Prasad  
Secretary

“युद्ध का जमाना अब नहीं रहा है।  
लड़ाई बन्द होनी चाहिये।  
इसके बहुत भयानक परिणाम हो सकते हैं।  
देश की रक्षा

मिलिटरी से, फौज से नहीं हो  
सकती।”

२२ अक्टूबर ६२ - विनोबा भावे

"War is outdated. A country cannot now be defended by arms and military power. Villages must have their own defence programme - not with the build-up of armed forces but with action for non-violent defence, along with an economic defence programme."

Vinoba 22/10/62

India is facing war - a war which could involve the rest of the world. She can either continue the military conflict with China or seek a solution by other means. It is universally established that war cannot any more solve international problems. If India chooses armed action for defence, it will ultimately lead to

- 1) sacrificing her non-alignment, her main strength in world affairs
- 2) a death-blow to neutralism which is developing into a third world force and represents the only hope for a peaceful world
- 3) the risk of starting World War III.

In India's own interest and in the interest of world peace it is unnecessary to decide who is right and who is wrong. The major task is to reach an agreement as soon as possible. With this in mind, India must go on trying to negotiate and must be ready to accept mediation or arbitration. Indians at home and abroad should put pressure on the peoples and governments of all countries to help in creating a climate for mutual agreement. At the same time Indian people must reject war reparations and the tension created by national hysteria and the elements with vested interests. Agreement may take time. Meanwhile Indians should remember Gandhi's statement during World War II. He said that if the worst happened, it was better to yield possession while refusing to co-operate with the aggressor:

"Thus supposing that a modern edition of Nero descended upon India, the representatives of the State will let him in, but tell him that he will get no assistance from the people. They will prefer death to submission. The second way would be non-violent resistance by the people who have been trained in the non-violent way. They would offer themselves unarmed as fodder for the aggressor's cannons. The underlying belief in either case is that even a Nero is not devoid of heart. The unexpected spectacle of endless rows upon rows of men and women simply dying rather than surrender to the will of an aggressor must ultimately melt him and his soldiery. Practically speaking, there will probably be no greater loss in men than if forcible resistance was offered; there will be no expenditure in armaments and fortifications. The non-violent training received by the people will add inconceivably to their moral height. Such men and women will have shown personal bravery of a type far superior to that shown in armed warfare. In each case the bravery consists in dying, not in killing."

Those elements who want India to become a military power, will take advantage of the emotional state of the people. Very soon conscription may be introduced and the tragic story of Western militarism will be repeated.

India has a special responsibility. If she chooses the methods suggested by Gandhi, she will win moral and practical support of the world. Perhaps an international team of volunteers should be invited to join the non-violent forces in India. If the techniques of non-violent defence leading to reconciliation are adopted, India would not only keep herself outside the Cold War but she would offer the world a new dynamic approach to national defence.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

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ED 718-16-99  
13th November, 1962.

## LETTER TO COUNCIL MEMBERS AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

I enclose the Minutes of Executive Committee meeting No. 8 which took place on November 4th and invite your comments.

### Prisoners for Peace Day

The Honour Roll containing names of C.O.'s in prisons will be distributed very shortly. We hope that all your members will be encouraged to send Christmas cards to these young men and that you will try to arrange demonstrations of solidarity on December 1st.

Now that the position has considerably improved in France, there seems to be a good chance that, with pressure from pacifists from all over the world, conscientious objection will come to be recognised as a Universal Human Right.

We are of the opinion that to make Prisoners for Peace Day fully effective this year, Sections should be encouraged to concentrate on two countries where there is no sort of recognition - Italy and Switzerland. You will see from the list of prisoners that we have very few names for either of these countries. This is because it is very difficult to obtain the necessary information. Many are in prison both in Italy and Switzerland. This would suggest that special protests should be made at the Embassies of these two countries.

It would also be worth calling attention to long-term prisoners. There are two in the U.S.A. : Donald Martin, who was sentenced to an indefinite term of imprisonment in June 1961, and Robert T. Reedy, who is serving a five-year sentence.

Even in those countries where there is recognition, conditions are not yet satisfactory, and I know that you will do all you can to improve them.

### Triennial Conference

We must apologise for the fact that a conference centre has not yet been found. We hope to be able to let you know more about this in two weeks time. Meanwhile you will see that the Executive has considerably modified the programme for the Conference and I hope that you will agree with us that the new programme is an improvement. We would appreciate comments and further suggestions. If there are any speakers you would particularly like to hear, please let us know.

Cuban crisis

It is evident from the reports we have received that the peace movement throughout the world was very active during the crisis. Mistakes, however, were made and there was a general lack of co-ordination. Also, as we have to depend on the capitalist press for news, we heard very few details of what was done in different countries. We must put the lessons of the Cuban crisis to good use. I would, therefore, ask you to send a report on the activities of the peace movement in your country during the crisis, in order that it might be documented with other reports and circulated to the whole movement.

Sino-Indian conflict

A letter from Devi Prasad and a leaflet is enclosed herewith. We hope that you will do everything possible to join with our efforts and with the efforts of the Indian peace movement during this difficult time.

Esperanto Congress, 4th - 11th August, 1963, Sofia, Bulgaria

Again the W.R.I. will be holding a special meeting at this Congress. Alfred Tucker and Tony Smythe will be attending as the official representatives of the W.R.I. As suggested in "War Resistance" we hope, however, that you will encourage as many of the Esperantists as possible in your Section to attend the Congress. It is essential that we try to extend the hand of friendship to peace workers separated from us by the false barriers of the Cold War.

Information service

Please try to help the W.R.I. in this new venture. Let us know directly about the activities and demonstrations you are planning. We can pass this information on and in this way help to strengthen the co-operation in the world of peace making.

Finance

Our position is desperate - need I say more.

With best wishes,  
Yours sincerely,

*Tony Smythe*

Tony Smythe  
Secretary

## WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 Park Avenue  
 Enfield, Middlesex  
 ENGLAND

23. M. 62

LIST OF SECTIONS, ASSOCIATED PUBLICATIONS AND ORGANISATIONSArgentina

Fraternidad Esoterica Gnostica Latino Americana. Secretary: Prof. Dr. F.A. Propata, Calle 29 y 54 (Radio 15) Mercedes (Buenos Aires), Argentina

Agrupación Argentina de Refractarios a la Guerra. Secretary: Carlos Lorenzo, Sede (Prov.) Alvarez Jonte 5693, Buenos Aires, Argentina (not yet accepted)

Australia

Federal Council of Australia. Secretary: Mr. Alan Hodge, 30 Phoenix Street, Lane Cove, N.S.W., Australia

Pacifist Movement of Victoria. 10a Mt Lia Ave Hawthorn East, Victoria, Australia

P.P.U. (S. Australia). Secretary: Miss Elizabeth Richards, 3 Euston Avenue, Highgate, S. Australia

P.P.U. (N.S. Wales). Secretary: Room 209, 333 George Street, Sydney, N.S. Wales, Australia

Austria

Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner. Chairman/Secretary: Frau Luise Eisenmenger, Wien 12, Spittelbreitengasse 46/III/12, Austria

Belgium

L'Internationale des Résistants à la Guerre. Secretary: M. Jean van Lierde, 39 rue du Loriot, Boitsfort-Bruxelles, Belgium

Brazil

Mouvement Pacifiste Brasilien. Secretary: Senor Enio Cardoso, Caixa Postal 62, Lapa, Rio de Janeiro, G.B., Brazil (not yet accepted)

Canada

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Eastern Section. Secretary: Miss Margaret Boos, 123 Regent Street, Downsview, Ontario, Canada

Western Section. Secretary: Mrs. Mildred Fahrni, 4536 West 8 Avenue, Vancouver 8, Canada

Union of Doukhobors of Canada (and Union of Young Doukhobors). Secretary: Mr. N.N. Kalmakoff, Box 337, Canora, Sask, Canada

Chile

W.R.I. Group: Secretary: Senor Lain Diez, Casilla 9753, Santiago, Chile

Denmark

Aldrig Mere Krig. Secretary: Mr. Svend Hugaard, Store Restrup Husmandskole, Sønderholm, Denmark

Eire

Irish Pacifist Movement. Secretary: Betty Taylor, c/o, 6 Eustace Street, Dublin, Eire

Finland

W.R.I. Finnish Section. Chairman: Dr. Deryck Siven, Fabriksgatan 32 A 1, Helsingfors, Finland

France

Ligue d'Action Pacifiste. Secretary: M. Edouard Vincent, 8 rue Merlin, Paris XIIe, France

Germany

Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft. Secretary: Max Stierwaldt, Lohmühlenstr. 1, Hamburg 1, Germany

Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner. Secretary: Dr. Theodor Michaltschew, Hamburg 13, Bornstrasse 6/11, Germany

Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer. Secretary dealing with foreign correspondence: Gerhardt Grüning, 6 Frankfurt (Main) W 13, Schloßstr. 22, Germany

Great Britain

Peace Pledge Union. Secretary: Stuart Morris, 6 Endsleigh Street, London W.C. 1., England

Holland

Algemene Nederlandse Vredes Actie. Secretary: Rudi Wolf, Brouwersgracht 220, Amsterdam-C, Holland

India ☆

W.R.I. Indian Section. Secretary: Marjorie Sykes, Ilkley, Kotagiri, Nilgiri Hills, Madras State, India

Israel

W.R.I. Israeli Section, Haifa Group. Secretary: Mr. Joseph Abileah, 55a Hillel Street, Haifa, Israel

Tel Aviv Group. Secretary: Dr. E.J. Jarus, 78 Keren Kayemet Blvd, Tel Aviv, Israel

Italy

W.R.I. Italian Section. Secretary: Aldo Putelli, Via Ceradini 3, Milan, Italy

Japan

W.R.I. Section. Secretary: Mr. Sakan Endo, c/o Keisuy-biru N. 1., Edogawacho-Bunkyo-ku, Tokio, Japan

New Zealand Peace Union. Secretary: Mr. C.M. Curtis, P.O. Box 816, Christchurch, New Zealand

N.Z. Christian Pacifist Society. Secretary: Rev. A.C. Barrington, Riverside Community, Lower Moutere, R.D., Upper Moutere, N. Zealand

Nigeria

W.R.I. Nigerian Section. Secretary: Sam J. Basse, c/o P.O. Box 8, Uyo, Nigeria

Norway

Folkereising Mot Krig. Secretary: Mr. Niels Mathiesen, Kristian Augusts Gate 19, Oslo, Norway

Sweden

Svenska Världfredsmissionen. Secretary: Mr. Thore N. son Alvarö, Box 59, Gokalund, Sweden

Switzerland

W.R.I. Zürich Group. Secretary: Dr. Carl Brønner, Seestrasse 97, Erlenbach/Zürich, Switzerland

U.S.A.

Fellowship of Reconciliation. Secretary: Mr. Alfred Hassler, Box 271, Nyack, New York, U.S.A.

War Resisters League. Secretaries: Bayard Rustin and Ralph DiGia, Room 1025, 5 Beekman Street, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

ASSOCIATED PUBLICATIONS

Voie de la Paix. Editor: Jean Gauchon, Place Irene Joliot Curie, Groupe Paul-Langevin, Trappes (S & O), France

Peace News. Editor: Hugh Brock, 5 Caledonian Road, London N. 1., England

L'Incontro. Editor: Dr. Bruno Segre, Via Consolata 11, Torino (704) Italy

ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS

Schweizerische Zentralstelle für Friedensarbeit. Secretary: Herrn Pfarrer Willy Kobe, Gerlikonstr. 95, Zürich, Switzerland

★

W.R.I. Hyderabad Section in India. Secretary: Mohammed Sarwar, c/o H. Ahmed, Aziz Bagh, Sultanpura, Hyderabad-D n. 24 (AP), India

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

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ED 718-16-102  
23rd November 1962

## LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

Due to the interest shown by several W.R.I. members in the question of making contacts with Communist countries, it was felt necessary, especially in regard to our future work, to give some thought to this question and consequently the Executive decided to have this as one of the subjects for discussion at our Triennial Conference. To make the discussion more useful it may be necessary to produce some documents before the Conference. I therefore request you to make this a subject of discussion among your groups and prepare papers on it, so that we can place before the Conference something to base its discussions on.

You will have already notices from the Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No.8. that Hagbard Jonassen has put forward a few positive suggestions. The Executive suggested that one observer each from Peace Committees of East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary be invited to the Triennial Conference and, if possible, they should arrive one day earlier, so that the Council Members could have a meeting with them. If this suggestion could be implemented, I am sure it could produce some good results: It had been felt for some time past that the time has come when we can no more leave out Communist countries from the area of our activities. Some feel that there may be several points of common interest with the Communist peace movements. The best thing to do seems to be to explore the question of common interest in consultation with the Peace Committees of these countries.

We would like to have your comments on this subject, especially on the suggestion of inviting observers to the Triennial Conference.

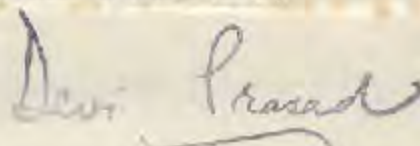
### Nominations for Council:

May we remind you that nominations by Sections or by any five members of the W.R.I. for Chairman must reach Headquarters by 20th January, 1963.

Nominations for Council Members must reach us by 22nd April, 1963.

If you wish to nominate please check with the individuals first that they are willing to stand.

Yours sincerely,



Devi Prasad  
Secretary

v. Tony SMYTHE

ED 717 - 16-103

There is no need to restate the case for strengthening the International Peace Movement. The series of International pacifist, direct action and CND Conferences indicate sufficient recognition at administrative level. The will is certainly there so that what is needed now is a thorough re-examination of the present position in order that the will might be harnessed to some practical effect.

### INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

The W.R.I. provides the example best known to me, as a member of Staff, but the same discussion would be relevant to the I.F.O.R., I.L.C.O.P., W.I.L.P.F., European CND Federation and International Sub-Committee of the Committee of 100, etc. International Headquarters can provide a focal point for pacifists throughout the world; they can co-ordinate activities, convey information, facilitate understanding and organise international conferences. They give Sections and individual members the feeling of belonging to an International Movement and take them beyond limited national struggles into the context of the world-wide struggle for peace.

What are the drawbacks:

- (a) Too much responsibility and power to influence rests first with the Headquarters Staff, then with the Executive Committee and lastly with the International Council, the members of which, although they are elected by the movement need not all necessarily be in close touch with their national organisations at local level. They are all necessary but if they are not backed up by interest in the International on the part of individual members they tend to work in a vacuum and to become leaders rather than an integral part of the movement as a whole.
- (b) Information can be sent out from the International Headquarters to Sections' representatives but this does not necessarily mean that it gets disseminated to the membership. There are many reasons for this - a national secretary has to be selective as he is mainly occupied with national business, some are inefficient, do not have sufficient contact with the membership themselves or are not particularly interested in international affairs, etc., etc.
- (c) There is the feeling that all contact with the International should be channelled through the national office and this often fails for the reasons given in (b). (To some extent the W.R.I. overcomes this by welcoming direct contact with individuals, especially in countries where no Section exists. Many members are, however, not aware of this and if all were and acted accordingly correspondence would swamp all other Headquarters activity.)
- (d) The cost of travel and lack of time prevents the Secretaries making the necessary personal contacts with members and local groups.
- (e) Second hand information, once it has passed through national and international offices, tends to lack the vitality of a direct exchange of ideas.

There are, of course, many reasons why International Headquarters are absolutely necessary and it is rather because I believe they are largely self-evident than through any attempt to minimise its rôle that I do not restate them here.

There can only be these solutions:-

- (a) More direct contact between Sections (Difficulties: translation, time, etc.)
- (b) Direct links between local groups in different countries.

The first alternative is already encouraged in the W.R.I. so it is the second I would like to turn your attention to.

The following proposals are inspired by the need to consolidate the International Movement at a crucial stage in our struggle for Peace and by such endeavours as the Town Twinning schemes initiated by the United Towns Organisation.

Local pacifist groups should form organisational links with pacifist groups in other countries.

The objects would be:

- (a) To achieve mutual understanding at a rank and file level
- (b) To initiate creative discussion and exchange of views which could provide a stimulus to the activities of each group. (No group in such an association would like to admit that it was inactive and so might be compelled to do more.)
- (c) To aim at co-operation to the point of joint and simultaneous activity.

The effect of widespread acceptance of this idea would be to strengthen immeasurably the International Movement from the base.

Here are some suggestions as to how to put these plans into operation:

- (a) Groups should aim at association with not just one group abroad but with at least two. These would not necessarily be ideologically similar, i.e. pacifist group in Germany links with non-violent action group in France with CND group in Australia.
- (b) The scheme would be most useful if it could produce association between groups in very different societies, i.e. triangular association between groups in Western Europe, Eastern Europe and India.
- (c) International centres like those already mentioned would assist groups by providing the necessary contacts.
- (d) First contacts would be by letter. (Here there are translation difficulties which could be overcome either by choosing countries with the same language, using the knowledge of individual linguists in the Group, Esperanto). Pamphlets, news letters, etc. could be exchanged and discussed.
- (e) Visits by individuals or delegations would follow. Participation in demonstrations (i.e. Easter Marches) could be encouraged with offers of accommodation, etc. Even such things as exchange holidays for children could be arranged.

There are many other possibilities which, with those mentioned, could go a long way to solving the problems of organising internationally.

This memorandum is for the attention of the W.R.I. Council and Sections, I.F.O.R., I.L.C.O.P., W.I.L.P.F., the Society of Friends, Zengakuren (Japan), A.C.N.V. (France), C.N.V.A. (U.S.A.), Committee of 100 (Gt. Britain), the World Peace Brigade, Sarva Seva Sangh (India), the European CND Federation Conference in January 1963 and all local and national peace groups.

TONY SMYTHE

War Resisters' International  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield,  
Middlesex, England.

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ED 718-16-104  
19th December, 1962

LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

✓ I enclose the Agenda for Executive Committee Meeting No.9 to take place on Sunday 13th January 1963.

Under Item 11 - Prisoners for Peace Day - a question raised by Arlo Tatum as to whether we should continue to have special activities on December 1st will be discussed.

Pierre Martin has suggested certain revisions of the Constitution (Item 14) which will be circulated with the Executive Committee Minutes.

It has been suggested that the W.R.I. should assist in efforts to get Bertrand Russell awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (Item 18).

Referring back to my last letter of the 13th November there has been little response to our request for information about the reaction of Sections to the Cuban crisis and the Sino/Indian conflict. The W.R.I. will be circulating a detailed analysis of the Sino/Indian war drawn up by Devi Prasad immediately after Christmas.

The plans for the Triennial Conference are now going ahead. It will be held at a school in Stavanger at the southern tip of Norway from 27th-30th July. There will be a meeting of the old Council on the 26th July and of the new Council on the 31st July. We are also hoping that representatives from East European Peace Councils will accept our invitation to attend the Conference as observers and will have a special meeting with Council Members on the 26th July. A detailed programme will be issued immediately after the Executive Meeting.

DON'T FORGET that January 20th, 1963 is the last day for receiving nominations for the Chairmanship and March 22nd for receiving nominations for Council.

Best wishes  
Yours fraternally

*Tony Smythe*  
Tony Smythe (Secretary)

Herst Maurer  
(16) Friedrichstraße 110 11  
Burgstraße 47 11

24.11.62

ED 718-46-105

ACTION ON

CHINA - INDIA

BORDER - CONFLICT

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex

ENGLAND

Christmas 1962

Dear reader,

After we had compiled this document, information regarding the Colombo Conference of some neutral nations has been published. The proposals of the Colombo Conference provide India and China with a sound basis for mutual understanding. The W.R.I. has written to the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mrs. Bhandarnayaka, informing her of our support for the Colombo proposals and giving our best wishes to her forthcoming goodwill mission to Peking and New Delhi. Mrs. Bhandarnayaka will try to persuade both Governments to accept the Colombo proposals. We have also written to the Prime Ministers of both countries, appealing them to make these proposals the basis for solving the conflict.

The Indian peace movement, in its Sevagram meeting on the 17th of December, reacted enthusiastically to A.J. Muste's proposal of an International Friendship March from India to China. In a recent speech Vinoba Bhave has welcomed and appreciated the Chinese cease-fire. He hopes that India will trust China in her intentions and start negotiations.

We hope the New Year will bring peace both to China and India.

Devi Prasad

For the last few years there have been continuous hostilities on the frontier between India and China over the question of border demarcation. Tension gradually increased and on the 20th October, 1962, it developed into an undeclared war. And so the peace of the world became threatened. China ordered a cease-fire on the 21st November, but the threat remains.

## CHINA-INDIAN BORDER CONFLICT AND ITS EFFECTS

### The Problem

This is not an attempt to present an exhaustive study of the Sino-Indian border conflict nor is the aim to put forward a blueprint for the solution of the problem. Both the governments concerned have produced innumerable documents in support of their own case. There have been other independent analyses in favour of one side or the other. Extracts from Chinese and Indian documents will show how strong each considers its own case to be. This makes it more necessary that the affair should be looked at through independent eyes without any attempt to say which side is right and which is wrong.

It would be difficult if not impossible to put forward plans for a solution on the basis of non-violent action, for such action is very much dependent upon those who implement it. Those who are neutral would make reconciliation their objective and those who identify themselves with one side would seek to apply non-violent strategy in the interests of that side. The fact is that an international organisation cannot plan a national action. What it can do is to analyse a situation in its international context and mobilize international support for local actions. The purpose of this document is to discover what effect this conflict and the actions taken to find a solution will have on the peace movement as a whole.

What has the conflict cost India and China?

### Human Suffering

The human suffering and loss of life already inflicted on both countries has been one of the most distressing aspects. Neither India or China have enough food and clothing for their vast and ever growing populations and a war between them, or even the continued threat of war, will necessitate the curtailment of development plans to concentrate all their energies on the war industry. Little is known about China but the race for better weapons has already started a drain on Indian resources. There is no end to the material losses the

conflict could bring to both countries.

### War Psychosis

One cannot but be shocked at the way hatred towards the Chinese is being built up in the minds of the Indian people. Samples of posters calling on the people to help the war effort were published recently by the Calcutta "Statesman" in its overseas weekly. One poster depicting the human heart with bullets being fired into it was captioned "Each rupee will help to send a bullet into the enemy heart". Presumably things are not very different in China. A government which wants its people to support war has to operate at this crude level.

The Indian government succeeded in rousing the nation and it achieved unanimity for the first time in the Republic's short history. The Indian people now want to see the Chinese ejected from what they regard as Indian territory at all costs. The Chinese, obviously superior in terms of military strength, have both proposed and carried out a cease-fire in such a way as to leave the Indian government little choice but to do the same. The danger now is that, pressured by public opinion, the Indian government will be so blinded by war hysteria and loss of prestige that it will seriously consider reopening conflict. In order to fight the Chinese the government had to stimulate patriotic sentiments but now, at a time when it would seem opportune for it to accept the Chinese bargaining position and quietly withdraw, that same patriotism might force it to take the wrong course and to lose power - an alternative which no national government could accept.

### World War

The international implications of the Sino-Indian conflict are alarming. There is little doubt that although the quarrel is over an uninhabited and remote piece of territory, it could spark off a much wider conflict even to the point of global war. The supposed estrangement of Russia and China should not deceive us into thinking that Russia would not in the last analysis support her major political ally. Kingsley Martin wrote in the "New Statesman" of 30th November: "If the renewal of warfare should involve bombing, there is of course a risk that Russia would change her mind. It is still possible that China's war with India might turn into a world war." America and Britain have not been slow to get themselves involved, even though India is officially a neutral state and not one of their allies.

### A blow to neutralism as a positive force

The concept of neutralism as the means of breaking away from Cold War atmosphere has been dealt a heavy blow. While movements in many countries are putting on pressure on their government to opt out of power bloc politics and take up non-aligned positions, one of

the pioneers in this field, India, seems to be fast moving away from it. This conflict has created the impression that the idea of neutrality is superficial and unrealistic, and has undermined all hope of discovering new methods of solving international difficulties without resorting to armed force.

### Non-violence as a solution

Like all governments the Indian government depends on its armed forces, as demonstrated during its action in Goa. It is, therefore, unrealistic to expect it to offer non-violent resistance in the face of an armed attack. Non-violence can only be a successful strategy when it is used by the people. All the non-violent actions of the past have been carried out by ordinary people under enlightened leadership. The Indian freedom struggle, the Norwegian resistance against the nazis and the Freedom Ride in the U.S.A. are some classical examples. It is notable that non-violent struggles have been very unlike each other. They all took place against their own particular historical and cultural backgrounds, and therefore each time it was used, non-violence was a new technique, designed to meet a unique situation.

One important lesson to be learnt from past experiments is that non-violence, when properly used to oppose injustice or oppression, has almost invariably succeeded. It is encouraging that even when the majority of participants in the struggle did not understand the full implications of non-violence, remarkable results were achieved. One other conclusion to be drawn from these experiences is that the basic assumptions of the non-violent movement are sound: while we reject injustice, oppression and violence wherever they are to be found, we also reject the use of violence in fighting them.

Pacifists, members of other peace organisations outside India and also a minority of pacifists in India, therefore, expected that the action the Indian peace movement would take to solve the current problem would be in accordance with this approach. It was hoped that the Indian movement would openly reject war and, if national defence became necessary, would prepare the masses for non-violent resistance, even if it would have had to be launched after the invasion. As Gandhi said in 1939: "Yield possession but practise non-cooperation with the aggressor". Many pacifists offered full support for such action, should the Indian movement have been prepared to take it. However, Indian leaders in an official statement (appendix) implied they could not oppose the Government's efforts for the defence of the country. The Sarva Seva Sangh, the largest peace organisation in India, found itself in full sympathy with the Indian case and decided that India had been a victim of aggression. It could not, on the other hand, participate directly in the war because of its firm faith in non-violence. It said that a non-violent solution to this sort of problem had not yet been developed and therefore the Sarva Seva Sangh would work with increased vigour for economic and social revolution,

thereby increasing the power of non-violent resistance and universal friendship.

Explaining this stand, an important worker in the Sarvodaya movement in a letter said: "The approach of the Sarva Seva Sangh or Gandhi is not one of resistance to war but one of non-violent resistance and non-violent action. Where there is no scope for this, it will be wrong to consider non-resistance to war as a right course. Very often helplessness may be at the back of such non-resistance, therefore a state of no-hatred should be put above that of just no-war. Today there is an irrepressible desire for power and arms in India. In such a situation it would be preferable to develop non-hatred and bravery. One can resist war or give up arms only when one has the conviction and self-confidence. This is the view of the Sarva Seva Sangh today."

The approach of the Sarva Seva Sangh raises some very serious questions from the pacifist point of view. The Sangh's faith in non-violence has quite apparently not gone beyond a very limited national view. It is far from the position of being prepared to use non-violence for the solution of the political problems which face the world today. No consideration has been given to the repercussions the Sino-Indian conflict will have on international politics should the war develop into a global crisis or should it serve to intensify the Cold War. More even than the Indian government, the peace organisations of India will be responsible. The statement of the Sangh implied that it would justify the killing of Chinese soldiers because this was a just war. Indian youth was encouraged - or at least not discouraged - to join the army and be prepared to die for the country and so help to win the war. But those who are committed to non-violence will not participate directly in the war at any level. Especially from the moral point of view this is not very sound.

Although the Indian Prime Minister has said there will not be any conscription, it would be naive to suppose that conscription will not be enforced if the war continues. The spirit of the Sangh statement does not offer much hope that it will oppose such a development. The government has already enforced compulsory national service, including military training for all students passing out of higher secondary schools. Is the Sarva Seva Sangh now in the position to oppose this?

All these matters show that there is a very urgent need for re-thinking about non-violence and pacifism and upon the relationship between the two. Hope for the future of non-violent techniques for use in the struggles in Africa has become much bleaker. If we are not able to find non-violent answers to social and political problems, we will fail to face the challenge of our time. Individual refusal to war will also then lose its relevance, except on a purely sentimental level.

The position now

The Chinese have brought about a cease-fire. The winter snows may have helped. The conditions the Chinese have offered cannot be entirely acceptable to the Indians, but taking into account the superiority of Chinese military build-up and India's reluctance to call for massive aid from the West, they would do well to accept. Mr. Nehru, however, has made no firm announcements of his intentions. He certainly has not given any public indication that he might be willing to bargain with the Chinese, and his own political position would be in peril if he did. Mr. Nehru, in his own mind, might have grudgingly accepted the Chinese proposals, while refusing to admit it publicly for tactical reasons. The implications of this are ominous. Perhaps American and British advice and the advice of those with vested interest in continual warfare on the border has prevailed. In this case we are likely to see some time in the future an Indian departure from the cease-fire conditions laid down by the Chinese which will certainly provoke another attack. There are then two possibilities. The conflict will strictly be confined to the border area or the conflict will spread. In either case the peace movement should define its attitude and start to think in terms of what action might be usefully taken.

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A P P E N D I X

ACTION OF THE WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

in connection with the Sino-Indian war

At the time when everybody was anxiously watching the Cuban crisis, the Sino-Indian conflict presented another serious threat to the world. Understanding the gravity of the conflict, the W.R.I. alerted the peace movements and urged them to take immediate action. At the same time it approached various peace movements and individuals in India to find out the actual situation there and what action was being contemplated.

Below are various documents relating to the Sino-Indian conflict.

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Letter to W.R.I. International Council and Sections, dated 25.10.62.

Dear Friend,

The world is in a state of the greatest possible gloom and depression. Any moment it may blow up. Two of the many centres of tension have reached their peak. What will happen around Cuba when the Russian ships confront the American blockade, nobody yet knows. Near the Himalayan peaks Indian and Chinese armies are bent upon killing each other.

At this critical moment we feel that all the peace forces must act, and act immediately, to do their best to help restore the peace of the world. One may say that these peace forces are at present so meek that their voices would be ineffective, but last night's news of the response to Bertrand Russell's message has recreated and reinforced the confidence in the power of peaceful forces. This is why we feel that every organisation and even individuals who feel concerned about today's grim situation must express their feelings and put pressure on both sides in both cases to come to an understanding without a moment's delay.

I hope many of our Sections have already taken the necessary action but in case they have not yet done so we very strongly suggest that:

1. regarding the Cuban crisis they send telegrams to both sides concerned and letters and deputations to their local Embassies appealing that the question may be left to the U.N. to decide. The U.S.A. must withdraw the blockade and the Soviet Union should stop sending all

kinds of armaments to Cuba.

2. pressure should be put on Indian and Chinese Governments directly and also through their Embassies to urge them

- (a) to agree to immediate cease-fire
- (b) to sign a no-war treaty
- (c) to resolve their differences by negotiation, arbitration, mediation and other peaceful methods

Please inform the Headquarters of the actions you take.

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A news release on similar lines was sent out on 25th October. A letter on the Sino-India conflict was sent on 22nd October to nearly 35 international and national organisations with offices in London.

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Extract from a letter sent to the W.R.I. Indian Section, Sarva Seva Sangh, World Peace Brigade, Asian Section, Shanti Sena, Gandhi Peace Foundation, Society of Friends in India and several individuals:

"The Cuban crisis has overshadowed all the other problems of today. Nevertheless the border situation between India and China is a matter of very deep concern to pacifists and peace workers all over the world. We are all very keen to know what action our pacifist friends in India are taking to deal with the situation. Some pacifist organisations are taking actions of some kind or other but they feel that they can perhaps be of greater use if they know

(a) what plans pacifist organisations in India have to put up their case and act upon it,

(b) what sort of co-operation and help they would like to have from pacifists in other countries."

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Letters explaining the W.R.I. point of view were sent to the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in London and to the High Commissioner of India in London on 25th October, 1962.

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Letter sent to the Sarva Seva Sangh, India, at its 14th Annual Conference. Dated 14.11.1962.

Dear Friends,

We living outside India can understand and realise what strain and mental conflict all of you must be going through, due to the crisis India is at present facing on her borders. It is undoubtedly not easy to decide on a definite course of action when one is involved both emotionally and ideologically. Love for one's own country dictates to act in one way but the basic principles which India has practised in her struggle against foreign domination and the perspective of Jai Jagat demand an approach beyond what may be termed as nationalism.

Pacifists and other peace workers in this country have been fully aware of these facts and therefore they can well understand why the peace movements in India have not come out openly to denounce armed action by their own Government. On the other hand, I must say, several of them are very anxiously waiting to hear from you and to know how your mind is working and also to know how they would be able to support your cause.

As soon as "large scale incursion" started taking place, we wrote to some of you. Even when the Cuban crisis was overwhelming the minds of people everywhere, those interested in the restoration of peace understood the seriousness of the India-China conflict. Several organisations took whatever action they could. They sent letters and deputations to the Embassies of China and India, urging their Government to stop the armed conflict which has already cost thousands of human lives on both sides.

Under the present circumstances, it is not surprising that national feelings of the people of India do not reflect the Jai Jagat perspective; still it can be an opportunity for the forces of non-violence to give a turn to newly sprung trends of unity and to channel them for truly constructive purposes.

The "India-News", published by the India House in London, gave an account of the contributions received mostly from Indians living in U.K. for Indian defence. In a very short time they have already reached the figure of £20,000. This may look very encouraging from one point of view but it also makes one ask, "How is it that those who refuse to give even a penny for the starving millions of their motherland are now coming out with their precious jewels?" Should they not be told their pennies would have served the cause of peace if they had come in time, while their jewels now would bring blood-bath to thousands.

Very soon the Indian Government may start conscripting people for the armed forces. It will be helpful to remember the great concern pacifists from several countries expressed, regarding the

N.C.C. and National Compulsory Service Scheme during the W.R.I. Conference in India in 1960. They had discussed the dangers of militarism. Forces in India which have been trying to militarise the country will seize the first opportunity to impose conscription. Pacifists in Europe, more than anywhere else, know how tragic the results of conscription and militarism can be. Peace workers here believe that it would be most fatal to the cause of world peace and non-violence if India takes up a programme which will repeat the same tragic stories of Western militarism. They feel that the India-China conflict presents a special case for non-violent action, and pacifists in India should take a positive step to save their country from a possible tragedy.

Refusal to participate in war on conscientious grounds may be considered sufficient from individuals, but a great movement can not afford to be content only with an exclusively negative rôle. What is needed today is firm opposition to war with a positive non-violent programme for national defence, mass education to raise the morale of people and to train them to act non-violently. When somebody points out to the peace workers here that pacifist action at this moment would seem to weaken the defence effort of the Government, they recall the words of Mahatma Gandhi, written on an almost similar occasion, "Pacifists may not do anything to weaken their own Governments, so as to compel defeat, but for fear of so doing they may miss the only effective chance they have of demonstrating their undying faith in the futility of all war" ... "Therefore it comes to this that a pacifist must resist when he feels strongly that, whether the so-called democracies live or die, the tug-of-war will never end war and that it will only end when, at the crucial moment, a body of pacifists have, at any cost, testified their living faith by suffering, if need be, the extreme penalty."

One may feel that it is easy enough for those sitting far away from the trouble spot to speak in this vein, but some letters from India show the same faith and confidence in the words of Gandhiji. Wilfred Wellock writes, "What a tragedy that Nehru could not pull himself up to his full stature in this conflict. I hoped against hope that he could have gone in person as Gandhi would have done, and crossed all the boundaries in the name, spirit and conduct of friendship." Why only Nehru? Why not Vinoba and some Shanti Sainiks?

This letter has become too long. I wanted to convey to you the feeling of concern peace workers in this country, and presumably all over the world, have in this connection. I am sure they would support in every way possible whatever action on these lines friends in India would decide upon. At the Headquarters of the War Resisters' International we have been trying to contact people in different countries, with the view that they take whatever action they can and render active support, if asked for. We want to assure you of our support for any non-violent action you may take to avert the crisis which India and China are facing and which, if not properly tackled,

could turn into a world conflict.

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TELEGRAM SENT TO PRIME MINISTER NEHRU

on 21st November, 1962

PRAY ACCEPT CHINESE OFFER OF CEASE FIRE FOR THE SAKE  
OF WORD PEACE AND NEGOTIATE FOR SETTLEMENT.

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Letter sent to Prime Minister Nehru on 29th November, 1962

Prime Minister Nehru,  
New Delhi, INDIA

Dear Prime Minister Nehru,

We sent you a cable on November 21st, appealing to you and the people of India to accept the Chinese offer of cease-fire and to negotiate. Now we have seen that the cease-fire offer was unilaterally implemented by the Chinese Government. News of this was received with the greatest possible relief by all those who want peace.

We believe that the conflict between the Chinese and Indian nations should not be viewed purely in terms of right and wrong. Already there is a growing feeling among people who want peace and are sympathetic to both the countries and their great cultures that there is a valid case on both sides. We therefore appeal to the Indian people and their Government to approach the matter in the spirit of reconciliation and not competition, however strong they feel their case to be.

Conciliation is the tool of the strong and necessarily involves the process of mutual understanding and give-and-take. You know much better than most of us that war and violence cannot solve the problem. There is, as we understand from Indian newspapers, a fast growing attitude of hatred towards the Chinese in India. Is this consistent with the tradition of non-violence, Mr. Prime Minister? Should India, which has made history by maintaining the dearest friendship with the country against which she fought for decades, tolerate this situation?

Mr. Prime Minister, we are not repeating the "Pacifist jargon", as some put it, to avoid realities. We most sincerely appeal to the Indian people to surmount their difficulties in a spirit of reconciliation and to show once again the way to a peaceful future for the world. We were very much heartened by the profound statement contained in your speech to the Parliament on 14th November in which you said, "Neither side can bring the other to their knees. Some way must be found to finish the war... War between India and China, there can be no victory or defeat."

We have learnt from press reports that a conference is being planned in Ceylon at the initiative of some Afro-Asian countries to find a way of solving the present crisis. This is indeed an encouraging sign. These efforts will only succeed if China and India respond flexibly and positively.

Keeping in mind that a prolonged state of conflict will bring misery, not only to India and China but perhaps to the whole world, we hope that neither country will rigidly and superficially think only of their prestige but that each side be generous enough to extend a hand of friendship to the other.

We appeal to you to start negotiations immediately so that the threat the India-China conflict presents to the world will be removed.

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Letter sent to Sarva Seva Sangh on 29th November, 1962.

Dear friends,

We hope you received the letter we sent you a while ago on behalf of the War Resisters' International. We are very anxiously waiting to hear from you.

Today we received the Bhodan issue of November 17th in which the statement by the Sarva Seva Sangh (x) on the border issue was published. In the meantime the Chinese Government has declared a cease-fire and has also implemented this. It is unfortunate that the Government of India has not reacted positively to it. Although no official report rejecting the Chinese proposals has been published, as far as we can see, it appears that India is going to reject the Chinese offer. Whatever may be the reasons and implications of this offer, those of us who believe in peace, are very grateful that the hysteria of mass murder has come to an end, though, may be, temporarily. It is indeed a great relief and gives hopes that if peace forces are strong and peaceful means are applied, the conflict can be minimised, if not

completely solved, in the near future.

In the S.S.S. statement it is said, "It will be his (non-violent soldier's) supreme duty to strive incessantly for the ending of the war as soon as possible. Immediate cessation of the war is a supreme necessity, not only for the good of India but for the good of China and for the good of humanity. All our efforts in this direction should be carried out in this wider context." ... "that the door always remains open for negotiation, arbitration etc., that there is not hatred between the two countries..." It seems to us that peace workers everywhere should bring home, first to themselves, and then to the people of the world that they have the responsibility that once a cease-fire has been implemented, it should not be broken again. We would be interested to know what the S.S.S. plans to do to exert its influence on the people of India and her Government to take the attitude of entering into peaceful negotiations for settlement.

There is a point which some of us feel needs a comment. The statement says that the Sangh believes that this conflict has been forced on India and that its sympathies are with her. There are several friends here who are sympathetic to both the countries but also feel that China also has a case. You must have already read some of it in "Peace News". We wonder how far it will help if peace movements show, even if unconsciously, their bend towards one particular side. Sangh's statement gives the impression that it refuses to consider the possibility of any Chinese case. It seems as if it has taken the Indian Government's case de facto. Those who are not in the thick of things may from the statement, quite justifiably, feel that the Indian peace movement itself has got into the conflict, at least mentally. Eventually, if this analysis has some truth, it will be difficult to see the peace movement playing the rôle of a conciliator. The sentence in the statement, "Therefore non-violent resistance can only be offered by one who rises above the conflict" is significant and worth pondering upon.

With full sympathy and support to any non-violent action the Sangh may take toward solving the conflict at this stage, we would only say that the Indian peace workers' approach and action will have a considerable effect on the rôle of non-violence in dealing with international conflicts in future, particularly in countries like those of the African continent.

- (x) Sarva Seva Sangh's Executive Committee's draft statement.  
It was slightly amended at the 14th Annual Conference.

Leaflet distributed at the Conway Hall Public Meeting  
(for collecting funds for the defence of India) on 6th Nov., 1962.

India is facing war - a war which could involve the rest of the world. She can either continue the military conflict with China or seek a solution by other means. It is universally established that war cannot any more solve international problems. If India chooses armed action for defence, it will ultimately lead to

- 1) sacrificing her non-alignment, her main strength in world affairs
- 2) a death-blow to neutralism which is developing into a third world force and represents the only hope for a peaceful world
- 3) the risk of starting World War III.

In India's own interest and in the interest of world peace it is unnecessary to decide who is right and who is wrong. The major task is to reach an agreement as soon as possible. With this in mind, India must go on trying to negotiate and must be ready to accept mediation or arbitration. Indians at home and abroad should put pressure on the peoples and governments of all countries to help in creating a climate for mutual agreement. At the same time Indian people must reject war preparations and the tension created by national hysteria and the elements with vested interests. Agreement may take time. Meanwhile Indians should remember Gandhi's statement during World War II. He said that if the worst happened, it was better to yield possession while refusing to co-operate with the aggressor:

"Thus supposing that a modern edition of Nero descended upon India, the representatives of the State will let him in, but tell him that he will get no assistance from the people. They will prefer death to submission. The second way would be non-violent resistance by the people who have been trained in the non-violent way. They would offer themselves unarmed as fodder for the aggressor's canons. The underlying belief in either case is that even a Nero is not devoid of heart. The unexpected spectacle of endless rows upon rows of men and women simply dying rather than surrender to the will of an aggressor must ultimately melt him and his soldiery. Practically speaking, there will probably be no greater loss in men than if forcible resistance was offered; there will be no expenditure in armaments and fortifications. The non-violent training received by the people will add inconceivably to their moral height. Such men and women will have shown personal bravery of a type far superior to that shown in armed warfare. In each case the bravery consists in dying, not in killing."

Those elements who want India to become a military power, will take advantage of the emotional state of the people. Very soon conscription may be introduced and the tragic story of Western militarism will be repeated.

India has a special responsibility. If she chooses the methods suggested by Gandhi, she will win moral and practical support of the world. Perhaps an international team of volunteers should be invited to join the non-violent forces in India. If the techniques of non-violent defence leading to reconciliation are adopted, India would not only keep herself outside the Cold War but she would offer the world a new dynamic approach to national defence.

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Statement of the Sarva Seva Sangh, adopted at its 14th Conference, November, 1962

#### THE SINO-INDIAN CONFLICT

The Sino-Indian conflict presents the world with a very grave problem and it is a test for all those who believe in world peace and the concept of Jai-Jagat i.e. world unity. We believe that this conflict has been forced upon India, for India has been working consistently for a peaceful solution of the border question. An attempt by one party to force a decision by the use of arms when the other party is prepared for a settlement through peaceful methods, is an act of aggression. Therefore, though we remain firm in our fundamental faith of non-participation in war, our full sympathy is with India. We hope that India will remain true to her policy of friendship toward all and enmity toward none even in the present emergency, for enmity can never check enmity.

2. As an index of this attitude of enmity toward none, the doors must always be kept open for negotiation, arbitration etc. We should be ready to come to a settlement which will preserve the honour and dignity of both nations. Even in the midst of conflict we should see that hatred is not aroused against the people of the other country, and that there is no war-fever. Chinese residents in India, and Indians in China, should receive humane and considerate treatment.

3. While we are alive to the gravity of the present situation and the limitations of our non-violent strength, we wish to reiterate here our firm faith in non-violence and peace. No good can come to any one from armaments, much less from war; no problem can be solved by such means, especially in this atomic age. Therefore, a believer in non-violence, or a Shanti Sainik, cannot participate directly in

any war. It is his first duty to do his utmost to end the war as soon as possible. A speedy end to the war is urgently needed, and would benefit not only India but China and the whole humanity as well. All our endeavour in this direction should be guided by this universal outlook.

4. Therefore, we earnestly appeal to China also to explore all peaceful ways to end the present war. We believe that all men and women in China who have faith in peace will come forward and help in these efforts, in the belief that war can only lead to evil.

5. It must be admitted that the power of non-violence necessary for a solution of this problem has not yet been developed in this country. But there is no reason to despair. It is possible that the invincible power of non-violence may manifest itself in the people of India through the challenge of this adversity. We honour and admire the unprecedented spirit of devotion and sacrifice for the defence of the country that has been awakened among the people, and we believe that it could eventually be developed into the non-violence of the brave. Therefore no one who believes in non-violence should remain inactive at this hour of crisis. Rather, he must devote all his energies to the task of increasing the people's power of non-violent resistance. We should remember that non-violent resistance is not meant to secure victory in a conflict for any party, but only to establish truth and friendship. Therefore non-violent resistance can be offered only by those who rise above conflict.

6. The thought of non-violent resistance immediately brings to the mind the idea of going to the front and facing aggression. It is a matter of joy and congratulation that many Shanti Sainiks have expressed their eagerness to offer their lives for such a programme. However, in present conditions a programme of this nature could be undertaken only after serious consideration.

7. One of our important programmes in the present circumstances must be to awaken the capacity for non-violent resistance among the people of the border areas. Wherever the atmosphere is favourable, the Shanti Sainik should visit the villages in such areas and try to inspire the people to adopt a programme of self-reliance and non-cooperation with the aggressor. He must be prepared to lay down his life in this effort, if necessary, and exhort the people to do likewise.

8. Of equal importance, but far wider in scope, is the task of increasing the strength of the country by an economic and social revolution. National unity and the morale of the masses constitute the best defence of the country. To achieve this objective it is necessary to establish and strengthen the values of justice and equality in the economic and social fabric of the nation. Fortunate-

ly, non-violence has made some progress in this direction. The movement of Gramdan and Gram-Swaraj inspired by Vinoba has placed before the nation a programme which preserves human values, is based on scientific principles and teaches self-reliance in defence. The Panchayats should as a defence measure take a strong resolution that no one in their village shall remain without shelter or employment, that a sincere effort shall be made to admit the landless into the village family by giving them land, that all means of production shall be properly used, that there shall be no social or economic oppression in any form, that all disputes shall be settled within the village, that there shall be protection for religious and other minorities, and that the village shall arrange for its own defence. In the same way a programme aiming at economic and social equality should be carried out in the towns and cities and related to local conditions.

9. It goes without saying that all non-violent forces in the country must be mobilised to a concerted plan to achieve this noble end. At this time of national testing and adversity we invite all those individuals, institutions and organisations believing in non-violence to co-operate in increasing the power of non-violent resistance and in bringing about national integration, while adhering firmly to the principle of universal friendship.

10. Fortunately there are thinkers, institutions and groups in the world today who have advocated the cause of peace with heroic courage, both in word and deed, under the most adverse circumstances. At this critical juncture we appeal earnestly to all such individuals, institutions and groups, and to the conscience of all mankind, to make the most strenuous efforts to bring this conflict to an end without delay.

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### THE VIEWS OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS

(Extracts from Government documents)

#### McMAHON LINE

The dispute is whether the McMahon line defines the boundary correctly, and if adjustments have to be made, could this line become the basis for a settlement.

#### China's position

"The illegal McMahon line was wholly imposed on the Chinese people by British imperialism. Although it contrived this line, for quite a long time afterwards it dared not intrude into the area lying south of this illegal line and north of the Sino-Indian

traditional customary line. It was not until the last phase of the Second World War that British imperialism, utilizing the opportunity afforded by the then Chinese Government's inability to look after its south-western frontiers, seized a small part of this area."

"From 1865 to 1953 British and Indian maps either did not show any alignment of the boundary in the western sector at all, or showed it in an indistinct fashion and marked it as undefined. It was only from 1936 onwards that the illegal McMahon line in the eastern sector appeared on British and Indian maps, but up to 1953 it was still designated as undemarcated."

#### Indian position

"The McMahon line was not arbitrarily drawn by the British and Tibetan representatives behind the back of the Chinese representative. It was shown in the map placed before the Conference by the British Representative on February 17th, 1914, as the historic Tibetan frontier. It was also shown by a red line on the map attached to the Convention initialled by the plenipotentiaries of India, Tibet and China on April 27th, 1914, and signed by the Plenipotentiaries of India and Tibet on July 3rd, 1914.

Even so, the Chinese adherence to the Indo-Tibetan agreement of March 1914 was not necessary. Tibet had in the past entered into a number of treaties which were not only considered as valid by the parties concerned but were in actual operation for decades. The Treaty of 1842 which Tibet signed with Ladakh and Kashmir confirmed the Tibetan traditional boundaries in the west and regulated trade relations and it had been in operation right up to our own times. Similarly the Nepal-Tibet Treaty of 1856 was in actual operation until abrogated by the Sino-Nepalese Treaty of 1956. It is thus clear that the McMahon line is valid and legal. The McMahon line thus merely formalised the traditional boundary between India and Tibet. According to international law and usage the customary and traditional boundary following unchanging and distinctive natural features stands defined and needs no further or formal definition."

#### WHO IS THE AGGRESSOR?

Both charge each other with aggression.

#### China's position

"The Indian Government inherited the British imperialists' covetous desires towards the Tibet region of China and persisted in regarding Tibet as India's sphere of influence, or sought at least to transform it into a buffer zone between China and India. For this reason, the Indian Government tried its best to obstruct the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1950. When these attempts proved of no avail,

India pressed forward in an all-out advance on the illegal McMahon line in the eastern sector of the border and completely occupied China's territory south of that illegal line and north of the traditional customary line."

"While it was occupying large tracts of Chinese territory, India suddenly made a unilateral alteration of the Sino-Indian customary line in its official map published in 1954."

"The gravity of the situation lies not only in India's extensive claims to Chinese territory, but also in its subsequent use of force to change unilaterally the state of the boundary that had emerged, so as to realise Indian territorial claims."

Indian position

"The Government of India has also all along adopted a conciliatory attitude on matters of mutual interest to India and China. This has been in particular the case with regard to Tibet and to the question of the Indo-China border. In the 1954 Agreement on trade and intercourse between Tibet and India, signed between the Government of India and the People's Republic of China, India gave up all extra territorial rights and privileges enjoyed in Tibet and recognised that Tibet was a region of China."

"From 1954, Chinese personnel persistently visited the Bara Hoti area in Uttar Pradesh (India); and in the summer of 1956 armed Chinese personnel intruded into Nilang-Jadhang and crossed the Shipki pass" --- "Chinese incursion into Indian territory continued. In 1957 a patrol party was noticed in Spiti area and a road running for short a hundred miles across Aksaichin was completed. The next year they came to Kharnak fort in Ladakh, arrested and Indian Patrol Party in Aksai, intruded into the Indian side of the traditional boundary..."

"In July 1958 a map in an official Chinese magazine included within Chinese territory four of the five Divisions of the N.E. Frontier Agency. Some areas in north Uttar Pradesh and large areas in Eastern Ladakh."

(From "India-China Border Problem")

"The mask was off. China's expansionist policy stood fully revealed. In October 1959 Chinese military forces advanced forty miles into Indian territory in southern Ladakh. Encountering an Indian patrol party ... they opened fire, killing nine Indians. Ten were taken into captivity."

## EFFORTS FOR SOLUTION

According to the statements of Indian and Chinese Governments both claim to have been trying to avoid clashes and finding solution to the problem. Unfortunately each on its part, it seems, reacted unfavourably.

### Chinese position

"The Chinese position held that in order to avert conflict along the border, ways must be found to effect a disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides, and at the same time negotiations must be started quickly to seek a peaceful settlement of the boundary question."

"On November 7th, 1959, the Chinese Government proposed 20 km. withdrawal of both armed forces from the line of actual control and half patrols, also a meeting of two P.M.'s to discuss the boundary question. These proposals were repeated by the Chinese Government."

"With a view to seeking a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Chinese Premier visited New Delhi in April 1960 and held talks with Prime Minister Nehru. In the course of the talks Chou-en-Lai repeatedly explained that the boundary question should be settled peacefully on a fair and reasonable basis; that if there could not be a settlement for the time being, the state of the boundary that had already emerged should be maintained; and that the armed forces of the two sides should be disengaged in order to forestall clashes."

"The Chinese Government's stand on the illegal McMahon line is a consistent one. China does not recognise the illegal McMahon line, yet it refrained from crossing it in the interest of a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. In order to prevent the Indian troops from staging a come-back and launching fresh attacks, the Chinese frontier guards, fighting in self-defence, naturally need no longer be restricted by the illegal McMahon line. China has consistently striven for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question by peaceful means. The Chinese frontier guards have crossed the illegal McMahon line because they had no alternative. Yet the Chinese side does not wish to rely on such a move to settle the question of the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary. As in the past, the Chinese Government holds that only through peaceful negotiations can a settlement reasonable and fair to both sides be found not only for the eastern sector, but for the Sino-Indian boundary question as a whole."

India's claim is that she has been unsuccessful in trying to persuade the Chinese Government to settle the boundary question once for all.

Indian position

"Until 1954, there was no indication that the People's Republic of China did not accept the boundaries shown in Indian maps. There were several occasions for them to have done so. In the first place, Indian maps giving full details were available to the Chinese authorities, and it is difficult to believe that they did not know what the Indian Government's attitude was. As early as 1950, when it became clear that conditions in Tibet were disturbed, the Government of India expressed their anxiety to the Chinese authorities and expressed the hope that Sino-Tibetan relations would be adjusted peacefully. The Chinese authorities assured that the problem of Tibet would be solved peacefully. The Government of India, while thanking them, told the Chinese Government that the recognised boundary between India and Tibet should remain inviolate. The Chinese made no comment."

"In October 1954, when Prime Minister Nehru visited China, he mentioned to Chinese leaders that he had seen Chinese maps showing a wrong boundary alignment between the two countries. The Prime Minister further stated that he presumed that this was an error but so far as the Government of India was concerned they were not greatly worried about it because the boundaries of India were quite clear and were not a matter of argument."

"When Mr. Chou-en-Lai visited India towards the end of 1956 he referred to the Sino-Indian boundary and more specially to the so-called McMahon line. He said to Prime Minister Nehru that he had accepted the McMahon line as the border between China and Burma, and whatever might have happened long ago, in view of the new developments and the friendly relations which existed between India and China, the Chinese Government would recognise the McMahon line."

"A fresh move for relieving the growing tension and avoiding the danger of war was made by India in a note on May 14th, 1962. The note urged the Chinese Government to give serious consideration to Prime Minister Nehru's proposal of November 1959 for the withdrawal of Indian forces in Ladakh to the west of the boundary line shown in the 1956 Chinese map, and of Chinese forces to the east of the international boundary shown in official Indian maps. It made an offer: India is prepared, in the interest of a peaceful settlement, to permit, pending negotiations and settlement, the continued use of the Aksai Chin road for Chinese civilian traffic. China spurned the note."

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Material on the Chinese position has been taken from Premier Chou-en-Lai's letter to leaders of Afro-Asian countries, published in "Peking Review" (Nov. 30th, 1962) and on Indian position from "Indian News" (London), "We accept China's Challenge" by Nehru and other material published by the Government of India.

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~ 24. 12. 62

ACTION ON

CHINA - INDIA

BORDER - CONFLICT

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex

ENGLAND

Christmas 1962

Dear reader,

After we had compiled this document, information regarding the Colombo Conference of some neutral nations has been published. The proposals of the Colombo Conference provide India and China with a sound basis for mutual understanding. The W.R.I. has written to the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mrs. Bhandarnayaka, informing her of our support for the Colombo proposals and giving our best wishes to her forthcoming goodwill mission to Peking and New Delhi. Mrs. Bhandarnayaka will try to persuade both Governments to accept the Colombo proposals. We have also written to the Prime Ministers of both countries, appealing them to make these proposals the basis for solving the conflict.

The Indian peace movement, in its Sevagram meeting on the 17th of December, reacted enthusiastically to A.J. Muste's proposal of an International Friendship March from India to China. In a recent speech Vinoba Bhave has welcomed and appreciated the Chinese cease-fire. He hopes that India will trust China in her intentions and start negotiations.

We hope the New Year will bring peace both to China and India.

Devi Prasad

For the last few years there have been continuous hostilities on the frontier between India and China over the question of border demarcation. Tension gradually increased and on the 20th October, 1962, it developed into an undeclared war. And so the peace of the world became threatened. China ordered a cease-fire on the 21st November, but the threat remains.

## CHINA-INDIAN BORDER CONFLICT AND ITS EFFECTS

### The Problem

This is not an attempt to present an exhaustive study of the Sino-Indian border conflict nor is the aim to put forward a blueprint for the solution of the problem. Both the governments concerned have produced innumerable documents in support of their own case. There have been other independent analyses in favour of one side or the other. Extracts from Chinese and Indian documents will show how strong each considers its own case to be. This makes it more necessary that the affair should be looked at through independent eyes without any attempt to say which side is right and which is wrong.

It would be difficult if not impossible to put forward plans for a solution on the basis of non-violent action, for such action is very much dependent upon those who implement it. Those who are neutral would make reconciliation their objective and those who identify themselves with one side would seek to apply non-violent strategy in the interests of that side. The fact is that an international organisation cannot plan a national action. What it can do is to analyse a situation in its international context and mobilize international support for local actions. The purpose of this document is to discover what effect this conflict and the actions taken to find a solution will have on the peace movement as a whole.

What has the conflict cost India and China?

### Human Suffering

The human suffering and loss of life already inflicted on both countries has been one of the most distressing aspects. Neither India or China have enough food and clothing for their vast and ever growing populations and a war between them, or even the continued threat of war, will necessitate the curtailment of development plans to concentrate all their energies on the war industry. Little is known about China but the race for better weapons has already started a drain on Indian resources. There is no end to the material losses the

conflict could bring to both countries.

### War Psychosis

One cannot but be shocked at the way hatred towards the Chinese is being built up in the minds of the Indian people. Samples of posters calling on the people to help the war effort were published recently by the Calcutta "Statesman" in its overseas weekly. One poster depicting the human heart with bullets being fired into it was captioned "Each rupee will help to send a bullet into the enemy heart". Presumably things are not very different in China. A government which wants its people to support war has to operate at this crude level.

The Indian government succeeded in rousing the nation and it achieved unanimity for the first time in the Republic's short history. The Indian people now want to see the Chinese ejected from what they regard as Indian territory at all costs. The Chinese, obviously superior in terms of military strength, have both proposed and carried out a cease-fire in such a way as to leave the Indian government little choice but to do the same. The danger now is that, pressured by public opinion, the Indian government will be so blinded by war hysteria and loss of prestige that it will seriously consider reopening conflict. In order to fight the Chinese the government had to stimulate patriotic sentiments but now, at a time when it would seem opportune for it to accept the Chinese bargaining position and quietly withdraw, that same patriotism might force it to take the wrong course and to lose power - an alternative which no national government could accept.

### World War

The international implications of the Sino-Indian conflict are alarming. There is little doubt that although the quarrel is over an uninhabited and remote piece of territory, it could spark off a much wider conflict even to the point of global war. The supposed estrangement of Russia and China should not deceive us into thinking that Russia would not in the last analysis support her major political ally. Kingsley Martin wrote in the "New Statesman" of 30th November: "If the renewal of warfare should involve bombing, there is of course a risk that Russia would change her mind. It is still possible that China's war with India might turn into a world war." America and Britain have not been slow to get themselves involved, even though India is officially a neutral state and not one of their allies.

### A blow to neutralism as a positive force

The concept of neutralism as the means of breaking away from Cold War atmosphere has been dealt a heavy blow. While movements in many countries are putting on pressure on their government to opt out of power bloc politics and take up non-aligned positions, one of

the pioneers in this field, India, seems to be fast moving away from it. This conflict has created the impression that the idea of neutrality is superficial and unrealistic, and has undermined all hope of discovering new methods of solving international difficulties without resorting to armed force.

### Non-violence as a solution

Like all governments the Indian government depends on its armed forces, as demonstrated during its action in Goa. It is, therefore, unrealistic to expect it to offer non-violent resistance in the face of an armed attack. Non-violence can only be a successful strategy when it is used by the people. All the non-violent actions of the past have been carried out by ordinary people under enlightened leadership. The Indian freedom struggle, the Norwegian resistance against the nazis and the Freedom Ride in the U.S.A. are some classical examples. It is notable that non-violent struggles have been very unlike each other. They all took place against their own particular historical and cultural backgrounds, and therefore each time it was used, non-violence was a new technique, designed to meet a unique situation.

One important lesson to be learnt from past experiments is that non-violence, when properly used to oppose injustice or oppression, has almost invariably succeeded. It is encouraging that even when the majority of participants in the struggle did not understand the full implications of non-violence, remarkable results were achieved. One other conclusion to be drawn from these experiences is that the basic assumptions of the non-violent movement are sound: while we reject injustice, oppression and violence wherever they are to be found, we also reject the use of violence in fighting them.

Pacifists, members of other peace organisations outside India and also a minority of pacifists in India, therefore, expected that the action the Indian peace movement would take to solve the current problem would be in accordance with this approach. It was hoped that the Indian movement would openly reject war and, if national defence became necessary, would prepare the masses for non-violent resistance, even if it would have had to be launched after the invasion. As Gandhi said in 1939: "Yield possession but practise non-cooperation with the aggressor". Many pacifists offered full support for such action, should the Indian movement have been prepared to take it. However, Indian leaders in an official statement (appendix) implied they could not oppose the Government's efforts for the defence of the country. The Sarva Seva Sangh, the largest peace organisation in India, found itself in full sympathy with the Indian case and decided that India had been a victim of aggression. It could not, on the other hand, participate directly in the war because of its firm faith in non-violence. It said that a non-violent solution to this sort of problem had not yet been developed and therefore the Sarva Seva Sangh would work with increased vigour for economic and social revolution,

thereby increasing the power of non-violent resistance and universal friendship.

Explaining this stand, an important worker in the Sarvodaya movement in a letter said: "The approach of the Sarva Seva Sangh or Gandhi is not one of resistance to war but one of non-violent resistance and non-violent action. Where there is no scope for this, it will be wrong to consider non-resistance to war as a right course. Very often helplessness may be at the back of such non-resistance, therefore a state of no-hatred should be put above that of just no-war. Today there is an irrepressible desire for power and arms in India. In such a situation it would be preferable to develop non-hatred and bravery. One can resist war or give up arms only when one has the conviction and self-confidence. This is the view of the Sarva Seva Sangh today."

The approach of the Sarva Seva Sangh raises some very serious questions from the pacifist point of view. The Sangh's faith in non-violence has quite apparently not gone beyond a very limited national view. It is far from the position of being prepared to use non-violence for the solution of the political problems which face the world today. No consideration has been given to the repercussions the Sino-Indian conflict will have on international politics should the war develop into a global crisis or should it serve to intensify the Cold War. More even than the Indian government, the peace organisations of India will be responsible. The statement of the Sangh implied that it would justify the killing of Chinese soldiers because this was a just war. Indian youth was encouraged - or at least not discouraged - to join the army and be prepared to die for the country and so help to win the war. But those who are committed to non-violence will not participate directly in the war at any level. Especially from the moral point of view this is not very sound.

Although the Indian Prime Minister has said there will not be any conscription, it would be naive to suppose that conscription will not be enforced if the war continues. The spirit of the Sangh statement does not offer much hope that it will oppose such a development. The government has already enforced compulsory national service, including military training for all students passing out of higher secondary schools. Is the Sarva Seva Sangh now in the position to oppose this?

All these matters show that there is a very urgent need for re-thinking about non-violence and pacifism and upon the relationship between the two. Hope for the future of non-violent techniques for use in the struggles in Africa has become much bleaker. If we are not able to find non-violent answers to social and political problems, we will fail to face the challenge of our time. Individual refusal to war will also then lose its relevance, except on a purely sentimental level.

The position now

The Chinese have brought about a cease-fire. The winter snows may have helped. The conditions the Chinese have offered cannot be entirely acceptable to the Indians, but taking into account the superiority of Chinese military build-up and India's reluctance to call for massive aid from the West, they would do well to accept. Mr. Nehru, however, has made no firm announcements of his intentions. He certainly has not given any public indication that he might be willing to bargain with the Chinese, and his own political position would be in peril if he did. Mr. Nehru, in his own mind, might have grudgingly accepted the Chinese proposals, while refusing to admit it publicly for tactical reasons. The implications of this are ominous. Perhaps American and British advice and the advice of those with vested interest in continual warfare on the border has prevailed. In this case we are likely to see some time in the future an Indian departure from the cease-fire conditions laid down by the Chinese which will certainly provoke another attack. There are then two possibilities. The conflict will strictly be confined to the border area or the conflict will spread. In either case the peace movement should define its attitude and start to think in terms of what action might be usefully taken.

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A P P E N D I X

ACTION OF THE WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

in connection with the Sino-Indian war

At the time when everybody was anxiously watching the Cuban crisis, the Sino-Indian conflict presented another serious threat to the world. Understanding the gravity of the conflict, the W.R.I. alerted the peace movements and urged them to take immediate action. At the same time it approached various peace movements and individuals in India to find out the actual situation there and what action was being contemplated.

Below are various documents relating to the Sino-Indian conflict.

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Letter to W.R.I. International Council and Sections, dated 25.10.62.

Dear Friend,

The world is in a state of the greatest possible gloom and depression. Any moment it may blow up. Two of the many centres of tension have reached their peak. What will happen around Cuba when the Russian ships confront the American blockade, nobody yet knows. Near the Himalayan peaks Indian and Chinese armies are bent upon killing each other.

At this critical moment we feel that all the peace forces must act, and act immediately, to do their best to help restore the peace of the world. One may say that these peace forces are at present so weak that their voices would be ineffective, but last night's news of the response to Bertrand Russell's message has recreated and reinforced the confidence in the power of peaceful forces. This is why we feel that every organisation and even individuals who feel concerned about today's grim situation must express their feelings and put pressure on both sides in both cases to come to an understanding without a moment's delay.

I hope many of our Sections have already taken the necessary action but in case they have not yet done so we very strongly suggest that:

1. regarding the Cuban crisis they send telegrams to both sides concerned and letters and deputations to their local Embassies appealing that the question may be left to the U.N. to decide. The U.S.A. must withdraw the blockade and the Soviet Union should stop sending all

kinds of armaments to Cuba.

2. pressure should be put on Indian and Chinese Governments directly and also through their Embassies to urge them

- (a) to agree to immediate cease-fire
- (b) to sign a no-war treaty
- (c) to resolve their differences by negotiation, arbitration, mediation and other peaceful methods

Please inform the Headquarters of the actions you take.

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A news release on similar lines was sent out on 25th October. A letter on the Sino-India conflict was sent on 22nd October to nearly 35 international and national organisations with offices in London.

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Extract from a letter sent to the W.R.I. Indian Section, Sarva Seva Sangh, World Peace Brigade, Asian Section, Shanti Sena, Gandhi Peace Foundation, Society of Friends in India and several individuals:

"The Cuban crisis has overshadowed all the other problems of today. Nevertheless the border situation between India and China is a matter of very deep concern to pacifists and peace workers all over the world. We are all very keen to know what action our pacifist friends in India are taking to deal with the situation. Some pacifist organisations are taking actions of some kind or other but they feel that they can perhaps be of greater use if they know

- (a) what plans pacifist organisations in India have to put up their case and act upon it,
- (b) what sort of co-operation and help they would like to have from pacifists in other countries."

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Letters explaining the W.R.I. point of view were sent to the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in London and to the High Commissioner of India in London on 25th October, 1962.

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Letter sent to the Sarva Seva Sangh, India, at its 14th Annual Conference. Dated 14.11.1962.

Dear Friends,

We living outside India can understand and realise what strain and mental conflict all of you must be going through, due to the crisis India is at present facing on her borders. It is undoubtedly not easy to decide on a definite course of action when one is involved both emotionally and ideologically. Love for one's own country dictates to act in one way but the basic principles which India has practised in her struggle against foreign domination and the perspective of Jai Jagat demand an approach beyond what may be termed as nationalism.

Pacifists and other peace workers in this country have been fully aware of these facts and therefore they can well understand why the peace movements in India have not come out openly to denounce armed action by their own Government. On the other hand, I must say, several of them are very anxiously waiting to hear from you and to know how your mind is working and also to know how they would be able to support your cause.

As soon as "large scale incursion" started taking place, we wrote to some of you. Even when the Cuban crisis was overwhelming the minds of people everywhere, those interested in the restoration of peace understood the seriousness of the India-China conflict. Several organisations took whatever action they could. They sent letters and deputations to the Embassies of China and India, urging their Government to stop the armed conflict which has already cost thousands of human lives on both sides.

Under the present circumstances, it is not surprising that national feelings of the people of India do not reflect the Jai Jagat perspective; still it can be an opportunity for the forces of non-violence to give a turn to newly sprung trends of unity and to channel them for truly constructive purposes.

The "India-News", published by the India House in London, gave an account of the contributions received mostly from Indians living in U.K. for Indian defence. In a very short time they have already reached the figure of £20,000. This may look very encouraging from one point of view but it also makes one ask, "How is it that those who refuse to give even a penny for the starving millions of their motherland are now coming out with their precious jewels?" Should they not be told their pennies would have served the cause of peace if they had come in time, while their jewels now would bring blood-bath to thousands.

Very soon the Indian Government may start conscripting people for the armed forces. It will be helpful to remember the great concern pacifists from several countries expressed, regarding the

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N.C.C. and National Compulsory Service Scheme during the W.R.I. Conference in India in 1960. They had discussed the dangers of militarism. Forces in India which have been trying to militarise the country will seize the first opportunity to impose conscription. Pacifists in Europe, more than anywhere else, know how tragic the results of conscription and militarism can be. Peace workers here believe that it would be most fatal to the cause of world peace and non-violence if India takes up a programme which will repeat the same tragic stories of Western militarism. They feel that the India-China conflict presents a special case for non-violent action, and pacifists in India should take a positive step to save their country from a possible tragedy.

Refusal to participate in war on conscientious grounds may be considered sufficient from individuals, but a great movement can not afford to be content only with an exclusively negative rôle. What is needed today is firm opposition to war with a positive non-violent programme for national defence, mass education to raise the morale of people and to train them to act non-violently. When somebody points out to the peace workers here that pacifist action at this moment would seem to weaken the defence effort of the Government, they recall the words of Mahatma Gandhi, written on an almost similar occasion, "Pacifists may not do anything to weaken their own Governments, so as to compel defeat, but for fear of so doing they may miss the only effective chance they have of demonstrating their undying faith in the futility of all war" ... "Therefore it comes to this that a pacifist must resist when he feels strongly that, whether the so-called democracies live or die, the tug-of-war will never end war and that it will only end when, at the crucial moment, a body of pacifists have, at any cost, testified their living faith by suffering, if need be, the extreme penalty."

One may feel that it is easy enough for those sitting far away from the trouble spot to speak in this vein, but some letters from India show the same faith and confidence in the words of Gandhiji. Wilfred Wellock writes, "What a tragedy that Nehru could not pull himself up to his full stature in this conflict. I hoped against hope that he could have gone in person as Gandhi would have done, and crossed all the boundaries in the name, spirit and conduct of friendship." Why only Nehru? Why not Vinoba and some Shanti Sainiks?

This letter has become too long. I wanted to convey to you the feeling of concern peace workers in this country, and presumably all over the world, have in this connection. I am sure they would support in every way possible whatever action on these lines friends in India would decide upon. At the Headquarters of the War Resisters' International we have been trying to contact people in different countries, with the view that they take whatever action they can and render active support, if asked for. We want to assure you of our support for any non-violent action you may take to avert the crisis which India and China are facing and which, if not properly tackled,

could turn into a world conflict.

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TELEGRAM SENT TO PRIME MINISTER NEHRU

on 21st November, 1962

PRAY ACCEPT CHINESE OFFER OF CEASE FIRE FOR THE SAKE  
OF WORD PEACE AND NEGOTIATE FOR SETTLEMENT.

☆☆☆☆

Letter sent to Prime Minister Nehru on 29th November, 1962

Prime Minister Nehru,  
New Delhi, INDIA

Dear Prime Minister Nehru,

We sent you a cable on November 21st, appealing to you and the people of India to accept the Chinese offer of cease-fire and to negotiate. Now we have seen that the cease-fire offer was unilaterally implemented by the Chinese Government. News of this was received with the greatest possible relief by all those who want peace.

We believe that the conflict between the Chinese and Indian nations should not be viewed purely in terms of right and wrong. Already there is a growing feeling among people who want peace and are sympathetic to both the countries and their great cultures that there is a valid case on both sides. We therefore appeal to the Indian people and their Government to approach the matter in the spirit of reconciliation and not competition, however strong they feel their case to be.

Conciliation is the tool of the strong and necessarily involves the process of mutual understanding and give-and-take. You know much better than most of us that war and violence cannot solve the problem. There is, as we understand from Indian newspapers, a fast growing attitude of hatred towards the Chinese in India. Is this consistent with the tradition of non-violence, Mr. Prime Minister? Should India, which has made history by maintaining the deepest friendship with the country against which she fought for decades, tolerate this situation?

Mr. Prime Minister, we are not repeating the "pacifist jargon", as some put it, to avoid realities. We most sincerely appeal to the Indian people to surmount their difficulties in a spirit of reconciliation and to show once again the way to a peaceful future for the world. We were very much heartened by the profound statement contained in your speech to the Parliament on 14th November in which you said, "Neither side can bring the other to their knees. Some way must be found to finish the war... War between India and China, there can be no victory or defeat."

We have learnt from press reports that a conference is being planned in Ceylon at the initiative of some Afro-Asian countries to find a way of solving the present crisis. This is indeed an encouraging sign. These efforts will only succeed if China and India respond flexibly and positively.

Keeping in mind that a prolonged state of conflict will bring misery, not only to India and China but perhaps to the whole world, we hope that neither country will rigidly and superficially think only of their prestige but that each side be generous enough to extend a hand of friendship to the other.

We appeal to you to start negotiations immediately so that the threat the India-China conflict presents to the world will be removed.

☆☆☆☆

Letter sent to Sarva Seva Sangh on 29th November, 1962.

Dear friends,

We hope you received the letter we sent you a while ago on behalf of the War Resisters' International. We are very anxiously waiting to hear from you.

Today we received the Bhoodan issue of November 17th in which the statement by the Sarva Seva Sangh (x) on the border issue was published. In the meantime the Chinese Government has declared a cease-fire and has also implemented this. It is unfortunate that the Government of India has not reacted positively to it. Although no official report rejecting the Chinese proposals has been published, as far as we can see, it appears that India is going to reject the Chinese offer. Whatever may be the reasons and implications of this offer, those of us who believe in peace, are very grateful that the hysteria of mass murder has come to an end, though, may be, temporarily. It is indeed a great relief and gives hopes that if peace forces are strong and peaceful means are applied, the conflict can be minimised, if not

completely solved, in the near future.

In the S.S.S. statement it is said, "It will be his (non-violent soldier's) supreme duty to strive incessantly for the ending of the war as soon as possible. Immediate cessation of the war is a supreme necessity, not only for the good of India but for the good of China and for the good of humanity. All our efforts in this direction should be carried out in this wider context." ... "that the door always remains open for negotiation, arbitration etc., that there is not hatred between the two countries..." It seems to us that peace workers everywhere should bring home, first to themselves, and then to the people of the world that they have the responsibility that once a cease-fire has been implemented, it should not be broken again. We would be interested to know what the S.S.S. plans to do to exert its influence on the people of India and her Government to take the attitude of entering into peaceful negotiations for settlement.

There is a point which some of us feel needs a comment. The statement says that the Sangh believes that this conflict has been forced on India and that its sympathies are with her. There are several friends here who are sympathetic to both the countries but also feel that China also has a case. You must have already read some of it in "Peace News". We wonder how far it will help if peace movements show, even if unconsciously, their bend towards one particular side. Sangh's statement gives the impression that it refuses to consider the possibility of any Chinese case. It seems as if it has taken the Indian Government's case de facto. Those who are not in the thick of things may from the statement, quite justifiably, feel that the Indian peace movement itself has got into the conflict, at least mentally. Eventually, if this analysis has some truth, it will be difficult to see the peace movement playing the rôle of a conciliator. The sentence in the statement, "Therefore non-violent resistance can only be offered by one who rises above the conflict" is significant and worth pondering upon.

With full sympathy and support to any non-violent action the Sangh may take toward solving the conflict at this stage, we would only say that the Indian peace workers' approach and action will have a considerable effect on the rôle of non-violence in dealing with international conflicts in future, particularly in countries like those of the African continent.

- (x) Sarva Seva Sangh's Executive Committee's draft statement. It was slightly amended at the 14th Annual Conference.

Leaflet distributed at the Conway Hall Public Meeting  
(for collecting funds for the defence of India) on 6th Nov., 1962.

India is facing war - a war which could involve the rest of the world. She can either continue the military conflict with China or seek a solution by other means. It is universally established that war cannot any more solve international problems. If India chooses armed action for defence, it will ultimately lead to

- 1) sacrificing her non-alignment, her main strength in world affairs
- 2) a death-blow to neutralism which is developing into a third world force and represents the only hope for a peaceful world
- 3) the risk of starting World war III.

In India's own interest and in the interest of world peace it is unnecessary to decide who is right and who is wrong. The major task is to reach an agreement as soon as possible. With this in mind, India must go on trying to negotiate and must be ready to accept mediation or arbitration. Indians at home and abroad should put pressure on the peoples and governments of all countries to help in creating a climate for mutual agreement. At the same time Indian people must reject war preparations and the tension created by national hysteria and the elements with vested interests. Agreement may take time. Meanwhile Indians should remember Ganhi's statement during World War II. He said that if the worst happened, it was better to yield possession while refusing to co-operate with the aggressor:

"Thus supposing that a modern edition of Nero descended upon India, the representatives of the State will let him in, but tell him that he will get no assistance from the people. They will prefer death to submission. The second way would be non-violent resistance by the people who have been trained in the non-violent way. They would offer themselves unarmed as fodder for the aggressor's canons. The underlying belief in either case is that even a Nero is not devoid of heart. The unexpected spectacle of endless rows upon rows of men and women simply dying rather than surrender to the will of an aggressor must ultimately melt him and his soldiery. Practically speaking, there will probably be no greater loss in men than if forcible resistance was offered; there will be no expenditure in armaments and fortifications. The non-violent training received by the people will add inconceivably to their moral height. Such men and women will have shown personal bravery of a type far superior to that shown in armed warfare. In each case the bravery consists in dying, not in killing."

Those elements who want India to become a military power, will take advantage of the emotional state of the people. Very soon conscription may be introduced and the tragic story of western militarism will be repeated.

India has a special responsibility. If she chooses the methods suggested by Gandhi, she will win moral and practical support of the world. Perhaps an international team of volunteers should be invited to join the non-violent forces in India. If the techniques of non-violent defence leading to reconciliation are adopted, India would not only keep herself outside the Cold War but she would offer the world a new dynamic approach to national defence.

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Statement of the Sarva Seva Sangh, adopted at its 14th Conference, November, 1962

#### THE SINO-INDIAN CONFLICT

The Sino-Indian conflict presents the world with a very grave problem and it is a test for all those who believe in world peace and the concept of Jai-Jagat i.e. world unity. We believe that this conflict has been forced upon India, for India has been working consistently for a peaceful solution of the border question. An attempt by one party to force a decision by the use of arms when the other party is prepared for a settlement through peaceful methods, is an act of aggression. Therefore, though we remain firm in our fundamental faith of non-participation in war, our full sympathy is with India. We hope that India will remain true to her policy of friendship toward all and enmity toward none even in the present emergency, for enmity can never check enmity.

2. As an index of this attitude of enmity toward none, the doors must always be kept open for negotiation, arbitration etc. We should be ready to come to a settlement which will preserve the honour and dignity of both nations. Even in the midst of conflict we should see that hatred is not aroused against the people of the other country, and that there is no war-fever. Chinese residents in India, and Indians in China, should receive humane and considerate treatment.

3. While we are alive to the gravity of the present situation and the limitations of our non-violent strength, we wish to reiterate here our firm faith in non-violence and peace. No good can come to any one from armaments, much less from war; no problem can be solved by such means, especially in this atomic age. Therefore, a believer in non-violence, or a Shanti Sainik, cannot participate directly in

any war. It is his first duty to do his utmost to end the war as soon as possible. A speedy end to the war is urgently needed, and would benefit not only India but China and the whole humanity as well. All our endeavour in this direction should be guided by this universal outlook.

4. Therefore, we earnestly appeal to China also to explore all peaceful ways to end the present war. We believe that all men and women in China who have faith in peace will come forward and help in these efforts, in the belief that war can only lead to evil.

5. It must be admitted that the power of non-violence necessary for a solution of this problem has not yet been developed in this country. But there is no reason to despair. It is possible that the invincible power of non-violence may manifest itself in the people of India through the challenge of this adversity. We honour and admire the unprecedented spirit of devotion and sacrifice for the defence of the country that has been awakened among the people, and we believe that it could eventually be developed into the non-violence of the brave. Therefore no one who believes in non-violence should remain inactive at this hour of crisis. Rather, he must devote all his energies to the task of increasing the people's power of non-violent resistance. We should remember that non-violent resistance is not meant to secure victory in a conflict for any party, but only to establish truth and friendship. Therefore non-violent resistance can be offered only by those who rise above conflict.

6. The thought of non-violent resistance immediately brings to the mind the idea of going to the front and facing aggression. It is a matter of joy and congratulation that many Shanti Sainiks have expressed their eagerness to offer their lives for such a programme. However, in present conditions a programme of this nature could be undertaken only after serious consideration.

7. One of our important programmes in the present circumstances must be to awaken the capacity for non-violent resistance among the people of the border areas. Wherever the atmosphere is favourable, the Shanti Sainik should visit the villages in such areas and try to inspire the people to adopt a programme of self-reliance and non-cooperation with the aggressor. He must be prepared to lay down his life in this effort, if necessary, and exhort the people to do likewise.

8. Of equal importance, but far wider in scope, is the task of increasing the strength of the country by an economic and social revolution. National unity and the morale of the masses constitute the best defence of the country. To achieve this objective it is necessary to establish and strengthen the values of justice and equality in the economic and social fabric of the nation. Fortunate-

ly, non-violence has made some progress in this direction. The movement of Gramdan and Gram-Swaraj inspired by Vinoba has placed before the nation a programme which preserves human values, is based on scientific principles and teaches self-reliance in defence. The Panchayats should as a defence measure take a strong resolution that no one in their village shall remain without shelter or employment, that a sincere effort shall be made to admit the landless into the village family by giving them land, that all means of production shall be properly used, that there shall be no social or economic oppression in any form, that all disputes shall be settled within the village, that there shall be protection for religious and other minorities, and that the village shall arrange for its own defence. In the same way a programme aiming at economic and social equality should be carried out in the towns and cities and related to local conditions.

9. It goes without saying that all non-violent forces in the country must be mobilised to a concerted plan to achieve this noble end. At this time of national testing and adversity we invite all these individuals, institutions and organisations believing in non-violence to co-operate in increasing the power of non-violent resistance and in bringing about national integration, while adhering firmly to the principle of universal friendship.

10. Fortunately there are thinkers, institutions and groups in the world today who have advocated the cause of peace with heroic courage, both in word and deed, under the most adverse circumstances. At this critical juncture we appeal earnestly to all such individuals, institutions and groups, and to the conscience of all mankind, to make the most strenuous efforts to bring this conflict to an end without delay.

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### THE VIEWS OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS

(Extracts from Government documents)

#### McMAHON LINE

The dispute is whether the McMahon line defines the boundary correctly, and if adjustments have to be made, could this line become the basis for a settlement.

#### China's position

"The illegal McMahon line was wholly imposed on the Chinese people by British imperialism. Although it contrived this line, for quite a long time afterwards it dared not intrude into the area lying south of this illegal line and north of the Sino-Indian

traditional customary line. It was not until the last phase of the Second World War that British imperialism, utilizing the opportunity afforded by the then Chinese Government's inability to look after its south-western frontiers, seized a small part of this area."

"From 1865 to 1953 British and Indian maps either did not show any alignment of the boundary in the western sector at all, or showed it in an indistinct fashion and marked it as undefined. It was only from 1936 onwards that the illegal McMahon line in the eastern sector appeared on British and Indian maps, but up to 1953 it was still designated as undemarcated."

#### Indian position

"The McMahon line was not arbitrarily drawn by the British and Tibetan representatives behind the back of the Chinese representative. It was shown in the map placed before the Conference by the British Representative on February 17th, 1914, as the historic Tibetan frontier. It was also shown by a red line on the map attached to the Convention initialled by the plenipotentiaries of India, Tibet and China on April 27th, 1914, and signed by the Plenipotentiaries of India and Tibet on July 3rd, 1914.

Even so, the Chinese adherence to the Indo-Tibetan agreement of March 1914 was not necessary. Tibet had in the past entered into a number of treaties which were not only considered as valid by the parties concerned but were in actual operation for decades. The Treaty of 1842 which Tibet signed with Ladakh and Kashmir confirmed the Tibetan traditional boundaries in the west and regulated trade relations and it had been in operation right up to our own times. Similarly the Nepal-Tibet Treaty of 1856 was in actual operation until abrogated by the Sino-Nepalese Treaty of 1956. It is thus clear that the McMahon line is valid and legal. The McMahon line thus merely formalised the traditional boundary between India and Tibet. According to international law and usage the customary and traditional boundary following unchanging and distinctive natural features stands defined and needs no further or formal definition."

#### WHO IS THE AGGRESSOR?

Both charge each other with aggression.

#### China's position

"The Indian Government inherited the British imperialists' covetous desires towards the Tibet region of China and persisted in regarding Tibet as India's sphere of influence, or sought at least to transform it into a buffer zone between China and India. For this reason, the Indian Government tried its best to obstruct the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1950. When these attempts proved of no avail,

India pressed forward in an all-out advance on the illegal McMahon line in the eastern sector of the border and completely occupied China's territory south of that illegal line and north of the traditional customary line."

"While it was occupying large tracts of Chinese territory, India suddenly made a unilateral alteration of the Sino-Indian customary line in its official map published in 1954."

"The gravity of the situation lies not only in India's extensive claims to Chinese territory, but also in its subsequent use of force to change unilaterally the state of the boundary that had emerged, so as to realise Indian territorial claims."

### Indian position

"The Government of India has also all along adopted a conciliatory attitude on matters of mutual interest to India and China. This has been in particular the case with regard to Tibet and to the question of the Indo-China border. In the 1954 Agreement on trade and intercourse between Tibet and India, signed between the Government of India and the People's Republic of China, India gave up all extra territorial rights and privileges enjoyed in Tibet and recognised that Tibet was a region of China."

"From 1954, Chinese personnel persistently visited the Bara Hoti area in Uttar Pradesh (India); and in the summer of 1956 armed Chinese personnel intruded into Nilang-Jadhang and crossed the Shipki pass" --- "Chinese incursion into Indian territory continued. In 1957 a patrol party was noticed in Spiti area and a road running for short a hundred miles across Aksaichin was completed. The next year they came to Kharnak fort in Ladakh, arrested and Indian Patrol Party in Aksai, intruded into the Indian side of the traditional boundary..."

"In July 1958 a map in an official Chinese magazine included within Chinese territory four of the five Divisions of the N.E. Frontier Agency. Some areas in north Uttar Pradesh and large areas in Eastern Ladakh."

(From "India-China Border Problem")

"The mask was off. China's expansionist policy stood fully revealed. In October 1959 Chinese military forces advanced forty miles into Indian territory in southern Ladakh. Encountering an Indian patrol party ... they opened fire, killing nine Indians. Ten were taken into captivity."

## EFFORTS FOR SOLUTION

According to the statements of Indian and Chinese Governments both claim to have been trying to avoid clashes and finding solution to the problem. Unfortunately each on its part, it seems, reacted unfavourably.

### Chinese position

"The Chinese position held that in order to avert conflict along the border, ways must be found to effect a disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides, and at the same time negotiations must be started quickly to seek a peaceful settlement of the boundary question."

"On November 7th, 1959, the Chinese Government proposed 20 km. withdrawal of both armed forces from the line of actual control and half patrols, also a meeting of two P.M.'s to discuss the boundary question. These proposals were repeated by the Chinese Government."

"With a view to seeking a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Chinese Premier visited New Delhi in April 1960 and held talks with Prime Minister Nehru. In the course of the talks Chou-en-Lai repeatedly explained that the boundary question should be settled peacefully on a fair and reasonable basis; that if there could not be a settlement for the time being, the state of the boundary that had already emerged should be maintained; and that the armed forces of the two sides should be disengaged in order to forestall clashes."

"The Chinese Government's stand on the illegal McMahon line is a consistent one. China does not recognise the illegal McMahon line, yet it refrained from crossing it in the interest of a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. In order to prevent the Indian troops from staging a come-back and launching fresh attacks, the Chinese frontier guards, fighting in self-defence, naturally need no longer be restricted by the illegal McMahon line. China has consistently striven for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question by peaceful means. The Chinese frontier guards have crossed the illegal McMahon line because they had no alternative. Yet the Chinese side does not wish to rely on such a move to settle the question of the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary. As in the past, the Chinese Government holds that only through peaceful negotiations can a settlement reasonable and fair to both sides be found not only for the eastern sector, but for the Sino-Indian boundary question as a whole."

India's claim is that she has been unsuccessful in trying to persuade the Chinese Government to settle the boundary question once for all.

Indian position

"Until 1954, there was no indication that the People's Republic of China did not accept the boundaries shown in Indian maps. There were several occasions for them to have done so. In the first place, Indian maps giving full details were available to the Chinese authorities, and it is difficult to believe that they did not know what the Indian Government's attitude was. As early as 1950, when it became clear that conditions in Tibet were disturbed, the Government of India expressed their anxiety to the Chinese authorities and expressed the hope that Sino-Tibetan relations would be adjusted peacefully. The Chinese authorities assured that the problem of Tibet would be solved peacefully. The Government of India, while thanking them, told the Chinese Government that the recognised boundary between India and Tibet should remain inviolate. The Chinese made no comment."

"In October 1954, when Prime Minister Nehru visited China, he mentioned to Chinese leaders that he had seen Chinese maps showing a wrong boundary alignment between the two countries. The Prime Minister further stated that he presumed that this was an error but so far as the Government of India was concerned they were not greatly worried about it because the boundaries of India were quite clear and were not a matter of argument."

"When Mr. Chou-en-Lai visited India towards the end of 1956 he referred to the Sino-Indian boundary and more specially to the so-called McMahon line. He said to Prime Minister Nehru that he had accepted the McMahon line as the border between China and Burma, and whatever might have happened long ago, in view of the new developments and the friendly relations which existed between India and China, the Chinese Government would recognise the McMahon line."

"A fresh move for relieving the growing tension and avoiding the danger of war was made by India in a note on May 14th, 1962. The note urged the Chinese Government to give serious consideration to Prime Minister Nehru's proposal of November 1959 for the withdrawal of Indian forces in Ladakh to the west of the boundary line shown in the 1956 Chinese map, and of Chinese forces to the east of the international boundary shown in official Indian maps. It made an offer: India is prepared, in the interest of a peaceful settlement, to permit, pending negotiations and settlement, the continued use of the Aksai Chin road for Chinese civilian traffic. China spurned the note."

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Material on the Chinese position has been taken from Premier Chou-en-Lai's letter to leaders of Afro-Asian countries, published in "Peking Review" (Nov. 30th, 1962) and on Indian position from "Indian News" (London), "We accept China's Challenge" by Nehru and other material published by the Government of India.

ED 718-16-129

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

A G E N D A

13. 1. 63

for Executive Committee Meeting No.9 to be held at  
Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield on Sunday,  
13th January 1963 at 10 a.m.

APOLOGIES

- 1. APPROVAL OF AGENDA
- 1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE MEETING NO.8 (4.11.62)

ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES

- 18. Charter Plane
- 3b. Freundschaftsheim
- 5. Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft

2. FINANCE

- (a) Current Statement
- (b) Approval of Expenditure
- (c) Annual Appeal

3. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1963

- (a) Arrangements
- (b) Programme
- (c) Meeting with Peace Councils

- 4. STUDY CONFERENCE 1963
- 5. ESPERANTO CONGRESS 1963
- 6. INTERNATIONAL C.N.D. CONFERENCE
- 7. REMOVAL OF HEADQUARTERS
- 8. LANSBURY HOUSE
- 9. CUBAN CRISIS
- 10. SINO/INDIAN WAR
- 11. PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY
- 12. AMNESTY
- 13. APPLICATION FOR AFFILIATION : PEACEMAKERS
- 14. REVISION OF CONSTITUTION
- 15. APPLICATION FOR INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP: BELGIUM
- 16. NOMINATIONS FOR CHAIRMAN
- 17. LETTERS FROM HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI
- 18. NOBEL PEACE PRIZE
- 19. SECRETARY'S MEMORANDUM
- 20. STAFF
- 21. DATE OF NEXT MEETING
- 22. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

## MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 9

held at

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middx.  
on Sunday 13th January, 1963 at 10 a.m.

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman), Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treasurer) and Stuart Morris. Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe

The Chairman, on behalf of the Executive Committee, congratulated Stuart Morris on his marriage to Hilda von Klenze

APOLOGIES: Jean van Lierde and Michael Randle. Arlo Tatum had agreed, as it was impossible for him to attend meetings, that he should no longer be regarded as a member of the Executive Committee.

AGENDA: The circulated Agenda was approved with additions as recorded in these Minutes.

MINUTES: The Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No. 8 (4th November 1962) were approved as circulated and signed by the Chairman.

ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES18. Charter Plans

Letters had again been sent to Alvar Sundell and Felix Kowski without any response. The Staff was asked to write further in the hope that the matter could be settled before the end of the financial year.

12. Stuart Morris reported that to avoid further confusion about membership in England the P.P.U. Council was prepared to recommend that the W.R.I. Declaration be accepted by the P.P.U. as an equivalent of its own pledge. Executive appreciated this measure, although they thought it did not provide a complete answer to the problem.

3 (b) Freundschaftsheim

At the previous meeting a decision had been made to send Devi Prasad to the meeting of the Kuratorium on November 27th. He was subsequently informed by Dr. Mensching that the W.R.I. was not considered to be a member of the Kuratorium as we had not been able to give a definite answer when first invited to join and therefore no invitation was sent to the W.R.I.

Devi reported on correspondence between himself and Dr. Mensching who had been writing on behalf of the Freundschaftsheim Executive. He had pointed out that the W.R.I. had been urged to become a member of the Kuratorium by, amongst others, the representative of the Freundschaftsheim in England. Our Executive had decided that we would only join if this appeared to be useful to both organisations. No further progress could be made in this matter but the Staff was asked to maintain contact with the Freundschaftsheim and report any further developments to Executive.

5. Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft

Executive learnt with regret of the death of Max Stierwaldt. Correspondence with an Executive member of the D.F.G., Dr. Gerhard Schmidt, had made it quite clear that the conditions of affiliation to the W.R.I. were being fulfilled as far as was possible. The D.F.G. should therefore be regarded as an affiliated organisation.

9. United Towns Association

Stuart Morris reported that a list of twinned-towns had been obtained and steps were being taken by the British Section to link local groups in England with groups in associated towns in other countries. H.Q. was also working on these lines in regard to Sections in other countries.

2. FINANCE:

a) Current Statement

Albert Billett's report, which was accepted, showed a bank balance at 28th December, 1962, of £254.3.10. in Account No. 1 and £ - .6.10 in Account No. 2 (salaries).

b) Approval of Expenditure

Accounts totalling £248.12.7., which had been paid, were endorsed. Authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding bills amounting to £186.14.1., as and when money became available, both as attached in the Minute Book.

It was suggested that the annual subscription to "The Friend" was unnecessary as the P.P.U. would be willing to pass on its own copy to the W.R.I. The possibility of having an exchange arrangement with "The Friend" was to be explored.

c) Annual Appeal

The draft of the Annual Appeal for 1963 was shown to members and some suggestions were made.

TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1963

(a) Arrangements

A report was given of the arrangements made by the Staff in consultation with the F.m.K. Attempts had been made to hire the school in Stavanger for the original dates proposed and also to find an alternative Conference Centre in Denmark. These, however, had not been successful. The Council Meeting and the meeting with observers from Eastern Europe would therefore be held on the 26th July. The Conference would begin on the morning of the 27th and would continue until the evening of Tuesday 30th July. The meeting of the newly elected Council would take place on the 31st. All other details would be published in the next issue of "War Resistance". It was estimated that the cost of the Conference would amount to as much as £1,000 and therefore special measures would have to be taken in order to meet this large demand on the W.R.I.'s limited resources. Although the School was charging 30/- a day, the W.R.I. would ask for 35/- per day from each participant. In addition there would be a Conference fee of 25/-.

An appeal would be made for non-attending members to help with the cost of the Conference by paying the Conference fee. In return they would receive the Conference agenda and Conference documents.

In order to meet on the 26th, members of the Council would probably arrive on the evening of the 25th and the Staff would make appropriate arrangements. It was agreed that every effort should be

made to enable two members of the Staff in addition to the Secretaries to attend the Conference. The suggestion was also made that Niels Mathiesen be regarded as a member of Staff for the purpose of the Conference.

(b) Programme

The comments of the F.M.K. on the programme were discussed. It was thought that the relationship between the pacifist movement and the United Nations was such a large subject that it could possibly be the theme of the next Triennial Conference or a Study Conference. Executive considered that any analysis or discussion on the Algerian War and the Sino/Indian conflict could be included in the programme already proposed. For example, under (f) Pacifism in Africa, Latin America and Asia. If at the time of the Conference action was no longer required, an analysis of such conflicts over the last three years could be included in the Chairman's Opening Address.

Preliminary suggestions were made for the Conference procedure: Each subject would be opened in plenary session by 2 speakers, preferably with differing points of view and each would speak for 15 minutes. The Conference could then split into smaller groups for more intensive discussion possibly on the basis of language. Time would have to be given to internal business, such as proposed changes in the Constitution.

Tentative suggestions were made for speakers:

- (a) Individual Refusal in the Nuclear Age - A.J. Muste and the Bishop of Nagpur.
- (b) International Anti-War Movement - Gerry Hunnius, Dr. Andreas Buro or Bertil Svahnström.
- (c) Pacifism and Social Justice. This title was further clarified as consisting of how pacifist techniques could be applied to achieve social justice, and social injustice as a cause of war, - Bayard Rustin, Danilo Dolci or a Yugoslav speaker or Jean van Lierde.
- (d) Current Issues - speakers to be chosen immediately before the Conference.
- (e) Relationship with the World Peace Council and its Sections; this would consist of a report of the meeting with Peace Council observers. A member of the Italian Section should be asked to speak, also a member of the W.R.I. who was also a member of the Peace Council.
- (f) Pacifism in Africa, Latin America and Asia - Pierre Martin and Devi Prasad.

Other suggestions would be appreciated.

(c) Meeting with Peace Councils

Only one reply had been received to the invitations sent to East German, Czech, Polish and Hungarian Councils. The Deutscher Friedensrat had written accepting the invitation but pointing out that their observers would probably have difficulty in entering Norway as it was a NATO country. Further approaches would be made and it was agreed not to hold a meeting unless observers were sent from each of the Peace Councils. If the Deutscher Friedensrat attended, it would be necessary to co-opt at least one W.R.I. member from West Germany.

4. STUDY CONFERENCE 1963

It was reported that bookings for 65-70 participants had been made with the Châteaude Charbonnières, near Chartres, France, for

the period 24th-31st August, 1963. The theme of the Conference would be "Non-Violence and Socio-Economic Change". Details regarding programme and speakers would be worked out during the next few weeks.

#### 5. ESPERANTO CONGRESS 1963

Various suggestions from Alfred Tucker for the W.R.I. meeting were discussed. It was agreed that the theme "Peace Work and Esperanto in Eastern Europe - and in the West" should be adopted for the meeting. Attempts would be made to get a Scandinavian speaker and a Bulgarian. Executive approved the suggestion that Alfred should visit friends in Bulgaria and Hungary if that were possible.

#### 6. INTERNATIONAL C.N.D. CONFERENCE - JANUARY 1963

Of the members of Executive Harold Bing and the two Secretaries had attended the Conference to represent the W.R.I. and Stuart Morris had represented the P.P.U. The consensus of opinion about the Conference was that, in spite of the difficulties, it had been successful and had given a clear indication that there was a general desire in all sections of the peace movement to work together whenever possible. The Conference had elected a Continuing Committee which would attempt to set up an International Confederation for Peace and Disarmament and would call another Conference next year to launch the new body officially. Further reports about the Conference would be circulated to Council and Sections and a report would also be included in the next issue of "War Resistance". Tony Smythe reported on a meeting which took place after the Conference between delegates and members of the World Peace Council and also on the initial work of the Continuing Committee, of which he was a member.

Executive gave its general approval for the steps taken to build a Confederation and was prepared to recommend affiliation of the War Resisters' International if satisfactory progress were made before the next meeting of the W.R.I. Council. In order to help with the initial expenses of the Continuing Committee it was decided to make an immediate contribution of £25. This would not prejudice the payment of an affiliation fee at a later date. Tony reported that the affiliation fee for international movements, if two or more of their affiliates had joined the Confederation, would be nominal. The Continuing Committee hoped to publish a bulletin under the auspices of the International Peace Bureau by May and it was thought that this could be a valuable contribution to international peace work. Devi reported on a meeting of the ad hoc Bulletin Committee set up by the International Peace Bureau (ILCOP) to discuss the plan of the Bulletin. The Committee decided to bring out the first issue some time in April. It was decided to have a special meeting of the Executive Committee on Friday 8th March at 5.30 at Dick Sheppard House to discuss this matter.

#### 7. REMOVAL OF HEADQUARTERS

No progress had been made in finding new premises. While the matter would be left open, it was decided to defer taking any immediate practical steps until the meeting of the new Council.

#### 8. LANSBURY HOUSE

It was reported that Lily and Albert Billett would be leaving the downstairs flat on Saturday 19th January and appreciation was expressed for their valuable service to the W.R.I. during their period of residence. Tony Smythe and his family would be the new tenants, and Executive drew up conditions of tenancy to be included in the Tenancy Agreement which would be drawn up with legal advice. Every effort would be made to find alternative accommodation for Tony if Lansbury House should be sold.

SINO-INDIAN CONFLICT

Headquarters had produced a document giving an analysis of the situation and an account of the action W.R.I. took in this matter. This document had been sent to Council, Sections and some other contacts.

The Secretary informed the Executive of the New Delhi-Pekin Friendship March the World Peace Brigade was planning in co-operation with the Indian peace movement. An international team of 15 volunteers was expected to leave New Delhi on 12th February, 1963.

0. PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

At Arlo Tatum's suggestion it was agreed that the W.R.I. would not in future call for a general Prisoners for Peace Day but would continue to compile lists of the prisoners and their addresses.

1. AMNESTY

The one-day conference organised by Amnesty on "Personal Freedom in Western Europe" was attended by Davi Prasad. He found it informative, but the question of Conscientious Objection did not get due attention. On the whole the conference was on a legalistic level.

2. APPLICATION FOR AFFILIATION: PEACEMAKERS

Executive decided to recommend to Council that the Peacemakers be accepted as an Associate Organisation.

3. REVISION OF CONSTITUTION

Pierre Martin's document which is circulated with these Minutes was discussed. It was pointed out that most of his suggestions could be implemented without a change in the Constitution. Changes had in any case to be recommended by Council or one of the Sections 6 months prior to the Triennial Conference. The Conference could suggest closer association between national Sections but was not empowered to do more than this. Delegates from regions or sections not represented on the new Council could always be co-opted. The document would be discussed further at a later meeting before it was decided whether to make recommendations to Council or to the Conference.

4. APPLICATION FOR INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP - BELGIUM

Applications for individual membership from Vera and Arno Hamers were rejected, as the Constitution only made provision for direct membership on the signing of the W.R.I. pledge. The form of the pledge submitted was that of the P.P.U.

5. NOMINATIONS FOR CHAIRMAN

Harold Bing had been nominated by the Irish Pacifist Movement, New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society and A.N.V.A. (Holland). No other nominations had been received. (The closing date is 20th January, 1963).

6. LETTERS FROM HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI

Letters from Heinz Kraschutzki in reply to criticisms of documents already circulated by Headquarters on his behalf were read and certain suggestions concerning the meeting with observers from Eastern European Peace Councils were noted.

17. NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

Bertrand Russell's secretary had asked for W.R.I.'s help in obtaining Russell's nomination for the Peace Prize. The Secretaries had supplied information without the W.R.I.'s official support being given or asked for.

18. SECRETARY'S MEMORANDUM

Tony Smythe's memorandum on international organisation was noted and it was suggested that it should go forward to the Triennial Conference as a conference document or be included as a suggestion within the Secretary's report.

19. STAFF

The Secretaries reported that the part-time services of May Way and Marjatta Bryan were not sufficient for the work in hand. It was therefore decided to advertise for additional part-time shorthand-typing assistance.

20. DANILO DOLCI'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

The Secretaries were asked to contact Dolci during his visit to England in March and discuss with him the possibility of his attending the Triennial Conference and his relationship with the W.R.I.

21. INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU (I.L.C.O.P.)

Stuart Morris and Devi Prasad reported on the meeting of the Bureau in London on Tuesday 8th January.

22. LETTERS FROM WIM JONG AND THE SECRETARY OF ANVA (RUDI WOLF)  
were read and taken note of.

DATES OF NEXT MEETINGS

Saturday, 9th March, 1963, at 10 a.m. - Lansbury House

Sunday, 12th May, 1963, at 10 a.m. - Lansbury House

The meeting adjourned at 5.30 p.m.

ED 718-16-133

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND AIMS FOR THE PROPOSED  
INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

PREAMBLE

The International Conference for Co-operation and Co-ordination of the movements against atomic armaments and for general and complete disarmament brought together at Oxford representatives of non-aligned movements and organisations throughout the world, joined in the common struggle for peace. Co-operation between these organisations has grown rapidly during the past few years. The danger of nuclear catastrophe has made it imperative that these organisations should form an International Confederation, which would respect the differences of method and emphasis and preserve their freedom of action, but help to develop popular action on an international scale.

The elimination of nuclear weapons, the policies based upon their use, the growth of military structures and of armaments, is mankind's most urgent task. All human endeavour presupposes the continuation of life. But apart from the danger to survival itself, human dignity and the development of social, technical and civilising processes are jeopardised by the preparation for war. Co-existence of different ideologies is possible in a civilised society, but the co-existence of human beings and nuclear weapons is not. Not only do these weapons generate the tensions which may at any moment explode into thermonuclear war, they also threaten fundamental human rights.

Every human being has a responsibility to act according to conscience to safeguard himself and others. This should take precedence over any demands of governments which compel him to destroy life.

Without prejudice to the Charter rights of the United Nations to enforce its mandate, we believe that political problems can no longer be solved by resort to war. Although statesmen now admit that a general nuclear war is tantamount to annihilation, they continue policies which threaten to make it inevitable. Thus nations arm for a conflict which they admit they cannot win.

The organisations within the new Confederation contend that fundamental new thinking on the problem of war is necessary, and that new forces and new methods must be interposed in the world situation, so that economic resources now used in the arms race may be diverted to the building of an international community based upon the active co-operation of all people in a disarmed world. Disarmament will mean fundamental social, economic and political change.

Therefore the creation of an international organisation, including pacifists and anti-nuclear movements, responds to an historic necessity. In the two societies that appear radically and mortally opposed a common problem must now be faced. The military structures in both societies constitute one of the principal foundations of the state. The Confederation intends to promote a constructive and dynamic effort to eliminate the real causes of war, and the institutions and structures of the state adapted to this function. For example, scientific progress cannot be halted at the door of armics, as long as these exist: on the contrary, even new atomic research for peaceful uses is greatly influenced by the military. Human progress in any area

/cont.....

of the world requires the progressive abandonment of vast military expenditure and the use of these resources for the fight against misery and hunger, for welfare and the realisation of an increasingly just society.

Some of the organisations at Oxford were primarily concerned with nuclear disarmament. Others held to the pacifist position against all weapons. Some adopt the methods of persuasion and political action. Others adopt the method of non-violent action. The Confederation respects these differences. But its component organisations are united in the determination to stimulate popular action, with the support of youth, labour, church, civic and other organisations, against the threat of war. The basis for this co-operation on an international scale is now established.

#### BASIC OBJECTIVES AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

Member organisations of the Confederation should work for:

- (1) A permanent test ban treaty.
- (2) General and complete disarmament of all nations.
- (3) The non-military solution of all conflicts.
- (4) The strengthening of the work of the United Nations and its existing Agencies, both in promoting disarmament and in increasing its responsibility for inspection and in determining the direction of economic aid and the encouragement of the growth of a world community based on world law.
- (5) The creation of zones of nuclear and conventional disengagement and demilitarisation.
- (6) The progressive elimination of nuclear bases by the great powers, internally and on foreign soil.
- (7) An active and developing co-operation between all peoples.

As a first step they should actively oppose:

- (1) The testing, manufacture, stock-piling and use of nuclear weapons by every country, including their own.
- (2) All nuclear bases, including the use of their own territory for this purpose.
- (3) All countries' membership of all nuclear alliances.
- (4) The spread of nuclear weapons to any new powers or blocs.

They must also provide evidence by consistent deeds and stated policies that they stand for these objectives.

The closer co-ordination of the non-aligned peace movements within the Confederation will strengthen existing organisations by their mutual active, material and intellectual support. It will promote the development of new centres in countries where, at present, they do not exist. It will enable these movements to confer and, when deemed appropriate, to co-operate as a united body, with other peace movements. It will give, generally, to organisations, to peace workers and groups, the feeling of strength and hope which will greatly enhance their desire for action and their effectiveness to bring pressure to bear on governments, and to force them to take the greatest possible account of their aims and actions.

#### PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The Confederation resolves to co-ordinate internationally the activities of member organisations in pursuit of these objectives and such others as are added from time to time.

It seeks to encourage direct democratic initiatives and action of the people as a new dynamism for influencing national and international policies, and as a means of asserting the popular will on these and other issues.

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Suggested modifications of Constitution of W.R.I.  
to be submitted to the 1963 Conference by

Pierre Martin

(24.1.63)

Statement of Aims: the urgent wish that

1. members of W.R.I. should be more democratically associated with Council decisions
2. there should be greater co-operation between the Sections, working towards a federal organisation
3. there should be a more concrete participation in certain pacifist activities in the under-developed countries.

These three desires impel me to propose certain changes in the Constitution.

#### 1 and 2 DEMOCRATISATION AND INTEGRATION

I have always felt that it was specially insufficient for a pacifist organisation like W.R.I. to be based on national organisations, that is to say on groups of members limited by national geographical frontiers, for those frontiers have no other use (!) than to be a cause of war among the men they separate.

On the other hand, we live in a period when large economic and political units are being created beyond these frontiers. Before 1966, the date of our next Conference, our structure will seem completely out-of-date; England itself will know, for good or for evil, those same servitudes and solidarities which its 6 National Sections in Europe know already. The division of W.R.I. into National Sections is objectionably arbitrary and varies according to the will of the rulers (2 Germany's, United Arab Republic, Senegal, Mali, and many countries in Africa.) What counts within the W.R.I. is the individual, and his pacifism is reckoned in his relations with Humanity, not with Nation-States. Everything which exists between the individual and Humanity is denied by pacifism. On this point, the militarists are more internationalist than we are, for there already exists within NATO and SEATO a common command, uniformity of armaments and manoeuvres. We ought to take as our ideal a federal structure on a world scale. Of this, W.R.I. is certainly conscious unless it denies the paternal links which join us to the World Peace Brigade. That organisation did not create itself on national, but on regional divisions by continents, Asia, Africa, Europe, America. It is probably premature to propose the abolition of National Sections and replace them by similar regions, but I suggest that an exploratory enquiry be made at once among the Sections, so that by July 1963 they may be able to say what re-groupings they feel to be possible either immediately or in the near future. There are some re-groupings which seem logical and could be opposed only by a 19th century mentality or by personal rivalry without respect to the interests of pacifism:- Scandinavian region, French-speaking region (the F.o.R., one of our Associated Organisations in France, and also the Quakers, have already done this; or perhaps it would be more fruitful a group on the Common Market scale (Brussels, Amsterdam and Bonn are nearer to Paris than is the whole of the South of France) or perhaps a Franco-German group would be more than a symbol, and would allow the German Sections to surmount their divisions, as they would no longer be alone.

These re-groupings would allow us to join together our feeble means, often insufficient to allow a Section to pay for its permanent Secretariat, and would make the movement more efficient. When circumstances demand it, the Secretariat could be moved from one country to another (e.g. the S. C.I. Secretariat is alternately at Paris and Zürich; and at times such factors as the cost of living have influenced its transfer.) It would be better, for example, for a French member to have a Secretary at Zürich able to travel and send out circulars, than to have a Secretary in "his" capital who is

reduced to silence because he must earn his living and has no financial means to contact his members as often as he would like to do. In addition, at this moment when for the first time we are assembled with representatives of Associated Organisations, we must avoid as much as possible having Sections which find themselves inferior to those organisations which have greater financial means and have 2 votes (while some Sections with less than 50 members have only 1 vote).

As practicable suggestions I propose:

- (a) that the Secretariat asks each Section with which other(s) it is prepared to fuse, or at least associate intimately for a probationary period before finally fusing.
- (b) when the agreement is reciprocal, the Conference will ratify automatically these fusions of Sections.
- (c) since these re-groupings ought to be encouraged and a more equitable representation ensured in the Council, I suggest that, in addition to the 12 members elected on personal grounds, each Section or group with more than 200 members, should elect a member who would attend the Council with right to join in the discussion and accept responsibility on behalf of his regional group. Large Sections or Regional groups being thus assured of representation in the Council, will not be tempted to vote for candidates from their own region.

#### Another advantage

Council decisions, having been made in the presence of representatives of each Region, will have much more chance than at present, of being acceptable from the start and thus we shall ease the solution of the difficult problem of relationships between the Secretariat and the Sections or Regions.

The procedure which necessitates waiting for the next Conference, that is 3 years, for important decisions which involve the whole movement, is too heavy and out-of-date in our times, when events follow close on one another and demand an immediate adaptation. No important international organisation adopts (or requires) more than 2 years for its plan of action. If the Sections were associated, as I suggest, with the work of the Council, the latter would be capable of making more important decisions than it can at present, either at the time of the meetings or by postal consultation with the Secretariat. Article 7 (of the Constitution) would then become:

The Council shall consist of the Chairman of the International and the Treasurer or Treasurers who shall be ex-officio members and of twelve elected members, one of whom shall be Vice-Chairman, and all of whom shall be members of a Section or hold membership with Headquarters; and to these shall be added representatives of Sections, elected by Regional Groups, in the proportion of one representative for a minimum of 250 members. It shall meet at least once a year and in the intervals is to be consulted by post as to practical measures to apply Conference decisions or those necessitated by some current event, according to the W.R.I. policy".

In addition, in the Rules, Article 10 would read:

Requests to put items on the agenda, made by the Annual General Meeting of the different Sections, must be circulated by the Secretariat to each member of the Council; this must be done early enough with information as to the Agenda of Council and of Executive Committee.

Finance. Article 10 (of Constitution) :

Each Section should consider it normal to send to the Secretariat Ten percent of subscriptions paid by members, but all Sections, Organisations and Publications, are expected to contribute according to their ability.

Article 11 (on Constitution)

There shall be an Emergency Relief Fund administered by the Executive Committee, the first claim on which shall be for pacifists in prison or in difficulty, or for their families. This fund may also be used, with the approval of the members of the Council, for grants to pacifists who wish, instead of doing military service, to help chiefly in countries which are being developed.

This new wording would allow young people, who so desire, whether against or in conformity with the laws of their countries, to go and work in Africa or in Asia, even if they have not enough money for this service. Over and above this positive contribution to pacifism, this would have the advantage of making W.R.I. known in the countries where the volunteers work.

I am in the course of making a similar suggestion to other pacifist organisations. The total of the grants would vary naturally, with the place and the nature of the work. For instance, for Senegal-Gambia it might be reckoned (as for volunteers for the French Peace Corps) at 4,500 French francs = £325 for a full grant for one year, including the journey. A part of it might be financed by other organisations, e.g. S.C.I., War on Want, etc.

N.B.

The F.o.R. in France is not an Associate Organisation of the W.R.I.

W.R.I. Secretariat

ED 718-16-137

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield  
Middlesex  
ENGLAND

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

24th January, 1963

LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

Enclosed herewith are the Minutes of the Executive Committee No. 9 and Pierre Martin's memorandum on suggested changes in the Constitution. We would appreciate comments on the memorandum before the next Executive meeting on March 9th.

The following Sections nominated Harold F. Bing, M.A., for the Chairmanship: I.P.M., I.d.K., N.Z.C.P.S., A.N.V.A., Israeli Section and the F.m.K. As no other nominations were received by the closing date (20th January, 1963), Harold Bing will be Chairman of the W.R.I. for the period following the 11th Triennial Conference. Those of us on the Staff at Lansbury House are sure you will join with us in thanking Harold for his long service to the W.R.I. and in congratulating him on this latest expression of the movement's continuing confidence in him.

May I remind you that nominations for Council Members must reach this office by 22nd April, 1963.

More details of the Triennial Conference are included in the Minutes. A provisional Agenda must be issued by the 1st April. We would therefore appreciate your suggestions and comments on the programme as soon as possible. The programme, as outlined in the Minutes, does seem excessively heavy for the short time at our disposal during the Conference and therefore, having consulted the Chairman, the Staff would recommend that the item 'Pacifism and Social Justice' be dropped. Time and discussion could be saved at the Conference if many papers on the main subjects were prepared and submitted for circulation beforehand.

Please encourage your young members both to consider coming to the Triennial Conference and also to the Youth Study Conference on 'Non-Violence and Socio-Economic Change' during the week 24th-31st August, 1963. If the Study Conference last year was anything to

go by, this year's Conference should be a very fruitful occasion.

At the time of our Triennial Conference reports of Sections' activities during the preceding three years are circulated to the whole movement. This time, as usual, they will be published in our journal. If that edition of "War Resistance" is to appear in time for the Triennial Conference, those reports should reach this office before 1st May. This work should be treated as a high priority, for it is only through the reports that the work of the International as a whole can be displayed before our membership and before people outside our movement.

We are proposing to include a report of the Oxford Conference in "War Resistance" and to circulate copies of the Conference Statement through our Information Service. The implications of the Conference are of the utmost importance for our movement and the details of the proposed International Confederation for Peace and Disarmament should be given the widest publicity and support.

We must apologise for the late appearance of "War Resistance" for 1st quarter 1963. It is still in preparation and will be circulated as soon as possible.

With best wishes,  
Yours fraternally,

*Tony Smythe*

Tony Smythe  
Secretary

## WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

19th February, 1963

LETTER TO COUNCIL & SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

✓ We enclose the Agenda for the next meeting of the Executive Committee (No.10.) to take place on Saturday, 9th March.

TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE:

Practical arrangements are now well under way helped by the visit of Niels Mathiesen to Lansbury House. Preliminary details are included in the current edition of War Resistance. This will be a vitally important Conference and it is hoped that all Sections will co-operate fully in all matters connected with it.

We would ask you to bear the following points in mind:

- (a) There will be room for up to 150 delegates, not more than 50 of whom should come from Scandinavia. Because there is a limitation on numbers we urge you to make sure that fully representative delegations come from each Section. Unless we become booked up any W.R.I. member who applies to come is entitled to do so and if there is any process of selection this must be done by the Sections themselves. It would, of course, be preferable if the delegates were active members of their own national movements with the ability to make the fullest possible contribution to the discussions. Please let us know the names of any people you feel ought to attend in order that we might take special steps to invite them.
- (b) The programme is very full. If you think it is too full please let us know. If there are any subjects relating to the internal organisation of the W.R.I. you would like included on the programme then please inform us. The Provisional Agenda will be drawn up at the coming Executive Meeting. Any suggestions must arrive not later than that or they will be more difficult to accommodate.
- (d) The question of Observers has not yet been fully discussed but suggestions will be welcome.
- (e) It is important that many young people should attend the Conference. They might, however, find the expense a little high and it would be desirable if Sections could help them by giving grants for travel or for their stay at Stavanger.
- (f) Volunteers for translating and interpreting are urgently needed. Those chosen for the translating team will be able to avail themselves of reduced terms.
- (g) A decision was made by the Executive Committee to ask W.R.I. members who are not able to attend the Conference to contribute the Conference fee in order to help with the cost. They will be provided with all the Conference documents. If this scheme is at all practicable it will need publicising by the Sections.

## SECTIONS' JOURNALS

Please advertise both the Triennial and the Study Conferences. The Study Conference will be taking place in France.

## CHAIRMAN'S VISIT TO SCANDINAVIA

After the Triennial Conference Harold Bing will remain in Scandinavia until 24th August. He will be available for speaking engagements. His particular purpose will be to attend the A.G.M. of the Swedish Section. If you wish to make use of his services please communicate with Headquarters so that a programme can be arranged as soon as possible.

## CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AS A HUMAN RIGHT

The Human Rights Commission will be holding its 19th Session from the 11th March -until 5th April at the Palais des Nations, Geneva. The 21 members of the Commission this year include Denmark, France, India, Italy, Netherlands, U.S.A., U.K. and U.S.S.R.

The Provisional Agenda includes "Item 6: Prevention of Discriminations and protection of minorities. (a) Draft principles on Freedom and Non-discrimination in the matter of religious rights and practices and (b) Draft principles on Freedom and Non-Discrimination in the matter of political rights."

Under 6 (a) and (b) should come the protection of the Rights of Conscientious Objectors to Military Service, which was the subject of a resolution passed at the 10th Triennial Conference at Gandhigram :

"Inasmuch as Article one of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognises that all human beings are endowed with reason and conscience, and Article 14 of the Draft Covenant (Civil and Political Rights Section) states that every one shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, the Conference recorded its conviction that where reason and conscience lead any individual to a renunciation of war and a refusal of military service of any kind, the right to freedom of conscience and the right to hold opinions without interference (Article 15) involved the necessity for the recognition of the right of conscientious objection to all war and war preparation in every country.

"It therefore called upon:

Its Sections and sympathetic organisations in those countries where the right of conscientious objection was recognised to urge such governments to take the initiative in securing the universal recognition of the right of conscientious objection and the necessary amendment to the appropriate article(s) in the Covenant to make that right explicit.

Its Sections in those countries where such rights were not at present recognised to be increasingly active in the endeavour to secure such legal recognition of the right of conscientious objection. "

Sections in the countries represented on the Commission should perhaps try to establish contact with their national representatives and make known their point of view. The sending of small delegations to Geneva could perhaps be considered. This matter is especially important at this moment when it seems clear that the assurances of the French Government regarding alternative service for C.O.'s are not being carried out. Also in Italy the problem of conscientious objection has attracted nation-wide interest because of the stand of a young Catholic C.O. This is the first case of its type and has provoked discussion in the Church and the Press. International agitation will have an influence in France and Italy at this time.

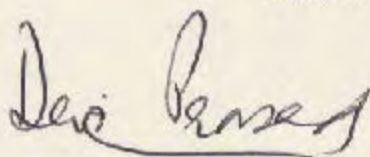
INTERNATIONAL FAIR

This item refers to an idea to raise funds which has been formulated by the Secretaries. If it receives the Executive approval a draft memorandum giving details will be circulated.

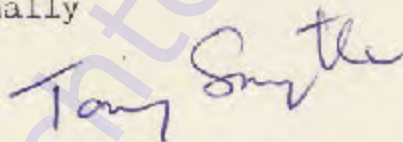
SWITZERLAND

A new Association of War Resisters has been created in Switzerland and will be applying for affiliation to the W.R.I. before the Triennial Conference. The President is René Bovard and the Vice-President Ralph Hegnauer.

Best wishes  
Yours fraternally



Devi Prasad



Tony Smythe

Secretaries

POINTS TO REMEMBER:

1. Reports of Sections' activities since the last Triennial Conference must reach W.R.I. Headquarters before 1st May 1963
2. Nominations for Council Members must arrive here by 22nd April, 1963

ED 71B-16-140

9.3.63

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

A G E N D A

for Executive Committee Meeting No.10 to be held at Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield on Saturday, 9th March 1963. Also short meeting at Dick Sheppard House on Friday at 5.30 p.m.

APOLOGIES

APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE MEETING NO.9 (13.1.63)

ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES

18. Charter Plane

2. FINANCE:

- (a) Current Statement
- (b) Approval of Expenditure
- (c) Annual Appeal
- (d) Anonymous gift
- (e) International CND Conference
- (f) W.R.L's donation for Devi Prasad

3. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1963:

- (a) Arrangements
- (b) Programme
- (c) Meeting with Peace Council Observers
- (d) Other Observers
- (e) Nominations

4. STUDY CONFERENCE 1963

5. REVISION OF CONSTITUTION

6. CO-OPERATION WITH I.F.O.R.

7. F.O.R. - SOUTH AMERICAN PROJECT

8. CHAIRMAN'S VISIT TO SCANDINAVIA

9. INTERNATIONAL FAIR

10. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AS A HUMAN RIGHT

11. NEW WAR RESISTER GROUPS

- (a) Switzerland
- (b) Holland
- (c) Brazil

12. ESPERANTO CONGRESS 1963

13. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT & PEACE

14. SECRETARIES' TRAVEL

15. STAFF

16. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

17. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

ED 718-16-141

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 10

held at

Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London,  
W.C.1. on Saturday, 9th March, 1963 at 10 a.m.

PRESENT:

Harold Bing (Chairman), Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treasurer),  
Stuart Morris and Jean van Lierde. Staff: Devi Prasad and  
Tony Smythe.

The Executive learned with regret of the death of Helen S. Chenevix, the Vice-President of the Irish Pacifist Movement. The death of Rajendra Prasad, a former Vice-President of the W.R.I., was also recorded and the Staff was asked to send messages of condolence to his relatives through the Indian Government.

APOLOGIES:

Apologies were received from Michael Randle

AGENDA:

The circulated Agenda was approved with additions as recorded in these Minutes.

1. MINUTES:

The Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No.9 (13.1.63) were approved as circulated and signed by the Chairman.

ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES

18. Charter Plane

Efforts were still being made to obtain the amounts owed by Felix Kowski and Alwar Sundell.

2. FINANCE:

(a) Current Statement

Albert Billett's report, which was accepted, showed a bank balance at 28th February 1962 of £57.2.2. in Account No.1 and £68.15.6. in Account No.2 (Salaries).

(b) Approval of Expenditure

Accounts totalling £380.19.11., which had been paid, were endorsed. Authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding bills amounting to £5.13.6., both as attached in the Minute Book.

The Staff was asked to check the printer's account for printing WAR RESISTANCE.

(c) Anonymous Gift

Executive noted with appreciation the receipt of an anonymous donation from Canada of £1,812.3.0. The money had been invested with the St. Pancras Building Society. It was decided to earmark £200 towards Devi Prasad's return fare to India (£100 for 1962 and £100 for 1963 as decided by the Council), £200 for the 11th Triennial Conference (£100 for 1962), £500 for special projects, £118.2.10. to replace a legacy received during the current financial year, which had been put in the General Account, owing to shortage of funds, £60 for the Pension Fund. The residue would be available for general expenses when and if required.

(e) International C.N.D. Conference

A payment of 3 guineas each for the three W.R.I. delegates had been made to the European C.N.D. Federation to help with the cost of the Oxford Conference.

(f) W.R.L.'s donation to Devi Prasad

The Executive noted with appreciation the receipt of the personal gift of \$150 which was promised by Bayard Rustin on behalf of the War Resisters' League, as recorded in the Minutes of Executive Meeting No.3 (17.2.62)

3. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1963

(a) Arrangements

Following the suggestion of F.m.K. it was agreed that there should be a social evening during the Triennial Conference. It would be possible to have a Press Conference in Stavanger before the Conference and in Oslo afterwards but no firm decision was made. The local press could be given daily statements and could also be invited to the Opening Conference Session rather than to a special Press Conference. Efforts would be made to attract publicity on radio and television, both in Norway and Britain. A Conference Committee had been set up by the F.m.K. in Stavanger and the office of the Peace Bureau there (Fredskontoret, Lagårdsveien 19, Stavanger) would be available to delegates as they arrived. Accommodation for 50 additional people could be provided in dormitories, if necessary, at a cost of 30/- per day. 25-30 people could be accommodated at the school from the evening of 25th July and the entire school would be free from the morning of the 26th. Conferees would have to leave before the afternoon of August 1st. The F.m.K. Annual General Meeting would also be held at the school on the 31st July - 1st August.

Arrangements for a Peace Action Exhibition were under discussion. No decision was taken about having a public meeting in Stavanger, although the first Open Session of the Conference could also serve as an occasion to invite local people.

(b) Programme

The Staff submitted a draft programme for approval by the Executive before circulation to Sections with these Minutes. Owing to the fullness of the Agenda, a factor which had been commented upon by Arlo Tatum and the Irish Pacifist Movement, it was decided to drop the item "Pacifism in South America" from the Agenda and to invite Alfred Hassler of the American F.o.R. to write a paper on the subject.

(c) Meeting with Peace Council Observers

All four Peace Councils had expressed their willingness to send observers to the Conference. There was, however, considerable doubt as to whether members of the Deutsche Friedensrat could be admitted into Norway. The meeting between Council Members and Peace Council Observers would take place on the afternoon of Friday, 26th July and a report of the meeting would be given to the Conference before the discussion on W.R.I.'s relationship with the World Peace Council and its Sections. The Staff was asked to prepare an Agenda for the meeting. The Observers would not be free to make contributions during the Conference except during the session on "The Relationship with the World Peace Council" where it was hoped that one Observer would give fraternal greetings on behalf of the delegation.

(d) Other Observers

It was decided to invite international peace organisations, including the I.F.o.N., the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, International Peace Bureau (ILCOP), European C.N.D. Federation, World Peace Brigade, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Service Civil International, to send fraternal observers. The F.m.K. would be consulted about invitations to observers from Norwegian peace organisations. Other suggestions for observers would be welcomed from Sections or the Staff. Observers would have to meet the cost of their stay at the School but not the Conference fee.

(e) Nominations

23 nominations for election to Council had been received. The last date for receiving nominations was 22nd April, 1963. Ballot papers would be handed in (or should reach the Conference) not later than midday, Monday 29th July.

(f) Council Meeting

It was decided that the Council Meeting should be held on the morning of 26th July and in the evening if necessary. A letter had been received some time ago from Hugh Brock asking if he could be an observer at future Council Meetings. Executive asked the Staff to tell Hugh that it was not established W.R.I. practice to have observers unless they were especially invited by the Council. Executive therefore felt itself unable to make the decision but referred it to Council. Tony Smythe asked that the principle of W.R.I. members being able to observe at Council Meetings in a non-voting, non-speaking capacity should be discussed by the new Council.

(g) Special Edition of PAX

The Norwegian Section had suggested to Headquarters that a special edition of PAX (the Section's journal) should be brought out in English to commemorate the Triennial Conference. It could contain articles by Norwegians prominent in the movement and any other features suggested by the W.S.I. It could be sold for 2/6d. a copy and possibly given to each attendee at the Conference. The Secretaries welcomed the scheme. It was, however, impossible to combine this issue of PAX with WAR RESISTANCE as "Reports from Sections" had to appear before the Conference. The Section had asked for a grant of £40 from the W.R.I. to help with the initial costs. If a sufficient number of copies were sold some of this money would be returned and therefore could be regarded as a loan. After discussion Executive proposed that the W.R.I. buy 300 copies for £35 which would be made available to the F.m.K. immediately. Out of these 300 copies one would be supplied to each Conference delegate with a request to make a contribution towards the cost. The W.R.I. would then try and sell whatever copies were left over. The F.m.K. would be free to canvass amongst Conference delegates for bulk orders. Executive thanked the F.m.K. for its initiative in this matter.

4. STUDY CONFERENCE 1963

Devi Prasad reported the progress made so far with arrangements for the Study Conference. Details of the Agenda and the list of speakers were being worked out.

5. REVISION OF CONSTITUTION

Further thought was given to Pierre Martin's memorandum to modify the W.R.I. Constitution. It was agreed to ask Pierre, in the light of various opinions which had been expressed about his document, to prepare another one for the Conference on the Democratisation and Integration of the W.R.I. and its Sections. Most of the

suggestions he had made so far could be implemented without necessarily changing the Constitution and it was further felt that such changes should come as the result of trends already apparent, rather than being regarded as the means to stimulate such trends.

6. CO-OPERATION WITH I.F.O.R.

The Chairman and Devi Prasad had had some preliminary discussion with Philip Eastman, Secretary of the I.F.o.R. in connection with more effective co-operation between the two international pacifist organisations. On the basis of his discussion with Devi Prasad, Philip Eastman had prepared a memorandum on this subject, putting forward suggestions. Devi Prasad also had written a memo (attached) on the basis of the same discussion. The two memos had been sent out to Executive Committee in advance. In the meantime Philip Eastman had had discussions with his European Committee. He had found that on certain points the kind of co-operation which he had visualised would not be possible, especially in the South American project of the I.F.o.R.

However, Philip Eastman had written in his letter that, in the light of discussions in the Executive Committees of the two Internationals, the memo would be discussed also in the F.o.R. North-American Committee and the I.F.o.R. Council. The Executive, while sympathetic to the idea of co-operation, decided to postpone discussion until it heard further from Philip Eastman.

7. F.o.R. SOUTH AMERICAN PROJECT

The Executive examined details of a project under the general heading "Next steps on Cuba and Latin America", formulated by various individuals in the American peace movement and the "Operation Latin America", a scheme proposed by the American F.o.R. It was not yet clear whether the W.R.I. could be of any direct assistance in carrying out these projects. The Executive agreed that close contact with any developments should be maintained and that assistance should be given, if needed.

8. CHAIRMAN'S VISIT TO SCANDINAVIA

Harold Bing had been invited to attend the Annual General Meeting of the Swedish Section. He would visit local groups in Sweden and was willing to spend the period from the end of the Triennial Conference to the 24th August travelling in Scandinavia for the W.R.I. The Finnish and Danish Sections had said that this was a difficult time of year in which to arrange meetings.

9. INTERNATIONAL FAIR

A proposal by the Secretaries that funds should be raised by holding an International Fair to sell work of artists and craftsmen of many countries was discussed. Because of the many difficulties inherent in the scheme and the many current commitments, the Executive decided to take no immediate action, but to enquire whether there were friends in London willing to undertake such a venture on behalf of the W.R.I.

10. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AS A HUMAN RIGHT

An appeal to Sections to make representations to the Commission on Human Rights had been sent out.

11. NEW WAR RESISTERS GROUPS:

(a) Switzerland

A new War Resisters' Association had been formed in Switzerland under the Presidency of René Bovard and the Vice-Presidency of Ralph Hegnauer and had applied for affiliation to the W.R.I. Headquarters had received copies of the Constitution and it was decided to recommend to Council that the application be accepted.

René Bovard had been under the mistaken impression that funds held by the W.R.I. in Switzerland could automatically be taken over by any new affiliate. The Staff was asked to point out that this was not the case but that the W.R.I. was willing to give a grant to help with the initial expenses of the new organisation.

(b) Holland

Cobi Molenaar, the W.R.I.'s Financial Agent in Holland and resident in the southern region, had expressed her intention to form a small group for Catholics who wished to join the W.R.I. Apparently Catholics were prohibited by their Bishop from joining A.N.V.A., the Dutch Section. In these circumstances, subject to the approval of A.N.V.A., the Executive thought that Cobi could go ahead but that on no account should the new group use the W.R.I.'s name, thus creating confusion. After the formation of the Group it could apply for affiliation.

(c) Brazil

Discussions about the constitution of the new Pacifist Movement of Brazil were still going on and a report would be made at a later date.

12. ESPERANTO CONGRESS 1963

Nothing further to report.

13. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

Discussion was deferred.

14. SECRETARY'S TRAVEL

Tony Smythe, with the assistance of a special donation, had attended a Conference for young members of the C.N.D. and other Youth Movements in Amsterdam. A report had been sent out in the last News Release. He had taken the opportunity of meeting Rudi Wolf, the Secretary of A.N.V.A.

Devi Prasad would be visiting Sheffield in the north of England to participate in a Conference of International Centres on the 17th and 19th March. He would also meet P.P.U. Groups in Coventry, Bradford and Sheffield.

15. STAFF

The engagement of Mrs. Kathleen Phillips on a part-time basis was recorded. It was decided that Lily Billett should be able to go to the Triennial Conference if she wished.

16. FRENCH C.O.

A young French C.O. - Jean Kaminski - had contacted W.R.I. Headquarters for assistance. He was due for call-up in France on the 14th March and was staying in Britain without a passport. His case was being dealt with by the Aliens Department and it seemed

probable that he would be deported unless pressure could be brought to bear upon the Home Office. Executive authorised payments of up to £10 from the Relief Fund to help him and suggested that if more money were needed the Secretaries should consult the Treasurer and Chairman. It was also decided to pay his fare to any European country other than France if permission to stay in Britain were not granted.

17. LANSBURY HOUSE

A Tenancy Agreement drafted by a solicitor was examined and certain alterations made. The solicitor would be asked to draw up the final version for signature.

18. INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU CONFERENCE

Niels Mathiesen would become the Secretary of the International Peace Bureau (formerly I.L.C.O.P.) in the summer. Decision as to who should represent the W.R.I. at the next I.P.B. Conference was deferred to the next meeting.

DATES OF NEXT MEETINGS:

- Sunday, 12th May 1963 - 10 a.m. at Lansbury House
- Saturday, 6th July 1963 - 10 a.m. at Lansbury House

The meeting adjourned at 17.30

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

Participants' Statement (19.3.63 WRI)

We who are starting on this journey believe that better relations between peoples can best be furthered by a willingness to explore both sides of any conflict. In the stated aims of the march we say that "the primary basis and the objective of the march is to establish friendly relations between the people of India and China". History is moving so quickly and power has become so centralized that individual people no longer feel able to respond creatively to new situations. Our march is an attempt to reawaken in India and China the feeling of the individuals responsibility for his fellow men, and individual responsibility for the acts of governments. We are aware that we do not have the answers for all the problems of the world, but that the basis for their solution lies in the creation of a climate of friendship and the seeking of alternatives to violence. Conflicts have to be taken out of their narrow limitations of detail and a new dimension must be introduced. Furthermore, we all must try to relate basic nonviolent attitudes to the real conflict situations which exist today.

1. We urge the people of India and China to seek to resolve conflict in a nonviolent manner by .....
  - a. placing human values before nationalism.
  - b. devoting individual energies to building a non-violent society through social and economic cooperation.
  - c. establishing personal contact and cultural exchange between India and China.
  - d. learning methods of nonviolent action like massive non-cooperation as an alternative to war.
  - e. writing to newspapers and speaking publicly to end the promotion of a war psychology.
11. Individuals can also stimulate their government to .....
  - a. negotiate differences in a positive spirit.
  - b. accept third party arbitration, if necessary, perhaps by a balanced group of neutral nations.
  - c. find areas in which co-operation between India and China is possible - an example might be a joint project in the border area.
  - d. begin a process of unilateral disarmament, and enlarged peacetime economic development.
  - e. continue to encourage Chinese participation in international councils such as the UNO.
  - f. to be keenly aware of and to take necessary steps for the protection of minority rights.

We as a group are opposed to all war, and wish to transfer the energies now wasted on war preparations for the benefit of all mankind. We feel that individuals should be free to refuse participation in or support of the armed forces or defence industry. Indian and Chinese involvement in an arms race or resulting conflict

will only contribute to the process of mounting militarisation which may well involve us all in a global war and annihilation. We are presenting ways in which we feel we can best preserve our value system, demonstrate friendship, and create the atmosphere necessary and to prevent war. Now is the time in history when individuals and groups must act positively to demonstrate beliefs and alternatives. We would welcome your suggestions and questions, and can be reached at: C/o Friendship March, Sarva Seva Sangh, Rajghat, Varanasi -1. U.P.

---

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS:

Shri Shankarrao Deo	Shri Jawahar Lal Jain
Smt. Janaki Natarajan Tschannerl	Bhikshu N. Shugei (Japan)
Shri Tripurari Sharan	Mr. Max Maxwell (England)
Shri Miss Tara Bhagwat	Mr. Gerhard Tschannerl (Austria)
Shri S. R. Subramaniam	Rev. Michael Scott, (England)
Shri U. M. Chandra Sekhar	Mr. Edward Lazar (U. S. A.)
	Albert Bigelow, (U.S.A.)

---

This march, which is now referred to as a pilgrimage, commenced on 1st March from the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial in Delhi. Reports indicate that there is an intense interest in the purpose of the march as the group passes through village and town. The Press is giving very fair reports.

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Duplicated and circulated by:

Friends Peace Committee,  
Friends House,  
Euston Road,  
LONDON. N. W. I.

8th March, 1963.

ED 718-16-145

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

19th March, 1963

## LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

✓  
✓  
✓  
Enclosed are the Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No.10 which took place on the 9th March; a draft Agenda for the Triennial Conference; a Memorandum by Devi Prasad on the W.R.I.'s Relationship with the I.F.O.R. and some information about the Friendship March - Delhi to Peking.

In a separate mailing you will be receiving information about the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace.

### TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE:

There was little response to the points raised in our last letter:

"(b) The Provisional Agenda will be drawn up at the coming Executive Meeting. Any suggestions must arrive not later than that or they will be more difficult to accommodate."

No suggestions did in fact arrive

"(e) Volunteers for translating and interpreting are urgently needed. Those chosen for the translating team will be able to avail themselves of reduced terms."

They are still needed.

While the Staff and the Executive Committee are responsible for the organisation of the Conference we cannot be responsible for its success. We want the enthusiastic co-operation of the whole movement.

Now that you have the Minutes and the draft Agenda before you, we hope that you will help find the speakers, encourage large delegations from each Section and call for the presentation of papers (not exceeding 1,000 words) on the main themes to be discussed.

### COUNCIL ELECTIONS:

The closing date for nominations is April 22nd. So far 23 names have been received. The names and biographical details of each candidate will be sent to Sections immediately after the closing date. Sections which will not be represented at the Triennial Conference should inform Headquarters so that Ballot Forms can be sent to them beforehand. These should be returned to Lansbury House by the 20th July. The rest of the Ballot Forms will be handed out to Delegates at the Conference on 27th July. These will be filled in and handed back before midday on Monday, 29th July.

### REPORTS FROM SECTIONS:

Reports of Sections' activities for the last three years must reach Lansbury House before 1st May for inclusion in WAR RESISTANCE

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AS A HUMAN RIGHT:

We would be interested to know if any Sections took action as a result of the proposals made in our last letter.

Last week universal conscription was introduced in Somalia. We do not yet know whether any provisions have been made for exemption in the unlikely event of objections to military service on conscientious grounds.

NEWS RELEASES:

We would draw your draw your attention to 2 items in News Release No.12:

1. Canadian C.N.D. asked for help in the form of letters to Canadian Embassies and silent vigils outside Embassies on March 31st.
2. Compulsory military training will be introduced in schools and universities throughout India from 1st July this year - surely a matter of protest to the Government of India?

ESPERANTO CONGRESS:

Would all Sections encourage Esperanto members to support the W.R.I. meeting which will be held during the Universal Esperanto Congress in Sofia, Bulgaria from 3-11 August? In addition we need articles in Esperanto for a special publication to be distributed during the Congress as well as being sent to our Esperanto mailing list.

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

The W.R.I.'s relationship with the new Confederation will be defined by the Council and the Triennial Conference. Meanwhile the Executive Committee supports the efforts being made to establish the Confederation. As a token of this support we have agreed to circulate various documents to W.R.I. Sections for their information and to assist further discussion.

Yours fraternally

*Devi Prasad*  
Devi Prasad

Secretaries

*Tony Smythe*  
Tony Smythe

IMPORTANT DATES

- 22nd April - last day for receiving nominations for Council Members  
1st May - last day for receiving Reports of Section's activities for inclusion in WAR RESISTANCE

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ED 718-16-1446

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield  
Middlesex  
ENGLAND

11th April, 1963

25.5.63 G

LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

✓- There is only one major new item on the enclosed agenda for the next Executive Meeting. It is the invitation from the World Peace Council asking the W.R.I. to send a representative to an enlarged meeting of the Council in Warsaw in June. No decision has been taken and Council Members are being consulted.

Triennial Conference

We have now received one or two comments on the provisional agenda which was circulated with the last Minutes. This response is still quite inadequate for the purposes of finalising the arrangements, including the choice of subjects and speakers. The Conference will only be a success if a great amount of work is done beforehand and the entire responsibility for that does not rest only with the International Secretariat. Besides speakers we still want papers on the subjects proposed, volunteer interpreters and more publicity. The example of the Swedish Section might well be followed. It has agreed to give a travel grant to delegates to the Conference. We hope that many of our young and most active members will be assisted in this way by other Sections.

War Resistance

The summer edition will be devoted to Reports from Sections. We have so far received one from Belgium. If no more are received by the 1st May the contents of the journal will be sparse, to say the least. We are sure that our subscribers want to read more about our work than a report from the Secretariat and another one from the Belgian Section.

Best wishes  
Yours fraternally

*Devi Prasad*

*Tony Smythe*

Devi Prasad

Tony Smythe

Secretaries

MEMORANDUM ON CLOSER CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE I.F.o.R.  
AND THE W.R.I. (Based on discussions between E. Philip  
Eastman and Devi Prasad on January 30th, 1963)

(For consideration by our respective Executive Committees)

(19.3.63 WRI)

The need for closer co-operation between peace forces all over the world is being felt by most peace movements. It was very encouraging to see during the recent Oxford (C.N.D.) Conference that the participants were agreed upon, in fact enthusiastic about, drawing up a minimum programme for common action by all non-aligned peace forces.

These developments, we feel, make it necessary, while international co-operation on a minimum programme is being worked out, that pacifist organisations all over the world think and co-operate to form new, active groups. There are many countries where no pacifist groups exist. We feel that the two largest international pacifist organisations, the I.F.o.R. and the W.R.I., could play an important rôle in building up nuclei in those countries to develop the growth of a movement based upon unconditional rejection of all war and a positive programme of reconstruction of social and political values. It should also emphasise the need of personal commitment for building up the quality of such a movement.

It should be realised that the question of peace has taken a much wider context. It is no more relevant to say that individual refusal to participate in war alone can establish peace in the world. Unless the basic problems of society are tackled, there cannot be peace. No peace movement can be effective if it does not recognise the necessity of change in social, economic and political relations between groups and nations.

All countries and regions have their own special situations. For instance, Africa, Asia and South America have their agro-industrial problems. In Africa the question of growing nationalism is also a serious problem. Under-developed countries will have to industrialise, for which they need capital. Great Powers are prepared to help them with it but will attach strings and ultimately these countries, which must be free to decide their own future, will fall into the grip of the Cold War. There should be an answer to this key problem.

Every country has its own social pattern. It is regrettable to what an extent the newly emerging African and Asian countries are trying to imitate the Western pattern of life. Peace movements must work out their programmes so as to help these countries plan their social relations on their own foundations, but enriched by aspects of Western life suitable and acceptable to them.

The political pattern of most of these developing countries is also in an experimental stage. Their internal political problems and their international relations are very important if internal and international peace is to be established. The arms race should not be allowed to come in the way of their free growth. The trend towards non-alignment in these countries is a healthy sign, but unless the people realise their own strength and responsibility, the idea cannot develop effectively. Towards this goal these countries will have to reject nuclear weapons and work in the direction of general and complete disarmament, taking unilateral initiatives.

If our two organisations can co-operate accepting this common basis, there is no doubt much useful work can be done. The following are some practical suggestions:

1. Joint efforts to study the situations in South America, Africa and Asia, exploring possibilities of initiating new peace groups. This would mean trying to discover enthusiastic individuals and helping them with ideas and broadening their international perspective.

- (a) The I.F.o.R. is planning to send a small team to work in South America. It would be useful if the W.R.I. would join in this project and send a representative for a couple of months to travel about, studying and making contacts.
  - (b) A similar combined team could work out a few local discussion projects in African countries to find out what sort of function the pacifist movement can have in those conditions. The same applies to Asia.
2. There are countries where both Internationals have their Sections. Naturally the fullest communication and, when possible, co-operation between those Sections would be desirable and both the Internationals should make this clear to their affiliates and encourage them to do so.
  3. When in a country one International is represented by its Section and the other is not, the principle should be accepted that, wherever possible, there should be sympathetic contact between this Section and the HQ of the other International; also that the Section should encourage and help, if the situation demands, in creating a Section of the other International in that particular town or country.
  4. Whenever Secretaries or deputies of any of the Internationals visit towns where their Sections or Groups exist, they should try to meet both groups and discuss with them problems and projects of common interest.
  5. At present both Internationals have their information services. Both have their quarterlies. Efforts should be made to acquaint the members, especially new members, of one organisation with the services of the other. To give the News Releases of both wider circulation, it may be advisable to exchange News Release mailing lists. Both Internationals could enclose each other's selected leaflets, giving aims and objectives and membership forms along with their quarterlies. At the same time these organisations should acquaint their members with other peace movements which are working in the same spirit.

This memo could be taken as a general outline for practical co-operation with other pacifist movements also.

DEVI PRASAD

(21.5.63)  
25.5.63 (F)

ED 718-16-148

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

NON-VIOLENCE, PEACEMAKING AND PEACE-EDUCATION

Published by:

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Lansbury House  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND

Price one shilling

This small bibliography was originally compiled by me with the help of some friends in 1960. It was first published in the Hindi educational magazine of the Sarva Seva Sangh called NAI TALIM on the occasion of the Gandhigram Triennial Conference of the W.R.I. The intention was not to make a fully comprehensive bibliography for research workers but to present a comparatively small number of books which could form the nucleus for a peace library or even a private collection. It is interesting to note that this bibliography did encourage a number of individuals and institutions to start building up such libraries. Our purpose in producing a revised version of the bibliography in English is the same.

Comments and suggestions are welcome.

Spring, 1963

DEVI PRASAD

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☆☆☆☆☆

W.R.I.

DECLARATION

"WAR IS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY. I THEREFORE AM DETERMINED NOT TO SUPPORT ANY KIND OF WAR AND TO STRIVE FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL CAUSES OF WAR."

☆☆☆☆☆

All books listed in this bibliography are available from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London N. 1., ENGLAND

ED 712-16-153

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone  
LABURNUM 3977

88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK  
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX  
ENGLAND

## LETTER TO COUNCIL MEMBERS AND SECTIONS

8th May, 1963  
25. 5. 63 Gr

Dear Friends,

### TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE:

The number of applications to attend the Conference is at this date lamentably low - 23 firm bookings. We had envisaged that room would be needed at the School for as many as 150 people. The reasons for this lack of interest fall, I think, into two general categories:

1. The high cost - especially for young people. One Section has already decided to give grants to its younger members and this example could well be followed by others. Further than this there is nothing we can say for the W.R.I. itself has the responsibility of meeting the costs of speakers and interpreters.
2. The affairs of the International are not sufficiently close to the hearts of ordinary members of Sections. They somehow do not feel themselves to be involved. Lack of publicity about the W.R.I. and its Conferences, a failure to put national pacifist action in its international context, an inadequate distribution of War Resistance and other factors are responsible. Could you do everything possible to put this situation right and, in the immediate future, both make sure that your Section is not only sending a delegate but that individual members are given every encouragement to attend?

More detailed agendas for the Conference will be made available immediately after our Executive Meeting next weekend, 12th May.

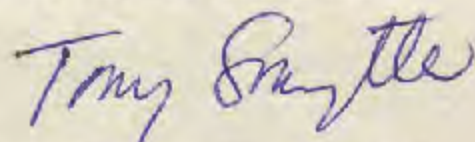
THE NEXT EDITION OF WAR RESISTANCE, with a very touching welcome from our Norwegian hosts, the Folkereising Mot Krig, will be sent out very shortly.

PEACE EXHIBITION: It has been decided to try and arrange an Exhibition of peace literature and propaganda during the Triennial Conference. All Sections should send examples of pamphlets, leaflets, posters, photographs, and anything else which they think might be useful, to the Folkereising Mot Krig, Kristian Augusts Gate 19, Oslo 13, as soon as possible. Why not ask local groups to supply their own material?

STUDY CONFERENCE: Booking for the Study Conference is going very well and soon all the available places will be taken. In their own interests please encourage members who are intending to go to let us know immediately.

SECTIONS' REPORTS: Many reports have now been received. Thank you. If you have not yet sent your report and can do so within one or two days, there is still a chance that it may be included in the next edition of War Resistance.

Best wishes  
Yours fraternally



Tony Smythe (Secretary)

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

A G E N D A

12.5.63

For Executive Committee Meeting No.11 to be held at  
Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield on Sunday,  
12th May at 10 a.m.

ED 718-16-154

APOLOGIES

APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE MEETING NO. 10 (9.3.63)

ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES:

18. Charter Plane

2. FINANCE:

- (a) Current Statement
- (b) Approval of Expenditure
- (c) Annual Appeal
- (d) Relief Fund - French C.O.
- (e) Audit
- (f) Estimates
- (g) Grant to Swiss Association of War Resisters
- (h) Swiss Financial Agent

3. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE:

- (a) Arrangements:
  - (i) General
  - (ii) Interpreters
- (b) Programme
- (c) Agenda
- (d) Meeting with W.P.C. Observers
- (e) Other Observers
- (f) Nominations
- (g) Council Meetings and Agendas
- (h) Special Edition of PAX
- (i) Travel
- (j) Enrolment of delegates

4. WORLD PEACE COUNCIL'S INVITATION TO ATTEND MEETING IN WARSAW

5. STUDY CONFERENCE 1963

6. REVISION OF CONSTITUTION

7. CO-OPERATION WITH I.F.o.R.

8. ESPERANTO CONGRESS AND PUBLICATION

9. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT & PEACE

10. LANSBURY HOUSE

11. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

12. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

ED 718-16-155

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 11

held at

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield  
on Sunday, 12th May 1963 at 10 a.m.

12.5.63

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman), Stuart Morris. Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe

APOLOGIES: Joyce Runham Brown and Jean van Lierde

AGENDA: The circulated Agenda was approved with additions as recorded in these Minutes.

MINUTES: The Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No.10 (9.3.63) were approved as circulated and signed by the Chairman.

ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES:

18. Charter Plane

The amounts owed by Felix Kowski and Alwar Sundell were written off though it was still hoped that some payment might be forthcoming.

FINANCE:

(a) Current Statement

Albert Billett's report, which was accepted, showed a bank balance at 26th April 1963 of £347 in Account No.1 and £7,6.0. in Account No.2 (Salaries)

(b) Approval of Expenditure

Accounts totalling £208,14.3., which had been paid, were endorsed. Note was taken of the high cost of the telephone account for the six months ending 28th February 1963, although the amount was comparable with that for the corresponding period in 1961/62. Authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding bills amounting to £164.15.5. and for the withdrawal of up to £250 from the reserve if necessary before the next meeting. The printer's account for the last edition of "War Resistance" had been checked as suggested at the last meeting.

(c) Annual appeal

The Annual Appeal as circulated to the mailing list was submitted to the Executive for approval. The response had so far not been good.

(d) Relief Fund

Jean Kaminski had been given £10 as authorised at the last Meeting. With the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer a further payment of £2,10.0. had been made. In the Treasurer's absence two more payments of £5 and £2,10.0. had been made with the approval of the Chairman. The total grant given to Jean Kaminski was therefore £20. He had been offered a job and assurances had been given by the British Government that he would be allowed to remain in this country.

(e) Audit

Executive studied the Draft Accounts for the financial year 1962/63, together with remarks and suggestions made by the Auditors. The excess on authorised expenditure for the 1962 Study Conference was formally approved as the Executive had been aware that the cost was likely to be greater than originally estimated.

The Auditors had pointed out that the returns received from overseas agents were not at all satisfactory. They suggested that standard returns of receipts and payments should be submitted, preferably quarterly by all the agents and confirmed as correct by an official of the local organisation.

(f) Estimates for the Financial Year ending 31st March 1964

The Estimates were referred to the next meeting. It was agreed in the meantime to get an estimate for the re-decoration of the front office which was badly in need of attention.

(g) Grant to the Swiss Association of War Resisters

On the ground that one of the functions of the W.R.I. was to assist the formation of new Sections, it was decided to make a grant of £25 to the Swiss Association of War Resisters out of funds held in Switzerland. (An application for affiliation from the Association will be before the next Meeting of Council).

(h) Swiss Financial Agent

It was learned with regret that the W.R.I.'s Financial Agent in Switzerland, Margrit Baumer-weidmann, would no longer be able to carry on the work. Appreciation of Mrs. Baumer-weidmann's long service to the W.R.I. was expressed. A new agent would be sought in consultation with friends in Switzerland.

3. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE:

(a) Arrangements -

(i) General:

As indicated in a letter to Council and Sections dated the 7th May, bookings for the Conference were being made at a very slow rate. Sections had been asked to do their best to make sure that they would be well represented and some individuals with special contributions to make had been given personal invitations. Bearing in mind the important rôle of the Triennial Conference constitutionally and the necessity of planning a programme of activity for the next three years which would arouse the enthusiastic co-operation of all members and Sections, Executive decided to ask all concerned to take note of the situation and to do everything in their power to bring about an improvement.

All the officers and three members of Staff, the Secretaries and Lily Billett, would attend.

(ii) Interpreters

Most of the interpreters asked for help had been unable to offer their services. There had been about three offers from amongst the participants who had booked. Some suggestions were made by members. There seemed to be a good chance that an interpreter for Danilo Dolci could be found in Norway.

(b) Programme

A second draft of the programme was submitted to the Executive by the Secretaries and, after changes, was approved for circulation with these Minutes.

(c) Meeting with World Peace Council Observers

The East German delegation had been named. The Norwegian Government had given assurances that each individual application for a visa would be treated on its merits.

(d) Other Observers

Pierre Martin's suggestion that the Fédération Mondiale des Villes Jumelées should be invited to send their Chairman, M. Doudou Thiem (Foreign Minister of Senegal) as an observer was accepted.

(e) Nominations

35 Nominations had been received of which 5 had not yet agreed to stand. G. Anthony Bishop and Banwarilal Choudhri had decided not to stand for W.R.I. Council this time and the Executive expressed its appreciation of their services to the movement.

(f) Agendas

The drafting of the Council Meeting agendas was deferred until the next meeting.

(g) Special edition of PAX

Hagbard Jonassen had expressed the opinion that the sum agreed on at the last meeting as payment for 300 copies of the special edition of PAX was too high but Executive confirmed that it had been its intention to give a small subsidy.

(h) Travel

Tony Smythe reported on travel arrangements from London to Stavanger. It was agreed that a block booking should be made for a night tourist flight.

(i) Enrolment of delegates

It was agreed that no restriction could be made on bookings from members unless the number of places was insufficient.

(j) Conference Issue of War Resistance

Tony Smythe asked for guidance about the inclusion in the Conference Issue of "War Resistance" of a critical note explaining why the Austrian Section had decided not to submit a report. Executive agreed that the note should be reworded in the interests of "War Resistance" and the Section.

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL'S INVITATION TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE  
IN WARSAW 8-12 June

The Secretaries had referred the matter to Council by special letter dated 11th April. Taking into consideration all the points of view put forward by members and bearing in mind that the Council appeared to be almost evenly divided, the Executive decided not to recommend that the invitation be accepted. However, it did not feel itself to be sufficiently competent to take a serious policy decision of this nature without again referring the matter to Council Members. It was decided that a final decision would be taken on a simple majority vote after another letter had been sent putting all the points of view for and against.

STUDY CONFERENCE - 1963

Documents about speakers and programme had been sent out and Devi Prasad reported on the arrangements made to date. There had been a good response and over 40 participants had booked places already.

REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

A useful comment on Pierre Martin's memorandum had been received from the Australian Section. Pierre's memo would be re-drafted at his own request before the next meeting.

ESPERANTO CONGRESS AND PUBLICATION

Tony Smythe recommended that, as the W.R.I. meeting would be taking place on the 4th August, Alfred Tucker should be asked to fly to Sofia from Stavanger. Tony himself would travel most of the way by train arriving at midnight on the 3rd August. He also asked the Executive to reconsider seriously the utility of sending two representatives, pointing out that his own contribution to the W.R.I. meeting would be limited. On the other hand there was real value

in making contact with individuals and the Bulgarian Peace Committee. Executive decided to confirm its previous decision.

The Esperanto publication would perhaps have to be duplicated as the material so far received did not seem to warrant the expense of printing.

8. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

It was agreed to pay Tony Smythe's fares to enable him to attend the next meeting of the Confederation's Continuing Committee which was to be held during the latter half of the I.P.B. Conference in Holland.

9. INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU CONFERENCE 19-24 August

It was decided to suggest that Stuart Morris go as a delegate from W.R.I. and P.P.U. if the P.P.U. Council were agreeable, each organisation meeting half the cost. A second delegate should be a member of A.N.V.A.

10. LANSBURY HOUSE

The Tenancy Agreement for the ground floor flat had been drawn up by the Solicitors incorporating suggestions made at the last Executive Meeting. The agreement had been signed by Joyce Runham Brown.

11. INTERNATIONAL FAIR

Some interest had been expressed in the circulated memorandum. It was suggested that the secretaries should ask a P.P.U. group to take over responsibility for organising the Fair should the idea prove to be a practical proposition.

DATE OF NEXT MEETING:

Saturday, 6th July 1963 - 10 a.m. at Lansbury House

The meeting adjourned at 17.30

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

The law which could change the country into a prison house

In October 1962 the Federal Government of West Germany passed on to Parliament the Emergency Law drafted by the Ministry of Interior. A common citizen in Germany has not the slightest idea of these proposals which can completely alter his life. Anyone with self-respect will be shocked to read the document attached to this news release. It gives a summary of the proposed Emergency Law the West German Government wants to enforce on its people. No words can suffice to condemn this scheme of peace-time war preparations and the militarisation of a nation. The changes in Constitution, if accepted, will give unlimited power to the Government.

The German peace movement is opposed to the proposed Law. INTERNATIONALE DER KRIEGSDIENSTGEGNER and DEUTSCHE FRIEDENSGESELLSCHAFT, two of W.R.I.'s three Sections in Germany, are planning to organise a large-scale demonstration in Bonn on 22nd June. It is hoped they will receive all possible support from the Peace Movement everywhere.

For further information about the demonstration write to Herbert Günneberg, 43 Essen, Hindenburgstr. 50, West Germany.

☆☆☆

Institut für Völkerrecht

ED 718-16-158

Our German Sections, along with other pacifists in Germany, are very much concerned by the introduction in the West German Parliament of a series of bills for emergency measures to be taken by the Government in certain circumstances. Recent issues of the monthly Friedens Rundschau and of Der Kriegsdienstgegner, the news-sheet of the I.D.K. (German Section of the W.R.I.) devote considerable space to this matter. The following is a summary of the main points in a lengthy article in the latter publication (issue of 1.3.1963):-

### BEYOND LEGALITY

"In no case may a basic right be infringed in its essence" (Art. 9 para. 2 of the Constitutional Law)

In Oct. 1962 the Federal Cabinet passed on to Parliament the Emergency Laws drafted by the Ministry of the Interior and their first reading took place on 24th Jan. 1963. Reports of this were overshadowed both in October and January by other events (Cuba, Der Spiegel action, Common Market negotiations). The Bonn Government timed its actions very astutely! The man in the street has little knowledge of these proposed laws which can completely alter his life.

### THE TACTICS OF SILENCE

It is no accident that the majority knows nothing of the context of these laws. The Government talks much of the necessity for emergency measures and little of their nature. The citizens of the Welfare State might organise a massive protest if they knew of the rôles planned for them in an "emergency". The Bonn Government's interpretation of the will of the people is to promise welfare while secretly planning emergency laws.

### DECEPTION

Emergency laws were talked about last year at the time of the Hamburg floods and again during the recent frosts when there was a fuel shortage. The talk is of natural catastrophes but the plan is to involve the whole population in military preparations. The present Constitution in fact has adequate provision for necessary emergency measures. The Government hopes that the masses will not trouble to understand the complicated legal phraseology. They will learn soon enough what is involved -- when the laws come into force!

The experience of 1933 when Emergency Decrees facilitated Hitler's rise to power and of recent measures for protection against Communism should serve as a warning. Almost exactly 30 years after the Hindenburg decrees the Bonn Government is proposing new Emergency Laws.

#### 1. The Emergency Constitution

This, the kernel of the emergency code, comes into force if the Government - acting through the President and the Chancellor - declares an "external" or "internal" emergency. An "external" emergency can be declared if the Government claims to have secret knowledge of a threatened attack - even if there is no obvious international tension. Parliamentary elections are then cancelled and the Government can retain office indefinitely. If an

"internal" emergency is declared, e.g. in the event of a strike, the Government can override all the citizen's rights guaranteed in the Constitution e.g. freedom of speech, press, association, assembly, movement, choice of work and place of work, the right to strike etc. The Government can take over the powers of Parliament and of the State, issue emergency decrees and even use troops against its own citizens.

2. Civilian Service Law

Government control of all males from 18 to 65 and females from 18 to 55 for emergency service (air-raid protection, evacuation, munitions work). (N.B. The Minister of the Interior has recently complained that of the 320,000 people needed for civil defence only 35,000 have volunteered). Training for these civil defence "conscripts" will be 200 hours or 28 days in the first year and afterwards 100 hours or 14 days per year - in peace time. Non-compliance punishable with 2 years' imprisonment and fines up to 10,000 DM. These "conscripts" will have no right to strike.

3. Protective Building Law

All builders must construct air-raid shelters in houses, hotels, schools, factories, hospitals. Cost reckoned at 200 milliard DM. - to be borne by the builders (apart from small government subsidies) but recoverable later from the tenants or purchasers. The opinion of well-known scientists that such shelters would be useless in a nuclear war is ignored.

4. Self-Defence Law

All citizens over 16 to undergo annual air-raid training of at least 10 hours. Every family compelled to have in the house for every member 14 days' supplies and materials for protection against nuclear, bacteriological and chemical warfare as well as black-out, first-aid and medical requisites.

5. Residence Regulation Law

Government at any time it considers necessary (even in peace time) can proclaim that the inhabitants of a given place should not leave it without official permission. It can order compulsory evacuation of whole regions.

Evacuation exercises can be planned which can be "total", including even hospitals. Owners of building material, unoccupied land, transport facilities can be compelled to make them available for the exercise, including even owners of private vehicles. Cost will be borne by the State (i.e. the taxpayer).

6. Vehicle Registration Law

Even in peace time all owners of motor vehicles can be compelled to present themselves with their vehicles at a prescribed place to assist in the provisioning and movement of local fighting forces. Registration of all car-owners. Fines for infringement 20,000 DM. This law can also be operated as an exercise.

7. Economic Security Law

Government to have full power of intervention in economic affairs: to control the administration, removal or closure of businesses, to supply or withhold raw materials and fuel and to control and regulate Exchanges and Banks. Costs involved to be borne by the State (i.e. the taxpayer).

## 8. Foodstuffs Security Law

Plans for control of all available foodstuffs and preparation of a rationing system. Officials appointed for the Federation, the States and parishes. On 4th Feb. the Government announced that the printing of ration cards had already been ordered. The system can be put into operation whenever the Government declares a state of "defence-readiness" to be necessary.

## 9. Border Police

Power to give the Federal Border Police the status of regular soldiers under International Law.

-----

The Emergency Constitution has to be passed by a two-thirds majority in the Bundestag (Parliament). The other eight laws can be passed by a simple majority.

It is interesting that the same Minister of the Interior who admitted that certain of the measures taken against "Der Spiegel" recently were "somewhat unconstitutional" is now introducing these Emergency Laws. The spontaneous public protests in the Spiegel affair led to the resignation of the chief offender, Franz Josef Strauss.

The compulsory powers granted to the Government by the Emergency Laws would, however, make such actions daily occurrences. They completely destroy the constitutionally guaranteed basic rights of the citizen. They are both unconstitutional and unnecessary since the Constitution already provides for dealing with emergency situations. The German Trades Union Congress in the name of its 7 million members has protested most strongly against the Emergency Code.

The answer to the question: "Why has the Government prepared these regulations giving it absolutely authoritarian powers down to the smallest detail?" can be found only in the Government's policy. The Government's policy of increasing rearmament (including atomic armament) will achieve by these means a complete militarisation of the whole of the national life.

Summary made by ..

Harold Bing,  
Chairman of the W.R.I.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone: LA Burnum 3977

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD28 Park Avenue  
Enfield  
Middlesex  
ENGLAND

21st May, 1963

TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

11. 6. 63 G.

Dear Friends,

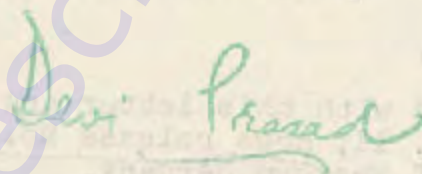
Enclosed with this letter are the Minutes of our Executive Committee No. 11, news release No. 13 and a document on The Militarisation of Western Germany.

- 1) There is one very urgent thing to point out to you: Please let us know if your Section is sending delegates to the Triennial Conference. If not, we must send you the ballot forms for the Council elections soon, so that you can then return them to the Headquarters before the beginning of the Conference. In case you are sending a delegate, the ballot forms will be handed to the delegate at the Conference.
- 2) The Norwegian Section is hoping to organise a Peace Exhibition of posters, pamphlets and photographs at the Triennial Conference. All peace movements, especially our Sections, are invited to send material for the exhibition. Please do this as soon as you can and send it to Folkreisning Mot Krig, Kristian Augusts Gate 19, Oslo, NORWAY. They wish to receive this material before the Conference.
- 3) Please note that all Sections have one vote per 50 members, up to the maximum of 5 votes. Please let us know the number of members of your Section.
- 4) The response to our Triennial Conference is slowly getting better but there is still room for improvement. Please do encourage your members to attend. As the Conference wants to discuss the future tasks of the W.R.I., it is important that all Sections should be represented fully.

5) Great interest has been shown in our Study Conference at Château de Charbonnières in France. The number of participants is already well over 40, but as we would like to have as many countries represented as possible, there is still time for you to encourage members of your Section to ask for application forms.

6) I hope you will take the enclosed document on The Militarisation of Western Germany seriously. It would encourage our German Sections to hear from you and to know that they have your support.

Yours sincerely,



Devi Prasad  
Secretary

P.S. You should have already received the Agenda for the Triennial Conference, as it was circulated with other papers last week.

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

ED 718-16-164

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telegraphic Address: NO FRONTIER ENFIELD

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND

19th June, 1963

LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

22.6.63

Dear Friends,

A list of nominees for election to the International Council will be following very shortly, with descriptions of all candidates. Please let us know, if you have not already done so, whether you intend to send a delegate to the Conference. If not, your Section will be eligible to take part in the postal ballot and the election papers will be sent to you beforehand. The forms must be returned to Headquarters by 18th July.

If you do not possess a copy of the W.R.I. Constitution and Rules please let us know and we will send you one.

TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE: In addition to the speakers mentioned in the News Release Michael Scott is expected to attend. So far 63 places have been booked and in addition there will be a party of observers from Eastern Europe. If there are less than 100 delegates we shall have to pay for unused places. Therefore we are hoping that even at this late stage at least 37 more members will agree to participate. Please help us reach this target by giving the Conference all the publicity you can.

Best wishes  
Yours fraternally

*Tony Smythe*

Tony Smythe  
Secretary

ED 715-16-162

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

ESTIMATES FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1964.

EXPENDITURE

Item	Estimated 1962-63	Expended 1962-63	Estimated 1963-64
Salaries & Insurance	3,000	3,014	3,250
Pension Fund	60	60	65
Superannuation	25	25	25
Rates and Insurance	110	104	45
Repairs	40	8	60
Heat and Light	70	85	70
Office Equipment	-	-	50
Office Stationery & Supplies	200	393	300
Telephone	55	110	80
Postage	450	482	550
Sundries	150	117	115
Bank Charges & Exchange	15	18	15
Audit and Accountancy	75	75	58
Printing	1,000	547	900
Participation in Conferences	150	65	250
Study Conference	80	150	120
Official Travel	500 ☆	468	100
Council Meeting Expenses	250	220	250
Annuity re Special Donation	-	132	132
Depreciation	65	55	60
India Conference	-	83	-
Triennial Conference (1963)	-	-	300
Reserve Fund for Devi Prasad's return fare	100	-	100
Reserve Fund for Triennial Conference	100	100	100
	<u>£6,495</u>	<u>£6,311</u>	<u>£6,995</u>

☆ Includes Devi Prasad's travelling expenses to Headquarters

INCOME

Item	Estimated 1962-63	Received 1962-63	Estimated 1963-64
Contributions to Headquarters	4,850	3,650	4,500
Contributions to Agents Abroad	1,420	1,269	1,973
Rent	65	65	65
Sale of Literature & Badges	60	103	150
Sale of Stamps	100	115	125
Interest re Special Donation	-	132	132
Other Building Society Interest received	-	16	50
	<u>£6,495</u>	<u>£5,350</u>	<u>£6,995</u>

EO 718-16-163

INTERNATIONAL

31st MARCH 1963

1962

FIXED ASSETS

Freehold Property at Cost

2,000      Lansbury House, Park Avenue, Enfield      2,000. - -

Furniture and Office Equipment

235	At valuation 1948 or subsequent cost, less proceeds of sale and depreciation as at 1st April, 1962	175. - -	
-	Additions during year	<u>113. 19. 9</u>	
235		288. 19. 9	
-	Less: Proceeds of sale	1. - -	
60	Depreciation for year	<u>54. 19. 9</u>	<u>55. 19. 9</u>
			233. - -
	<u>175</u>		<u>2,233. - -</u>
2,175			

CURRENT ASSETS

Monies held on Deposit with Building Societies:

3,250	Special Donation	3,337. - -	
-	Triennial Conference 1963 Fund	200. - -	
95	Devi Prasad's Return Fare Fund	100. - -	
407	Pension Fund	129. 10. -	
752	General Fund	<u>1,715. 9. 11.</u>	
		5,481. 19. 11.	
280	Sundry Debtors and Payments in advance	122. 1. 10.	
500	(World Peace Brigade)	- - -	
690	Cash Balances held by Agents abroad	728. 19. -	
-	Cash in Transit	148. 15. 6	
858	Cash - At Barclays Bank Ltd.	270. 19. 7	
5	In hand in London	<u>16. 7. 8</u>	<u>287. 7. 3</u>
	<u>6,085</u>		<u>6,769. 3. 6</u>
	<u>£8,260</u>		<u>£9,002. 3. 6</u>

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

penditure Account and have obtained all the information and necessary for that purpose. We have accepted as correct the returns balances held. Subject to this, in our opinion and to the best of our knowledge and Expenditure Account give a true and fair view of the state of the deficit for the year to that date.

(Signed) WHITEHILL, REYNOLDS & CO.  
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

BALANCE SHEET

1962

RESERVES AND GENERAL FUNDS

2,000	<u>Lansbury House Account</u>		2,000.	-	-
	<u>General Fund Account</u>				
5,034	Balance at this date		5,735.	9.	9.
	<u>Relief Fund</u>				
214	Balance at 1st April, 1962	248.	16.	8	
90	Add Donations received during year	117.	9.	-	
304		366.	5.	8	
55	Less Payments made for Relief	115.	-	-	
249			251.	5.	8.
-	<u>Triennial Conference 1963 Fund</u>		200.	-	-
-	<u>Devi Prasad Return Fare Fund</u>		100.	-	-
	<u>Pension Fund</u>				
69	Balance at 1st April, 1962	95.	10.	-	
52	Add Income and Expenditure Account				
121	Allocation for year	60.	0.	-	
26		155.	10.	-	
95	Less Pension Paid	26.	-	-	
7,378			129.	10.	-
			8,416.	5.	5
	<u>CURRENT LIABILITIES</u>				
382	Sundry Creditors and Expenses				
	Accrued due	585.	18.	1	
500	(Due to Travel Agency on behalf				
882	of World Peace Brigade)	-	-	-	
			585.	18.	1
<u>£8,260</u>			<u>£9,002.</u>	<u>3.</u>	<u>6</u>

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS

We have audited the above Balance Sheet and the annexed Income and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were made by Agents abroad of their collections, disbursements and cash information and the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet and of the affairs of War Resisters' International as at 31st March, 1963

Warwick House,  
Warwick Court,  
Gray's Inn,  
London, W.C.1.

(Signed) JOYCE RUNHAM BROWN

Hon. Treasurer

27th June, 1963

RELIEF FUNDINCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT YEAR TO 31ST MARCH, 1963

<u>Balance at 1st April, 1962</u>		248. 16. 8
<u>Donations received during year to 31st March, 1963</u>		<u>117. 9. -</u>
		366. 5. 8
<u>Less Disbursements during year:</u>		
J. Kaminski (France)	10. - -	
R. Porchet (France)	45. - -	
E. Veran (France)	50. - -	
Caisse de Solidarite (Switzerland)	<u>10. - -</u>	
		115. - -
<u>Balance at 31st March 1963</u>		<u><u>£251. 5. 8</u></u>

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

	<u>Paid direct to W.R.I. England</u>	<u>Paid to Agents out- side Britain</u>	<u>Relief Fund</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>1951/62</u>
Gt. Britain & Channel Is- lands	2,966.19.11.		117.9.-	3,084. 8.11.	3,903
Australia	203. 7. 6.	70. - -		273. 7. 6.	243
Austria	1. - -			1. - -	-
Belgium		15. 8. 4.		15. 8. 4.	10
Brazil	10. -			10. -	1
Canada	32. 8. 5.			32. 8. 5.	37
(Ceylon)				- - -	2
(Costa Rica)				- - -	2
Denmark	10. 3.	231.17. -		232. 7. 3.	325
Eire	31. 8. 6.			31. 8. 6.	21
France	1. 3. 8.	76. 8. 9.		77.12. 5.	57
Germany	20.19. 1.	58.11. 3		79.10. 4.	59
Ghana	5. -			5. -	1
Holland	10. - -	202.13. 6		212.13. 6.	112
India	17.19. 3.			17.19. 3.	9
Israel	13. 6. -			13. 6. -	7
Italy	11. 5.	8. - . 2.		8.11. 7.	10
Japan	6.19. 2.			6.19. 2.	3
(Kenya)				- - -	1
Malaya	2. - -			2. - -	-
New Zealand	44.19. -	52. 6. -		97. 5. -	84
Nigeria	1. - -			1. - -	-
Northern Ireland	51. - -			51. - -	4
Norway	8. 6. 3.	40. 4. 9.		48.11. -	51
South Africa	10.10. -			10.10. -	20
Sweden	41. 8. 8.	18. - . 7.		59. 9. 3.	160
Switzerland	2. - -	89.18. 6.		91.18. 6.	67
(Tanganyika)				- - -	5
U.S.A.	181. 5. 6.	405.10. 6.		586.16. -	822
Uruguay	7. -			7. -	-
	<u>£3,650. 4. 7.</u>	<u>£1,268.19. 4.</u>	<u>£117.9.-</u>	<u>£5,036.12.11</u>	<u>£6,016</u>

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

1962				
2,390	Salaries and National Insurance	3,014.	- 10.	
25	Superannuation Premiums	25.	- -	
52	Pension Fund - Allocation for year	60.	- -	
				3,099 - 10
2,467	Rates and Insurance	104.	9. 6.	
217	Repairs	8.	1. 6.	
67	Heating and Lighting	85.	5. 6.	
195	Stationery and Office Supplies	393.	2. 7.	
67	Telephone	109.	17. 1.	
441	Postage	481.	15. 1.	
163	Sundries	116.	14. 2.	
45	Bank Charges and Differences on Exchange	18.	5. 2.	
75	Audit and Accountancy	75.	- -	
				1,392.10. 7.
1,270	Printing	547.	9. 2.	
661	Participation in Conferences	64.	10. 8.	
89	Summer Study Conference	149.	12. 1.	
22	Travelling Expenses of staff and others as authorised by the Executive	119.	19. 6.	
89				881.11. 5.
861	Council Meeting Expenses			219.10. 1.
463	Annuity paid re Special Donation			131.13. 8.
131	Depreciation			54.19. 9.
60	India Conference (1960) Fund			83. 7. 8.
140	- Transfer to Triennial Conference (1963) Fund			100. - - -
	- Devi Prasad's Fare and Removal Expenses			348. 2. 8.
	(Excess of Income over Expenditure for year ended 31st March, 1962)			- - -
922				
				<u>£6,310.16. 8.</u>
£6,314				

GENERAL FUND ACCOUNT

-	<u>EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME FOR YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1963</u>			961. 3. 1.
150	(Part of Special Donation received in 1959/60 refunded to Donor)			- - -
	<u>BALANCE AT 31ST MARCH, 1963</u>			
5,034	carried forward			5,735. 9. 9.

£5,184£6,696.12.10.

WRI - Bilanz

ED 718-16-168

31. 3. 63

20. 7. 63

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YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1963

1962

Subscriptions and Donations

4,542	Received direct	3,650.	4.	7.	
<u>1,384</u>	Received by Agents outside Gt. Britain	<u>1,268.</u>	<u>19.</u>	<u>4.</u>	
5,926					4,919. 3.11
103	Sales of Literature and Badges	108.	15.	11.	
<u>42</u>	Less Purchases	<u>6.</u>	<u>3.</u>	<u>9.</u>	
61					102.12. 2
65	Rent Received				65. - -
106	Sale of Foreign Stamps				114.16. 7
103	Building Society Interest received on Special Donation	131.	13.	8.	
53	Other Building Society Interest received	15.	6.	6.	
-	Interest received by Agents	<u>1.</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>9.</u>	
156					148. - .11
	<u>Excess of Expenditure over Income for year ended 31st March, 1963</u>				
-	carried forward to General Fund Account				961. 3. 1

£6,314

£6,310.16. 8.

YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1963

BALANCE AT 1ST APRIL, 1962

262	brought forward	5,034.	7.	7.	
-	Less Building Society Interest to 31.3.62 overstated in error	<u>36.</u>	<u>17.</u>	<u>9.</u>	
4,262					4,997. 9.10.

ANONYMOUS DONATION FROM CANADA

	Less Utilised for special purposes:				
	(a) to meet transfer to Triennial Conference 1963 Fund for year to 31.3.62	100	-	-	
	(b) to create fund to provide for Devi Prasad's return fare and expenses	<u>100</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>200.</u>	
					1,612. 3. -

SUMS RECEIVED FROM DONOR OF "SPECIAL DONATION"

	Part refund in 1961/62 now repaid	20.	-	-	
	Additional donation of royalties received	<u>67.</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	
					87. - -

(Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1962

922  
£5,184

£6,696.12.10.

E0718-16-163

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

A G E N D A

6.7.63

for Executive Committee Meeting No. 12 to be held  
at Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, on  
Saturday, 6th July 1963 at 10 a.m.

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APOLOGIES

APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE MEETING NO.11 (12.5.63)
2. FINANCE:
  - (a) Current Statement
  - (b) Approval of Expenditure
  - (c) Audit
  - (d) Estimates
  - (e) Swiss Financial Agent
  - (f) Legacies
  - (g) New office equipment
3. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE:
  - (a) Arrangements
    - (i) General
    - (ii) Interpreters
  - (b) Programme
  - (c) Meeting with W.P.C. Observers
  - (d) Other Observers
  - (e) Nominations
  - (f) Council Meetings and Agendas
  - (g) Grants
4. WORLD PEACE COUNCIL INVITATION TO ATTEND MEETING IN WARSAW
5. STUDY CONFERENCE 1963
6. REVISION OF CONSTITUTION
7. I.P.B. CONFERENCE
8. WORLD CITIZENS
9. PEACEMAKERS
10. ASSOCIATE PUBLICATION "Liberation" (U.S.A.)
11. ANY OTHER BUSINESS
12. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING No. 12

held at

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, on Saturday, 6th July at 10 a.m.

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman); Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treas.), and Stuart Morris. Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe.

AGENDA: The circulated Agenda was approved with a few additions as recorded in these Minutes.

1. MINUTES: The Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No. 11 (12th May, 1963) were approved as circulated and signed by the Chairman.

2. FINANCE:

a) Current Statement

Albert Billett's report, which was accepted, showed a bank balance at 5th July of £1,056. 9. 8. in Account No. 1 and at 30th June, 1963, in Account No. 2 (Salaries) of £5.14. 1.

b) Approval of Expenditure

Amounts totalling £546.19. 0., which had been paid, were endorsed and authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding bills amounting to £95.17. 3.

c) Audit

The Hon. Treasurer submitted the revised balance sheet, as per decision taken at the last meeting. After studying it in detail the Executive authorised the Hon. Treasurer to sign the audited accounts.

d) Estimates

The Hon. Treasurer presented the Estimates for the Financial Year 1st April 1963 - 31st March 1964. The Executive approved the Estimates with slight modifications. It was decided that the front room of the W.R.I. office should be redecorated some time during late summer when the room was not in constant use. The Executive approved a builder's estimate of £30 for painting and papering the room.

The Executive also discussed the heating arrangements at Lansbury House. The premises would be within a smokeless zone in 1964. Ordinary electric fires consumed too much electricity. It was, therefore, decided to consult the Gas and Electricity Boards to find out the best means of effective heating.

e) Swiss Financial Agent

A suggestion had been received from the Swiss Association that its accounts in Geneva be used for W.R.I. funds. No Financial Agent was suggested. The Executive felt that there should be further discussion about this and decision was post-

poned.

f) Legacies

The Executive noted with appreciation the receipt of a legacy of £250 from Percy George Bamford of New Zealand.

g) New Office Equipment

It was approved that a table be bought for Devi's room, if possible in part exchange for the existing roll-top bureau.

3. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE:

a) Arrangements

(i) General

Even though over 80 people had booked for the Conference so far, the situation was not as encouraging as we had hoped, as we should have to pay for 100 places. A letter to all participants would be sent soon, giving practical details about the Conference place, time of arrival at Stavanger, etc. It was decided to point out in this letter that only W.R.I. members were allowed to vote. Those participants who were neither members nor observers, should be called visitors. Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe would be leaving for Stavanger on 24th July to help with final arrangements in Norway.

(ii) Interpreters

Arrangements were well in hand for interpreting. At the suggestion of Alfred Tucker, Gitte Löber had agreed to come and help with translating. As nobody suitable from Norway could be found to interpret for Danilo Dolci, Diana Fussell would be going from Great Britain to interpret for him. Diana Fussell did the interpreting for Danilo Dolci during his U.K. tour earlier this year.

b) Programme

Further details were discussed about the Conference Agenda, including timings of sessions. The circulated Draft Agenda was slightly modified at the request of the Norwegian movement. The Social Evening would be on Sunday instead of Monday. The discussion on W.R.I. and Future Organisational Trends would now be on Monday evening.

c) Meeting with W.P.C. Observers

Names of the East German and Czech delegates had been received. The Polish and Hungarian Peace Committees had been requested to send the names of their delegates soon. It was not yet known whether any of the Peace Committee observers had been able to acquire visas to enter Norway.

d) Other observers

The Secretaries informed the Executive that Michael Scott had sent his application form. It was thought that he might be asked to speak on African Problems.

e) Nominations

Difficulties which had arisen about the question of nominations were reported to the Executive. Correspondence had

already been exchanged between members. The Chairman of the Swedish Section, Stiv Jakobsson, had questioned the validity of nominations of non-members. This applied particularly to Bertil Svahnström who had only joined the Swedish Section recently. The Constitution makes it clear that only members can be elected but the position of nominees is uncertain. Executive ruled that a nomination was valid, provided the candidate became a member before the last date for nominations. In this particular case this made Bertil Svahnström eligible for election. The Executive felt that it could not make the final ruling, though, and decided to refer the whole matter to the next meeting of the Council. The Chairman was asked to write to Stiv Jakobsson, explaining the position.

f) Council Meetings and Agendas

The Secretaries presented a Draft Agenda for the next Council Meeting, to be held at the time of the Triennial Conference. The Agenda included suggestions for the special meeting of the Council with Peace Committee observers. After a discussion changes and modifications were made. The first meeting of the Council would be concerned mainly with Conference arrangements.

The final Agenda for the special meeting with observers should be drawn up in Norway in consultation with observers. However, a few points were outlined in regard to the topics to be discussed. A statement of W.R.I. policies should be made before discussing practical matters. The Executive felt that the main purpose of this meeting should be to explore how closer contacts could be established. The Executive recalled its earlier decision that in case representatives of the East German Peace Committee were able to attend this special meeting with the Council, somebody from West Germany should be asked to attend to represent our Sections there. The Executive decided to find out whether Rev. Herbert Günneberg from West Germany could be present at this meeting. There is a chance that the Norwegian Government might not grant visas to the East German delegates. Even in this case delegate/delegates from West Germany should be welcome to attend this special session with the Council.

The Agenda for the meeting of the new Council on July 31st was also discussed. It was felt that, apart from taking decisions like electing the Executive Committee and the Vice-Chairman, major discussions in this meeting would depend on the outcome of the Conference, especially in regard to W.R.I.'s future policy.

g) Grants

Several requests for grants to attend the Triennial Conference had been received. The Executive decided to authorise the Secretaries to consider these cases and to grant, if necessary, reduced rates or free board and lodging to a limited number of applicants.

h) Voting Rights of the Associates

Question was raised regarding the right of Associated Organisations and Publications to vote in the election for Council Members. After referring to the Constitution, the Executive found that it was clearly stated in the Constitution that Associates were entitled to vote in Council elections.

4. WARSAW MEETING OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

A letter had already been sent to Council Members informing them of the postponement of the meeting to next autumn. Discussions with the new Council would give clear indication whether or not to accept an invitation for the postponed meeting, if an invitation were received.

5. a) STUDY CONFERENCE:

55 bookings had already been received. Secretary's request for allocating £120 towards the expenses of the Conference was agreed upon.

b) ESPERANTO CONGRESS:

A duplicated publication, which included the report from Lansbury House, was being issued for the Esperanto mailing list and for participants at the Universal Esperanto Congress in Sofia, especially those who intended to take part in the W.R.I. meeting there. Gratitude was expressed for Alfred Tucker's work in preparing the material and for translating. It was agreed that a supply of W.R.I. and C.N.D. badges should be taken by the Secretary to Bulgaria for distribution, free only if necessary. Other organisations would be approached to help to finance this activity.

6. REVISION OF CONSTITUTION:

The revised version of Pierre Martin's memorandum had already been circulated. The Executive felt that several of Pierre Martin's suggestions could be implemented by Sections themselves. Matters connected with suggested changes in the Constitution, however, would be discussed during the Conference. The new Council would also deal with this matter.

7. I.P.B. CONFERENCE:

Stuart Morris and Rudi Wolf, Secretary of A.N.V.A., would attend the I.P.B. Conference in Holland on behalf of the W.R.I.

8. WORLD CITIZENS:

An invitation had been received from the Commonwealth of World Citizens to attend the opening function of their international assembly in Cardiff on 26th August, 1963. The Executive felt that it was not possible to send anybody, as no Executive member would be available at that time.

9. PEACEMAKERS:

Tony Smythe reported his discussions with the Chairman of Peacemakers. The Executive had already in its meeting No. 9 recommended that Peacemakers should be accepted as an associated organisation. However, as this organisation is inactive at present, it is quite probable that it may wish to withdraw its application. The Executive asked the Secretaries to have further consultations in this regard.

10. ASSOCIATE PUBLICATION - LIBERATION:

It was reported that the Editors of LIBERATION, a monthly journal published in USA, had expressed the wish that LIBERATION should be associated with the International. As no formal application had been received, the Executive asked the Secretaries to write to the Editors of the journal, asking them to fill in the application form for Associate Publications. If this application were received in time, it would be considered by the Council.

11. LETTER FROM PEACE NEWS LTD.:

Tony Smythe and Devi Prasad had received an invitation to join Peace News Ltd. as members. As the invitation was extended to them as officers of the International, the Executive felt that officers of the International could not be members of the Company in their official capacity, as this was not even allowed legally. If Tony and Devi wished to join the Company as individuals, the Executive would have no objection.

12. CZECH ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA:

Devi Prasad reported the action Headquarters had taken on THE OBSERVER report that Czechoslovakia and East Germany were exporting arms to South Africa. In reply to the Headquarters' inquiry the Czechoslovakian Embassy refuted THE OBSERVER allegation. The Embassy also made a public statement which was printed in several daily newspapers. Michael Scott of Africa Bureau, noticing that this was not published in THE OBSERVER, inquired at its office the reason for not publishing it. He was told that THE OBSERVER representative in South Africa had once again reiterated his statement and said that arms from Czechoslovakia were still coming into South Africa. Michael Scott told Devi about this and asked whether the W.R.I. would be interested in sending somebody to join the deputation which the Africa Bureau was sending to the Czechoslovakian Embassy to protest against export of arms. The Executive decided that, if necessary, the Secretaries should make arrangements to this effect.

13. GROUND FLOOR FLAT - LANSBURY HOUSE:

Tony Smythe's request to borrow up to £5 towards payment of the rates of the flat, if need be, was granted.

14. LYON CONFERENCE, 5th-8th September, 1963:

In response to an invitation to the Secretaries to attend the Conference of ACTION CIVIQUE NON VIOLENTE at Lyon, the Executive decided to send Devi Prasad to represent the W.R.I.

15. DEVI PRASAD'S TRAVEL:

Devi Prasad would be going to the I.F.o.R. Conference and Council Meeting in Holland after the Triennial Conference. He would be back in London on the 9th of August and would leave for the Study Conference in France on August 23rd. He would visit the Communauté de l'Arche, led by Lanzo del Vasto, before going to the Lyon Conference. The Irish Pacifist Movement had invited him to go on a visit to Ireland for a week, starting on 15th September. The Head Teachers' Association and Freedom from Hunger Committee of Carlisle had asked him to come to Carlisle to address meetings between 24th and 29th September. Devi was asked to request the Irish Pacifist Movement to postpone the visit for 3-4 days. It was also decided that if the trip to Ireland could not be postponed, Devi should cancel his Carlisle tour. In that case he would be going to Carlisle for the meeting on 29th September which falls on Sunday.

16. SECRETARIES' TRAVEL EXPENSES:

It was agreed that Tony and Devi should each be allowed a "float" of £25 for personal expenses while travelling abroad during the summer.

DATE OF NEXT MEETING:

Saturday, 5th October, 1963.

The meeting adjourned at 17,30

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11. LETTER FROM PEACE WIVES LTD.

12. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

13. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

14. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

15. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

16. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

17. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

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66. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

67. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

68. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

69. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

70. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

71. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

72. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

73. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

74. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

75. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

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97. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

98. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

99. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

100. REPORT FROM THE ACTION COMMITTEE

ED 718-16-173

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

82 Park Avenue  
Enfield  
Middlesex  
ENGLAND

16th July, 1963

19. 7. 63

LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

✓ The Minutes for the last meeting of the Executive Committee (12.)  
✓ before the Triennial Conference are enclosed, together with the  
draft agenda for the last meeting of the present Council. If at  
this late stage there are still any matters which you would like to  
bring before the Council or Conference please let us know immediately  
or write directly to the W.R.I., C/o Stavanger Peace Bureau,  
Fredskontoret, Lagårdsveien 19, Stavanger, Norway.

We are happy to be able to tell you that we will have over 100  
delegates, visitors and observers. This will ensure that the dis-  
cussions are of a high level and we hope that it will be possible  
to decide on a programme of international pacifist action for the  
next three years.

As you know Observers from 4 Eastern European Peace Committees  
have been asked to come to Norway for talks with members of our  
International Council. We have just learned that the two delegates  
from East Germany, Dr. Franz Loeser and Prof. Jensen, have been  
refused visas, presumably in accordance with the policy of all  
NATO countries to prevent western travel by East Germans.

Regardless of any political considerations whatever, the W.R.I.  
considers this sort of petty harassment to be a negation of the  
democratic rights of free speech and unrestricted travel. The  
Governments of East and West are showing themselves to be patently  
incapable of negotiating agreements and it is therefore up to the  
peoples of East and West to reach understanding between ourselves  
to whatever extent is possible. Restrictions of this kind are  
preventing us from making our small contribution. Not all the  
details are yet known but the matter has been taken up with the  
Norwegian Ambassador in London. It will be referred to again at the  
Press Conference which we will be holding in Stavanger on the first  
evening of the Conference. Further action may well be required and  
we would ask for the co-operation of Sections and local groups in this.

COUNCIL ELECTIONS: Since the Ballot Forms have been sent out we have  
discovered that the Abbé Pierre is not a member of the French Section  
and as there is no record of him joining the International directly  
with the Headquarters, this means he is ineligible for election to  
Council. We had tried to confirm our information with the Abbé  
Pierre himself but unfortunately he recently left France for a world  
tour and it was impossible to reach him. This matter will be referred  
to the Council and it is likely that votes for the Abbé Pierre will  
be declared invalid.

In whatever time remains please continue to urge your members to  
attend the Triennial Conference or to apply to be non-attending members  
by sending the Conference fee of 25s/- or its equivalent.

Make sure that your Section's delegate(s) is(are) named and that  
they know they should apply for Ballot Forms during Saturday afternoon,  
27th July.

Yours fraternally

*Devi Prasad*

*Tony Smythe*

Devi Prasad

Secretaries

Tony Smythe

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

26.7.63

## A G E N D A

for Council Meeting No. 4 to be held at Solberg Ungdomsskole,  
Stavanger, Norway, on 26th July, 1963.

MORNING

1. WELCOME BY THE CHAIRMAN
2. APOLOGIES
3. APPROVAL OF AGENDA
4. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING No. 3
5. MATTERS ARISING FROM COUNCIL MEETING No. 3
  - 1.10. Short Term Travelling Agents
  - 1.18. Charter Plane
  - 1.10. Japan Anti- A.&H. Bomb Council
  2. Recognition of C.O.'s in France
  - 3.a. Study Conference 1963
  - 3.b. Freundschaftsheim
  5. Affiliation of Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft
6. EXECUTIVE MINUTES
7. APPLICATIONS FOR AFFILIATION AND ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP
  - a) Association of Swiss War Resisters
  - b) Peacemakers
  - c) Liberation
8. FINANCE
  - a) Audited Accounts 1962 - 63
  - b) Estimates for 1963 - 64
  - c) Current Statement
  - d) Relief Fund
9. REVISION OF CONSTITUTION - PIERRE MARTIN'S MEMO
10. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION AND W.R.I.
11. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE
  - a) Agenda and Arrangements
  - b) Group Chairmen
  - c) Tellers
  - d) Drafting Committee
  - e) Steering Committee
  - f) Secretaries' Triennial Report
12. COUNCIL ELECTIONS (nomination procedure)
13. PRESS CONFERENCE
14. REFUSAL OF ENTRY PERMITS TO OBSERVERS FROM EAST GERMANY

Protokoll  
hierzu fehlt  
auch nicht  
bei "STAVANGER-  
11. Dreijahresber.  
- ? -

AFTERNOON

will be devoted to a special meeting with Peace Committee  
observers from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

EO 715-16-175

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

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NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

HFB/MW

U R G E N T

27th August 1963

LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

29.8.63

Dear Friends,

In the absence of Tony and Devi at our Study Conference in France, I am writing to you on two urgent matters:-

1. C.O's in France

The bill for legal recognition of conscientious objection in France was passed by the Assembly but rejected by the Senate at the end of July, after which parliament adjourned for the summer recess. It should be re-introduced in the autumn, but there has been a suggestion that the government may use the Senate's opposition as an excuse for dropping the bill. Meanwhile 150 French C.O's remain in prison and Louis Lecoin, their valiant protagonist for so many years, has written to President De Gaulle declaring that he would undertake a fresh hunger-strike from 23rd August, unless the President took immediate administrative action to alleviate the position of the men in prison. The W.R.I. has written to De Gaulle urging him to take such action, both in justice to the C.O's themselves and to save the life of Louis Lecoin, for whom, at his advanced age, another hunger strike might well prove fatal.

I ask all Council members and Sections (as well as individuals) to write similarly to President De Gaulle (Palais de l'Elyssée, Paris) and to give the matter every possible press publicity.

2. Negro March on Washington

As you probably know, the negro protest march on Washington at the present time, is being largely organised by our Council member, Bayard Rustin. This is an assurance for us that, as far as is humanly possible, it will remain non-violent in character. Bayard Rustin has the full sympathy of the Council in this undertaking. Racial discrimination is not only morally wrong, but may be a protest cause of war, civil or international.

The W.R.I. has written to President Kennedy urging him to use all his influence to secure the equal rights of all American citizens, both in law and practice, and thus to set an example which is much needed in the world to-day. Will you please do the same - at once? (President Kennedy, The White House, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.) Representations can also be made to the American Embassy in your country.

Yours sincerely

Harold F. Bing  
Chairman

ED 748-16-176

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

DRAFT AGENDA

for Executive Committee Meeting No. 1 to be held at Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex commencing 10.30 a.m. on Saturday 5th October, 1963 and continuing on Sunday morning (6th) if necessary.

5.10.63  
16.9.63

APOLOGIES

APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. SIGNING OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE MEETING NO.12 (6.7.63)

2. MEMBERSHIP OF COMMITTEE

MATTERS ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES

Items: 6 (Membership); 7 (Recognition of Conscientious Objection); 8 (World Council of Peace); 9 (German Peace Committee); 10 (Delhi-Peking March); 11 (Contact with China); 13 (African Project); 14 (Franco-German Pacifist Meeting); 15 (World Peace Brigade); 16 (C.O.'s in German Democratic Republic); 17 (Peace Organisation Structures); 18 (Peace Research); 21 (South America); 23 (Review of the Present State of W.R.I. Sections).

3. FINANCE:

- (a) Current Statement
- (b) Approval of Expenditure
- (c) Fund Raising

4. WORLD CONFERENCE ON PACIFISM & NON-VIOLENCE (Memorandum from Danilo Dolci)

5. REPORT on the meeting of the International Peace Bureau in Holland and the discussions with the Continuing Committee of the International Confederation (prepared by Stuart Morris)

6. REPORT on the meeting of the Continuing Committee of the International Confederation (Tony Smythe)

7. REPORT on I.F.o.R. Conference (Devi Prasad)

8. REPORT ON STUDY CONFERENCE 1963 (Devi Prasad)

9. DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS

10. REPORT of Chairman's visit to Sweden and Norway (Harold Bing)

11. REPORT of Universal Esperanto Congress and visit to Bulgaria and Belgrade (Tony Smythe)

12. REPORT of Action Civique Non-Violente Conference in Lyon (Devi Prasad)

13. EMERGENCY LAWS IN WEST GERMANY

14. WAR RESISTANCE

15. STUDY CONFERENCE 1964

16. COUNCIL MEETING 1964

17. WORLD PARLIAMENT ASSOCIATION (Invitation to its Congress on Disarmament and World Hunger in the Nuclear Age (Geneva Oct.18/21))

18. VANCOUVER/BERLIN WALK

19. APPLICATION FOR ASSOCIATION: "Liberation" (U.S.A.)

20. DEATHS OF ROBERT PORCHET AND PROFESSOR MISAR

21. REPRESENTATION OF SECRETARIAT

at Amsterdam Direct Action Conference and Annual General Meeting I.d.K. (West Germany)

22. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

23. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

ACTIONS: Please send comments and additions as soon as possible

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

L'INTERNATIONALE DES RÉSISTANTS À LA GUERRE  
INTERNATIONALE DER KRIEGSDIENSTGEGNER

INTERNACIONAL DE REFRACTARIOS A LA GUERRA  
INTERNACIO DE MILITREZISTANTOJ

HAROLD F. BING, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., *Chairman*  
~~HAROLD F. BING, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.,~~ *Vice-Chairman*  
JOYCE RUNHAM BROWN, *Hon. Treasurer*  
DEVI PRASAD } *Secretaries*  
TONY SMYTHE }

Danilo Dolci

TS/MW

LANSBURY HOUSE  
88, PARK AVENUE  
ENFIELD, MIDDX., ENGLAND  
Telephone: LABRUHAM 3977  
Telegraphic Address: NOFRONTIER, ENFIELD

ED 718-18-177  
9th October, 1963  
11.10.63

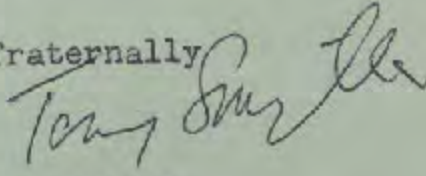
To  
The Secretaries of :  
Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner  
Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft  
Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
Ligue d'Action Pacifiste

Dear Friends,

As you know a resolution was passed at the Triennial Conference asking the W.R.I. to support a meeting between French and German pacifists. During the Charbonnières Conference a date was chosen and the responsibility for the organisation allotted to Friedhelm Günneberg and Jean Gauchon of the Union Pacifiste de France (Place Irene Joliot Curie, Groupe Paul-Langevin, Trappes (S.et.O), France.

It now appears that there has been some misunderstanding and that the demonstrations and meeting planned for the weekend 9th/10th November are not receiving the necessary support. It may now be too late to change the situation, although I am making enquiries with the individuals concerned. Can we agree that such a meeting would be useful and, following this, can I rely on your active support? If it is possible to go ahead on the date suggested, or if a later date is chosen I will let you have more information as soon as I receive it myself.

Best wishes  
Yours fraternally

  
Tony Smythe  
Secretary

AGBV-Berlin.  
V8-63-4.1

ED 718-16-178

# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

L'INTERNATIONALE DES RÉSISTANTS À LA GUERRE  
INTERNATIONALE DER KRIEGSDIENSTGEGNER

INTERNACIONAL DE REFRACTARIOS A LA GUERRA  
INTERNACIO DE MILITREZISTANTOJ

HAROLD F. BING, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., *Chairman*

RICHARD JONASSEN, M.A., B.Ed., *Vice-Chairman*

JOYCE RUNHAM BROWN, *Hon. Treasurer*

DEVI PRASAD

TONY SMYTHE

*Secretaries*

Danilo Dolci

TS/MW

LANSBURY HOUSE

88, PARK AVENUE

ENFIELD, MIDDXX., ENGLAND

Telephone: LABURNUM 3977

Telegraphic Address: NOFRONTIER, ENFIELD

10th October, 1963

The Secretaries:

Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft  
Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner  
Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer

11.10.63

A. D. B. GBV V8-63-4.2  
Zu 1)

Dear Friends,

I am writing to draw your attention to two matters which were discussed at the last meeting of the W.R.I. Executive Committee.

When deciding upon the text of the reply to the Deutscher Friedensrat (a copy of which you will be receiving shortly) a suggestion was made that we should ask them to consider the possibility of organising a demonstration against conscription in the D.D.R. on May 6th 1964, while simultaneously a demonstration be organised by the W.R.I. Sections in the F.D.R. against conscription there. This is only a suggestion and we would like your reactions to it.

The second matter falls more directly within my own province. We understand that all the German Sections have received a letter from Heinz Kraschutski referring to the newly established Confederation and making the following three points:

1. that the concept of non-alignment had not been properly defined at Oxford;
2. that the Confederation appeared to be willing to encourage subversive activities in Communist countries; and
3. that one affiliated organisation - "Sane" of the U.S. - was against working with radical pacifists, unilateralists and Soviet apologists, thus undermining the Confederation's ability to work with radical elements in the movement.

If I have in any way misinterpreted the contents of the letter you will have to excuse me for I have not seen the full text. If it is substantially correct, though, I would like to comment on behalf of the Executive.

First we would refer you to the Stavanger Conference Statement, page 3 under the section "Die weitere Friedensbewegung - Internationale Konföderation für Abrüstung und Frieden".

(Continuation)

"Die Konferenz empfiehlt, dass die W.R.I. um die Mitgliedschaft bei der Internationalen Konföderation für Abrüstung und Frieden nachsucht". Then followed a short summary of the proposed activities of the Confederation. "Indem sie diesen Schritt unternimmt, erkennt die Konferenz die Wichtigkeit der Zusammenarbeit unter den Friedens-Organisationen und unterstreicht die Notwendigkeit einer positiven Annäherung in solcher Zusammenarbeit. Zur gleichen Zeit versichert sie noch einmal die Unterstützung der einseitigen Abrüstung durch die W.R.I. Die Konferenz empfiehlt den W.R.I. Sektionen, direkte Angliederung an die Konföderation zu erwägen."

On this last point the Council made a further clarification that, while larger Sections might consider affiliation, smaller Sections would perhaps prefer to be represented through the International. It should also be borne in mind that I myself was elected to the Continuing Committee of the Oxford Conference and the W.R.I. has supported my working on this Committee, morally and financially. It is therefore clear that a sufficient number of responsible W.R.I. members and the decision-making body itself - the Triennial Conference - has reached a positive decision regarding the Confederation with all the information at their disposal. Can we not accept their judgment, or at least encourage further discussion amongst the Sections on the basis of decisions already made and not on the purely negative points made by someone who was not at either the Oxford Conference or the Triennial Conference? This is not to say that we do not value Heinz Kraschutzki's opinions. His faithful service to the W.R.I. over a number of years has been a source of pride to us all but we do feel that he has been sadly misinformed.

I would like to comment briefly on the three points:

1. The concept of non-alignment or independence in the peace movement is quite clear to everybody except those who are inclined to favour the political standpoints of either the Eastern or the Western blocs. The W.R.I. position has always been one of non-alignment in power politics. We have rejected all militarism in all countries on whatever pretext it had been based. We are glad to be able to join with other non-aligned organisations in developing co-operation and unity amongst all forces for peace. We do not reject the standpoint of the World Council of Peace. It chooses to believe that Soviet policies are more peace orientated than are those of the U.S. and its allies. It is an opinion which we do not share but which we respect in the sense that we respect all genuine efforts to work for peace. We have already shown our willingness to co-operate with the W.C.P. whenever possible but not at the expense of undermining our basic principles. The Oxford Conference's definition of non-alignment was not entirely adequate owing to the difference of emphasis between the various organisations but certain basic terms of

(Continuation)

ED 718-16-179

reference, such as "opposition to all countries' membership of all nuclear alliances" is a good practical starting point.

2. The suggestion that the Confederation was willing to encourage subversive activities in Communist countries is quite incorrect. The origin of the idea was that one working group in the Conference had produced a report which contained the suggestion which was then rejected by the whole Conference. The contents of the report were not meant to be published and yet this item has been mentioned several times in propaganda against the Confederation, often with mischievous intent. Clearly a broad peace movement, concerned more with providing channels of communication and other servicing functions rather than the action, could not engage in such activities, even if member organisations were willing to do so.

3. The question of "Sane" is just one of the many problems which will concern all of us who are seeking to bring greater unity to the world peace movement. At the time of the Oxford Conference "Sane" had not taken such a strong position against co-operating with radical movements in the U.S. Even now it is not clear what this will mean in practice and what effect it will have on "Sane's" attitude to the Confederation. The main point is that "Sane", like all other organisations involved, does not have the ability to influence the Confederation, any more than any other organisation. It would be ridiculous to attack the W.R.I. because one did not like the policy of one of its Sections. I myself would find it difficult to decide whether "Sane" could be termed non-aligned under the terms of reference agreed on at Oxford, but I know that everybody concerned with the Confederation is more interested in inclusion rather than exclusion.

There is an application for affiliation being considered at the moment from the British Peace Committee - an associate of the W.C.P. This will be dealt with on its merits and not on any pre-conceived notions about the contents or motivations of the Peace Committee's policies.

There is much more information available on the Oxford Conference and on the future programme of the Confederation. I will be happy to supply it if you need clarification of any particular points. In the meantime I pass on to you the wish of the Executive Committee that affiliation directly to the Confederation, or through the W.R.I., should be sympathetically considered by all W.R.I. Sections, bearing in mind the decision which was taken at Stavanger.

Best wishes  
Yours fraternally

Tony Smythe  
Secretary

16. 10. 63

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 1

held at

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, on  
Saturday and Sunday, 5th and 6th October, 1963.

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman); Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treas.),  
Hugh Brock, Herbert Günneberg, Niels Mathiesen and  
Michael Randle. Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe.

AGENDA: The circulated Agenda was approved with additions as  
recorded in these Minutes.

Harold Bing, the Chairman, welcomed all the new members to  
the Executive Committee and pointed out that, as a result of  
decisions taken at the Triennial Conference and the subsequent  
Council Meeting, the Committee would have to undertake a greater  
volume of work than in the past. This might require more  
meetings or the appointment of sub-committees to deal with  
specific projects.

1. MINUTES: The Minutes of Executive Meeting No. 12 (6/7/63) which  
had been approved by the Council were signed by the  
Chairman.

2. MATTERS ARISING FROM COUNCIL MINUTES:

6. Membership

A Memorandum by the Secretaries had not yet been prepared.  
The matter was referred to a later meeting.

7. Recognition of Conscientious Objection

Henri Rolin and André Philip had been asked for their  
advice on approaching both the United Nations and the European  
Commissions on Human Rights. The suggestion of an international  
advisory committee to help the W.R.I. in its struggle to gain  
recognition for Conscientious Objectors had also been put to  
them. No reply had yet been received. Attention was drawn to  
the report on conscientious objection being submitted by the  
Friends World Committee for Consultation to the United Nations.  
The W.R.I. would continue to co-operate with this valuable  
effort.

8. World Council of Peace

The W.P.C. had been informed of the decisions taken at  
the Triennial Conference and an acknowledgment had been  
received by the Secretariat. According to a W.P.C. News  
Release just received, it was likely that the W.R.I. would  
receive another invitation to attend an extended meeting of  
the World Peace Council in Warsaw from the 29th November to  
the 2nd December. The decision to send a delegate had already

been reached by the old Council and in view of the Conference decisions it was clear that the invitation should be accepted. It was decided that one of the Secretaries should go with the added intention of making arrangements for the next Study Conference in Poland.

#### 9. German Peace Committee

Harold Bing had spoken to the Norwegian Foreign Minister, H. Lange, about the refusal of entry permits to the Peace Council delegation. The reason, as had been stated in correspondence, was the NATO policy on East Germany. The draft reply to the letter of the Peace Council by Tony Smythe was discussed and minor changes made. It was suggested that perhaps simultaneous demonstrations against conscription could be held in East and West Germany on May 6th.

#### 10. Delhi-Peking March

#### 11. Contact with China, and

#### 15. World Peace Brigade

These three items were discussed together. A report was given on the progress of the Delhi-Peking March. It was agreed that as Barnaby Martin would be out of London for two months facilities at Lansbury House should be made available for distributing information about the March, especially to members of the European Council. Owing to the refusal of the Burma Government to grant entry visas and the physical difficulties of walking directly into China or Tibet, there was some uncertainty as to how the March should proceed. The suggestion had been made that it should go by boat to Hongkong and there seek a confrontation with the Chinese Peace Committee. The North American and Asian Councils favoured this method but the European Council remained doubtful. In particular, there was a fear that a confrontation with the Chinese at any point at the present time would prejudice other efforts of the independent peace movement to make contact with the Chinese Peace Committee. The chances of further consultations with the Peace Committee over the entry of the March into China were better as some valuable contacts had been made by A.J. Muste.

The discussion moved on to the general problem of contacting the Chinese, and the suggestion that a small group from the various organisations within the International Confederation should be sent to have private discussions in Peking, perhaps on an exchange basis, was endorsed. Other organisations were already making approaches. It was agreed that the Confederation be asked to sponsor a delegation drawn from the Friends, the I.F.o.R. and the W.R.I. It was also agreed that all Sections be encouraged to further the cause of China's entry into the United Nations. As had been agreed at many international conferences over the summer, the isolation of China itself represented a danger to world peace.

The W.R.I.'s concern about the World Peace Brigade, as stated in the Conference Resolution, had been drawn to the attention of the three regional Councils and corresponded with the general opinion that a re-evaluation of the work and organisation of the Peace Brigade should be undertaken as soon as possible.

### 13. African Project

The leader from Portuguese Guinea who had been expected at the Study Conference had not in fact come and therefore nothing further had been accomplished in organising a lecture tour in Europe. Pierre Martin was returning to Senegal in October and he would be asked for more details of his project in order that the sending and selection of volunteers could receive the practical attention of Executive. Pierre had suggested a name to the Secretariat but had not yet made a formal request to the Executive. There was a general feeling that work in Africa should not be undertaken in a hurry and that every advice, including that of African leaders in London, should be sought.

### 14. Franco-German Pacifist Meeting

Herbert Günneberg reported that although his brother, Friedhelm, was willing to make all the practical arrangements for the week-end of 9th and 10th November in Köln, there had been little response from either the German or the French side. In particular, Jean Gauchon of the Union Pacifiste de France had indicated that he thought the matter was a W.R.I. responsibility. There seemed to be some confusion on this point. The Conference had decided that the W.R.I. should call the meeting but at Charbonnières French and German delegates had agreed to handle the affair themselves and through their own organisations. The W.R.I. would help in giving publicity.

It was considered that there was not sufficient time to organise the meeting properly unless there was support, about which the W.R.I. had not been informed. The Secretariat would approach both French and German contacts immediately to find out the position and would suggest an alternative date for a meeting - 17th June 1964, the anniversary of the East German rising and the approximate anniversary of the death of Bertha von Suttner. It was emphasised that the reason for the meeting was a strategic one. The demands of the political situation were that there should be closer co-operation between French and German pacifists, and every effort to increase understanding and communication should be made. A meeting on the 16th and 17th November in Köln between eight I.d.K. members and a French group was referred to.

### 16. C.O.'s in German Democratic Republic

A letter calling for increased recognition of all classes of C.O.'s had been sent.

### 17. Peace Organisation Structure, and

### 18. Peace Research

Both these matters had been referred to the Confederation and a report will be made at a later meeting. Herbert Günneberg drew members' attention to a proposal which was being submitted to the I.d.K. Conference: that the peace movement should offer its services to the United Nations Disarmament Commission to help ensure that any disarmament agreement reached would be kept by the nations involved. It was decided that details of

the documents on this subject would be translated and circulated for further discussion amongst Sections.

21. South America

Devi Prasad reported that because of financial difficulties the American F.O.R. had dropped for the time being its project in Latin America. The W.R.I. would continue to seek opportunities for action in this area. Lanza del Vasto would be going to Argentina later in the year and it was hoped that new contacts would be made available through him.

23. Review of the Present State of W.R.I. Sections

A list of Sections with which there had been little contact in recent years was referred to and a report will be made to a later meeting.

24. History of the World Pacifist Movement

It was hoped that Pierre Martin would still try to contact the post-graduate student working on a history of pacifism with a view to W.R.I. collaboration. It was pointed out that a small grant for research of this kind had been made available by the International Peace Bureau.

3. FINANCE:

a) Current Statement

Albert Billett's report, which was accepted, showed a bank balance at 26th September of £111.0.7. in Account No.1 (at 3rd October £45.10.4) and in Account No.2 (Salaries) at the 26th September £11.2.5.

b) Approval of Expenditure

Amounts totalling £1,543.6.0. from the 28th June which had been paid were endorsed and authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding bills amounting to £481.6.7., as and when the money became available. The Treasurer was authorised to draw £250 immediately from Reserve Funds and another £250 should this prove necessary.

c) Fund Raising

In view of the current financial difficulties, fund raising would be treated as a matter of priority until the next Financial Appeal. A stall was being run at the PEACE NEWS bazaar; the Secretaries would visit members who might be able to help individually and there would be renewed efforts in Germany, the United States and other countries to get payments for WAR RESISTANCE and additional donations. Some of the Sections could be asked to give more. About £90 had been received from Germany in the last financial year, which compared very unfavourably with the amounts received from Holland and Denmark, for example. Herbert Günneberg agreed to write letters to subscribers to be sent with the next issue of WAR RESISTANCE. The target in Germany should be a total of £500 for each six

months from individuals and Sections. The Norwegian Section would be asked to raise its annual contribution from £25 to £50 and other Sections would be asked to make adjustments in their contributions to bring them to a more realistic level.

d) Office Heating

An estimate for the installation of thermal storage heaters was considered and accepted. The cost would be approximately £140 but the electricity used would be half the normal price. Coal fires were no longer practicable owing to the establishment of a smokeless zone in the area.

4. WORLD CONFERENCE ON PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE

Danilo Dolci's Memorandum was the subject of a long discussion. Certain minor changes were made. The document would be circulated to Council, Sections and interested individuals. Members of the Executive were asked to submit names. It was agreed that the idea behind the proposal to make non-violence an important factor in all future discussions of militarism, social and economic problems - to put non-violence on the map - deserved every support the W.R.I. could give. Danilo's Memorandum provided a good basis from which to work. In principle his suggestion for a Conference was accepted, although it was thought that for the time being the actual date and the means of raising the necessary funds were not so important as the gathering of support and the establishment of working groups and research teams. Danilo would be asked to what extent the Centro at Partinice could help and whether he could immediately suggest someone who would take over the secretarial duties. A working group should be set up in Italy. All comments received from those to whom the Memorandum had been sent would be collected at the W.R.I. Secretariat and submitted to the working committee.

A suggestion was made that the organisation of the World Mental Health Conference should be studied, as in many ways it had attempted and succeeded in a similar kind of project.

Hagbard Jonassen's comment in a letter was noted. Like other members of the Executive, he thought that, while a conference would be immensely valuable, the W.R.I. alone could not take on the responsibility for organising it. There would have to be a high degree of co-operation with other organisations, including the International Confederation and the I.P.B.

The response from other Council members to the Memorandum had been disappointing. The necessity of getting financial support from Trusts was emphasised.

5. REPORTS ON THE MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU AND DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CONTINUING COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION (prepared by Stuart Morris)

The circulated reports were discussed and appreciation was expressed to Stuart Morris.

6. MEETING OF THE CONTINUING COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION

Tony Smythe reported on the meeting, Minutes of which had been circulated to Executive members. The Confederation had been officially constituted, as 25 organisations had asked to be affiliated. The Confederation would be launched at a Conference in January 1964. This would be divided into two parts, the first concerned with business and the future work of the Confederation, and the second devoted to discussions with other organisations concerned with the problems of world peace and disarmament.

Much of the meeting of the Continuing Committee had been devoted to the question of the future relationship with the International Peace Bureau. It was unfortunate that members of the Bureau had not been warned that this discussion would be taking place and consequently had little knowledge of the Oxford Conference and the discussions which were already under way concerning a possible merger between the two organisations. There had been general recognition that the aims of both organisations were similar and that without either a merger or co-ordination, duplication of work could not be avoided. The negotiations were inconclusive.

It was agreed that a Commission should be set up at the Conference in January to take the matter further. Responsibility for the Bulletin would remain in the hands of both organisations for the next edition but then would be transferred to the I.P.B. The I.P.B. had decided after the negotiations that moves for a merger should be deferred until 1965. It did not appear that there had been adequate consultation between the I.P.B. and its affiliated organisations.

The W.R.I.'s position was made quite clear at Stavanger. The following Resolution was agreed to: The W.R.I. regrets that the decision on a merger has been deferred for so long and that it was not possible for delegates to be fully briefed before the Oosterbeek Conference. It urges both organisations to re-consider the position before January, circulating all relevant documents and Minutes to member organisations and if necessary calling Executive Meetings to re-examine the position. The W.R.I. cannot contemplate being affiliated to two bodies with the same purpose indefinitely and will be obliged at some stage to withdraw its affiliation from one if a decision to merge is not reached.

The decision relating to withdrawal of affiliation was made not only on financial grounds but also because the presence of two organisations in the field would cause confusion and would damage the ability of the independent peace movement to develop and to undertake unified action. The demands of the world situation were such that the peace movement should consolidate its forces and develop the most efficient means of communication and co-operation.

Herbert Günneberg reported on the attitude of the three German Sections. A letter had been sent to them by Heinz Kraschutzki, making the following three points:-

- 1) that the concept of non-alignment had not been properly defined at Oxford;
- 2) that the Confederation appeared to be willing to encourage subversive activities in Communist countries; and
- 3) that one affiliated organisation, in the United States, was against working with radical pacifists, unilateralists and Soviet apologists, thus undermining faith in the Confederation's ability to contain radical elements in the movement. It was pointed out that one of these points was a mis-statement of fact and that Heinz should be asked to withdraw it and that the others did not correspond with the interpretation made by the W.R.I. and other pacifist organisations. The I.d.K. was not willing to join the Confederation and the V.K. was considering supporting the Confederation in preference to the W.R.I. So far only one organisation, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedens Verbände, had affiliated, but this was not representative. The Secretaries were asked to write to the German Sections explaining the position and it was hoped that they would consider the Resolution passed at Stavanger again.

The advice of the Executive about the place of the January Conference had been sought by the Administrative Committee of the Confederation. The two possibilities were Accra and Agape in North Italy. By charter 'plane the fare to Accra would be £60 return. After some discussion the Executive indicated that it was rather more in favour of Accra; but that either place would be suitable from our point of view.

#### 7. REPORT ON I.F.O.R. CONFERENCE

Devi Prasad's written report was discussed and it was agreed that efforts to work closely with the I.F.o.R. should continue.

#### 8. REPORT ON STUDY CONFERENCE 1963

Devi Prasad's written report was discussed, as were the critical notes submitted by Pierre Martin. It was pointed out that other comments had been sent by participants for inclusion in the post-Conference documents. This showed that while many had criticisms about aspects of Conference organisation and the content of the discussions, the general opinion was that the Conference had been very useful. Adequate provision had not been made for French translation, and more attention would be paid to this problem in future. The programme had been rather too full to allow for full discussion on all the subjects. As with most conferences of this kind, the original intention had not been fully carried out but it was pointed out that the nature of such a conference is always defined by the people who attend rather than by arrangements made beforehand. A gathering of mainly young people would discuss theory to a certain point. After that there was always the tendency to think in terms of practical action. This explained the large number of recommendations submitted at the end of the Conference.

There was no doubt that W.R.I. Study Conferences had contributed to the growth of internationalism in the peace movement,

and there was a growing number of peace workers who were thinking beyond the limits set by national movements. Through an increased understanding of the problems facing other movements and of the international nature of Cold War strategy, they were arriving at the point of being able to conceive action and policy in international terms.

The behaviour of participants was referred to and, although members were inclined to think from the reports that there was little ground for complaint, it was recognised that the customs and traditions at any Conference centre to be used should be made known to participants beforehand in the expectation that they would show every consideration.

The Conference almost paid for itself.

#### 9. DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS

The Executive considered all the recommendations made, most of which were in line with decisions taken at the Triennial Conference. On the suggestion that the W.R.I. should try to make other less radical peace organisations more aware of non-violent methods and philosophy, it was proposed that Sections should hold more schools on non-violence. The Norwegian Section could be asked for details of its experience in this field. The exchange of peace workers could be accomplished through the Confederation, which was already considering the suggestion. The Secretariat would help local groups which wished to participate in the scheme for twinning groups in different countries. The necessity for more meetings of small groups from different countries was recognised but the W.R.I. was not at present in a financial position to give more practical help.

The Sections would be asked to give more help in supplying information for international distribution and the Secretariat would continue to be a clearing house. Work with the armed forces could be encouraged by making servicemen more welcome at meetings. Action in the Sahara and the Pacific against French tests was a Peace Brigade activity but could be encouraged through W.R.I. channels if considered suitable by national organisations.

It was agreed that information about chemical and bacteriological warfare should be collected in co-operation with other groups already working on the subject. It could then be distributed internationally.

The suggestion to compile comprehensive bibliographies of pacifist literature was commended to Sections. The section on the rôle of the peace movement in Africa was particularly important and should when necessary be published separately from the other recommendations. It could provide the basis for a W.R.I. programme and for discussions amongst the local groups.

#### 10. REPORT OF CHAIRMAN'S VISIT TO SWEDEN AND NORWAY

The visit had been welcomed by the Swedish Section. After hearing the report members agreed that a written report should be sent to Sections.

11. REPORT OF UNIVERSAL ESPERANTO CONGRESS AND VISIT TO BULGARIA AND BELGRADE

Confidential reports by Tony Smythe and Alfred Tucker for Council members were submitted to Executive and would be circulated to Council members. The suggestion that there should be more frequent visits to Eastern Europe was accepted and it was noted that Herbert Günneberg would be visiting Hungary later in the year at the invitation of the Peace Committee.

All visits by Council members and W.R.I. representatives should be carefully documented, and a list of contacts built up. The importance of avoiding inconvenience or danger to existing contacts was emphasised.

Alfred Tucker and Tony Smythe were thanked for their reports.

12. REPORT OF A.C.N.V. CONFERENCE IN LYON

Devi Prasad's report was discussed and, in particular, the suggestion that the W.R.I. encourage 15 to 20 young people to take part in a training scheme to be organised by Lanza del Vasto in August 1964. This will be of particular interest to Catholics and will be confined to those who speak English or French. Headmasters of certain schools would be approached. It would be made clear that the W.R.I. was not committed to all the attitudes held by the Communauté de l'Arche. Gratitude was expressed for Lanza del Vasto's willingness to implement the decision of Conference.

Compulsory labour service was being introduced in France and was discussed at Lyon. It was similar to the Emergency Laws to be introduced in Germany. It was agreed that this matter should be publicised and possibly made the subject of a Franco-German Conference.

13. EMERGENCY LAWS IN WEST GERMANY

Herbert Günneberg reported that the introduction of legislation for the Emergency Laws had been delayed for the time being because the Government, and especially the Minister of the Interior, were under pressure owing to the telephone-tapping allegations. The W.R.I. would continue to make information on the Laws available to the peace movement and would call for further action and demonstrations when the date for the introduction of the Bill had been decided.

There was a general discussion on anti-democratic practices in the Federal Republic. Some had been resisted by application to the Courts. In particular the right to demonstrate in Bonn had been recognised. The complications caused by the outlawing of the Communist Party were mentioned in connection with the suggestion that members in Germany campaign for the recognition of the Party as a civil liberties' issue.

14. "WAR RESISTANCE"

A Memorandum by Tony Smythe was discussed and it was

agreed that it should be circulated to Council and individuals likely to help. The major necessity was that the responsibility for the journal should be undertaken not by the Secretariat alone but by a working group in London and a panel of international correspondents.

15. STUDY CONFERENCE 1964

It was agreed that plans should go ahead to hold the Study Conference in Poland. Unofficial approaches had already been made but an official request for the consent of the Polish Peace Committee would be sent immediately. Negotiations through correspondence would have to be completed by November and a visit by one of the Secretaries to Warsaw might be necessary to complete the arrangements and could perhaps be made in conjunction with representation at the W.P.C. Council meeting in Warsaw towards the end of November. There was no decision on the programme which, with other details, would be a product of consultations between the W.R.I. and the Peace Committee. The arrangements for the Conference would have to be completed by the 31st January, including the engagement of speakers.

Hugh Brock pointed out that the most logical approach would be to say that the W.R.I. had held its Conferences in different countries each year and that next year it would be in Poland. It was, however, recognised that nothing could be done without the support of the Peace Committee.

Yugoslavia and Athens were suggested as alternatives should Poland not prove to be a practical proposition.

16. COUNCIL MEETING 1964

Herbert Günneberg reported that he had made arrangements for the meeting to be held at Mainz Kastel from the 24th to 27th July. He was authorised to confirm the booking.

17. WORLD PARLIAMENT ASSOCIATION

An invitation had been received from the World Parliament Association to send a delegate to its Congress on "Disarmament and World Hunger in the Nuclear Age" in Geneva, October 18th-21st. It was agreed that Niels Mathiesen would represent the W.R.I. if possible and that the Executive Committee of the International Peace Bureau should be consulted.

18. VANCOUVER/BERLIN WALK

The progress of the walk was discussed and recognition was given to the value of the project. A request for money to buy a van had been dealt with by trying to get the support of German members. It was thought that it was not necessary for the W.R.I. to give any direct financial support at this stage.

19. APPLICATION FOR ASSOCIATION

"Liberation" (U.S.A.) was accepted as an Associated Publication of the W.R.I. An appreciation was recorded of the contribution the paper was making to radical journalism.

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20. DEATHS OF ROBERT PORCHET AND PROFESSOR MISAR

Members received with regret the news of the deaths of Robert Porchet and Professor Misar. Robert Porchet had been receiving regular quarterly grants from the Relief Fund and the question arose as to whether these should be continued for his widow. The Secretaries were asked to make enquiries through Alfred Tucker. The hope was expressed that perhaps the size of the grant could be gradually reduced over a period of two to three years.

21. REPRESENTATION AT FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

Amsterdam Direct Action Conference - This would probably be taking place on the 23rd/24th November. Executive agreed that Tony Smythe should go but asked that attempts should be made to get a special donation for the purpose.

I.d.K. A.G.M. - Niels Mathiesen was asked to represent the W.R.I. at the I.d.K. A.G.M. on 26th/27th October. This was particularly important in view of the controversy which had arisen since the Triennial Conference over attitudes towards the W.P.C. and Communism.

D.F.G. A.G.M. - Herbert Günneberg was asked to act as the fraternal representative at the D.F.G. Conference in Bochum on 19th/20th October.

22. NAZARENES

Information had been received that, in spite of assurances given to the W.R.I. in July 1961, Nazarenes had been sentenced to 8 and 9 year terms of imprisonment during the last year. A list of names and other details was available. Amnesty International had been consulted. Executive agreed that every measure should be taken to combat this persecution, including delegations with other organisations to the Embassies and personal letters to known contacts in Yugoslavia. Stuart Morris would be asked to assist the action in London. It was agreed that there should be no publicity until there had been time for the Yugoslav Government to change its mind.

23. INDIAN PEACE MARCHERS

E.P. Menon and Satish Kumar were granted £10 to help with their work while in Britain.

24. BRUCA DAM

In response to a request from Danilo Dolci it was agreed that Harold Bing should represent the W.R.I. at the Demonstration on the 3rd-4th November. More information was needed for publicity purposes. "Peace News" would help with the cost of Harold's fare and other organisations in Britain could be asked to do the same.

In response to the W.R.I.'s appeal for international support Theodor Ebert of the Non-Violent Civil Army in Germany

had organised a fast in Stuttgart on the 24th October. He wanted to produce a pamphlet about the problems in Sicily in order to encourage other groups in Germany to take similar action. He had requested the W.R.I. for a grant of £5 towards the cost of printing. Executive felt that it would not be justified in making such a grant but thought that the amount should be raised in Germany. The Secretariat was asked to write to the three Sections informing them of the project and see if they were willing to give support. Individual members should also be approached. Appreciation was expressed for Theodor Ebert's support for Danilo Dolci's project.

25. PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

Demonstrations and the sending of greetings would be called for this year as usual and there would be special emphasis this time on the situation in Italy and Switzerland.

26. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY FOR PEACE

It had been suggested that the W.R.I. should send a representative to the Congress in Mexico which would be taking place towards the end of November. This was not possible but a message would be sent and Danilo Dolci would be asked for permission to submit his Triennial Conference paper to the Congress.

27. BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION

The Foundation had been created without any reference to the rest of the peace movement and it was still difficult to see what effect it would have on the work of the W.R.I. and other organisations. Further discussion was deferred until the next meeting.

DATE OF NEXT MEETING:

Saturday and Sunday, 7th and 8th December, 1963, at Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

One Year On The Road

A year ago we started from Vancouver in order to pioneer a practical solution to one of the many conflict situations in the world. One of the conflict situations which keeps thousands of bombers, rockets and battle divisions in constant supply and heighten human suffering. We chose Berlin and the Wall. Since then we have walked 5,000 miles, have given endless talks, interviews and reports, forwarded our proposals and made many new friends. During the same time the armies on both sides of the wall have grown, the waste of human and natural resources has increased and with it human suffering.

Nevertheless, the three of us are more than ever convinced that there is an alternative to this infantile manner of human conduct in the face of conflicting interests. Here is what we set out to do and how far we have come in doing it:

1. To reach Berlin
  2. To focus attention on the Berlin situation and on the necessity of military disengagement in Central Europe
  3. To create an informed public opinion on the background of the Berlin problem and its possibilities.
  4. To put forward our proposals for the political solution of the Berlin problem to the widest possible public
  5. To introduce and encourage non-violent conflict resolution both as an idea and as premeditated organized activity
  6. To help internationalize the peace movement in spirit and in fact and to translate the sudden concern for specific problem areas during times of crisis into an enduring pursuit of the problem until it has been resolved. In this case Berlin.
  7. To establish an International Centre for Non-Violent Politics in Berlin
  8. To work toward the realization of a non-violent society
1. In Liverpool, during the latter half of our four months walk through Britain, we decided to include the Soviet Union in our route. This means that we will have to spend an additional 7 months on the road and that we will arrive in Berlin around Easter 1964 instead of being there now. We made this decision because the solution of the Berlin problem and the realization of a military disengagement in Central Europe presupposes an improvement of East-West relations. The walk through the Soviet Union, Poland and East Germany is designed to serve this end. We did not include the Soviet Union in our original plans because it would have overtaxed our strength at that time. Even now we are not sure that we have sufficient resources to carry us through another winter.
  2. We are just as far from having reached most of our other objectives & as we are from Berlin to-day. Our success has been limited. It
  3. has been sufficient, however, to give us evidence that we are pursuing a practical road, although we can stand a lot of improvement in its pursuit.

We have not focussed any lasting public attention on the Berlin problem and the necessity for military disengagement. But we have attracted, held and directed the attention of many thousands of people for hours at a time. We have been at pains neither to waste their time nor ours. As a result a number of thousands know more about the Berlin situation and its background. Many more thousands know about the Bomb and the peace movement. The first we achieved in our hundreds of organized private and public meetings. Here we found an already prepared audience which followed and later participated, in the talk on a demilitarized Berlin and Central Europe, with greatest interest. The latter we did during countless radio and T.V. interviews and open line discussions. At such times we

were not able to focus the attention on Berlin but usually became involved in a general discussion about the pros and cons of the Bomb and "can one trust the Russians".

In Canada the latter half of our six months walk fell into the time of the latest Federal Elections. For that time we were more interested in directing public attention toward the necessity of "No Nuclear Arms for Canada", than on Berlin. It is debatable if we were correct in diverting our attention. We were similarly tempted a few weeks after we had started on our walk when the Cuba Crisis broke out. There was some serious but never too serious talk about walking to Cuba instead of to Berlin.

Also on the Canadian walk: We had an unplanned intensive discussion about Christian principles versus the bomb with a large section of the Canadian clergy. This was due to the fact that we had to ask for and did receive overnight shelter in more than a hundred Canadian churches. We made many new friends amongst the clergy even though on the average the bomb would carry the day over Christian principles.

4. In Canada and Norway we had considerable success in putting our proposals to a wide public due to a very good co-operation of the public information media. In Britain only the local press considered us serious enough. Instead the density of population allowed for very good personal contact on the road, at the factory gate, in schools, public houses and countless organized and unorganized meetings. So far we have no evidence that our proposals are being seriously discussed by the general public.
5. We have found a good measure of support for the idea of non-violent conflict resolution. Everybody, including the bomb-supporters, has found it preferable to a military solution. We also found considerable support for our proposal to establish with Berlin a test case for a non-violent solution. In some instances it was felt that we had chosen a rather difficult if not impossible situation for a first try. Nevertheless, and especially amongst the younger people, we were encouraged to expound on the idea at length and enter into serious discussion. We preferred this to the heated discussions of our specific proposals with politically-minded people. These left us basically dissatisfied even though we were able to make our points by the sheer weight of factual knowledge. In Norway the press treated for the first time non-violent conflict resolution with consideration both as an idea and as a practical attempt.
6. We were from the start under no illusions that the realization of the actual objective of the walk would only be possible with the full co-operation of the international peace movement. We were also aware that if the internationalization of the peace movement had not progressed to the point where it was capable of carrying out major projects of immediate international relevance we would have to help bring this about.

We received and are still receiving some measure of co-operation and support from local groups and national organizations. Without it the walk itself would have been physically impossible. Still this support and co-operation does not extend markedly beyond the time we remain in any given country or area, nor does it extend to the actual objective of the walk. This may be largely due to our own failure to put the whole project across in precise enough terms which can be used as a basis for future action. Thus we have, and in a way are, satisfied when reports from groups we have met tell us that our stay has led to an increased activity quite unrelated to the Berlin problem itself.

We found in Canada, Britain, Norway and now in Sweden that the present structure and methods of the national peace organizations are still those of a pressure and protest movement.

This leads us right into our next failure which is, to gather the great interest and concern which each Berlin crisis produces and to translate it into an enduring pursuit of the underlying causes until they have been removed. The peace movement is so far simply not equipped to tackle world problems itself. It is only equipped to protest and to pressure. The ever recurring frustrations of

this purely emotional response to world crisis is now producing in the emotionally stable peace worker a fierce determination to come to grips with the causes of each crisis, and in the emotionally less stable a tendency toward violence. Both these phenomena are now working toward a change of the peace movement. The result, so we hope, will be a new highly capable social force.

7. At the time we have no concrete evidence that we are any closer to the establishment of an International Centre for Non-Violent Politics in Berlin than we were a year ago. There are some hopeful signs, such as the Berlin Workshop now to be established in London. It is designed to coordinate all British initiatives which aim at the Berlin problem and disengagement and to function in co-operation with the Berlin Centre.

Existing organizations of international character, such as the Canadian Peace Research Institute, have found the idea of the establishment of a similar institute in Berlin as too difficult. On the other hand at this precise moment there is not even sufficient active interest in the Berlin problem as to warrant the establishment of a permanent peace centre of any scope.

8. We would find it impossible to continue our effort during its, rather frequent, difficult periods if we would not experience the growth of a new society.

we subscribe to the idea of a non-violent revolution. Yet during the course of our walk we have become quite certain that this revolution does not mean to take over the functions of existing states and their institutions. Nor can it mean the sudden change of one particular nation toward non-violence, as for instance through a unilateral renunciation of all weapons. To us it now means the gathering of people from all nations who individually are working toward the realization of a non-violent society. Known or unknown to each other, we are the new society. In short: The non-violent revolution has taken place already. We have a new society. To keep it alive and growing is the task.

- HANS SINN

C/o Folkereising Mot Krig  
Kristian Augusts Gate 19  
Oslo 1, Norway.

September 30th, 1963  
Glanshammar, Sweden

(Unedited)

Distributed by:-

War Resisters' International  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

SWEDISH TOUR

- Harold Bing

14. 10. 63

16. 10. 63

The Annual Conference of the Svenskavärldsfredsmissionen (Swedish Section of the W.R.I.) took place at Eskilstura on the 10th and 11th August. I took part in the Council Meeting and in the full meeting, where I spoke on "The W.R.I. and the World Peace Movement". There were about 40 members present altogether. Each Session opened with a hymn and a prayer. However, Stiv Jakobsson, the Chairman of S.V.F.M., made it clear that the organisation was open to ethical and humanitarian pacifists as well as religious pacifists.

On the first evening there was an audience of 70 people at a public meeting in Elim Church. There was a panel of six speakers and my subject was "The Significance of Conscientious Objection in the Nuclear Age".

On Sunday (August 11th) the Conference Service at Eskils Church was broadcast nationally with a very impressive pacifist sermon. In the afternoon there was another public meeting at the Philadelphia Church with two speakers including myself (on "Disarmament and World Peace").

On August 12th I visited Stockholm and had discussions with Ulrich Herz and Sven Guldberg about the forthcoming meeting between the International Peace Bureau and the International Confederation.

On the 13th I spoke at a meeting of S.V.F.M. members on "The W.R.I. and the World Peace Movement". The rest of my tour followed the same pattern, many evening meetings and many opportunities to meet active members of the Swedish Peace Movement.

15th August. Meeting at Gävle. 15 attenders. My subject: "Individual responsibility in the Nuclear Age".

17th August. Uppsala. Public meeting with members of C.N.D., W.I.L.P.F., the Friends and S.V.F.M. Subject: "Individual Responsibility" again. A good report in local paper.

19th August. Örebro. Public meeting - 40 attenders. Subjects: "World Peace and the Pacifist Movement" and "The Peace Movement in India".

20th August. Interviews with two newspapers.

21st August. Göteborg. Excellent meeting with 20 young members of C.N.D., W.R.I., World Citizens etc. Subjects: "The Evolution from Pacifism to Non-Violence", "Eastern and Western Concepts of Pacifism". Interview with a Swedish Press Agency.

22nd August. I was taken to meet a group of C.O.'s doing alternative service as members of an Airport Fire Brigade. In

the course of an hour's talk I emphasised the desirability of C.O.'s becoming active in the pacifist movement after completing their service.

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Throughout my visit and especially during the S.V.F.M. Annual Conference the Press coverage was very good. The tour has enabled me to have a much better understanding of the Swedish situation and the Swedish peace movement. It is my hope that contacts such as these will lead to ever-increasing co-operation and understanding between all Sections of the W.R.I. and the International itself. I would like to thank the Swedish Section and the many friends who helped me in one capacity or another for their hospitality and attention.

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(Edited version)

14th October, 1963.

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

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ENGLAND

ED 748-16-289

TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

14th October, 1963.

176. 12. 53

Dear Friends,

The Minutes of Executive Meeting No.1 are enclosed, also Harold Bing's Report of his tour in Sweden (edited). The W.R.I. stands at the beginning of a three-year period of hard work and now is the opportunity to examine how best we can carry out the decisions of the Triennial and Study Conferences. We will be breaking new ground in many fields and the effect on the pacifist movement will be far-reaching. Some projects can only bring success if they are undertaken on a large scale and this will require changes in attitude and method. The changes will not, however, come about overnight. Our income is still very limited, the Staff at the Secretariat is small, the time of Council members, national Secretaries, translators and the comparatively small number of members who participate in the work of the International is limited. Everything cannot be undertaken at once. We will need time to establish priorities, to consolidate, to become better informed. Above all we must do more to develop the sense of unified purpose at every level so that the W.R.I. begins to function as a movement and not as a collection of isolated components each bearing very little relation to the others.

The list of matters before the Executive was immense and in some cases reports or decisions had to be deferred. When we looked at the bank balance it became clear what the first priority was. The Secretariat may well have to occupy itself more than should be strictly necessary on fund raising over the next few months. You can help by increasing Sections' annual contributions, setting up special committees to finance international work, selling more copies of "War Resistance", seeking every opportunity to make W.R.I. services known and by approaching interested individuals for special donations. It may be possible to collect money for specific purposes such as are mentioned in the Minutes.

It is conceivable that we can secure reasonable conditions for Conscientious Objectors in all non-totalitarian countries before the next Conference. Let us work with this object in view. Prisoners for Peace Day should be marked in the diaries of all members by now and we hope that lists of prisoners will be reaching us shortly. A few personal details about some would help with publicity. The authorities in countries still clinging to universal military service without option cannot but be impressed by international solidarity in the form of thousands of greetings. If a Bill is introduced in France during the current session of the National Assembly we intend to concentrate on bringing pressure on the Governments of Italy and Switzerland. Pickets outside the Embassies could be called for December 1st, accompanied by a flood

of letters, telegrams and telephone calls. Let us know your plans as soon as possible. They will be an inspiration to others.

The Delhi-Pekin Friendship March is trying to create a bridge of friendship between India and China. The Quebec-Guantanamo and Vancouver-Berlin Marches are similarly occupied. The W.R.I. will build bridges of friendship between East and West Europe and we would like to draw on the experience of everyone concerned with this work. The Study Conference in Poland will be our first major attempt and we need all the advice and contact you can give. If we succeed we are hoping that many of our most active young members will be willing to go with the backing of Sections.

The situation in Africa becomes increasingly serious every day. Pacifists have no right to impose their help before it is clear that the African peoples themselves want it. Neither should we expect our friends who have suffered so much to accept our assumptions or our methods immediately. We believe that pacifism has a role to play and, as long as we approach the problem in all humility and do the necessary groundwork, we may be able to play it before it is too late. The financial requirements for this work will be hard to meet especially as our progress will not be visible for some time to come.

Special attention should be paid to Danilo Dolci's memo for a World Conference on Non-Violence which will be circulated almost immediately. This project is beyond the resources of any one organisation and it can still grow. It needs full discussion and the dedicated attention of many individuals who will be willing to join research groups. The Conference aims at making non-violence a factor to be considered at all levels and in all conflict situations.

As "War Resistance" is being reorganised reliable corresponding editors in many countries will be needed. You could help us to find them. As sales increase, the mailing list can be extended into more countries and other language editions can be produced.

Your activities, plans and policies could be more widely known internationally if you made use of the information service which sends news releases to the press, peace organisations and publications throughout the world - some 400 contacts in all. Send news items to the Secretariat clearly marked 'For Information Service'.

In the past the Secretariat has been criticised for sending out more documents than can be dealt with by national Secretaries. We realise that this does place a strain on recipients but we make no apologies for keeping Sections up to date with every aspect of international pacifist work. May we suggest that responsibility for dealing with international correspondence and literature be spread over a wider field? Perhaps pacifist organisations are not exploiting the ability and enthusiasm of younger members enough. We are concerned that international matters do reach the local groups and members who are not on the W.R.I. central mailing list.

Please note suggestions recorded in the Minutes, e.g. more education in non-violence by Sections; national peace bibliographies; collection of material on biological and chemical warfare; etc.

Yours fraternally,

*Dévi Prasad*

Dévi Prasad  
Secretary

*Tony Smythe*

Tony Smythe  
Secretary

PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

ED 718-16-130 WRI 23.11.63

LA JOURNEE DES PRISONNIERS POUR LA PAIX

TAG DER GEFANGENEN FÜR DEN FRIEDEN

HONOUR ROLL

LA LISTE D'HONNEUR

EHREN LISTE

Names and Addresses of War Resisters in Prison at Christmas-time 1963 and New Year 1964

Noms et Adresses de Résistants à la Guerre qui se trouvent à prison à Noël 1963 et au Nouvel An 1964

Namen und Adressen von Kriegsgegnern, die Weihnachten 1963 und Neujahr 1964 im Gefängnis sind

FRANCE

- FRANCE

- FRANKREICH +

Prison de Fresnes (Seine), France

Gérard JEANNIN, cellule 255 3eme division

Alain ROUZET " " " "

Pierre SOMMERMEYER and Claude BRESSON, cellule 252

Prison de Metz, 1 ter rue Maurice Barrès, Metz (Moselle), France

--. ANDRAU

--. BOURDET

Jean JURCIEWICZ

--. KIRCHGESSUER

Jean-Pierre LADOTRE

Sylvain LENTZ \*

François VIOLLEAU

Hôpital Militaire Objecteur Français, S'Alger, Algerie

Yves RICHEBE

Locaux disciplinaires, CG 2, Caserne de Lattre de Tassigny, Metz, (Moselle) France

Gilbert SCHMITZ

Fort du Ha - BORDEAUX (Gironde)

Didier POIRAUD

Les Petites Baumettes, Marseille (B.d.R.), France

Jean-Pierre OSTRE

Mauzac is an open camp especially for C.O's. They are engaged in civilian work. It was opened originally as a temporary measure after assurances had been given to Louis Lecoin that a Statute for conscientious objectors would be brought before Parliament.

Mauzac est un camp ouvert uniquement à l'intention des Objecteurs de Conscience. Ceux-ci sont occupés à faire du travail civil. Il a été ouvert originairement comme mesure provisoire après qu'on avait assuré Louis Lecoin qu'un Statut pour les Objecteurs serait présenté au Parlement.

Mauzac ist ein offenes Lager bestimmt für Kriegsgegner aus Gewissensgründe. Es wurde ursprünglich als zeitweilige Massnahme eröffnet - zur Zeit als Louis Lecoin Zusicherungen erhielt, dass eine Verordnung für Kriegsgegner dem Parlament vorgelegt werden würde.

N.B. Illustrated cards are forbidden. Please only write on white paper and enclose in an envelope.

N.B. Les cartes postales illustrées sont interdites prière de n'ECRIRE que sur papier blanc sous enveloppe.

N.B. Karten sind in französischen Gefängnissen verboten. Grüsse können auf Briefpapier in Briefumschlag geschickt werden.

☆ Jehovah's Witness ☆ Témoin de Jéhovah ☆ Zeugen Jehovas

Camp de Mauzac (Nord), Dordogne, France

Jean ANDRE	Charles ACTIS	Dominique AUDRAN
Michel AUBLE	--. ALLEMANE	Guy AUTERIVE
Yves BEL	André BADZEK	Marius BAWAZECH
Gérard BEAUFILS X	Daniel BESWARDIERES	André BIERWAQUE
Roger BILLON	André BLANC	Gérard BLANC
Michel BLASER	Joseph BOUDARD	Serge BOURRES
Jean BOURLIER	Daniel BOUTET	Francis CARDON
Gilbert CEZARD	Jean-Claude CHAGOT	--. CHAPUIS
Daniel CHARBON	Raymond CHERON	Louis CHEVALIER
Pierre CHIMOT	Valentin-Mario COLOMBA	Claude COQUELET
Francois CHARLOPEAU	Eric CRISOPASSO	Yves CRUCIFIX
Bernard DAGUENET	Henri DEBRE	Jacques DELBECQUE
Claude DEWITTE	Yves DUBOUCH	Louis Frederic DRIEDRICH
José DUCHARNIAT	Michel DUCHESNE	Michel DURAN
Evans EMIOT	Albert FASQUELLE	Christian FAURAN
Leonard FELKER	Paul FONLUPT	Michel FRON
Bernard GABEL	Gérard GASTON	Gérard GILBERT
J.L.GIROD	André GODARD	André GOLABECK
Antoine GOLABECK	Guy GROSSMANN (Private address: 8 rue Hartaut, Luneville (Met Moselle A.P.)	ck
Albert HAMMERLIN	Gérard HERMET	Jean-Jacques HETZEL
Eugène HOCIJ	Claude HLADIK	Felix IDARGO
Janura JAROSLAW	Daniel JOLLY	Pierre JOUFFRAU
Bogdan JURA	Ernest KIRCHER	Félicien KULCZAK
Jean LAGRAVE	Georges LAJOIE	Michel LAJOIE
Charles LAMBRECH	Alain LARCHIER	Lucien LATINI
Anthelme LAURENCE	Roland LEBRETON	Alain LEFEBVRE
Paul LEGER	Guy LEGER	Gabriel LIPOWICZ
Gilbert LORENZINI	Pierre LOUBOT	Poulo LOUBOT
André LOUP	Albert LUX	André MACKE
Guy MAEBER	Christian MAISON	Gérard MANCEAU
Claude MARQUET	Michel MARY	Bernard MATECKI
Jacques MILLET	Luc MONNIER	Robert MORSILLI
Guy MOUFLARD	Jean-Claude MOZER	Jean-Marie OCHENOWSKI
Joseph PERSONAZ	Daniel PETER	Michel PEUVRIER
Jean PBZET	Raymond PISKORSKI	Philippe Girodet
Christian Le PLAY	Louis PORON	Eric PÔT
Michel POUCHKO	Jean-Pierre PREZ	Christian PYVETEAU
Gérard QUEVILLY	Henri ROBACZINSKI	Jean-Paul ROBERT
René ROCHER	Daniel REBOUX	Edouard RYDRYCZAK
André SALAÜN	Jean-Paul SALER *	Pierre SCHENK
Jean-Pierre Charlet	Marc SEIGNOBOS	Gérard SEGARD
Jean-Pierre SEMBEL	Bernard SEUX	Marcel SICARI
Claude SIEGMUND	Robert SIMEON	Stanislas SOBOTA
Sylvain STINEAU	Jean TAURINES	Gérard THIERRY
Gérard THETIOT	Gérard THOMAS	Roland THOMAS
Bernard TOMAZEWSKI	Claude VERREL	Bernard VANBAELINGHEM
Bernard WIGGERS	Antoine WROBEL	Claude VORON
Jean François BESSON	Daniel BEAUVAIS	Philippe DELORD
Henri BORJA		

NETHERLANDS

PAYS-BAS

NIEDERLAND I +

Tom VLEESHAKKER, Zaandam, Westzijdeveld 7 c, Holland  
 Kees van MEULEN, Wýdenes, Lekerweg 3b, Holland  
 Roelf PANNENBORG, Wildervank, Willem de Zwýgerlaan 9, Holland

ITALY

ITALIE

ITALIEN +

Peschiera del Garda (Verona), Italy

☆ Leonardo RUTLIGLIANO

Castello Angioino, Gaeta, Italy

☆ Cristoforo TONDO

ED 712-16-191  
VEREINIGTE STAATEN

U.S.A.

ETATS UNIS

VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Federal Prison Camp, Allenwood, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

John KRUSE

Bram LUCKOM

Federal Correctional Institution, Milan, Michigan, U.S.A.

Donald PORTER

Medical Center for Prisoners, Springfield, Missouri, U.S.A.

Robert T. READY

Paul SALSTROM

Federal Correctional Institution, Texarkana, Texas, U.S.A.

Clarence O'Neill WILSON

GREAT BRITAIN

GRANDE BRETAGNE

GROSSBRITANNIEN

Military Detention Quarters, Portsmouth, Hants, England

John DIXON

Pentonville Prison, London, N., England

Rowland DALE

Wormwood Scrubs Prison, Du Cane Road, London, W.14, England

Tony MURPHY

YUGOSLAVIA

JUGOSLAVIE

JUGOSLAWIE

Coli-Otok, Yugoslavia

Sentence - Jugement - Urteil

Stevan DOBOSLOVAC

8 years,

8 ans,

8 Jahre

Milan ZAKIĆ

8 "

8 "

8 "

Tomislav NEGRU

6 "

6 "

6 "

Dusan KATANIC

9 "

9 "

9 "

Ljubomir Petric

8 "

8 "

8 "

Dejan JEVREMOV - called up on September 22nd and expecting to be sentenced  
appelé sous les armes le 22 septembre, il s'attend à sa  
condamnation

einberufen den 22. September und rechnet verurteilt  
zu werden

WEST GERMANY

ALLEMAGNE L'OUEST

WEST DEUTSCHLAND

The following are Alternative Service Camps and not Prison Camps  
Les adresses qui suit sont Service Civil Camps - pas Prison Camps  
Die folgenden sind Friedensdienst Adresses - nicht Gefängnislager

Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
53 Bonn -Venusberg, Universitätskliniken, Germany

Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
74 Tübingen, Universitätskliniken, Germany

Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
69 Heidelberg, Universitätskliniken, Germany

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
C/o Nothelfergemeinschaft der Freunde, 6 Frankfurt am Main  
Homburger Strasse 28, Germany

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
C/o Internationaler Zivildienst  
2 Hamburg 1, Beim Strohause 14, Germany

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
C/o Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, 3347 Wolfhagen (Bezirk Kassel),  
Hilfszug-Zentralstaffel, Germany

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
C/o Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, 7 Stuttgart-Möhringen  
Landessanitätsschule, Germany

Kriegsdienstverweigerer und IZD-Gruppe  
C/o Biologische Klinik für Ganzheitsmedizin  
7325 Bad Boll/Schwarzwald, Germany

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
4813 Bethel über Bielefeld  
v. Bodelschwingsche Anstalten, Germany

DENMARK

Tillidsmaendene  
Gribskovlejren  
Maarum  
Denmark

DANEMARK

Tillidsmaendene  
Kompedallejren  
Engesvang  
Denmark

DANEMARK

NETHERLANDS

De Raad van Gewetensbezwaarden  
Kamp voor Gewetensbezwaarden  
Vledder  
Netherlands

PAYS BAS

De Raad van Gewetensbezwaarden  
Rijkopsychiatrische Inrichtingen  
Woensel  
Netherlands

NIEDERLAND

N.B. Collective greetings may be sent to the above camp addresses in  
Denmark, the Netherlands and West Germany

On peut écrire des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants d'un  
camp en Denmark, Pays Bas et Allemagne l'Ouest

Ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche kann zu den Zivildienstlager  
in Dänemark, Niederland und West Deutschland geschickt werden

There are many Jehovah's Witnesses in Prison. Their addresses are not  
known

Il y a objecteurs de conscience en prison. On ne connait pas leurs  
noms et adresses

Es sind Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Gefängnis. Ihre Namen und Adressen  
sind unbekannt.

West Germany - Allemagne l'Ouest - West Deutschland

Denmark - Danemark - Dänemark (20)

Netherlands - Pays Bas - Niederland (100)

U.S.A. - Etats Unis - Vereinigte Staate, etc.

We cannot guarantee that all addresses are accurate. If your cards are  
returned please do not ask the W.R.I. to provide an explanation

l'I.R.G. a fait tout son possible afin de fournir des renseignements  
précis. Si vos cartes vous seront renvoyées, nous vous prions de ne  
point vous adresser à l'I.R.G. pour en constater la raison

Die W.R.I. hat versucht genaue Auskunft zu geben. Sollten Sie Karten  
zurückgeschickt bekommen, so fragen Sie uns bitte nicht warum

23.11.63

ED715-16-192

WRI

(deutsch) ↑

The War Resisters' International is circulating the following Appeal from the Union Pacifiste de France, the sponsoring organisation of the publication associated with the W.R.I. "La Voie de la Paix", in accordance with our policy to assist all initiatives which are likely to further the growth of the peace movement internationally. The text is also available in French, German and Italian. Comments, suggestions and offers of support should be sent directly to Emile Bauchet as suggested below.

### APPEAL FOR A MEETING OF EUROPEAN PACIFISTS

First issued in the September 1963 edition of "La Voie de la Paix"

Pacifists have always expressed formally their desire and their will to construct a pacified Europe. If they have not taken the necessary initiatives, it is because they have not possessed the means; but they have always viewed favourably, encouraged, and helped tentative efforts which were worthy of interest, including that of the "Father of Europe", Robert Schumann, who has just died.

Those who have dreamed of a peaceful and disarmed Europe have been preoccupied with such problems as how to put an end to war between peoples, to disarm morally and materially, destroy frontiers, help mutual understanding, practise economic and political co-operation, dispel hatred maintained by false propaganda and create a supranational charter defining the rights and ensuring the security of all.

But the Europe which is now being developed, where all priority is accorded to cartels, bankers, the military and others of that kind, is monstrously misconceived. If it lives on as maintained by de Gaulle and Adenauer, who care little for the wishes of Europeans, pacifists will soon come to realise that the 'Union des Patries' or the union of industrial magnates and banks supported by the general staffs, has only transferred on a vast scale the dangers which threaten world peace to-day.

Thus it appears that a meeting of European pacifists is indispensable to restrain the action of these retrograde forces, notably the "organic co-operation of our two armies" (De Gaulle, speaking at Hamburg on 7th September 1962) which is now being realised in a "first exchange of units between the French and German armies" (Agence France-Presse news item, published in "Le Monde" of 27th August 1963).

This article is thus in the nature of a proposal, a call, from the Union Pacifiste de France.

The Secretariat of the U.P.F., because of decisions taken during its previous Congresses that contact be made with other pacifists in the world, because of the interest shown by readers in the conclusion of the article by Paul Rassinier on "Ten Days in the Company of German Pacifists" ("Voie de la Paix", April 1963), and the unanimous vote at the W.R.I. Congress at Stavanger

for a proposal of "La Voie de la Paix" for a Franco-German pacifist meeting ("Voie de la Paix", August 1963), has commissioned me to suggest to the pacifists of Europe that they should meet, for example on Whit Sunday and Whit Monday 1964 (May 17th-18th) in Brussels.

If this proposal, this call, is re-echoed; if, like us, our pacifist comrades in Europe realise that it would be no doubt useful and effective that we should concert our efforts to define the nature of the problem to be solved and the appropriate means to be applied, there is no doubt that a great step forward will have been made enabling us to act in unison by co-ordinating our efforts to the same end.

On this occasion there would thus be born the healthy embryo of a pacifist Europe which is dear to those who dream of a disarmed world made invulnerable by its mutual aid and brotherhood.

The Secretariat of the Union Pacifiste de France therefore requests through me, that all those whom this appeal for a meeting of European pacifists reaches, and who support it, should:

- (1) Give me their agreement in principle;
- (2) Give me the names and addresses of persons and groups to whom they think that this appeal, if it is accepted, should be addressed;
- (3) If they belong to a pacifist or internationalist association or grouping which wishes to take part in this meeting, ask it to designate a delegate who will correspond with me and if necessary participate in the practical organisation of the meeting.

The immediate help and the replies which are addressed directly to:

Emile Bauchet,  
Union Pacifiste de France,  
AUBERVILLE-SUR-MER,  
Calvados,  
France,

will decide whether we shall persevere in organising this meeting or whether we shall defer it.

In all countries pacifists often come up against selfish or dishonest opponents who cry: "But your propaganda doesn't make sense! Here everyone is pacifist! Go and preach pacifism the other side of the frontier."

A union of European pacifists, the first step towards a world union of pacifists, will silence militarists who maintain fear and distrust in their country by making out that it is always the "other" who is the big bad wolf.

All organisations have an interest in this union. The action which it will undertake on a European scale, converging on predetermined ends, will reinforce that undertaken by each of the organisations on a national scale.

It is, of course, understood that during this meeting will be set out, defined, and adopted, in a very democratic manner, the objects to be achieved and the means to be employed. In conclusion I will just indicate that the purpose of such a meeting is to aim at confronting and combatting the Europe of cartels, bankers and general staffs, at laying the foundations of a Peoples' Europe and at taking the initiative in the fight for general disarmament. The European peoples should be consulted about these objectives by an honestly organised referendum with equally distributed means of propaganda, so that they can directly declare themselves in favour of the maintenance or the suppression of the policy of war and armaments. From this union could emerge a plan for a European Charter established by competent jurists as a prelude to a World Charter having the aim of regulating international conflicts without war.

The outline of these objectives gives a good idea of the importance of such a meeting.

It is up to everyone to weigh the position and decide.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL,  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middx.,  
England.

18.11.63.

Supplément à "La Voie de la Paix"

ED 7/86-16-194

UNION PACIFISTE DE FRANCE (U.P.F.)

Siège Social: Chez M. JEAN GAUCHON, Groupe Scolaire  
Paul-Langevin

PLACE PIERRE-JOLIOT-CURIE, TRAPPES (Seine & Oise)

A U F R U F

zu einen Treffen der europäischen Pazifisten

Eingegangen

25. NOV. 1963

27. 11. 63 V.

Erledigt: .....

Die Pazifisten haben immer ausdrücklich ihren Wunsch und Willen bekräftigt, ein befriedetes Europa aufzubauen. Wenn sie noch nicht die nötige Initiative dabei ergriffen haben, so aus dem Grunde, weil sie nicht die Mittel dazu hatten. Aber immer haben sie alle eingeleiteten Bestrebungen begünstigt, ermutigt und unterstützt, die Beachtung verdienten, so jene des Mannes, den man den "Vater Europas" nannte, den jüngst verstorbenen Robert Schuman.

Den Kriegen zwischen den Völkern ein Ende machen; moralisch und materiell abrüsten; die Grenzen abbauen; gegenseitiges Verständnis schaffen durch kulturellen Austausch und Überprüfung parteiischer vaterländischer Schulbücher; wirtschaftliche und politische Zusammenarbeit pflegen mit Hinblick auf Wohlstand und Frieden unter den Völkern; durch lügenhafte Propaganda künstlich geschürte Hassgefühle UNSCHADLICH machen; eine Übernationale Charta schaffen, welche die Sicherheit aller begründet. Das waren neben vielen anderen noch Probleme, welche diejenigen ganz besonders beschäftigten, die von einem friedfertigen und entwaffneten Europa träumen.

Jedoch lässt das werdende Europa, das sich sehr schlecht als recht entwickelt, weil es nicht ernstlich gewollt ist, lässt also dieser ungefüge und durch Trusts, Bankleuten, Militärs und dem Unheil in jeder Form bewilligter Vorherrschaft schon im Ansatz verdorbene Keim voraussehen, dass wenn er so lebt wie er ausgedacht und vornehmlich durch das Paar De Gaulle-Adenauer gestützt wird, die sich wenig darum kümmern, was die Europäer wünschen und wollen - dann die Pazifisten sehen, werden wie die "Vereinigung der Vaterländer", der Industriemagnaten und Banken, gestützt durch und auf ihre Generalstäbe, nur auf einen Riesenmasstab die Gefahren übertragen, die den Frieden der Welt bedrohen.

Es scheint daher, dass, um die Wirkung dieser rückschrittlichen Kräfte abzumildern oder notfalls zu mildern, namentlich die "organische Zusammenarbeit unserer beiden Armeen" (so De Gaulle am 7.9.62 in Hamburg), die sich derzeit durch einen "ersten Austausch zwischen französischen und deutschen Armee-Einheiten" in die Tat umsetzt (Information der Agence France-Presse, veröffentlicht in LE

MONDE vom 27.8.63) - ein Treffen der europäischen Pazifisten unerlässlich ist.

Dieser Aufsatz hat daher den Charakter eines Vorschlags, eines Aufrufs der Vereinigung der Pazifisten aus Frankreich (U.P.F.)

Gestützt auf die zum Ausdruck gebrachten Wünsche und die im Verlauf früherer Kongresse gefassten Entschliessungen; geneigt zur Fühlungnahme mit den Pazifisten in aller Welt; ermutigt durch das Interesse, dass Leser bezeugten hinsichtlich der Schlussfolgerung des Aufsatzes von Paul Rassinier in "Zehn Tage in Begleitung der deutschen Pazifisten" (VOIE DE LA PAIX, April 1963); gestützt auch auf das einstimmige Votum beim Kongress des I.R.G. (War Resisters' International) in Stavanger; dazu eines Vorschlags der Zeitschrift LA VOIE DE LA PAIX hinsichtlich eines pazifistischen deutsch-französischen Treffens (August-Nummer 1963) hat mich das Sekretariat der U.P.F. beauftragt, den Pazifisten Europas eine Zusammenkunft vorzuschlagen, vielleicht für Pfingstsonntag und Montag 1964 in Brüssel (17. und 18. Mai).

Wenn ein Echo auf diesen Vorschlag und Aufruf erfolgte, wenn wir und auch unsere pazifistischen Kameraden in Europa die Überzeugung gewinnen, dass es sicher nützlich und wirksam wäre, uns zu verständigen, die Eigenart der zu lösenden Fragen festzulegen und die geeigneten Mittel für ihre Lösung aufzuspüren, so gäbe es keine Zweifel daran, dass ein grosser Schritt getan wäre, der gestattet, solidarisch zu handeln und unsere Anstrengungen auf ein gemeinsames Ziel auszurichten.

Dann würde der gesunde Keim eines pazifistischen Europas erwachsen, das teuer wäre allen jenen, die von einer waffenfreien Welt träumen, die zutiefst unverwundbar wäre durch gegenseitige Hilfe und Brüderlichkeit.

Das Sekretariat der U.P.F. bittet daher alle, die von diesem Aufruf Kenntnis erlangen, im Hinblick auf ein Treffen der europäischen Pazifisten und der ihnen Gleichgesinnten:

1. mir ihre grundsätzliche Zustimmung zu übermitteln;
2. mir Namen und Anschriften von Persönlichkeiten und Gruppen anzugeben, von denen sie meinen, dass ihnen dieser Aufruf, wenn er genehmigt würde, geschickt werden sollten;
3. wenn sie einer pazifistischen oder mondialistischen Gesellschaft oder Gruppe angehören, die es wünscht an dieser Begegnung teilzunehmen, dann diese Organisation zu bitten, einen Abgeordneten zu benennen, der beauftragt wäre mit mir in Briefwechsel zu treten und gegebenenfalls an der praktischen Durchführung der Begegnung teilzunehmen;
4. alle, die es können, sich für einwandfreie Übersetzungen dieses Aufrufs zu melden; ferner für Übersetzung anderer Dokumente (in Deutsch, Englisch, Italienisch), um sie zu vervielfältigen und in mehreren Sprachen in die in Frage kommenden Länder zu schicken.

Schnelle Hilfe und die Antworten, die unmittelbar an meine hier folgende Anschrift zu richten wären (Emile Bauchet, U.P.F., Auberville s. Mer, Calvados, France) werden über unsere Beharrlichkeit in Vorbe-

reitung dieser Begegnung entscheiden oder - über ihre Vertagung.

In allen Ländern stossen sich die Pazifisten oft an bezahlten oder kleingläubigen Gegnern, die sagen: "Aber Eure Propaganda hat doch keinen Sinn! Hier ist schon jeder Pazifist! Haltet Eure pazifistischen Reden doch auf der anderen Seite der Grenzen!"

Die Union der europäischen Pazifisten, die einen ersten Schritt in Richtung auf eine Pazifistische Welt-Union darstellt, wird jenen schamlosen Kriegstreibern den Mund stopfen, die Angst und Misstrauen in ihren Ländern schüren, indem sie glauben machen, dass der böse Wolf immer "der andere" sei.

An dieser Union sind alle Organisationen interessiert. Die anlaufende Aktion führt zusammen und wird für bestimmte Ziele jene im europäischen Rahmen stärken, die jede der Organisationen für sich im nationalen anstrebt.

Ein letztes Wort: Es versteht sich von selbst, dass bei dieser Begegnung die zu erreichenden Ziel und anzuwendenden Mittel erläutert, festgelegt und angenommen werden, dies auf sehr demokratische Weise. Ich beschränke mich abschliessend, den Sinn einer solchen Versammlung aufzuzeigen, der meiner Ansicht nach darauf zielen muss, dem Europa der Trusts, Bankiers und Generalstäbe die "Stirn zu bieten", es zu bekämpfen an der Spitze des Kampfes für die ALLGEMEINE Abrüstung, indem man so ein Beispiel geben muss. Dazu sollen die europäischen Völker in einer ehrlich geordneten Abstimmung gefragt werden, mit allseits gleichmässig zur Verfügung gestellten Propagandamitteln, damit die Völker sich unmittelbar für Aufrechterhaltung oder Unterdrückung der Kriegs- und Rüstungspolitik aussprechen können, damit so schliesslich aus dieser Union der Plan für eine Europäische Charta erwachse, die durch tüchtige Juristen erstellt einer Welt-Charta vorangehe und darauf abziele, zwischenstaatliche Konflikte durch ganz andere Mittel als Krieg in Ordnung zu bringen.

Die Skizze dieser Verhandlungsgegenstände beleuchtet genügend die Wichtigkeit einer solchen Versammlung.

An jedem sei es, seinen Einsatz zu messen und sich zu entscheiden.

VEREINIGUNG DER PAZIFISTEN AUS FRANKREICH

EMILE BAUCHET, SEKRETAR

ED 718-16-197

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telegraphic Address: NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

19th November 1963

23.11.63

Dear Friends,

The Prisoners for Peace Day Honor Roll for 1963 is enclosed. We hope that on December 1st there will be demonstrations of solidarity with war resisters in prison and that thousands of Christmas greetings will again be sent.

As you will see from the list while some men are in prison the majority are in special camps. You may think that the first priority is to send greetings to those enduring the worst conditions. It should also be pointed out that in many countries practising universal conscription there are large numbers of Jehovah's Witnesses in prison, e.g. about 100 in Holland. Their names and whereabouts are in most cases not known because they do not usually like being associated with the peace movement and also do not recognise Christmas as a festival. Nevertheless the suppression of this sect should concern all those who are interested in the problem of conscientious objection and civil liberty.

This year the position in France is particularly important. A Bill which would have given recognition to C.O.'s has been twice passed by the National Assembly. In comparison with other countries it would not have represented a great improvement for it required an alternative civilian service twice as long as the recognised period for military service and made no provision for those like the Jehovah's Witnesses, who form the majority of C.O.'s in France, and Anarchists, who would usually refuse alternative civilian service. However, on November 7th the Bill was rejected for the second time in the Senate by 140 votes to 12 and it will now have to go back to the National Assembly for the third time. Public attitudes to conscientious objection are changing radically in France and this is the occasion to show solidarity with C.O.'s there and intensify the pressure on the French authorities. International support would be a valuable addition to the efforts being made by pacifists in France. Write and send deputations to French Embassies and Consulates.

The situation is still serious in Italy and Switzerland, although we have not been sent information about C.O.'s in prison in the latter country. Demonstrations have recently been held in Italy in support of C.O.'s and again international support is absolutely necessary if these efforts are to lead to a successful conclusion.

It should be borne in mind that there are probably many other countries where prisoners for peace languish in jail but information is not available to us.

We are very grateful to W.R.I. contacts in many countries who have helped us in compiling this information.

Best wishes  
Yours fraternally

Tony Smythe  
Secretary

ED 718-46-198

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telegraphic Address: NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND

19th November 1963

27. 11. 63 V.

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Best wishes  
Yours fraternally

Tony Smythe  
Secretary

## LA JOURNEE DES PRISONNIERS POUR LA PAIX

## TAG DER GEFANGENEN FÜR DEN FRIEDEN

HONOUR ROLLLA LISTE D'HONNEUREHREN LISTE

Names and Addresses of War Resisters in Prison at Christmas-time 1963 and New Year 1964

Noms et Adresses de Résistants à la Guerre qui se trouvent à prison à Noël 1963 et au Nouvel An 1964

Namen und Adressen von Kriegsgegnern, die Weihnachten 1963 und Neujahr 1964 im Gefängnis sind

FRANCE

-

FRANCE

-

FRANKREICHPrison de Fresnes (Seine), France

Gérard JEANNIN, cellule 255 3eme division

Alain ROUZET " " " "

Pierre SOMMERMEYER and Claude BRESSON, cellule 252

Prison de Metz, 1 ter rue Maurice Barrès, Metz (Moselle), France

--. ANDRAU

--. BOURDET

Jean JURCIEWICZ

--. KIRCHGESSUER

Jean-Pierre LADOIRE

Sylvain LENTZ ☆

François VIOLLEAU

Hôpital Militaire Objecteur Français, S'Alger, Algerie

Yves RICHEBE

Locaux disciplinaires, CG 2, Caserne de Lattre de Tassigny, Metz, (Moselle) France

Gilbert SCHMITZ

Fort du Ha - BORDEAUX (Gironde)

Didier POIRAUD

Les Petites Baumettes, Marseille (B.d.R.), France

Jean-Pierre OSTRE

Mauzac is an open camp especially for C.O.'s. They are engaged in civilian work. It was opened originally as a temporary measure after assurances had been given to Louis Lecoin that a Statute for conscientious objectors would be brought before Parliament.

Mauzac est un camp ouvert uniquement à l'intention des Objecteurs de Conscience. Ceux-ci sont occupés à faire du travail civil. Il a été ouvert originellement comme mesure provisoire après qu'on avait assuré Louis Lecoin qu'un Statut pour les Objecteurs serait présenté au Parlement.

Mauzac ist ein offenes Lager bestimmt für Kriegsgegner aus Gewissensgründen. Es wurde ursprünglich als zeitweilige Massnahme eröffnet - zur Zeit als Louis Lecoin Zusicherungen erhielt, dass eine Verordnung für Kriegsgegner dem Parlament vorgelegt werden würde.

.B. Illustrated cards are forbidden. Please only write on white paper and enclose in an envelope.

.B. Les cartes postales illustrées sont interdites prière de n'ECRIRE que sur papier blanc sous enveloppe.

.B. Karten sind in französischen Gefängnissen verboten. Grüße können auf Briefpapier in Briefumschlag geschickt werden.

Camp de Mauzac (Nord), Dordogne, France

Jean ANDRE	Charles ACTIS	Dominique AUDRAN
Michel AUBLE	--. ALLEMANE	Guy AUTERIVE
Yves BEL	André BADZEK	Marius BAWAZECH
Gérard BEAUFILS	Daniel BESWARDIERES	André BIERWAQUE
Roger BILLON	André BLANC	Gérard BLANC
Michel BLASER	Joseph BOUDARD	Serge BOURRES
Jean BOURLIER	Daniel BOUTET	Francis CARDON
Gilbert CEZARD	Jean-Claude CHAGOT	--. CHAPUIS
Daniel CHARBON	Raymond CHERON	Louis CHEVALIER
Pierre CHIMOT	Valentin-Mario COLOMBA	Claude COQUELET
Francois CHARLOPEAU	Eric CRISOPASSO	Yves CRUCIFIX
Bernard DAGUENET	Henri DEBRE	Jacques DELBECQUE
Claude DEWITTE	Yves DUBOUCH	Louis Frederic DRIEDRICH
José DUCHARNIAT	Michel DUCHESNE	Michel DURAN
Evans EMIOT	Albert FASQUELLE	Christian FAURAN
Leonard FELKER	Paul FONLUPT	Michel FRON
Bernard GABEL	Gérard GASTON	Gérard GILBERT
J.L.GIROD	André GODARD	André GOLABECK
Antoine GOLABECK	Guy GROSSMANN (Private address: 8 rue Hartaut, Luneville (Met Moselle A.P.))	
Albert HAMMERLIN	Gérard HERMET	Jean-Jacques HETZEL
Eugène HOCIJ	Claude HLADIK	Felix IDARGO
Janura JAROSLAW	Daniel JOLLY	Pierre JOUFFRAU
Bogdan JURA	Ernest KIRCHER	Félicien KULCZAK
Jean LAGRAVE	Georges LAJOIE	Michel LAJOIE
Charles LAMBRECH	Alain LARCHIER	Lucien LATINI
Anthelme LAURENCE	Roland LEBRETON	Alain LEFEBVRE
Paul LEGER	Guy LEGER	Gabriel LIPOWICZ
Gilbert LORENZINI	Pierre LOUBOT	Poulo LOUBOT
André LOUP	Albert LUX	André MACKE
Guy MAEBER	Christian MAISON	Gérard MANCEAU
Claude MARQUET	Michel MARY	Bernard MATECKI
Jacques MILLET	Luc MONNIER	Robert MORSILLI
Guy MOUFLARD	Jean-Claude MOZER	Jean-Marie OCHENOWSKI
Joseph PERSONAZ	Daniel PETER	Michel PEUVRIER
Jean PEZET	Raymond PISKORSKI	Philippe Girodet
Christian Le PLAY	Louis PORON	Eric POT
Michel POUCHKO	Jean-Pierre PREZ	Christian PYVETEAU
Gérard QUEVILLY	Henri ROBACZINSKI	Jean-Paul ROBERT
René ROCHER	Daniel REBOUX	Edouard RYDRYCZAK
André SALAÜN	Jean-Paul SALER	Pierre SCHENK
Jean-Pierre Charlet	Marc SEIGNOBOS	Gérard SEGARD
Jean-Pierre SEMBEL	Bernard SEUX	Marcel SICARI
Claude SIEGMUND	Robert SIMEON	Stanislas SOBOTA
Sylvain STINEAU	Jean TAURINES	Gérard THIERRY
Gérard THETIOT	Gérard THOMAS	Roland THOMAS
Bernard TOMAZEWSKI	Claude VERREL	Bernard VANBAELINGHEM
Bernard WIGGERS	Antoine WROBEL	Claude VORON
Jean Francois BESSON	Daniel BEAUVAIS	Philippe DELORD
Henri BORJA		

NETHERLANDS

PAYS-BAS

NIEDERLAND

Tom VLEESHAKKER, Zaandam, Westzijdeveld 7 c, Holland  
 Kees van MEULEN, Wýdenes, Lekerweg 3b, Holland  
 Roelf PANNENBORG, Wildervank, Willem de Zwýgerlaan 9, Holland

ITALY

ITALIE

ITALIEN

Peschiera del Garda (Verona), Italy

☆ Leonardo RUTLIGLIANO

Castello Angioino, Gaeta, Italy

☆ Cristoforo TONDO

U.S.A.

ETATS UNIS

VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Federal Prison Camp, Allenwood, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

John KRUSE

Bram LUCKOM

ED 713-16-200

Federal Correctional Institution, Milan, Michigan, U.S.A.

Donald PORTER

Medical Center for Prisoners, Springfield, Missouri, U.S.A.

Robert T. READY

Paul SALSTROM

Federal Correctional Institution, Texarkana, Texas, U.S.A.

Clarence O'Neill WILSON

GREAT BRITAIN

GRANDE BRETAGNE

GROSSBRITANNIEN

Military Detention Quarters, Portsmouth, Hants, England

John DIXON

Pentonville Prison, London, N., England

Rowland DALE

Wormwood Scrubs Prison, Du Cane Road, London, W.14, England

Tony MURPHY

YUGOSLAVIA

JUGOSLAVIE

JUGOSLAWE

Goli Otok, Yugoslavia

	<u>Sentence -</u>	<u>Jugement -</u>	<u>Urteil</u>
Stevan DOROSLOVAC	8 years,	8 ans,	8 Jahre
Milan ZAKIC	8 "	8 "	8 "
Tomislav NEGRU	6 "	6 "	6 "
Dusan KATANIC	9 "	9 "	9 "
Ljubomir Petric	8 "	8 "	8 "

Dejan JEVREMOV - called up on September 22nd and expecting to be sentenced  
appelé sous les armes le 22 septembre, il s'attend à sa  
condamnation

einberufen den 22. September und rechnet verurteilt  
zu werden

WEST GERMANY

ALLEMAGNE L'OUEST

WEST DEUTSCHLAND

The following are Alternative Service Camps and not Prison Camps  
Les adresses qui suit sont Service Civil Camps - pas Prison Camps  
Die folgenden sind Friedensdienst Adresses - nicht Gefängnislager

Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
53 Bonn -Venusberg, Universitätskliniken, Germany

Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
74 Tübingen, Universitätskliniken, Germany

Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
69 Heidelberg, Universitätskliniken, Germany

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
C/o Nothelfergemeinschaft der Freunde, 6 Frankfurt am Main  
Homberger Strasse 28, Germany

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
C/o Internationaler Zivildienst  
2 Hamburg 1, Beim Strohhause 14, Germany

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
C/o Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, 3347 Wolfhagen (Bezirk Kassel),  
Hilfszug-Zentralstaffel, Germany

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
C/o Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, 7 Stuttgart-Möhringen  
Landessanitätsschule, Germany

Kriegsdienstverweigerer und IZD-Gruppe  
C/o Biologische Klinik für Ganzheitsmedizin  
7325 Bad Boll/Schwarzwald, Germany

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
4813 Bethel über Bielefeld  
v. Bodelschwingsche Anstalten, Germany

DENMARK

DANEMARK

DANEMARK

Tillidsmaendene  
Gribskovlejren  
Maarum  
Denmark

Tillidsmaendene  
Kompedallejren  
Engesvang  
Denmark

NETHERLANDS

PAYS BAS

NIEDERLAND

De Raad van Gewetensbezwaarden  
Kamp voor Gewetensbezwaarden  
Vledder  
Netherlands

De Raad van Gewetensbezwaarden  
Rijkspsihiatrische Inrichtingen  
Woensel  
Netherlands

N.B. Collective greetings may be sent to the above camp addresses in  
Denmark, the Netherlands and West Germany

On peut écrire des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants d'un  
camp en Denmark, Pays Bas et Allemagne l'Ouest

Ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche kann zu den Zivildienstlager  
in Dänemark, Niederland und West Deutschland geschickt werden

There are many Jehovah's Witnesses in Prison. Their addresses are not  
known

Il y a objecteurs de conscience en prison. On ne connaît pas leurs  
noms et adresses

Es sind Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Gefängnis. Ihre Namen und Adressen  
sind unbekannt.

West Germany - Allemagne l'Ouest - West Deutschland

Denmark - Danemark - Dänemark (20)

Netherlands - Pays Bas - Nederland (100)

U.S.A. - Etats Unis - Vereinigte Staate, etc.

We cannot guarantee that all addresses are accurate. If your cards are  
returned please do not ask the W.R.I. to provide an explanation

l'I.R.G. a fait tout son possible afin de fournir des renseignements  
précis. Si vos cartes vous seront renvoyées, nous vous prions de ne  
point vous adresser à l'I.R.G. pour en constater la raison

Die W.R.I. hat versucht genaue Auskunft zu geben. Sollten Sie Karten  
zurückgeschickt bekommen, so fragen Sie uns bitte nicht warum

ED 713-16-201

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF PRISONERS FOR PEACE IN  
PRISON AT CHRISTMAS TIME 1963 AND NEW YEAR 1964

2.12.63

CORRECTION      GREAT BRITAIN

John DIXON completed his 90 days sentence at the Naval Detention Quarters in Portsmouth. He has been forcibly transported to Singapore where he escaped for four days before giving himself up. By then his ship had sailed. He was sentenced to another 90 days detention. His present address is:

Able Seaman P/J 979495 Dixon, J.,  
C.M.F.,  
C/o Tanglin, H.Q. Farelf  
Singapore

ADDITIONS:

NETHERLANDS

Anton BAKKER, Amsterdam C, Boomstraat 10, Netherlands  
Wout ACHTERBERG, Venendaal, Schrijversstraat 30, Netherlands

FRANCE

Released but expecting to be arrested again. Joint address:  
106 rue Sadi Carnot, Vanves (Seine), France

Jacques DUCLOS                      Yves MENESGUEN                      Alain DEPOORTER  
André DONAINT                      Bruno de TRUCHIS

6, Square Port Royal, Paris 13e, France

Ambroisé MONOD

SWEDEN

Alternative Service Camps

☆ only a few people are stationed in these camps

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| ☆ Vapenfria värnpliktiga<br>Brandkåren<br>Andra Langgatan<br>Göteborg SV, Sweden | Vapenfria värnpliktiga<br>Garnisonsbrandkåren<br>Karlsborg<br>Sweden                     |
| Vapenfria värnpliktiga<br>Civilförsvvarsskolan<br>Nyadal<br>Sweden               | Vapenfria värnpliktiga<br>Torslanda flygfält<br>Brandkåren<br>Göteborg H, Sweden         |
| ☆ Vapenfria värnpliktiga<br>Brandkåren<br>Midlanda flygfält<br>Sundsvall, Sweden | ☆ Vapenfria värnpliktiga<br>Militärapoteket<br>Karolinska sjukhuset<br>Stockholm, Sweden |
| Vapenfria värnpliktiga<br>Soldathemmet<br>Oskar Fredriksborg, Sweden             | ☆ Vapenfria värnpliktiga<br>Brandstationen<br>Örebro, Sweden                             |
| Vapenfria värnpliktigas förläggning<br>Stalbo<br>Harbönäs<br>Sweden              | Vapenfria värnpliktigas<br>Tvättstugan förläggning<br>Oskar Fredrikeborg, Sweden         |

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Brandkåren  
Arlanda, Fack 50  
Stockholm-Arlanda, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Sunnans  
Gävle 1, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Garnisonsbrandkåren  
Boden 19, Sweden

☆ Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Civilförsvarsskolan  
Katrineholm, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Uppsala universitetens skogsförvaltning  
Järnbrogatan 1 A  
Uppsala, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Björkö  
Adelsö, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Fack 34  
Bernshammar  
Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Civilförsvarsskolan  
Tylösand, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Stensjö  
Oskarshamn, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
I 1, Sjukstugan  
Sundbyberg, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
SJ-skolan  
Revingehed  
Sweden

also:

Dick Mössberg, Fångkolonin Bogesund, Box 16, Vaxholm, Sweden

28.11.63

ED 718-16-202

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

AGENDA

15.12.63

for Executive Committee Meeting No. 2 to be held at  
Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex,  
on Sunday 15th December, 1963 at 10 o'clock.

27.11.63 V.

APOLOGIES

APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 1  
(5/6 Oct. 1963)

Matters arising from Council Minutes

- 6. Membership
- 7. Recognition of Conscientious Objection
- 13. African Project
- 14. Franco-German Pacifist Meeting
- 23. Review of the present state of Sections

2. FINANCE:

- (a) Current Statement
- (b) Approval of Expenditure
- (c) Relief Fund - Italy and France
- (d) Office Heating

3. WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

4. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

5. WORLD CONFERENCE ON PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE

6. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

7. WAR RESISTANCE

8. STUDY CONFERENCE 1964

9. WORLD PARLIAMENT ASSOCIATION

10. REPORTS FROM CONFERENCES & DEMONSTRATIONS

I.d.K. and D.F.G. A.G.M's and Brucca Dam

11. NAZARENES

12. BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION

13. PEACE RESEARCH CONFERENCE

14. UNIVERSAL ESPERANTO CONGRESS

15. EUROPEAN PACIFIST CONFERENCE (Emile Bauchet)

16. DATE OF NEXT MEETINGS

17. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

SECTIONS

Please send comments and additions as soon as possible

DELHI-PEKING FRIENDSHIP MARCH

2.12. 63

(Latest report)

-Max Maxwell

The idea, preparation and planning

The idea of a journey on foot from Delhi to Peking at the time of the Sino-Indian conflict in the autumn of 1962 came from Ed Lazar, then field secretary of the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) on the west coast of the U.S.A. This idea was presented to a planning conference of leading Gandhian workers at Sevagram. The march was approved and the Indian Shanti Sena Mandal issued an invitation to the World Peace Brigade, an international peace action organisation, to organise the international team and finance their transportation to India. Following the World Peace Brigade's acceptance of the invitation, the three chairmen, A.J. Muste, Jayaprakash Narayan and Michael Scott, published a statement of the basic motivation and general principles of the project. The name agreed upon as expressing the intent and spirit of the project was the Delhi-Peking Friendship March.

The team's international contingent, consisting of pacifists from the U.S.A., Austria, Britain and Japan, converged in Delhi at the end of February 1963. At a week-long conference there the participants evolved a statement of objectives and principles which was issued to the press and published in leaflet form for wider distribution. The general route to China chosen was eastward from the Indian capital through the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, hopefully across East Pakistan territory into Assam, Burma and thence to China. Despite the uncertainties it was felt imperative to begin the march as soon as possible, with negotiations continuing as the march proceeded and developed. On March 1st, after a large prayer meeting at Rajghat on the site of Gandhi's cremation, the march commenced.

The idea in action

As we left the prayer gathering, a foretaste of the kind of opposition later to be encountered was displayed in the form of a black flag demonstration carrying banners saying "No friendship with China" and similar slogans; the crowd was more energetic in removing the demonstrators than the demonstration itself. A large number of people followed us for several miles out of the city on this first leg of the march to Peking.

As first envisaged, the project was to consist of a group of individuals walking the roads of India and China, without badges or banners, freely communicating a message of nonviolence and peace with all those prepared to discuss with them: a group of peace workers involving themselves in a violent situation to bring a third force - against war and uncommitted to the politics of either country or any bloc - on to the scene. As the march matured, it developed into a more sophisticated and effective vehicle of expression for a philosophy, a way of life and a course of action based on non-violence.

Across the north of India, a daily programme of at least two meetings has been adhered to: a mid-afternoon discussion meeting, at which some of the team answer questions about the march and the conflict put to them by members of the public, and also discuss opposite points of view, frequently having to defend their beliefs against strong nationalistic argument in favour of armed defence. The second daily public meeting, held in the evening to allow all working people to be free to attend: here three members of the team address the audience, which might number from 200 to 5,000, covering introduction to the March itself and its participants, the philosophy of practical application of nonviolence in the context of the Sino-Indian conflict. In addition there are frequent unscheduled meetings at high schools, colleges and societies - we enquire as to what student groups and clubs exist in each community, and try to arrange meetings with them - and often individuals and groups come to our quarters and talk with us personally.

Translations of the speeches of those team members from outside India is done by Sarvodaya workers who walk with the team for varying lengths of the time. After reaching Bengal, the Indian members also have needed translation from their Hindi or English into Bengali and later into Assamese. Communication is not as good as we would wish, of course - it took the non-Indian participants some time to truly adjust to the psychological demands of speaking to people of a completely different historical and cultural background to their own. The Sarvodaya workers are invaluable in arranging our accommodation and food and meeting publicity. Some of them do not fully agree with our objectives or total philosophy but they help us because "This is the land of Gandhi".

Despite apprehension on the part of some at the outset regarding the response of the Indian people to a group advocating non-violence and reconciliation with China at a time when the country was being mobilised in support of a military solution to the border problem, open opposition to the march has been both infrequent and weakly organised. Black flag demonstrations have in fact taken place in the following cities: Allahabad, Lucknow, Varanasi, Patna, culminating in a double demonstration at Bhagalpur, Bihar. The attitude of the group has been not to retaliate but wait until the shouting and flag-waving demonstrators stop through exhaustion or loss of morale. When communication with the organisers of such demonstrations has been possible on a personal basis, after understanding the real nature of the March, they have often apologised and wished us well. Across all of northern India, the people themselves have received us with generosity and warmth. In Assam, as in the other states, we have also been greeted in villages and towns with traditional welcomes of music and dancing.

In early May the March halted for five days in Ghasipur, U.P., to discuss and compare our personal attitudes on a variety of issues vital to the cohesion of the group; and also to clarify our policy on certain specific points. Much misunderstanding was cleared up, and we left Ghasipur feeling more united and clearer on policy than we had in the weeks before.

During this Indian stage of the March we are walking an average of ten miles per day, baggage being carried ahead by our jeep. To avoid the heat and give ourselves time for a full programme, the daily walk begins at between 3:30 - 4:30 AM and usually lasts for three or four hours. In Bihar we decided to print a simplified leaflet giving the March's message, for distribution to the many people who look, cheer or offer us rest and refreshment during the

morning walk. Since we began taking a collection at our public meetings, many thousands of people have offered us their support in this way.

As we reached the end of Bihar and began walking in Bengal, several marchers were suffering from fatigue and left the group for some time to recover; at this period we were weak numerically and this laid an extra burden on those remaining, who continued with the full schedule of meetings. Illness in the group was never very serious - there have been the inevitable effects of the heat, dysentery, and so on - and we were able to handle such difficulties ourselves.

The eastward route of the March lies naturally through East Pakistan, and communication requesting permission to traverse this territory en route to Assam was initiated well in advance. Although the official reply to all such correspondence was negative, the March continued up to the East Pakistan border and waited at the small town of Radhikapur, a few hundred yards from the railway crossing into East Pakistan territory. We stayed there from July 3 - 11, vigilling each day at the frontier marker in the hope of being permitted entry. Those days of silent vigil raised many questions in our minds on the nature of national divisions and the authority of governments to separate people. A request was cabled to the Pakistani immigration officials requesting them to come to meet us at the frontier for talks on the morning of July 5. When no officials appeared, the member of the March with a U.K. passport - requiring no visa - walked to the nearest district town in East Pakistan and requested the chief of police to speak with the marchers, but he declined. After nine days we decided to continue to walk around East Pakistan into Assam. No stronger action was taken at that point because the specific issue before the March is the Sino-Indian relationship, and we did not wish to divert our efforts, confusing the image of the march unnecessarily. Despite the deep regret that we all felt at our failure to communicate with the people of East Pakistan, we felt more prepared to meet future situations, and strengthened as a result of the experience.

Although the March has by now achieved greater unity and established a stable image of its purpose and message - opposition to all war, individual freedom to refuse military service, individual responsibility for the acts of governments, and a creative approach to international peace through genuine friendship - we are continuously trying to develop our ideas between ourselves within the group, in relation to the peace movement, and in relation to the people involved in the conflict. The thinking and discussion in Shanti Sena which is leading to the development of nonviolence to meet such situations as the conflict is in part due to this project. The very invitation to the World Peace Brigade was a new departure. Similarly we are stimulating among the people generally by challenging the validity of the use of military force. Several lengthy and thoughtful editorials about the march in leading Indian newspapers are indicative of this effect. The words and presence of the fifteen marchers are causing many people to reconsider nonviolence as a positive alternative to national defence preparations.

Contact with China

Before the assembly of participants at Delhi in February, the secretary of the project's organising committee and Tan Yun-Shan, Head of the Department of Chinese Studies at Tagore University, had placed the idea of the proposed march before the Chinese Charge d'Affaires in Delhi. The response then had been a negative attitude towards the proposal, and later the Chinese Government's initial opposition to the march was expressed in a bulletin of the New China News Agency which stated that the march was sponsored by American imperialists and Indian reactionaries.

When the group had to some extent stabilised its internal processes and established a daily routine, a detailed communication was sent on April 15 to the Chinese Peace Committee stating the policy, aims and desired China programme of the March and requesting the Committee to use its good offices to aid the march in obtaining visas for entry into China. An acknowledgement of this memorandum was received from Peking six weeks later. Progress reports and other Friendship March material has also been sent to Peking periodically, to keep the Chinese informed of our progress and development.

Most recently, a personal letter from Shankarrao Deo is being sent to Mao Tse-Tung and it is hoped that this will elicit some positive response from the Chinese leader.

Apart from this contact from the march itself and its participants, valuable talks have been had between representatives and supporters of the project and representatives of Chinese organisations. Following the Oxford international disarmament conference in Britain at the beginning of 1963, A.J. Muste and Siddharaj Dhadha, secretary of the Asian Region of the World Peace Brigade, presented the idea of the March to representatives of the Chinese Peace Committee and the Association of Free Churches in China then staying in London. They agreed to convey the idea to their own organisations in China. Siddharaj Dhadha was also able to meet Chinese Peace Committee representatives to the Anti A- & H-Bomb conference at Hiroshima in Japan at the beginning of August. Contact inside China itself has been made by the Rev. Fujii, Head of the Japan Buddha Sangh who walked with the March for the first week from Delhi, during a three-week stay in Peking in mid-June. He spoke to representatives of the Peace Committee, Buddhist organisations and of the free churches, advocating the admission of the Friendship March in his public speeches and private talks.

It is hoped that this contact, in conjunction with the character of the March, as displayed in its daily progress in India, will lead to Chinese authorities and people to welcome the international group to their country.

Recent events: In Assam

The state in which the Friendship March is presently walking and talking is Assam. Before leaving West Bengal, we had deemed it necessary to acquaint ourselves with the difficulties and problems of Assam, domestic and international, before proceeding with our programme there. Accordingly the March halted for several

days in early August at Golukganj. An information conference was held with invited professors, government officials and Sarvodaya workers familiar with Assam, in order to help us, the March group, to adjust our approach to the people and to take positions on certain issues to be encountered. As it happened, few difficulties or problems have marred our campaign here.

Although the Congress Party of Assam does not as a Party support the March, many individual Congress workers, in addition to many other individuals and groups, have been very helpful in arranging hospitality for the group. In the two and a half months that we have been in Assam, the people have been generally responsive and often, particularly before Gauhati, we were given elaborate traditional welcomes followed in the evenings by a cultural programme of music and dancing. The relationship of the people at large and our Sarvodaya helpers in particular with the marchers has reached a peak of cooperation and friendship in Assam.

When the march reached Gauhati, an internal conference was held from August 5 - 8 with two of the World Peace Brigade chairmen. The purpose of the conference was to discuss the future route of the March in Assam and beyond, entry into China, and also to improve the internal processes of the group. The presence and contributions of the two chairmen were of great help in these deliberations.

From Gauhati the March has been progressing eastwards along the south bank of the Brahmaputra river, and the first Indian phase of the March was terminated at Ledo, a few miles short of Burma which still was refusing the March entry overland from India en route to China. At that point we had walked over 1,900 miles across northern India. From Ledo we have now come for a short period of time to Maitri Ashram in North Lakhimpur to make our final decisions on the way we are to proceed to China.

The Delhi-Peking project is, and will continue to be, a relevant and effective symbol of the alternative to armed conflict at a time when an arms race is developing on both sides of the Himalayas; it represents a desire to have free communication with the people of a politically alienated country in order to further understanding at a face-to-face, man-to-man level, the only level at which a permanent peace will be maintained. We have been on the roads of India for eight months and hope, with international support behind us, to spend much time in China also, carrying the same message which we drafted last February and which is valid for the people of all nations.

Distributed by:

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

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# WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

## *Statement to the Warsaw Conference of the World Council of Peace*

**NOVEMBER 28th—DECEMBER 2nd, 1963**

The idea of war resistance was born out of the suffering of men, women and children caused by wars. It is significant that war resister-organisations like the War Resisters' International and the Fellowship of Reconciliation were not results of — or even reaction to — power politics. The War Resisters' International was a positive response to an immensely felt need of humanity. People in different corners of the world, people of different religions, agnostics and atheists, men and women with different outlooks on life and politics came, almost simultaneously, to the conclusion that wars can be ended only when people start refusing to accept them and start organising resistance against them at all cost.

With this basic principle and self-confidence war resisters of several countries met in 1921 and formed the War Resisters' International. They were dreamers, but dreamers of realistic dreams. They knew that a merely negative approach is an act of irresponsibility on their part and so, while objecting, equal emphasis was put on the removal of the causes of war.

**DECLARATION:** "War is a crime against humanity. I therefore am determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war."

Another factor which occupies a major place in our work is our conviction, based on historical realities, that violence cannot preserve order, achieve social justice or give security to any nation. Ours, therefore, is the task to find out effective, non-violent means of achieving these ends.

#### **Test Ban Treaty, Total Disarmament and Freedom of Conscience**

As nations go on piling up conventional and nuclear armaments under the pretext of saving peace and freedom, fear and threat of war go on increasing. Although rulers of nations are gradually realising the insanity of the arms race, they have failed to break through the Cold War. One reason for this failure might be the fact that they want other nations to act first. This seems to us a vicious circle which can be broken only by bold unilateral action. We urge all nations, big or small, to take the bold step of disarming themselves unilaterally. And we urge with full conviction that peace movements everywhere should work for unilateral disarmament. We do not completely reject the possibility of achieving partial results by multilateral approach. The W.R.I. Stavanger Conference, held last summer, welcomed the Moscow Test Ban Treaty as an indication of relaxation of tension between the major nuclear powers. At the same time the Conference urged world peace forces to intensify "the campaign for complete and general disarmament", and, "since serious obstacles to simultaneous disarmament remain with the current framework of power politics, the W.R.I. continues to advocate unilateral disarmament both on moral grounds and as the best method of breaking the vicious circle of suspicion and mistrust."

I should like to alert peace workers to a situation which might arise as a result of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty. We already hear talk of a race in conventional weapons and reliance upon them. All our efforts and hard work of the past decade will come to nothing if we do not oppose it with all our might, as conventional weapons can bring no less suffering than nuclear, chemical or bacteriological warfare. In this regard again it is the duty of peace movements to encourage and organise millions of people who will refuse to bear arms. There is no denying the fact that Governments will not take such a step because they tend to centralise power and in order to keep it, will try to dominate the lives of people who, if necessary, may be used as fodder for machine guns. We oppose any kind of domination of individual lives, of whatever character it may be and in whatever country, East or West. We fight against conscription and demand from Governments such legislation as is necessary to recognise freedom of conscience and dissent.

### **National Freedom Struggles**

One of the implications of our Declaration is the right of people to govern themselves and to select their own economic and political structure, without outside coercion, control or interference. Violence, and ultimately war, results if this right is denied. In to-day's world there are few local issues which do not have international repercussions. Big Powers in their race for political influence and markets carry the Cold War even to the most remote places. The Congo, South Africa, Hungary and Cuba are examples. To expect that Governments by themselves would be able to solve these issues would be a childish hope, as they can only think in terms of bargaining from strength, which often adds to the tension. If some sort of peaceful solutions are to be found for these problems, peace movements must come forward with non-violent alternatives to support peoples' freedom-struggle against colonialism of every kind, whether capitalist, imperialist or communist.

A point of caution. The danger of nationalism cannot be over-emphasised. National sovereignty, though desirable, must not be allowed to encourage injustice and suppression of individuals' conscience. Peace movements cannot in any circumstances accept the Apartheid-policy of South Africa or the refusal to recognise conscientious objection by Governments of communist countries, France, Spain, etc. or the curbing of liberty in Ghana, and should work against these policies.

### **Hunger and Aid**

Disparity between industrialised and non-industrialised countries is another big cause of war. As long as more than half of the world's population remains undernourished and without proper living conditions, no talk of disarmament can succeed, nor can there be peace in the world. It is most unfortunate that even the poverty of underdeveloped countries is used in the Cold War. Aid given by rich countries depends upon how many political strings can be attached. I cannot help stating here that such help does two-fold harm: firstly, it adds to world tension, and secondly, misguides the growth of the country being aided. Under present circumstances it therefore seems desirable that all the help given by countries should be channelled through U.N. Agencies with the help of voluntary organisations. Similar procedure should be followed in building up peace corps and scientific assistance programmes. Independent peace movements can play an effective role in this.

### **International Co-operation**

At the end of this statement a few words should be said about co-operation between peace movements. In this matter a reality should be faced. There are two very clear streams of peace movements. One of them, which happens to be the older and which once had its existence in many of the now communist countries of Europe, to-day happens to be functioning in the non-communist countries only. The other stream is that of the World Council of Peace and its associates. The first, though representing several trends, varying from unilateralists to multilateralists and from pacifists to anti-nuclearists, has to a considerable extent established a tradition of mutual help and co-operation. The result is that at the Oxford Conference, where most of these movements were represented, the International Confederation of Disarmament and Peace came into being. It will be formally established in its first Conference in January, 1964. Already more than 25 movements, national and international, have joined it as affiliates, of which the W.R.I. is one, and several of our Sections have either expressed the wish to join the Confederation directly or to be represented through the Headquarters. We hope to see the Confederation develop into an effective platform for international co-operation among all peace forces.

The W.R.I. has been seeking to find ways and means of closer contact with all the peace movements of the world, including those in Socialist countries. This Conference will be happy to know that at the last Triennial Conference in Norway the W.R.I. achieved considerable success in this respect.

At our invitation, the Polish and Czechoslovakian Peace Committees sent their representatives. We regret that due to the refusal of visas, D.D.R. Peace Committee representatives could not participate. Strong protests were sent by our Committee and the Conference against the Norwegian Government's unfriendly act. Representatives of Polish and Czechoslovakian Peace Committees were invited to discuss with the Council the question of establishing closer contact. The Conference issued the following statement on this subject:

"While recognising that there are fundamental differences of approach in the work for peace of the W.R.I. and the World Council of Peace, e.g. on the questions of individual conscientious objection and unilateralism, the Conference nevertheless considers that closer contact and understanding between the two organisations, wherever possible, is desirable. It recommends Council to suggest to the World Council of Peace and its associates:

- (1) Exchange of literature, publications and information
- (2) Discussions and conferences for the purpose of clarifying the common points of view
- (3) According to the results from (2), joint action with specific aims and under clearly defined conditions, e.g. advocacy of the Rapacki and Kekkonen plans and disengagement zones
- (4) Organisation of work camps and efforts to bring together individuals and groups from communist and non-communist countries."

We do not want to dwell upon points of difference in our approaches as we feel by discovering points of common interest we shall be in a better position to co-operate on specific projects. Nonetheless it would be a folly not to be quite clear on differences in basic principles. A full understanding of the situation will put us all in a still better position to work together. We very much hope that closer contacts and understanding will be established between our two organisations. We are pleased to say that there is every chance of our next Study Conference being held in Poland with the help of the Polish Peace Committee. This was one of the results of our discussions with their representative at Stavanger.

To end this statement it will be enough to say that the W.R.I. is seeking to find non-violent means of social change, a change which will create a world of responsible individuals and groups capable of taking decisions for themselves and living in co-operation with each other.

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Secretary,  
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ED 718-16-208

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12th February, 1964

LETTER TO COUNCIL MEMBERS AND SECTIONS

20.2.64 *Ldn.*

Dear Friends,

We are sorry that the Agenda for the next Executive Meeting is being sent to you rather late. It has been difficult to decide finally on the programme for the weekend's meeting because at one stage we heard that Danilo Dolci would be attending to help us reach a final decision on the organisation of the World Conference on Pacifism and Non-Violence. It now appears that Danilo will not be back from his tour of Africa in time.

It is necessary to explain that during the Conference of the International Confederation in Sweden a proposal by Robert Jungk of Austria was made and was accepted which seems to have certain features in common with Danilo's proposals. Conversations have taken place between Gerry Hunnius, Secretary of the Confederation, and the W.R.I. Secretaries and it was agreed that as a first step Danilo and Robert Jungk should meet if possible with other representatives from the Confederation and the W.R.I. Originally we had thought that such a meeting could take place in London at the same time as our own Executive Meeting but as neither Danilo nor Robert Jungk could come we are now trying to bring about the meeting in conjunction with the Confederation Executive meeting which will take place in Geneva on March 15/16. Meanwhile it is important that the W.R.I.'s Executive clarifies its attitude towards the World Conference and indicates to what extent it would like to incorporate our project with that of the Confederation. Robert Jungk's document for the Confederation is enclosed but it should be pointed out that he does not enter into any great detail and is at present occupied in drawing up more specific proposals.

The Secretaries and Treasurer will make recommendations designed to rationalise the staff holiday system and salaries.

There is a widely held opinion that there should be an authoritative and comprehensive publication on the subject of conscientious objection throughout the world. The Secretaries will therefore make a proposal along these lines.

At both the W.R.I. Conferences in 1960 and 1963 it was generally accepted that the W.R.I. should devote more of its energy and financial resources to the application of pacifism in Africa and other developing regions. So far it has not been possible to initiate any specific projects and we are still at the stage of discussion and assessment. However, if the money is to be raised for these kind of projects some definite proposals must be made soon and put into effect.

Recommendations made by the Triennial Conference, Council and the Study Conference on the future work of the International are numerous. A list of these recommendations with notes on work done up to date and suggestions is enclosed. It is important to keep them in mind while planning for the coming year.

The Executive will have to draw up a draft Agenda for the Council Meeting which will be circulated with the Minutes for comment and additions from Council Members and Sections.

So far the Secretaries have no definite proposals for the Study Conference 1964.

You will remember from Executive Minutes that negotiations were already under way for a joint meeting between the World Council of Peace and the W.R.I. It was intended that the meeting should take place in Brussels towards the end of February. The Secretaries made several attempts to finalise the arrangements with the W.C.P. without success. In the last week, however, we have been approached by Prof. Bernal's personal secretary suggesting that the meeting should take place, that it should be in Brussels, and that the date should be a weekend during April, excluding the 18th/19th. Executive must decide whether to go ahead with the Meeting and, if we do, the dates and the names of the delegates.

In view of the amount of business to complete the Secretariat firmly suggests that the meeting should continue over 2 days according to the times quoted on the agenda.

With best wishes  
Yours fraternally

*Devi Prasad*                      *Tony Smythe*  
Devi Prasad                      Tony Smythe  
Secretaries

ENCLOSURES:

- ✓ 1. Executive Agenda (Council and Sections)
- ✓ 2. Future Programme (Council and Sections)
- ✓ 3. Robert Jungk's proposal (Council and Sections)
- 0 4. Swedish Encounter (Executive only)
- 0 5. Tony Smythe's conversations with Jose Smole (Executive only)
- 0 6. Draft Council Agenda (Executive only)

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

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FUTURE PROGRAMME

The 11th Triennial Conference, the Study Conference 1963 and Council Meeting No. 1 made several recommendations for the work of the International. We have now made a classified list of all these recommendations, with remarks about work done up to date and suggestions for future. We need a clear system of priorities, keeping in mind the time taken for correspondence, administration, the production of literature, etc. We need to define where responsibility ends for the Secretariat and begins for the Sections and local groups. Not one proposal can be implemented without co-operation at all levels. If the programme is to develop its own momentum, the Secretariat will need a constant stream of suggestions, advice, reports, offers of help for specific tasks, criticism and money from every possible source.

Note: Tr. Triennial Conference 1963  
C.M.1. Council Meeting 1963  
S.C. Study Conference 1963

1. RECOGNITION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION
  - a) To secure legal recognition of conscientious objection in all countries (Tr.)
  - b) Conscientious Objectors in G.D.R. (Tr).
  - c) Standing Advisory Panel of Experts on the Question of Conscientious Objection (C.M.1.)
  - d) Inclusion of Rights of Conscientious Objection to Military Service in the European Convention of Human Rights and Human Rights Commission of the U.N. (C.M.1.)

WORK DONE: (a) Assistance was given to the French campaign for recognition and alternative service. The Yugoslavian Embassy in London and the Yugoslavian League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples were approached. The First Secretary of the Yugoslavian Embassy in London has granted an interview to W.R.I. representatives on 17th February to discuss the question of young Nazarenes who have been given long prison sentences.

(b) Letters to Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of Ministers in the G.D.R. and copies of the letters to the German Peace Council.

(c) Letters to André Philip and Henri Rolin.

(d) Letters to the International League for the Rights of Man, the Special Commission for Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities at the U.N., the Human Rights Commission at U.N. and the European Convention of Human Rights.

SUGGESTIONS: A World Survey of Conscientious Objection to be prepared with analysis of existing laws in different countries, possibly by summer 1965. Summary of latest information on C.O. legislation in different countries should be sent to Sections for comments and corrections, keeping in view the proposed publication.

Study the question of civil conscription. - Develop Advisory Panel with, e.g. Sean McBride, Ernst Wolf.

2. WORLD CONFERENCE ON NON-VIOLENCE (Tr.)

WORK DONE: Memo by Danilo Dolci was sent to Sections and several experts on the subject for comments and suggestions. Further details have been worked out by Danilo.

SUGGESTIONS: Consider combining this with Robert Jungk's plan (enclosed) which has some features in common.

Compile a list of groups likely to be willing to undertake preparatory study and research.

3. RESEARCH AND DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMATION

a) Acquainting Sections about the Emergency Bill in Germany (Tr.)

WORK DONE: Memo by Harold Bing was sent to Sections before the Triennial Conference. A more detailed document is under preparation. Assistance given to Bert Bensen: who studied the subject and published an article in RESISTANCE, a Committee of 100 publication. Information collected from various sources in Germany.

SUGGESTIONS: Suggest to Sections and other movements to make a study of similar trends in their own countries.

b) Research into working methods of Sections; formation of a Peace Organisation Research Committee (Tr.)

WORK DONE: The matter was discussed by the I.C.D.P. Committee.

SUGGESTIONS: Suggest to I.C.D.P. to undertake such a project on a wider scale.

A Section or some independent research group should be asked to undertake a study of working methods of W.R.I. Sections.

c) History of the pacifist movement (C.M.I.)

WORK DONE: Pierre Martin's suggestion of giving financial help to a student who was working on such a project was taken up but had to be abandoned, as Pierre told assistance was no longer necessary.

SUGGESTIONS: This project cannot be taken up by the W.R.I. as such but several organisations could sponsor it jointly in co-operation with a peace research institute.

The W.R.I. should ask somebody to write the story of the W.R.I. in simple language. We suggest Harold Bing.

- d) Stimulating study of non-violence, community development and fundamental education (S.C.)

WORK DONE: Study Conference at Château de Charbonnières, documented report under preparation, attempts being made to get in touch with groups working on these lines.

SUGGESTIONS: Small regional group seminars on different aspects of non-violence should be encouraged and, if necessary, sponsored. Information to be collected about existing groups and seminars. A card index to be kept at Lansbury House.

- e) Booklet on bacteriological and chemical warfare (S.C.)

WORK DONE: Dimitrios Roussopoulos, whose suggestion this was and who had offered to help, was approached but no reply has been received.

SUGGESTIONS: The W.R.I. cannot sponsor such work but should be prepared to publish a useful pamphlet if at any time material for it is available.

- f) Bibliographies (S.C.)

WORK DONE: Lansbury House has published a small bibliography on Non-Violence, Peacemaking and Peace-Education and has assisted David Hoggett in the production of the bibliography on Non-Violence and Peacemaking. The W.R.I. has tried to encourage the production of peace bibliographies in different languages. Edmondo Marcucci had compiled a peace bibliography in Italian.

SUGGESTIONS: The W.R.I. should consider publishing David Hoggett's bibliography as a printed pamphlet.

- g) Assessment of international actions (S.C.)

SUGGESTIONS: Encourage evaluation by individuals and publicise their reports.

- h) Memo on individual membership and funds (C.M.I.)

WORK DONE: Secretariat discussing the outline of the memo.

SUGGESTIONS: When the memo is ready, Headquarter representatives to be asked to conduct discussions on it with 4-5 Sections and their individual members.

- i) The state of W.R.I. Sections (C.M.I.)

WORK DONE: A memo was prepared, discussed by the Executive and sent to Council members.

SUGGESTIONS: An assessment of the effectiveness of Sections should be made. If possible, Headquarters representatives should be asked to go and find out the actual situation and, whenever possible, to find new contacts.

#### 4. WORK IN AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA

- a) Volunteers with W.R.I. outlook to be sent to Africa for community development (Tr., C.M.I., S.C.)

- b) Scope of Relief Fund to be enlarged to include C.O.'s going to help in developing countries (Tr., C.M.I., S.C.)

WORK DONE: Pierre Martin was asked to send details of his project. His appeal for volunteers, which appeared in the Bulletin of the UNESCO Co-Ordinating Committee for International Work Camps, was reproduced in a W.R.I. news release.

SUGGESTIONS: Ask for special contributions for this purpose in the Annual Appeal.

- c) Encourage the formation of an organisation within UNESCO to launch a World Volunteer Peace Corps (S.C.)

- d) Contacting students from developing countries and introducing them to the concept of conscientious objection, non-violence and the possibilities of helping the development of their nations (S.C.)

SUGGESTIONS: Sections should be encouraged to take up this work in their own countries. A Study Seminar for Asian and African students - or two separate seminars - to be organised somewhere in Central Europe to discuss this question. Swiss and German Sections to be asked if they would be willing to organise the Seminar with the assistance of Lansbury House.

- e) Educating the public in non-African countries in the problems of Africa (S.C.)

SUGGESTIONS: This work is being done by several organisations with which Sections could co-operate.

- f) Support anti-apartheid movement (Tr., S.C.)

WORK DONE: Dockers' strikes have been supported and news releases sent out.

SUGGESTIONS: Keep in touch with organisations like Anti-Apartheid Movement and Africa Bureau and help in every possible way.

- g) Setting up of Centres in Africa (C.M.I., S.C.)

WORK DONE: Trying to find out how the W.R.I. could help in Council member Pierre Martin's work in Senegal.

SUGGESTIONS: There is a proposal to set up a Training Centre in North Rhodesia (A.F.S.C.). The W.R.I. should offer co-operation.

A Study Work Shop for a limited number of persons (10-12) working on community development projects in Africa to be organised. Its purpose should be to make an assessment of the work done by the participants and to draw common principles and, if possible, a programme for the next five years in their own areas.

- h) African student organisations to be approached for co-operation in protesting against Sahara tests by France (S.C.)

SUGGESTIONS: Sections and other movements to be encouraged to do this in their own countries.

NOTE: THE SECRETARIAT IS MAKING SPECIAL EFFORTS TO GET ADVICE AND CONTACTS FROM PEOPLE KNOWLEDGEABLE IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS. LETTERS ARE BEING SENT OUT TO SUCH PEOPLE. WE ARE ASKING FOR SUGGESTIONS AND ADDRESSES OF PEOPLE WHO COULD HELP. A SMALL CONFERENCE OF SUCH PEOPLE IN LONDON WOULD BE USEFUL. INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANISATIONS INTERESTED IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS ARE BEING CONSULTED. THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT HAS ASKED THE W.R.I. TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO QUARTERLY MEETINGS OF ITS NATIONAL COMMITTEE. WAITING FOR VICE CHAIRMAN DANILO DOLCI'S REPORT OF HIS AFRICAN VISIT.

5. ESTABLISHING NEW CONTACTS

a) Contacts with China and working for China's entry into U.N.  
(C.M.I., S.C.)

WORK DONE: Personal contact with Mr. Lee of Chinese Peace Committee.

SUGGESTIONS: Collect information about similar work being done by other individuals and organisations.

b) South America (C.M.I.)

WORK DONE: Efforts were made to find out the state of W.R.I. Sections there. Have contacted Lanza del Vasto who was expected to go there, also Jean and Hilda Goss-Mayr of the I.F.o.R. and the American F.o.R. which has special interest in South America. Also discussed the matter with Alf. Hassler and Glenn Smiley of the American F.o.R. on different occasions.

SUGGESTIONS: Somebody should be sent to South America for six months to explore possibilities of getting active contacts. Extensive preparations should be made before such a visit, such as making an index of contacts.

c) New groups in countries where none exist (S.C.)

WORK DONE: Efforts are being made to find out such possibilities in Ceylon.

SUGGESTIONS: Council member Narayan Desai, Marjorie Sykes or Radhakrishna to be asked to visit Ceylon and Indonesia.

6. CONTACTS WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

a) Exchange and bringing together of non-violent actionists and those in anti-war struggle and establishing a special fund for the purpose (Tr.) Exchange of workers to learn about each other's problems and ideas (S.C.)

WORK DONE: Assistance was given to New Delhi-Peking Friendship March in which people from Europe, India and Japan took part. Also helped the two Indians who walked from New Delhi to Washington.

SUGGESTIONS: Starting a long term triangular exchange programme of five people from each of the following: India, Europe and North America. Short term exchanges of workers on administrative and field work level can be very useful. Some of the European Sections should be encouraged to try a pilot project of such an exchange. Experiments carried out by the Turn Towards Peace in U.S.A. should be studied.

b) W.R.I./I.C.D.P. (Tr.)

WORK DONE: Tony Smythe has been a member of the Continuing Committee and represented the W.R.I. with Stiv Jakobsson at the Inaugural Conference in Sweden. Tony was elected a member of the I.C.D.P. Council and Executive.

SUGGESTIONS: The W.R.I. should try to operate through the I.C.D.P. as an integrated grouping within the broad independent peace movement. There should be close co-operation between these two organisations.

c) W.R.I./W.C.P. (Tr.)

WORK DONE: The Stavanger Statement was sent to the World Council of Peace and its associates. Herbert Gunneberg and Devi Prasad represented the W.R.I. at the W.C.P. Meeting in Warsaw. Discussions on the W.C.P. proposal for a joint meeting are going on. A special commission has been set up to discuss relations between the two organisations. A Statement is being prepared.

SUGGESTIONS: While making every effort to establish closer contacts, too much energy should not be spent on this.

d) World Peace Brigade (Tr.)

WORK DONE: Close contact was kept with the W.P.B., especially in connection with the New Delhi-Peking Friendship March. The W.R.I. Secretaries have helped in carrying out discussions within the Brigade circles on the future of the Brigade. Contacts have been maintained with the Asian and North American Sections of the W.P.B.

SUGGESTIONS: As the concept of World Peace Brigade is attracting many people, the Brigade should be given help to build itself up. The W.R.I. should help in co-ordinating some of the non-violence study groups which have been inspired by the idea of the W.P.B. and are working in different parts of Europe (Sweden, Holland, Italy and England).

e) Twining of peace groups in different countries (S.C.)

WORK DONE: Efforts have been made to put groups in direct touch with each other.

SUGGESTIONS: Sections do more to encourage this scheme.

f) Small groups to be drawn from different countries for regular discussion on particular problems - Correspondence organ for inter-group discussions (S.C.)

WORK DONE: Notice of individuals and groups has been occasionally drawn to this suggestion.

g) International news service by national movements (S.C.)

WORK DONE: Many W.R.I. Sections already have their journals and news services.

SUGGESTIONS: Continue W.R.I. news service and encourage I.P.B. or I.C.D.P. to take it over and expand it.

7. SPECIFIC ACTIONS, MEETINGS AND STUDY OF LOCAL CONFLICTS

a) Training Centres to be set up by Sections (S.C.)

WORK DONE: Whenever possible, Sections have been asked to organise seminars and study camps.

SUGGESTIONS: Work of groups already working in this direction ought to be made better known to local and national movements. The training programme of Turn Towards Peace should be circulated to Sections.

b) Sections should be encouraged to work for relaxation of tension in Central Europe and for negotiations between East and West Germany (S.C.)

WORK DONE: Contact maintained with Vancouver-Berlin March (Hans Sinn) and the Non-Violent Group in Berlin (Eberhard Grosser). IdK's letter offering help in connection with disarmament control was circulated to Sections.

SUGGESTIONS: Support Research Centre of Non-Violence in Berlin. Recommend April Carter's paper for the Tyringe Conference on Disengagement in Central Europe.

c) Meeting of Franco-German pacifists and work for disengagement in Central Europe (Tr.)

WORK DONE: The D.F.G., I.d.K. and the French and Belgian pacifist movements are joining in a mass demonstration in June 1964. It is also being proposed that international marches, such as London-Paris, Stockholm-Warsaw, Bonn-Paris be organised.

SUGGESTIONS: Assist above programmes, especially in co-ordinating different efforts.

d) Easter Marches (Tr.)

WORK DONE: Sections and groups are being put in touch with each other's programmes.

SUGGESTIONS: Support and publicise Easter Marches.

e) Study Conference in Poland (C.M.I.)

WORK DONE: The Polish Peace Committee will not be able to help in organising the Conference in 1964. It will, however, consider doing this in 1965.

f) Watching world trouble spots and studying some of them, such as Arab-Israeli relations and Berlin (Tr., C.M.I.)

WORK DONE: As per Council instructions, the recommendations made by the Triennial Conference on Arab-Israeli relations were sent to Sections. - Lansbury House produced a document on the Sino-Indian situation.

SUGGESTIONS: It is extremely important that situations like Kenya/Somalia, East Africa, Berlin, India/Pakistan, Cyprus should be studied with a view to making suggestions to the peace movement. Cyprus could be taken up as an immediate case and a person sent

to study the situation. Distribute information on these problems and encourage discussion.

Looking at the pages of the above list one can see that the trend seems to be towards initiating international action independently, which is fair enough. Nevertheless, a balance in activities must be maintained.

The work of the W.R.I. could thus be divided into the following categories:-

- a) Distribution of information to Sections;
- b) Co-ordinating their work and assistance;
- c) Organisation of conferences, preparation of literature, meeting and talking with groups, travel, etc;
- d) Contact with other peace organisations;
- e) Initiating international action independently.

☆☆☆☆

17.2.1964

ED 748-16-413

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

Tyringe, Sweden, January 9 - 13, 1964

BASIC CONFERENCE DOCUMENT

by Dr. Robert Jungk

The Peace Movements and the Future

INTRODUCTION: From Fear to Hope

There is little doubt about the remarkable change of mood in public opinion since the signature of the test ban treaty. The fear of physical damage (as a consequence of radiation generated by nuclear tests or the catastrophe of a nuclear war) has considerably lessened. The Peace Movement will have to take this into account if it wants to grow. The appeal to self-preservation, the mobilization of fear, will now find less response. I feel that this is the moment, when we should more than before, emphasize the feelings of hope for a disarmed, peaceful and more prosperous world. So far we have had to fight primarily a defensive battle. Now we should take the offensive and try to give the public sharper and more concrete pictures of the world that might be if the nations could get rid of even a part of their burden of armaments.

I "Invent" and Describe the "World we Want"

Generalities in the old style talking of general well-being, of the schools we might build and the fields we might plow will not do any more. It is a challenge and a worthwhile task for the peace movements to develop more detailed pictures of a peaceful world. Seymour Melman has made a beginning in that direction in his book The Peace Race, and more recently he has shown what could be done in peaceful ways if only a part of the U.S. defence budget were devoted to long-neglected public tasks. I propose that all peace movements united in the "Confederation" develop through research and discussion detailed national and international proposals, showing in graphic detail how the means wasted on armaments in their respective countries might be used for the peaceful development of their own nations and for the overdue help to economically underdeveloped countries. (By "means" I understand not only money, but also manpower wasted on military production and military service, raw materials, etc.)

II National and International Exhibitions: A World at Peace

In order to give these research and discussion groups a tangible goal I propose that they should prepare for a showing in 1965 (the "Year of World Cooperation") of national exhibitions emphasizing the subject of "A World at Peace". I propose that furthermore an international exhibition based on the same subject should be prepared to be held in London beginning in September 1965.

III No "Monolithic Programme" - Rather the Development of Variety

It seems important to me that our future-oriented discussions should not tend to present monolithic proposals. There may be very different images of a peaceful future; different groups will stress different goals, put different accents. This seems to me not harmful, but rather fruitful. We, as the non-aligned movements, have the advantage of being not bound by centralized directives. We should and could encourage the flowering of many different kinds of images and proposals, thereby helping the practitioners of politics to form ideas of an acceptable future.

#### IV Humanization of Technical Progress

Our fight against war, seen in a larger context, is the fight against the wrong use of scientific and technological progress. If we show the way in which mankind, by abandoning the burden of arms, can humanize technology by giving it new goals, we will march in the forefront of real progress. Here are a few areas which we might discuss, and where we might show our concern for the future:

##### (1) A World without Want

Proposals for national and international goals for the abolition of want.

##### (2) The Conquest and Distribution of Knowledge

Proposals for the widening and intensification of research, teaching and learning.

##### (3) Living with Technology

Proposals for fighting the damaging side effects of developed technology (smoke, noise, water pollution, psychological damage through dehumanized working techniques in office and factory, coping with the automobile i.e. urban renewal, mass amusement against productive leisure)

##### (4) Democratic Participation in National and International Life

Ideas about political control, arms control, peaceful change, new institutions for peaceful arbitration of international conflict.

##### (5) Projects for International Cooperation

Scientific and Technological Projects involving international co-operation (for instance, Health projects, the fight against arid areas, oceanographic studies, etc.)

#### V Mass Movement for a "Better World".

UNESCO, the Pugwash Movement, the "Centre International de la Prospective", Twentieth Century Fund, Carnegie Foundation, etc. are moving into a similar direction, but they are cut off from the mass of ordinary people. We should try to work in close contact with them and give them what they lack most: a mass movement fighting for a better world.

#### VI Contact with the "World Peace Council"

We may differ with the World Peace Council about the ways to attain a better world. But I feel we will probably agree with the WPC on many of the goals we are striving for. I feel the WPC should be informed about our aim to formulate, sketch out, develop concrete and positive goals for a World at Peace and (maybe only at a more advanced stage) be asked to participate in our international exhibition.

War Resisters' International  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex, England

11.2.64

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONALA G E N D A

22.2.64

for Executive Committee Meeting No.3 to be held at 88, Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex from 2 p.m. - 6 p.m. on Saturday, 22nd February and 10 a.m. - 4 p.m. (approx.) on Sunday, 23rd February, 1964

APOLOGIESAPPROVAL OF AGENDA1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO.2 (15.12.63)2. FINANCE:

- (a) Current Statement
- (b) Approval of Expenditure
- (c) Relief Fund - Italy
- (d) Financial Appeal 1964
- (e) Office Equipment

3. STAFF4. FUTURE PROGRAMME (see attached document)5. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION (publication)6. AFRICAN PROJECT:

- (a) Report and general discussion
- (b) C.O. volunteers
- (c) Letter from Anti-Apartheid Movement
- (d) Theodore Kloppenburg's legal fund
- (e) Danilo Dolci's African tour

7. WORLD CONFERENCE ON PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE8. COUNCIL MEETING 1964:

- (a) Arrangements
- (b) Agenda

9. STUDY CONFERENCE 196410. FRANCO-GERMAN COOPERATION11. CONSTITUTION AND MEMBERSHIP12. WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE (Meeting with W.R.I.)13. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE (Request for assistance)14. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE:

- (a) Reports
- (b) W.R.I.'s obligations

15. NAZARENES16. REQUEST FROM SOCIETE EUROPEENNE DE CULTURE17. CYPRUS SITUATION18. COMMONWEAL TRUST LIBRARY19. LOUIS LECOIN FOR NOBEL PEACE PRIZE20. REVIEW OF PRESENT STATE OF SECTIONS - further comments21. TIMETABLE FOR SUMMER PROGRAMME

(I.P.B., U.E.A., Study Conference, etc.)

22. DATE OF NEXT MEETING23. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 3

held at

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield on Saturday and Sunday, 22nd and 23rd February, 1964

9.3.64

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman); Joyce Runham Brown (Hon.Treas.)  
Hugh Brock, Herbert Günneberg, Niels Mathiesen,  
Michael Randle. Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe

APOLOGIES: Hugh Brock and Herbert Günneberg could not attend on Saturday.

AGENDA: The circulated Agenda was approved with additions as recorded in these Minutes.

1. MINUTES:

The Minutes of Executive Meeting No. 2 (15.12.63) were approved with one correction (Saturday, not Sunday, 9th May for date of next meeting) and signed by the Chairman.

MATTERS ARISING FROM THE MINUTES:

"War Resistance" Meeting No.2 Minute 7

It had still not been possible to set up an editorial working group in London but Roy Kepler and Pierre Martin had agreed to be corresponding editors. A typographer, Ken Campbell, had designed the front cover for the last edition and would continue to help.

Bertrand Russell 2 (12)

It had not been possible for Tony Smythe to meet Russell as was intended.

Aldous Huxley 2 (16)

No reply had been received from Gerald Heard who had been asked to write an appreciation.

Bibliography 2 (18)

The P.P.U. had been approached and the matter would be placed before its Executive Committee.

2. FINANCE:

(a) Current Statement

Albert Billett's report, which was accepted, showed a bank balance of £200.6.10. in Account No.1 and 19s/1d. in Account No.2

at the 30th January 1964. The approximate bank balance at the 21st February was £125.15.11.

(b) Approval of Expenditure

Amounts totalling £618.7.10. from December 3rd which had been paid were endorsed and authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding bills totalling £139.2.0. as and when the money became available.

(c) Relief Fund - Italy

Further enquiries about the family of Leonardo Rutigliano had been made and the father had said that naturally he would appreciate another grant. However it was not known whether the birth of a child would enable Rutigliano to gain exemption now. It was pointed out that he is a Jehovah's Witness and expenditure would be preferable to a pacifist C.O. whose case might bring legal recognition nearer. It was agreed to make further enquiries about Rutigliano's circumstances. The Secretaries were authorised to send another £5 if necessary.

Relief Fund - South Africa

An appeal had been received from Theodore Kloppenburg, the W.R.I.'s main contact in the Union of South Africa, for help with the legal costs of his appeal against a banning order under the Suppression of Communism Act. Organisations in Britain had been asked to help and contributions would be channelled through the Christian Aid Defence Fund. Outside Britain contributors would be asked to send directly to the W.R.I. or its financial agents. The W.R.I. would send money collected in this way to Alan Paton's Fund in South Africa as requested. Agreed a contribution of £50 from the Relief Fund.

(d) Financial Appeal 1964

Members studied a draft of the proposed text for the Appeal and made minor suggestions and alterations. At Niels Mathiesen's suggestion it was agreed to send out with the Appeal a pledge form which would enable contributors to give money for specific purposes. The donor would authorise the Treasurer to transfer the contribution in the event of a sufficient amount not being received or if the project were abandoned. The contributions would be made annually and reminders would be sent out for April 1st and October 1st. Agreed to send out a banker's order form to the British mailing list and to try and make similar arrangements in other countries. Agreed to point out that a 5/- subscription only covered the basic cost of mailing WAR RESISTANCE and that 10/- would be suggested as a minimum contribution to the funds. Agreed to advertise in French journals. Agreed to investigate the use of collecting boxes and to carry out a pilot scheme. Agreed to reduce considerably mailing to individuals who had never made contributions.

(e) Office Equipment

Agreed to purchase a secondhand chair for Tony Smythe's office and to purchase a card index system costing not more than

£10. If additional expenditure were involved the matter would be referred back to the Executive Committee. The question of buying a new addressograph was discussed. Authorisation was given to make the purchase if the present machine broke down completely.

### 3. STAFF

Changes in the pay and holiday system suggested by the Secretaries were accepted. New rates coming into force on 28th February:

Lily Billett £9.0.0. per week. Holidays - 4 weeks with pay.

May Way £8.13.0. for 4 days or £6.15.0 for 3 days. Holidays - 3 weeks with pay, one week unpaid.

Marjatta Bryan £8.0.0. for 4 days. Holidays - 3 weeks with pay, one week unpaid.

Albert Billett £5.15.0. per week (part time). Holidays - 3 weeks with pay, one week unpaid.

Kathleen Phillips £4.4.0. for 2 days.

Personal leave system to be abolished except at the discretion of the two Secretaries. All holidays to be completed by November 1st. Holiday dates to be fixed if possible by Easter. Overtime to be agreed in advance with the Secretaries and Treasurer.

The Treasurer's suggestion that when budgeting for the new financial year allowance should be made for an increase in the salaries of the two Secretaries was accepted.

### 4. FUTURE PROGRAMME

A document containing the various decisions taken and suggestions made at W.R.I. Conferences in 1963 had been circulated to Council members and Sections. It included summaries of work done. Detailed discussion was not possible but it was agreed to ask the Council members to select and consider priorities. The document or a revised version of it would provide the basis for the main discussion at the Council Meeting.

### 5. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

The Secretaries proposed that the W.R.I. should undertake an authoritative and comprehensive study of civil and military conscription, Conscientious Objector laws and the relationship between war resistance and the principle of individual liberty in the face of growing state control. Agreed in principle to publish a book on the subject if possible before the end of 1965. The W.R.I. would continue to collect relevant material but different writers would be asked to participate in the project. The need was for (a) an analysis of current regulations governing conscientious objection; (b) the historical background; and (c) the philosophical implications.

It was possible that more than one publication was needed and that the regulations should be published separately. The

project would probably cost over £600. An attempt would be made to find a commercial publisher.

6. AFRICAN PROJECT

(a) The Secretariat had approached a number of individuals for advice. Detailed information had not yet been received from Pierre Martin in Senegal. A full discussion was deferred to the next meeting.

(b) No further progress had been made in finding suitable projects for C.O. volunteers nor for contacting suitable individuals.

(c) Good contact had been established with the British Anti-Apartheid Movement which was linked to a world campaign. The W.R.I. had been invited to send a representative to Council meetings every three months and it was agreed that one of the Secretaries should attend.

(d) Danilo Dolci would not be reporting on his African tour until his return at the end of the month.

7. WORLD CONFERENCE ON PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE

At the Conference of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace in Sweden Robert Jungk of Austria had submitted a suggestion for an international exhibition with the theme "A World at Peace". During discussions the idea had been developed further to include a conference and the setting up of study and research groups. In some respects the proposal had similarities with that made by Danilo Dolci at the last Council Meeting. Discussions had taken place between the W.R.I. Secretaries and Gerry Hunnius of the I.C.D.P. and they had reached the conclusion that Dolci and Jungk should try to meet to discuss the relationship between the two projects during the I.C.D.P.'s Executive meeting due to take place in Geneva on the 15th/16th March. All relevant documents and summaries of the discussions have been sent to both of them. Herbert Günneberg expressed doubts as to whether the projects were in fact related. Agreed to encourage Danilo to attend the meeting in Geneva and to see if a synthesis could be arrived at. It was recognised that both projects would require a great deal of work and money and that it was unlikely that they could be run separately but simultaneously. If a synthesis were not possible the deferment of the World Conference on Non-Violence until 1967 should be considered. Agreed to collect information on relevant research work now being carried out. It was pointed out that to date there had been very little response to Danilo's proposal but the Executive remained convinced that the project was of prime importance.

8. COUNCIL MEETING 1964

(a) Arrangements

The meeting would start on the evening of 28th July with

an Executive meeting and would continue until breakfast on Sunday 2nd August. Members would be able to remain over Sunday night at their own expense. On the afternoon of the 1st August there would be a meeting with the National Committees of all three German Sections. In the evening there would be a public meeting in Frankfurt, organised by the V.K. Agreed to ask one observer from each Section to the Council meeting. Agreed May Way should be asked to attend for reporting and that the services of one or two voluntary typists be asked for. Translators would be needed for Danilo Dolci and Jean van Lierde. Michael Randle agreed to approach Esther Peters for Italian and Tony Smythe's suggestion that a young Irish member, Francis Skeffington, should be asked to take over Alfred Tucker's responsibilities was accepted.

(b) Draft Agenda submitted by the Secretaries was accepted and is enclosed with the Minutes.

(c) The suggestion was made that translating equipment be purchased for general use and hire. Agreed to approach individuals in the German movement for a donation. The question of tape recordings of the last two Triennial Conferences was raised and Tony Smythe was asked to have the recordings edited. Particularly important were Bayard Rustin's and Danilo Dolci's speeches at the Gandhigram.

9. STUDY CONFERENCE 1964

Niels Mathiesen brought a suggestion from the Swiss Section for a conference centre in the Jura mountains which would be available in the last week of August, a date which clashed with the I.P.B. Conference in Norway. An alternative suggestion, which was accepted, was put forward by Herbert Günneberg on behalf of the V.K. The V.K. was prepared to handle the organisation in Germany of a conference on the Non-Violent Solution of Conflict, from the 9th to the 15th August. Executive suggested that the topic should be made much more specific by concentrating on Berlin and the German problem. Berlin was suggested as a suitable place. Hans Sinn, who was engaged in the setting-up of a non-violent research institute there, could be asked for assistance. Devi Prasad would be responsible for the organisation internationally.

10. FRANCO-GERMAN CO-OPERATION

Herbert Günneberg reported:

(a) Emile Bauchet of the Union Pacifiste de France had called a Conference for European Pacifists to take place in Brussels on Whit Sunday and Whit Monday 1964 (May 17th-18th). The W.R.I. had helped distribute information about the proposal and had encouraged discussion but Executive felt that the Conference should not set up yet another international body. Members of the German movement would be attending.

(b) Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft was organising a "European Week for Mutual Understanding" from Saturday 27th June to Sunday 5th July. Harold Bing and Linus Pauling had agreed to take part

as speakers. The West German women's organisation would be co-operating and it was hoped that there would be participation from East and West. The programme was as follows:-

- 27th June Panel discussion in Düsseldorf
- 28th " Boat departs 9 a.m. from Köln to Linz-am-Rhein  
Linz 14.00-16.30  
Return to Köln for a mass meeting 19.30
- 29th " München
- 30th " Hamburg
- 1st July Press Conference
- 2nd " Bonn
- 3rd " Essen
- 5th " Frankfurt

Executive wholeheartedly supported the project, was glad that Harold Bing could participate and agreed to help with publicity.

(c) During the Brussels Anti-Nuclear March on the 15th March there would be a special Belgian-German meeting from 14.00 to 16.00 organised by Arno Hamers. French pacifists would also be encouraged to attend.

## 11. CONSTITUTION AND MEMBERSHIP

A memorandum had not yet been prepared because the Secretaries had had difficulty in resolving general questions of principle into constitutional terms. It was agreed that there were two problems involved - representation on Council and methods of involving individuals interested in W.R.I. work without undermining the status of Sections or flouting the Constitution. Harold Bing said there were two points of view about Council: (1) The method of election was wrong because 5 individuals could make nominations and therefore split the vote on candidates from a particular country or Section; (2) The present system was largely satisfactory because members were elected on individual merits. However, if this were the case, the opportunities for individual membership in the W.R.I. should be greatly extended. The difficulties were how to contact and how to avoid competing for members with Sections. Devi Prasad disagreed with the insistence on the principle of one Section for one country and said that the emphasis should be on local groups and that we should be prepared to take into affiliation as many of such groups as possible. The degree of co-operation was not dependent upon whether an organisation was affiliated or not. The view of Executive was that Council should be elected on an individual basis but that co-option could be used to ensure an even representation of Sections and regions. Constitutional changes should be kept to a minimum because they usually involved debate out of all proportion to their importance. The W.R.I., however, was changing and so was the status

of its various national Sections. This should be recognised and avenues for new development should be kept open. It was agreed that a memorandum should be prepared assessing the various points of view in order that the Council could arrive at a clear decision.

12. WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The W.C.P. had been late in responding to letters from the Secretariat on arrangements for a joint meeting in February. Walter Diehl, the W.C.P. Secretary responsible for international contact, had not used the opportunity at the Tyringe Conference to discuss arrangements with Tony Smythe. However, a telephone call had been received from Professor Bernal's Secretary, Andrew Walker, who said that the W.C.P. were anxious to undertake a meeting in April. Agreed to press that the meeting be in London 25th-26th April, but if that were not possible, Brussels was acceptable. Harold Bing, Niels Mathiesen, Devi Prasad, Michael Randle, Herbert Stubenrauch and Jean van Lierde were suggested for the W.R.I. delegation.

One meeting of the Commission to discuss W.C.P.-W.R.I. relations had been held and a report was being prepared. Documents by Homer Jack and Theodor Michaltscheff had been circulated. The original intention had been that there should be an exchange of documentation before the meeting with the W.C.P. and this would still be useful.

The situation created by the announcement that there would be Easter demonstrations in the D.D.R. was discussed. If it were not handled correctly it could cause grave embarrassment to independent West German organisations. The Secretariat had already corresponded about this matter with Andreas Buro, Secretary of the Easter March Committee, and various organisations in Britain and Germany. Agreed that the Secretariat should continue to encourage independent organisations outside West Germany to send delegations with suitable literature to participate in the programme of the Freie Deutsche Jugend and the Deutscher Friedensrat. If there was no response the W.R.I. should consider organising an international contingent. It was important that a unilateralist viewpoint be put by qualified individuals whether or not invitations from the D.D.R. were received.

13. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

A letter had been received from the Chairman, Michael Scott, Hugh Brock and Barnaby Martin, former secretary of the European Regional Council, asking the W.R.I. to receive and handle World Peace Brigade correspondence until the future of the Brigade was decided upon at a meeting in March. Agreed.

14. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

(a) Tony Smythe referred members to his report on the Tyringe Conference in WAR RESISTANCE. Hugh Brock and Niels Mathiesen, who had also attended, gave their impressions which

were favourable. There was a discussion on the rôle of the I.C.D.P. in a situation where nuclear disarmament movements were on the decline. Pacifists could perhaps have pressed for consideration of non-violent solutions to international conflict situations as a more realistic alternative than some of the more limited proposals agreed upon at the Conference. The main function of the I.C.D.P. in the early stages was one of servicing and co-ordination. However, it should be recognised that there was the possibility of a gradual development towards common policies and common action in the international peace movement which should be encouraged. The creation of the Confederation meant that organisations like the W.R.I. should define their own fields of responsibility very clearly. The question of competition for affiliations should not arise and the W.R.I. should strive to create a functional group of pacifists and non-violent organisations working within the general framework of the Confederation. The W.R.I. could both interpret the radical policies of such a group to the rest of the peace movement and could also relate the activities of other organisations to those policies. The full report and documentation of the Conference would soon be available from the I.C.D.P. Headquarters, 3 Hendon Lane, Finchley, London, N.3, U.K.

(b) The W.R.I.'s annual affiliation fee would be £5 as an international organisation with more than two affiliates in the I.C.D.P. Its obligations extended beyond this, however. Tony Smythe had been elected to the Council and the Executive of the I.C.D.P. and would also be on the administrative working group in London. The I.C.D.P. had asked that the W.R.I. pay his fares to meetings for one year. It was recognised that the cost involved, including time spent, would amount to as much as £200. This should be regarded as the W.R.I.'s contribution to the development of the I.C.D.P. The future of the I.C.D.P. could not be foreseen but at this stage it promised to be a valuable contribution to the development of a truly international and well-integrated peace movement. The travel in the near future would include attendance at an Executive meeting in Geneva on the 15th March and a Council meeting in Florence in June.

15. NAZARENES

A report from Tony Smythe on his conversation with José Smole of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples had been circulated to Executive members. Mr. Smole had made several enquiries in Yugoslavia and appeared to think that something could be done for the Nazarenes. Both Secretaries had been to see the First Secretary of the Embassy in London and he too promised to make enquiries and arrange for further interviews.

16. REQUEST FROM SOCIÉTÉ EUROPEENNE DE CULTURE

The Société had asked Harold Bing if it could use his name and the name of the W.R.I. for an appeal for peace and understanding to be sent to intellectuals throughout the world. Agreed.

17. CYPRUS SITUATION

A long discussion took place on the Cyprus situation and on its implications for the peace movement. There was a lack of inside information and it was difficult to know if any appropriate action could be taken from outside. Agreed to explore the possibility of sending one or two individuals to Cyprus to analyse the situation and suggest a possible rôle for peace workers in such situations. Michael Scott's name was mentioned and the Secretaries were asked to make an approach to him. The assistance of other organisations would be sought.

18. COMMONWEAL TRUST LIBRARY

The Library, which was in the hands of David Hoggett, would need to be accommodated if David went to live in Italy. Agreed that room should be offered at Lansbury House but that no additional work or expense could be undertaken and the Commonwealth Trust should provide for its running.

19. LOUIS LECOIN FOR NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

According to information given by Alfred Tucker, French pacifists were interested in supporting the nomination of Louis Lecoin. The Executive welcomed the initiative and agreed to give the necessary support. Niels Mathiesen was asked to prepare a memorandum on the procedure for electing Nobel prize winners for future reference.

20. REVIEW OF PRESENT STATE OF SECTIONS

There was no further discussion on this subject.

21. CONFERENCES

Executive noted the coming International Conference of Youth and Students for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence in Florence from 26th February to 1st March. An invitation had been received and Aldo Putelli would be asked to suggest a suitable Italian member to observe on the W.R.I.'s behalf.

An invitation had also been received to attend the Conference on "The Nordic countries - an atom-free zone" in Stockholm on March 14th/15th. The Secretariat was asked to write to Stiv Jakobsson to suggest a suitable person to act as observer for the W.R.I. It was recognised that this was an important occasion and deserved the support of the international peace movement.

22. QUEBEC/GUANTANAMO MARCH

The Secretariat reported on events in Albany where the marchers had been imprisoned for some weeks and some of them

were facing grave consequences to their health as a result of fasting. A news release had been issued with an appeal for action. The news had been channelled through PEACE NEWS and Hugh Brock said that it would have been more appropriate to send it directly to the W.R.I.

23. TIMETABLE FOR SUMMER PROGRAMME

After the Council Meeting Harold Bing would attend the Esperanto Congress from the 2nd-8th August and would organise a W.R.I. meeting there. The Study Conference, attended by Devi Prasad, would follow from the 9th-15th August. The I.P.B. was organising a Conference the last week of August on "Alternatives to Violence in International and National Conflict." Tony Smythe would represent the W.R.I. at the Bureau Meeting and if possible at the Conference for the Editors of Peace Publications which would take place either the week before or the week after.

24. IMMIGRATION CONTROL

Disquiet was expressed at the inconvenience suffered by Niels Mathiesen going through Immigration Control on his way to the meeting. The matter will be watched carefully and if necessary further investigations made.

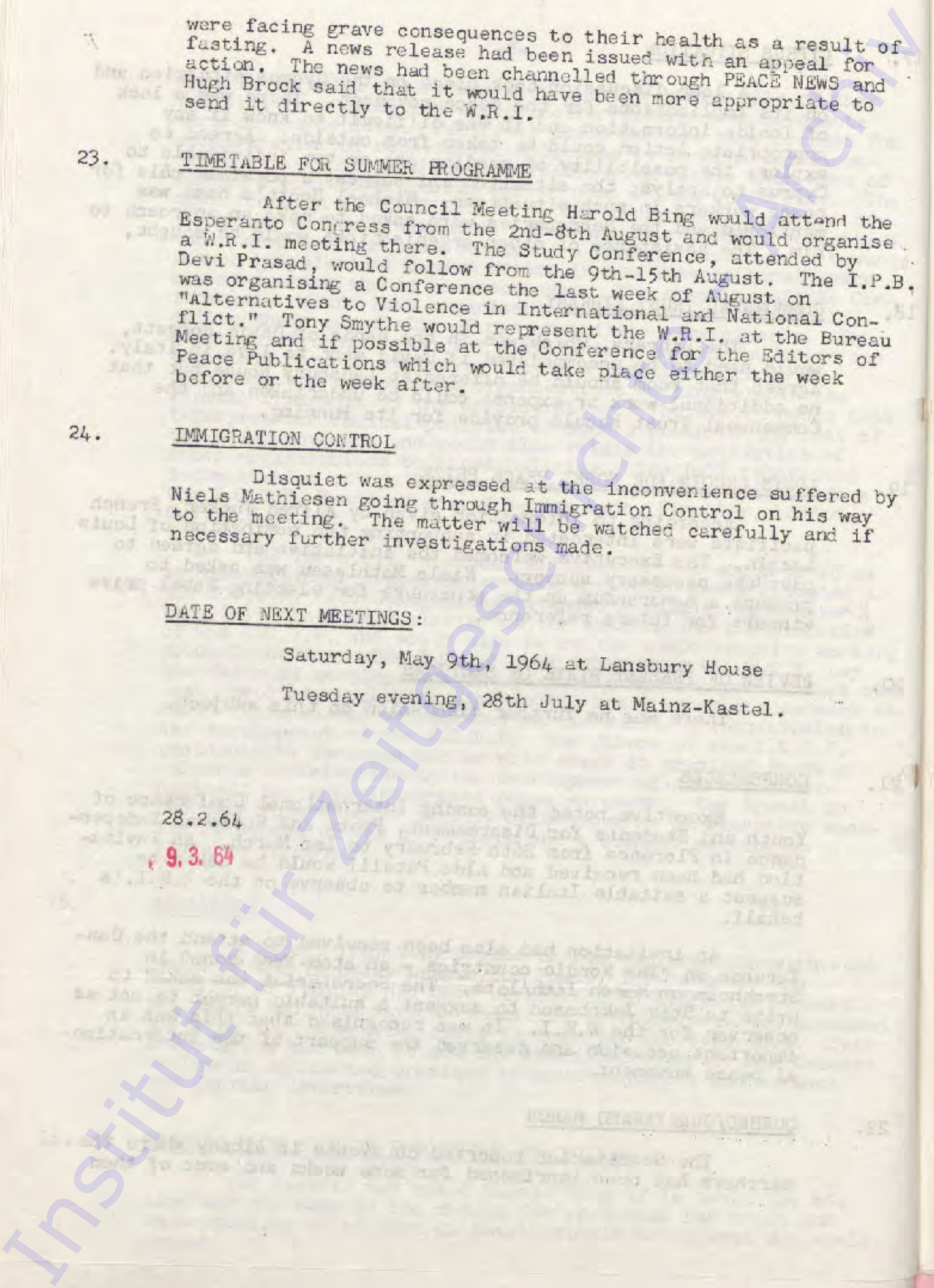
DATE OF NEXT MEETINGS:

Saturday, May 9th, 1964 at Lansbury House

Tuesday evening, 28th July at Mainz-Kastel.

28.2.64

9.3.64



ED 748-16-220

WAR RESISTANCE INTERNATIONAL

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONT I-F, Hatfield

Telephone: LABURUM 3977

88 Park Avenue  
Hatfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND

9.3.64

2nd March, 1964

LETTER TO COUNCIL MEMBERS AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

We would like to draw your attention to some of the matters referred to in the Minutes.

1. FINANCE

As well as asking for contributions in the normal way, the Secretariat will be carrying out an experimental project contributions scheme. If this is to succeed it will need the support of Sections and we hope that they will agree to distribute copies of the pledging form to local groups. We intend to stop sending WAR RESISTANCE to many of the people on our mailing list who have never paid a subscription. As a result the list may be cut by some two or three thousand. If the International is to maintain interest and be in touch with a wide enough circle of peace workers, it will again need the assistance of the Sections in building another list on more solid foundations. Please publicise WAR RESISTANCE in your own journals.

The Executive agreed to give £50 towards Theodore Kloppenburg's legal expenses, which may amount to as much as £700. We hope that Sections and individual members will do their share in this important action of solidarity.

2. FUTURE PROGRAMME

A document summarising the future programme we are committed to has already been circulated. We hope that you will give it your careful consideration and that you will feel free to make suggestions and additions. You should be reminded that the programme did not cover all the activities of the International but only those which have been discussed at recent conferences. The general work of servicing and co-ordinating still goes on.

3. DEMONSTRATIONS IN EAST GERMANY

There are conflicting views about this matter but Executive considered that on balance it was worth advising Sections and other independent organisations to consider sending delegations or individuals to take part and make clear the unilateralist case. We would be grateful for information on any action you decide to take. The matter is a crucially important one for the West German movement and at least deserves thorough discussion.

4. COUNCIL MEETING

The draft Agenda is enclosed. We hope that Sections will participate in the final decision on matters to be discussed.

5. STUDY CONFERENCE

The dates of the Conference are given in the Minutes. This means that preliminary publicity can now be issued with a view to persuading as many young members of Sections to go as possible. A suggestion has been made that the Conference be held in West Berlin. We will be issuing information about other conferences, seminars and work camps likely to be of interest.

6. CYPRUS

No further action on Cyprus has been taken since the Executive meeting. This will be a matter of priority in the next week or two and we would appreciate any help you can give in the way of advice, financial help and suggestions for personnel. Cyprus is a rather typical extreme-conflict situation which calls for new techniques of conciliation. Perhaps if a sufficiently detailed study is undertaken and if the approach is based on non-violence, in the future pacifists will be able to intervene in such situations with more confidence and make realistic attempts at finding solutions.

7. ENTRY INTO BRITAIN

We would like information on other incidents similar to that experienced by Niels Mathiesen. Travel between countries is not a privilege but a right in our view.

Yours sincerely,

*Devi Prasad Tony Smythe*

Devi Prasad                      Tony Smythe  
Secretaries

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

ED 718-16-221

28.7.64

9.3.64

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

DRAFT AGENDA

for Council Meeting No. 2 to be held at Mainz-Kastel, near Frankfurt/Main, West Germany, from the evening of Tuesday, 28th July to breakfast, August 2nd, 1964

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APOLOGIES

APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING NO.1 (31.7.63)
2. APPROVAL OF CONFERENCE MINUTES
3. EXECUTIVE MINUTES
4. FINANCE:

- (a) Current Statement
- (b) Audited Accounts 1963/64
- (c) Estimates 1964/65
- (d) Fund-Raising and Prospects

5. SECRETARIES' REPORT AND FUTURE PROGRAMME

6. MEMBERSHIP - Relationship with Sections and Constitution

7. RECOGNITION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

- (a) Relief
- (b) Future plans
- (c) Publication

8. REPORTS:

- (a) Meeting with World Council of Peace
- (b) International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace
- (c) World Peace Brigade
- (d) Franco/German Co-operation
- (e) Contact with China

9. WORLD CONFERENCE ON PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE

10. STUDY CONFERENCE 1965

11. AFRICA:

- (a) General Discussion
- (b) Specific Projects

12. COUNCIL MEETING 1965

13. CONFERENCE 1966

14. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

PEACE-WORKERS EXCHANGE PROGRAMME -

INDIA, EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

I need not go into a long preface, as we are all quite aware of the need for establishing closer working contact between different peace movements. The experience of the New Delhi-Peking Friendship March has reiterated the urgent need for better understanding between the Indian and Western movements. Broadly speaking, there are three main streams in the international peace movement - American, European and Indian. They have their own special features. We all know that, if an international integrated peace movement is to be built up, all these three should understand each other and learn from one another. Up to now there has not been much working contact between them. If I may be allowed here to put my personal feelings derived from secondhand experience, I would say that even a project like the Friendship March, instead of building a bridge between Western and Indian movements, has not helped in narrowing the gap as much as was expected. Sometimes I feel that in reality it has perhaps widened the gap. If this is true, one of the reasons is that there is a tremendous lack of understanding of social and political characteristics. There is even lack of information about each other's movements. Could we now build up this understanding? The following is an effort towards this goal.

Every year five volunteers from Europe are to be sent to India and five to the U.S.A., the U.S.A. and India in their turn to do the same. What will they do? To explain this I had better give an example. The five volunteers who would come from India to Europe would have a planned programme for one year. Before leaving India they should undergo a thorough study programme. They should study the social and political conditions of their own country and the non-violent movement. A correspondence course should be organised to provide them with some understanding of the peace movement in the West. This course would include subjects like the following: history and philosophy of the pacifist and anti-militarist movement, knowledge of existing peace movements in the West, particularly in Europe, knowledge of some of those movements which are not directly involved in anti-militarism, knowledge of movements specially working for social development, introduction to social traditions of Europe, fair knowledge of the history and geography of Europe, etc. This will have to be worked out in precise details, keeping in mind the particular groups in relation to the regions they will be going to.

While in Europe the volunteers would spend their time in a planned manner with as many different peace movements as possible - discussing, participating in local and international actions, attending seminars, etc. During 9-10 months of their stay in Europe they would be doing this probably in twos, but the whole group should meet two or three times during that period. Some time during the latter part of their visit the Indians should join the Americans, who would also be staying in Europe under the same scheme, in a seminar, together with some Europeans.

The correspondence courses for the different groups must be planned in the form of a syllabus, followed by some sort of assess-

ment of the individual's capacity to learn from new situations. One or two people each from India, Europe and U.S.A. should be jointly responsible for conducting the project, keeping always in close contact with each other. Visits from different regions should be co-ordinated as closely as possible. To begin with, perhaps a pilot scheme of two volunteers from each region for 1964-1965 should be carried out. I should think that if the major movements take up the idea, there would not be too much difficulty in finding the money and the right kind of volunteers.

Devi Prasad

Issued by:

War Resisters' International  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
England.

15.4.64

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

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TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

17th April, 1964

22.4.64

Dear Friends,

The Agenda for the next Executive Committee Meeting is enclosed. Please send your comments and suggestions immediately.

We should like to remind you that we had asked for suggestions and comments on the document "Future Programme". The next Executive Committee Meeting and the Council Meeting should discuss future programme and actions and, as most of our work depends on the activities of the Sections, we think that your active participation in taking decisions is of extreme importance.

No comments have yet been received at Lansbury House on the Draft Agenda of the next Council Meeting.

Time and time again we have asked for reports of actions of W.R.I. Sections but we are rather disappointed because so little information has been sent to us. It has been gratifying, though, to notice that several Sections have found our news releases useful. We hope more Sections will make use of them. Why can't we go beyond and have an International Article Service? Many excellent articles, which could be useful if printed in several languages, remain available only to a limited readership. They could prove most useful, if translated and printed in other regions. We could help in this to a considerable extent.

It has now been decided that the W.R.I. Study Conference 1964 will be held at Naturfreundhaus, near Offenbach, Frankfurt/Main, from 9th - 15th August. The theme will, very appropriately, be Non-Violent Solution of Conflict with special reference to Germany and Berlin. This will give participants, especially those from outside Germany, a very good opportunity to learn more about the German situation. The international peace movement and especially the European movements have a special responsibility to do their best to find a solution for this very complex problem. We hope that at least a few of your members will be able to participate. Please publicise the Conference as much as possible in your own country so that many young people will have a chance to hear about it.

Yours sincerely,

*Devi Prasad*  
Devi Prasad

Secretaries

*Tony Smythe*  
Tony Smythe

C O N F I D E N T I A L

ED 748-16-224

15.4.64

22.4.64

WRI

REPORT ON MY VISIT TO EAST BERLIN

- April Carter

The W.R.I. has asked me to make a brief report on my visit to Berlin over Easter to speak to a group in East Berlin.

The invitation came from the Evangelische Akademie in East Berlin. The Academy were holding a conference over Easter and wanted a speaker from England to explain the Easter March movement to them. The invitation came through to W.R.I., who asked me to go.

In my talk I tried to do the following:

- (a) outline the salient features in the history of the British movement since 1958; the Aldermaston Marches, the impact on the trade unions and the Labour Party, the rise of the Committee of 100, the agitation against the Polaris base, etc.
- (b) to emphasise the international repercussions of the campaign and to sketch in international developments, with some emphasis on international actions like the Moscow march and the aid the British movement has given to campaigners in Greece and West Germany (Dortmund) last Easter.
- (c) to outline the policies of the British nuclear disarmament movement, especially non-alignment and unilateralism.
- (d) to explain the methods and the ideas behind them of both CND and the Committee of 100, the potentialities of marches, sit-downs, etc.
- (e) to explain the moral and political rationale behind unilateralism and its relevance to an international movement (I made clear this was a personal interpretation)
- (f) to make clear that the international campaign ought to extend into East Europe, the need for making contact and talking with people especially, and the eagerness of campaigners in the West to do so.

The audience was about 25 people (in some ways Easter was not the best time as the Akademie's conferences are usually larger) and extremely interested. Many took down my speech almost word for word. It was translated for me by Hans Sinn, the initiator of the Vancouver March who is now in West Berlin. I also left the text of my speech with the Chairman plus some information about the campaign.

At this meeting Hans Sinn received other invitations to speak both publicly and informally. He has been addressing other meetings. There is a great deal of scope in Berlin for making such contacts, and more freedom than I had realised. The Akademie (which also exists in West Berlin) has a reputation for encouraging frank political discussion. I'm told Prof. Havemann, the long standing Communist professor at Humboldt University who has recently been publicly calling for greater freedom in the DDR, is associated with it.

I got the impression people at the meeting were not only very isolated from the West, but very anxious to know about the campaign and to identify with it, and to consider action within their own situation. They seemed very grateful to me for taking time to come and speak, and I felt it was an important gesture of solidarity, which demonstrated the possibility of more important action.

15.4.64

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## POLICY STATEMENT

11. 5. 64

for the joint meeting of the  
War Resisters' International and the World Council of  
Peace representatives

3rd - 4th October, 1964

The division of the peace movement has been one of its fundamental weaknesses. The W.R.I. feels that a new attempt should be made to clarify the approaches of different organisations with a view to finding areas of practical co-operation. There is always a temptation for organisations to harden their attitudes to one another, to fail to take account of changed attitudes, to have a rehearsed response to views put forward by other organisations and to be complacent about their own position. We feel that it is important to guard against this, and to keep the lines of communication open.

In the past co-operation between the W.R.I. and the W.C.P. has been confined largely to an exchange of literature. During recent years the W.R.I. has attempted to establish a closer relationship. In July 1959 a delegation of four W.R.I. Council Members went to East Berlin for talks with members of the East German Peace Council. Representatives of Peace Committees affiliated to the W.C.P. attended in the capacity of observers the W.R.I. Triennial Conference held in Stavanger last August. Mr. Trepczynski of the Polish Peace Committee and Dr. Tomko of the Czechoslovakian Peace Committee expressed the desire of their organisations to establish closer contacts with the W.R.I.. The Conference for its part passed a resolution unanimously calling on the Executive to seek ways of furthering this aim.

As the two organisations have exchanged literature in the past, it will only be necessary here to recapitulate the approach of the W.R.I. to the problems of peace. However, we feel that such a recapitulation of our position is necessary because, if co-operation is to have any reality, it must be based on a recognition and acceptance of the differences in approach and emphasis as well as a recognition of the points of agreement.

The War Resisters' International has its roots in conscientious objection to war and to military service by people in many parts of the world who feel that war is immoral and who refuse to give their support to it under any circumstances. The development of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear and bacteriological weapons, has served to underline the futile nature of war and at the same time has added to the urgency of understanding and disarmament. The cardinal features of the W.R.I. position are:

- a) opposition to conscription in every country;

- b) insistence, where conscription does exist, on the right of conscientious objection to war and to any kind of military service, and the right to campaign for others to refuse;
- c) active opposition to all military preparations regardless of where they occur and of whether they are regarded by the power making them as defensive or offensive. This obviously includes opposition to the military preparations of one's own government for which one has a particular responsibility;
- d) the demand for unilateral disarmament of all powers as a moral and political imperative;
- e) opposition to the causes of war including imperialism and colonialism, inequality and poverty, the suppression of individual liberties such as freedom of speech and assembly, religion and political liberty;
- f) support for and research into non-violent alternatives to conflict.

Some brief comments on these points are necessary. W.R.I.'s uncompromising opposition to all military preparations is rooted not only in the conviction that they are immoral but in the belief that they contribute to the atmosphere of mistrust and fear and can lead directly to war. The First World War, for instance, was the outcome, in part, of a colossal arms race. A third world war, if it occurs, will be due as much to the threatening build-up of weapons of staggering destructive power as to any other political factor; conversely if war is to be avoided, disarmament must be achieved. This is not to suggest that arms races are the only cause of war, but to suggest that once they get under way, they develop their own momentum and aggravate existing political differences and may perpetuate a situation of hostility when the original causes of tension have been modified or have disappeared. The search for solutions to outstanding political differences must go on and in this area peace movements of different origins and background may sometimes be able to press jointly for specific agreements.

The demand for unilateral disarmament and unilateral initiatives in the direction of complete disarmament is also based partly on a moral imperative, partly on the complementary belief that disarmament will not be achieved without bold, unilateral steps, perhaps not without some major power taking the creative risk of unconditional disarmament. We recognise that unilateral disarmament would involve a risk for the country that took it but we believe that it is a risk that is politically justified by the analysis that the Cold War is now the product of fear and suspicion caused by the very weapons that both sides cling to so tenaciously, and furthermore that it is a far smaller risk than the continuation of the present arms race.

We also support more limited unilateral measures of disarmament such as the Soviet suspension of nuclear testing in 1958 and here it might be possible for the W.R.I. and the World Council of Peace to agree upon specific steps which could be unconditionally urged on each government. Finally the W.R.I.

supports attempts to reach negotiated disarmament agreements, though it is sceptical about the possibility of far-reaching agreements without the spur of unilateral initiative. Again the W.R.I. and the W.C.P. might find common ground in pressing for particular proposals such as disengagement in Europe, the common dismantling of bases, the scrapping of particular weapons and delivery systems and so forth. The W.R.I., however, would always put its support for any such limited agreements in the context of its overall radical programme.

We have indicated in this brief resumé of the position of the W.R.I. some possible areas of agreement and co-operation, granted the very different approaches of our two organisations. Co-operation might also be achieved at very practical levels; joint participation in creative projects such as study conferences, work camps, representation at each other's conferences and projects; establishing links between local peace groups of East and West; mutual support for the release of all political prisoners; joint efforts for getting recognition for conscientious objection in all countries of East and West; helping each other in research for peace on subjects like the mechanics of violence and non-violence and distribution of research documents.

Co-operation between the various peace organisations is a matter of growing importance and we feel that the most practical way of achieving this will not be through trying to thresh out some comprehensive joint policy statement but through joint support for specific measures, the exchange of information and frank discussion of differences, and participation in each other's conferences and projects on the understanding that those participating will be free to put forward the full programme of their organisation. With this kind of approach we feel that the negotiations between our two organisations which are to be held shortly could be fruitful and important.

24.4.64  
11.5.64VISIT TO IRELAND - 3RD-12TH APRIL 1964

I spent a most interesting and enjoyable ten days in the Republic of Ireland and am most grateful to the members of the Irish Pacifist Movement and other friends who did so much to make my visit worthwhile. I found Irish hospitality most generous and had the opportunity of many personal contacts which it would take too long to record. I will mention only the more formal occasions.

Tuesday 7th April. A reception at the home of Dr. and Mrs. S. Yasin, at Kiltarnan Grange, Co. Dublin, attended by about 40 people at which I spoke briefly about the W.R.I. and we had opportunity of personal contacts and joined in Irish, German and English Folk Songs, accompanied on the guitar by my old friend Dr. Bruno Achilles, whom I had known in the youth peace movement in London in the 1920's.

Thursday 9th April. At the Friends' Meeting House, Eustace Street, Dublin, a public meeting, arranged jointly by the Irish Pacifist Movement and the Irish C.N.D. Some 30-40 people present, many of them young. I spoke on "Ireland and the World Peace Movement". There was a good discussion, lasting about an hour, and I am told that several new members were obtained.

Friday 10th April. At the Unitarian Church, Dublin. I spoke on "Germany and World Peace", dealing particularly with the historical background of the present German situation. An excellent discussion lasting over an hour. About 30 people present.

Saturday and Sunday 11/12 April. At the International Hotel, Bray, Co. Wicklow. SIXTH ANNUAL NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE, organised by the F.o.R. (Northern Ireland) and the Irish Pacifist Movement (Republic of Ireland). The aim of these annual conferences - held alternately in Northern and Southern Ireland - is to bring about a better understanding between the two parts of this divided island. About 40 people were in residence for the week-end and some 12 to 20 others came in for individual sessions. It was a very representative gathering. There were 3 formal conference sessions, besides informal occasions. The general title of the conference was "New Values in a Changing World: the Contribution of Education towards a Non-Violent World". The topics treated were:

Saturday afternoon - "What can we learn from History?" opened by myself. I spoke both on the rôle of history text-books and ways of improving them, especially instancing the mutual revision already being undertaken by history teachers of various countries under the auspices of UNESCO - and the lessons which ordinary people can learn from the experiences of history - particularly on the subject of war and peace. This session was chaired by Professor T.W. Moody, Professor of History at Trinity College, Dublin.

Saturday evening - "Violence in the Modern World and its significance for Education" introduced by Dr. H.R. Cathcart, Headmaster of Sandford Park School, Dublin, who dealt particularly with the psychological roots of violent behaviour.

Sunday afternoon - "Education for International Understanding" introduced by Miss E.H. Maxwell, B.A., Headmistress, Richmond

Lodge School, Belfast, who gave a fascinating account of the experimental work for international understanding which she had carried out in her own school.

There were excellent discussions at all three sessions which went on beyond the scheduled time. The I.P.M. and F.O.R. are to be congratulated on this excellent service to the cause of peace and international understanding.

HAROLD F. BING  
Chairman  
War Resisters'  
International

Issued by War Resisters' International  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
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The Nobel Foundation was established under the terms of the will of Alfred Nobel, dated 27th November 1895, in Paris, about one year before his death on 10th December 1896.

The statutes governing the Foundation and the prize-awarding Institutes were promulgated by the King of Sweden in Council on 29th June 1900. The bodies governed by the statutes are:

- The Nobel Foundation
- Four prize-awarding Institutions
- Five Nobel Committees
- Four Nobel Institutes

The peace prize is awarded by the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Storting (Parliament) which consists of five members appointed by the Storting.

The money received from the estate of Alfred Nobel was well over 31 million Swedish kronor, the bulk of which formed the Main Fund (i.e. the prize fund, about 28 million kronor), smaller amounts were set aside for a Building Fund, Organisation Funds, Special Funds and Saving Funds. All the funds and other assets are owned and administered by the Nobel Foundation.

The proceeds of the Main Fund minus 32.5 per cent are divided into five equal parts and constitute the yearly sum available for the Nobel prizes. The first prizes distributed in 1901 amounted to about 150,800 kronor each, and amount to-day to somewhat more than a quarter of a million.

From 1946 the Foundation has been exempted from taxation on property and revenue; and, as far as is known, the prize money has also been exempted from income tax in the countries of the recipients.

Who are eligible for the peace prize?

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By the terms of the will the prizes shall be awarded to those who, during the preceding year, shall have conferred the greatest benefit to mankind; no regard shall be paid to nationality, only to merit. According to the instructions, the words "the preceding year" shall not necessarily restrict consideration to achievements made during that time, but may include those whose importance has not been apparent till then.

For the peace prize Nobel added the following requirements to be fulfilled:

"To one who has worked the most or the best for greater brotherhood, and for elimination or reduction of standing armies, or the organisation of peace conferences".

Who have the right to nominate?

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The right to nominate candidates for the award of the Nobel Peace Prize shall be enjoyed by:

- (1) Active and former members of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Storting, and advisers appointed by the Norwegian Nobel Institute.
- (2) Members of the national assemblies and governments of each state and members of the Interparliamentary Union.
- (3) Members of the International Court of Arbitration in The Hague.
- (4) Members of the Commission (which today means Executive Committee) of the Permanent International Peace Bureau.

- (5) Members and associate members of Institut de Droit International.
- (6) University professors of political science, jurisprudence, history and philosophy.
- (7) Persons who have been awarded the Nobel peace prize.

How is the nomination made?

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Invitations to nominate prize candidates are sent out in the autumn of the year preceding the prize award. Nominations must reach the Nobel Committees of the prize-awarding bodies before 1st February of the year in which the award is made. If nominations have been sent to the Nobel Foundation they are forwarded to the appropriate Nobel Committee.

The nominations should be in writing and accompanied by such published material as can be adduced in support.

If nominations have not been submitted in time or the material to be adjudged is not in any of the Scandinavian languages, English, French, German or Latin, and cannot be made available without too much trouble or expense, the respective prize awarders are under no obligation to consider the nomination.

Self-nomination for a Nobel prize is a ground for disqualification.

How is the prize winner chosen?

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Immediately after 1st February the Nobel Committees begin their preliminary work on the nominations received. (Except for the peace prize there is an increasing number of candidates and countries represented).

After weighing of the merits of the nominations, the adjudicating work in its final stages is concentrated on a few candidates. If necessary, additional experts may be called in, irrespective of nationality. During September and October the recommendations of the committees are submitted to the respective prize-awarding bodies. (For the peace prize the Committee itself is the awarding body). Only in rare cases is the question left open. The final date for the decision varies, but all decisions are made by 15th November.

Prizes may only be given to persons, except for the peace prize which may also be given to an institution.

The awards may not be appealed against. Official support, diplomatic or political, for a certain candidate has no bearing on the award, since the prize awarders, in their capacity as such, are entirely independent of the state. (For the peace prize this certainly is a truth with serious modifications).

How is the prize distributed?

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A prize may be distributed in several ways:

- (1) Given entirely to one person.
- (2) Shared jointly by two or more persons who have together produced a work.
- (3) Equally divided between two works, either with each half going to one person, or with one half to one and the other half shared jointly by two or more persons, or each half shared jointly by two or more persons.

The peace prize has never been split between more than two winners.

A prize may also be withheld until the following year or not awarded at all, but paid into the funds. Two prizes can thus be awarded in the same year within each prize group.

If divergent opinions have been expressed during the adjudication, these may not be recorded in the minutes or otherwise disclosed. The decision alone is made public immediately it is reached. The work of the committees is also kept secret. Deliberations preceding an award are not made public, partly out of regard to the various persons who are under discussion and partly because of the influence that a public debate might have on the issue. Experiments with confidential advance information, with so-called release time, have not turned out well. There is also the disadvantage and uncertainty that the import of any advance information might be changed by the prize awarders' supreme decision. (The secrecy of the Committee's work has several times been strongly criticised by peace organisations).

If anyone declines a Nobel prize (e.g. Pasternak), or fails to collect it before 1st October of the following year, the prize money is paid into the funds, and notification of this is made in the list of prizes awarded. If someone has declined the prize under external compulsion or pressure and subsequently wishes to accept the prize, he can receive the gold medal and diploma, but not the prize money, since this has already reverted to the funds.

The presentation of the peace prize takes place at a solemn ceremony in Oslo, whereas the other four prizes are presented in Stockholm, on 10th December, the anniversary of Nobel's death. It has become the rule for the prize-winners to attend personally in order to receive their prizes, which consist of prize money, gold medal and diploma. At the same time the prize-winners usually fulfil the only stipulated obligation, which is to give a so-called "Nobel Lecture" within the six months after the prize presentation.

WHO have received the Nobel peace prize?

ED 718-1K-229

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1901 J.H. Dunant (Swi) F. Passy (F); 1902 E. Ducommun (Swi) G.A. Gobat (Swi); 1903 W.R. Cremer (GB); 1904 Institute of International Law; 1905 B.S.F. von Suttner (Au); 1906 T. Roosevelt (US); 1907 E.T. Moneta (I) L. Renault (F); 1908 K.P. Arnoldson (Swe) F. Bajer (D); 1909 A.M.F. Beernaert (B) P.H.B.B. d'Estournelles de Constant (F); 1910 Permanent International Peace Bureau; 1911 T.M.C. Asser (NI) A.H. Fried (Au); 1912 E. Root (US); 1913 H. la Fontaine (B); 1917 International Committee of the Red Cross; 1919 T.W. Wilson (US); 1920 L.V.A. Bourgeois (F); 1921 K.H. Branting (Swe) C.L. Lange (N); 1922 F. Nansen (N); 1925 J.A. Chamberlain (GB) C.G. Dawes (US); 1926 A. Briand (F) G. Stresemann (G); 1927 F. Buisson (F) L. Quidde (G); 1929 F.B. Kellogg (US); 1930 L.O.N. Söderblom (Swe); 1931 J. Addams (US) N.M. Butler (US); 1933 N.R.L. Angell (GB); 1934 A. Henderson (GB); 1935 G. von Ossietzky (GB); 1936 C. Saavedra Lamas (Ar); 1937 E.A.R.G. Cecil (GB); 1938 Nansen International Office for Refugees; 1944 International Committee of the Red Cross; 1945 C. Hull (US); 1946 E.G. Balch (US) J.R. Mott (US); 1947 The Friends Service Council (GB) The American Friends Service Committee (US); 1949 J. Boyd Orr (GB); 1950 R. Bunche (US); 1951 L. Jouhaux (F); 1952 A. Schweitzer; 1953 G.C. Marshall (US); 1954 Office of the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees; 1957 L.B. Pearson (Ca); 1958 G. Pire (B) 1959 P.J. Noel-Baker (GB); 1960 A.J. Luthuli (SA); 1961 D.H.A.C. Hammarskjöld (Swe); 1962 L.C. Pauling (awarded in 1963); 1963 International Red Cross Committee, International League of Red Cross Societies. No prize was awarded in the years not mentioned.

The major part of the above information is extracts from:

Erik Bergengren: "Alfred Nobel, the man and his work"

Th. Nelson & Sons Ltd. 1962.

Other sources:

Nils K. Staahle: "Alfred Nobel och Nobelprisen"

Nobelstiftelsen och Svenska Institutet, Stockholm 1961

Ursula Jorfald: "Bertha von Suttner og Nobels fredspris"

Oslo 1962

Ursula Jorfald: "Alfred Nobel and the peace prize"  
PAX, special English edition, Oslo 1963.  
(The latter should be consulted for the serious critical views  
expressed by peace organisations against the Norwegian Nobel  
Committee)

Information compiled by Niels Mathiesen.

Issued by War Resisters' International  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
England.

29.4.64.

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER, Enfield

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

20th May, 1964.

26.5.64 WRI

TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

✓ Enclosed are the Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No. 4, 9th-10th May 1964.

We are writing this with the forthcoming Council Meeting in mind. After you have read these Minutes and gone through those of the last three meetings again you might ask: "Is the work of the International developing in the right direction, or is it developing at all?" At Lansbury House we constantly ask ourselves "where are we and where should we go?" It will be one year after Stavanger when the Council meets. Shouldn't we then do some stocktaking? Please let us know what you think. Pass on your thoughts also to Council members of your region who will be attending the meeting.

Your attention is drawn to item 6(e) of the Minutes. Too much stress cannot be put on the emergency treatment it warrants. The lives of some of the finest men in South Africa are in danger. Unless great pressure is put on the South African Government now against apartheid and such trials the world may lose these men. We hope you will take up the matter in earnest.

Comments on items 8(c), 15 and 19 would be appreciated.

The lack of response to our appeal for Theodore Kloppen- burg's Legal Aid Fund should be noted, item 6(c).

Please be ready to take action on items 2(iii), 11(b), 16 and 20. Further communications on these will be following shortly.

Those Sections which are affiliated directly to the International Peace Bureau should take special note of item 30.

We would like to renew our request for reports on local and national activities and precise information about future projects and conferences. News from the Sections is more likely to be used in the W.R.I. Information Service releases if our attention is drawn to it.

Why not use space in WAR RESISTANCE for announcements of interest to other Sections? It is your journal. The next edition

should go to press at the beginning of June. Meanwhile we must apologise for the delay with the current number, which deals exclusively with Cyprus. We expect to begin mailing by the end of this week.

Council members are asked to inform the Secretariat whether they will be coming to the Council Meeting and when they hope to arrive.

As you can see, the W.R.I.'s financial situation is still rather serious. We can only appeal to you again for help. We have received some encouraging news from Svenska Världfredsmissionen, our Swedish Section, which might serve as a suggestion for other Sections. The S.V.F.M. has decided to guarantee 1,500 Swedish crowns to the International each year. The P.P.U. in Great Britain already makes the fixed contribution of £125. If all of our Sections would take similar measures many of our problems would be solved.

Yours fraternally,

*Devi Prasad* *Tony Smythe*

Devi Prasad                      Tony Smythe  
Secretaries

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

9.5.64

A G E N D A

for Executive Committee Meeting No.4 to be held at  
Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex  
from 9.30 a.m. on Saturday, 9th May, 1964.

APOLOGIES

APPROVAL OF AGENDA

- 1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO.3 (22nd and 23rd February 1964)

2. FINANCE:

- (a) Current Statement
- (b) Approval of Expenditure
- (c) Audited Accounts
- (d) Relief Fund
- (e) Annual Appeal
- (f) Rowntree Trust

3. STAFF

4. FUTURE PROGRAMME

5. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

6. AFRICA:

- (a) Secretaries' meeting with Danilo Dolci
- (b) Anti-Apartheid Movement and International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa
- (c) Theodore Kloppenbug's legal fund
- (d) General discussion

7. WORLD CONFERENCE ON PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE

8. COUNCIL MEETING 1964

9. STUDY CONFERENCE 1964

10. WORKERS' EXCHANGE:

- (a) Devi's memo
- (b) Klaus Vack's stay in London

11. FRANCO-GERMAN CO-OPERATION:

- (a) Emile Bauchet's memo
- (b) European Week for Mutual Understanding (D.F.G.)

12. W.R.I. CONSTITUTION

13. RELATIONS WITH SECTIONS

14. MEETING WITH THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

15. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

16. SWISS C.O'S

17. LONDON-PARIS PROJECT

18. PACIFIST YOUTH ACTION, BRASIL

19. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

- 20. NAZARENES
- 21. CYPRUS
- 22. MEMO ON NOBEL PEACE PRIZE
- 23. REPORTS FROM CONFERENCES (International Conference of Youth and Students for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence; the Nordic Countries - an Atom-Free Zone; Peace Pledge Union; the North-South Conference, Ireland; C.B.C.O.)
- 24. CHAIRMAN'S IRISH VISIT
- 25. BIBLIOGRAPHY ON NON-VIOLENCE
- 26. SWAMI AVYAKTANANDA'S REQUEST TO SUPPORT HIS APPEAL FOR A U.N. COMMISSION ON PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE
- 27. SUMMER PROGRAMME
- 28. IMMIGRATION CONTROL
- 29. DATE OF NEXT MEETING
- 30. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

ED 718-16-232

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 4

held at

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, on  
Saturday and Sunday, 9th and 10th May, 196426.5.64 WRI

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman), Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treas.), Hugh Brock, Niels Mathiesen. Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe. Also: Bernard Withers, Secretary of Peace Pledge Union, by special invitation.

The Chairman welcomed Bernard Withers, recently appointed General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, and wished him success in his work.

Hugh Brock had resigned from the Editorship of Peace News. The Executive recorded its appreciation of his 9 years work for international understanding and building up the Peace News to its present stature.

The Executive expressed its deep sympathy for Lyle Tatum who lost his wife in a serious car accident in Dar-es-Salaam and was himself, with his son, now in hospital with serious injuries. Decided to send a letter of sympathy to Lyle and also to his brother Arlo Tatum.

APOLOGIES: Herbert Gunneberg and Michael Randle had sent their apologies.

AGENDA: The circulated Agenda was approved with additions as recorded in these Minutes.

1. MINUTES: The Minutes of Executive Meeting No. 3 (22/23 Feb. 1964) were approved with an amendment. In item No. 8 Council Meeting 1964, on page 5, line 7, add "German" after "each". The sentence should read: "Agreed to ask one observer from each German Section to the Council Meeting."

MATTERS ARISING FROM THE MINUTES:Relief Fund-Italy 3 (2c)

As it was not needed, the sum of £5 was not sent to the Italian C.O., Rutigliano.

World Council of Peace 3 (12)

The Easter Marches planned in the German Democratic Republic by the East German Peace Committee did not take place. It was understood that Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, had banned such demonstrations. Therefore the question of encouraging international delegations did not arise.

2. FINANCE:

(a) Current Statement

The usual typed statement could not be presented, as the auditors had been working with the books while preparing the 1963/64 balance sheet. The Treasurer acquainted the Executive orally with the situation. The balance in Account No. 1 was approximately £221, with almost nothing in Account No. 2. The situation was grave, as the above amount was sufficient for only three weeks' wages. In view of this, the Treasurer was authorised to withdraw from the Reserve Fund two instalments of £250 whenever she felt it necessary.

(b) Approval of Expenditure

Deferred until next meeting.

(c) Audited Accounts

The Treasurer presented the draft balance sheet and accounts for the financial year ending 31st March 1964. She was asked to obtain some minor clarifications from the auditor before bringing the final version to the next meeting for approval.

(d) Relief Fund

(i)

After Robert Porchet's death it was felt necessary to review the question of relief to Mme. Porchet, who was living in great poverty. The Executive felt that Mme. Porchet should be given whatever help was possible. £10 per quarter was granted for the current year, totalling £40.

(ii)

An application for assistance was received from Amnesty International on behalf of a French C.O., Guy Grossman. He needed £18 as a "loan" to start his work. The Friends Peace Committee had agreed to grant £9. The Executive decided to give Guy Grossman the remaining £9, pointing out that this was a gift, but if he could pay it back, it would be used to help someone else.

(iii)

When replying to an enquiry about Grossman, Emile Veran, Treasurer of the C.O. Relief Fund in France, had stated that (a) the Fund was exhausted; (b) contributions had ceased to arrive because it was thought that the problem no longer existed; (c) some C.O.s found it difficult to get jobs when they came out of prison and the relatives and others were still undergoing hardship; (d) the conditions at Metz Prison were bad and some C.O.s were not getting adequate food; (e) while believing the Fund should be continued, he wished to resign as Treasurer.

The Executive was disturbed by this report and decided to take immediate action. Veran would be asked to continue as Treasurer until someone else could be found, possibly through the L.A.P. - £50 would be paid by the W.R.I. into the C.O.

Fund. 350 francs (approximately the amount available after the payment to Grossman) would be paid immediately. In an appeal to be sent out over the next week all Sections would be asked to help financially and to make enquiries with the French authorities about prison conditions. A letter would be sent to all interested journals in France, appealing for funds. Pierre Martin, Emile Veran and Roger Paon would be asked to sign it.

(e) Annual Appeal

It was reported that the new Project Contribution Scheme, which was a special feature of the Appeal, had not had as good a response as was hoped.

(f) Rowntree Trust

The W.R.I. was not recognised as a charitable or educational organisation and was therefore not eligible to receive donations under the Covenanted Subscriptions Scheme. The Rowntree Trust, which had been contributing to the W.R.I. for several years, had written that the authorities had questioned their contributions to the International, as this money had not been earmarked for charitable purposes. The Secretaries had been trying to explore the possibility of getting recognition for the W.R.I. under the Covenanted Scheme but there did not seem to be any chance of gaining this status. The Executive discussed the desirability of forming a special Trust which would be eligible for Covenanted Subscriptions, which could include the Relief Fund. Further explorations were necessary. It was the general opinion of the Executive that the issue should be fought with the authorities on principle. Who should decide whether the work of the W.R.I. was of educational value or not?

(g) Vladimir Tchertkoff Bequest

The Executive received with regret the news of Vladimir Tchertkoff's death. He had been in close touch with the W.R.I. since 1937 and had given £3,337 to the W.R.I. before his death. It had been invested with the St. Pancras Building Society and the interest had been paid into Tchertkoff's account in Britain annually. Now the interest would be retained by the W.R.I. L. Perno, who had acted for Tchertkoff in Britain, would be asked for the name and address of the nearest relative in order that a letter of sympathy could be sent.

(h) April Carter's visit to East Berlin

The W.R.I. was asked by the Evangelische Akademie in East Berlin to send a speaker at Easter on the growth of Easter Marches in Great Britain. After consultation with some national movements the Secretaries asked April Carter, who agreed, to go. The Executive authorised the expenditure of £21 towards April's return fare. A contribution of 3 guineas had been received from Peace News. The C.N.D. was expected to send a contribution and it was hoped that other organisations might do likewise.

(i) Donation for books

The Auditors had pointed out that £30 had been earmarked for buying books on non-violence. It was a donation received from the Gandhi Peace Foundation. The Executive authorised the Secretaries to buy whatever reference books they both thought useful for their work.

3. STAFF:

Kathleen Phillips had been working as a temporary shorthand typist for over a year on part-time basis. As it was expected she would be required to continue, the Executive decided she was entitled to a fortnight's holiday, with pay.

In view of the rising cost of living and the discussion at the last meeting of the Executive (Item 3, meeting No. 3), it was agreed to increase the salaries of Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe by £2 per week. This would be backdated to 1st April, 1964.

4. FUTURE PROGRAMME:

No comments had been received on the document "Future Programme". It was discussed in connection with Council Meeting 1964, item 8 of these Minutes.

5. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION:

Discussion had taken place on the publication of a book on conscientious objection at the last meeting. A letter from Philip Eastman, giving his ideas, had been circulated to the Executive. After a discussion, it was agreed to form a working group in London, to give more thought to this subject. A few names were suggested: John Calder, Philip Seed, Nicholas Walter, Bernard Withers and Tony Smythe. It was suggested that the W.R.I. should approach some Trusts to find out whether they could finance the project.

6. AFRICA:

(a) Secretaries' meeting with Danilo Dolci

A report of the Secretaries' meeting with Danilo Dolci during his London visit had been circulated to the Executive. Danilo was writing a long report of his African tour which would be published in French and English. He visited Senegal and Ghana and felt that Senegal provides a fertile ground for the right kind of community development. He was especially impressed by the work Council member Pierre Martin was doing through Government Agencies.

(b) Anti-Apartheid Movement and International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa

Devi had attended the meeting of the National Committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and plenary sessions of the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa. A short report of the Conference had been included in W.R.I. news release no. 23. He felt that although the

Conference, attended by delegates from all over the world, was a very impressive event, it had not come out with a specific programme, but would certainly make an impact on Great Britain which had extensive interests in South Africa. The Conference organisers had asked for help in implementing its decisions. Although the Executive felt that economic sanctions against South Africa were desirable, it was difficult to see what the W.R.I. could do.

(c) Theodore Kloppenburg's legal aid fund

No response had been received at Headquarters to the appeal for Theodore Kloppenburg's legal expenses. Theodore had requested that the W.R.I. contribution should be sent to Alan Paton in South Africa who was collecting funds for the purpose.

(d) Nelson Mandela's statement in Court

The statement made by Nelson Mandela in Court was a great challenge to believers in non-violence. He said that he and his organisation took to violence only when they saw that non-violence had failed. At the same time they did not want to harm human life, which means that it was in a way a re-affirmation of the importance of human values which principles of non-violence demand. Alf Knag from Bergen had written to say that peace movements ought to give more thought to the whole issue and the challenge put forward in Mandela's statement. He suggested that the W.R.I. should ask those concerned about the growth of non-violence to say how this challenge could be met. It was agreed to duplicate Mandela's statement for wide circulation and to ask for ideas which could be gathered in a symposium.

(e) Rivonia Trial

A request had been received from the Anti-Apartheid Movement for support in their action against the trial at which 9 South Africans, including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, risked the death sentence. It was agreed that Sections should be asked to treat this matter as urgent and write letters to the South African Government. A letter on behalf of the Executive should be sent to the South African Government, protesting against its inhuman policy of apartheid in general and this trial in particular.

7. WORLD CONFERENCE ON PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE:

A report of the Secretaries' discussion with Danilo Dolci about the possibility of combining the W.R.I. and the Robert Jungk projects was given. Danilo had not been able to go to the I.C.D.P. meeting in Geneva for discussions with Jungk. Without having studied Jungk's project in detail Danilo was sympathetic towards associating the two. The I.C.D.P. had set up a 3-man Commission to draw up plans for a world exhibition Mankind 2000 to be held in a major European capital in 1967. The object was to give visual expression to the creative possibilities for man to build a peaceful world by the year 2000. Tony Smythe, having read the draft plan, felt that it was not adequate and that considerable changes would have to be

made for it to contain much of immediate interest for the W.R.I. It would be difficult to include in it the Dolci suggestion for a conference on non-violence. There would be many other activities associated with the organisation of the exhibition, but emphasis had not been given to activities stressed by Dolci. Those included regional seminars and research studies.

The Executive decided to recommend to Council that Mankind 2000 receive the support of the W.R.I., recognising that it was not yet possible to decide to what extent direct W.R.I. participation would be possible. The next Triennial Conference in 1966 should be devoted to the topic suggested for a special world conference by Dolci. Preparations of the kind already suggested should be made and local and national groups should be encouraged to make special studies. If the Triennial Conference were successful, it could be seen as a direct contribution to Mankind 2000, which would culminate in the following year. Even if the exhibition could not adequately express the radical pacifist position, it was valuable because it would involve many organisations and individuals not normally associated with the peace movement.

8. COUNCIL MEETING 1964:

(a) Agenda

The Executive discussed the Draft Agenda and decided that the item on finance should be put towards the end. Items on policy and projects should be discussed first. The item "Future Programme", to be presented by the Secretaries, should deal with general trends of the movement. The question of priorities should also be discussed.

(b) Place of Council Meeting 1965

The Irish Pacifist Movement had extended an invitation to Council to hold its 1965 meeting in Ireland. The Executive welcomed the idea and asked the Secretaries to find out whether the Irish Pacifist Movement was prepared to arrange the meeting; also practical details about accommodation, etc.

(c) Triennial Conference 1966

The possibility of holding the 1966 Triennial Conference in U.S.A. was suggested. The Secretaries were asked to make enquiries of the W.R.L. and the F.o.R. (U.S. Sections of the W.R.I.) so that detailed information could be available at the Council meeting. Agreed that if the Conference were organised in U.S.A., Council should recommend Sections to make special efforts to send young people as their representatives. In view of the possibility of interference from American Immigration officials, Sections would be asked to assess the seriousness of this and to initiate negotiations with the U.S. Government if the recommendation were accepted. Italy was mentioned as a possible alternative.

(d) Public meeting at the time of Council meeting

The Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer was planning to hold a public meeting in Frankfurt in August at the time of the

Council meeting. It was recommended that the Secretaries should find out whether there was a possibility of distributing a leaflet in English announcing the meeting in British and American army camps in the area.

9. STUDY CONFERENCE:

An up-to-date report of preparations was presented. The Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer, which is helping with arrangements, found it impossible to organise the Conference in Berlin. Naturfreundehaus near Offenbach/Main had been booked for 55-60 people from 9th - 15th August, 1964. The Executive agreed that up to £120 could be spent on the Study Conference.

10. WORKERS' EXCHANGE:

(a)

Devi's memo, which had been circulated to Council and Sections, was recommended to be put on Council Agenda. It would also be sent to other movements to find out whether they were interested in participating in such a project.

(b)

Klaus Vack, Secretary of the Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer, was being sponsored by an individual to come to Britain to study the British peace movement and to learn English. His full expenses would be met by the sponsor. He would be participating in the activities of different movements and working in their offices. He would be spending nearly two months at Lansbury House acquainting himself with the work of the International. The Executive welcomed this plan and hoped that Klaus Vack's direct contact with Headquarters would prove helpful both to the German movement and the International.

11. FRANCO-GERMAN CO-OPERATION:

(a) Emile Bauchet's memo

Emile Bauchet's plan for a Franco-German Conference had been postponed until next year.

(b) European Week for Mutual Understanding

The Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft had informed Headquarters that preparations were under way for the Week for Mutual Understanding. Gottfried Wandersleb, Chairman of D.F.G., had written to say that he had received good response. This item appeared in the W.R.I. news releases more than once. The D.F.G. had not asked for help. Harold Bing would be one of the main speakers.

12. W.R.I. CONSTITUTION:

The Secretaries had not been able to prepare a memorandum. Some modifications in the Constitution were discussed, such as making provision for all Sections to send representatives to Council meetings and removing the emphasis on having only

one Section in each country. The Secretaries were asked to send suggestions to the Chairman, to be presented later to the Council.

13. RELATIONS WITH SECTIONS:

It was again mentioned that there was lack of communication between Sections and Headquarters. It was suggested that good working contacts could only be established by personal contact and the Secretaries and Chairman should visit as many Sections as possible. The Secretaries were asked to submit a travel plan for next year.

14. MEETING WITH THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE:

The World Council of Peace had indicated that the dates 25th - 26th April, 1964, did not suit them. As the Secretariat would be fully occupied with other matters all through the summer, it had been suggested that the weekend 3rd-4th October 1964 was the first possibility. The W.C.P. had agreed to this. The W.R.I. Policy Statement, to be presented to the W.C.P., had already been sent to Sections. Herbert Stubenrauch would not be able to join the delegation; no answer had been received from Jean van Lierde. It was suggested that either Bayard Rustin or A.J. Muste, who both had long experience in negotiating with the W.C.P., should be asked to join the delegation. It was agreed to consult Bayard as to whether he would be able to join the delegation and also collect money in U.S.A. for his travel to Ostend for the meeting.

15. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE:

The European Regional Council of the World Peace Brigade in its meeting of 31st March 1964 had requested the W.R.I. to continue handling W.P.B. correspondence until a final decision about its future could be taken. A memo on behalf of the European Regional Council had been sent to the W.P.B. International Council members and regional offices of the W.P.B. by Donald Groom, suggesting that a definite decision be taken as early as possible. The Executive agreed that the Staff should handle the W.P.B. correspondence which, in fact, involved little work.

Michael Scott's memo, suggesting that the Peace Brigade should be organised under the auspices of the United Nations, had been circulated to Council and Sections. The Executive decided to refer the matter to Council.

16. SWISS C.O.s

The suggestion for an international work camp/conference to launch a new campaign for the introduction of a Statute for C.O.s was enthusiastically accepted by the Swiss Section and the S.C.I. Niels Mathiesen gave a report of the preparations for the project which includes a work camp at Uri near Zürich 19th July - 1st August. 30 selected people would be participating. 3/4 of them would be C.O.s and the rest young people interested in conscientious objection. After the work camp a delegation would go to Zürich for a press conference. The project would be run jointly by the Swiss

Association of War Resisters (W.R.I. Section) and the S.C.I. The Executive asked the Secretariat to approach W.R.I. Sections in Europe, urging them to send at least 2 young C.O.s each, knowledgeable about conditions for C.O.s in their own countries, to participate. Niels Mathiesen kindly agreed to be W.R.I. representative and help with preparations.

17. LONDON-PARIS PROJECT:

Discussions between British, French, German and Scandinavian organisations about the possibility of anti-NATO-Warsaw Pact demonstrations this summer had been going on since last year. The W.R.I. had assisted by circulating memoranda and keeping contact with those involved. The present suggestion was that a team from Britain, France and Germany should meet to plan the rest of the project in the middle of July. Volunteers would go to a work camp and would demonstrate in Britain on Hiroshima Day, August 6th. They would then go to France for a work camp which would also provide a centre for propaganda. In the first week of September they would meet in Paris with other members of the French movement for a Conference. Joined by more volunteers from abroad they would conduct a direct action demonstration at NATO Headquarters about September 8th. They would be supported by mass leafletting of Paris by those who did not wish to participate directly in the demonstration.

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In Scandinavia there had been discussion of the possibility of a 3-pronged march on Warsaw. Volunteers would take the ferry from South Sweden to the Polish coast. Their demonstration would be at approximately the same time as the one in Paris. It was not clear whether the project would be carried out entirely or only on a small scale. Volunteers in France were already chosen and the Peace Action Centre in Britain had offered to be hosts for the volunteers at the beginning of the project. The matter was not in W.R.I. hands but assistance would be given if required.

18. PACIFIST YOUTH ACTION, BRAZIL:

A communication had been received from the Secretary of an organisation called Pacifist Youth Action in Brazil. It was stressed that every encouragement should be given to the new organisation which was prepared to do a very important job in a difficult political situation. The general comments of the Secretary, Emerson Almeida, had been useful to the Secretariat.

A discussion developed on the situation of the W.R.I. in Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries generally. Some thought had already been given to bringing out a pamphlet in Spanish. A Spanish translation of Gregg's "The Power of Non-Violence" had been obtained from the American F.O.R. Either the whole edition should be reprinted or parts should be included in the W.R.I. pamphlet. It was agreed that an attempt should be made to set up a working group to decide on the contents of the publication and that a letter appealing for help should be sent to Peace News. The Cuban marchers should be kept in touch with developments and their advice sought. The aim was to produce the pamphlet before the end

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of the year. Some thought would have to be given to distribution.

The Secretaries should again make clear to the American F.O.R. that the W.R.I. was anxious to co-operate in "Operation Latin America". A sum had already been earmarked for this purpose out of the anonymous donation from Canada. The whole subject of approach to the Spanish-speaking world should be brought up at Council.

19. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE:

The full report of the Tyringe Conference was still not available. Tony Smythe had attended the Executive Meeting in Geneva. The major part of the discussions had been devoted to Mankind 2000. Other subjects had included: Patrons (all member organisations asked to submit names of sponsors by the 1st June); Trustees (a final selection would be made in Florence, one from U.S.A., two from continental Europe and two from the United Kingdom); Associate Membership; New Members (applications had been received from the Comité d'Action Non-Violente pour la Paix, Belgium, and the V.K., Germany); Representation at Conferences (The Congress of Peoples' Solidarity and Peace, July 1964 in Montreal, a series of International Peace Conferences of University Professors in Lima, November 1964, Ibadan, January 1965, Colombo, March 1965 and Florence, 1965); and Fund Raising.

Tony Smythe would be attending the I.C.D.P. Council Meeting in Florence 24th - 27th June. Sections should be urged to inform him of any items they wished to raise.

20. NAZARENES:

The Secretaries reported that, in spite of reminders, no reply had been received from the Yugoslav Embassy. The matter should be treated as urgent. A last chance should be given to the Yugoslav authorities here. Efforts should be made to contact some M.P.s and organisations with a view to arranging a deputation to the Yugoslav Ambassador in London within a month, if possible. Tony Smythe would be meeting José Smole again at the I.C.D.P. meeting in Florence. Pressure should be put on him to take up the matter with his Government. It was agreed that Jules Humbert Droz of Switzerland be kept informed, as he went to Yugoslavia often and was interested in Nazarenes.

21. CYPRUS:

The Secretaries reported that, as a result of their initiative and that of some other organisations, a Peace in Cyprus Committee had been formed in London. Regular meetings had been held in which Greeks and Turks and Greek and Turkish Cypriots were taking part. The Committee decided to send a team of three competent people to Cyprus to find out what peace movements could do towards stopping bloodshed and whether there were any possibilities of starting work on a long-term basis. The Executive had at its last meeting discussed the possibility of sending somebody on behalf of W.R.I. Michael Scott had been consulted, but was not able to go.

Christopher Lake, who had long experience in and knowledge of Cyprus had gone as the first volunteer. The Executive authorised the Secretariat to pay up to £100 towards the expenses of the Cyprus volunteers. It was noted with regret that the Peace in Cyprus Committee had not been able to collect the necessary money, mainly because it had no personnel to give time to money-raising. It was emphasised that the study of the situation in Cyprus should not be left to only one person and that efforts should be made to get another volunteer to go. There was a possibility of a volunteer from India, G.R. Deshpande, organiser of the New Delhi-Peking March. As the W.R.I. was deeply concerned about the Cyprus situation, it was felt that it should try to collect money, so that another volunteer could be sent. The Secretaries were given permission to devote some of their time to money-raising, if they thought that money could be collected by approaching people personally.

22. MEMO ON NOBEL PEACE-PRIZE:

A memo prepared by Niels Mathiesen had been circulated to Council and Sections. The Executive expressed its appreciation of Niels' most useful work.

23. REPORTS FROM CONFERENCES:

No report had been received from the W.R.I. representative at the Atom-Free Zone Conference for Nordic Countries in Sweden. The Italian Section had not been able to find a representative for the International Conference of Youth and Students for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence in Florence. The official report of the Conference suggested that nothing had been achieved.

24. CHAIRMAN'S IRISH VISIT:

The Chairman's report of his visit to Ireland and the North-South Conference in Ireland had been circulated in advance.

25. BIBLIOGRAPHY ON NON-VIOLENCE:

The office had received a copy of a letter from Harry Mister to David Hoggett, saying that Hausmans was reconsidering the question of publishing his bibliography, as enough interest in it seemed to exist.

26. SWAMI AVYAKTANANDA'S REQUEST TO SUPPORT HIS APPEAL FOR A U.N. COMMISSION ON PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE:

Swami Avyaktananda of Vedanta Movement had appealed to the U.N. to set up a Commission to go into the question of peaceful co-existence. Although this did not directly concern the International, the Executive thought that every effort towards establishing peace and understanding deserves encouragement. The Chairman was already one of the supporters of the appeal. The Executive agreed to give its best wishes to Swami Avyaktananda.

27. IMMIGRATION CONTROL:

Written statements had been received only from Niels Mathiesen

and Hans Jong. Jans Jong's statement was not very specific and therefore not quite suitable for use in taking up the matter with the authorities. Hugh Brock said he was in process of approaching the authorities on this issue. It was agreed that, if Hugh wished, he should use Niels Mathiesen's statement in his correspondence with the Immigration Control.

28. PUBLICATION OF REGINALD REYNOLDS' WRITINGS:

Housmans was contemplating publishing some of the still unpublished writings of Reginald Reynolds. Hugh Brock had asked several organisations to support the project by agreeing to be joint publishers and to give a firm guarantee "in the not too unlikely event of publishing loss to give, say, up to £50 each." It was agreed that the W.R.I. should accept the proposal. Purchase of copies worth £50 would be preferable to giving the amount in cash.

29. MARATHON MARCH:

Recognising the importance of the March, the Executive agreed to give its support and encouragement to the Marathon March in Greece on May 17th.

30. NEW RULES FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU:

Members of the Executive who had had experience of I.P.B. meetings felt that no proper procedure-rules were in force for the conduct of business. The Executive asked the Chairman to write to the I.P.B., pointing out that there was a great need for such rules and that the matter should be considered at the next Executive of the I.P.B.

31. LIGUE D'ACTION PACIFISTE:

At Tony Smythe's suggestion, the Ligue d'Action Pacifiste had arranged with the Union Pacifiste de France to use half a page in the paper LA VOIE DE LA PAIX. This would be sent to L.A.P. members instead of Cahiers du Pacifisme: an encouraging example of growing co-operation between French pacifists.

32. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION YEAR:

Tony Smythe reported that the National Peace Council of Great Britain had formed a preparatory committee in connection with the Year for International Co-operation 1965. They had invited many voluntary organisations to participate and join as members by paying a fee of 2 guineas. The Executive appreciated the efforts of the National Peace Council but felt that this was a matter for national organisations, not an international body. They should be asked to approach the P.P.U.

33. FREUNDSCHAFTSHEIM:

Devi reported that he had been asked by Freundschaftsheim in Germany to allow his name to be submitted for election to the Freundschaftsheim Council. Although the invitation had been sent to him in his individual capacity, Devi felt that he would be greatly strengthened if he could have the support of the W.R.I. The Executive agreed to give Devi its support.

34. NUMBERING OF DOCUMENTS:

At Hugh Brock's suggestion, it was agreed to give serial numbers to all W.R.I. documents.

35. DATES OF NEXT MEETINGS:

28th July 1964 at Mainz-Kastel, Germany, at 16.30  
(provisional)

17th-18th October 1964 at Lansbury House.

The meeting adjourned at 12.30 p.m. on Sunday.

20.5.64

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

6/64

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD  
Telephone: LABurnum 3977

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

29th May, 1964

1. 6. 64

Dear Friend,

If you have not yet read the statement Nelson Mandela made at the Pretoria Court to explain his stand in regard to the charges against him during his trial and of eight others, do read it now. A duplicated copy of the abridged version which appeared in The Observer of 26th April 1964 is enclosed herewith. You will probably agree that few statements during recent years have challenged believers in non-violence as strongly as this one does. Apart from being a vividly accurate picture of the grave situation South Africans face today and of the trends of thought of freedom fighters, it seems to be posing the question, perhaps for the last time: Does non-violence still have some relevance in South Africa?

The experience in the African National Congress convinced its leaders that "it cannot be denied that our policy to achieve a non-racial state by non-violence had achieved nothing and that our followers were beginning to lose confidence in this policy." "We felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy." Unfortunately this feeling is not limited to the leaders of South Africa alone. Many a believer in non-violence feels helpless when it comes to using non-violence under such conditions. That is the reality and, if we are honest, we cannot ignore it.

If non-violence is not for South Africa, surely the concept of non-violence as a universal principle is successfully challenged. However, the whole of Mandela's statement is in many ways a reaffirmation of the human values which are the basis of non-violence. Perhaps here is the vital link between the freedom struggle and our theories.

We are writing this with great feeling of concern and also to find out what contribution we could make. It has been suggested that we ask friends like you to state in a few words how the challenge posed by this statement can be met. It might prove useful to gather these answers in the form of a symposium. May we therefore request you to spend a few of your thoughtful moments in thinking about this and let us have your ideas?

Yours sincerely

*Devi Prasad* *Tony Smythe*  
Devi Prasad Tony Smythe  
Secretaries

Enclosed: "Why I am ready to die" (Nelson Mandela's statement at the Pretoria Court).

## WHY I AM READY TO DIE

by Nelson Mandela

(FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION)

Nelson Mandela, the 'black pimpnel' of South Africa, is on trial in Pretoria with eight others on charges of attempting a revolution by violence. The alleged offences are punishable by death. Last week he appeared in the witness-box for four-and-a-half hours to explain his stand. He admitted that he had organised sabotage. He explained why he had turned to violence; and what kind of South Africa he was prepared to die for. This is an abridged version of the historic speech, which could be his last.

I am the first accused. I hold a Bachelor's Degree in Arts and practised as an attorney in Johannesburg for a number of years in partnership with Oliver Tambo. I am a convicted prisoner serving five years for leaving the country without a permit and for inciting people to go on strike at the end of May, 1961.

At the outset, I want to say that the suggestion made by the State in its opening that the struggle in South Africa is under the influence of foreigners or Communists is wholly incorrect. I have done whatever I did, both as an individual and as a leader of my people, because of my experience in South Africa and my own proudly felt African background.

In my youth in the Transkei I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Among the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland. The names of Dingane and Bambata, Hintsa and Makana, Squngthi and Dalasile, Mshoeshoe and Sekhukhuni, were praised as the glory of the entire African nation. I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle. This is what has motivated me in all that I have done.

Some of the things so far told to the court are true and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation and oppression of my people by the whites.

I admit immediately that I was one of the persons who helped to form Unkonto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation - the main sabotage movement in South Africa), and that I played a prominent rôle in its affairs until I was arrested in August 1962.

I, and the others who started the organisation, did so for two reasons. Firstly, we believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalise and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war. Secondly, we felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy.

BUT the violence we chose to adopt was not terrorism. We who formed Umkonto were all members of the African National Congress, and had behind us the A.N.C. tradition of non-violence and negotiation as a means of solving political disputes.

Our problem was not whether to fight but was how to continue the fight. We of the A.N.C. had always stood for a non-racial democracy, and we shrank from any action which might drive the races farther apart than they already were. But the hard facts were that 50 years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation, and fewer and fewer rights.

It may not be easy for this court to understand, but it is a fact that for a long time the people had been talking of violence - of the day when they would fight the white man and win back their country, and we, the leaders of the A.N.C., had nevertheless always prevailed upon them to avoid violence and to pursue peaceful methods. When some of us discussed this in May and June of 1961, it could not be denied that our policy to achieve a non-racial State by non-violence had achieved nothing, and that our followers were beginning to lose confidence in this policy and were developing disturbing ideas of terrorism.

It must not be forgotten that by this time violence had, in fact, become a feature of the South African political scene. How many more Sharpevilles would there be in the history of our country? And how many more Sharpevilles could the country stand without violence and terror becoming the order of the day?

At the beginning of June, 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force.

Umkonto was formed in November, 1961. Umkonto was to perform sabotage, and strict instructions were given to its members right from the start that on no account were they to injure or kill people in planning or carrying out operations.

The fight which held out the best prospects for us and the least risk of life to both sides was guerrilla warfare. (Mandela here describes how in 1962 he went to seek support in Africa and Britain.)

I started to make a study of the art of war and revolution and, whilst abroad, underwent a course in military training. If there was to be guerrilla warfare, I wanted to be able to stand and fight with my people and to share the hazards of war with them.

I APPROACHED this question as every African Nationalist should do. I was completely objective. The court will see that I attempted to examine all types of authority on the subject - from the East and from the West, going back to the classic work of Clausewitz, and covering such a variety as Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara on the one hand, and the writings on the Anglo-Boer War on the other.

Another of the allegations made by the State is that the aims and objects of the A.N.C. and the Communist Party are the same. The allegation as to the A.N.C. is false.

The ideological creed of the A.N.C. is and always has been, the creed of African nationalism. It is not the concept of African

nationalism expressed in the cry, "Drive the white man into the sea." The African nationalism for which the A.N.C. stands is the concept of freedom and fulfilment for the African people in their own land.

It is true that there has often been close co-operation between the A.N.C. and the Communist Party. But co-operation is merely proof of a common goal - in this case the removal of white supremacy - and is not proof of a complete community of interests.

It is perhaps difficult for white South Africans, with an ingrained prejudice against Communism, to understand why experienced African politicians so readily accept Communists as their friends. But to us the reason is obvious. Theoretical differences amongst those fighting against oppression is a luxury we cannot afford at this stage. What is more, for many decades Communists were the only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals; who were prepared to eat with us; talk with us, live with us and work with us. They were the only political group which was prepared to work with the Africans for the attainment of political rights and a stake in society. Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with Communism.

It is not only in internal politics that we count Communists as amongst those who support our cause. Although there is a universal condemnation of apartheid, the Communist bloc speaks out against it with a louder voice than most of the white world.

I turn now to my own position. I have denied that I am a Communist, and I think that in the circumstances I am obliged to state exactly what my political beliefs are.

I have always regarded myself, in the first place, as an African patriot. After all, I was born in Umtata 46 years ago. My guardian was my cousin, who was the acting paramount chief of Tembuland, and I am related both to the present paramount chief of Tembuland, Sabata Dalinyebo, and to Kaizer Matanzima, the Chief Minister of the Transkei.

It is true, as I have already stated, that I have been influenced by Marxist thought. But this is also true of many of the leaders of the new independent States. Such widely different persons as Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah and Nasser all acknowledge this fact. We all accept the need for some form of Socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of this world and to overcome their legacy of extreme poverty. But this does not mean we are Marxists.

Indeed, for my own part, I believe that it is open to debate whether the Communist Party has any specific rôle to play at this particular stage of our political struggle. The basic task at the present moment is the removal of race discrimination and the attainment of democratic rights on the basis of the Freedom Charter. In so far as that party furthers this task, I welcome its assistance. I realise that it is one of the means by which people of all races can be drawn into our struggle.

From my reading of Marxist literature and from conversations with Marxists, I have gained the impression that Communists regard the parliamentary system of the West as undemocratic and reactionary. But, on the contrary, I am an admirer of such a system.

THE Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights are documents which are held in veneration by democrats throughout

the world.

I have great respect for British political institutions, and for the country's system of justice. I regard the British Parliament as the most democratic institution in the world, and the independence and impartiality of its judiciary never fail to arouse my admiration.

I have been influenced in my thinking by both West and East. All this has led me to feel that I should tie myself to no particular system of society other than of Socialism. I must leave myself free to borrow the best from the West and from the East.

Basically, we fight against two features which are the hallmarks of African life in South Africa and which are entrenched by legislation which we seek to have repealed. These features are poverty and lack of human dignity.

South Africa is the richest country in Africa, and could be one of the richest countries in the world. But it is a land of extremes and remarkable contrasts. The whites enjoy what may well be the highest standard of living in the world, whilst Africans live in poverty and misery.

The lack of human dignity experienced by Africans is the direct result of the policy of white supremacy. White supremacy implies black inferiority. Legislation designed to preserve white supremacy entrenches this notion.

Africans want to be paid a living wage. Africans want to perform work which they are capable of doing, and not work which the Government declares them to be capable of. Africans want to be allowed to live where they obtain work, and not to be endorsed out of an area because they were not born there. Africans want to be allowed to own land in places where they work, and not to be obliged to live in rented houses which they can never call their own. Africans want to be part of the general population, and not confined to living in their own ghettos.

Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the white man fear democracy.

But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. It is not true that the enfranchisement of all will result in racial domination. Political division, based on colour, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one colour group by another.

This then is what the A.N.C. is fighting. Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to see realised. But if needs be, my Lord, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Originally published in THE OBSERVER on 26th April, 1964.

Issued, together with a covering letter, by:

War Resisters' International,  
Lansbury House,  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
England.

27.5.64.

12/64

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

19. 6. 64 WK

AGENDA

for Council Meeting No. 2 to be held at Mainz-Kastel, near Frankfurt/Main, West Germany, from the evening of Tuesday, 28th July, to breakfast, August 2nd, 1964.

## APOLOGIES

## APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING NO. 1 (31.7.63)
2. APPROVAL OF CONFERENCE MINUTES
3. EXECUTIVE MINUTES
4. SECRETARIES' REPORT
5. FUTURE PROGRAMME
6. MEMBERSHIP - Relationship with Sections and Constitution
7. RECOGNITION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION:
  - (a) Relief
  - (b) Future plans
  - (c) Publication
  - (d) International action on Prisoners for Peace Day
8. REPORTS:
  - (a) Meeting with World Council of Peace
  - (b) International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace
  - (c) World Peace Brigade
  - (d) Franco/German Co-operation
  - (e) Contact with China
  - (f) Cyprus
9. WORLD CONFERENCE ON PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE
10. STUDY CONFERENCE 1965
11. AFRICA:
  - (a) General Discussion
  - (b) Specific Projects
12. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

13. HUMAN RIGHTS
14. WORKERS' EXCHANGE
15. FINANCE:
  - (a) Current Statement
  - (b) Audited Accounts 1963/64
  - (c) Estimates 1964/65
  - (d) Fund-Raising and Prospects
16. COUNCIL MEETING 1965
17. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1966
18. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

*Öffentliche ? ?*

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PRACTICAL DETAILS

Postal address: Gossner Haus, Johannes Gossnerstrasse 14,  
6503 Mainz-Kastel/Rhein,  
Germany

Telephone No.: Wiesbaden-Kastel 2352 or 2658. (For automatic  
dialling precede number by the code number for  
Wiesbaden-Kastel, which is 06143)

How to get there:

Nearest airport: Frankfurt/Main. From there  
'bus to Wiesbaden-Rhein-Main-Halle, or to  
Wiesbaden-Hbh. (Hauptbahnhof). Change to  
'bus No. 6 going to Mainz. 'bus stop: Johannes-  
Gossner-Strasse.

Nearest railway station: Mainz-Hbh. From  
there 'bus No. 6 or No. 9 going in the  
direction of Wiesbaden. 'bus stop: Johannes-  
Gossner-Strasse.

What to bring: Please bring all documents sent from Lansbury  
House and relating to the subjects to be  
discussed.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

ED 713-16-244

Telegraphic Address:  
WOFRONTIER, Enfield

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

23rd June 1964

U R G E N T

27.6.64

Dear Friend,

Towards the end of last month you will have received from us a memorandum about the International Seminar Work Camp for Conscientious Objectors in Switzerland. There is no need for me to explain again the purpose or to repeat the arrangements which have been made so far. As I am going away this weekend (20th June) for the International Confederation Council Meeting in Florence and also for a holiday I feel rather concerned that I have not received any response from the W.R.I. Sections in Europe. It is true in some cases that the text of the memorandum has been translated and circulated more widely. What is needed, however, is a decision:

Can your Section find two C.O.'s with the necessary qualifications and pay their expenses to go to the Work Camp?

This is a real opportunity for a co-operative effort on the part of W.R.I. Sections. If we can succeed in this small and modest project I think our title "International" will become justified.

Please do your best to get a decision now and send the names and addresses of the volunteers both to the W.R.I. Secretariat, but more important, to:

Marcel Schweizer  
Secretary of the Swiss Section  
rue du Locle 30, La Chaux-de-Fonds.

We also need speakers but in most cases they will have to meet their own expenses and for this reason should probably live not too far away from Zürich.

The text of the basic seminar document written by Marcel Schweizer will be circulated to Sections very shortly. Can you send him your material (copies here) including the Section's policy on conscription and C.O. problems; the C.O. laws in your country (or lack of them) and a message of support for Swiss C.O.'s. (There are quite a few in prison at the moment.

With best wishes  
Yours fraternally

Tony Smythe (Secretary)

P.S. Enclosed are the forms to be filled in by the volunteers and sent to Marcel Schweizer. (French and German forms to follow)

INTERNATIONAL WORK CAMP ORGANISED BY THE ASSOCIATION  
SUISSE FOR THE SERVICE CIVIL INTERNATIONAL,  
Gartenhofstr. 7, Zürich 4,

in conjunction with the International Seminar for C.O.'s organised by  
the Association Suisse de la Résistance à la Guerre, Secretary:  
Marcel Schweizer, rue du Locle 30, La Chaux-de-Fonds, assisted by  
War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, England.  
The Work Camp/Seminar will take place from the 19th July to 1st  
August 1964 at Hospental, Canton of Uri, Switzerland

AIM: to launch the final phase of the campaign for C.O.  
recognition in Switzerland.

APPLICATION FORM

NAME (Block Letters ..... (Mr.Mrs.Miss)  
ADDRESS .....  
OCCUPATION ..... Nationality .....  
Passport No. .... Date of Issue .....  
By ..... Valid until .....  
1st Language ..... Do you speak other languages? If so  
which .....  
Are you able and willing to take part in hard manual work YES / NO  
Have you taken part in other work camps? If so when and where?  
.....  
Do you have a driving licence? ..... Have you any special  
skills? .....  
Are there any special provisions which should be made for you  
(i.e. Vegetarian) ..... Will you be able to remain for the  
full duration of the Work Camp Seminar YES/NO If no what dates  
will you be there .....

SIGNATURE .....  
Date .....

PLEASE send this form to Marcel Schweizer  
rue du Locle 30  
La Chaux-de-Fonds  
Switzerland

ALSO notify the War Resisters' International Secretariat

17/64

INTERNATIONALES ARBEITSLAGER VERANSTALTET BEI DER  
SCHWEIZERISCHEN VEREINIGUNG FÜR INTERNATIONALEN  
ZIVILDIENTST, Gartenhofstr. 7, Zürich 4

2.7.64 WRI

ED 718-11-246

gemeinsam mit dem Internationalen Seminar für Dienstverweigerer,  
organisiert bei der Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner, Schweizer  
Zweig, Sekretär: Marcel Schweizer, rue du Locle 30, La Chaux-de-Fonds,  
mit Unterstützung durch die War Resisters' International, 88 Park  
Avenue, Enfield, England.

Das Arbeitslager/Seminar wird vom 19. Juli zum 1 August 1964 im  
Hospental, Kanton von Uri, Schweiz, stattfinden

ZWECK: Die Durchführung der letzten Phase der Aktion für  
Anerkennung der Militärdienstverweigerung in der Schweiz

ANMELDEFORMULAR

NAME (Druckschrift) ..... (Herr , Frau, Fr.)

ADRESSE .....

BERUF ..... NATIONALITÄT .....

REISEPASS NR ..... AUSSTELLUNGSDATUM .....

Ausstellungsort ..... Gültig bis .....

Muttersprache ..... Sprechen Sie andere Sprachen?

Welche ? .....

Sind Sie fähig und bereit harte manuelle Arbeit zu leisten JA/NEIN

Haben Sie an anderen Lagern teilgenommen? Wenn so, wo und wann?

.....

Haben Sie einen Führerschein? ..... Haben Sie welche spezielle

Kenntnisse? .....

Sind irgend welche spezielle Vorkehrungen für sie zu treffen (z.B. Vege-

tarier)? ..... Werden Sie in der Lage

sein die volle Zeit im Arbeitslager/Seminar zu verbringen JA/NEIN

Falls nicht welche Zeiten werden Sie dort sein .....

UNTERSCHRIFT .....

DATUM .....

Bitte senden sie dieses Formular an

Marcel Schweizer  
Rue du Locle 30  
La Chaux-de-Fonds  
SCHWEIZ

Ebenso verständigen Sie, bitte, das Sekretariat der W.R.I.

17/64

INTERNATIONALES ARBEITSLAGER VERANSTALTET BEI DER  
SCHWEIZERISCHEN VEREINIGUNG FÜR INTERNATIONALEN  
ZIVILDIENTST, Gartenhofstr. 7, Zürich 4

ED 718-16-247  
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DATUM .....

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Marcel Schweizer  
Rue du Locle 30  
La Chaux-de-Fonds  
SCHWEIZ

Ebenso verständigen Sie, bitte, das Sekretariat der W.R.I.

ED 718-16-248

19/64

29.6.64  
9.7.64

INTERNATIONAL DES RESISTANTS A LA GUERRE (BRANCHE SUISSE)

Programme of theoretical work for the international conscientious objectors camp at Hospental, the Canton of Uri, Switzerland, from the 19th July to the 1st August, 1964.

The programme is divided into four main themes:

1. Conscientious objection until to-day
2. The world situation to-day: political, sociological, scientific, etc.
3. A new conception of conscientious objection arising out of the present situation
4. The ideal statute, future action, common aims

SUNDAY, 19th July

Arrival of participants, introductions, etc.

Evening : A brief introduction to Monday's discussion

MONDAY, 20th July and TUESDAY, 21st July

- (a) Motivations for conscientious objection,
- (b) The presentation of the problem by representatives from different countries
- (c) The statutes now in force

WEDNESDAY, 22nd July

Morning : Introduction to the second part of the programme  
The world situation

Evening : Internationalism, the United Nations, etc.

THURSDAY, 23rd July

Morning : Nationalism, in the past, present and future

Evening : European development, different principles governing alliances.  
Discussion of European problems

FRIDAY, 24th July

Morning : Having analysed the political and social situation in the modern world, should the objector be content with exercising his own conscience or must he also take account of this situation?

Evening : Talk. On non-violence. (Background paper by the American psychologist, Jerome Frank.)

SATURDAY, 25th July

Morning : Continuation

Evening : Recreation

SUNDAY, 26th July

Excursion

Evening : Brief introduction to the next topic

MONDAY, 27th July

Morning : Is non-violence effective in all circumstances? Until general peace education is possible, is an international police force necessary?

Evening : War and its causes, yesterday and to-day. The rôle of C.O.'s vis-à-vis war and nationalism.

TUESDAY, 28th July

Morning : Discussion on talk the previous evening

Evening : Recreation preceded by a brief introduction to the next topic

WEDNESDAY, 29th July

Morning and Evening :

Third part of the programme. New concept of Conscientious Objection in relation to the present situation. Should C.O.'s do non-combatant service or join the medical corps? Is the achievement of a statute sufficient? Conscription. Should the objector respect nationalism and the army and demand respect for his own views?

THURSDAY, 30th July

An outline of the ideal statute

FRIDAY, 31st July

Morning : Contacts to be undertaken for the production of a pamphlet in several languages, concerning the seminar

Evening : Future action and international liaison

SATURDAY, 1st August

Morning : Preparation of the press conference, reception of visitors (A large number of invitations will be issued for those interested in the problem of conscientious objection.)

Afternoon : Departure of those not able to remain longer, also next morning. The others will, if possible, spend the weekend at Hopsental and will attend the press conference on Monday

MONDAY, 2nd August

Press Conference in Zürich

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OTHER DETAILS:

Each day a resumé of the discussions will be taped in French and if possible in other languages. Oral translations will be given during the debates.

Written translations will be issued after the camp.

With regard to the practical work, we shall adhere to the requirements of the S.C.I.

The work will be on the construction of a country road, for 5 hours each day in the afternoon.

Modifications to this programme may have to be made. Criticisms and suggestions are welcomed.

Throughout the programme account will be taken of studies by specialists concerning the problems under debate. Some literature will in any case be made available in French. For other languages the C.O's are requested to bring with them the essential documentation.

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HOSPENTAL is near the St. Gothard Tunnel. Take the railway line Zürich-Lugano, or Berne-Luzern-Lugano; get off at Göschenen, at the foot of Gothard. From there take another train going to Andermatt, then Hospental. Hospental is about 6 kilometres from Göschenen. Those coming from France can get to Hospental via Geneva, Lausanne, Brique.

(Details will be sent to all participants)

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MARCEL SCHWEIZER

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL (SWISS SECTION)

International Work and Study Camp, for conscientious objectors and for a small group of interested parties. (Hospental, Canton d'Uri, Switzerland, 19th July to 1st August 1964). (Camp organised in collaboration with the Service Civil International.)  
Assistance given by War Resisters' International, Enfield.

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PREAMBLE (Project)

From Ancient Greece to the present time, refusal to participate in or to prepare for war, was the concern of isolated individuals or of small communities. The reasons for this refusal were mainly religious, philosophical or humanitarian. During and just after the first World War, political motives, influenced by notions of internationalism, occupied an important place in certain European countries.

To-day, as the result of new international circumstances, conscientious objection is able to emerge from its sense of isolation, and it is possible to find a sense of harmony between the various types of conscientious objection.

WHAT ARE THESE CIRCUMSTANCES?

During the 20th Century alone more progress has been made in scientific research, and the industrial applications thereof, than in the whole of human history.

Unfortunately, human thinking has not kept pace with these extraordinary developments, and hence men cannot hope to know how to make the most intelligent use of them.

No one can deny that to-day, the various States need to exchange the products of their labour in order to survive.

The effectiveness of the internationalising of research, in the various fields of science, is now a proven fact.

And, contradiction though it is, the States go so far as to exchange arms and strategical theories, which, it would seem, should be jealously guarded for their own defence, in view of their national ideologies.

All humanity's big problems are to-day indissolubly linked, be they problems of hunger, industrialisation, social justice or peace. Whether these are resolved or not, their repercussions now affect every country in the world without exception.

However, the most critical problem, beyond any shadow of doubt, is that of peace and disarmament.

## THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE LIGHT OF SOME FIGURES

On the 1st March 1954, the energy liberated by the explosion of the first H-bomb was greater than that involved during the whole of the Second World War.

There are hydrogen bombs of up to 100 megatons, that is the equivalent of 20 tons of TNT per inhabitant of the planet.

A 5-megaton bomb exploding over Notre-Dame would be enough to destroy Paris.

Rocket-borne atomic bombs reach speeds of the order of 12,500 m.p.h., with a range of 6,000 miles, and can fall within a mile or two of the projected target.

According to experts, the United States or the Soviet Union could be destroyed in less than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  minutes.

In the case of a 20-megaton bomb it is estimated that up to 350 miles from the explosion centre, half of the people exposed would die in a few weeks.

In the world as a whole, military expenditure rises to some 120 milliards of dollars each year. That is about 600 milliards of Swiss francs.

The cost of an atomically propelled aircraft carrier represents 2 milliards 750,000 tons of wheat, a jet bomber the cost of 100,000 tons of sugar, and a submarine equipped for firing rockets, the cost of 55,000 tons of prime quality beef.

Hundreds of similar quotations could be given from scientists the world over but we are of the opinion that these few examples speak sufficiently for themselves.

## IF A MAN BECOMES AWARE OF THESE WARNINGS AND THIS ADVICE BY ACCIDENT OR DESIGN, WHAT MUST HE DO ABOUT THEM?

Is he to consider them inaccurate because they are not made well known officially by his government (press, radio, and in particular in schools)?

Is he to accept them, and act accordingly, thus enabling them to become a reality?

In our view, the latter solution is the correct one. Man must be aware that the world is incessantly in a state of transformation and that the worst enemy of the future is the cult of the present and the past - and the cult of nationalism in particular. As Tibor Mende so well declared during the International Meeting at Geneva in 1960, "Institutions have been created by men and men should therefore be capable of changing them."

Certainly, in theory at least, our governments accept the principle of change. But, they also pretend that it is up to the "others" to initiate change. Should the informed citizen conform to his government's point of view?

NO!

He must have the courage to begin on his own to refuse physical and financial cooperation in preparing for destruction, and should ceaselessly proclaim that plans (which do exist) for a new world in which national armies will cease to exist, be made known and even recommended to the youth and citizens of his own country, without waiting for "the others to begin".

In this difficult and thankless struggle, international organisations which support ideas of supranationalism, must give moral and financial support to those courageous men who follow their advice in a practical sense. It is with this in mind that W.R.I. has approached the International League for the Rights of Man, in order that the right of conscientious objection be included in its terms of reference.

This, as we see it, is the new task of the conscientious objector. To refuse to contribute towards the material and moral destruction of the world, and to demand that the full facts be placed before each and every citizen, thus making it ultimately possible to break the vicious circle of responsibility for the negative and dangerous present situation, which is constantly placed on the shoulders of others.

To accomplish this task, conscientious objection may in essence be Christian, philosophical, humanitarian, or simply political (in the widest sense of the word).

It is our view that the conscientious objector, and all other men too, should avoid thinking that he "has a monopoly of truth". Rather, it is his job to seek the truth. And, if this truth is not to the liking of his government he still must be able to declare it freely and openly.

The objector should also beware of drawing general conclusions from a particular situation. The influences, social concepts and situations arising from it may be very varied even to the point of contradiction throughout the world. We are not justified in asserting that in such and such a particular and violent situation, for example, our behaviour would continue to be non-violent.

However, in our economically advanced countries, where social problems are no longer sufficiently critical to degenerate into violence, we must make ceaseless attempts to get people to accept the idea of establishing an international law forbidding the setting up of national armies, and allowing for the settlement of differences between nations. In the present situation, we are not in a position to say that all States would be capable of accepting the decisions of such a court, without recourse to violence. This is why it seems equally necessary to set up an international police force.

The United Nations Organisation is to some extent a forerunner of this world organisation. Criticisms directed against it would be better aimed at the ill-will of certain belligerents who do not accept intervention by the organisations.

It is true, however, that the United Nations Organisation can be improved still further, e.g. by abolishing the Veto. But, once again, this is a matter of human wisdom and not of stupidity.

All problems existing to-day on a world scale should be the concern of the objector who should aspire to the most intelligent solution of them.

ILYA EHRENBURG, Russian writer, 1891-

"The disarmament convention can (in my opinion must) be accompanied by investment of a part of the money thus made available in aid to the under-developed countries. Such aid must be co-operative in character and not mandatory, and at all times free from intervention of any kind. After agreement on disarmament, those organisations whose responsibility it will be to distribute international credits, will have to admit, on an equal footing, both the delegates of States contributing funds from former military budgets, and also delegates from States in receipt of such funds.

"It is evident that such an agreement will change the international climate entirely. Mistrust will give way to cooperation. I am convinced that scientists, engineers, economists and doctors of the Soviet Union, United States, England and Czechoslovakia - in fact from all those countries which are at present in opposite camps - will work with a single will in this great task: to abolish hunger, and the sickness and poverty in its wake, from all the countries on our planet, small but tumultuous though it is."  
(5)

RENE DUMONT (French economist)

(Speaking of a co-operative organisation with supranational authority): "This international organisation, which foreshadows the world government which must surely come (sooner or later, after few or many catastrophes - this will depend on man's growth in wisdom) ..... " (6)

TIBOR MENDE (economist)

"If scientists tell us that the world can support two or three times its present population, and if in fact these scientists are giving us information outside of their sphere of knowledge, this is because feeding a constantly developing world population is a financial problem, and especially A POLITICAL PROBLEM. This presupposes a world-wide economic system which would permit the economically backward peoples to EARN rather than to beg for capital they need to modernise their countries. This presupposes a philosophy free from the contradiction between domination and co-operation. This presupposes that our free economy, our system of "laissez-faire" was only possible because it was not a free economy for the great majority of mankind; which would have been in its interest. This presupposes also that non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, which we advocate - whilst we control the major part of their economy, or establish military bases on their soil - be replaced by a new definition of profit-making in terms of the future of mankind, including that of our children".  
(7)

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF DISARMAMENT

Some quotations, and the conclusion drawn from a study by a group of United Nations experts representing ten countries.

If human ingenuity has, in the space of but a few years, increased man's power of destruction to such a point, it should be possible to make an equally massive contribution in a positive and peaceful direction.

It is clear that no country need fear that possibilities will be lacking for usefully employing resources made available by disarmament.

Military personnel with specialised advance training would be drafted to civilian organisations - public health, education and social services.

CONCLUSION:

The members of the consultative group are unanimous in thinking that all the problems and all the difficulties of transition, which would result from disarmament, could be resolved by measures appropriate to national and international requirements. There is therefore no doubt that the use, for peaceful purposes, of resources now used for defence, could serve the interests of all countries and bring about an improvement in economic and social conditions throughout the world. The achievement of complete and general disarmament could bring nothing but benefit to the whole of humanity.

(8)

We earnestly hope that those participating in this meeting will succeed in taking conscientious objection out of its individual context and will succeed in making it into a social concept worthy of the opportunities offered at the present time.

MARCEL SCHWEIZER

Secretary War Resisters' International  
Swiss Section

Published by:

War Resisters' International  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex, England

30.6.64

17.8.64  
WRI

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

ESTIMATES FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1965

<u>EXPENDITURE</u>			
<u>ITEM</u>	<u>Estimated</u> <u>1963-64</u>	<u>Expended</u> <u>1963-64</u>	<u>Estimated</u> <u>1964-65</u>
Salaries & Insurance	3,250	3,358	3,800
Pension Fund	65	67	76
Superannuation	25	25	25
Rates and Insurance	45	88	100
Repairs	60	3	50
Heat and Light	70	86	80
Office Equipment	50	-	50
Office Stationery & Supplies	300	440	425
Telephone	80	103	100
Postage	550	633	600
Sundries	115	126	115
Bank Charges & Exchange	15	25	20
Audit & Accountancy	58	40	40
Printing	900	1,271	1,000
Participation in Conferences	250	178	200
Study Conference	120	4	120
Official Travel	100	266	300
Council Meeting Expenses	250	221	250
Annuity re Special Donation	132	129	-
Depreciation	60	69	70
Reserve Fund for Devi Prasad's fares	100	100	100
Reserve Fund for Triennial Conference 1966	100	233	100
Triennial Conference 1963	300	-	-
	<u>£6,995</u>	<u>£7,465</u>	<u>£7,621</u>

<u>INCOME</u>			
<u>Item</u>	<u>Estimated</u> <u>1963-64</u>	<u>Received</u> <u>1963-64</u>	<u>Estimated</u> <u>1964-65</u>
Contributions to Headquarters	4,500	4,160	4,500
Contributions to Agents abroad	1,973	1,325	1,500
Rent	65	65	65
Sale of Literature & Badges	150	106	150
Sale of Stamps	125	72	75
Interest re Special Donation	132	129	--
Other Building Society Interest received	50	83	180
	<u>£6,995</u>	<u>£5,940</u>	<u>£6,470</u>



RELIEF FUNDINCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT YEAR TO 31ST MARCH, 1964

<u>Balance at 1st April, 1963</u>		£251	5	8
<u>Donations</u> received during year to 31st March 1964			<u>220</u>	<u>10 -</u>
			471	15 8
<u>Less:</u>				
<u>Disbursements</u> during year:				
J. Kaminski (France)	10	-	-	
J. Nemethny (Hungary)	10	-	-	
R. Porchet and Widow (France)	60	-	-	
G. Rutigliano (Italy)	5	-	-	
			<u>85</u>	<u>- -</u>
<u>Balance at 31st March, 1964</u>			<u>£386</u>	<u>15 8</u>

SUBSCRIPTIONS, DONATIONS AND LEGACIES

	Paid direct to W.R.I. England	Paid to Agents out- side Britain			Relief Fund	Total	1962/63
Australia	133 14 -	34 - -				167 14 -	273
Austria	1 - -					1 - -	1
Belgium		15 10 -				15 10 -	15
(Brazil)						- - -	1
Bulgaria	5 - -					5 - -	-
Canada	36 18 6					36 18 6	32
Chile	1 - -					1 - -	-
Costa Rica	5 3 7					5 3 7	-
Cyprus	5 - -					5 - -	-
Denmark	2 1 4	466 12 -				468 13 4	232
Eire	24 6 4					24 6 4	31
France	5 13 10	87 9 -				93 2 10	78
Germany	26 10 2	59 15 10				86 6 -	80
Gt. Britain & Channel Islands	3,936 5 -			220 10 -		4,156 15 -	3,084
Holland	160 15 6	132 13 -				293 8 6	213
India	5 14 3					5 14 3	18
Israel		10 17 -				10 17 -	13
Italy	11 5	5 8 7				6 - -	9
(Japan)						- - -	7
Kenya	15 - -					15 - -	-
Malaya	1 - -					1 - -	2
New Zealand	289 10 4	77 13 -				367 3 4	97
(Nigeria)						- - -	1
Northern Ireland	27 - -					27 - -	51
Norway	32 17 3	☆				32 17 3	49
Poland	1 - -					1 - -	-
South Africa	2 16 8					2 16 8	11
Spain	2 5 -					2 5 -	-
Sweden	35 16 -	51 17 5				87 13 5	60
Switzerland	16 5 2	10 19 10				27 5 -	92
U.S.A.	542 17 10	372 8 3				915 6 1	587
Venezuela	14 - -					14 - -	-
Uruguay	7 - -					7 - -	-
	<u>£5,298 3 2</u>	<u>£1,325 3 11</u>	<u>£220 10 -</u>			<u>£6,843 17 1</u>	<u>£5,037</u>

☆ no return received

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

1963				
3,014	Salaries and National Insurance	3,358	-	10
25	Superannuation Premium	25	-	-
60	Pension Fund - Allocation for year	67	-	-
			3,450	- 10
3,099				
104	Rates and Insurance	48	3	9
8	Repairs	42	9	8
85	Heating and Lighting	85	11	10
393	Stationery and Office Supplies	439	18	10
110	Telephone	103	1	7
482	Postage	632	15	6
117	Sundries	126	-	2
18	Bank Charges and Differences on Exchange	24	12	8
75	Audit and Accountancy	40	-	-
			1,542	14 -
1,392				
547	Printing	1,271	3	10
64	Participation in Conferences	178	3	8
150	Summer Study Conference	4	1	2
	Travelling Expenses of staff and others authorised by the Executive	266	3	11
			1,719	12 7
881			221	3 5
220	Council Meeting Expenses		129	6 1
132	Annuity Paid re Special Donation		68	10 -
55	Depreciation		-	- -
83	(India Conference 1960 Fund)		-	- -
348	(Devi Prasad's Fare and Removal Expenses)		-	- -
100	Triennial Conference 1963 Fund		233	4 11
			£7,364	11 10
£6,310				

GENERAL FUND ACCOUNT

961	EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME FOR YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH 1964		1,424	16 2
	ALLOCATIONS FROM ANONYMOUS DONATION FROM CANADA			
	(To meet transfer to Triennial Conference 1963 Fund for year to 31st March 1962)			
100	To Triennial Conference 1966 Fund	100	-	-
100	To Devi Prasad's Return Fare Fund	100	-	-
			200	- -
200				
	BALANCE AT 31ST MARCH, 1964 carried forward			
5,735	General Account	3,836	14	7
-	Anonymous Donation from Canada	1,412	3	-
			£6,873	13 9
£6,896				

YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1964

1963				
3,650	Subscriptions and Donations		4,159	19 2
	Received direct			
1,269	Received by Agents outside Great Britain		1,325	3 11
			5,485	3 1
4,919				
108	Sales of Literature and Badges		223	9 -
6	Less: Purchases		117	14 7
102			105	14 5
65	Rent Received		65	- -
115	Sale of Foreign Stamps		71	9 7
	Building Society Interest received on Special Donation		129	6 1
132	Other Building Society Interest received		81	8 6
15	Interest received by Agents		1	14 -
1			212	8 7
148				
961	EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME FOR YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1964 carried forward to General Fund Account		1,424	16 2
£6,310			£7,364	11 10

YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1964

	BALANCE AT 1ST APRIL, 1963 brought forward			
4,997	General Account	4,123	6	9
-	Anonymous Donation from Canada	1,612	3	-
1,812	(Anonymous Donation from Canada)		5,735	9 9
	LEGACIES RECEIVED		1,138	4 -
87	(Sums received from donor of "Special Donation")			
			£6,873	13 9
£6,896				

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONALNOTES ON MEETING WITH WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE  
OCTOBER 3RD/4TH 1964 OSTEND, BELGIUM

In response to the Statement on the W.R.I.'s relations with the World Council of Peace passed at the Triennial Conference at Stavanger, the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace wrote on October 11th, 1963, to say that they welcomed the Statement. They also suggested that a joint meeting between representatives of the W.R.I. Council and the World Council of Peace Presidential Committee be organised "for the purpose of clarifying common points of view". The W.R.I. Executive accepted the suggestion. It also decided that proper preparations should be made and documents giving policy statements be exchanged between the two organisations before the meeting takes place.

The proposed meeting had to be postponed twice but it now seems that the final dates fixed - October 3rd/4th - and agreed upon by both organisations will be the dates for the meeting at Ostend.

A small Commission was set up to prepare the policy statement for the meeting. The statement has been sent to the World Council of Peace and to W.R.I. Council and Sections. During the process of making this statement Sections and other individuals were consulted, especially the German East-West Commission of the Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft, a W.R.I. Section in Germany. Following are some comments:

From Dr. Friedrich Mueller, Chairman of the Germany Commission of the Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft:

"The Deutschland-Kommission der Deutschen Friedens-Gesellschaft, of which I am the leader, has made it its task to find means and ways by which a reunification of the two Germanies, namely the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, could be brought nearer to realisation. Since we are convinced that discussion of this subject is merely of theoretical value unless it is possible for the matter to be discussed with the other side, we have been for years in contact with the German Peace Council in Berlin as a natural partner in the negotiations and have had a series of frank, open discussions with them in order to sound points from which a mutual approach of the different points of view could be started.

"The positions of the two partners in the debate are different in that the policy of the World Peace Council organisations in all essential points is in agreement with the policies of their Governments, whereas the pacifist organisations in Western countries find themselves in a more or less pronounced opposition to the tendencies of their Governments. Our position in relation to the Eastern partners in the debate is thus weakened from the start. There is also a certain fundamental contrast between the material attitudes insofar as the pacifist organisations in the West condemn war under any condition and without exception, whereas the Peace Councils recognise the justification of certain forms of war, such as Civil War against Fascist despotism, or war of liberation against colonial imperialism. All Peace Councils share the opinion that the general success of socialism, and even of communism, is an irrevocable prerequisite to the final removal

of war, whereas the opinions on our side in this respect vary widely, and the majority will probably believe that any synthesis of the economic systems wrestling with each other is practicable and worth striving for.

In our opinion, these undisputable contrasts do not exclude the possibility of discussing fruitfully the accomplishment of a modus vivendi with the aim of arriving at a co-existence which would exclude the use of violence. The "Call for Action" recently promulgated by the World Peace Council has the character of a resolution, the form and, essentially, also the contents of which could well have been prepared by the Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft. The only serious objection which could be raised would be the objection to the demand for independence of all nations, if interpreted in the sense that all nations have a claim to their own national existence. In view of the national dovetailing of the populations in many regions (see Cyprus!), this must necessarily lead to dangerous disputes. Switzerland is an example of the fact that it is well possible for different nations to live peacefully in one national community.

These considerations have led us to believe that the W.R.I. should by no means refuse contact with the World Peace Council, more particularly since the W.P.C. conventions have become a platform for world-wide movements, and more particularly for representatives from developing countries. The W.R.I. would thus have an opportunity of bringing home their ideas on the realisation of world peace to people from eastern and developing countries attending the convention in numerous discussions between individuals. Members of the Council, such as Devi Prasad, Bayard Rustin and Bill Sutherland would provide a valuable starting point for friendly contacts.

a) According to the resolutions arrived at in Stavanger, such contacts may consist of reciprocal information, exchange of literature, joint conferences and discussions in a smaller circle. Observers should be sent to all greater conventions of either party and it would be advisable for the W.R.I. to send only representatives who are already taking an independent spiritual view. It is only such specially authorised personalities who should appear officially as W.R.I. representatives. This applies, of course, also to representatives of the German branch of the W.R.I. at events organised by the German Peace Council. They should appear as official W.R.I. representatives only if they are authorised by all groups attached to the German branch.

b) The W.R.I. should make use of the W.P.C. conferences as a means of informing delegates and guests from various countries about their ideas of the realisation of peace, including those which are different from the views held by the W.P.C., for example with respect to conscientious objection, organisation of non-violent resistance and the building up of a world organisation on a democratic basis which would permit the organisation of the social, economic and cultural co-existence of the peoples in federations and according to principles of decentralisation. The Germany Commission of the DFG is at present time preparing a plan for the reunification of Germany which could be utilized as a pattern for such a world organisation.

c) We have not come to an undivided opinion as to whether and to what extent joint declarations and actions with the W.P.C. would be advisable and practicable. In some cases, we have come with

joint statements before the public. Whether the W.R.I. should follow this policy can only be decided in each individual case after careful preparation of such action. Joint work camps in developing countries, joint actions for the Rapacki plan and similar steps for the formation of areas of peace with reduced armament might be taken into consideration. Joint Easter marches and similar demonstrations with concrete aims approved by both parties appear to be desirable. However, the W.R.I. should then be careful not to let itself be drawn-in by the W.P.C. for the support of specifically communist tendencies, since the Peace Councils have occasionally the tendency to try to persuade their western partners to join in a pronounced eastern policy. In such cases, it is necessary to persist in the basic pacifist attitude."

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From Ella Brown, Secretary of New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society:

"I have studied all the World Council of Peace/W.R.I. reports and feel that the W.R.I. is doing a useful piece of work in trying to clarify the position with the W.C.P. I think it is important that this should be done at international level. Whether it should be done at national level could be decided later.

In practice, in this country, what someone here described as the "public image" of the Peace Council is not helpful. This is probably due, in part, to a not-yet-dead McCarthyism and unfortunately restricts the value of the very willing help the Peace Council gives when joint projects are afoot. I think we feel, too, that at times the Peace Council's own approach is somewhat restricted. The President of the N.Z. Peace Council, Prof. W.I.G. Airey, was, I think, at the Warsaw Conference. He does some useful work here.

I think the W.R.I. Statement to the Warsaw Conference of the W.P.C. would be fully approved by the New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society as being a very clear and comprehensive statement.

Conclusions of the W.C.P. Warsaw Conference Report by the Secretary - I think this expresses clearly and correctly what the attitude of the W.R.I. should be."

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Related documents:

W.R.I. Stavanger Triennial Conference Statement

War Resisters' International Statement to the Warsaw Conference of the World Council of Peace

Extended Meeting of the World Council of Peace, Warsaw, 28th November - 2nd December, 1963 - W.R.I. representative's report

Bases of the Party and Power-Politics Neutrality of the Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner by Theodor Michaltschiff

Policy Statement for the joint meeting of the War Resisters' International and the World Council of Peace representatives

9.7.1964

29/64

ED 718-16-200

COVERING LETTER FOR THE PROGRAMME FOR THE WORK CAMP/  
SEMINAR OF THR W.R.I. (SWISS SECTION)

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8th July, 1964

13.7.

Dear Friends,

The study intended during the two weeks of the Work Camp aims to strengthen and widen the outlook in relation to conscientious objection. Through the information given on the programme we intend to find out which are the principles, the criteria and the methods of creating a spirit of peace as opposed to the spirit of war, how far this spirit of peace is hampered by the present situation of the world, for what reasons human values are still associated with war-thinking and how it is possible to liberate the mind from these loyalties. Further, to explain why we consider refusal of military service as the decisive act for this liberation, we shall also examine the arguments which can help in discussion with our adversaries and finally explore how to coordinate our efforts.

This study will be very modest. Its outcome we hope will be the work of the participants themselves and their sharing of each other's ideas. Therefore we do not expect this to be a conference of people who come to tell us what they think of the issue in question without participating in our effort.

We hope that all bookings will reach us before Monday, 13th July. It is expected that participants will arrive at Hospental on Sunday, late afternoon. (19th July)

TRAVEL INSTRUCTIONS: There is a train leaving Zürich at 14.12 or Lucerne at 15.40 arriving at Göschenen at 17.32. Change to train to Andermatt at 17.40, arriving at Andermatt at 17.53. Change again and take a train to Hospental at 18.04, arriving there at 18.09.

PLEASE DO NOT FORGET: WARM CLOTHES, SLEEPING BAG AND GOOD SHOES

Also a few books the participant thinks useful and writing paper.

Pick and shovel will await participants on the spot!

Amitie

Yours sincerely

RENE BOVARD (Signed)

Vice President of Swiss Association of War  
Resisters

ED 718-16-261

9. 7. 64

The enclosed documents concerning the C.O. Work Camp/Seminar should have a covering letter from René Bovard (Vice President of the Swiss Association of War Resisters) but we have not yet received it. Owing to the shortness of time before the Seminar we feel the documents should be sent to you without it.

W.R.I. Secretariat.

30/64

## WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

8th July, 1964

VERY URGENT13.7.  
24.7. am BV-VACK

Dear Friend,

I think it relevant to give you a picture of the Headquarters' finances. Although you receive our Annual Accounts, you may not have noticed that in 1962/63 the excess expenditure over income was £961-3-1 and in 1963/64 it was £1,424-16-2 ! As regards income, although it was slightly higher in 1963/64, it was far below the needs of a movement like the W.R.I., growing as it is in its scope of activities and the demand on it from outside. The Secretariat and the Executive Committee have often discussed at great length ways and means of improving the situation and of discovering methods of establishing some system by which all Sections can contribute their bit towards the Headquarters' expenses. The suggestion that Sections contribute a certain percentage of their income has often been made. Our reaction to such a suggestion is that each Section should decide for itself how it will share in the Headquarters' commitments. After all, it is for the Sections to decide how the Headquarters should function. We are gratified to report that the ball has started rolling and some Sections have informed us of their decisions on this matter. For example one of the small Sections hopes to contribute approximately £100 per year. One Section sends regularly a sum which, though modest, is nearly a quarter of that Section's total annual income.

It is, though, worth noting here that in spite of the fact that our major job is to give service to Sections and to help to co-ordinate their work, Sections' total annual contribution is proportionately very small. The great bulk of W.R.I.'s income comes from individuals, either direct to the Headquarters or through our generous and devoted Financial Agents.

A word about Headquarters' Annual Estimates and their relation to actual expenditure. There can be two approaches here. One of them is that we make estimates based on actual average annual income. Looking at things realistically this would mean cutting down expenses (including reduction in staff which is already overworked) and hence curtailing activities. The other approach would be to make the estimates on the basis of demands on the movement. If we succeed even partially, the second approach would mean an ever-enlarging annual budget and therefore requiring greater efforts to collect funds. I can assure you that the Secretariat and the Honorary Treasurer do not spare any efforts toward this, but their efforts are limited. We must, in any case, depend on our Sections to help us to decide how much and what work we at Lansbury House should do and also rely on their help in finding the resources to do it.

P.T.O.

30/06

WAR REGISTER, INTERNATIONAL

It seems that, among others, one method which Sections may choose to help us out of this perpetual hand-to-mouth existence is to fix their own annual contribution either in the form of a fixed amount or a certain percentage of their income. This would help the W.R.I. to carry on its vital work with more confidence.

The International Council will review the question of finances at its meeting in Frankfurt at the end of July. May I therefore ask you to send your reactions immediately, especially on the point underlined.

Dear Friend,

I think it relevant to give you a picture of the Headquarters' finances. Although our Annual Accounts, you may not have noticed, show an excess expenditure over income was £951-3-1 and £1,424-10-2! As regards income, although it was slightly higher in 1953/54, it was far below the needs of a movement like the W.R.I., growing as it is in its scope of activities and its demand on its own outside. The Secretary and the Executive Committee have often discussed at great length ways and means of improving the situation and of discovering methods of establishing a fund by which all Sections can contribute their bit towards the Headquarters' expenses. The suggestion that Sections contribute a certain percentage of their income has often been made. Our reaction to such a suggestion is that each Section should decide for itself how it will share in the Headquarters' commitments. After all, it is for the Sections to decide how the Headquarters should function. We are entitled to report that the fall has started rolling and some Sections have informed us of their decisions on this matter. For example one of the small Sections hopes to contribute approximately £100 per year. One Section sends regularly a sum which, though modest, is nearly a quarter of that Section's total annual income.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Dev Prasad

Secretary

It is, though, worth noting here that in spite of the fact that our major job is to give services to Sections and to help to co-ordinate their work, Sections' total annual contribution is proportionately very small. The great bulk of W.R.I. income comes from India, either direct to the Headquarters or through our generous and devoted financial agents.

A word about Headquarters' Annual Estimates and their relation to actual expenditure. There can be two approaches here. One of them is that we make estimates based on actual average annual income. Looking at things realistically this would mean cutting down expenses (including provision in case of war) which is already overworked) and hence curbing activities. The other approach would be to make the estimates on the basis of demands on the movement. If we succeed even partially, the second approach would mean an ever-increasing annual budget and therefore require greater efforts to collect funds. I can assure you that the Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer do not spare any efforts towards this, but their efforts are limited. We must, in any case, depend on our Sections to help us to decide how much and what work we at Lansbury House should do and also rely on their help in finding the resources to do it.

21.7.64

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

A REPORT ON CYPRUS

- Christopher Lake

In its February meeting the Executive Committee of the W.R.I. discussed the Cyprus situation and its implications for the peace movement. The Committee felt that there was a lack of information about the actual conditions on the island, therefore it was difficult to decide what peace movements could do towards stopping killing in Cyprus and drawing up a positive, long-term programme for action. The Executive Committee thought that a small team of competent people should be sent to Cyprus to explore the possibility of action by peace movements.

Some other peace movements and individuals in London were also concerned about Cyprus. An independent body called Peace in Cyprus Committee was formed on 15th March. The W.R.I. Secretariat took considerable interest in setting up the Committee. The proposal to send a team of one or two persons was accepted by the Committee. The International offered to extend financial support for one volunteer. Christopher Lake, who has worked in Cyprus and has knowledge of conditions there, volunteered. It was expected that the Peace in Cyprus Committee would find funds to finance other volunteers. Unfortunately it was not able to find either funds or volunteers to make up a team which was essential if a well-balanced study of the situation in Cyprus was to be expected.

Christopher Lake has submitted a comprehensive report of his 6-7 weeks' study of the conflict situation in the Island.

This report expresses Christopher Lakes' personal views and does not in any way reflect the opinions of the International and the Secretariat.

W.R.I. SECRETARIAT.

I left London on April 14th, 1964, and travelled by train from the Hook of Holland to Salonika where I visited my friends at the Quaker School for Rural Girls. On the train there were many Greeks returning home for Easter from their work in Western Germany and I had an opportunity of talking to some from Western Thrace. They told me that the Greeks and Turks who live there get on very well together and they could not understand why the Greeks and Turks in Cyprus could not do the same. At the Quaker School I found everyone greatly concerned about the question of Cyprus and also about the threats to the Patriarch of Constantinople and to the Greek minorities in Turkey which were being made at that time by the Turkish Government.

From Salonika I continued my journey to Athens where I made contact with the peace movement and had discussions with members of the Greek Peace Committee, the Bertrand Russell Committee, and the staff of the periodical "Ways of Peace". I also had conversations with two members of Parliament - one of whom I had met on the 1963 Aldermaston March - and they both gave me useful introductions to

Members of Parliament in Cyprus. I attended the Press Conference given on April 24th by the Joint Second Marathon March Committee where I heard that one of the slogans on the March would be "Peace and self-determination in Cyprus". Immediately after the March it was hoped to have an international discussion of the Cyprus problem with members of the overseas delegations participating in the March. They very much wanted to have Turks there, but they did not know whom to invite as there is no peace movement in Turkey with which to make contact. Owing to this same difficulty I decided to go straight to Cyprus without first visiting Turkey.

All those with whom I talked in Greece were agreed that the Cyprus problem must be solved on the basis of the United Nations Charter. The right of self-determination should be given to Cyprus, as to all other countries, and the normal rights given to minorities should be guaranteed by the United Nations who could have a permanent representative on the Island to ensure this. To the Greeks there is a great contrast between the attempt of the Cyprus Government to control the armed Turks who are in revolt, and the recent actions of the Turkish Government against the defenceless Greek minorities in Istanbul and on the islands of Imbros and Tenedos. There is a general belief that the British and the Americans are supporting the Turks in the hope that the policy of divide and rule will facilitate the maintenance of foreign bases on Cyprus. It is being asked why, if the Turks want partition in Cyprus, they do not offer partition to the various minorities (Kurds, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians) living in Turkey, and there is a feeling that if Cyprus is divided into two parts to satisfy the Turks it can be more easily divided into three or more parts to satisfy the British and the Americans as well.

While travelling from Greece to Cyprus by ship I had many opportunities of hearing forthright condemnations of British policy from my fellow passengers who did not immediately realise that I understood the Greek language. It was believed that the British forces with the U.N. were giving active support to the Turks, and those Cypriots who had come from London were disgusted by the general attitude of the British press and television which gave much more emphasis to the Turkish point of view.

I went to Cyprus with the general but unofficial blessing of the peace movement in Greece, but they believe that real peace can only be restored with a just political solution and that without this little can be done on a personal level. They admit that there have been acts of reprisal which they deplore in Cyprus and they hope that the Greeks will try not to respond in this way to Turkish provocation. I found that members of the peace movement in Greece were often very conscious of the fact that there were people waiting for a chance to accuse them of being unpatriotic, and therefore they were very anxious not to give the impression either in Greece or Cyprus that they were not wholeheartedly behind the Greek Cypriots at a time when the independence of the Island was being threatened.

As soon as I arrived in Limassol I made contact with the President of the Cyprus Peace Committee who lives there and with two other leading members. The Cyprus Peace Committee was most active about ten years ago when it collected over 100,000 signatures against the establishment of British bases. Its energies have been directed against foreign bases in Cyprus, and when conflict broke out between the Greek and Turkish communities it found itself inadequately prepared to meet this situation. It enjoys the support of the Left which has always advocated closer co-operation between the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus.

As I was not able to have meetings with people in official positions during the Greek Easter week-end, I was invited by one of my former pupils to stay in a small village in the mountains about 20 miles north of Limassol. This was a most useful experience because it enabled me to get back again into the life of Cyprus and to talk to many ordinary people before having my official contacts with those in authority. Many people said they could not understand why Britain should favour the Turks, and they compared the traditional friendship between Greece and Britain and co-operation in both world wars with the hostility or hostile neutrality of Turkey. One man who had served with the British during the last war complained to me that Cypriots had been urged to join up and fight for freedom everywhere, and they had become disillusioned as a result of the British refusal to give freedom to Cyprus when the war was over. Another man to whom I spoke said that all arms should be abolished and everyone allowed to live peacefully. Money should be spent on raising the standard of living and not on the potential destruction of the world. Many people blamed Anglo-American plans for the present trouble in Cyprus and insisted that the real enemy of the people was imperialism and not the peoples of other races. There was considerable support for Independence rather than for Union with Greece - "After all our efforts to be free we don't want to be ruled by Greece." - but the traditional desire for Enosis is still very strong.

On my return to Limassol I had conversations with many Greek people before going to Nicosia. There was general agreement that the previous harmonious relations between Greeks and Turks had been destroyed by the Turkish leadership and all the Greeks I spoke to were very keen that this friendship should be restored. They told me that many Turks when they are on their own and feel free to speak openly, express a similar desire. While I was in Limassol at this time Archbishop Makarios visited the town and paid a visit to the Turkish market. He also visited a number of mixed villages between Limassol and Paphos and he was welcomed by and received gifts of flowers from the Turks as well as the Greeks.

While travelling to Nicosia the taxi driver remarked that war brings no good and whether a Greek or a Turk is killed some family suffers a great loss. When I reached Nicosia I went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to arrange meetings with Archbishop Makarios and other members of the Government. I then went across the "Green Line" to the Turkish section and through the Information Office there I arranged to have meetings with Dr. Kutchuk and other Turkish leaders.

Whenever I crossed into the Turkish sector I had to pass a Turkish gun-post and show my passport. They seemed even more interested in my passport when I was departing and I got the impression that they were anxious to see that no Turks were leaving. On the Greek side there was nobody to stop and ask me who I was. Thus, while it would be quite impossible for a Greek to be allowed into the Turkish sector, it is only fear and distrust that prevents the Turks from going into the Greek sector. Frequently my Greek friends told me to be very careful of the Turks and my Turkish friends told me to be careful of the Greeks. The Green Line on which U.N. troops are stationed is a good thing in so far as it prevents bloodshed, but it is very bad in so far as it creates a kind of frontier between the Greeks and Turks and assists the idea of partition. The longer that the members of the two communities are kept apart the easier it is for hatred and suspicion to grow. There are many individuals on both sides who are longing to have contact with their friends on the other side. When I took greetings

to a Turkish friend of mine from one of his Greek friends he was so moved and delighted that he nearly burst into tears. This particular friend of mine was wounded in the fighting in December (without taking any part in it) and he was a hostage of the Greeks for a week, but he had no feelings of enmity. He was, however, terribly afraid, and most Turks now seem to be convinced by their own propaganda that the Greeks want to kill them all. Some Greek extremists, whom the Cyprus Government appear unable to control, have on various occasions taken Turks as hostages, and this probably does more than anything else to prevent the restoration of confidence. Most Greeks deplore and condemn this, but, owing to the lack of contact between the two communities, the Turks are not able to hear this - especially as it seems that their leaders do not want them to cultivate kindly feelings towards the Greeks.

When I went to see Dr. Kutchuk and told him that I came from a committee in London on which Turks were represented and which wanted to help to rebuild good relations between the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus, he replied that we could do nothing because after all the bad things the Greeks had done it was impossible for the two communities ever to live together again and Partition was the only solution to the problem. He said that I should go back to England and tell people about all the evil actions of the Greeks so that the desire of the Turks for Partition would be better understood. In my conversations with Turkish leaders I was frequently told that the Greeks could not be trusted and that they wished to treat the Turks as second-class citizens. I came to the conclusion that as the aim of the Turkish leadership is for some form of Partition they are most anxious to try and prove by every possible means that they cannot live with the Greeks. There seems to be remarkably little willingness on their part to try and improve relations because once they admit that it can be done their claim for Partition begins to collapse.

I went to see some of the thousands of Turkish refugees who are living in dreadfully overcrowded conditions - many of them in tents. Most of them have no work and they depend on the food sent in by the Red Crescent from Turkey. Some of them lost their homes in the fighting last December, others left their villages because they were afraid, and others were encouraged or forced to leave mixed villages by their leaders who were anxious to concentrate a large number of Turks in the area between Nicosia and Kyrenia as a step towards Partition. In most parts of Cyprus it is often easy to forget the abnormal state of affairs in the Island, but in the Turkish-controlled areas one can never forget it. In the Greek areas business goes on much as usual, though the economy is inevitably suffering, but in the Turkish areas there is little trade and most people have no work.

There are many varying stories as to how the fighting started last December. The Turks maintain that the Greeks attacked them while the Greeks insist that it was the other way round. It appears that the Turks had been preparing something but that the actual fighting started by accident. According to Greek friends of mine in whom I have confidence the Cyprus Government was not prepared for the armed conflict and that is why the police were unfortunately in need of assistance from irregular bands of former EOKA fighters. There is no doubt that brutal acts have been committed by people on both sides, but while I found the Greeks willing to admit and regret the actions of some Greeks, the Turks were always most unwilling to admit that anything wrong had been done on their side. When Dr. Kutchuk was telling me about the damage done to Turkish property by

the Greeks he was most displeased when I asked him about the damage done by the Turks to the property of the Armenian minority in Nicosia. A Greek Member of Parliament told me that as the Greek-Cypriots wanted the unjust provisions of the Constitution to be changed it was natural that they should seek the sympathy of the other countries of the world in their struggle for justice. It would, therefore, have been completely unreasonable for them to attempt to massacre the Turks and thus lose the support of world opinion. On the other hand it was quite logical for the Turks to seek to provoke the Greeks into retaliation and then call upon Turkey to come to their rescue and enforce Partition. I was told by a Turkish friend of mine that the Turkish leadership in Cyprus received its instructions from Ankara, and there is no doubt that the trouble in Cyprus helps to distract the Turks of Turkey from looking at the unsatisfactory state of affairs in their own country.

When I asked Dr. Kutchuk why in the event of Partition he was claiming 38 percent of the Island for the Turks when they were only 18 percent of the population, he said that this claim was based on the amount of land owned by the Turks. This figure does not, however, agree with the official statistics (which the Turks assisted in preparing) showing that 20.5 percent of the land belongs to the Turks. It should also be pointed out here that Partition is a completely undemocratic idea in Cyprus because wherever a dividing line is drawn there will be a large majority of Greeks on both sides of the line. The wishes of over 80 percent of the population who do not desire Partition must surely be respected if a democratic solution is to be achieved. I am quite convinced that not all the Turks want Partition, and when I went to Paphos I took the opportunity of going to see Dr. Ihsan Ali who is the leader of the opposition to Dr. Kutchuk. The life of Dr. Ihsan Ali has often been threatened and his house is now protected by the Greek police. He believes that Greeks and Turks can and should live together in friendship as they have done for so many years in the past and he is quite certain that there are many Turks who share this view. He blames the present Turkish leadership for the trouble in Cyprus and says that armed Turkish extremists terrorise those Turks who wish to have friendly relations with the Greeks. He is opposed to the idea of Union with Greece and looks forward to the day when Greeks and Turks can really work together for the good of an independent and neutral Cyprus. He considers that the United Nations should disarm the illegal Greek and Turkish forces in the Island (but not the forces of the Cyprus Government) so that people could express themselves freely again. He felt that it was difficult for our Committee to do much on a personal level before a political solution was reached, because while the future was so uncertain people were afraid of committing themselves during the present dangerous situation. I heard of and met a number of Turks who support the ideas of Dr. Ihsan Ali but who are afraid to express themselves openly.

When I went to see Archbishop Makarios he said that he did not favour a solution by force as killing does no good to anybody. A just political solution by negotiations was the only satisfactory way out of the difficulty. He said that as soon as the effects of the Famagusta incidents (where some Greeks were murdered in cold blood by the Turks and where some innocent Turks - including a great friend of mine - were taken as hostages by Greek extremists) had calmed down he would try to make further proposals for bringing peace to Cyprus. I said that the taking of hostages was one of the chief things which prevented the restoration of confidence amongst the Turks, and he was obviously very upset about this

question. He said that he had sent people to all parts of Cyprus to try and put an end to the taking of hostages and on the same day that I saw him he issued a very strong statement on this matter. I asked him whether we should take up the question of foreign bases in the Island and he said that it was good for us to do so though he himself had too many problems without bringing up that one just at present. He insisted that Cyprus must be free from outside intervention. While he appeared to favour an independent Cyprus, he agreed with me that in the event of Union with Greece the Island should be demilitarized as in the case of Rhodes and the other Dodecanese Islands when they were joined to Greece in 1947. He felt that our Committee could at present be of most use in England, but he promised to call upon us if he thought we could be of help in the future in bringing Greeks and Turks more closely together. I came away with the impression that Archbishop Makarios is trying his best to be a restraining influence and his desire for peaceful methods was confirmed to me by some extremist Greeks who complained that if they "did not have this priest who does not want bloodshed" they could get on with the job of fighting the Turks.

The Greek-Cypriot leader of the House of Representatives expressed the view that Cyprus needed a Constitution which would bring Greeks and Turks together. They should be more mixed up rather than separated. People should vote for political parties and not because of race. If there were a common electoral roll and Greeks had to work for Turkish votes, and Turks for Greek votes, in order to secure election, the more moderate elements would tend to come to the top rather than the fanatic nationalists of either race. In order to prevent only Greeks being elected it could be written into the Constitution that a certain number of members must be Turks. Greeks and Turks would gradually become united as conservatives, liberals or socialists and live together as different races do in so many other countries.

While in Nicosia I had long and informative talks with the Minister of Finance and with the Minister of Labour. I also talked to a large number of Greek and Turkish members of Parliament and to the member who represents the small Armenian minority. The Armenian representative told me that his community is very satisfied with the treatment it has received from the Cyprus Government, and he felt that the Greeks had gone out of their way to help the Turks. He considered that the present conflict was largely due to the frustration of the Greeks at not being really free after so many centuries of foreign rule and to the suspicion of the Turks about Greek intentions. He thought that the Turkish (and other) minority should be given protection rather than special rights because all Cypriots should enjoy the same rights as equal citizens. He felt it would help to improve the situation if the Greeks, as the majority, were prepared to adopt a really generous attitude towards the Turkish minority, and I am glad to say that I met many Greeks who were prepared to do this.

I talked to many people who felt that Turkey would not threaten Cyprus unless she was confident that she enjoyed Anglo-American support. There was also a strong feeling among the Greek-Cypriots that the Anglo-Americans were trying to break down their unity. The Americans seemed to be giving increasing favour to the idea of Union with Greece as a means of getting Cyprus into NATO. They were worried about the strength of the left-wing in Cyprus and were afraid that the Island might become a second Cuba if it were really independent. Members of the Left felt that the moderate and independent line taken by Makarios was a hindrance to the Americans and that they were trying to use the extreme Right against him. The

recent return of General Grivas gives support to this theory.

Britain has probably never been less popular amongst the Greeks than she is to-day, and one of my best friends in Cyprus said that any peace initiative originating in Britain (e.g. Peace in Cyprus Committee) was immediately suspect. He felt that our first job was to try and build better relations between the Cypriots and the British before we tackled anything else. He said that friendship had been quickly restored after the EOKA fighting ended in 1959, but he thought it would take much longer now after the misrepresentation and pro-Turkish attitude of the British press and radio. British policy appeared to be aimed at the division of the Island in the hope of preserving the Bases more easily. He felt that foreign interests were the real cause of trouble in Cyprus and that they were making use of the fanatical nationalists on both sides. He said that there were always people who enjoyed playing at being soldiers, and it would be a good thing if the peace movement throughout the world did more to make people laugh at military men and not admire them. In Cyprus the extremists on both sides believed that they were the real patriots when in fact they were helping each other to destroy trust and goodwill in the Island. He regretted that Makarios did not appear to be strong enough to come out more firmly against the right-wing extremists, as he was afraid that he might give too much strength to the left if he attempted to form a popular front which could really deal with the present problem.

From Nicosia I paid a visit to many of my friends near Kyrenia where I lived in 1946-47. It was not possible for me to travel on the direct road as most of it is in the Turkish-held area. As an Englishman I could have travelled through in a vehicle of my own, but it was quite impossible for a Greek or Turkish taxi to attempt such a journey. I went by bus by a very roundabout route (40 miles instead of 16 - but the fare is still only 2/-), and this gave me an opportunity of seeing a number of burnt Turkish houses in one of the villages we passed through. In Kyrenia I heard about how the people in the Greek villages had suffered from the armed Turks who had occupied the mountain peaks just above them until the Greeks had made a determined effort to drive them from their positions a few weeks previously. An old friend of mine who has been custodian of St. Hilarion Castle for many years told me that in January two English officers asked him to unlock the castle for them to have a look round and see that everything was all right. Two days later the Turks occupied this mountain-top castle, and my friend thus got the impression that the English officers had been to see whether there were any armed Greeks there. I was told many stories about different ways in which the British have been helping the Turks, and whether or not they are true they are believed by most Greek-Cypriots. I think that in some cases the British troops moved in to prevent retaliation by the Greeks after a Turkish attack, the Turks came to rely on this happening, and the Greeks felt that the British were assisting their enemies. There are still some Turks in St. Hilarion Castle and I was not far away when they began firing at some U.N. (Canadian) troops who were protecting some Greek peasants harvesting in the fields below the castle. I also saw the local school bus which had been damaged by gunfire. There have also been cases of Greeks firing at U.N. troops, but on the whole the Greeks seem more willing to support the efforts of the U.N. in Cyprus. There is, however, a general feeling that the U.N. should be doing more to get life back to normal.

From Nicosia I moved on to Famagusta where I lived from 1951 to 1955. I went to visit my old house in the Turkish part of the town within the huge Venetian walls and I received a warm welcome

from my former neighbours. Greeks and Turks still work together in the harbour, but otherwise there is little contact between the two communities. The Turks who work in the harbour only keep one-third of their wages for themselves and the rest is used to help the many Turks who have no work. On the whole I found the general atmosphere much better than in Nicosia. Amongst the Greeks I found strong condemnation of the taking of Turkish hostages by some extremists who did not represent the wishes of the vast majority. I saw a number of leading citizens both Greek and Turkish, but they did not tell me many things that I had not heard before. The Greeks wanted the U.N. to bring an end to the "green lines" which kept the two communities apart, while the Turks believed that everything could be solved by Partition. It should be mentioned that to some Turks Partition means giving part of the Island to Turkey and part to Greece, to others it means a Greek and a Turkish part within a federal independent state of Cyprus, and to others it means a number of self-governing Turkish areas within the Island. On my way back to Limassol I spent a day in Larnaca where I also talked to Greeks and Turks.

From Limassol I paid a visit to Paphos where, as well as meeting Dr. Ihsan Ali as I have already mentioned, I had talks with leading members of the Greek community. The Bishop of Paphos complained that the policy of the British was making people of all parties turn towards Russia. It is certainly very true that many anti-communists now regard Russia in a most friendly way. They complain that they have only received false friendship from the West while the firm stand taken by Russia in support of Cyprus has prevented the often threatened invasion from Turkey.

Back in Limassol I saw all the local Members of Parliament and, among other things, I discussed the proposed introduction of conscription. It was felt that this action was necessary in face of the continuing threats from Turkey, and that it would also be a means of getting all armed Greeks more firmly under Government control. Two left-wing members who belong to the Cyprus Peace Committee and one right-wing member who is a friend of General Grivas and who has recently joined the W.R.I. all promised to do their best to see that the rights of conscientious objectors were respected. The general atmosphere in Limassol is much better than elsewhere because there is no "green line" and I often saw Turks in the Greek part of the town. When I talked to one of the leading members of the Turkish community he agreed that, in spite of two days severe fighting some months ago, the situation in Limassol was much better than in the other towns in Cyprus, and he did not insist that Partition was the only solution. The Greek District Commissioner told me that he has set up a liaison committee with the Turks which is working very well. He attributed the better state of affairs in Limassol to his firm refusal to accept any other authority there. He told me that a hundred Turks, who said they were afraid to live in a Greek village and went away, now return one by one to harvest their crops and have coffee in the Greek coffee shop.

As the boat on which I was travelling from Limassol to Greece happened to call at Rhodes for a few hours, I decided to spend this time visiting some members of the Turkish minority there. I had been told by some Turks in Cyprus that the Turks in Rhodes suffered very much under Greek rule. I managed to meet about ten Turks in shops and schools and to talk to them without any Greeks being present, and not one of them made any complaint about conditions there. On the contrary they were very contented and could not understand why there was so much trouble in Cyprus. On the boat I

met a few Turks who were travelling from Cyprus to England and they all said they supported the views of Dr. Ihsan Ali that Greeks and Turks could live together in friendship. One of them told me that armed Turks had tried to prevent him from leaving his village and that they did not like him because he wanted to be friendly with the Greeks. I asked him for his address in England but he did not want to give it to me as he was afraid that some Turks might make trouble for him even in England if it was known that he opposed the views of the Turkish Cypriot leadership. Conditions for the Turks in Cyprus are very bad in some areas and many of them who have the means to do so are leaving for Turkey or England. They often do this secretly in order to avoid obstacles which may be put in their way by their own leaders. Although the Turks are complaining about the Greeks introducing conscription, most young Turks are being given military training in their own areas.

After spending a few days in Greece reporting back to members of the peace movement there on my visit to Cyprus, I travelled back to England by train and arrived on June 6th. Thanks to the generosity of my many friends in Greece and Cyprus my total expenses were only £110.

I consider that there is very little that we could do in Cyprus at the present moment without having people with a knowledge of the languages. It might then be possible to work outwards from the villages where Greeks and Turks are still living together and to spread the idea that the real interests of all Cypriots are identical. Most people are getting very tired of the present situation and want peace to return quickly to the island, but this weariness has its dangers because it encourages some to think that the problem could be solved by quick military action. It is to be hoped that a just solution can soon be reached through the United Nations so that Greeks and Turks can feel free to meet together again in all parts of Cyprus. Then perhaps we could help Greeks to rebuild Turkish houses and Turks to rebuild Greek and Armenian ones as a step towards the rebuilding of real friendship between the two communities. In the meantime I think that the Peace in Cyprus Committee should continue its good work of trying to get Greek and Turkish Cypriots in London to come more closely together in the hope that greater understanding here may be reflected in Cyprus.

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## TECHNICAL AID AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Pierre Martin Dumeste

- Technical aid to underdeveloped countries raises many hesitations in public opinion in the countries which finance this aid. Sometimes people ask whether the help really is used for Africans or Asians who need it, or whether it is used to strengthen the power of governments or tyrants.
- It is undoubtedly the case that the birth of independence of most African States is accompanied by the suppression - legal or otherwise - of the opposition, whose members are imprisoned or condemned to death, in complete defiance of the Human Rights.
- Ever since the League of Nations, (on the occasion of the Ethiopian War) it has been thought possible to gain respect for international law by economic sanctions. They have always been seen to be ineffective, when directed against industrial countries and the present examples of South Africa shows how difficult it is to obtain agreement when private interests are threatened.
- It would perhaps be easier to obtain agreement on the principle; and in any case it would be a moral duty for W.R.I. to propose such a solution with the object of ensuring the liberation or the improvement of conditions for those who are imprisoned solely for their convictions.
- All the countries of the Third World (Tiers Monde) have signed the U.N. Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights; so it cannot be said to be interference in the internal affairs of these States if we ask that all requests for aid, loans, experts, etc. made to international organisms, should be considered as unacceptable if the State in question does not respect Human Rights and does not ensure for its minorities and political opposition, laws which respect individual convictions.
- This warrant for the respect of the international rules usually accepted, might be issued by the Commission which the Mediterranean Committee has just agreed on; at least this could be applied as long as the Convention creating a Court for the Application of the Declaration of Human Rights has not been created.
- It is evident that this sort of sanction could not be applied automatically in the case of bilateral aid, since it is hardly likely that all States will accept such an obligation. But it would then be possible to present to the public opinion of the country wishing to give aid, that such aid would represent complicity in oppression.

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War Resisters' International  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex, England

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONALCOMMENTS ON PEACE-WORKERS EXCHANGE PROGRAMME-INDIA, EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

From Barnaby Martin, Leader of Peace Action Centre, Frodsham,  
Great Britain

"About your scheme for exchanging volunteers. I agree with it of course, and would like to see it develop. I think that we could have a foreigner staying here for a month any time without doubt. I feel there is a good chance that a volunteer going to USA and India would put in some work studying host country beforehand and go there well prepared. Actually I believe that the scheme will increase the number of fulltime peace workers in the international movement. The tendency will be for people to leave their jobs here and go to work in USA fulltime, hospitality provided for a foreign guest by some US family, etc.

I presume that the first step is to seek out the organisations that will make use of a foreign volunteer for all or part of his stay and fix some accommodation. Finding a suitable volunteer should not be too difficult. I do not believe that the system of moving 5 volunteers from each area to each of the others at the same time is very important, nor is likely to be practicable at first. Each volunteer will meet plenty of people at various peace movement conferences anyway and comparing notes with his fellow countrymen would only be of marginal benefit.

Therefore I suggest making arrangements one by one, at least for the time being. W.R.I. is well fitted for the task of finding the places and I hope you will go ahead with this. I hope that we are going to build up more international contacts from here and may be capable of operating a small exchange scheme ourselves one day."

From Niels Mathiesen, Secretary of International Peace Bureau

"Generally speaking I am very much for the plan, and if something gets established, I think this office should be one of the first to get involved.

One must bear in mind that perhaps the most important factor which determines the differences between Indian, American and European peace work is not so much that people's mentality, philosophy or socio-political approach differ, but much more that the job to do, the immediate task before your nose, is very, very different.

Now, you may say that I think too much about the practical matters, and you may be right there. Still I would stress that the aim of the exchange should be that the peace workers after having completed their two years' study abroad should have learnt something which makes them more efficient to do the work in their home country, provided they intend to go back there to work.

I certainly am all for the internationalisation of peace work and a consolidation of forces, but not for the internationalisation of our problems, the problems which are so very different and which determine the way of working in the different parts of the world.

To widen your mental horizon is always a valuable thing for everybody, regardless of your job. Nevertheless, I would again stress the importance of learning something which helps you in your own work at home.

It will be a quite expensive programme, and no peace organisation with normal, limited resources will think it worth while to invest in sending a secretary over to Europe to study the German problems, when what he is supposed to do when he comes back to Los Angeles is to work with CORE. Nor would e.g. this office be particularly interested in employing someone whose force it is to organise demonstrations but who does not speak English, or who cannot organise a smooth-working filing system.

Therefore, to continue the line of thought where this office might come into the picture, I feel that we would need more an efficient American newspaper reader than a Shanti Seinik, and I myself would need much more to stay in the CPRI clipping holes in punched cards than to work with Luther King.

With the growth of organised peace work, specialisation comes in, and is here, as everywhere else, both good and bad. This may also partly be an argument against your suggestion that the exchange peace workers should try to cover as much as possible of peace activities while they are abroad. To work with as many peace organisations as possible in a two-year period will be important for a relatively small number, those whose job is international coordination and cooperation. But for a girl from Finland, working in a women's peace movement there, it is probably better, during her stay in the US, to work one year with WISP and one with WILPF, than to spend a fortnight with each of some dozens of various groups.

If you believe that these are arguments against the idea as such, you are of course wrong. As I said in the beginning, I have been very much for this idea ever since Ted Olson of TTP launched the Peace Intern programme, and I am really glad that you have taken this up. I think the IPB should take part in the programme from the very beginning. Only, as I said, if we are going to employ a person under this scheme, or any other scheme, it must be someone who can do a good job here.

I hope we will get the opportunity to get back to this matter more concretely in the near future."

From Narayan Desai, Secretary of Shanti Sena, India

"You already know we have been thinking of such a Workers' Exchange Programme for some time. But I must confess that I have not the same enthusiasm about it as I had before. While thinking of such a project we must be absolutely clear that there is nothing that we can teach these volunteers.

The other important thing is that India today has not much to offer to others, nor has the West much to give. Both are trying to find the way. Neither has yet been able to find it. Of course, on the basis of the hard experiences both have had, ideas can be exchanged, but I don't think there is very much to learn from that.

We cannot ignore the financial aspect. The Indian peace move-

ment is not very well off and, as far as I know, the British and Americans are in the same state. They even expect help from India. But if the volunteers can earn their travelling expenses by working on ships or in some other way and if they can get some money for their daily expenses by giving talks, then such a programme can be practical. I don't approve of planning such projects depending on organisations.

After the last Sarvodaya Conference we have taken up a very full programme. Keeping that in view, it seems very difficult to send out workers from India, especially those in responsible positions, because it would do great harm to the movement and I hope you are not thinking of sending "raw boys".

From Mannohan Chowdhri, Chairman of Sarva Seva Sangh, India

"Your memo on Exchange of Workers is, as it is, very good. Some of us met here to discuss it. But, looking at the situation in our country, we came to the conclusion that it will not be possible to adopt it as an independent project, especially because our energies should now be spent on the "three-point-programme" decided at the last Sarvodaya Conference. We have a limited number of workers of high calibre who can go out. If they do so, the local work will suffer. We think, therefore, that this kind of work should be organised on individual basis, which means that we should use the opportunity when somebody from here goes out. For instance, Mankumar Sen has gone to the States and he may be able to spend a few months in Europe before his return home."

From Neil D. Haworth, Committee for Nonviolent Action, U.S.A.

"I have read with interest your proposal for the international exchange of peace workers between the U.S., Britain and India for extended periods of work in one of the other countries. I have discussed this with a few members of the CNVA executive committee. The response is generally one of enthusiasm to the idea but a complete absence of any idea of how the money to finance such a project can be obtained. I greatly fear that it will be infeasible to proceed with such a program on the scale you suggest unless there is some radical increase in the funds available to the movements concerned."

From Sonja Larssen, Stavanger Peace Bureau, Norway

"The plan about peace workers' exchange is very good indeed. It certainly is very important that we get to know each other better, that we learn to think universally. That is our business, as the politicians really don't.

The proposal is good. The question of money is a little more difficult, but if this idea would seem to be effective, if inspiration and a clearer feeling of being-together would come out of it, it might not be too difficult to raise the necessary money, even though peace organisations are not very well-to-do. Peace workers certainly could come and stay for some time - without having any expenses - but for how long time would it be, and will there be more than one? Well, it is not so easy to tell everything now. - But the journey itself, should it be paid by the traveller himself? You see, we think about our own special circumstances and we do not have much to live

by.

You ask whether "our organisation would be interested to participate actively in the project." The Peace Bureau is not an organisation, really, but, please, let us hear of the "actions" when something comes up. We should like to participate whenever we can.

From E.A. Huisman, Training Centre in Non-Violence, Holland

"Your scheme for peace workers' exchange between different regions which you sent me with your letter dated 5th June seems to me a good idea. I am very interested in it and I am convinced that this kind of workers' exchange is necessary for a better understanding of each other.

It is not so astonishing that the peace movements of India, America and Europe do not completely understand each other. The same can be said of the peace movements within Europe. The problem is they all have peace as their aim, but the way they wish to follow is often different. What they understand by peace also shows differences.

I believe that to a large extent this is connected with the circumstance that we do not know well what non-violent action exactly is. We are studying Gandhi too little and are too much busy with economical, social and political discussions, just as with problems of armament and disarmament.

If you get an exchange of volunteers, the question "what is non-violent action" will have to stand primary. This has to be the tying element, the leading theme. Around it all kinds of political, economic and social problems will come up for discussion, together with the differences in the various regions.

You write: "They should study the social and political conditions of their own country and the non-violent movement. A correspondence course should be organised to provide them with some understanding of the peace movement in the West." Further you give the subjects of that course.

It is very much you want the volunteers to know. But I do not read anything of non-violent action and of what Gandhi can teach us.

As I already said: Is this the base on which we can find each other? Who is going to work out the programme and who will care for the courses?

My organisation is very interested in your project, but we are very busy to realize our training centre with only a few men and can not help you now. The only thing we can do is to receive the volunteers at our centre for some time.

Nevertheless I should be glad if you could keep me posted and I shall help to try to realize the project as far as possible."

From Dennis Gould, Committee of 100

"I am quite convinced that more travelling between the countries mentioned is essential for those that have already had experience in their respective countries.

What concerns me is that when there is such a need for just half a dozen people to go to Cyprus and act as intermediaries; or for half a dozen people to go to the Southern States of America; or for a small group to get to Aden and test out the situation there, we should have to be considering more intellectual and academic programmes - though I think this could be nothing but helpful, there seems to be this lack of confidence that prevents us from sending small well-briefed teams into conflict areas. I do not think money would be an insurmountable problem.

The volunteers would gain training only in the doing of such work, though it is absolutely vital that these people be absolutely trained as to the history and geography of the conflict situation.

I am against the more travelling without adequate projects, be they a mixture of work camps leading up to actions and seminars, public meetings or country-wide tours."

From Andreas Buro, Easter March Movement in Germany

"Exchange of Peace-workers: I think that this is an excellent idea. I would like to discuss only with you if it is really sensefull to send at the present situation people from Europe to India, where the conditions are so totally different from the situation in Europe, where they shall become effective. I can see quite well that it might be very helpful to exchange people with America. Of greatest importance, however, is according to my view to exchange people in Europe to come to a closer cooperation in this area, which has been very bad up to now instead of the fact that we had an European and have an International Confederation. I have to confess that I have not thought intensively enough about these questions and would therefore like very much to discuss this with you."

From Kenneth Lee, Secretary of Society of Friends Peace Committee

"Thank you for your letter of the 5th June with the scheme for peace workers exchange between different regions. I agree that there is a real need for more understanding between members of different groups throughout the Peace Movement. I think it would be easier for workers in one organisation to exchange with those in other branches of the same organisation. I think it would be more difficult for a worker from say, the W.R.I., to change to the Committee of 100, or for an F.o.R. member to work within the C.N.D.

A course of introduction might be useful to anyone in the peace movement whether they can later get abroad or not and I would favour some sort of plan for this; perhaps Tony told you that we are exploring the possibility of working out a basic training programme for organisations belonging to the Confederation. It might be sensible to link the two ideas and having completed their training, serve as one requirement for selection. This would be the equivalent to the general rule of Work Camps that an international volunteer shall

have first taken part in work camps in his own country.

I should be interested to see how realistic others think the proposal is. The fact that most peace organisations have rather small staffs would suggest they cannot easily add a member of staff who would need to be carried for some time. On the other hand if the visitor were to spend only a short time with each organisation he would demand a great deal of attention and be able to render very little service in return.

I think if the proposal were to go forward it would be important to relate it to an international organisation, even if some of the work were done by different national organisations as would almost certainly be the case.

These are random remarks on a first reading and I would want a good deal more thought before I could give either a yea or nay, even in principle to the proposals. I hope I shall be kept in touch with any further thinking which is done on this."

From Charles C. Walker, World Peace Brigade, North American Region

"Prior to your letter, Jim Bristol had shown me a copy of your memorandum, an interesting proposal indeed.

There is surely a need for interaction of the various peace movements, in the attempt to clarify their goals, outlooks, and possible working relationships. I trust that when you were talking about the "American" movement you were including Canada.

You make this proposal regarding leaders of the "international peace movement." It would then seem inappropriate to have this as a major undertaking of the World Peace Brigade, which is only one factor in it. The more appropriate agency would be the international confederation, which would find such a project well within its purview. The idea might be advanced in two ways. One would be to try to get a fund for the international confederation aimed primarily at leadership exchange. This is done in other organisations as well. A second approach might be to use existing channels of leadership exchange, and try to get some of our people as part of such undertakings. Thus, the financial problem would be considerably eased and it would be a good thing in any case. For any program of the dimensions you are suggesting, I would not see any financial answer. Furthermore, will any segment permit such a large group of its key leaders to be away that long? I would doubt it."

From David McReynolds, Field Secretary of War Resisters League

"The exchange of peace workers sounds as if it would be of considerable value, if all the problems of money and personnel could be worked out. I have been in tentative touch with Dimitri Roussopoulos and Charles Walker over a possible U.S.-British Canadian peace workers confrontation in late summer or early fall, probably on the border of Canada. This is all most tentative but I did want to let you have some idea, at least, that we are thinking of this. Our thinking (and this is very tentative, based on an evening's discussion with Charles Walker, Dimitri, and myself had last month at an AFSC institute) is that it would be most valuable to bring together ten or so peace workers from Canada and from the U.S. and several from England for perhaps five days discussion of where our

various movements are now, what their problems are, how they can be related, etc. I think, frankly, that this "triangle" of U.S.-Canada-England is more immediately logical for many reasons than the larger "triangle" of India, Europe and North America. Incidentally, if one is to work on that very much larger basis, I would hope Japan might be included as well, as they could play a most strategic role in any developing world peace movement."

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88 Park Avenue  
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16.7.1964

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

21. 7. 64

COMMENTS ON MANDELA'S STATEMENT

In response to our letter (6/64 dated 29th May 1964) enclosing Nelson Mandela's statement at the Pretoria Court, we have up till now received the following comments. We wrote to nearly 100 people, and, although the replies are very few in number, they represent a good variety of opinions and are in some cases provocative, hence could become a useful basis for further discussion.

From Adam Roberts, "Peace News", 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

"I think Mandela's statement has one serious weakness, which is in his discussion of non-violence on page 2. He doesn't really say much more than that up to the summer of 1961 non-violence had achieved little and that it had been repressed with violence. To my mind the first point may be true, but the lesson of it is not the one he apparently draws, that one should therefore turn to violence, but that one should consider whether violence itself is likely to be a practical strategy and also whether any alternative non-violent strategy can be devised.

In discussing the South African situation, which I think is a valuable thing to do, I think it is worth looking at the discussion there was in "Peace News" last summer which, in articles by Gene Sharp and others, tried to discuss the situation in practical terms, and aroused rather little response. Quite honestly, I feel that Mandela's statement is not really a suitable basis for discussion, as it was not intended for that purpose. It is, rather, a piece of special pleading."

From G. Ramachandran, Gandhigram, Ambaturai (RY.STN), Madurai Dist., India.

"We know that Nelson Mandela and some of his comrades have been sentenced to life imprisonment. The man challenged the evil forces in South Africa by stating he was ready to die. But they want him to live a living death. The South African prisons are notorious for cruelty and indecency. The conscience of mankind must not allow Nelson Mandela and his friends to be condemned to a living death. We must raise this matter in the United Nations and in the parliaments of the world. We must demand their release and press for it from every direction. But we must do more than this. We must give notice to the South African Government that volunteers will push their way into South Africa demanding the release, volunteers of Peace and Liberation. These volunteers will certainly be prevented from entering. We must then put up (with) satyagraha and court imprisonment or worse. The issue must be kept alive. South Africa must never be given rest or reprieve. Free African States must be approached to help build a satyagraha camp and a satyagraha force at some appropriate place on the South African border. We must make Nelson Mandela badges or medals and spread them into every country. Meetings must be held in the capitals of states everywhere to condemn what has happened and to demand the release of the prisoners. We must press upon Governments to boycott South Africa at every level and in regard to every kind of connection, political and economic. This move is already on but not effectively enough. All this will be big work and

cannot be done in a small way. Above all Mandela and his friends in prison must be made to know that the whole world is behind them and will continue to press for justice in every legitimate way open to it.

We must put our heads together and forge the sanctions."

From Norman Z. Alcock, Canadian Peace Research Institute, Clarkson,  
Ontario, Canada

"This is in reply to your mimeographed letter of May 29th which moved me greatly for its sincerity and openminded honesty. Within the last couple of weeks of course Mandela has been sentenced to his life imprisonment and the whole ugly problem has become more real than ever.

I should like to reply to your questions as an individual, not necessarily as someone associated with a Peace Research Institute, although, undoubtedly, this activity colours my thinking. Non-violence seems to me to be an enormously powerful tool, a method for implementing social change which has proven itself to be powerful and effective. As such I believe it should be thoroughly studied to determine what makes it effective from a psychological and sociological viewpoint; where can it most usefully be used and by the same token where it cannot be most usefully used. I should become greatly concerned if non-violence per se obtains the position of almost an ideology; it is, I think, a method and nothing more and as such a method open to analysis, criticism, refinement and improvement. It is in fact an ideal subject for peace research and the basis of an enormously plausible hypothesis.

But you can rightly say "we haven't time to wait for research to find new answers, we must operate on a basis of knowledge gained already." Quite so. It is then quite reasonable to adopt the completely experimental approach of using non-violence and continuing to use it where experience shows it to be effective as of course notably in India at the time of her emancipation and in the American south at the present time. Where, however, it does not seem to work, as summarized so eloquently by Mandela, then there should be no bewilderment or embarrassment at adopting another tactic.

As long as we are in the area of speculation and unproven hypotheses rather than hard research, may I make another comment. I believe that social change can be hastened, and here I am thinking of rapid evolution rather than recourse to revolution, by means of a spectrum of activities. Within this spectrum is action ranging from the greatest co-operation with the "establishment" on the one hand to violent action on the other. I believe we must honestly admit that Martin Luther King's activities have been aided by the latent fear in the minds of the establishment that if they cannot come to an agreement with the moderates, the radicals will take over. Therefore in all honesty we must assume that even the violent radicals are playing a useful part in Alabama, Mississippi, etc. By the same token, however, there seems every need in the American situation to have the great bulk of activity in this moderate centre; whether there is room for such a group in South Africa, I certainly do not know, nor can I even guess.

Thank you for asking me for my views. All best wishes to you in your present re-appraisal."

From Heinz Kraschutzki, Casa Les Estrellas, Cala Ratjada (Mallorca),  
Spain

"The two Secretaries General were right in regarding Nelson Mandela's statement at the trial at Pretoria as a serious challenge to all followers of the idea of non-violence. My views on this point are as follows:

1) Non-violence is one of the noblest principles the human race has invented ever since it started a civilized life on this planet. The enormous success achieved by the application of this principle at the struggle to liberate India, by which the whole structure of the ill-famed colonial era got a deadly blow, makes it impossible ever to give up this procedure.

2) However, we should always shrink back from establishing any principle whatsoever, noble and effective as it seems to be, as an infallible dogma. Human life, especially when lived in society, is so enormously complex that I think it should be a principle never to have infallible principles.

3) In my opinion non-violence is before all an attitude every person can adopt in his private affairs, in his relations with others. It is fit for private life much more than for public life, and as private actions are, in the lives of all of us, much more frequent than our interventions in public affairs, the strengthening of the idea of non-violence and the belief in it can best be achieved, when private persons believing in the effectiveness of non-violence practise non-violence in their personal lives as much as possible. It will make them more sure of themselves and be the best example for others.

4) The application of non-violence in public affairs implies a good deal of responsibility for others. The same as we do not respect a general who sends his men into action remaining himself far behind, we think that a person summoning others to non-violent resistance should be willing to accept the consequences himself. Gandhi is the best example, as always. Nelson Mandela is evidently up to his task and is worthy of highest praise.

That serious consequences are possible after violent or non-violent resistance has been undertaken, is a warning not to organise such actions if there is no hope for success.

5) Two pre-conditions must be given if a major non-violent action can be risked with the possibility of success.

a) The entire nation or group must be in agreement with the action. Non-violence will never work for party politics or in a case when one part of a nation or group wants to achieve some progress which would be against the rights of another part.

In the two major non-violent actions we know, the liberation of India from colonial rule and the struggle of the coloured people of the South of the U.S.A. this condition existed or exists.

All Indians wanted to be free of colonial rule. All Southern negroes in U.S.A. want that the conditions of equality which are provided for in the Constitution of the U.S.A. be fairly applied.

It looks as if this condition also exists in South Africa. We are right when we assume that all negroes and Indians in the Union of South Africa want apartheid to end.

b) The ruling nation or group must to a certain degree be of good will also.

In India, the British, whatever they had against granting independence to India, had not the intention to exterminate the Indians in order to perpetuate their rule. So they finally yielded.

In U.S.A. the whites are strongly divided. It is only a minority that wants to keep the negroes from attaining equal rights, and the Constitution is strongly in favour of the non-violent struggle of the negroes.

Communists have no race prejudice and want to win over the whole mankind to their creed. An upheaval against their government means in itself a sort of defeat for them, as it shows that they have not been successful in winning the sympathies of those under their rule. This has the consequence that they are particularly susceptible for non-violent actions. Such an action undertaken by German P.O.W's in a Siberian camp was successful; so were also numerous isolated actions in East Germany after the upheaval of June 16th 1953 and after the rioting in Budapest.

On the contrary, the Hitlerites were in quite another position. They believed to belong to a superior race and wanted to dominate, not to win over the whole world. While the Communists like to make Communists of all others, the Hitlerites never thought of winning over the Jews. They wanted to exterminate them, the Poles also. They wanted not to convince the Russians to become good national-socialists, but they wanted them to do slave labour for them. This is why non-violent actions of the Jews against Hitler's rule were of no avail.

There were Jews who even without words of protest let themselves be slaughtered, shot, hanged or gassed, who in fact dug their own tombs and then stretched themselves inside to be shot there. Perfect non-violence, though not just non-violent resistance. There were other Jews, especially those of the Warsaw Ghetto, who fought heroically to the last man against their oppressors. And the result? Those who did not resist and those who did were annihilated just the same.

In this I see evidence that situations can exist in which neither the violent nor the non-violent way will offer any chance of success.

6) Nelson Mandela claims that the African National Congress has a long record of having attempted progress by negotiation and non-violence. This is true, as for attempted negotiations, which are always part of the non-violent way. But is it true that the ANC has tried non-violent resistance? It has continuously warned their followers of violence. But is the absence of violence already non-violent resistance?

Gandhi would have said it is not. During the 30 years of his non-violent struggle for the liberation of India, Gandhi again and again started non-violent actions. Remember the salt march, the

refusal to pay taxes in Gujerat, etc.! Few such attempts, if any, are known from South Africa.

7) I don't blame the South-African negroes for that. In my opinion they were and they are in a situation where neither the violent nor the non-violent way will lead to any success or even progress.

Mandela, disillusioned of the non-violent way, says that now the violent way has to be chosen. But is there any guarantee that violence in this case will be more successful than non-violence? All the armaments in South Africa are in the hands of the whites. They have the proper organisation and the will to use it. In my opinion the violent way offers even less possibility than the non-violent way.

8) How have we to consider the white South Africans? Are they like the Communists, anxious to win over the negroes to their cause? Certainly not. Are they like the Hitlerites, willing to exterminate their adversaries? Not quite. They need the negroes to do certain sort of slave-work for them. They need them so much that they are always trying to lure more of them to South Africa from the Portuguese colonies where conditions are not much better than in the Union. But in my opinion they are nearer to the Hitlerites. I am afraid they would be quite willing to kill one million or two of the negroes, should they try to obtain their liberation by violent means, rather than give in.

9) This is why I say: we have not the right to recommend the negroes any longer the non-violent way, as there lies little hope, if any, in it. We have even less the right to recommend the violent way, as it would lead to horrible bloodshed. We have to relinquish all illusions and to realise: non-violence is not a panacea. There are situations in human life in which no means to change the fate of men are at our disposition. In which one simply has to wait till the situation changes.

10) Remember Poland. The third partition of Poland in 1794 put an end to Poland as a nation for 124 years. The Poles remained under the rule of the Russians, the Prussians (later Germans) and the Austrians. In 1832 and 1867 they tried in major upheavals to recover their liberty, but it was in vain. The violent way led to no solution. The non-violent way would not either. Three Great Powers were firm in their resolution not to give up their rule over those parts of Europe which were inhabited by Poles. Their hour of liberation could only be when those three empires would be defeated all the three at the same time. Who could dream of such an event?

And yet it happened. In 1917 the Russian Empire broke down, in 1918 the Austrian and German Empires followed. The Poles, who had given up fighting for their liberation but never had given up hope, became free again.

11) This is the only way I see for the negroes of South Africa. The government of the Union is already somewhat isolated in the world owing to its politics of apartheid. The more the world goes on and racial equality is winning, the more they will be alone. It is even our duty to accelerate that process. The day will come when the Government of the Union has to yield, and we have good hope that it will not last 124 years, as was the case with the Poles.

Meanwhile the negroes of South Africa will suffer. We deplore it but we cannot help it. The same as we could not help the Poles, the Jews, many others. If they try genuine non-violent action, they will probably suffer more without accelerating the process. If they turn to violence, they will certainly suffer much more. The best thing to do is to wait for the time to come, and to be prepared for it.

12) We ourselves, being lucky to live outside South Africa, should learn one thing out of this affair, out of the wonderful and clear words of Nelson Mandela. We pacifists have often been rather proud of our newly invented dogma of non-violence. We have sometimes even been looking down on those poor fellows who did not yet believe in non-violence, who were "not so far advanced as we are". We should recognise that our cherished way of non-violence can also fail, if the situation is not ripe for it. And we should not look down on those who believe that in certain circumstances violence is the more promising way, as Nelson Mandela to-day believes.

We are not perfect, none of us. We are all in the same boat."

From Stuart Morris, Putts, Hickbush, Great Henny, Sudbury, Suffolk.

Nelson Mandela's poignant speech raises the fundamental question of the real basis of the conception of non-violence and its nature and purpose.

Some pacifists have seen and warned against two dangers: that of making an unrealistic and unrealisable claim for non-violence and that of regarding it mainly as an alternative to violence.

Non-violence by its very nature cannot be panacea for all evils or an immediately successful answer to all problems. It is a way of life and a means to an end, but it is not an infallible remedy. On the contrary, so long as a conflict remains on the material and physical level and is mainly a power struggle, violence is much more likely to be the apparent victor. To expect immediate success or to promise immediate victory is to mislead by misunderstanding the very nature of non-violence.

There is the ultimate assurance that the only way to overcome evil is by being and doing good, that only perfect love can cast out fear, and that to those who can rely on the power of love whatever is done to them, the ultimate victory over violence is assured. But that path to victory involves a readiness to accept defeat, to undergo suffering and, if necessary, death without losing faith or abandoning the way of non-violence and reverting to violence. To do that is to concede victory to the very method which is being opposed. If non-violence is regarded as an alternative means of conflict and another way of maintaining a power struggle, it then becomes a matter of strategy and tactics which may well be measured by the standard of success or failure. But that is to cease to hold it as a principle which is not to be judged by success or failure but by its inherent truth.

To those who accept the Christian Gospel or find in the history of the early church an example and vindication of non-violence there is a parallel between the persecuted minority of the early Christians and the position in South Africa to-day. Had Christ been primarily

concerned with the political and economic freedom of his people, he might well have made the alternative choice and met oppression by violence, but non-violence demanded suffering and death before victory could emerge from seeming defeat. The subsequent refusal of the early Christians to co-operate with the persecuting State involved martyrdom, but it did lead to the so-called conversion of Constantine, and it was only the subsequent compromise which robbed non-violence of the fullness of victory that had been so nearly won.

Mandela's readiness to die for his ideals partakes of the courage of all those who are ready to risk their lives for a cause, whether right or wrong. But unfortunately it also shares with them the readiness to kill for what they believe in, and it is that which renders their sacrifice unfruitful because they thus kill what they most want to preserve. It remains true that the wrong means cannot achieve the right ends and that if the means are right the end must in the long run be achieved. It is only the readiness to face defeat and failure and to suffer and die without being driven to retaliate by the use of violence which provides the opportunity for the ultimate destruction of evil."

From Theodore Kloppenborg, 36 Airlie Road, Brighton Beach, Durban, South Africa.

"What can one write after re-reading "Why I am ready to die" by Nelson Mandela? Non-violence runs like a golden thread through the history of the now banned African National Congress. There has been violence by Africans. Africans are good imitators of European ways. Violence has been and is the one great aspect of European history. Note in Mandela's speech: "I started to make a study of the art of war and revolution."

Soon after inception of the Union of South Africa the African National Congress came into existence. It was the outcome of a gathering of African leaders in Bloemfontein, 1912. Probably it was the re-action of two Acts passed the previous year which prevented the performance of skilled labour in the mines by Indians and Africans, and the Native Labour Act which deprived the African of his freedom of movement as a potential worker. Both these Acts promised the segregation of the several races. Since then legislation has been passed, often under deceptive titles, to halt the natural desegregation of the races.

So very often when a man like Nelson Mandela speaks of poverty in the Republic of South Africa, one hears the dishonest cry: "In Central Africa is greater poverty." This cannot be denied. But there, at least, this poverty is not coupled with a lack of human dignity. Those who can and will have the opportunity to educate themselves, improve themselves, and having the means, can travel abroad to foreign Universities to augment learning. Others can serve apprenticeship in a skilled trade. Such is denied to practically all Africans living in South Africa.

Indeed, there is more education for Africans now than there was a few decades ago. This education must be paid for from African taxes and voluntary subscriptions. The whites do not pay voluntary subscriptions in State-aided schools. After all, an African is just a little more than the cattle, profitable to maintain, trained just enough to fulfil his proscribed tasks such as cleaners, messengers,

labourers. Some obtained education and degrees in spite of the restricted State education through Mission Schools. And they are nearly all closed now.

To see the problem (in part), one must read South African history, the invasion of the white man. The land bought by blood in the numerous 'kaffir wars'. The first armed conflict, in 1779, was unavoidable. Once started, it has not yet truly ended. E.A. Walker in his "History of Southern Africa" writes that "it appears certain that violence was first used from the side of the whites."

Among the whites in power and those supporting them exists a great fear. It is the fear of losing privileges, a fear of African competition in all spheres of social and economic life, strengthened by irrational assumptions. The spate of repressive legislation during the last decade flows from this fear, the fear of black domination.

This all-pervading, yet denied, fear is not new. All the repressive laws that have been enacted, passed by Parliament, where needed amended, contain hidden violence. This hidden violence became visible at the massacre of Sharpville. It was the outcome of action and re-action. There has been violence perpetrated by the Africans. The Bashee Bridge murders are an outstanding example. On the whole, however, one is pleasantly surprised that violence within our national borders has been relatively slight from the side of the non-whites.

Undoubtedly a solution of the racial problems in South Africa must come from a conscious fostering of one undivided South Africa with a complete disregard of racial differences. This cannot come through boycotts, sanctions, or sabotage. Only the dispelling of wrong beliefs and irrationally held prejudices on all sides. Boycotts and sanctions may hasten a bloody conflict, but cannot bring a solution on which peaceful co-operation should be based.

Time is running out fast. One cannot ignore the grave warning that one day when the whites are willing to give human rights to the African, the African may have turned to hate. Fear and hate are two negatives which will hinder all human progress in living together.

For a long time I have thought that the several religions would have an answer. Undoubtedly the Churches are seeking to solve the problem. When the leaders in the several churches speak and condemn the Nationalistic legislation, it is like a great noise as on an empty drum. Too many well-meaning members have left the church in disgust ever since their silence after 1914 and the strides made by science since then.

May be an intensive pamphleteering by people standing in the middle of the road, not being swayed by black, brown, or white, who have studied our particular problems, people who seek the well-being of all, who know that laws cannot make people colour-blind or teach that the man next to me at any time is my neighbour whom one should love like oneself, will be useful."

## PERSPEKTIVEN EINES NEUEN EUROPA

Die War Resisters' International (WRI) und der Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer (VK), eine der deutschen WRI-Sektionen, veranstalteten vom 9. - 16. August eine Studienkonferenz in Offenbach (Main) - Deutschland. Es wurden die politische Situation Europas, besonders das Deutschland-Problem und die Berlin-Frage untersucht.

Deutschland spielt eine gefährliche Rolle im Kalten Krieg (militärisch, politisch und geographisch). Eine stabile Friedenssicherung in Mitteleuropa ist eine der wichtigsten Voraussetzungen für eine Beseitigung der Kriegsgefahr zwischen Ost und West. Die Konferenz untersuchte die Bemühungen der Regierungen und stellte fest, daß es - abgesehen vom Moskauer Teststop-Abkommen - den Machtpolitikern bis jetzt noch nicht gelungen ist, Übereinkommen zu treffen, welche zum Abbau der gefährlichen Spannungen in Europa führten. Der Auf- und Ausbau der militärischen Machtapparate verminderte schöpferisches Denken - die Kommunikation zwischen Ost und West wurde unterbrochen.

Die Konferenz hält es daher für unbedingt notwendig, daß die Menschen der betroffenen Länder - besonders aber die Friedensbewegungen - selbst die Initiative ergreifen. Die deutschen Probleme müssen zusammen mit den europäischen gesehen werden - Deutschland ist mit dem übrigen Europa eng verflochten. Dieses Europa ist durch nationalistische, isolationistische Tendenzen zerrissen. Machtstreben und Gebietsforderungen verhindern den Abbau von Haß und Mißtrauen. Die Militärapparate werden immer stärker, immer mehr Waffen werden aufgestapelt.

Entmilitarisierung, freie Kommunikation, freier Reiseverkehr, gleiches Recht für Alle sind Voraussetzungen für ein neues Europa. Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, fordert die Konferenz die europäischen Friedensbewegungen auf, starke, gewaltfreie Kampagnen zu organisieren

- gegen Wehrofflicht und Militarisierung des öffentlichen Lebens
- + gegen militärische Blöcke und Institutionen
- + gegen die multilaterale Atomstreitmacht und die französische force de frappe
- + für die Unterstützung aller Vorschläge zur Schaffung eines entmilitarisierten, atomwaffenfreien Europas
- für den Abzug aller Besatzungstruppen aus Mitteleuropa
- + für freie Kommunikation und freien Reiseverkehr.

Eine progressive Friedenspolitik verlangt, daß die Souveränität beider deutscher Staaten anerkannt wird. Enge kulturelle und persönliche Beziehungen zwischen den Menschen Deutschlands können nur in einem entmilitarisierten Europa, in einer entmilitarisierten Welt wieder-erstehen.

OFFENBACHER VORSCHLAG: AKTION "NEUES EUROPA"

Seit Jahren bemühen sich die Regierungen um Lösungen des Deutschlandproblems. Bisher konnten sie keine Übereinkommen von Wert treffen. Eigene Initiativen sind notwendig.

Wir schlagen vor, so bald wie möglich in Berlin eine mehrtägige Konferenz abzuhalten. (Ostern oder Pfingsten 1965 erscheinen uns als günstige Termine.) Die Sitzungen sollen - täglich wechselnd - in Ost- und Westberlin stattfinden. Aufgabe der Konferenz soll es sein, die europäische Krise zu untersuchen und Perspektiven einer neuen Gesellschaftsordnung für ganz Europa zu entwickeln, die durch Machtpolitik und Militarismus in allen europäischen Ländern entstandene Probleme sollen aufgedeckt und mögliche Lösungen vorbereitet werden.

Wir denken an eine Konferenz mit einigen hundert Teilnehmern. Sie sollen die Konferenz nicht als Repräsentanten von Organisationen besuchen. Es wird im wesentlichen eine europäische Konferenz sein - aber Menschen aus allen Kontinenten sind eingeladen. (Aus geographischen und finanziellen Gründen streben wir vorläufig noch keine Weltkonferenz an - sie wird später kommen.) Zu Beginn und zum Ende der Konferenz soll je eine Plenarsitzung abgehalten werden. Spezielle Themen werden von besonderen Kommissionen diskutiert, die Ergebnisse werden dem Plenum als Dokumente vorgelegt. Wir denken zunächst an folgende Kommissionen:

- (1) Beendigung des Kalten Krieges und Entmilitarisierung,
- (2) Demokratisierung des öffentlichen Lebens und Realisierung der Menschenrechte (Rede-, Informations-, Pressefreiheit, Zulassung aller politischen Parteien),
- (3) Internationalisierung, Auflösung aller Grenzen,
- (4) Selbstbestimmung in der Industrie und demokratische Kontrolle der Wirtschaft,
- (5) Konfliktlösung ohne Krieg und Kriegsdrohung;

Dieser Aktionsplan wurde auf der WRI-Studienkonferenz in Offenbach beschlossen. Er soll so weit wie möglich verbreitet werden - nach Möglichkeit noch vor der Konstituierung einer formellen Organisation. Der Vorschlag beschränkt sich auf das Wesentliche; technische Einzelheiten (wie Konferenzsprache, Übersetzung und Organisation) werden daher hier noch offen gelassen.

Wir bitten Jeden, der diesen Vorschlag für gut und wichtig hält, ihn zu unterstützen und bis zum 31. Oktober 1964 an die WRI in Enfield, Middlesex, England, 88 Park Avenue zu schreiben, seine Teilnahme zuzusagen und - wenn es ihm notwendig erscheint - eigene Vorschläge zu machen.

Die Unterzeichner werden ein Treffen abhalten und endgültig entscheiden, ob man weiterarbeiten soll oder nicht. Wenn man sich für ein Weiterarbeiten entscheidet, werden die bis dahin ausgearbeiteten Vorschläge - zusammen mit einer Liste der Unterzeichner - veröffentlicht. Dann beginnt die eigentliche Arbeit.

Offenbach (Main)

15. August 1964

ED 715-16-278  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND.

26th August, 1964

LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

29. 8. 64

Dear Friends,

We would like to draw attention to the following points arising out of the enclosed Minutes of the W.R.I. Council Meeting for 1964 (58/64) and the Press Statement issued afterwards.

1. All Sections have been asked to take action on "Multilateral Force and Prisoners of Conscience". You are referred to the campaign which is being initiated by the C.N.D.s in Britain, Germany and Italy to inform the public, particularly in the NATO countries about the dangers which will inevitably follow the introduction of the M.L.F. Following the lead of one of our German Sections, the V.K., you are asked to consider organising demonstrations and other activities during Prisoners for Peace Day and to direct these at countries which still do not recognise C.O's, particularly Switzerland, Italy and Austria. The Secretariat would like to be kept informed of your plans in either of these matters.
2. Please note the bad financial situation. We must have a commitment from Sections to raise our income above expenditure. It would be helpful, if you have not already done so, to guarantee a specific amount for the W.R.I., based either on a percentage of income or the number of members in the Section. Council suggested, in order that the membership may be better informed and made aware of the difficulties we face, that Sections' publications may like to publish a summarised version of the W.R.I. accounts. This will be printed in the next edition of WAR RESISTANCE.
3. Could you especially note the inconclusive discussion on the W.R.I.'s future programme and the relationship between the International Secretariat and the Sections. Let us have more exchange of views about what each Section and each local group wishes the International to be.
4. We discussed a great deal the position of the local group and suggested certain measures for improving their contact with the International and making them aware of the extent to which they can be directly involved in international activities. We especially need to have up-to-date lists of the addresses of all local groups. We would like to ensure that all W.R.I. documentation was available to them.
5. During the discussion on Jehovah's Witnesses it became clear that we are lacking information. We realise that it is difficult to obtain because of the lack of cooperation from the Jehovah's Witnesses themselves but we would appreciate anything the Sections can tell us, particularly how many individuals are in prison, for how long, their names and addresses. The W.R.I. will be approaching all Governments which still imprison Jehovah's Witnesses for refusal of military service, with some recommendations.

- 6. Estimates - The draft estimates which you will have received calculate another excess of expenditure over income. Council decided that this could not be sustained in view of the excess last year (£1,500) and therefore requested that Executive should re-examine the Estimates. Certain reductions will definitely have to be made. This, of course, means that less work will be done by the International Secretariat.
- 7. World Conference on Non-Violence - We hope that you will examine, criticise and make additions to the suggestions made for a study and research programme to prepare for the World Conference on Non-Violence, that is to say our next Triennial Conference in 1966. Each Section is asked to decide soon what part it is going to play. We would like to issue Progress Reports from time to time so please let us know what you are doing.

FINALLY, two matters not related to Council Minutes.

The W.R.I., and probably many of the Sections, have already been considering what part we can play in International Cooperation Year 1965. You may be interested to know about the suggestions put to us by the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace:

1. We should put forward, and canvass support for the proposal that during the Year all Governments should be asked to cut their Defence Budgets by 10%. A proposal is already under discussion in some organisations for a 16% cut, but we felt 10% was a simpler and more effective figure. It would be essential to spell out the alternative uses of the money saved, and also to ensure that the proposal concerned not only the Great Powers, but small countries as well.

It was suggested that the ICDF, or organisations affiliated, should provide detailed and factual material both about the effects of such cuts, and on the alternative uses of capital and labour. Journals such as the International Bulletin, Peace News, Sanity and The Month, could do this, and, in addition, special leaflets or pamphlets could be produced.

2. The occasion should be used to press for further measures of disarmament: in particular, for the completion of the Test Ban Treaty, for disengagement and nuclear free zones, and to oppose the further spread of nuclear weapons. Again the Peace Movement could provide information and literature.

3. We should call for a Cease Fire during International Cooperation Year.

4. We should support suggestions already tabled for increased contact between countries, particularly East and West and should try to ensure that those include countries now isolated, such as China.

It should also be mentioned that the World Council of Peace have asked especially to discuss the International Cooperation Year with us when we meet for discussions on October 3/4 in Ostend.

WAR RESISTANCE and the International News Service are the pacifist movement's internal lines of communication. Mostly, however, the communication is one way - from the International Secretariat to Sections. Sections need to communicate with each other and we

would like to be kept informed of what they are doing too. Let us know your plans for six months ahead and let us have reports of what you have been doing.

Why keep the experience to yourselves?

with best wishes

Yours fraternally

*Devi Prasad*

*Tony Smythe*

Devi Prasad

Tony Smythe

Secretaries

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONALCOUNCIL MEETING NO. 2

29. 8. 64

held at Gossner Haus, Johannes Gossnerstr. 14, Mainz-Kastel, nr. Frankfurt/Main, West Germany, from 28th July to 1st August, 1964

PRESENT: Harold F. Bing (Chairman); Danilo Dolci (Vice-Chairman); Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treasurer); Hugh Brock; Herberg Günneberg; Hagbard Jonassen; Jean van Lierde; Pierre Martin; Niels Mathiesen; Michael Randle  
Interpreters: Diana Fussell and Francis Skeffington.  
Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe  
Observers: Gerry Hunnius, ICDP (one day); Irmgard Ondarza, IdK; Herbert Stubenrauch, VK (1 day); Klaus Vack, VK (1 day)

APOLOGIES: Joseph Abileah, Narayan Desai; Johan Galtung; Bill Sutherland; Arlo Tatum

A telegram was received from Bayard Rustin indicating his inability to attend owing to the serious situation in New York. Council expressed concern about developments there and wished Bayard every success in his difficult task.

AGENDA: The Agenda was approved as circulated

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES

Minutes of Council Meeting No.1 (31st July 1963) and the 11th Triennial Conference (26th-30th July, 1963) were approved as circulated and signed by the Chairman.

2. EXECUTIVE MINUTES

No additional points were raised.

3. SECRETARIES' REPORT AND FUTURE PROGRAMME

Devi Prasad opened the discussion, referring to the document entitled 'Future Programme' and the four general categories of work undertaken by the Secretariat. The News Service had continued and was proving useful to Sections and other organisations. The matter of relations with Sections should be stressed. Each wanted something different from the W.R.I. Some had not understood and accepted the new direction taken at the Gandhigram and Stavanger Conferences. Council took important decisions but often Sections did not feel committed to carrying them out. How was responsibility to be shared? There were Sections which felt that their affiliation had no real relevance. They believed that the W.R.I. represented ideas and methods which were out-moded. A major function of the Secretariat was co-ordination but this was difficult in the circumstances. There were instances of little or no response from Sections to international actions initiated by the Secretariat. More co-operation was often forthcoming from other movements. At all levels there was a great need for trained cadres.

Tony Smythe endorsed Devi's statement and supplemented it by pointing to useful areas for discussion: (1) For the Secretariat economy of work. What were the priorities? It was felt that during the last year or so we had undertaken too many projects and that none of them were given sufficient time and attention.

(2) What precisely was the W.R.I.'s position in a new international movement? What was its relationship to the I.C.D.P. and how could the different functions of the two organisations be made clear?  
 (3) Old methods practised by the W.R.I. and other peace organisations were rapidly becoming out of date. The test was effectiveness. New methods and new types of peace organisations were needed and we should see how, if at all, this could fit into the framework of the International. (4) Amongst Sections there was really very little identity of ideology. This made a joint international action of the type discussed at Stavanger almost impossible.

A general discussion followed. What were the differences in ideology? (1) the need for fundamental social change; (2) unilateralism; (3) attitudes to NATO; (4) alternative service - an end in itself or a stepping stone to ending conscription etc.

Many sign the declaration with very different views of its interpretation. Major ideological divisions do not develop in the W.R.I. because these matters are seldom discussed at international level and perhaps there is not even enough vitality to sustain controversy.

Danilo Dolci pointed out that the clarity of the W.R.I.'s policy depended on clarity in the minds of members. The basic points were:

(1) The W.R.I. was based on conscientious objection and non-cooperation with war on a personal and legislative level. We had to help such non-cooperation. (2) The W.R.I. could not collaborate with evil but must not be a closed organisation. It should aim outwards; we could not do everything but we could pose the problems and initiate actions which could assume greater dimensions. If general interest were created, a chain reaction would develop.

Another view was that the W.R.I. should operate on two levels:  
 (1) internationally to intervene in conflict situations where governments proved their incompetence and powerlessness.  
 (2) locally where the roots of broader conflicts are to be found. Local action could provide the experience which would make international action possible.

Jean van Lierde regretted that the W.R.I. could not give political answers to political problems. Its strength was in the individual refusal to fight. We had not succeeded in establishing a political strategy based on non-violence. For example in South Africa we continue to propose idealistic solutions but had never succeeded in bringing enough people together really to do anything. All the differences between Sections arose out of individual refusal on the one hand and on the other collective impotence in influencing the community at large. They would continue until we were able to make more profound analyses on a political as well as a moral plane.

Mentioning the Cyprus project, Danilo said we should avoid getting into situations where we could not be effective. It was not possible for us to act everywhere. We should only make a contribution to the extent that we had the tools and were able to make a valid diagnosis. We should be conscious of our limits and do everything clearly, precisely and well.

Michael Randle pointed out that there was a kind of political analysis which would necessarily conflict with the ideals underlying personal refusal. We had to match politics with war resistance.

Harold Bing said we should not assume that non-violence was going to be immediately effective in all circumstances. Politics is the art of the possible and the methods employed depend on the mentality of the contestants. There was a difference of opinion on Cyprus where perhaps arms were needed to keep people apart and where one had to take into account not only political circumstances but the attitudes of people involved. Some people dismissed non-violence as irrelevant in South Africa. Non-violence is not a policy which can be imposed upon people who do not accept it.

Tony suggested that the W.R.I.'s specific function was to create the conditions and the human relationships in which political solutions would become possible.

Pierre Martin described the experience of the S.C.I. in seeking to send volunteers to Suez. General Nasser agreed to a S.C.I. contingent but said: "No English, no French, no women and no Jews". The conclusion was that it would always be difficult to go directly into hot conflict situations. It was better to concentrate on situations where there were no political complications, i.e. natural disasters, etc. The S.C.I. had tried to set up a kind of fire brigade service or équipes d'urgence which was unworkable because one could not keep a body of volunteers ready to leave at a moment's notice unless they were employed full time in the peace movement or other sympathetic institutions.

He then referred to the C.O. situation in France. C.O.'s were being drafted into "Protection Civile" which was a combination of civil defence and emergency service in case of disaster. Some of them were refusing saying they wanted a genuine civil service which would enable them to work for peace in the developing countries: something in fact more like the Kennedy Peace Corps. He had a constant problem in Africa, especially as regards Portuguese Guinea. The resistance had asked what were the supporters of non-violence proposing, and the reply always had to be: "Nothing for the time being."

Jean asked if it was within the scope of the W.R.I. to send W.R.I. volunteers to Africa for civilian work at Government expense.

Hagbard Jonassen suggested that the discussion was unreal. We had not the facilities. We could encourage other organisations to send volunteers. A special organisation had been created in Denmark by the Section. 24 volunteers had just finished their training and there were 75 in the field.

Harold pointed out that the character of the volunteers would differ between the S.C.I. and the W.R.I.

This general discussion reached no definite conclusion, there being a difference of opinion on the desirability of entering conflict situations and the W.R.I.'s ability to do so.

Referring back to the Secretaries' Report Harold endorsed what had been said and emphasised the need for personal contact with Sections.

No progress had been made in producing a publication in Spanish. The only hopeful contact was that the American F.o.R. was in the process of preparing for 'Operation Latin America'.

The discussion on the News Service was deferred until later.

A Sub-Committee was established consisting of Jean van Lierde, Hagbard Jonassen, the Chairman and Secretaries to draw up a list of priorities. They submitted the following list after discussion:

1. Publication of "WAR RESISTANCE"
2. Press Service
3. Contact with Sections:
  - (a) Correspondence
  - (b) Visits
  - (c) Creation of New Sections
  - (d) Publication of Sections' address list every year.
4. Publications:
  - (a) C.O. Book
  - (b) Revised Declaration Folder
  - (c) Spanish Publication
  - (d) Promotion Poster
5. Documentation
6. Camps and Conferences:
  - (a) organised by the W.R.I.
  - (b) by others
7. World Conference on Non-Violence
8. Revision of Military Service Regulations
9. Prisoners for Peace Day activity
10. Fund-raising
11. Reduction of Mailing List
12. Projects in Africa and activities against conscription were not regarded as immediate priorities but nevertheless important.

It was felt impossible to put the above in order of importance. Most would have to go on simultaneously.

#### 4. MEMBERSHIP

The Chairman outlined the discussions which had taken place last year. Devi Prasad read a prepared note (enclosed) which suggested:

- (1) No real changes in the constitution were necessary: more important was the spirit and tradition behind it.
- (2) Non-violent organisation should become decentralised and less formal.
- (3) Organisation and non-violence do not go together but
- (4) Non-violence cannot succeed if not organised.
- (5) We had to eliminate violence from our organisation.
- (6) The W.R.I. should be open to criticism both from outside and inside and there should be the maximum rank-and-file participation.
- (7) It was the practice not to encourage more than one Section in each country but the opposite would be more in accord with W.R.I principles. We should cut across national boundaries and give opportunity for diversity within national groupings.
- (8) Membership should be at three levels - individual, group and world.

Devi made some proposals for minor changes in the Constitution and Rules which would give more prominence to associate members. These were referred by Council to the next meeting of the Executive to draft proposals for the next Triennial Conference.

There should be as many local and regional groups as possible and direct contact between them and the International Secretariat. There were many individuals who wanted direct membership either because they were attracted to international movements or because of personality conflicts or ideological difficulties within the

national section. The recognition of local groups would help to solve the problem of membership. The principle of having a Council composed of individuals was sound but there should be more possibility of Sections being directly represented.

A discussion followed on local groups. Lists have been asked for from Sections but are not always forthcoming.

COUNCIL RESOLVED:

1. To stress the importance of direct contact between local groups and the International Secretariat.
2. To ask Sections to provide lists of such groups and make them aware of the services of the International.
3. Full mailings of W.R.I. publications, documents and News Releases should be made available to local groups as well as Sections on payment of an annual subscription.
4. The Secretariat should prepare a memorandum explaining ways in which local groups could involve themselves in international activity. This would be made available to Sections and groups. This matter was referred to the Executive for action.

There was a general feeling that, while some Sections are becoming inactive or have in fact ceased to exist, there were many local efforts which give cause for encouragement and which should find their place within the framework of the W.R.I.

Council asked the Secretaries to bring a list of Sections whose affiliation no longer served a useful purpose to the next meeting in order that action could be taken.

5. RECOGNITION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION:

(a) Relief

A grant of £50 had been made for a South African pacifist but as far as C.O's were concerned the Relief Fund had been put to very little use and the Stavanger decision to finance the sending of C.O's to Africa had not yet been implemented. Attention was drawn to regulations in Belgium and the U.S. which enabled C.O's to do their service abroad and it was agreed that this practice should be recommended to other Governments. In Belgium 1250 volunteers for 3 years' service in the developing countries had been exempted from military service although not all were C.O's. Pierre Martin intended to go to Switzerland to find volunteers to work in Senegal financed by the Co-operative Society and the United Towns Association. Could not the W.R.I. do the same?

(b) Nazarenes

The Secretaries reported on progress with the Yugoslav Government. The Ambassador in London had said in writing that amnesty was being considered for the six men now imprisoned for long sentences. A number of organisations and individuals had taken action but pressure should be maintained. At the I.C.D.P. Council Meeting the Yugoslav member had asked Tony Smythe to prepare a memorandum on how problems associated with C.O's had been dealt with in other countries and especially what the experience had been immediately after the introduction of legislation.

(c) Future Plans

It was agreed to intensify pressure on Italy, Switzerland and Austria to introduce C.O. legislation. The Secretaries expressed concern about the position of Jehovah's Witnesses. In many countries they were in no way provided for through alternative service and it was often forgotten that they were in prison in countries like Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Germany. Jean van Lierde related that, only 10 days before, he had received a letter from the Belgian Minister of Justice asking advice. He wanted to liberate 10 Jehovah's Witnesses but they would not consent to leave the prison. When the Belgian Statute was being discussed assurances had been given that C.O.'s would accept alternative service. Leccoin had had the same difficulties in France. Jean asked for the view of the Council. Pierre Martin said that in France the majority of C.O.'s were Jehovah's Witnesses. When the Statute had been introduced the Government had given one month's liberation for each C.O. to decide whether he would do the alternative service. Amongst non-Jehovah's witnesses all but one signed an undertaking. 36 out of 110 Jehovah's Witnesses agreed. In March the C.O.'s were called up for their service. The 36 Jehovah's Witnesses who had agreed did not respond. All sent letters withdrawing their undertaking. It was reported that they had received an ultimatum from their Headquarters in New York. The Minister for the Army and many others were irritated because now after the Law there were more C.O.'s in prison. 60 had been sentenced since January. If the plans for selective service were put into effect many of these problems would be solved because the Government would attempt to call up as few C.O.'s as possible. Pierre's conclusion was that whatever their convictions we should support all C.O.'s in principle and help them both financially and legislatively. Jehovah's Witnesses were not pacifists but they did express their convictions in a non-violent way. It was agreed that the W.R.I. should write to the Governments concerned expressing the view that while we had no direct responsibility for the actions of Jehovah's Witnesses we were against their being punished for refusal to co-operate with the conscription system. Imprisonment by no means helped to solve the problem and might in fact make it worse. There would always be certain groups and individuals who could not be forced to co-operate with certain institutions, even if these were accepted by the majority.

Council agreed to write to the French Minister supporting those C.O.'s who refused service in the 'Protection Civile' and who wanted the right to work for peace in the developing countries (text attached).

(d) Publication on Conscientious Objection

The Secretaries thought the original proposal had perhaps been too ambitious. They were not very sure how to proceed. Danilo Dolci proposed a symposium to be published in English, French, German and Italian. One well known writer from each of about 6 countries would be asked to write on the C.O. problem in his country. It was agreed that a General Editor should be found who would assume all the technical responsibility. Professional translators should be used. Individual writers should be chosen as soon as possible, some from among suggestions made at the meeting. The Executive and the Editor should produce a skeleton plan on which the contributors would be asked to work. The writers would be approached by letters or directly by individuals rather than from the W.R.I. itself. Amongst the main suggestions were Heinrich Hannover, Theodor Michaltscheff, Fenner Brockway, A.J. Muste, Hagbard Jonassen, Aldo Capitini. Once the names had been chosen

publishing houses could be approached. Danilo thought that the book would help to ensure that the idea and practice of conscientious objection would not remain hidden but would enter the main stream of culture. The Secretariat would go on to prepare up-to-date tables of information concerning C.O. regulations and alternative service.

(e) International Action on Prisoners for Peace Day

A letter had been received from the V.K. asking that the W.R.I. should call upon all its Sections to undertake action on Prisoners for Peace Day similar to that organised by the V.K. last year. Demonstrations should be held at the embassies of those countries which did not yet recognise the right of conscientious objection. The V.K. had been asked for a detailed memorandum which would be supplied to Sections. Sections should try to gain support from other organisations concerned with human rights.

6. REPORTS:

(a) Meeting with World Council of Peace

The Chairman outlined the steps which had been taken on this proposal since the Stavanger conference. Now the dates and place had been confirmed - October 3rd and 4th at Ostend. Names for the W.R.I. delegation had been suggested by the Executive. These were confirmed but Niels Mathiesen said that it would be difficult for him to attend. The delegation should be the same size as that of the W.C.P. When more information had been received the final list would be settled. The W.R.I. policy statement had been sent to the W.C.P. but no similar document had been received in return.

(b) International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace

Tony Smythe submitted a written report on the I.C.D.P.'s last Council Meeting in Florence (shorter version attached). He emphasised the I.C.D.P.'s difficult financial position and the need for wholehearted support by affiliated organisations. The most important discussion had been devoted to the "Mankind 2000" project and the original plans had been modified so as to be more acceptable to the W.R.I. The I.C.D.P. Secretary, Gerry Hunnius, attending as an observer, added his comments. 65 prominent people had commented on the memorandum describing the "Mankind 2000" project and 50% had affirmed their support. Pierre Martin suggested that the I.C.D.P. should consider participating in the World Fair in Montreal 1967. The discussion then turned to the possible confusion arising out of the number of international organisations working in the peace field. Some Sections and many individual members had still not understood the essential difference in function between the W.R.I. and I.C.D.P. This had in some cases created almost a conflict in allegiance. The W.R.I. had encouraged its Sections to join the I.C.D.P. direct but this could have had results if the position were not clearly understood. Herbert Stubenrauch, Chairman of the V.K., was invited to contribute to the discussion as the V.K. had recently affiliated to the I.C.D.P. He said that it sometimes appeared that the basis of the W.R.I. was too narrow and only concentrated on conscientious objection. The fight for world peace had to be on a much broader basis. Perhaps there should be a section of the I.C.D.P. dealing with C.O. problems which remained very important. The V.K. had noticed that the W.R.I.'s field of activity had grown and had entered the spheres of sociology, education and research. This meant that there was bound to be some overlapping. The W.R.I. should continue to concentrate on war resistance and C.O.'s. It

was pointed out that others saw the W.R.I. in a different light. What distinguished it from the I.C.D.P., which was a broad umbrella organisation covering every possible shade of non-aligned peace opinion, was the commitment to non-violence and fundamental social change. The W.R.I. could be seen as the non-violent action wing of the broader peace movement. If we did not take responsibility for such activities no other organisation would - certainly not the I.C.D.P. Unfortunately the limitations of the W.R.I. constitution prevented more direct association with non-violent action groups other than Sections. This high-lighted the ideological confusion which had been mentioned earlier in the meeting. Gerry Hunnius was asked to prepare a study on the functions of the different internationals and where they overlapped. Then perhaps a more rational distribution of work could be arranged.

The Campaign against the Multilateral Force had been mentioned in the report. It was suggested that the W.R.I. should make a statement about this. When it was pointed out that the adoption of a political position would represent to some extent a departure from normal procedure Herbert Günneberg said that German members did not understand why the W.R.I. was so cautious about its limitations. Jean van Lierde said that Sections should be left as free as possible to make their own decisions. However, there was no reason why we should not react to the development of nuclear strategy. If Sections appeared as a collection of people who were not dangerous they had little significance. The W.R.I. should develop beyond conscientious objection and become more politically minded. Niels Mathiesen said that the majority of younger members would feel the W.R.I. irrelevant if we did not take up these questions. The Chairman concluded that if we believed that the creation of the M.L.F. increased the danger of war we were entitled to take action. A resolution was drafted for inclusion in the Press Statement (attached).

The I.P.B. Annual Conference to be held in Norway at the end of August was discussed. Tony Smythe would be the W.R.I. representative. It was resolved to continue pressing for an immediate merger between the I.P.B. and the I.C.D.P. The I.P.B. would be asked to place this matter on its agenda, together with proposals mentioned elsewhere in these Minutes for a grant to help the W.R.I.'s News Service and a discussion on involving the I.P.B. in the study of conflict resolution. If an immediate merger could not be effected it was agreed to ask the I.P.B. meeting to consider either suspending its activities for a year and making the resources available to the I.C.D.P. or to pay for the salary of the I.C.D.P.'s secretary for one year. Consultations will be held with other I.P.B. member organisations to support these objectives.

(c) World Peace Brigade

The European Council of W.P.B. had recommended that the organisation should be wound up. Donald Groom, the Treasurer, had sent a letter to the various parties involved asking these questions:

- (1) Do you agree that the W.P.B. should be wound up? If not, what alternative proposals have you?
- (2) In the present position, it is not possible to call a World Convention. Do you agree? If not, what purpose would be served?
- (3) In view of the importance of the W.P.B.'s intended function should the W.R.I. be asked to take it over?

All of those who replied, except Siddharaj Dhadra of India, said it should close. The Council meeting of the North American Region had not reached any corporate decision. The Asian Region was inactive. Devi Prasad read his analytical note on the Peace Brigade and the causes behind its failure, and its present state of affairs. (attached)

Niels Mathiesen reported that there would be an opportunity to talk about these matters at the Conference of the I.P.B. at the end of August. Most people recognized that peacemaking in conflict situations was still important and that, in spite of its failures, the W.P.B. still had a good image. In the discussion which followed a number of views were expressed as to where the crucial mistakes had been made. Michael Scott's memorandum on the need to re-establish a branch under the U.N. was mentioned. Danilo Dolci said that the aims and lines of action had never been clear. To decide whether the W.P.B. should continue we must know:

1. How many people were still involved;
2. How much time they had;
3. Who they were and what experience they had, and
4. Who were the key people on whom we could still count.

There was no answer to these questions because no one could be said to be seriously involved. Hugh Brock said that bearing in mind earlier discussions perhaps the best course of action would be to change the name of the W.R.I. to the W.P.B.

Jean van Lierde supported Michael Scott's proposal. The pacifist movement would like to take its place in world affairs but all conflicts took place beyond our sphere of influence. They confronted us with the problem of power and the State. We had experienced personalities and many potential volunteers. We had to discover the means of making our action in conflict situations practicable. We could either go through the U.N. or negotiate with national Governments.

Niels Mathiesen posed the question as to whether the I.P.B. with its financial resources could not to some extent take over the W.P.B. functions. It had already been agreed by the I.P.B. Executive that a project should be undertaken to promote the international solution of crisis situations. The W.R.I. could press this function at the coming conference. In spite of some doubts, Council decided to explore this possibility and asked its representative to bring the matter before the I.P.B. Conference.

#### (d) Franco-German Co-operation

Herbert Günneberg reported that co-operation between the French and German Sections was impossible because the French Section hardly existed. However, there had been co-operation with local and regional groups, particularly the Union Pacifiste de France. Harold Bing reported on his participation in the European Week for Understanding. Pierre Martin said that Government subsidies, including 75% reduction in fares for Franco/German exchanges should be taken advantage of. Efforts would continue.

Theodor Michaltscheff had requested Council to pass a resolution against the German Emergency Laws. This was done for inclusion in the Press Statement.

(e) Contact with China

Efforts to establish regular contact with the Chinese Peace Committee had not been successful. However efforts of organisations like the Society of Friends should be borne in mind. It was agreed that an invitation to send representatives to China should be sought and Pierre Martin offered assistance. The Secretariat would draft an official request. It was agreed if possible to send Hagbard Jonassen and Danilo Dolci who was hoping to go to China early next year.

(f) Cyprus

Tony Smythe reported on activity undertaken in connection with the Cyprus situation and on the Peace in Cyprus Committee, London. He stressed that the object had been not only to have a positive and peaceful influence in the present situation but to use this very typical conflict to try to establish general methods which could be used on other occasions. A great deal had been learned from the project. Many of the mistakes were predicted but they were more or less inevitable in the peace movement's present stage of development. Some of the Committee in London still thought in terms of demonstrations and dramatic actions while others, not excluding these methods, emphasised the need for a more thorough sociological approach. The Cypriot community in London was large enough to have a direct effect on events in Cyprus. Therefore more effort should have been devoted to approaching individuals in the community and wherever possible enlisting their support for non-violent action. In fact the Cypriots involved had been mainly political leaders from both sides - their attitudes being based on the divisions which existed. Very few of them were prepared to make personal compromises. The Cyprus project should not be considered as ended. Tony was asked to prepare an analysis of the experience gained so far and it was decided to ask the P.P.U. to continue the work of approaching the Greek and Turkish communities in London on a personal level.

7. WORLD CONFERENCE ON NON-VIOLENCE

It was agreed that the next Triennial Conference should be devoted to a study of non-violence. The subject would be divided into four general headings. Sub-committees were established to draft the fields of study covered by each heading. The conclusions which are meant as a guide to Sections are attached. One internationally-known expert would be asked to take charge of studies under each of the four general headings.

8. STUDY CONFERENCE 1965

It still seemed unlikely that the Polish authorities would agree to the holding of a Study Conference in Poland. An alternative suggestion that it should take place in Perugia in Italy and be devoted to a preliminary study in connection with the World Conference on Non-Violence was accepted. The Secretariat was asked to contact Prof. Capitini to ask for his co-operation. In view of the success of the Swiss Work Camp/Seminar for Conscientious Objectors in Switzerland, it was agreed that the possibility of having a similar project in Italy be explored. This should be timed so that the participants could also attend the Study Conference.

9. AFRICA

The Secretariat reported the circulation of Nelson Mandela's statement. Pierre Martin, referring to Frank Boaten's remarks in the report of the Florence Conference, said that the African dilemma was the same as in 1933 in Germany. Hitler was faced by a people who needed work and prestige. The answer was to create work by re-arming. In Africa, European countries such as West Germany were encouraging this process. In particular Pierre had obtained from the German Embassy in Dakar a pamphlet glorifying the Bundeswehr. This was presumably to encourage the purchase of armaments. It was a big temptation to have large armies to get rid of unemployment. In Senegal 5% of the budget was devoted to education and 13% to the army but the Government had no obvious external enemies. It had been suggested that the W.R.I. had a responsibility to the developing world but when we talked about priorities Africa was not mentioned. We must make a very serious political analysis and recognise the importance of these countries. They needed to be studied by experts. It was surprising how little was done in this direction. The major powers chose the easy way out by simply giving money to the African States. What was needed was not so much money but well-qualified people, especially experts of the middle grades. There were never enough volunteers but one to three volunteers could revolutionise a village in one year. The W.R.I. had its limitations but at least we could help finance travel. £300 could pay for one volunteer for one year. Builders, mechanics, teachers, horticulturists, child care and social welfare workers were needed. Governments could not be relied upon to do the job properly. The American Peace Corps in Senegal had been almost useless. There was a lot of publicity but no pre-planning. Consequently the volunteers were always on the lookout for more useful work and several had joined Pierre. Danilo Dolci described his experiences in Senegal and Ghana. Council agreed that up to £300 from the Relief Fund should be used to finance the sending of a Swiss C.C. to work in Senegal. Pierre would go to Switzerland after the Council meeting to select a suitable person.

10. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Council discussed a paper by Pierre Martin which had been circulated, drawing attention to the degeneration of Human Rights in the developing countries and suggesting measures to halt this trend. In particular it might be suggested to countries known to be infringing human rights that the logical counter-measure would be to cut aid. In the discussion that followed it was pointed out that much of the harshness in these régimes arose out of the economic need to develop quickly. It was hardly logical therefore to suggest that measures which would slow down development would help the human rights situation. In any case it would be difficult to adopt an attitude of moral censure to developing countries while ignoring the equally unacceptable policies of developed nations. The suggestion was not adopted. The W.R.I.'s function was perhaps to support Human Rights Organisations by drawing attention to particular cases, especially of political imprisonment without trial. It was agreed to write to the Secretary-General of the U.N. asking him to set up a Working Committee on this matter.

11. PEACE WORKERS' EXCHANGE

Council discussed a memorandum circulated by Devi Prasad. The difficulties of cost, language and function involved were pointed out but the value of more intimate international liaison was

recognised. This was not a scheme that the W.R.I. could afford to launch on a wide scale but we could continue to encourage the exchange of workers, especially as organisations like the I.C.D.P. had been thinking along the same lines. Action could be taken when the opportunity arose as for example in the case of Klaus Vack, Secretary of the V.K., who was thinking of spending a period in England to work with British peace movements.

12. FINANCE:

(a) Current Statement

At the 29th June we had a debit balance of approximately £114 and some bills outstanding.

(b) Audited Accounts

The Treasurer reported that the present situation was grave as indeed it had been at the end of the last financial year. For that year the excess of expenditure over income had been about £1,400. Already in the current year an excess was building up. She then introduced to Council certain important details in the audited accounts which had been endorsed by the Executive Committee.

(c) Estimates 1964/65

The Secretariat had submitted estimates for the year ending 31st March 1965. Again a deficit of £1,150 was predicted. However a small reduction in salaries could be foreseen. Enquiries would be made as to whether postage could be saved by using light-weight duplicating paper. An appeal would be made to the I.P.B. for a grant towards the expense of the International News Service as there seemed to be no possibility that either the I.P.B. or the I.C.D.P. could take over the service for the time being. Pierre Martin suggested that the French edition of WAR RESISTANCE should be cut down to two issues a year. The price did not correspond to its value in France. A modification of the proposal was agreed to. A notice would be put in the next edition saying that in future the W.R.I. intended to produce only two issues. However if the readers wanted more and were willing to pay for them the decision could be reversed. Regarding WAR RESISTANCE generally the mailing list could be cut considerably. Large numbers were not subscribing regularly. One final warning would go out with the next edition. Jean van Lierde, on behalf of the Belgian Section, said he would explore the possibility of the Section producing the French edition of WAR RESISTANCE on behalf of the International. The Section could take charge of revising the Declaration Folder. Ways of reducing the cost of Executive meetings were discussed. The importance of having two members from outside Britain was re-affirmed. However, sometimes decisions could be made through correspondence and it was not always necessary or possible for both members to attend. Sections in Germany and Scandinavia would be asked to consider whether they could directly assist by paying the fares of the members from those two regions. The estimates were remitted to Executive Committee for further consideration, it being recognised that another deficit should not be envisaged for the current financial year.

(d) Fund-raising and Prospects

Stamps continued to bring in a useful income. It was agreed that special attention should be paid to students who would be going to

jobs with high salaries and could give more help. Hagbard Jonassen was asked how the Danish contribution had doubled during the last year. He said he had written individual letters explaining the W.R.I.'s difficulties and how its expenses were rising. Sections' papers would be asked to print a summary of the accounts, together with an appeal. In WAR RESISTANCE a complete list of countries and contributions received from them should be included. Some Sections were trying to raise a regular annual contribution to the International. The Swedish Section had just promised £100. The W.R.L. was having a special fund-raising drive this summer for the W.R.I. and I.C.D.P. The Danish Section gave 1,000 Kr. Other Sections could follow these examples. Greater efforts would be made to raise funds because if an improvement could not be made activities would have to be curtailed. Council passed a vote of thanks to Joyce Kunham Brown for her careful guardianship of the W.R.I.'s resources.

13. COUNCIL MEETING 1965

It was agreed to accept the invitation of the Irish Pacifist Movement for the meeting to be held near Dublin. The dates suggested by the Section were the beginning of July or the second week of September. These, however, were likely to prove difficult for many members. The I.P.M. would be asked whether the period from 28th July to 2nd August would be suitable.

14. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1966

The American Sections had been approached as to whether it would be possible from their point of view to have the 1966 Triennial Conference in U.S.A. The W.R.L. had answered affirmatively but the A.F.o.R. said it would be difficult for there was already a possible commitment to arrange an I.F.o.R. Council meeting during 1965. Council did not think this necessarily presented an insuperable obstacle. The advantages of going to the U.S.A. were contact with a vigorous radical movement; members in the U.S.A. had not yet had the opportunity to see the W.R.I. in action. The disadvantages were the cost for the W.R.I. and the difficulty that ordinary members from Europe would have in raising the fare. Charter plane facilities could be used and Sections could be asked to make sure that young people would not be prevented from going solely for financial considerations. It was agreed to go ahead with the plan if wholehearted support from the American Sections could be obtained and if they would guarantee to raise a substantial sum towards the total cost.

Should the American Movement not be able to undertake the responsibility it was agreed to hold the Conference in Italy, either in Florence or Rome in the week following Easter Sunday 1966.

15. STAFF

Tony Smythe gave notice of his intention for personal reasons to resign from his position as joint secretary shortly after the Council Meeting. He apologised for not having been able to give Council Members adequate warning beforehand but the situation had arisen rather suddenly. The following resolution was adopted at Pierre Martin's suggestion and Council also agreed that from the date of his resignation he should be co-opted to Council and Executive:

"The Council has learnt with great regret Tony Smythe's decision to resign from the position of joint secretary of the W.R.I.

"The work he has done over the past five years has been invaluable to the whole movement. In a changing situation he, along with Devi Prasad, has done much to give W.R.I. a vision of its place and its importance in the Peace Movement and in the world at large. His contacts and work with new peace groups both in England and elsewhere have been especially valuable.

We wish Tony every success in his new work and hope at the same time that he will be able to continue to contribute to the development of the W.R.I."

16. UNITED TOWNS ASSOCIATION

The W.R.I. had been asked to send a representative to the Conference of the U.T.A., 4th-7th September in Warsaw. Although contact with this organisation was welcome it was decided that in the present financial situation it was impossible to send a W.R.I. representative.

Council expressed its appreciation to the Warden and Staff of Gossnerhaus; to the interpreters, Diana Fussell and Francis Skeffington for their services; to Herbert Günneberg for making the arrangements; to the Treasurer and Staff for their work over the year and to the Chairman for his efficient conduct of the meeting.

DOCUMENTS ATTACHED:

- ✓ 1. Membership - D.P.'s note (P.4) (55/64)
- ✓ 2. Copy of letter to French Minister (P.6) (46/64)
- ✓ 3. I.C.D.P. - T.S.'s shortened report (P.7) (50/64)
- ✓ 4. Press Statement (P.8) (46/64)
- ✓ 5. W.P.B. - D.P.'s note (P.9) (54/64)
- ✓ 6. World Conference on Non-Violence (P.10) (48/64)

A WORD ABOUT THE CONSTITUTION.

A suggestion has been put forward that the W.R.I. Constitution should be amended so that the functioning of the International be more democratic. The matter has also been discussed to some extent at the Council and Executive meetings.

A close look at the Constitution gives me the feeling that, apart from a few minor points, not many significant changes are necessary. What is more important about a Constitution is its spirit and the conventions and traditions it builds round it and not its wordings. A growing movement based on bureaucratic traditions tends to become more and more centralised and exclusive, whereas one working on non-violent principles must gradually become decentralised and less formal. In this connection a principle has to be recognised: organisation as such and non-violence don't go together. There is bound to be an element of violence with organisation. At the same time it is true that non-violence cannot succeed on socio-political plane unless it can be organised. Therefore, in view of this dichotomy, the task before non-violence is to develop a new kind of organisation-mechanics which will be able to minimise, if not completely eliminate, violence. The test of a movement striving towards this is that it is not only able to tolerate criticism from outside but also from within and in fact welcome it. In other words, there ought to be more opportunity for the rank and file connected with the movement to participate directly in its decision-making.

Coming to the specific point about 'conventions and traditions' the International has built up, the following two points seem to be important: (a) although in the Constitution there is provision for having more than one Section in a country, the tradition has been not to encourage such a trend. Emphasis has been laid on having only one Section in any one country. The reason given in the Declaration Folder is: "As one of the objects of the International is to create a fellowship of war resisters, it is desirable that there should not be more than one Section in any country..." Even though much can be said for this argument, the opposite seems to be more in accord with W.R.I. principles. First of all, we do not recognise national boundaries: secondly, due to subtle differences in policy matters and personalities, the growth of different organisations seems to be natural and realistic. Looking at the question from the point of view of principles, don't we recognise three units: individual, group and the world? Also, recognising the changing pattern of peace activities, would it not be sound policy to encourage the formation of as many local and regional groups as possible and also their direct contact with the International? A clarification is necessary here. This policy need not necessarily hinder the functioning of present national organisations and their relations with the International.

(b) The second important point is that some national bodies are either keeping to their traditional forms or exist only on paper and are unable and unwilling to develop their policies according to changing situations. Where there is such a situation, new groups thinking in terms of present realities come into existence. A very significant and encouraging characteristic of such groups (not all) is their international awareness and local relevance. It is highly essential to emphasise the universal aspect of pacifism and its direct relation with local situations. It will not be too irrelevant to establish - or rather re-establish - the principle that local problems cannot be properly solved without an international approach, nor can international problems be tackled without giving due attention to local concerns. The future of not only the W.R.I. but of the whole

peace movement, depends on the growth of numberless local active peace nuclei. The W.R.I. can stimulate this growth actively.

(About the problem concerning direct membership: There are three reasons why individuals want direct membership with the International: a) there is a special feeling and charm about being connected with an international body, b) personality conflicts, c) ideological differences. To find a solution all the three should be recognised. Recognition of local groups by the W.R.I. would, to a very great extent, solve the problem of individual membership.)

The principle behind the formation of the International Council by 12 elected individuals and not representatives of Sections is fundamentally sound. If the International has been able to take decisions without getting prejudiced about or giving preference to local matters, it is due to this principle alone and therefore the tradition should be continued. But this principle presents practical difficulties. When the Council made up of individuals takes a decision, the Sections of the International may not feel committed. Under such circumstances the Sections may not get enthusiastic or take initiatives regarding the decision. A method could be found through which Sections would be involved in decision-making. All Sections should be invited to send observers to Council meetings.

These observers should be welcome to take full part in the discussions which would mean that much greater contribution of ideas would be available to the Council.

As far as taking decisions are concerned, more and more emphasis needs to be given to the concensus of opinion. It very often happens that a wrong decision is taken when the minority opinion is overruled through voting. At this stage, though, I would not suggest that voting should be given up at W.R.I. meetings. Only elected Council members should have the right to vote.

Coming to the minor changes in the Constitution referred to at the beginning of this note, I would like to suggest the following:

- 1) In Article 12 of the Constitution provision should be made for any 5 members to propose amendments for the Constitution. The sentence beginning with "Amendments" should read as follows: "Amendments may be proposed by the Council or by a Section or Sections or by any 5 members but only Sections are entitled to vote on such amendments."
- 2) After the word "Section or Sections" in Rules 3, 9, 10 and 14 "associated organisations and publications" should be added.

Personally I believe that Constitutions, however carefully drawn to look unambiguous, can be interpreted in different ways. Interestingly enough, such interpretations often reflect the stage of development the interpreters are in. The more radical ones interpret them more flexibly.

Eventually it is the programme which is important. The last two Triennial Conferences - Gandhigram and Stavanger - took very significant steps forward in the history of the W.R.I. If the decisions of these Conferences are implemented, the Constitution may find new interpretations and may even need modifications. Therefore, the question is: do we really mean what we have pronounced at Gandhigram and Stavanger? Are the W.R.I. and its Sections committed to these decisions?

DEVI PRASAD 24.7.64

24.8.64

46/64

29. 8. 64

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM THE W.R.I. TO M. POMPIDOU,  
Prime Minister, Hotel Matignon, Rue de Varenne, Paris  
7(c), dated 4th August, 1964.

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Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

We would like to draw to your attention the request made by a group of Conscientious Objectors in France who are at the moment assigned to the 'Protection Civile'.

These young people believe that such an assignment will not permit them to express their desire to work positively for the creation of a peaceful world. They ask for the opportunity to carry out the alternative service provided for in the French law by participation in aid to the developing countries.

We draw your attention to the fact that the American law and the new Belgian law (a commitment for 3 years in Africa with exemption from military service) constitute auspicious precedents.

Moreover, France has benefited from such legislation insofar as, immediately after the Liberation, American and British C.O's were authorised by their respective governments to carry out their alternative service in France in reconstruction (Vosges, Doubs, Var) and in social service (Normandy).

This is why, Sir, we should be grateful to you if you would permit the French citizens of the camp at Mauzac who have made the request, to discharge their alternative service by an equivalent engagement involving useful work for peace in developing countries.

Yours respectfully,

Devi Prasad      Tony Smythe  
Secretaries

50/64  
29. 8. 64

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

REPORT ON THE I.C.D.P. COUNCIL MEETING IN FLORENCE

Particularly important from the W.R.I. point of view was the section of the press statement on conscientious objection and the call to support the W.R.I.'s Prisoner for Peace Day activities. The decision was arrived at with no dissent. This probably means that there has been a great shift of opinion in the non-pacifist peace movements.

(1) From the Treasurer's report it appeared that the financial situation was little short of desperate. Not all the affiliation fees for the current financial year until September 1st had been received. In fact some £400 were still due. The total deficit would be about £1,800 which member organisations would be asked to meet by paying an additional £30 and Council Members by paying £50 (in my view both these propositions, like the £200 each Council Member was asked to find at Tyringe, were totally unrealistic). In view of the position, the budget for the next financial year was pruned considerably by the Finance Committee during the course of the Meeting to £3,860. Some elements of the administrative work had to be abandoned, including the intention to engage a full-time Administrative Secretary. This will severely curtail the ICDP's ability to fulfil many of its commitments to member organisations in the next year, although it was hoped that the situation would improve radically in order that the minimum budget could be superseded. The priorities for the next year would be the travel by the Secretary, two weeks out of every month for fundraising alone, the bulletin and the production of a leaflet designed to get financial support. There would be little or no expenditure on the project Mankind 2000. The Secretary would visit the U.S.A. in January 1965 with fund-raising in mind. Sean McBride agreed to be the ICDP's first Trustee.

(2) Membership. There were 37 organisations affiliated or associated. Those accepted during the course of the meeting were the V.K., Germany; World Federalist organisations in the U.S.A. and Belgium; Socialist Students, Norway; the Committee for Non-Violent Action and the Club Fraternité in Belgium; and the World Citizens, Sweden. Other W.R.I. Sections already affiliated are the Irish Pacifist Movement, the American F.o.R., the War Resisters' League and the F.m.K. The rate of applications for membership was encouraging.

(3) The Chairman's report outlined the activities of the ICDP Secretariat since the Tyringe Conference. These included the production of the Tyringe report; the information bulletin; and periodic issues of the inter-organisational bulletin. The ICDP was associated with various activities initiated by member organisations, including the Peace Periodical Seminar in Norway at the end of August and a conference in North America. There had been preliminary discussions on a training programme. Richard Hauser in London had been consulted and the programme of Turn Towards Peace in the U.S.A. had also been found to be useful. Contact had been made with a large number of organisations outside the traditional peace field. They included "Universities and the Quest for Peace", which was holding a series of world conferences, the socialist student organisation, COSEC and the World Assembly of Youth. The Secretary had spoken at several meetings in England and had visited a number of organisations on his way back from the Executive Meeting in Geneva. The Chairman had visited organisations in Holland.

(4) Frank Boaten introduced a discussion on the developing countries. He spoke of the tension arising out of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and said that the goal of peace organisations ought to be to remove such tension, although to date they had expressed little interest in doing so. If non-violent means for achieving independence were recommended then the peace movement should be more specific in the kind of action it proposed. The Africans were still preoccupied with how after independence they could remain independent, also with racial discrimination and apartheid. This made the introduction of the kind of peace activities which were traditional in Europe and North America very difficult. For African Governments, economic development was much more pressing than disarmament. The general objective in Africa should therefore be to establish stable governments which afterwards could be expected to play a positive rôle in the achievement of world peace.

(5) It was decided to send a representative to the Conference of Heads of Non-Aligned States in Cairo, the first week of October. Council member Siddharaj Dhadha had approached the Indian Government with a view to achieving observer status for the I.C.D.P. It was pointed out that, while there is no such status, visitors would be welcomed and would be given an opportunity to express their views. 50 to 55 States, including Finland and Austria, would be represented. The topics were:

- (i) Disarmament after Moscow (non-aligned States felt alarmed at the lack of progress since the Test Ban Treaty and would seek new initiatives); and
- (ii) World Economic Relations.

It was agreed to set up a corresponding Commission of experts with a view to providing the ICDP representative with concrete suggestions to put forward especially with regard to disarmament and the rôle of the non-aligned world.

(6) Claude Bourdet led a discussion on the present world situation. He suggested that the policy of the peace movement should be directed to containing and reducing the influence of the power blocs in other non-committed areas. The burden of his argument was contained in an analysis of United States, Russian, Chinese and French foreign policy, although he also touched briefly upon other areas. The most important points which emerged were:

- (i) that there appeared to be a hardening of United States policy probably because of the powerlessness of the White House as compared with the rest of the administration in the pre-Election period;
- (ii) that the Soviet Union was preoccupied with the Chinese problem;
- (iii) that China was seeking to lead the uncommitted world and would carry its pragmatic approach to any lengths including sympathetic co-operation with France;
- (iv) that France had seen clearly that the balance of terror paralysed the great powers and that the theory of pacts was breaking down. This enabled France itself to do what it liked and to take a number of radical initiatives, some of them positive and some negative. France and other second-class powers had the choice between acting with responsibility to further peace or acting with irresponsibility. The French attitude to NATO, South East Asia and China was positive but the development of the independent deterrent and its attitude to Spain and South Africa was negative;

(v) that the Chinese-Russian split had had some interesting side effects in Eastern Europe. Anti-Chinese feeling in Hungary had created a wave of liberalism, and Rumania had used the opportunity to become more independent, more liberal, and to seek economic ties with the West. (An interesting comment by the Yugoslav member, Smole, was that there never had been any unity in Eastern Europe - true, no doubt, but what Communist would have admitted as much one year ago?).

Bourdet ended by outlining the sort of situation which the peace movement should, or could, have taken action in and made some recommendations for the future which were incorporated in the final statement. It seemed to me that this type of analysis, although impossible to substantiate in itself, was a valuable exercise and should be encouraged in the process of developing policies which could be implemented on a world scale by the peace movement.

(7) It was agreed to circulate the report of discussions between George Delf, Secretary National Peace Council (UK), Peggy Duff, Secretary of CMD and T.S. on the peace movement's programme for International Co-operation Year. We had proposed a call for a cease fire during 1965 and ten per cent. reduction in arms expenditure.

(8) The most important discussion was devoted to the Mankind 2000 project. Danilo Dolci, Robert Jungk and Maurice Rickards attended the meeting especially for this purpose. W.R.I. Council members were involved in the early discussions on this matter, and you will remember the connection between this and the Danilo Dolci proposal made at our own Triennial Conference. The situation at the time of the meeting was that a fairly detailed outline of the purpose and the contents of an exhibition "Mankind 2000" had been prepared by Maurice Rickards, a public relations expert, circulated to ICDP Council members and revised, and the revision circulated again to 2-300 personalities in many different fields, all with something to contribute in planning for the world of the future. Maurice Rickards also had produced a dummy of the presentation pamphlet which would be used to encourage sponsorship and financial support. Council members reacted in two ways to the exhibition outline. Some thought it excellent as it stood. Others, like myself, felt, in the words of Alfred Hassler, that it was "too hasty and limited a response to the situation". It appeared to us that the draft was Western-orientated and far too exclusively concerned with the exhibition itself. Moreover, the underlying assumption always seemed to be that appropriate changes could be made in democracy, in industrial development, in the economic, military, social and cultural fields, purely by introducing a series of technical devices without any suggestion as to how the essential rethinking, which was a prior condition, was to emerge. Another reason for disquiet was that it was difficult to see how the ICDP could continue its work on Mankind 2000 and also accomplish the tasks and services to member organisations which it had set out to do. The cost of the exhibition would be quite phenomenal and entirely beyond the capacity of the peace movement itself. The basic political question was how could the vast sums of money required be raised from individuals and institutions (governments, private firms, etc.) who were essentially committed to the very conditions which the world of the future would have to rebel against.

The outcome of the discussion was that considerable modifications in the project were made, especially in the timetable, the background preparation and the position which the exhibition itself would occupy. A sub-committee, consisting of Alfred Hassler, A.F.o.R., Robert Jungk,

Nils Petter Gleditsch, F.M.K., George Clark, Caravan Workshops, and myself, was set up to reformulate the proposition in a way which would have more application to the peace movement itself and which would give some recognition to the realities of the financial and political situation. To summarise our proposals which were accepted: no definite commitment to the exhibition itself would be undertaken for the time being - it would be used as a distant objective towards which we should move rather than a more immediate proposition which would occupy all our energies. Jungk himself had constantly stated that the exhibition as such was not important; it was merely the fact that we would have something to aim towards. The first job was to gather comments on the exhibition plan, analyse them and revise. This in itself should provide a good body of opinion which would enable us to move into the second phase, which was a programme of action and research which peace groups, as well as many other organisations and institutions, could participate in. This corresponds very directly to the original proposals made by Danilo Dolci. There would follow a series of regional conferences on the subject, possibly followed by a world conference. In particular, the experts, to whom the first document had already been sent, could be asked to meet together, possibly in Florence, under the financial sponsorship of the Town Council. Any relevant documents and papers would be published. The outcome of this rethinking was, in my opinion, that the preparations for Mankind 2000 were brought back into the context of the ideological development and programme of the peace movement, while having the added advantage of enabling contact with peripheral groups and scientific, cultural and political institutions, which would not normally feel themselves to have any direct connection with our work. There is still an undue preoccupation with the rôle of 'experts'. Jungk's basic proposition that the peace movement will never advance further unless it can offer a vision of a future world which would be vastly preferable to that offered by the governments and power blocs of to-day was preserved.

As to the W.R.I.'s place in all this, our last Executive Meeting suggested that the next Triennial Conference should, as Dolci suggested, be turned over to a study of the application of non-violence and this could represent our contribution to the general scheme. The outlines of the project have still not been formally drawn but the decisions taken will enable it to become more specific as we move from one stage to the next. Concretely, the replies of the experts to the circulated memorandum should provide a very good basis to decide in which direction we should go and how fast.

(9) My overall concern about the Confederation so far is whether, in spite of its indisputable utility, it will be able to get off the ground financially. It is difficult to start a servicing organisation which is dependent on its members for its finance and for the expression of its policy and action, especially when those members are working in difficult circumstances themselves. We can only make the assumption that the ICDP will survive if member organisations and key people in the peace movement are convinced that there is a necessity for it to survive. We have realised from the experience of the last few months how hard it is to make the whole of the peace movement understand the importance of the new organisation. The concept behind it is too sophisticated to be able to attract general acclaim and active support. This is why the leaflet proposed during the meeting (1) will be very important, for it will try to project the case for the ICDP in a simple yet convincing manner. The existence of several international organisations in the field is another factor which undoubtedly confuses the majority of peace workers. This is where the W.R.I.'s problem lies. We ourselves have to have a clear idea of what

we want the Confederation to do and what our own programme is in relation to this. There should be a very clear delineation of responsibilities between the various international Secretariats. I personally would like to see a growing co-operation between them and a sharing of functions. In many ways I think the ICDP offers the opportunity for the peace movement to break out of the ghetto, which it has created for itself over the last 50 years, in order to become a force which has to be reckoned with in world politics and a body which can be looked towards by the general public for informed, objective and conscientious viewpoints. Peace is a problem on every conceivable level - moral, economic, political, social and cultural. It is essential, therefore, that peace activity should no longer be seen as the cranky preoccupation of the few and should become an integral part of all social activity. Perhaps the ICDP offers the opportunity for a breakthrough which would not be open to organisations such as our own which have an immediate programme of revolutionary change.

(10) After the Council Meeting there was a discussion between members of British and Italian movements. The proposal was made that a campaign against the MLF entitled 'The Multilateral Force for Peace' should be launched next autumn. Mass demonstrations would be planned on three consecutive days in London, Rome and Bonn with chartered planes carrying as many demonstrators as possible from one capital to the next. It was even suggested that the German government could be prevailed upon to co-operate by refusing entry as with the Düsseldorf incident Easter 1963.

Tony SMYTHE

War Resisters' International  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
England.

14.8.64

29. 8. 64

PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED FOLLOWING W.R.I. COUNCIL  
MEETING NO. 2 - 1st August, 1964

The Council of the W.R.I. has held its annual meeting at Mainz-Kastel 28th July - 1st August. There were present twelve members from eight different countries.

At the close of its meeting the Council issued the following statement to the press:

The Council of the W.R.I. has taken note of the increase in international tension arising from the mobilisation of civilian populations which has already begun in some countries and is about to be introduced in others. In particular, it has noted the difficulties faced by its German Sections in view of the proposed Emergency Laws. It believes these proposals involve a serious diminution of the rights of German citizens as well as being a form of militarisation and psychological preparation for war which greatly increases the war danger in Europe. It therefore encourages its German Sections and the German people generally to oppose this development by all possible peaceful means and urges its Sections elsewhere to give any help possible.

Considering the problems of the developing countries, especially in Africa, the Council was distressed to be shown a well-produced illustrated booklet, published by the Press and Information Service of the Bonn government, glorifying the Bundeswehr, which is being distributed in African countries, presumably to encourage them to buy arms from Germany. This not only contributes to the militarisation of Africa and the increase of tension but also means that the meagre resources of these countries, so much needed for social and economic development, are being diverted to the useless and dangerous purposes of war preparation. It was recognised that the need in Africa is not only for direct financial aid but also for trained men and women to work with the African people themselves. As a first small contribution to this, the Council decided to finance the sending of such a volunteer as soon as possible.

The W.R.I. is categorically opposed to all armaments and all preparation for war. However, it feels compelled also to act against particular strategic developments which present an immediate threat to world peace. The Council considers the establishment of the NATO multilateral force has created a grave situation which can lead only to an intensification of the cold war in Europe and inevitably encourage the spread of nuclear arms. It resolved to support plans for an intense campaign against the multilateral force. The campaign is to culminate in mass demonstrations on three consecutive days in London, Rome and Bonn, international contingents being transported from one capital to another by charter plane. The preparatory work is in the hands of the CND in Britain and Germany and the Consulta della Pace in Italy. The Council calls upon W.R.I. Sections, especially those in NATO countries, to consider what action they can take to make the campaign a decisive success.

All those concerned about the development of peaceful and creative human relations cannot but be alarmed at the latent and overt violence which have become so deeply rooted in contemporary society. In social relations and organizations, in educational

and political institutions, there are visible signs of growing tension and the isolation of individuals and groups. The Council believes that it is the task of every society to uncover the root causes of these developments. New social and political institutions must be created on peaceful, sane principles. Non-violent solutions to problems confronting mankind on every level must be sought. As its contribution the Council is planning, at Danilo Dolci's suggestion, a World Conference on Non-Violence, to be held in 1966. Social scientists, political thinkers, educationalists, planners and other experts are being asked to contribute their knowledge and experience to this attempt to explore the conditions upon which a future full of hope and free from war can be based.

For some years the Sections and members of the W.R.I. throughout the world have observed December 1st as "Prisoners for Peace Day", when the hundreds of conscientious objectors in prison for refusal of military service in many countries have been remembered and Christmas greetings sent to them. This year it is proposed that this remembrance shall be supported by demonstrations or representations at the Embassies of all governments which still make no legal provision for conscientious objectors to compulsory military service and are keeping such men in prison, sometimes for many years.

Published and circulated by:

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex, England

29. 8. 64

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

At a time when there is such a great need for a body of volunteers which would engage themselves in conflict situations to find peaceful solutions, the W.P.B. happens to have reached a state which is nothing short of complete collapse.

During recent years the world has experienced many crises. Whenever any such thing happened and concerned people thought of doing something, they said "But wasn't it the job of the World Peace Brigade? Where is it?" In London some individuals and peace movements took an initiative in engaging themselves and finding solutions for the Cyprus problem. They wanted to send competent people to Cyprus but failed to get anybody for the purpose. Recently when volunteers were wanted to participate in the Franco-British work-camp-demonstration project, from the whole of Great Britain not a single person came forward. Several examples could be given to demonstrate the bankruptcy of peace movements in this regard.

On the other hand, the concept of a W.P.B. remains equally attractive, if not more so, in areas where people do not know the almost non-existent state of the W.P.B. People expect to hear much about it and are even prepared to help in one way or another.

There is, though, a positive aspect which is worth mentioning here. In spite of the fact that the W.P.B. could not develop into a force, in some localities people have taken the initiative in building up small centres to study and practise non-violence. I have deliberately used the word "locality" here as on a countrywide scale there are few such examples available. It only shows that there is great potentiality in the concept of a Peace Brigade internationally.

Why did the W.P.B. fail? There may be other reasons, and perhaps more important ones, but to my mind the following seem to be important if we want to learn lessons from past experiences. The Brigade, long before it took roots or was strong enough to involve itself in big projects, started off with a very big one - the Freedom March into Northern Rhodesia. It was sheer good luck for the organisers that the project had to be given up, otherwise it would have proved the greatest flop in the modern history of non-violence. I do not think there is any need to go into the details here.

Although the aims and objectives of the Brigade, decided upon at Beirut, were clear enough and profound in themselves, very few people involved in the Peace Brigade were clear about the integrated approach expected from the Brigade. Some thought it was a body to express indignation and take direct action, others thought it was purely a conciliatory body. Some thought it was necessary to put equal emphasis on both these aspects. There were some within the Brigade who were convinced that direct action and conciliation could not be carried on by the same organisation. In short, before launching into big projects the Brigade had no opportunity to work out the practical definition of the Beirut findings. From merely an organisational point of view, the greatest blunder made was when nobody took the responsibility of building up an international office with a staff, especially a secretary, committed to devoting themselves fully for at least a few years.

Another reason was that even though there were three regional sections they could not develop a common concern for the concept and programme of the Brigade. All the three 'regional councils' as they were called, remained limited psychologically and politically within their national situations. The Asian section was virtually Indian in its outlook and programme and the European was British. Its internal

Ideally and from the point of view of efficiency the Brigade should be an independent body working in very close co-operation with others. But it may perhaps be possible to build it up along with or attached to some existing international organisation working on radical pacifist lines.

DEVI PRASAD  
(24.7.64)

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

24.8.64.

WORLD CONFERENCE ON NON-VIOLENCE 1966

SUB-TITLES OF THE FOUR MAIN TOPICS SUGGESTED FOR THE  
PREPARATION OF BASIC MATERIAL FOR THE CONFERENCE

I. NON-VIOLENCE AND SOCIOLOGY1. Race Relations2. Economic Relations

Class Conflict, Trade Unions, Co-operatives,  
Landowner and Tenant, Common Ownership  
Experiments etc.

3. Religious Conflicts4. Linguistic Conflicts5. Minorities6. Criminology and the Penal System7. Treatment of Mental DefectivesII. NON VIOLENCE AND EDUCATION1. Definition of Education

Authoritarian education no longer possible - the  
change from the old methods to the new

2. The Family and Pre-School Education3. Education in School and University4. Universal Outlook and School Curriculum5. School Community Life; Organisation, Administration,  
Practical Democracy etc.6. The School and the Community7. Further Education (i.e. post-school or adult education)8. Influence of the Mass Media9. Education and Obedience - national, religious,  
political etc.10. Research in Education and Educational Methods11. Important Contemporary Educational Experiments

all over the world with summaries of their educational  
principles

III. NON-VIOLENCE AND PLANNING

1. Violence implied in lack of planning
2. Disadvantages of Planning based on Violence  
Detailed analyses in various countries. Possible self-criticism in the socio-economic field
3. Need for a Methodology of Planning - taking into account sociology and education. Relationships necessary between individuals, groups, federations of groups and the central authority. Non-violence and planning

IV. NON-VIOLENCE AND POLITICS

1. Non-Violence in History  
Examples: Pennsylvania, etc. and modern ethnological expeditions
2. Non-Violence and Political Institutions - national and international
3. Non-Violence and Decolonisation  
India and other cases
4. Non-Violence and International Conflicts  
- including the rôle of U.N. etc.
5. Strategy of Non-Violent Resistance  
- civilian defence etc.

(N.B. Wherever possible historical examples and evaluations should be given)

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONALMINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 5

held at

Gossner-Haus, Mainz-Kastel, West Germany on  
Tuesday, July 28th 1964 at 5 p.m. and Thursday,  
July 30th, 1964, at 9.15 a.m.

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman); Danilo Dolci (Vice-Chairman);  
Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treasurer); Hugh Brock;  
Hagbard Jonassen; Niels Mathiesen (30th July only);  
Michael Randle. Interpreters: Diana Fussell and  
Francis Skeffington. Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony  
Smythe (30th July only)

APOLOGIES: Tony Smythe and Niels Mathiesen were unable to  
attend on the first day due to a car breakdown.

AGENDA: The short Agenda (Approval of the Minutes of the  
last meeting; accounts; Council meeting) was approved,  
with additions as recorded in these Minutes.

1. MINUTES: The Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No. 4  
(10.5.64) were approved as a correct record and signed by the  
Chairman.

MATTERS ARISING FROM THE MINUTESApril Carter's Visit to East Berlin 2 (h)

The C.N.D. had not yet made its contribution towards April  
Carter's expenses. The Executive asked the office to send  
C.N.D. a reminder.

W.R.I. Constitution (12)

The Secretaries had not yet been able to send their suggest-  
ions to the Chairman, but they would make specific suggestions at  
the Council Meeting.

2. FINANCE:

(a) Current Statement

The Treasurer presented the financial statement. Income  
(including balance brought forward at 1st April 1964 -  
£313.15.10.) amounted to £1,871. 4. 5. Account No.1 showed a  
debit balance at 29th June of £113.14.2., Account No.2 a debit  
balance of 9s/9d.

In view of the difficult situation the Executive authorised  
the Treasurer to withdraw £250 from the Reserve Account with the  
St. Pancras Building Society.

(b) Approval of Expenditure

Amounts totalling £1,984.10.7. from March 9th to June 24th,  
which had been paid, were endorsed.

(c) Audited Accounts

The Treasurer placed before the Executive the audited accounts for 1963/64 and estimates for the current year. After going through the details, the Treasurer was authorised to sign the balance sheet. There was a big gap between the estimates of expenditure and estimated income. While recognising the rising trend of costs and the need of our expanding work, the Executive felt it was absolutely necessary to cut down expenses and bring them as near as possible to income. On the other hand, efforts ought to be made to raise more funds to meet the needs of the movement.

3. COUNCIL MEETING

(a) Agenda - German Emergency Laws

A letter was received from Theodor Michaltscheff suggesting that the Council should pass a resolution on the Emergency Laws. It was decided to add this to the Council Agenda.

(b) Public Meeting and Press Conference

The V.K. had planned a public meeting in Frankfurt on Saturday, August 1st, at 7.30 p.m. The Press Conference had been organised to take place just before the public meeting. At the suggestion of the V.K. it was felt that a Press Statement from the Council might be useful. The Executive decided to leave the matter open and felt that giving a Press Statement would depend on the proceedings at the Council Meeting. To make it possible for Council members to reach Frankfurt in time for the Press Conference it was decided that the meeting should adjourn at 4 p.m. on Saturday. Local V.K. members had offered transport for Council members to Frankfurt.

4. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY

An invitation to send an observer to the Amnesty International Assembly at Canterbury (26th-27th September) had been received. Executive asked the office to accept the invitation and arrange to send one of the Secretaries to represent the W.R.I.

5. WORLD CONFERENCE IN HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI (3rd-9th August)

An invitation to the above Conference had been received. The state of affairs in the Japanese anti-nuclear campaign was extremely confusing, particularly due to the rift within the movement. The Executive therefore asked the office to acknowledge receipt of the invitation with thanks, at the same time expressing our non-aligned position to the organisers of the Conference.

6. CONFERENCE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, COPENHAGEN

A letter signed by Carl Bonnevie and Ole Vedeler of Denmark had been received suggesting that a small conference of representatives from international organisations should be organised to discuss the questions of disarmament, international law and co-operation between international organisations to promote disarmament. The invitation had also been sent, among other international bodies, to ICDP, IFoR and IPB. The Executive thought that such a Conference should not be necessary when similar efforts were being made by the organisations mentioned. However, as a similar invitation had been sent to our fraternal international organisations, it was necessary to consult them before giving a definite reply.

DATE OF NEXT MEETING: 17th-18th October, 1964 at Lansbury House

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

25th August, 1964

2.9.64

NOTE TO EXECUTIVE MEMBERSSpecial Meeting of Executive Committee

In view of Tony Smythe's resignation it seems necessary to have an extra Executive Committee meeting - 12th September 9.30 a.m. to 5 p.m. Executive Members have been consulted but it may not be possible for residents outside London to attend.

The following points will be discussed:

1. Revision of Estimates
2. Staff Arrangements in view of Tony Smythe's resignation
3. Tony Smythe's Superannuation Policy
4. 1966 Triennial Conference
5. Meeting with W.C.P. in Ostend
6. Proposal to send representative to China and possibly Australia
7. Staff Agreements

The meeting on 17/18th October will take place as arranged

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

STUDY CONFERENCE - 1964

60/64

7.9.64

7.9.64

The W.R.I. Study Conference took place in Offenbach from the 9th/15th August, 1964. It was attended by 35 participants from Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, France, Denmark and the U.S.A. German participants included members of all the three W.R.I. Sections and other peace movements. After reviewing the Cold War situation all over the world, and particularly in Europe, the Conference tried to find out what rôle the peace movement could play in lessening tension centred round the question of divided Germany and Berlin. It felt that an entirely new political thinking was necessary if a non-violent solution was to be found. The Conference issued a statement aiming at giving vision on a new Europe.

ED718-16-298

The Conference also made the following suggestions:

- (1) that a Conference should be held in Berlin at some future date to reveal the problems created by militarism and power politics. People from East and West could come and exchange ideas on creating a new outlook for a Europe free from militarism and united in its approach to peace and civil liberties (the outline of the suggested Conference is given at the end of this statement); and
- (2) the possibility of establishing either an International Peace Centre or non-violent study group in Berlin.

The Conference hoped that peace movements, especially in Europe, would consider the Conference Statement seriously and work out plans to implement it.

The Statement of the Conference is as follows:-

VISION OF A NEW EUROPE

The Study Conference organised by the War Resisters' International and the Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer (a German Section of the International) at Offenbach/Main, Germany, from 9th to 15th August, 1964, studied the situation in Europe particularly in regard to German and Berlin tensions. Germany occupies a critical position in the Cold War geographically, militarily and politically and remains an explosive area. Therefore it was of primary importance that the answers to the German problem be found without delay.

After reviewing the efforts made by governments in past years the Conference felt that they have completely failed in reaching any agreement of substance with the possible exception of the Test Ban Treaty. This was not surprising, since when the militarisation of states takes place politicians lose the ability to imagine a creative road to peace and to communicate with one another across frontiers. The Conference therefore felt it imperative that people and peace movements take the initiative for themselves.

The German problem must be seen in its European context. Europe to-day suffers from nationalism on the one hand and isolation on the other. Power-politics and territorial claims hinder efforts for the removal of hate and mistrust. Europe is divided against itself by those who have not forgotten their old power and are full of hate, revenge, fear and mistrust. Military structures are growing and arms are piling up.

The answer lies in building a new Europe including East and West, completely demilitarised, with free communications and with civil liberties for all its citizens. The individual needs to emancipate himself from the conformism induced by centralised authority and mass media.

To achieve the goal of the new Europe the Conference asked peace movements and individuals all over Europe to build powerful non-violent campaigns against conscription, all military institutions and blocs, the multilateral force and the French force de frappe, the militarisation of civil populations and for the removal of all occupation troops East and West. The Conference asked for support for proposals for de-nuclearisation and demilitarisation in Central Europe, for free communications and no restrictions on travel and the expression and exchange of ideas.

Creative peace demands that we recognise the sovereignty of both German states. Ultimately the full ethnic and cultural re-integration of peoples can be realised only in a demilitarised Europe in a demilitarised world.

... ..

### The Outline of the proposed Conference

#### "ACTION NEW EUROPE" - The Offenbach Proposal

For years governments have tried to discover means of establishing European security but they have never solved the problem. The independent initiative of the people of Europe is now necessary.

We propose that a conference be held in Berlin at the earliest possible opportunity, that it last for four days and that the daily sessions take place in East and West Berlin alternately. (Next Easter and next Whitsun were two suggested dates).

The theme of the conference will be the crisis in Europe and the need for a vision of a new society from the Atlantic to the Urals. The task of the conference will be to reveal the problems created by militarism and power-politics in all European countries and to open the way to their solution.

We envisage a conference of some hundreds of people who attend as individuals and not as the representatives of organisations. The conference will be expressly for people from Europe but individuals will be equally welcome from the other four continents. For geographical and financial reasons we do not aspire to call a world conference - that will come later.

We are thinking in terms of a plenary session to open and another to close the conference, the rest to take the form of meetings of commissions discussing particular topics with the aim of preparing papers for the full conference. The commissions we have in mind at the moment are:

- (1) demilitarisation and ending the Cold war
- (2) civil liberties - freedom of speech, association and the press
- (3) internationalism - the dissolution of all frontiers
- (4) direct democracy in industry, the professions and in the economy in general
- (5) conflict-resolution without war or the threats of war.

This proposal (from the study-conference of the War Resisters International in Offenbach, Germany, August 1964) is intended to be circulated as widely as possible before any final decision is taken and any formal organisation set up. This statement is limited to essentials. Technical questions about conference languages, interpreters and organisation are therefore not dealt with here.

Will individuals who think that this proposal is a good one and worth supporting please write to the W.R.I. at 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England, giving their support and making whatever suggestions for the conference they think best. These sponsors will then call a meeting and take the final decision whether or not to proceed. If the decision is in favour of further action the proposals as then agreed, together with a list of the individual sponsors, will be published. Work will then begin in earnest.

Offenbach/Main

15th August 1964

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Telephone: LA Burnum 3977

88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
ENGLAND.

2nd September, 1964

7.9.64

ED 745-14-300

NEWS RELEASE NO. 28

UNITED NATIONS

At the 37th Session of the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. meeting in Geneva, it was decided to designate 1968 the International Year for Human Rights according to Release 33/64 issued by the U.N. Information Centre in London on August 11th.

DENMARK

W.R.I. Council Member, Hagbard Jonassen, has been elected Chairman of the Section, Aldrig mere Krig, in place of Svend Haugaard who is a candidate in the parliamentary elections on the 22nd September. Altogether 19 members of the A.M.K. are standing. They represent four political parties.

SOUTH AFRICA

W.R.I. member, Theodor Kloppenburg, was sentenced on the 9th August to 1 years imprisonment under the Suppression of Communism Act. He had held a one-man protest against the ban put on him by the Minister of Justice. 6 months of the sentence was suspended and he was released on bail pending an appeal. W.R.I. sent a protest to Prime Minister Verwoerd as follows:

"War Resisters' International protests against Kloppenburg sentence Durban Accusations ludicrous Support his stand against apartheid and militarism

Secretaries Prasad and Smythe "

U.S.A.

5 years for Russell Goddard

- Refer W.R.I. News Release 26

On July 6th draft resister Russell Goddard was given a 5-year prison sentence by a Federal judge in St. Louis. Goddard said in court: "I am opposed to the whole system of defence and draft. I must fight for what I believe to be true. Freedom must be built on a willingness of individuals to act on principles, even when threatened with prison."

Judge Roy W. Harper then said: "I am glad I live in a country where anyone can take the position you do. You enjoy your freedom here because of the blood, sweat, toil and tears given by millions." He then sentenced him to 5 years in prison for his refusal to report for induction.

Following pronouncement of sentence Gene Keyes and Barry Bassin stepped forward, stated that they were also draft refusers and asked that the judge either release Goddard or imprison them. When the judge stated that he had no jurisdiction in their draft cases, they began a sit-in in the judge's chambers. After being forcibly removed from the building once, they returned to the judge's chambers and continued the sit-in. The judge then sentenced them to 6 months in jail for contempt of court.

The three young men had earlier signed a pact of mutual responsibility, in which they proclaimed that "An arrest of one is an arrest of all." Their purpose was to develop a united action against conscription and militarism, rather than to make purely individual witness against Selective Service.

We urge everyone to write to the Judge requesting that Goddard, Keyes and Bassin be released, or failing that, that Goddard's unusually heavy sentence be reduced. (Federal judges have the authority to alter sentences within 60 days.) The address: Judge Roy W. Harper, U.S. District Court, New Federal Building, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A. Please send a copy of your letter to Joan Goddard, C/o Brooks, 409 Edgewood Avenue, Columbia, Mo. 65201, U.S.A.

"CNVA Bulletin"

## GT. BRITAIN

### No Tax for War

Howard Cheney has taken a bold step in refusing to pay taxes unless the Government gives him assurance that the money will not be used for war. The following are extracts from Howard Cheney's statement:

"Everybody in Britain should know the case for and against nuclear weapons and what the consequences of using these weapons will be. The nuclear powers, America, Russia, Britain, and now France, and soon there will be others, have enough nuclear power to destroy life on this planet ten times over. We are told by our government that it could NEVER happen, that we shall in any case NEVER use our weapons first. Whether we use them first or second we will still be responsible for the biggest crime in all man's history. Nuclear war is indeed the incomparable crime. There can be NO guarantees that these weapons will never be used. All the nuclear powers are in a constant state of readiness for nuclear war in the event of their losing the present diplomatic war.

We are all responsible. The government and our rulers bear the heaviest responsibility because they know all the facts. It is a responsibility shared by the Opposition as long as they support policies based on nuclear threats and alliances. BUT they would be powerless if they were not served by thousands of people who could and should say NO but will not because they are afraid of losing their jobs. There is also the all-pervasive commercial spirit of the age which invades every aspect of our lives, sells guns (frigates for Spain), cancer (cigarettes), adulterated food (chemicals) with equal bland cynicism, and whose servants, the professional and business men, regard profit and gain as the only purpose of human life. Incidentally, manufacturing nuclear weapons and weapons of war is not economically productive and is extremely wasteful of resources. Also they are often obsolete before completion. On the one hand it is an extremely lucrative business for the shareholders - remember Ferranti? And yet these weapons cannot feed or house anybody. If there was nothing else for them to do, arms workers could continue to receive their wages and be sent on holiday for life with no economic loss to this country and a considerable saving of power and raw materials.

At present, about four-fifteenths of our taxes go in war preparations. What I feel is needed is a "conscience clause" in the tax provisions which will allow people who feel that weapons are immoral and against their conscience, to direct that this proportion of their tax payment should go into a special fund which is specifically earmarked for social improvement or overseas aid for the under-developed countries of the

world. We have won the right to refuse to kill. Why should we not add the right of refusing to pay for the instruments of killing?

If you belong to a political organisation, a trade union, a social club, or a church, ask them to pass a resolution which supports the demand for a "conscience clause" in the tax provisions. If you would like a model resolution please write and ask and we will give whatever further advice you may need.

Also, a time honoured tradition of changing the law is a petition to Parliament and this is the other method we propose using. Later this year a national petition will be launched and your help will be needed to take the petition around your place of work and your neighbourhood.

I had been thinking about it for a number of years. After protesting about war preparations in every way open to me I finally decided that it was stupid to go on paying for the thing which I was protesting about. Therefore in April 1962 I wrote the following letter to the tax authorities:

'Regarding your application for payment of surtax, current government nuclear policies make me more implacably opposed to the whole military set-up of this country and the NATO Alliance. I am not prepared any longer to assist in any way in the threat of the nuclear holocaust which our rulers wish to impose on us. I am not prepared to voluntarily contribute this portion of our taxation which is devoted to such incredibly vile and wicked purposes. If you will give me an undertaking that the money will be devoted to some peaceful purpose I will gladly pay the portion of tax that I propose withholding'.

I have set out these facts so that you may know why I am taking this stand. I believe that thousands, and possibly millions in this country agree with what I am saying but are not sure how to make a start in bringing about a change. Each of us must make his own decision in the light of his conscience. I do not pretend that it is an easy matter to decide but I am sure that you will agree that all of us must do what we feel to be right."

#### INDIA:

##### 30th January a World Peace Day

Narayan Desai, who is a member of the W.R.I. Council, suggests: "30th January as a World Peace Day. January 30th has a special significance to us in India and all the world over. It was the day when Gandhi surrendered his life in fulfilment of the peace mission of his life. As Vinoba Bhave said, 'He was the first volunteer of the India Shanti Sena and also its first commandant. As a commandant he gave orders and as a soldier he obeyed it by laying down his life.'

"As a response of the appeal by the Indian Shanti Sena Mandal the 30th January was observed as a Peace Day all over India. Thousands of villages and at least 150 major towns and cities in India participated in the celebrations. The programme included marches and peace rallies, obtaining signatures on peace pledge, selling of Peace Badges, missing-a-meal and donating the savings for the Indian peace movement. The enthusiasm of the masses in India has encouraged us to make this a regular feature every year.

"But, you will agree, Gandhi did not belong to India alone. His message of non-violent action transcended the frontiers of his country and also of his time. Indeed the recent developments have made his message more significant to the world than what it was during his lifetime. Hence the suggestion to celebrate this day as an International Peace Day. Many people have reacted favourably to the idea and we think, among other things, it may serve as a step towards internationalising the peace movement.

This is to request you to consider this proposal with the members of your organisation and if the proposal is approved to organise the day in a manner that you think best suited to your circumstances. I would be anxious to hear your comments on the proposal."

Narayan Desai

Sarvodaya Movement on the Food Crisis:

The following are extracts from a Resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Sarva Seva Sangh on July 6th:

In common with the rest of the country the S.S.S. feels greatly concerned over the rising trend in prices particularly of food grains which has of late been a disturbing feature of the national economy. In the last 18 months, prices of rice have gone up by nearly 25% and the rise in price of wheat has been still higher. Other food-grains have recorded still higher gains. This is causing a steady deterioration in the living conditions of large sections of the population, and unless speedy and effective action is taken to arrest it, it will shake the confidence of the people in the Government, lead to disorder and jeopardise all prospects of speedy economic development. It is therefore of the utmost importance that a national effort to evolve a minimum programme of action is made to hold the price line with the cooperation of the Administration, the political parties, the trade, cooperative organisations, the peasants and the consumers.

Such a programme must necessarily have a double aspect—the long term and the short. The long term aspect involves stepping up the many sided efforts to increase agricultural production, and reshaping the Five Year Plan to give topmost priority to food production. It is the conviction of the S.S.S. that Gramdan offers a sound basis for mobilising community participation. Related steps would be a re-examination of the plan to secure priority for investments in labour, in intensive industry and in the production of consumer goods, steep reductions in unproductive expenditure in development administration and defence, discouragement of ostentatious spending and mopping up of all unaccounted-for money.

The effort must be directed to the fixing and maintaining of prices of farm produce, remunerative to the producer and fair for the consumer, securing the cooperation of the trade in price-maintenance, developing cooperative marketing and improving the tone and efficiency of the administration, and more particularly the food-administration. Trade organisations freed from unnecessary restrictions, and operating with the confidence that they are playing a rôle, recognised and appreciated by the state and the consumer, would provide a good guarantee against undue price-rise, and for securing speedy and efficient distribution. Organisations of consumers in cooperatives should also be established and encouraged.

Sarvodaya on the Naga Problem

The Executive Committee of the Sarva Seva Sangh passed the following Resolution on July 3rd:

"The Executive Committee of the S.S.S. welcomes and greatly appreciates the efforts made by the Nagaland Peace Mission formed on the initiative of the Nagaland Baptist Church Council for bringing about the suspension of violent activities by the underground Naga movement and of operations against them by the Government of India, with a view to facilitating talks for a peaceful settlement. The Committee also appreciates the attitude and the spirit of accommodation shown by the Government of India, the Government of Nagaland, and the leaders of underground movement in this connection. The Executive Committee earnestly hopes that these efforts would lead to an early and lasting solution of the unfortunate conflict and no violent activities will be resumed after declaration of cease-fire and all problems remaining will be solved in a spirit of accommodation and goodwill."

FRANCE

Universal conscription will be replaced by selective military service but recruits who are not retained by the military will be assigned to technical assistance work. The details and methods of selection will be revealed in an Act which will come before the French Parliament this autumn.

SPAIN

18-year old Stuart Christie, a member of the Scottish Committee of 100 and Glasgow Anarchist Federation, was arrested in Madrid and interrogated for 5 days before his mother and the British Authorities were informed. It is alleged that he was carrying explosives to be used for terrorist activities against the Franco Government. A Spaniard, Fernando Carballo Blanco, (a 40-year old carpenter) was arrested with him. The Syndicalist Workers Federation, which is the British section of the International Working Man's Association, has issued a statement which categorically denies the possibility that Christie, with his views on non-violence, could possibly have been guilty of such an offence. Stuart Christie's mother has seen him and although the Spanish authorities say he has "confessed" he told her that he was innocent. Protest demonstrations have been held and more are being planned in London (Trafalgar Square 5th and 20th September.) A Christie/Carballo Defence Committee has been set up in London (34 Cumberland Lane, London E.17.)

Louis Lecoin, the French veteran of campaigns for conscientious objectors, who has launched a campaign for a free Spain in France, has been asked to support efforts to secure Christie's release.

W.R.I.

The W.R.I. is continuing its international news service in cooperation with the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace and the International Peace Bureau. Releases go to some 300/400 organisations, publications and individual contacts. Until now there has been no fixed subscription rate. However, the cost of the service is weighing so heavily on the W.R.I.'s slender financial resources that subscriptions must be introduced. Approx. 26 issues will be published each year. They will cost £1 (\$2.80) or by air mail £2.15.0. (\$7.70). Contributions of another kind are also required. If you have news items which you wish to place before the world peace movement, please send them to the W.R.I. marked for the International News Service.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONALESTIMATES FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1965EXPENDITURE

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>Estimated 1963-64</u>	<u>Expended 1963-64</u>	<u>Estimated 1964-65</u>
Salaries & Insurance	3,250	3,358	3,550
Pension Fund	65	67	71
Superannuation	25	25	-
Rates and Insurance	45	88	100
Repairs	60	3	50
Heat and Light	70	86	80
Office Equipment	50	-	30
Office Stationery & Supplies	300	440	425
Telephone	80	103	100
Postage	550	633	600
Sundries	115	126	100
Bank Charges & Exchange	15	25	20
Audit & Accountancy	58	40	40
Printing	900	1,271	900
Participation in Conferences	250	178	200
Study Conference	120	4	20
Official Travel	100	266	250
Council Meeting Expenses	250	221	250
Annuity re Special Donation	132	129	-
Depreciation	60	69	70
Reserve Fund for Devi Prasad's fares	100	100	100
Reserve Fund for Triennial Conference 1966	100	-	100
Triennial Conference 1963	300	233	-
	<u>£6,995</u>	<u>£7,465</u>	<u>£7,056</u>

INCOME

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>Estimated 1963-64</u>	<u>Received 1963-64</u>	<u>Estimated 1964-65</u>
Contributions to Headquarters	4,500	4,160	4,500
Contributions to Agents abroad	1,973	1,325	1,500
Rent	65	65	65
Sale of Literature & Badges	150	106	150
Sale of Stamps	125	72	75
Interest re Special Donation	132	129	-
Other Building Society Interest received	50	83	180
	<u>£6,995</u>	<u>£5,940</u>	<u>£6,470</u>

A G E N D A

for Executive Committee Meeting No.7 to be held at 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, on Saturday 17th October, 1964 at 9.30 a.m. and to be continued on Sunday 18th October, 1964, if necessary

APOLOGIES

APPROVAL OF AGENDA

ED 718-16-304

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING (12.9.64)
  2. FINANCE:
    - (a) Current Statement
    - (b) Approval of Expenditure
    - (c) Relief
    - (d) Charity Status
    - (e) Financial Agents -
      - (i) Switzerland
      - (ii) Germany
      - (iii) France
  3. RECOGNITION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION
    - (a) Prisoners for Peace Day
    - (b) Publication on Conscientious Objection
    - (c) Nazarenes
  4. COUNCIL MEETING 1965
  5. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1966
  6. STUDY CONFERENCE 1965
  7. WORLD CONFERENCE ON NON-VIOLENCE
  8. REVISION OF MILITARY SERVICE REGULATIONS
  9. WAR RESISTANCE
  10. MEMBERSHIP AND CONSTITUTION
  11. MEETING WITH WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
  12. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE
  13. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE AND NON-VIOLENT TRAINING
  14. CYPRUS
  15. STAFF
  16. LANSBURY HOUSE
  17. TOLSTOY ARCHIVES
  18. ANY OTHER BUSINESS
- DATES OF NEXT MEETINGS

EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO COMPLETE THE AGENDA ON SATURDAY

28.3.64

MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (No. 6)

held at

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex  
on Saturday, 12th September, 1964 at 9.30 a.m.

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman); Joyce Runham Brown  
(Treasurer); Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony  
Smythe

APOLOGIES: Hugh Brock and Michael Randle

AGENDA: The agenda was approved as circulated

1. MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING NO.1 and EXECUTIVE MEETING NO.5

Most items were deferred until the next full meeting. The Chairman asked that the Secretariat should contact the C.N.D. about their contribution towards the expense of April Carter's visit to Berlin.

2. STAFF ARRANGEMENTS IN VIEW OF TONY SMYTHE'S RESIGNATION

It was decided to look for a young assistant secretary. Sections would be asked to submit nominations. Advertisements would be put in the major peace journals immediately and in "Peace News" during the month of October. The closing date for applications would be the 30th November so that interviews could be held in connection with the Executive Meeting on the 12th/13th December (see below). The successful applicant must know English and if possible should also have a good knowledge of French. Starting salary would be £12 per week and the first six months would be regarded as a probationary period. After Tony Smythe's departure towards the end of October there would be a re-distribution of time spent at work amongst the secretarial staff in consultation with them.

3. TONY SMYTHE'S SUPERANNUATION POLICY

In accordance with Minute No.2 G. of Executive Meeting No.4 (6th May 1962) the cash value of the policy would be withdrawn and given to Tony Smythe.

4. GROUND FLOOR FLAT

Arrangements would be made to re-decorate where necessary after Tony Smythe's departure. Tenants would be sought privately who would be willing to clean the offices regularly and look after the garden. They should be an elderly couple in sympathy with the movement and willing to answer telephone calls in the evening. If they had the whole of the flat, the rent would remain the same - 25s/- per week exclusive of rates. However Executive accepted the suggestion that the front room might be shared between the W.R.I. and the tenants so that it could be used for meetings directly concerned with the W.R.I. The W.R.I. would then be responsible for decoration, furnishings, etc. If such an arrangement could be agreed upon with the tenants, the rent would be reduced to £1 per week.

5. 1966 TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

Devi Prasad had discussed the matter with the Chairman of the War Resisters' League, Edward Gottlieb, during the Study Conference. It appeared the W.R.L. was in favour of the idea of holding the Conference in U.S.A. and that the sum of \$5000/\$6000 could be raised in the U.S. Danilo Dolci, when writing to the Secretariat, had twice underlined his view that the Conference should be in the U.S.A. The location should be within easy reach of New York. Executive asked the Secretaries to continue to gather information so that a definite decision could be taken as soon as possible.

6. MEETING WITH THE W.C.P. IN OSTEND 3/4 OCTOBER, 1964

The delegations would be:

For the W.C.P.: Mme. Isabelle Blume, Member of the Presidential Committee of the W.C.P.; Prof. N. Matkovsky, Secretary of the W.C.P.; Walter Diehl, Secretary of the W.C.P.; Stanislaw Trepczynski, Poland, Martin Hall, U.S.A. also a personal representative of Prof. Bernal.

For the W.R.I.: Harold Bing, Michael Randle, Herbert Stubenrauch, Jean van Lierde, Devi Prasad.

Devi had talked with Edward Gottlieb about the attendance of Bayard Rustin or A.J. Muste. He seemed to think that this might be possible and was going to consult with them on his return to the U.S.A. It was agreed to cable Gottlieb to find out the position.

The Belgian Financial agent would be authorised to transfer all money held in the W.R.I. account to Jean van Lierde to help with the expenses of the meeting.

The following suggestions were made for the agenda and other members of the W.R.I. delegation would be asked to add to them. The W.R.I. proposals could then be submitted to the W.C.P. and if possible a generally agreed agenda be drawn up before the meeting:

1. International Co-operation Year

- (a) The proposed Danube Peace Voyage
- (b) The completion of the Test Ban Treaty
- (c) A percentage cut in arms expenditure
- (d) A cease-fire during the I.C.Y.

2. Conscientious Objection

3. East/West Seminars and Meetings

4. Militarism in Germany

5. East/West ideological exchange (newspapers, literature, etc.)

6. World Conference on Non-Violence

7. Mankind 2000

8. Multilateral Force

9. The Press Statement issued at the W.R.I. Council Meeting

7. PROPOSALS TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO CHINA AND NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA

No direct approaches had yet been made to China but Devi Prasad had received a letter from Mr. Lee of the Chinese Peace Committee which would provide a good opening to make an official request. Nothing had yet been heard from Pierre Martin about his contact who would be useful in this connection. Tony Smythe had submitted an additional suggestion after the Council Meeting that Danilo Dolci could perhaps extend his visit to go as a guest of the Sections to New Zealand and Australia. Diana Fussell, who had been Danilo's interpreter at the Mainz Council Meeting, had now returned to New Zealand and would be willing to assist the Section in arranging a tour (and interpret) which should permit access to all the mass media. The cost of the fare from China and any other additional expenses could be raised by Danilo while in New Zealand. The Executive, including members not present, was in favour of this suggestion and agreed that the people most directly concerned - Danilo himself and the New Zealand and Australian Sections should be consulted immediately. Their reaction would govern whether the scheme should go ahead or not.

8. FINANCE:

(a) Current Statement

Albert Billett's report, which was accepted, showed a bank balance of £94.11.6. in Account No.1 and £2.9.1. in Account No.2 at 31st August, 1964. Approximate debit balance at 10th September was £9.3.1.

In view of the bad financial situation and the coming visit of the Treasurer to the U.S.A., Executive authorised an immediate withdrawal of £250 from the Building Society and a further withdrawal of £250 if necessary.

(b) Approval of Expenditure

Amounts totalling £1,183.12.0. from May 2nd which had been paid were endorsed and authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding bills totalling £23.7.3.

(d) Decoration of Offices

An estimate of £59.1.0. had been received for decorating three of the offices. It was agreed that it should be accepted and that the work should be carried out as soon as possible after Tony Smythe's departure.

(e) Estimates

As requested by the Council, Executive reviewed the draft estimates. The revised version is attached to these Minutes.

The Secretariat had applied for a grant from the International Peace Bureau for £300 towards the cost of the News Service.

DATES OF NEXT MEETINGS:

17/18 October, 1964

12/13 December, 1964

both at Lansbury House

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

Telephone No. LABurnum 3977

21st September 1964

28. 9. 64

LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

ED 748 - 14 - 303

Dear Friends,

Enclosed are the Minutes of the special Executive Committee Meeting No.6 held on 12th September primarily to discuss the situation in view of Tony Smythe's resignation, and the Agenda for the next Meeting (No.7) to be held on 17/18 October.

All Sections and Council Members should be on the look-out for a suitable applicant for the Assistant Secretaryship. Advertisements will be sent to all the main peace journals, including Sections' publications. We hope that Sections will pursue the matter in other ways, using the information given in these Minutes.

In our last letter which was sent with the Council Minutes we asked Sections to provide the Secretariat with lists of the addresses of the local groups. There has as yet been no response to this request.

We are being held up in starting work on the book on conscientious objection because we have not yet been able to contact a suitable editor. If you have any suggestions please let us know.

After the summer the financial situation is still bad so if any Sections have not paid their annual contribution to the W.R.I. they would be helping us a great deal if they did so now.

Prisoners for Peace Day is not too far away. You will soon be receiving a memorandum on the basis of proposals made by the V.K. for world-wide demonstrations. We hope that all Sections will be able to join together in this one activity. It is not too early to start collecting the names and addresses of C.O's in prison. We shall be writing to you during October asking for this information and to ensure publication on November 1st we are hoping that you will be able to reply promptly.

We have been interested to hear of the part the Christian Pacifist Society of New Zealand has been playing in organising activities for United Nations International Cooperation Year 1965. Have any other Sections followed up the suggestions made in our last letter?

The campaign against the Multilateral Force is going ahead and it is hoped that the dates for mass demonstrations in London, Rome and Bonn will be settled soon, probably at the next meeting of the Executive Committee of the I.C.D.P. The case against the Multilateral Force has been put in a number of publications, including the Press Statement issued after the W.R.I. Council Meeting. We would also recommend I.F.Stone's Weekly, Vol.XII, No.9, March 22nd, 1964 entitled "The Bogey of an Independent German Nuclear Deterrent" (5618 Nebraska Avenue, N.W., Washington 15, D.C.) and "The Month" No.8 published by the C.N.D. Information Office, July 1964 (2 Carthusian Street, London E.C.4.)

With best wishes  
Yours fraternally

*Devi Prasad*      *Tony Smythe*

Devi Prasad

Tony Smythe

Secretaries

66/64

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

28.9.64

DECEMBER 1ST - PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

After the years of struggle, many disappointments and much suffering it does seem that over the last year some major victories have been won for the recognition of conscientious objection as a basic human right. France now has a law which, inadequate as it might be, is a great improvement on the persecution which went on before. Belgium has introduced legislation which is more liberal in its provisions than is the case in other countries which have recognised conscientious objection for many years. There has been a long tradition of alternative service in the Scandinavian countries but C.O.'s have not always found the conditions of service to their liking. These are now being re-negotiated with the governments concerned.

This is the bright side of the picture. Now let us look at what still needs to be done: this summer the C.O. Work Camp/Seminar and the subsequent demonstration made a big impression in Switzerland. However C.O.'s still receive repeated sentences of as much as three months. A Catholic priest has been in jail in Italy for supporting the right of conscientious objection. ~~There are no provisions in Austria.~~ As far as we know a Nazarene is serving a 9-year sentence in Yugoslavia and a Jehovah's Witness 6 years in the Soviet Union. In U.S.A. Russell Goddard was sentenced to 5 years. There are many black spots, not least the adoption of conscription methods in Africa and Asia.

On the basis of the information we have it seems that there are several realistic objectives which the W.R.I., its Sections and all organisations interested in Human Rights could aim for in the immediate future:

1. Taking advantage of the favourable trend we could press for the introduction of Conscientious Objector laws in the Western European countries which still have no machinery for dealing with the problem.
2. We could demand a more humane and constructive application of such laws where they already exist.
3. We could draw attention to the most cruel sentences in individual cases wherever they might be.
4. We could take the offensive for human rights into Africa and Asia and warn against the mistakes which have been made with tragic consequences in Europe.
5. We could make sure that where the conscription method has been dispensed with it should never be reintroduced.

We hope that you will bear all these things in mind when you are considering how you can implement the suggestions below for action on Prisoners for Peace Day which are submitted by one of the German Sections of the W.R.I. - the Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer:

International Action

1. All W.R.I. Sections and other organisations are asked to hand in letters to the Embassies and Consulates of all those countries which have not yet recognised conscientious objection (list below).
2. A draft for such a letter is given on page 3.
3. The whole action should be made as spectacular as possible. Methods such as marches, motor cavalcades, poster parades, the distribution of leaflets, vigils and fasts could be used.
4. The letters should be handed in by a small delegation but there should be supporting action with the largest possible numbers outside.
5. The V.K. organised an action of this kind last year in Germany. Press coverage was surprisingly good and nearly all the dailies carried reports with photographs.
6. The action could be extended to cover any of the concerns mentioned in our introduction.
7. Please let the W.R.I. Secretariat know what your plans are. Your decisions will give confidence to movements in other countries. We are sure that the best impact can only be achieved if the P.F.P.D. action this year is truly international and massive.

... ..

LIST OF COUNTRIES WITH CONSCRIPTION BUT NO C.O. LAWS:

- |                                    |                                  |                  |                              |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| <del>Austria</del>                 | • Bulgaria                       | ○ Czechoslovakia | ✕ German Democratic Republic |
| ✕ Greece                           | • Hungary                        | ✕ Italy          | ○ Poland                     |
| • Roumania                         | ✕ Spain                          | ✕ Switzerland    | ✕ U.S.S.R.                   |
| ✕ Argentina                        | ✕ Bolivia                        | ○ Cambodia       | ✕ Chile                      |
| ✕ Cuba                             | ✕ Cyprus                         | ✕ Ecuador        | ○ Gibraltar                  |
| ✕ Honduras                         | ✕ Indonesia                      | ✕ Iran           | ✕ Iraq                       |
| <del>Japan</del>                   | ✕ Korea - <u>North and South</u> | ✕ Malaysia       | ✕ Mexico                     |
| ✕ Nicaragua                        | ✕ Paraguay                       | ✕ Peru           | ✕ Philippine Islands         |
| ✕ Thailand                         | ✕ Tunisia                        | ✕ Turkey         | ✕ Venezuela                  |
| ✕ Vietnam - <u>North and South</u> |                                  |                  | ○ China                      |

This list is compiled on the basis of information collected by the W.R.I. in 1961 and that given in the Mennonite pamphlet "Military Conscription and the C.O." In many countries outside Europe or in the Communist bloc it is hard to confirm whether universal conscription as we understand it exists or whether exemption is obtainable by means other than C.O. registration. If it could be shown, for example, that while providing no law for C.O.'s the U.S.S.R. dealt with them humanely and administratively, then our approach should be tempered with understanding and perhaps even

with appreciation. Most countries with C.O. laws still imprison some C.O's, particularly Jehovah's Witnesses. It should be added that the W.R.I. is just starting another world-wide survey to bring up-to-date information we have collected in the past. Some of the results of this research may be available before Prisoners for Peace Day.

\*\*\*            \*\*\*            \*\*\*

Draft for letter to Legations and Consulates on Prisoners for Peace Day (suggested by the V.K.)

To the Legation, Consulate of the Republic .....  
His Excellency (address of the Legation)  
Mr. Consul (Address of the Consulate)

In most Western countries the 1st of December is being celebrated as "Prisoners for Peace Day". On that day we remember our friends who are undergoing prison sentences for their religious or political opinions.

Among these prisoners there are young people who have refused to do military service because of reasons of conscience. As your country's legislation has not recognised the right for conscientious objection to military service, some citizens of your country are barred from human contact and have to spend quite a long time in camps or prisons.

..... (name of your organisation) believes it to be a grave neglect of basic human rights that all countries have not yet guaranteed by legislation the right for conscientious objection.

..... (name of your organisation) therefore requests the Government of your country to draft and pass a law to grant the right to object to military service because of reasons of conscience. We are asking you to pass this request on to your Government. We are sending a similar demand to the Governments of all those countries which have compulsory military service but no rights for conscientious objection.

To give visible expression to our demand, conscientious objectors of ..... (name of your country) are going to demonstrate in front of your Embassy.

\*\*\*\*\*

Issued by:  
WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex, England

82/64

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

21.10.64

In the document DECEMBER 1st PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY 66/64 references to Austria on the first page and again on page 2 should be deleted. We understand that while there is compulsory military service for men age 18 and that the length of military service is 9 months, all types of C.O's are in fact recognised and given as an alternative 12 months' non-combatant duties

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD  
Telephone: LABurnum 3977

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND  
30th September, 1963

NEWS RELEASE NO. 30

6.10.64 WRI

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Alternative Service for G.O's

The NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reports on the 22nd September:

"On September 18th, 1964, a directive of the National Defence Council was published in the Statute Paper of the D.D.R. Council of Ministers, part 1, page 129, according to which building-pioneer battalions are to be drawn up under the Ministry of National Defence.

"Those serving in the building units will be doing alternative military service, working in the interests of the D.D.R. This alternative service is carried out without weapons. The drawing up of these units is based on the Defence Law of 24th January, 1962, and the directive of the National Defence Council of 7th September, 1964."

The DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG reports on the 25th September:

"According to a statement by the D.D.R. Council of State, conscripts who refuse to do military service because of reasons of conscience can in future do alternative service. They will be doing building work and helping in emergencies. As President of the E.K.D., Schärf, stated recently in Saarbrücken, even before this official statement several objectors for religious reasons have been freed from serving in armed units."

DENMARK

Russian honoured

70-year old Professor Peter Kapiza from the Soviet Union will be receiving on 8th October, 1964, the highest scientific distinction Denmark can offer. It will be handed to him by King Frederik of Denmark. It is the Niels Bohr Gold Medal and it will be given in appreciation of Professor Kapiza's important contribution to peaceful uses of atomic energy.

When the first atom bomb tests were carried out, Professor Kapiza urged his science colleagues to oppose using atomic power for war purposes. He said "To speak of atomic energy and think of atom bombs is the same as speaking of electricity and thinking of electric chairs." Because of his statements he was put under house arrest during the Stalin era.

Elections

Hagbard Jonassen reports:

"The Election took place yesterday, the 22nd September. The Government parties (social democrats and radicals) lost one M.P. and the conservative parties gained three, one from the radicals, one from the socialist people's party and one from the German minority party. This means that the Government has lost its majority and that the leftist

parties have lost to the right wing. The real winner was the conservative party. Svend Haugaard, former Chairman of the Danish W.R.I. Section was elected for the radical party. We expect that another member of the Section will be re-elected for the socialist people's party.

## SWEDEN

### Gypsies and Peace

Katarina Taikon was recently chosen as the first writer to receive "Youth's Peace Prize" of 1,000 Swedish kroner (£70). This new prize is being given every year by the Swedish Youth Peace Society to a person "who has made a significant contribution to reconciliation and peace among nations". The Executive of the Swedish Peace Society gave the following reasons for its choice:

"Katarina Taikon has through her campaign for equal rights for gypsies contributed in a most effective way towards the solution of the gypsy problem which now seems to be in sight. Her writings and actions are characterised by warm humanity, tolerance and a sense of social responsibility. Our Executive has followed Katarina Taikon's work with interest and has come to the conclusion that her ideas are in complete agreement with the aims of our organisation and the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights."

### Down it goes

Consumption of South African goods continues to go down in Sweden. Fruit imports from South Africa, which went down 46% in 1963, were reduced by another 12% during the first six months of 1964. Imports of wine went down 29% and marmalade imports 88% during the first half of 1964.

## EIRE

### Itinerant Action International

Report from Grattan Puxon:

"We've drawn up a winter programme of work covering settlement of the sixty families now with us here at Ballyfermot, on the outskirts of Dublin; the obtaining of social welfare benefits, an educational course for the children and the establishment of a workshop to produce tin and copper ware.

"Under the first heading, there is a chance that we shall be able to rent the 26-acres of land we are occupying as squatters from the owners, Ballyfermot Textiles. We've made a firm offer of weekly payments and we're waiting to hear from the board of the company. The alternative is an eviction sooner or later when we will be forced to take over land elsewhere.

"We are receiving some co-operation from the City Health Authority over the question of welfare benefits. In the past itinerant families have had little hope of getting the low benefits that are available because of their illiteracy and timidity in face of officials. Our job, therefore, is to fill in forms and to intercede for them. This work is now recognised and we have been able to obtain medical cards, entitling the holders to free medical treatment, for many families. Free milk is also being received by a few and we now intend to press for home assistance payments in some cases, free fuel and footwear.

"The educational course, to be started shortly, will consist of general instruction to be given by a panel of twenty volunteer teachers to the children after normal school hours at a local school. The Department of Education has been asked to lay on buses.

"Eight tinkers have produced a set of samples of their work, including candlesticks, mugs, milk jugs, tea-caddies and billycans, and I'm hoping to get orders for these from camping and hardware stores. The Irish Tourist Board is showing interest in the project and wants to exhibit tin and copper ware and to help market the articles as souvenirs. We have been promised a large galvanised shed from a neighbouring resident and when the workshop is set up it will be run on committee lines and everything decided together. The tinsmiths are using their own traditional tools, many of them hand-made, and employing methods which go back many generations. We hope that this will be the beginning of a revival of their trade.

"Meanwhile, my solicitor has written to tell me that my trial will definitely take place during the coming session of the Circuit Criminal Court, which starts on October 5th.

"A 400-mile protest trek across Wales and England is being planned in which two families from our camp, with their caravans and tents, are to take part. No departure date has yet been fixed but it is hoped that Vanko Rouda, secretary of the World Romany Community, and Norman Dodds, British M.P. (who has a special interest in travelling people) will take part in a rally in London at the end of the trek. The aim is to draw attention to the plight of itinerant families in all countries."

PORTUGAL

Amnesty International has nominated Dr. Juliatta Gandra, aged 40, at present in Caxus Prison in Lisbon, Prisoner of the Year. She was arrested in Angola in 1959 and sentenced to two years as a security measure. When she appealed in 1960 the sentence was increased to 4 years. She is due to be released but it is understood that excuses will be found to keep her in detention.

A former Amnesty Prisoner of the Year, Gaffar Khan ("the frontier Gandhi") is reported to be in London for an eye operation. All efforts to contact him have failed and it appears that the Pakistan High Commission wishes to keep his whereabouts secret.

SWITZERLAND

In co-operation with the organisers of the National Exhibition in Lausanne, peace organisations have announced "a Peace Day" which will be celebrated on Sunday, 18th October. A large hall has been hired. The theme will be "Building Peace" and the speakers André Chavanne, Councillor of State, and Max Geiger, Professor of Theology. Attention will be focussed on two particular passages from the Charter of the Exhibition: (1) action for world solidarity; and (2) to give to Switzerland new incentives to believe and create.

The organisers believe that the Radio and Press will accept invitations to attend and that the event will encourage greater co-operation and understanding between all those who are working for peace.

☆☆☆

The Swiss branch of the W.R.I. held a demonstration on Monday, the 24th August, at Chaux-de-Fonds against the decision of a military court to compel a C.O., Alfredo Corradatti, to submit to a psychiatric

examination. The police did not intervene. However, on the 3rd September Corradetti was arrested at his home and taken before two doctors. He refused to co-operate and was released later that day. Corradetti had originally refused to go on a refresher course in April and to submit to psychiatric examination. On the 28th July a doctor had asked him to report to his surgery. He replied: "I am not going to report to you as I consider that conscientious objection is far from being a mental illness but, on the contrary, is the only sane position for men who want to put an end to the destruction of peoples by war." The court issued another direction on the 13th August ordering him to report on the 24th August. He wrote to the Judge: "If the Military can suspect that the conduct of the Conscientious Objector is the result of a mental condition, such conduct nevertheless is in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

#### CANADA

A new political party has been formed in Quebec. It advocates independence for Quebec and condemns "without restriction any form of violence and corruption". The President, Dr. René Jutras, hopes that his party, Le Groupement National (National Regrouping), can offer candidates for all the 95 seats in the Provincial General Election which should take place by 1966.

#### BELGIUM

Representatives of the W.R.I. and the World Council of Peace are meeting at Ostend on October 3rd/4th for consultation on a variety of problems of interest to both organisations.

#### BRITAIN

The Executive of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace will also meet on October 3rd/4th in Ashford, Kent. It will be particularly concerned with intensifying the international campaign against the NATO Multilateral Nuclear Force. It has been suggested that important decisions will be taken on the MLF at the NATO Council Meeting on December 15th.

★ ★ ★

The British General Election will be on October 15th. All peace organisations, and particularly local groups, are participating in activities designed to make nuclear weapons, conscription and the MLF an important Election issue. The CND has published an Election manifesto entitled "Before you Vote", which sets out the simple case for nuclear disarmament and lists more constructive uses for the 2,000 million pounds which constitute Britain's defence budget. The Committee of 100 is encouraging its supporters not to vote for any party committed to either independent nuclear policies or NATO. Many local groups are encouraging voters to mark their ballot papers with CND symbols. Already some Labour candidates have been pressed at public meetings to deny categorically Labour's intention to introduce conscription or join the MLF. One Independent Nuclear Disarmament candidate, a former Chairman of London region CND, Michael Craft, is having a successful and well-publicised campaign in Twickenham, a Western suburb of London.

#### NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch YCND is following the example of the British YCND in

organising an "on the beach" campaign for the summer between the 24th December and the 9th January. Enquiries and donations to: Miss Locke, 392 Oxford Terrace, Christchurch 1.

PERU

The Secretariat of the Universities and the Quest for Peace is holding a Conference for Educators from the Americas to consider "the role of the Universities in the quest for peace" in Lima from the 9th to 13th November.

U.S.A.

Defenders of the Free World

A Virginia Selective Service Board officer has complained that "only the drop-outs, the slow-witted and the emotionally or psychologically disturbed are available for the draft because of the current campaigns. He added: "Most of the young people who are leaders, who are smart, who are ambitious, go on to college and we cannot touch them as long as they are in school. When they get out of school they teach, or marry, or find one of the many loop-holes in draft laws and we still cannot touch them".

From the "Reporter".

☆☆☆

Absolutist C.O. Tom Rodd, aged 18, was sentenced on August 19th to 5 years' imprisonment or probation with the added condition that he perform peace-corps-type work. He was sentenced under the Young Offenders Act and had completed the 60 days' initial imprisonment for observation. The Judge gave him 60 days in Allegheny County Jail to think it over, bringing his total sentence to about 4 months longer than what would have been possible had he been sentenced as an adult. On the other hand, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors believes that the probation opportunity is the first to be offered to a C.O. in Western Pennsylvania since the peace-time draft began in 1948. The Brethren Service Commission has offered to accept responsibility for him for two years providing he is willing and the Judge agrees.

From "News Notes" and "The Reporter".

W.R.I.

The W.R.I. is continuing its international news service in co-operation with the I.C.D.P. and the I.F.B. Releases go to some 300/400 organisations, publications and individual contacts. Approximately 26 issues will be published each year. They cost £1 (\$2.80) or by air mail £2.15.0 (\$7.70).

Contributions of another kind are also required. If you have news items which you wish to place before the world peace movement, please send them to the W.R.I.,  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
England

marked "FOR THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE".

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield Middlesex  
Großbritannien

6. 10. 64

PERSPEKTIVEN EINES NEUEN EUROPA

Die War Resisters' International (WRI) und der Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer (VK), eine der deutschen WRI-Sektionen, veranstalteten vom 9. - 16. August eine Studienkonferenz in Offenbach (Main) - Deutschland. Es wurden die politische Situation Europas, besonders das Deutschland-Problem und die Berlin-Frage untersucht.

Deutschland spielt eine gefährliche Rolle im Kalten Krieg (militärisch, politisch und geographisch). Eine stabile Friedenssicherung in Mitteleuropa ist eine der wichtigsten Voraussetzungen für eine Beseitigung der Kriegsgefahr zwischen Ost und West. Die Konferenz untersuchte die Bemühungen der Regierungen und stellte fest, daß es - abgesehen vom Moskauer Teststop-Abkommen - den Machtpolitikern bis jetzt noch nicht gelungen ist, Übereinkommen zu treffen, welche zum Abbau der gefährlichen Spannungen in Europa führten. Der Auf- und Ausbau der militärischen Machtapparate verhinderte schöpferisches Denken - die Kommunikation zwischen Ost und West wurde unterbrochen.

Die Konferenz hält es daher für unbedingt notwendig, daß die Menschen der betroffenen Länder - besonders aber die Friedensbewegungen, - selbst die Initiative ergreifen. Die deutschen Probleme müssen zusammen mit den europäischen gesehen werden - Deutschland ist mit dem übrigen Europa eng verflochten. Dieses Europa ist durch nationalistische, isolationistische Tendenzen zerrissen. Machtstreben und Gebietsforderungen verhindern den Abbau von Haß und Mißtrauen. Die Militärapparate werden immer stärker, immer mehr Waffen werden aufgestapelt.

Entmilitarisierung, freie Kommunikation, freier Reiseverkehr, gleiches Recht für Alle sind Voraussetzungen für ein neues Europa. Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, fordert die Konferenz die europäischen Friedensbewegungen auf, starke, gewaltfreie Kampagnen zu organisieren

- + gegen Wehrpflicht und Militarisierung des öffentlichen Lebens
- + gegen militärische Blöcke und Institutionen
- + gegen die multilaterale Atomstreitmacht und die französische force de frappe
- + für die Unterstützung aller Vorschläge zur Schaffung eines entmilitarisierten, atomwaffenfreien Europas
- + für den Abzug aller Besatzungstruppen aus Mitteleuropa
- + für freie Kommunikation und freien Reiseverkehr.

Eine progressive Friedenspolitik verlangt, daß die Souveränität beider deutscher Staaten anerkannt wird. Enge kulturelle und persönliche Beziehungen zwischen den Menschen Deutschlands können nur in einem entmilitarisierten Europa, in einer entmilitarisierten Welt wieder-erstehen.

OFFENBACHER VORSCHLAG. AKTION "NEUES EUROPA"

Seit Jahren bemühen sich die Regierungen um Lösungen des Deutschlandproblems. Bisher konnten sie keine Übereinkommen von Wert treffen. Eigene Initiativen sind notwendig.

Wir schlagen vor, so bald wie möglich in Berlin eine mehrtägige Konferenz abzuhalten. (Ostern oder Pfingsten 1965 erscheinen uns als günstige Termine.) Die Sitzungen sollen - täglich wechselnd - in Ost- und Westberlin stattfinden. Aufgabe der Konferenz soll es sein, die europäische Krise zu untersuchen und Perspektiven einer neuen Gesellschaftsordnung für ganz Europa zu entwickeln, die durch Machtpolitik und Militarismus in allen europäischen Ländern entstandenen Probleme sollen aufgedeckt und mögliche Lösungen vorbereitet werden.

Wir denken an eine Konferenz mit einigen hundert Teilnehmern. Sie sollen die Konferenz nicht als Repräsentanten von Organisationen besuchen. Es wird im wesentlichen eine europäische Konferenz sein - aber Menschen aus allen Kontinenten sind eingeladen. (Aus geographischen und finanziellen Gründen streben wir vorläufig noch keine Weltkonferenz an - sie wird später kommen.) Zu Beginn und zum Ende der Konferenz soll je eine Plenarsitzung abgehalten werden. Spezielle Themen werden von besonderen Kommissionen diskutiert, die Ergebnisse werden dem Plenum als Dokumente vorgelegt. Wir denken zunächst an folgende Kommissionen:

- (1) Beendigung des Kalten Krieges und Entmilitarisierung;
- (2) Demokratisierung des öffentlichen Lebens und Realisierung der Menschenrechte (Rede-, Informations-, Pressefreiheit, Zulassung aller politischen Parteien);
- (3) Internationalisierung, Auflösung aller Grenzen;
- (4) Selbstbestimmung in der Industrie und demokratische Kontrolle der Wirtschaft;
- (5) Konfliktlösung ohne Krieg und Kriegsdrohung;

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Dieser Aktionsplan wurde auf der WRI-Studienkonferenz in Offenbach beschlossen. Er soll so weit wie möglich verbreitet werden - nach Möglichkeit noch vor der Konstituierung einer formellen Organisation. Der Vorschlag beschränkt sich auf das Wesentliche; technische Einzelheiten (wie Konferenzsprache, Übersetzung und Organisation) werden daher hier noch offen gelassen.

Wir bitten Jeden, der diesen Vorschlag für gut und wichtig hält, ihn zu unterstützen und bis zum 31. Oktober 1964 an die WRI in Enfield, Middlesex, England, 88 Park Avenue zu schreiben, seine Teilnahme zuzusagen und - wenn es ihm notwendig erscheint - eigene Vorschläge zu machen.

Die Unterzeichner werden ein Treffen abhalten und endgültig entscheiden, ob man weiterarbeiten soll oder nicht. Wenn man sich für ein Weiterarbeiten entscheidet, werden die bis dahin ausgearbeiteten Vorschläge - zusammen mit einer Liste der Unterzeichner - veröffentlicht. Dann beginnt die eigentliche Arbeit.

Offenbach (Main)

15. August 1964

## WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE

6.10.64 WRI

NON-VIOLENT SOLUTION OF CONFLICT

with special reference to Germany and Berlin

from 9th - 15th August, 1964, at Offenbach/Main, Germany

## VISION OF A NEW EUROPE

- A report by Devi Prasad

Unless you put yourself into the hot climate of an actual conflict, you can hardly understand the reality of the situation. We realised this at Offenbach when nearly 35 participants from different countries took part in the 1964 W.R.I. Study Conference on Non-Violent Solution of Conflict with special reference to Germany and Berlin.

The Conference started on the morning of 9th August and ended on the afternoon of 15th August with a statement entitled "Vision of a New Europe". When asked what he thought of the Conference, a well-known German peace worker replied: "... the content of speeches and discussions is indeed of a very high quality... and the most interesting thing for us Germans is that here we are able to look at our own problems from a different and much wider angle." This feeling was shared by the majority of participants at the Conference, though there were some, of course, who felt that the Conference was not putting sufficient emphasis on the need of co-operation with the U.N. and national governments. In fact, the general concern at the Conference was: What should people themselves and peace movements do to create a new outlook on political and social relations in Europe? It was strongly felt that the solution of the German problem depended on the political climate in the whole of Europe. The Offenbach statement, I think, expresses this extremely well. Although it has not given "practical directions" to organise action, it indicates a clear political direction in wide, non-violent terms.

From the point of view of attendance, especially when we had expected 50-60 people, the Conference was somewhat discouraging. Socially this number was a bit too small, although, for the quality of discussions, 35 was perhaps an ideal number. It seems that the very specialised character of the theme was one of the reasons for the lack of the expected response. On the other hand, several participants who had hoped to attend, including representatives of the G.D.R., Czechoslovakian and Yugoslavian Peace Committees, were prevented from coming, due to personal and practical reasons.

A series of background papers giving extensive information on the German and Berlin problems and the German peace movement was prepared both in English and German and sent to participants in advance. It was encouraging to note that many participants had studied this material and found it useful. The value of such background papers is being felt more and more by those who are not able to attend

the Conference. There is a growing demand for good material of this kind, especially among non-violent study groups.

The Conference started with a quick world review of the Cold War and the sociological, economic and political factors involved. On the second day the discussions centered round Germany after the Second World War. The speaker presented a well-balanced, factual picture of post-war Germany and political events. Discussions then became more and more directly connected with the German situation. The speaker on "Forces working for lessening of tension and efforts to solve the German problem - forces preventing solution" emphasised that the reality of two separate German states with two distinctly different social and political systems must be recognised. Reunification by "free elections" was neither possible nor could it be a correct solution of the German problem. What was essential and also practical was building normal relations between the two countries.

The speaker on "Disarmament and lessening of tension in Central Europe" explained some of the well-known plans for a demilitarised and denuclearised Europe, especially the Rapacki plan. It was felt that normal relations between the two parts of Germany could be possible in a demilitarised Europe with civil liberties and free communication. Therefore people and peace movements must develop a suitable strategy for their struggle towards this goal.

After three days of discussion the whole group went to visit Heidelberg. It was very kind of the VERBAND DER KRIEGSDIENSTVERWEIGERER to bear the whole cost of transport to this interesting historical place for the whole group. It was indeed a very pleasant trip.

The second part of the Conference began with an examination of the political and social significance of peace movements. The urge in individuals and groups to achieve peace was not as strong as for nationalism. But in the nuclear age a world outlook should naturally supersede national interests. Therefore it was important to develop new ideals which would have the same strong emotional feeling as nationalism. Therefore peace movements should try to introduce such ideas which will create contradictions with some existing values and at the same time give rise to creative conflict in society.

International consciousness was another aspect which must be developed. Shock therapy was wrong because its result was that people developed a defence reflex, thus creating a gap between the peace movement and the population. The peace movement should not endeavour to get into power politics by being officially represented in governments. On the other hand it should try to create close contacts with key figures in all departments of society. The speaker focused attention on the importance of international contacts.

Representatives of the following five organisations spoke on the policies of their organisations:

Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner,  
Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer,  
Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft,  
Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner,  
Versöhnungsbund.

It was interesting to note that none of these organisations said in clear terms that unilateral disarmament was one of their central

objectives.

Discussing the possibilities and limitations of the non-violent solution of conflict, one speaker emphasised the need for developing non-violent instruments which were acceptable to people and which they could use against external threats. Another speaker put emphasis on non-violent direct action against the power structure and militarism.

The Drafting Committee, which was formed on the first day of the Conference, had been taking notes of all the discussions. On the last day of the Conference it produced a statement and a list of suggestions which had been made by the Conference. The Conference adopted the statement unanimously. The major proposal that came out was to hold a Conference in Berlin at some future date to reveal the problems created by militarism and power politics. People from East and West could come and exchange ideas on creating a new outlook for a Europe free from militarism and united in its approach to peace and civil liberties. If it were not possible for participants from East Europe to come and take part, the proposed Conference could take place in two parts, one in East Berlin and the other in West. The detailed outline of this suggested Conference is given at the end of the statement.

The second suggestion put forward by the Conference was to explore the possibilities of establishing either international peace centres or a non-violent study group in Berlin. The Conference hoped that peace movements, especially in Europe, would consider the Conference statement seriously and work out plans to implement it.

To end this report, I must mention that our German Sections, particularly VERBAND DER KRIEGSDIENSTVERWEIGERER, should be congratulated on the excellent arrangements made at Offenbach's Naturfreundehaus. The W.P.I. is greatly indebted to the V.K. for all its help, and particularly to Klaus Vack, its General Secretary.

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

8th October, 1964

12.10.64

ED 718-16-317

Dear Friend,

✓+  
Enclosed herewith is the joint statement by the delegations of the W.R.I. and the W.C.P. after discussions at Ostend 3rd- 4th October. It is for publication in full for the bulletins of our Sections and Associated Organisations. We hope you will be able to publish it at an early date and also send us your comments.

Yours sincerely,

*Devi Prasad*

Devi Prasad  
Secretary

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

8th October, 1964

12.10.64

OSTEND CONFERENCE OF W.R.I. and W.C.P.

Record of Conclusions. ED718-16-348

Representatives of the War Resisters International and the World Council of Peace met in Ostend 3rd - 4th October, 1964, and after a comprehensive discussion reached conclusions which are embodied in the following working document:

Multilateral Force:

An immediate task of the Peace Movement is to oppose the proposed NATO Multilateral Force, and efforts should be concentrated on this up to 15th December when the NATO Council is to meet in Paris to decide on this proposal. In this campaign we should seek the co-operation of all peace movements and other interested organisations. While our reasons for opposition to MLF may differ, we are agreed that it is a matter of the greatest urgency. We therefore ask our Sections and associated bodies to take whatever action is possible.

The prevention of MLF is not the end but part of a campaign to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, to facilitate disengagement in Europe, to further the relaxation of international tension and thus make possible the eventual dissolution of the military blocs.

International Co-operation Year

Regarding the International Co-operation Year of the United Nations, which we support, we think it desirable to remind all member nations of their obligations under Article 2 of the Charter not to resort to force or the threat of force in the relations between States and of the need to implement the resolution of the General Assembly calling for the final elimination of colonialism and respect for the principles of independence and non-intervention in one another's internal affairs. Within this context we recommend the following measures:

1. Extension of the Test Ban Treaty to cover all Tests and all nations;
2. The establishment of de-nuclearised areas;
3. A substantial percentage cut in arms expenditure, the saving to be devoted to economic reconversion and the assistance of developing countries;
4. The invitation to the People's Republic of China to occupy its rightful place in the United Nations.

Please paste this on your copy at the appropriate place.

Walter Diehl, W.C.P. Secretary; Professor Nikolai Metkovsky, W.C.P. Secretary; Stanislaw Trepczynski, member of the Presidential Committee of the Polish Peace Committee; Andrew L. Walker, personal assistant to Professor J.B. Bernal, Chairman of the W.C.P.; Madame Rosy Holender, General Secretary of the Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace; Martin Hall, editor of the English edition of the Bulletin of the W.C.P.

The list of W.C.P. participants should read as follows:

IMPORTANT CORRECTION IN DOCUMENT 28/64 - OSTEND  
CONFERENCE OF W.R.I. AND W.C.P. RECORD OF CONCLUSIONS

We also recommend the United Nations to study the possibility of establishing an international service corps.

We commend to peace organisations the following activities during the International Co-operation Year:

- 1) The Danube Project - a suggested river trip on the Danube for several hundred young people from all European countries for mutual understanding and the study of problems of international co-operation and peace;
- 2) The strengthening and extension of Marches at Easter with each country free to choose its appropriate themes including, it is hoped, certain common ones, and the exchange of speakers between countries of the East and West.

### Conscientious Objection

The representatives of the W.C.P. agreed to ask the Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic to send to other national Peace Committees details of the provisions for alternative service for conscientious objectors in the German Democratic Republic. They agreed to suggest to their associated bodies that serious consideration be given to the problems of conscientious objection and pacifist groups.

It was agreed to recommend the widest possible participation in Prisoners for Peace Day (1st December) and to make known the W.R.I.'s Study Work Camp to take place in Italy in the summer of 1965.

### Areas of Co-operation

The meeting welcomed the idea of a Study Conference on "Education for a World without War" which it was hoped could be held in Poland in 1966 under the sponsorship of the W.R.I., W.C.P. and other international organisations.

The W.R.I. plan to hold a World Conference on Non-Violence in 1966 was welcomed and the W.C.P. representatives agreed to assist with contacts and, if possible, participation.

The W.C.P. representatives announced the intention of the W.C.P. to hold a World Congress in 1965 and expressed the hope that the W.R.I. would be able to send representatives.

It was agreed that further attention should be given to the exchange of information, periodicals and articles.

All present found the discussions fruitful in exploring areas of agreement and difference in our common struggle for peace and agreed that such creative dialogue and consultations should continue and might usefully be extended to other international peace organisations.

Participants: War Resisters' International: Harold F. Bing, W.R.I. Chairman; Devi Prasad, W.R.I. Secretary; Michael Randle, W.R.I. Council and Executive member; Jean van Lierde, W.R.I. Council member; David McReynolds, Field Secretary of the War Resisters' League, USA; Herbert Stubenrauch, Chairman of the Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer, Germany. (DFG)

World Council of Peace: Walter Diehl, W.C.P. Secretary; Prof. Nikolai Matkovsky, member of the Presidential Committee of the Polish Peace Committee; Andrew L. Walker, personal assistant to Prof. J.B. Bernal, Chairman of the W.C.P.; Mme. Rosy Holender, Gen. Secretary of the Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace; Martin Hall, editor of the English edition of the Bulletin of the W.C.P.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD  
TELEPHONE: LABurnum 3977

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England.

5th November, 1964

Dear Friend,

The Honour Roll for Prisoners for Peace Day is enclosed. This time it is especially important because we are planning to celebrate Prisoners for Peace Day on an international scale. I hope you have made big plans to approach embassies and consulates of all those countries which have conscription and no recognition of conscientious objection.

It was at the suggestion of one of our German Sections that the International decided to make it an international project (memo 66/64). The V.K. Secretariat is working hard to let every one of their members and groups know what they can do, what sort of letter they should send and how they should approach the Authorities of countries concerned. It is only by making such efforts that we will succeed in drawing the attention of a large number of people to the importance of opposition to conscription.

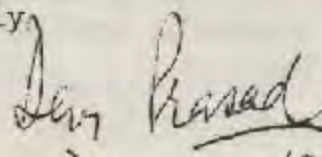
It is due to such efforts that we have achieved results in so many countries. From our News Releases you must have noticed that the D.D.R. has also passed a law recognising conscientious objection. However inadequate the Statute might be from our point of view we think it is an encouraging step taken by an East European country. If that trend is to be maintained more intensive efforts on our part are necessary. Let us use December 1st in the best possible way. More pressure ought to be put on Switzerland and Italy.

There is another important point: There are countries where the idea of conscientious objection to military service is not known. Recently in connection with the revision of our records of Military Service Regulations we received a reply from an Embassy that they did not know what conscientious objection was. Is it therefore not an occasion to ask the Governments of those countries to give thought to new ideas and see the evil of militarism? Therefore please do not leave out such countries from the P.F.P.D. project. A little research to find out from Embassies in your own country will be worth while. A short list of countries was given in the memo.

I cannot but mention here that there are thousands of prisoners of conscience about whom we have no information. There may be many more of whom there is little hope of hearing anything. The enclosed list shows only a small proportion of those to whom we want to send our greetings.

Please send reports of your activities on that day as soon as possible as we want to make them known.

With every good wish  
Yours sincerely,



(Secretary)

P.S. If further names come in after this despatch a supplementary list will be sent to Council and Sections in Europe.

## PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

1st December 1964

ED 713-16-320

LA JOURNEE DES PRISONNIERS POUR LA PAIX 1er décembre 1964

TAG DER GEFANGENEN FÜR DEN FRIEDEN 1. dezember 1964

HONOUR ROLL/LA LISTE D'HONNEUR/EHREN LISTE

Names and Addresses of War Resisters in prison at Christmas-time 1964 and New Year 1965

Noms et Adresses de Résistance à la Guerre qui se trouvent à prison à Noël 1964 et au N Nouvel An 1965

Namen und Adressen von Kriegsgegnern, die Weihnachten 1964 und Neujahr 1965 im Gefängnis verbringen werden

FRANCE/FRANCE/FRANKREICHPrison de Metz, 1 ter rue Maurice Barrès, Metz (Moselle), France

Monsieur LUX

Camp de la Protection Civile, Briegoles (Var), France

Yves BARON	Daniel BEAUVAIS	Yvon BEL
Jean-Francais BESSON	Henri BORSA	Jean-Louis BOUDET
Jean-Pierre CHARLET	Jean-Pierre CLISTRE	Richard DALLEMAGNE
Jean-Claude DALLEMALLE	Bernard DELAHAYE	Philippe DELORD
Alain DEPARTER	André DONNAINT	Jacques DUCRAS
Roland ECK	Bruno de FRUCHAS	Philippe GIRODET
Denis HERLAUT	Francis HIMPE	Gerhard JEANNIN
Bernard de LA GARCE	Marcel LATINI	Paul LOUBOT
Robert LOPEZ	Albert LUX	Yves MENESGUEN
Ambroise MONOD	Achille MONFORT	Simon PALIX
Daniel PAYAN	Michel PELTIER	Pierre PHILIPPE
Didier POIRAUD	Jean-Claude ROCLET	Claude ROUX
Alain ROUZET	Jean-Pierre SOMMERMEYER	Marc WECKE

ITALY/ITALIE/ITALIENCastello Angioino, Gaeta, Italy

Cristoforo TONDO

NETHERLANDS/PAYS-BAS/NIEDERLAND

Kees de Vries, Nieuwe Niedorp, Dorpsstraat 257

SOUTH AFRICA/L'AFRIQUE DU SUD/SÜDAFRIKA

THEODOR KLOPPENBURG is due to be released some time at the end of December. Greetings should be sent to his home address:

THEODOR KLOPPENBURG doit être libéré vers la fin Décembre. Temoignages et messages d'amitié doivent être envoyés à son adresse privée:

THEODOR KLOPPENBURG sollte am Ende Dezember befreit werden. Grusskarten nach seiner Heimadresse, bitte:

36, Airlie Road, Brighton Beach, Durban

U.S.A./ETATS UNIS/VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Russell Goddard 8573-PC  
Box 4000  
Springfield, Mo.

John Ross 10050  
Terminal Island Federal Correctional  
Institution, San Pedro, Calif.

Paul Salstrom  
Federal Correctional Institution  
Danbury, Conn.

Dennis Weeks 45626-C  
Federal Reformatory  
Chillicothe, Ohio

Federal Prison Camp, Allenwood, Pennsylvania

Bram Luckom (3119-AL)  
Jacob Stauffer

Alan Nyysola (3309-AL)  
Marvin Stauffer

YUGOSLAVIA/JUGOSLAVIE/JUGOSLAWE

Goli Otok, Yugoslavia

Sentence/Jugement/Urteil  
Years/ans/Jahre

Stevan DOROSLOVAC  
Milan ZAKIC  
Tomislav NEGRU  
Dusan KATANIC  
Ljubomir PETRIC  
Dejan JEVREMOV

8  
8  
6  
9  
8  
10

COLLECTIVE GREETINGS may be sent to the camp addresses in Denmark, Netherlands, Norway and West Germany:-

On peut écrire des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants des camps en Danemark, Pays-Bas, Norvège et Allemagne l'Ouest:-

Ein gemeinschaftlicher Glückwünsche kann zu den Zivildienstlager in Dänemark, Niederland, Norwegen und West Deutschland geschickt werden:-

DENMARK/DANEMARK/DÄNEMARK

Tillidsmændene  
Gribskovlejren  
Maarum st, Denmark

Tillidsmændene  
Kompedallejren  
Engesvang st, Denmark

NETHERLANDS/PAYS-BAS/NIEDERLAND

Anne van der Geest  
Sec.C.O.Council  
Rijks Psychiatrische Inrichtingen  
Bosdijt, Woensel, Eindhoven

Frank Fornara  
Sec. C.O.Council, H.T.O.,  
Laakkade 80  
den Haag

Huib Woets  
Sec. C.O. Council  
Dienstweigeraarskamp  
Vledder (Dr.)

Gerard Buisman  
Kanaalweg 186  
Ijmuiden

NORWAY/NORVEGE/NORWEGEN

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Hustad leir<br>Farstad                                 | ☆ Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Dillingby leir<br>Våler i Østfold                    |
| Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Halvorsrud Forlegning<br>Ørje p.å                      | Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Steinsvollen Forlegning<br>Drolsum p.å                 |
| Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Den sivile arbeidstjeneste<br>Mysen                    | Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Vergjedalsbruket Forlegning<br>Nore i Numedal          |
| Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Betania Barne- og Fleiehjem<br>Alta                    | Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Utgravninga på brygga<br>Dregalsmendingen 6, Bergen    |
| Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Tengesdal skule<br>Tengesdal pr. Egersund              | Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Brautland skule<br>Helleland                           |
| Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Buskerud Vanførheim<br>Geithus p.å                     | Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Dr. Solems klinik<br>Tjøme                             |
| Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Indre Østfold høgre skole<br>Eidsberg kommune<br>Mysen | Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Norges geografiske oppmåling<br>Boks 1368<br>Oslo-Vika |
| Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Norges Røde kors<br>Bakkeby, Egersund                  | Til Sivilarbeiderne<br>Vårli Realskole<br>Jeløy pr. Moss                      |
- ☆ Camp for Jehovah's Witnesses/Temoigns de Jéhovah/Zeugen Jehovahs

WEST GERMANY/ALLEMAGNE L'OUEST/WEST DEUTSCHLAND

The following are Alternative Service Camps - not Prison Camps  
 Les adresses qui suit sont Service Civil Camps - pas Prison Camps  
 Die folgenden sind Friedensdienst Adressen - nicht Gefängnislager

- Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
53 Bonn-Venusberg, Universitäts-Kliniken
- Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
74 Tübingen, Universitäts-Kliniken
- Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
69 Heidelberg, Universitäts-Kliniken
- Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
4813 Bethel über Bielefeld, Bodelschwingsche Anstalten
- Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
6 Frankfurt am Main, C/o Nothelfergemeinschaft der Freunde,  
Auf der Körnerwiese 5
- Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
2 Hamburg 1, C/o Internationaler Zivildienst, Beim Strohause 14
- Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
3547 Wolfhagen (Bezirk Kassel), C/o D.R.K.- Hilfszug-Zentralstaffel
- Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
7417 Urach/Württemberg, C/o Günter Fleisch, Haus am Berg, Postfach 68
- Ersatzdienstgruppe "EIRENE",  
575 Kaiserslautern, Bruchstr. 13

Ersatzdienstgruppe  
85 Nürnberg, Städtische Krankenanstalten, Flurstr. 17

There are many Jehovah's Witnesses in prison in Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, West Germany, U.S.A. etc. Their names and addresses are not known

Il y a beaucoup de Temoigns de Jéhovah en prison in Danemark, Finland, Pays-Bas, Allemagne l'Ouest, Etats Unis, etc. On ne connaît pas leur noms et adresses

Es sind viele Zeugen Jehovahs im Gefängnis in Dänemark, Finland, Niederland, West Deutschland, U.S.A., u.s.w. Ihre Namen und Adressen sind unbekannt

We cannot guarantee that all addresses are accurate. If your cards are returned please do not ask the W.R.I. to provide an explanation.

L'I.R.G. a fait tout son possible afin de fournir des renseignements précis. Si vos cartes vous seront renvoyées, nous vous prions de ne point vous adresser à l'I.R.G. pour en constater la raison.

Die W.R.I. hat versucht genaue Auskunft zu geben. Sollten Sie Karten zurückgeschickt bekommen, so fragen Sie uns bitte nicht warum.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex, England

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ELEPHONE: LABurnum 3977

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It is due to such efforts that we have achieved results in so many countries. From our News Releases you must have noticed that the D.D.R. has also passed a law recognising conscientious objection. However inadequate the Statute might be from our point of view we think it is an encouraging step taken by an East European country. If that trend is to be maintained more intensive efforts on our part are necessary. Let us use December 1st in the best possible way. More pressure ought to be put on Switzerland and Italy.

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*Jay Prasad*  
(Secretary)

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Enfield, Middlesex  
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TELEPHONE: LABurnum 3977

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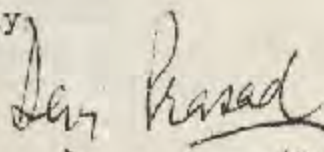
It is due to such efforts that we have achieved results in so many countries. From our News Releases you must have noticed that the D.D.E. has also passed a law recognising conscientious objection. However inadequate the Statute might be from our point of view we think it is an encouraging step taken by an East European country. If that trend is to be maintained more intensive efforts on our part are necessary. Let us use December 1st in the best possible way. More pressure ought to be put on Switzerland and Italy.

There is another important point: There are countries where the idea of conscientious objection to military service is not known. Recently in connection with the revision of our records of Military Service Regulations we received a reply from an Embassy that they did not know what conscientious objection was. Is it therefore not an occasion to ask the Governments of those countries to give thought to new ideas and see the evil of militarism? Therefore please do not leave out such countries from the P.F.P.D. project. A little research to find out from Embassies in your own country will be worth while. A short list of countries was given in the memo.

I cannot but mention here that there are thousands of prisoners of conscience about whom we have no information. There may be many more of whom there is little hope of hearing anything. The enclosed list shows only a small proportion of those to whom we want to send our greetings.

Please send reports of your activities on that day as soon as possible as we want to make them known.

With every good wish  
Yours sincerely,



(Secretary)

P.S. If further names come in after this despatch a supplementary list will be sent to Council and Sections in Europe.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY  
1st December 1964

ED 718-16-324

LA JOURNEE DES PRISONNIERS POUR LA PAIX 1er décembre 1964  
TAG DER GEFANGENEN FÜR DEN FRIEDEN 1. dezember 1964

HONOUR ROLL/LA LISTE D'HONNEUR/EHREN LISTE

Names and Addresses of War Resisters in prison at Christmas-time 1964 and New Year 1965

Noms et Adresses de Résistance à la Guerre qui se trouvent à prison à Noël 1964 et au N Nouvel An 1965

Namen und Adressen von Kriegsgegnern, die Weihnachten 1964 und Neujahr 1965 im Gefängnis verbringen werden

FRANCE/FRANCE/FRANKREICH

Prison de Metz, 1 ter rue Maurice Barrès, Metz (Moselle), France  
Monsieur LUX

Camp de la Protection Civile, Brignoles (Var), France

Yves BARON	Daniel BEAUVAIS	Yvon BEL
Jean-Francais BESSON	Henri BORSA	Jean-Louis BOUDET
Jean-Pierre CHARLET	Jean-Pierre CLISTRE	Richard DALLEMAGNE
Jean-Claude DALLEMALLE	Bernard DELAHAYE	Philippe DELORD
Alain DEPARTER	André DONNAINT	Jacques DUCRAS
Roland ECK	Bruno de FRUCHAS	Philippe GIRODET
Denis HERLAUT	Francis HIMPE	Gerhard JEANNIN
Bernard de LA GARCE	Marcel LATINI	Paul LOUBOT
Robert LOPEZ	Albert LUX	Yves MENESGUEN
Ambroise MONOD	Achille MONFORT	Simon PALIX
Daniel PAYAN	Michel PELTIER	Pierre PHILIPPE
Didier POIRAUD	Jean-Claude ROCLET	Claude ROUX
Alain ROUZET	Jean-Pierre SOMMERMEYER	Marc WECKE

ITALY/ITALIE/ITALIEN

Castello Angioino, Gaeta, Italy

Cristoforo TONDO

NETHERLANDS/PAYS-BAS/NIEDERLAND

Kees de Vries, Nieuwe Niedorp, Dorpsstraat 257

SOUTH AFRICA/L'AFRIQUE DU SUD/SÜDAFRIKA

THEODOR KLOPPENBURG is due to be released some time at the end of December. Greetings should be sent to his home address:

THEODOR KLOPPENBURG doit être libéré vers la fin Décembre. Temoignages et messages d'amitié doivent être envoyés à son adresse privée:

THEODOR KLOPPENBURG sollte am Ende Dezember befreit werden. Grusskarten nach seiner Heimadresse, bitte:

36, Airlie Road, Brighton Beach, Durban

U.S.A./ETATS UNIS/VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Russell Goddard 8573-PC  
Box 4000  
Springfield, Mo.

John Ross 10050  
Terminal Island Federal Correctional  
Institution, San Pedro, Calif.

Paul Salstrom  
Federal Correctional Institution  
Danbury, Conn.

Dennis Weeks 45626-C  
Federal Reformatory  
Chillicothe, Ohio

Federal Prison Camp, Allenwood, Pennsylvania

Bram Luckom (3119-AL)  
Jacob Stauffer

Alan Nyysola (3309-AL)  
Marvin Stauffer

YUGOSLAVIA/JUGOSLAVIE/JUGOSLAWE

Goli Otok, Yugoslavia

Sentence/Jugement/Urteil  
Years/ans/Jahre

Stevan DOROSLOVAC  
Milan ZAKIC  
Tomislav NEGRU  
Dusan KATANIC  
Ljubomir PETRIC  
Dejan JEVREMOV

8  
8  
6  
9  
8  
10

COLLECTIVE GREETINGS may be sent to the camp addresses in Denmark, Netherlands, Norway and West Germany:-

On peut écrire des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants des camps en Danemark, Pays-Bas, Norvège et Allemagne l'Ouest:-

Ein gemeinschaftlicher Glückwünsche kann zu den Zivildienstlager in Dänemark, Niederland, Norwegen und West Deutschland geschickt werden:-

DENMARK/DANEMARK/DÄNEMARK

Tillidsmændene  
Gribskovlejren  
Maarum st, Denmark

Tillidsmændene  
Kompedallejren  
Engesvang st, Denmark

NETHERLANDS/PAYS-BAS/NIEDERLAND

Anne van der Geest  
Sec.C.O.Council  
Rijks Psychiatrische Inrichtingen  
Bosdijt, woensel, Eindhoven

Frank Fornara  
Sec. C.O.Council, H.T.O.,  
Laakkade 80  
den Haag

Huib Woets  
Sec. C.O. Council  
Dienstweigeraarskamp  
Vledder (Dr.)

Gerard Buisman  
Kanaalweg 186  
Ijmuiden

NORWAY/NORVEGE/NORWEGEN

Til Sivilarbeiderne Hustad leir Farstad	☆ Til Sivilarbeiderne Dillingby leir Våler i Østfold
Til Sivilarbeiderne Hålvorsrud Forlegning Ørje p.å	Til Sivilarbeiderne Steinsvollen Forlegning Drolsum p.å
Til Sivilarbeiderne Den sivile arbeidstjeneste Mysen	Til Sivilarbeiderne Vergjedalsbruket Forlegning Nore i Numedal
Til Sivilarbeiderne Betania Barne- og Pleiehjem Alta	Til Sivilarbeiderne Utgravninga på brygga Dregalsmendingen 6, Bergen
Til Sivilarbeiderne Tengesdal skule Tengesdal pr. Egersund	Til Sivilarbeiderne Brautland skule Helleland
Til Sivilarbeiderne Buskerud Vanføreheim Geithus p.å	Til Sivilarbeiderne Dr. Solens klinik Tjøme
Til Sivilarbeiderne Indre Østfold høgre skole Eidsberg kommune Mysen	Til Sivilarbeiderne Norges geografiske oppmåling Boks 1368 Oslo-Vike
Til Sivilarbeiderne Norges Røde kors Bakkeby, Egersund	Til Sivilarbeiderne Vårli Realskole Jeløy pr. Moss

☆ Camp for Jehovah's Witnesses/Temoigns de Jéhovah/Zeugen Jehovahs

WEST GERMANY/ALLEMAGNE L'OUEST/WEST DEUTSCHLAND

The following are Alternative Service Camps - not Prison Camps  
Les adresses qui suit sont Service Civil Camps - pas Prison Camps  
Die folgenden sind Friedensdienst Adressen - nicht Gefängnislager

Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
53 Bonn-Venusberg, Universitäts-Kliniken

Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
74 Tübingen, Universitäts-Kliniken

Staatliche Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
69 Heidelberg, Universitäts-Kliniken

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
4813 Bethel über Bielefeld, Bodelschwingsche Anstalten

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
6 Frankfurt am Main, C/o Nothelfergemeinschaft der Freunde,  
Auf der Körnerwiese 5

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
2 Hamburg 1, C/o Internationaler Zivildienst, Beim Strohause 14

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
3547 Wolfhagen (Bezirk Kassel), C/o D.R.K.- Hilfszug-Zentralstaffel

Sozialdienstgruppe für Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
7417 Urach/Württemberg, C/o Günter Bleisch, Haus am Berg, Postfach 68

Ersatzdienstgruppe "EIRENE",  
675 Kaiserslautern, Bruchstr. 13

Ersatzdienstgruppe  
85 Nürnberg, Städtische Krankenanstalten, Flurstr. 17

There are many Jehovah's Witnesses in prison in Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, West Germany, U.S.A. etc. Their names and addresses are not known

Il y a beaucoup de Temoigns de Jéhovah en prison in Danemark, Finland, Pays-Bas, Allemagne l'Ouest, Etats Unis, etc. On ne connaît pas leur noms et adresses

Es sind viele Zeugen Jehovahs im Gefängnis in Dänemark, Finland, Niederland, West Deutschland, U.S.A., u.s.w. Ihre Namen und Adressen sind unbekannt

We cannot guarantee that all addresses are accurate. If your cards are returned please do not ask the W.R.I. to provide an explanation.

L'I.R.G. a fait tout son possible afin de fournir des renseignements précis. Si vos cartes vous seront renvoyées, nous vous prions de ne point vous adresser à l'I.R.G. pour en constater la raison.

Die W.R.I. hat versucht genaue Auskunft zu geben. Sollten Sie Karten zurückgeschickt bekommen, so fragen Sie uns bitte nicht warum.

WEST GERMANY ALIEN RESISTANCE GROUPS

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex, England

5.11.64

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

## A G E N D A

28.11.64

for Executive Committee Meeting No.8 to be held at  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex on Saturday,  
12th December 1964 at 9.30 a.m. and Sunday 13th  
December, 1964 if necessary.

ED 718-16-326

## APOLOGIES

## APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO.7  
(17.10.64)
  2. FINANCE:
    - (a) Current Statement
    - (b) Approval of Expenditure
    - (c) Reserve position
    - (d) Financial agents:
      - (i) Switzerland
      - (ii) Germany
    - (e) Charity status
    - (f) W.R.I. Folder (English, Italian, Spanish, German,  
French and Annual Appeal)
  3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY
  4. PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY 1964
  5. NAZARENES
  6. REVISION OF MILITARY SERVICE REGULATIONS
  7. COUNCIL MEETING 1965
  8. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE AND CONFERENCE ON NON-VIOLENCE 1966
  9. STUDY CONFERENCE 1965
  10. STUDY CONFERENCE 1966
  11. CONSTITUTION
  12. OSTEND MEETING W.R.I./W.C.P.
  13. I.C.D.P. NEWS SERVICE
  14. VERBAND DER KRIEGSDIENSTGEGNER AGM 1965
  15. LANSBURY HOUSE
  16. TOLSTOY ARCHIVES
  17. ACTION SOUTH AFRICA
  18. CYPRUS
  19. W.R.I. IN ITALY
  20. ANY OTHER BUSINESS
- DATES OF NEXT MEETINGS

102/64

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND

2.12.64

- 9.12.64

AÜSSEERST DRINGEND

Lieber Freund (Liebe Freundin)

Während der letzten zwei Jahre ist die englische Ausgabe der Vierteljahrschrift WAR RESISTANCE wesentlich in Auslage und Inhalt verbessert worden. Infolge der Vergrößerung und gesteigerter Kosten ist der Preis jetzt erhöht worden. Die deutschen und französischen Ausgaben sind vervielfältigt, nicht gedruckt, hauptsächlich wegen der kleinen Anzahl der veröffentlichten Exemplare. Wir haben oft darüber nachgedacht, ob es wert ist, diese Ausgaben, die viel Arbeit und Geld erfordern, weiterhin herzustellen, da wir nur sehr wenig Interesse von unseren französischen und deutschen Lesern gespürt haben. Um unsere Geldausgaben zu verkleinern ist unser Exekutiv Ausschuss zu dem Entschluss gezwungen worden, die deutschen und französischen Postlisten erheblich zu verkleinern. Diejenigen, die wirklich interessiert sind, werden aber weiterhin die Dreimonatschrift erhalten. Einige von Ihnen haben Ihr Abonnement regelmässig gezahlt, aber wegen der vielen, die niemals etwas bezahlt haben, müssen wir diesen drastischen Schritt ins Auge fassen.

Um uns bei der Änderung unserer Postliste zu helfen, lassen Sie uns bitte sofort wissen, ob Sie WAR RESISTANCE weiterhin erhalten wollen und ob Sie bereit sind dafür zu zahlen.

Lassen Sie uns ausserdem wissen, was Sie von dem uns gemachten Vorschlag halten, die französischen und deutschen Ausgaben nur dreimal oder eventuell nur zweimal im Jahr zu veröffentlichen.

Mit kameradschaftlichen Grüßen

Ihr


Devi Prasad  
Sekretär

HWR/htsch, II/M

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONALMINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 8  
held at

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield,  
Middlesex, on Saturday, 12th December, 1964,  
at 9.45 a.m. 11.1.65

PRESENT: Harold Bing (Chairman), Joyce Runham Brown  
(Hon. Treasurer), Tony Smythe. Staff: Devi  
Prasad.

Because of bad weather conditions Herbert Gunneberg  
arrived only after the meeting had closed.

APOLOGIES: Michael Randle

AGENDA: The circulated Agenda was approved with additions as  
recorded in these Minutes.

1. MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 7

Minutes of Executive Committee meeting No. 7 (17th October, 1964)  
were approved and signed by the Chairman.

MATTERS ARISING FROM THE MINUTES

7. Proposal to send a representative (s) to China

The Chinese Peace Committee had not yet responded to the Secretary's letter in this connection. Pierre Martin had also written to the French Ambassador in China. He had not yet received a reply either. Although it would not now be possible for our representatives to visit China in January/February, as was originally planned, the Executive recognised that, in view of the Chinese situation, it might take some time before representatives of the International could visit China. Efforts to procure an invitation should be continued.

2 (c) Relief

Pierre Martin had informed us that a volunteer had not yet been found. He was waiting to hear from Ralph Hegnauer.

2 (f)

Four parcels of paintings and porcelain had been received from Yankee Leong, a W.R.I. member in Malaya. Although, as per Executive decision, we were to consult Ivan Geffen or some other expert, the Secretary thought the material sent was not of much value. After making formal consultations, Yankee Leong would be informed.

3 (b) Publication on Conscientious Objection

Stiv Jakobson had sent a letter briefly describing some of the chapters of the study being made in Sweden on conscientious objection. The work would be completed some time in January. In principle, the Executive was in favour of its publication but would inspect the material before taking any decision.

8. "War Resistance"

The Staff was making efforts to contact University Peace Groups re promotion of sales of "War Resistance"

11. International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace

The office had not yet received any memorandum from Gerry Hunnius on the division of responsibilities between different Internationals. It was decided to remind him again.

Attendance of Continental Members at Executive Meetings

Niels Mathiesen had written, pointing out that his name should not appear under "Apologies" in the Executive Minutes. His impression of the discussion at the Council Meeting was that, because he was giving up the Secretaryship of the International Peace Bureau and would be going back to Scandinavia, it would be too great a financial burden on the W.R.I. to pay his travel expenses to Executive meetings. The Secretary reported on correspondence between Niels and himself. The Executive reiterated that it was desirable that Niels should continue on the Executive. His presence at Executive meetings was important because of his experience and contacts. The Executive felt that it was essential that either Niels Mathiesen or Herbert Gunneberg should attend each time. Devi was asked to consult them both and ask them to take turns in attending the next two meetings.

2. FINANCE:

(a) Current Statement

Albert Billett's report, which was accepted, showed a bank balance of £590.13.4 on 30th November (Account No. 1) and £3.10.7 on Account No. 2. It was reported that a donation had been received from Manchester Sub-Regional Maintenance for C.O.s (£161.13.4). This had helped to ease the financial situation slightly.

(b) Approval of Expenditure

Amounts totalling £794.12.6 since the last statement, which had been paid, were endorsed and authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding bills totalling £107.17.5.

(c) Reserve Position

As asked by the Executive, Albert Billett had prepared a statement of the up-to-date position of our reserves. Due to withdrawals from the Building Society Account No. 1, reserves were very low. It was pointed out that amounts earmarked for special purposes were not being kept in a special fund, such as the Relief Fund and fund for the next Triennial Conference, etc. The office was asked to prepare a statement of earmarked items for the next meeting. It was agreed to make Account No. 1 a special Reserve Fund which should include all earmarked amounts. To complete this a transfer would have to be made from the amount received from the V. Tchertkoff Fund. It was also agreed that, as per an earlier decision, an amount equal to 2% of salaries should regularly be put into the pension fund.

(d) Financial Agents(i) Switzerland

The Swiss Section had not yet been able to find a Financial Agent for the International.

(ii) Germany

Theodor Michaltscheff's recommendation to appoint Robert Jarmuth as W.R.I.'s Financial Agent in Germany was gratefully accepted. The Executive asked Devi to convey to Karl Struve its most sincere gratitude for all the valuable work he had done for the International.

(e) Charity Status

The Secretary reported that the office had corresponded with Mr. Braithwaite. It was agreed that Devi should meet Mr. Braithwaite to see if there was any possibility of establishing a special 'relief and education fund' with a broad enough scope.

(f) W.R.I. Folders and Annual Appeal

It was reported that the supply of English and German folders was completely exhausted. There was a need for such literature in Italian and Spanish as well. The form of the next Annual Appeal should be a revised version of the folder with a letter appealing for funds. The folder was to be produced in all the above-mentioned languages. The Secretary was asked to prepare a draft for the new folder.

(g) International Peace Bureau Grant

The Secretary had written to John Kay, asking him to put before the I.P.B. Executive, which would meet at the beginning of January, the W.R.I. application for a grant. Although it had been explained several times that the application for a grant was to cover the period of the last year when news releases were being issued also on behalf of the I.C.D.P. and the I.P.B., it seemed that the matter needed further clarification. John Kay had suggested a meeting with Devi when he comes to London at the beginning of January.

(h) Repair of Typewriter

Estimate of £10.5.0. for repair of an office typewriter was approved.

3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY

Five applications had been received. The ages of all the applicants were higher than envisaged, as we should be looking for a younger person. The Executive decided to extend the period of application until 31st January 1965. The Secretary was asked to consult key people in different countries for suggestions. Peace movements in other countries should be asked to insert further advertisements in their journals.

4. PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY 1964

Reports had been received of actions taken in U.S.A. and Ireland.

The War Resisters League had sent a deputation, led by A.J. Muste, to the U.N. Headquarters. It was hoped that more news of actions on Prisoners for Peace Day could be given in the next news release.

Devi made a suggestion that efforts should be made to appoint a permanent W.R.I. representative at the U.N. Even if it was not possible to have an official 'status' for the W.R.I., this would help to make the International more widely known if a suitable person could look after W.R.I. interests at the U.N. and its agencies dealing with the question of Human Rights and Liberty. The Secretary was asked to consult the W.R.L., Arlo and Homer Jack about possibilities.

5. NAZARENES

A written report of the deputation (Fenner Brockway, Peter Benenson, Bernard Withers, Kenneth Lee and Devi Prasad) which met the Yugoslav Ambassador on Prisoners for Peace Day, December 1st, had already been circulated to Executive members. The deputation found the Ambassador sympathetic and understanding and fully acquainted with the issue. The deputation put the following two points before him: (1) Young Nazarenes who were undergoing long imprisonments (up to 10 years) should be released, especially in view of the assurances given by the Yugoslav authorities in 1961 that no C.O. would be convicted more than once and would receive sentences for a period not more than three years in any case; (2) It was high time that Yugoslavia also had laws to recognise conscientious objection.

The Ambassador promised that, as he was leaving for Yugoslavia that same evening, he would meet the Defence Minister and other concerned authorities and see that something was definitely done with regard to C.O.s in prison. He would also see what could be done in regard to long-term arrangements for recognition of conscientious objection in his country. He invited a representative of the deputation to meet him after his return to England at the beginning of January.

6. REVISION OF MILITARY SERVICE REGULATIONS

Work was going ahead. In the meantime Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer had also started a similar study in connection with the Prisoners for Peace Day. They were sending to W.R.I. copies of all the replies they had received from different countries. These answers would be of considerable help to our work.

7. COUNCIL MEETING 1965

The dates for the meeting had been finally fixed as 28th July - 2nd August 1965. The meeting would be held at the home of the Honorary Secretary of the Irish Pacifist Movement, at Kiltiernan in the suburbs of Dublin.

8. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1966

No reply had yet been received from the W.R.L. (War Resisters League). The Secretary was asked to write to the W.R.L., asking that a final decision should be taken without further delay. The decision taken at the last Executive should once again be conveyed to the W.R.L.

Devi reported on his discussion with Johan Galtung who was in London at the beginning of this month. Johan did not agree with the general plan of the Conference. He thought that this Conference should deal with Civilian Defence. However, he agreed to send his comments, along with positive suggestions to modify the present plan in time for this meeting. The Executive agreed that the plan was too broad and should be made much more specific. As nothing had been received from Johan, Tony and Devi were asked to revise the plan and circulate it to the Executive.

As Johan had not accepted responsibility for the section on Non-Violence and Sociology and the Gandhi Peace Foundation had not yet sent a definite reply in regard to their taking on Non-Violence and Politics, after some discussion the Executive thought that the Dutch Pacifist Socialist Party, which was interested in the question of "peace and politics", could be asked to co-operate. While he was in Holland, the Secretary had a long discussion with Cor Hoek, the Political Secretary of the P.S.P. Cor Hoek had expressed the P.S.P.'s concern about its future as a pacifist political party. The party was in the process of examining its position and establishing international liaison with those concerned with similar questions. The office was asked to write to Cor Hoek.

Pierre Martin had written again to express his opinion about holding the Conference in U.S.A. He said he was not convinced about the wisdom of going to the States because of the expense and also because it would be difficult to get observers from the World Peace Council. The Executive felt that these questions had been discussed already and the decision of holding the Conference in the States had been taken after due consideration of these points.

9. STUDY CONFERENCE 1965

Aldo Capitini and Pietro Pinna had informed the office of their agreement with the proposal of holding the Study Conference and C.O. Work Camp in Italy. The Conference would discuss the question of training for Non-Violence. The dates and place had yet to be decided after hearing from Pietro Pinna.

It was also reported that a Group set up by the International Peace Bureau was discussing the possibilities of a non-violence training programme. The I.P.B. had made a grant of £1,500 for this purpose. The Friends Peace Committee and the National Peace Council were organising these group discussions. Devi had asked for support from this group for the Study Conference on Training in Non-Violence, particularly because the I.P.B. group was also planning to hold a series of such Conferences.

10. STUDY CONFERENCE 1966

According to the proposal made at the joint meeting of the World Council of Peace and the W.R.I. at Ostend, the office had asked the World Council of Peace and the Polish Peace Committee to take preliminary decisions in regard to time and organisation of the Conference entitled 'Education for World without War' in 1966. No reply had yet been received.

11. CONSTITUTION

Devi's memo on Constitution had been circulated in advance. Niels Mathiesen had written in agreement with most of the points and

also suggested that all Sections should not only be invited to send representatives to Council meetings but should also be given the right to vote. It was agreed to recommend Devi's memo to the Council for consideration at the next Triennial Conference with the following modifications: In the underlined sentence "All Sections should be invited to send observers to Council meetings", the word "observers" should be changed to "representatives". The word "observers" in the next underlined paragraph should also be changed to "representatives". The sentence "Only elected Council members should have the right to vote" should read "Both Council members and representatives of Sections should have the right to vote". A correction should be made on page 2 in the paragraph beginning with "The principle behind the formation..." In the 8th line of this paragraph between the words "the" and "International" the words "members of the" should be inserted.

12. OSTEND MEETING, W.R.I./W.C.P.

Correspondence between the three German Sections and Lansbury House was considered. Doubts had been raised, especially by Internationaler Kriegsdienstgegner and Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer, in regard to some points of the Ostend Working Document. After a short discussion the Executive felt that that sort of reaction was due to some misunderstanding. It was agreed to write a memo to the German Sections, explaining the issue.

13. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

(a) News Release

Devi reported on the two meetings he had attended in which the information service of the I.C.D.P. had been discussed. The I.C.D.P. would start its news service from the New Year. It would be called 'Peace Press'. The Secretary had agreed to supply news from Lansbury House up to an average of two pages each fortnight. These would be published in the I.C.D.P. news service as 'News from the W.R.I.' It was agreed that in regard to giving up our news releases final decisions should be taken only after watching the development of the I.C.D.P. news service for four months. As per Executive decision, the W.R.I. would continue sending a news letter to its Sections and a small number of other contacts. It was agreed to put a note in the next news release explaining the new arrangement.

(b) M.L.F. Demonstration in Germany

At the request of the I.C.D.P., the Executive agreed to send a message to Kampagne für Abrüstung - Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner in support of their demonstration. The Secretary was asked to mention the Council Statement on M.L.F. in the message.

14. VERBAND DER KRIEGSDIENSTVERWEIGERER A.G.M. 1965

The V.K. had invited Devi to address their next A.G.M. (May 8th/9th, 1965). They had also asked whether the W.R.I. would be willing to pay half of his fare. The Executive agreed to this.

15. LANSBURY HOUSE

(a) Decoration of two rooms and the ceiling of another had been satisfactorily completed. The Treasurer and the Secretary were asked to get an estimate from Mr. Melton for redecorating the ground floor flat, and if they were satisfied with the estimate, decoration should be started as early as possible.

(b) Service Tenancy. Only two applications had been received. Neither satisfied the requirements according to an earlier Executive decision that the tenants should be an elderly (or middle-aged) couple, sympathetic to the movement.

Due to disagreement of some members about using the front room of the ground floor flat for meetings, Devi withdrew this proposal for the time being.

16. TOLSTOY ARCHIVES

Harold Bing read extracts from a letter he had received from Mr. Perno, in which he said that his collection of Tolstoy material did not consist of any original manuscripts or letters written by Tolstoy. Such material had already been sent back to Russia long ago. However, Harold would go and inspect the material and report.

17. ACTION SOUTH AFRICA

The proposed memo could not be prepared yet. Therefore the matter was deferred to the next meeting. Executive was informed that the Committee of 100 had set up a working group on the South African question.

18. CYPRUS

Tony Smythe had not been able to prepare the analytical note of the work of the Peace in Cyprus Committee. The matter was deferred to the next meeting.

19. W.R.I. IN ITALY

The Secretary had written to the Perugia Centre for Non-Violence run by Aldo Capitini, as requested by the Executive. A reply was still awaited.

20. ESPERANTO CONFERENCES

(i) 50-a Universala Kongreso de Esperanto, Tokio, 31st July - 7th August, 1965

It was agreed to contact A. Yamamoto, Secretary of the W.R.I. Section in Japan, and Taiji Yamaga, to find out if either of them or somebody else could represent the W.R.I. at the Conference. As it is not expected that there will be a sufficient number of key members of the W.R.I. at the Conference, it might not be possible to organise a W.R.I. meeting on this occasion.

(ii) Europa Esperanto-Konferenco, Vienna, 11th July-17th July, 1965

The Secretary was asked to send out a circular to Sections

saying that we hoped to be represented at the Vienna Esperanto Conference and we would like to know which W.R.I. members would be going. He was also asked to contact Sections to find out if somebody could represent the International.

21. BIRTHDAY OF EUGEN RELGIS

The office was making an effort to get an article from Jordan Kovatchev to be put in the next "War Resistance", if possible.

22. RACE RELATIONS

Devi expressed his concern at the increasing problem in connection with race relations, particularly in Great Britain. The visit of Martin Luther King had very rightly focussed the attention of people, particularly in peace movements, on this problem, which he said would become acute if not tackled immediately. The Executive discussed briefly whether the W.R.I. should concern itself actively in this matter and, if so, how.

DATES OF NEXT MEETINGS:

Saturday, 27th February, 1965 )  
Saturday, 15th May, 1965 ) at Lansbury House

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

3/65

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

6th January, 1965  
11.1.65

CONFERENCE ON NON-VIOLENCE 1966

Johan Galtung's comments on the General Plan

I can only regret that a fantastic work-pressure has made it impossible for me to answer your letter before now, and I do not know whether my remarks will be of any value at all.

When I look at the proposed agenda for the World Conference on Non-Violence 1966, with the subtitles of the four main topics, my objection is not so much that international conflict is given a relatively minor place and that I myself consider that the most important concern of the War Resisters' International. It is rather that the systematization does not look to me as a really good one. Thus, whereas sociology is an academic discipline, education and politics are social institutions and planning is a combination of a technique and an attitude towards the future. I think I would have preferred to use the traditional micro-macro axis in social thought, and divide the Conference in three main fields: non-violence between individuals in a group, non-violence between groups in a nation and non-violence between nations in the international system. With this axis you get at the real problem, that at the micro level social relations are more close so that the kind of psychological mechanism we are thinking of in connection with non-violence is more likely to work effectively - but on the other hand at the micro level emotions are also more intense so that non-violence will have to work against stronger forces.

I think it would be very easy to distribute the 26 items on the agenda on the three main titles I have suggested, perhaps adding something about family life that may be of interest too and reducing a little bit the number of items in connection with education.

As you know, I would have put the emphasis of the conference on the third item of my list, and especially on what is called IV, 5 "Strategy of non-violent resistance". But I think one might add a fourth title after the three I have mentioned: the relationship between the three levels of non-violence. As you remember, I mentioned two kinds of conclusions that we have been interested in: that non-violence at the international level presupposes (1) a de-centralised social structure at the national level in order to resist efficiently and (2) a non-pudal social structure at the national level in order to avoid splits in the population that the adversary may exploit. To this you might certainly add the importance of non-violence at the micro level as a general reservoir of training for non-violence at the international level. I think very little is known about these relations since we have so

P.T.O.

little experience and so little solid thinking in the field, but to me it seems eminently worth while to explore them.

The heading called "Non-violence and planning" is a typical example of a heading that actually cuts through all three levels and could be repeated under all of them. It is best known under the heading of "Non-violence between groups in a nation" but would also be important at the other two levels.

Now, this in a sense answers the question about whether I could do some work on "Non-violence and sociology". Since my speciality is the sociology of international relations, I feel about the topic since it actually covers the whole distance from family life up to international conflict. I would be much more inclined to do some work on the strategy of non-violence in the international field and/or the problem of the relationship between the three kinds of non-violence.

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Institut für Zeitgeschichte

4/65

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
England.

6th January, 1965.

11.1.65

LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

We are happy to say that the response to the appeal for observing Prisoners for Peace Day internationally was very good. You must have noticed from the last News Release actions by movements in several countries. Information is still coming in. I hope to put all that in the next News Letter.

The Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting No.8, held on December 12th, are enclosed herewith. You will, of course, go through them carefully but I would like to draw your attention to some of the points:

News Releases. In this connection please read the notice given at the beginning of the News Release No.34. We hope that from now onwards W.R.I. news will reach a wider readership. We will, however, continue our news service for Sections and associate bodies and also for those who specially ask for it. I would once again ask our Sections to make the fullest possible use of the News Letter by using it as much as possible in their journals and bulletins. After all, one of the important purposes of the News Releases is to make groups and members cognisant of what is going on in the peace movements. Do not please fail to send notices and reports of peace actions organised by you and others.

Although the final dates for the Study Conference 1965 have not yet been fixed, I would request you to give it first priority, especially in regard to encouraging members to attend it. As the purpose of the Conference is to discuss the question of training in non-violence, we would like to see as many members who are specially interested in the subject as possible. The C.O. work camp in Switzerland was a big success. A similar project is being planned in Italy about the time of the Study Conference. We want the camp to be well attended by experienced C.O.s from many countries.

In Item 11 of the Minutes you will notice that some amendments have been made in the memo entitled "A Word about the Constitution". This has already been sent to you. Please make the necessary corrections as we are not duplicating it again, at least not just now.

The European Esperanto Conference, Vienna (11th-17th July). We would like to have the names of those who are going, especially to find out if someone could also represent the W.R.I. Please treat this as urgent.

Also don't forget to put the Triennial Conference 1966 on your priority list. Johan Galtung's comments on the general plan of the Conference on Non-Violence are enclosed - for your information and comments. Hope you are trying to set up study groups on the topics to be discussed at the Conference (document 49/64). We would like to have details.

Yours sincerely,

*Devi Prasad*

Devi Prasad

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

ED 718-16-334 8.2.65

## A G E N D A

for Executive Committee Meeting No.9 to be held at  
Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield on  
Saturday, 27th February, 1965 at 9.30 a.m.

## APOLOGIES

## APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO.8  
(12.12.64)
2. FINANCE:
  - (a) Current Statement
  - (b) Approval of Expenditure
  - (c) Special reserve fund
  - (d) Financial agent:  
Switzerland
  - (e) Charity status
  - (f) W.R.I. Folder and Annual Appeal
  - (g) I.P.B. grant
  - (h) War Resistance in Esperanto
  - (i) Harold Bing's Esperanto article in pamphlet form
3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY
4. LANSBURY HOUSE
5. W.R.I. AT UNO
6. NAZARENES
7. REVISION OF MILITARY SERVICE REGULATIONS
8. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE AND CONFERENCE ON NON-VIOLENCE 1966
9. STUDY CONFERENCE 1965 AND C.O.STUDY WORK CAMP
10. STUDY CONFERENCE 1966
11. OSTEND MEETING W.R.I./W.C.P.
12. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE
13. I.C.D.P.:
  - (a) Peace Press and W.R.I. News Releases
  - (b) Rome Conference
14. TOLSTOY ARCHIVES
15. ACTION SOUTH AFRICA
16. CYPRUS
17. W.R.I. IN ITALY
18. RACE RELATIONS
19. 50th ESPERANTO CONFERENCE, Tokio, August 1965
20. ESPERANTO CONGRESS, Vienna, 11-17 July 1965
21. VISIT TO CHINA BY W.R.I. REPRESENTATIVE
22. DEVI PRASAD'S VISIT TO HOLLAND
23. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

DATE OF NEXT MEETING: 15th MAY

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER, Enfield

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

10th March, 1965.

LETTER TO COUNCIL MEMBERS AND SECTIONS 19.3.65

Dear Friends,

Enclosed are the Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting held on 27th February 1965. THE FOLLOWING POINTS NEED YOUR URGENT ATTENTION:

Triennial Conference 1966

I am sure that in view of the very short time left you will agree with the Executive decision to concentrate only on a specific topic particularly relevant to the future of the pacifist movement. We cannot afford to lose any more time before settling down in earnest to make the necessary preparations for the conference. If Sections and other groups start setting up groups to prepare papers on the subject immediately, much useful background material will be available for the conference.

Please send your suggestions regarding speakers and also on the discussion programme.

Council Meeting 1965

- (a) Please let us know if there is anything you would like to be included in the agenda, or any other suggestions regarding the meeting.
- (b) Each Section is being invited to send one representative to the Council Meeting. You will appreciate the point regarding expenses. Sections will have to be fully responsible for the expenses of their representatives. Sections who decide to send somebody should send names of their representatives in advance.

Assistant Secretary

I am sorry to say that up till now we have not had an adequate response to our advertisements for an Assistant Secretary. May I appeal to you to put adverts again in your journals and also let this be known, especially to the youth sections of your groups?

Study Conference

This year I want to make a very special request to Sections to make it possible for some of their members, especially those who are keen on the subject of Training in Non-Violence, to attend the Study Conference in Perugia. We are hoping to gather together a number of people who have ideas and experience in non-violent training. If the Study Conference could be well represented and eventually make some practical suggestions for building up a training programme coordinated

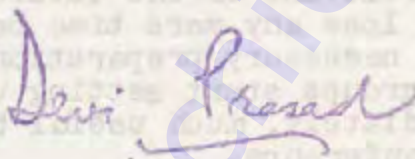
internationally, it would be a great step forward. The success of the Conference depends on Sections. Please send names and addresses of individuals in your country interested in the subject.

C.O. Study/Work Camp

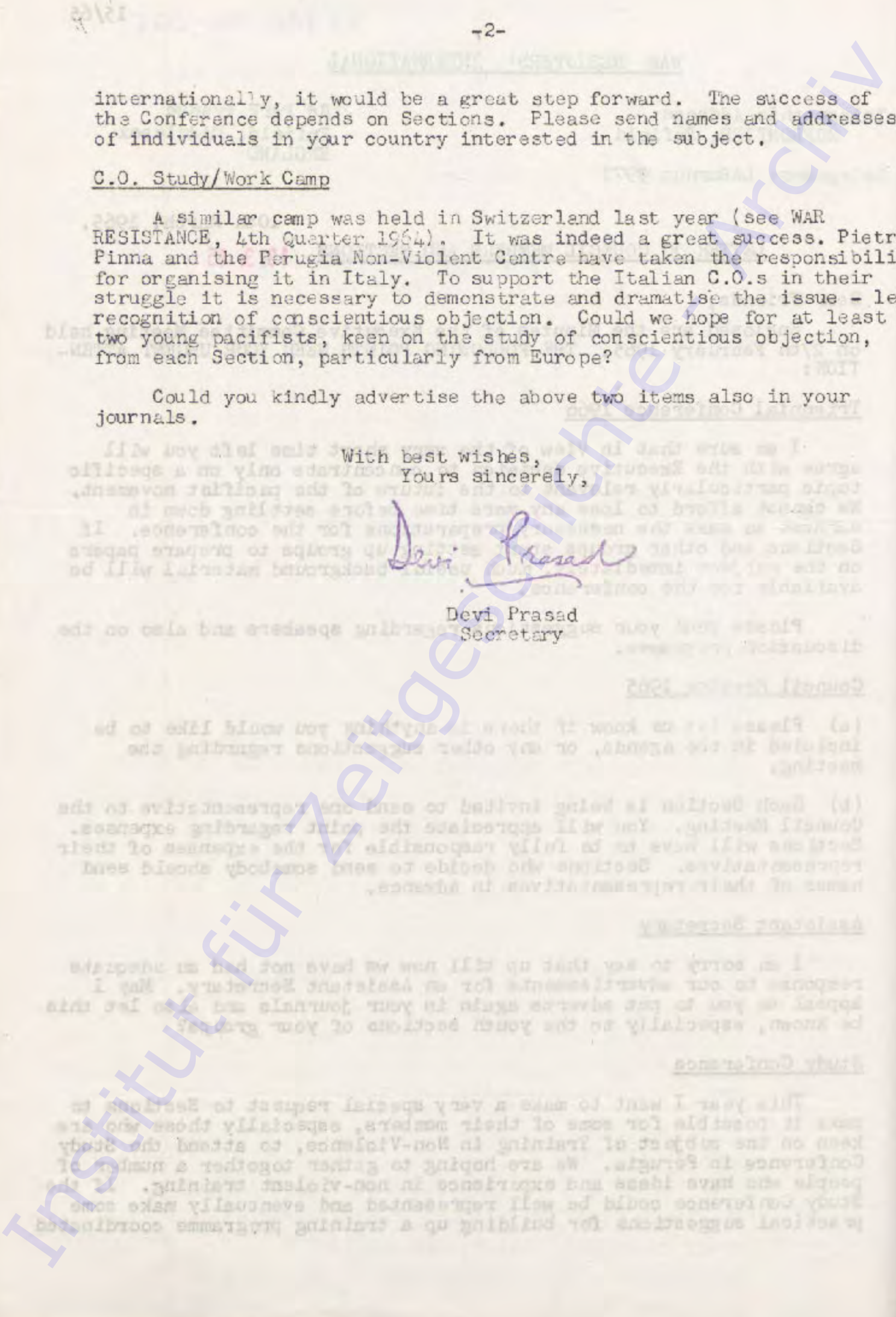
A similar camp was held in Switzerland last year (see WAR RESISTANCE, 4th Quarter 1964). It was indeed a great success. Pietro Pinna and the Perugia Non-Violent Centre have taken the responsibility for organising it in Italy. To support the Italian C.O.s in their struggle it is necessary to demonstrate and dramatise the issue - legal recognition of conscientious objection. Could we hope for at least two young pacifists, keen on the study of conscientious objection, from each Section, particularly from Europe?

Could you kindly advertise the above two items also in your journals.

With best wishes,  
Yours sincerely,



Devi Prasad  
Secretary



WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONALMINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 9  
held at

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield,  
Middlesex, on Saturday 27th February, 1965,  
at 9.30 a.m.

19.3.65

PRESENT: Harold F. Bing (Chairman); Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treasurer); Hugh Brock, Niels Mathiesen, Tony Smythe. Staff: Devi Prasad.

APOLOGIES: Herbert Günneberg; Michael Randle.

AGENDA: The circulated Agenda was approved with additions as recorded in these Minutes.

1. MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 8

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No. 8, held on December 12th, 1964, were approved and signed by the Chairman.

2. FINANCE:(a) Current Statement

Albert Billett's report which was accepted showed in Account No.1 a balance of £234.18.9 on January 31st 1965, and in Account No.2 £1.19.1. The report also showed donations received for separate items, as was suggested in the Annual Appeal 1964. Donors had been asked to earmark their contributions for specific items. The majority of contributors had donated to the General Fund and had not earmarked their contributions for special items. The Executive felt that it was an expression of their confidence in our ways of using the money. As this experiment had not proved very useful it was agreed not to continue it for the 1965 Appeal.

(b) Approval of Expenditure

Amounts totalling £600.15.8 since the last statement, which had been paid, were endorsed and authorisation was given for the payment of outstanding bills totalling £125.8.0.

(c) Special Reserve Fund

The Treasurer submitted a statement regarding calling our St. Pancras Building Society Account No. 9873 "Special Reserve Fund", which would incorporate amounts earmarked for specific items. The Executive approved this and asked the Treasurer to make the necessary transfers as from the beginning of the next financial year.

(d) Financial AgentsSwitzerland

The Swiss Section had written that it hoped to take a decision regarding a Financial Agent or a special W.R.I. account at its next Executive Meeting to be held in March.

(e) Charity Status

The Secretary reported on his discussion with Mr. Braithwaite. The latter was of the opinion that a special fund with the title "Relief and Education" would create the wrong impression on the authorities, especially as our Relief Fund was too small. He was, however, of the opinion that there were possibilities of getting the necessary status for a fund to be used for education purposes. He was working on a case on somewhat similar lines for another organisation. If he was successful in that case he would then advise us to work out details and apply. Mr. Braithwaite would be advising us in due course.

(f) W.R.I. Folder and Annual Appeal

The text and design of the folder to be used as the 1965 Annual Appeal were ready. The Executive accepted the Secretary's suggestion of having the folder published in Esperanto also as there was great need of producing literature in that language. The Executive compared estimates received from three printers. After considering the time factor and accessibility, the Executive decided to get the folder printed in English and German by the Goodwin Press. As Gibbs & Co. of Canterbury had previously done W.R.I. work in French and Esperanto and had given satisfaction, the work of printing the French, Spanish, Italian and Esperanto editions could be given to them.

(g) WAR RESISTANCE and Pamphlet by Harold Bing in Esperanto

The Chairman and Secretary reported on the correspondence they had had with Derrick F. Faux, an expert Esperantist and printer, in connection with printing Harold Bing's article (delivered at the Hague Esperanto Congress 1964) in pamphlet form and the quarterly WAR RESISTANCE in Esperanto. According to estimates submitted by Derrick Faux, 500 copies of WAR RESISTANCE (of 20 pages) would cost approximately £19 and the pamphlet (500 copies) £9.10.0. In view of the forthcoming Esperanto Conferences in Vienna and Tokio and also the need for having Esperanto literature available, the Executive agreed to start publishing WAR RESISTANCE in Esperanto and also print 500 copies of Harold Bing's article in pamphlet form. It was suggested that the Esperanto edition of WAR RESISTANCE should also contain useful general material on the peace movement.

(h) I.P.B. Grant

Devi reported on the session of an I.P.B. Executive Meeting to which he had been invited. This session had discussed the W.R.I. request for a grant towards the expenditure it had incurred on News Releases in 1963/64, which were published also on behalf of the I.P.B. and I.C.D.P. Later John Kay, Chairman of the I.P.B., had advised their decision, stating that the I.P.B. Executive would consider all requests for grants again at its meeting in the summer when their "financial picture will be clearer". Devi's impression at the meeting had been that, due to the tension between I.P.B. and I.C.D.P. and our involvement in it, the I.P.B. was not favourable to the W.R.I.'s request. He suggested that the matter regarding the grant should not be pursued any further.

3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY

The Secretary reported on his interview with one applicant and the reports he had received from other sources. The Executive was also informed of the comments Herbert Günneberg had made about a German applicant after his consultations with several people in Germany. In view of the absence of any more applications and the present financial situation, it was agreed that the appointment of an Assistant Secretary should be postponed until July-August. In the meantime special efforts should be made to find a younger person through personal contacts and through some student bodies, including university peace groups. In addition, a request should be made to Sections to help in finding someone. Executive members made suggestions for consulting certain people in this connection.

4. LANSBURY HOUSE

The ground floor had been satisfactorily redecorated. The only application for tenancy which had been received since the last meeting was considered by the Executive but was not considered suitable. It was agreed to advertise in "The Friend" and "Peace News" again.

5. W.R.I. AT U.N.O.

Arlo Tatum, David Mackeynolds and Homer Jack had been consulted. David and Homer Jack had emphasised that the C.O. question should be 'pushed' at the U.N. Arlo suggested names of persons who could be consulted. He had also offered to discuss the matter with some of them. Further information is still awaited from David who had been asked to consult others experienced in this matter.

Financially, the appointment of someone at U.N.O. to look after W.R.I. interests was obviously impossible. The only possibility was that somebody might be found to do this work for us who was already at the U.N.O. It was agreed to wait for advice from David Mackeynolds and Arlo Tatum.

6. NAZARENES

A report on Devi's meeting with the Yugoslav Ambassador had already been circulated to members. The Ambassador had stated that a Conference was to be held in Belgrade between two or three Government departments to consider the question of Nazarenes and alternative service. The Ambassador had also said that as the cases were in the hands of the military authorities he was unable to do much in the matter. Peter Benenson, of Amnesty International, in a letter to Devi, had suggested that a strong public attack should be launched on the way the C.O.s are treated in Yugoslavia. Considering the importance of the matter, the Executive decided to try to send somebody to meet Tito and/or other authorities in this connection. Who ever went should be knowledgeable in Yugoslav and Nazarene affairs and sympathetic to the Yugoslav socialist experiment. Along with publishing articles in PEACE NEWS, efforts should be made to get articles published in national papers like the "Guardian" and "Observer". Letters should be sent to English journalists in Yugoslavia.

7. REVISION OF MILITARY SERVICE REGULATIONS

Owing to the good response from several Governments to our enquiries

regarding Military Service Regulations in their countries, it was hoped that by the end of the summer a document giving details of different countries could be produced.

Material prepared by the Swedish Section had not yet been received.

8. COUNCIL MEETING 1965

Brenda Yasin, Secretary of I.P.M., had taken the responsibility of finding interpreters for French and Italian.

It was agreed to invite Sections to send a representative to the Council Meeting. Sections would have to be responsible for travelling expenses, board and lodging.

Executive asked the Secretary to write to Council members and Sections asking for suggestions for the Agenda.

9. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE AND THE CONFERENCE ON NON-VIOLENCE

The War Resisters' League had finally informed the Secretariat of its inability to organise the Triennial Conference in the United States. As Italy had been suggested as the alternative, the Executive decided to find a place there for the Conference with the help of Danilo Dolci who had originally suggested Rome as the venue for the Conference. The Secretary had already written to Danilo and Aldo Capitini asking for their advice. In regard to dates, the Executive favoured Eastertime.

The Secretariat had not heard either from Danilo or Aldo Capitini as to how their projects on 'Non-Violence and Planning' and 'Non-Violence and Education' were progressing. Johan Galtung's comments on Danilo's outline had already been circulated to members. He had indicated that he was not interested in the present plan of the Conference and had suggested a new approach. (Non-Violence in Local Relations; Non-Violence in National Relations; Non-Violence in International Relations). Although the Gandhi Peace Foundation had said in a letter that they would be willing to extend help, we had heard nothing further from them. In view of all this and the short time left for preparations, the Executive was of the opinion that the sort of Conference originally envisaged was not possible. It was therefore necessary to limit the scope and concentrate on only one topic. The topic chosen should be relevant to the future of the peace movement and its relationship to to-day's political thinking and the impact it could make on decision-making on political matters. The Executive decided to devote the Triennial Conference to 'non-violence and politics'. Efforts should also be made to bring together those politicians and pacifists who are interested in bridging the gap between non-violence and politics. The title of the Conference should be "Non-Violence and Politics" and the sub-headings for speeches and discussions as follows:

- (a) Introduction - historical - power in politics in the past and present
- (b) Non-Violence and Political Institutions - local, national and international
- (c) What the pacifist movement can do towards bringing about a change in political relations, and how

Names of speakers were suggested. It was decided to send an urgent letter to Council and Sections setting out the above plan and asking for their suggestions regarding speakers and anything else they might like to comment on.

10. STUDY CONFERENCE 1965 AND C.O. STUDY/WORK CAMP

Dates and plans for the Study Conference 1965 had been finalised. Pietro Pinna of the Perugia Non-Violence Centre would help in organising it at the Centre itself from August 13th-20th. The topic would be "Training in Non-Violence". Pietro Pinna had also agreed to the dates for the International Conscientious Objectors' Study/Work Camp, which would be organised in the "Artisan Village" in Signa near Florence. Advertisements giving details had been sent out to several peace journals.

11. STUDY CONFERENCE 1966 (Education for a World without War)

No reply had yet been received from the World Council of Peace or the Polish Peace Committee.

12. OSTEND MEETING W.R.I./W.C.P.

Theodor Michaltscheff had written to say that after receiving the note from the Secretary clarifying questions regarding the working document produced at the Ostend joint conference of the W.R.I./W.C.P. doubts which the I.S.K. had had, had been removed. Klaus Vack, member of the V.K. Executive, had written that they would discuss the matter in detail when Devl visited Germany for the Annual General Meeting of the V.K. in early May.

13. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

Replies received in response to Donald Groom's memo on the future of the World Peace Brigade had been sent out to the members of the World Council of the Brigade. They had been urged to take an early decision on how the World Peace Brigade should function, if it decided to function at all.

14. I.C.D.P.

(a) PEACE PRESS and the W.R.I. News Releases

The PEACE PRESS published by the I.C.D.P. was appreciated by members. The three issues published up to now were excellent. The W.R.I. News Letter was being continued with a limited circulation.

(b) Rome Conference

Tony Smythe, who had planned to participate as W.R.I. observer, had not been able to attend the Conference.

15. TOLSTOY ARCHIVES

A report of Harold Bing's visit to Ludwig Perno had already been circulated to Executive members. Harold Bing felt that, in view of the work Perno was doing with Tolstoy's material and the W.R.I.'s obligations to help him, it was desirable that financial help be given to him. The Executive had already been consulted by letter in

regard to the suggestion for granting £100 to Perno, and this amount had already been sent to him. The Executive endorsed this action.

16. ACTION SOUTH AFRICA

Michael Randle and Devi had not been able to prepare the proposed memo and the matter was deferred to the next meeting.

17. CYPRUS

Tony Smythe suggested that as this matter was no longer urgent and since he was unable to prepare the proposed analytical note the item should be dropped from the Agenda.

18. W.R.I. IN ITALY

The Secretary reported on the talk he and Joyce Runham Brown had had with Maria Comberti when she visited Lensbury House. A letter from Aldo Putelli had also been received stating that there was a great need for expanding the work of the W.R.I. in Italy. He had proposed that Pietro Pinna should reorganise the Section. A meeting of W.R.I. members was being planned for March or April. Aldo Putelli suggested that it would be useful if somebody could be present on behalf of the W.R.I. It was agreed to consult René Bovard to see if he could attend.

19. RACE RELATIONS

The importance of the formation in Great Britain of a group called CARD (Campaign Against Racial Discrimination) was brought to the notice of the Executive. Although the group was fully committed to non-violence, some reactionary elements outside were trying to hinder its work by publicising that it was another violence-provoking or communist-infiltrated group. Council and Executive Committee member Michael Randle had been closely connected with the formation of CARD and its work.

The Executive welcomed the formation of CARD as the latest addition to the world-wide non-violent campaign against racial discrimination and hoped that W.R.I. members would take an active part in its activities. The Executive recognised that the racial problem was international both in character and extent and was becoming more and more acute. It also reiterated that a permanent solution can only be found on a non-violent basis. The Executive wished success to CARD in its struggle against the growing racial prejudice and injustice in Great Britain.

20. ESPERANTO CONFERENCES

(i) 50-a Universala Kongreso de Esperanto, Tokio, 31st July - 7th August 1965

The Japanese Section, which had been re-organised under the Chairmanship of A. Yamamoto, had suggested that K. Mukai, its new Secretary, be appointed as W.R.I. representative at the Tokio Conference. Taiji Yamaga will also be at the Conference and will help. The Executive agreed to ask Mr. Mukai to represent the W.R.I. and organise a W.R.I. meeting during that period.

(ii) Europa Esperanto-Konferenco, Vienna, 11th July-17th July, 1965

Carl Brenner of W.R.I. Zürich Group suggested Claude Gacon to represent W.R.I. at the Vienna Congress. The F.P.U. of Gt. Britain suggested that Frank Merrick, who will in any case be attending the Conference, be asked to be a W.R.I. representative. Executive agreed to both suggestions and asked the office to make the necessary arrangements and send the suggestions regarding organising a W.R.I. meeting within the Conference.

21. VISIT TO CHINA BY W.R.I. REPRESENTATIVES

A letter was received from Rev. Lee on behalf of the Chinese Peace Committee saying that they were unable to extend an invitation to our representatives to visit China.

22. SECRETARY'S VISIT TO HOLLAND

The Centre for Non-Violent Training in Holland had invited Devi Prasad to speak at their two camps on March 13th-14th. As the Centre was unable to pay Devi's travelling expenses, Executive agreed it should be paid by W.R.I. The Centre would look after Devi's stay in Holland.

23. WAR RESISTANCE IN GERMAN AND FRENCH

The Secretary reported that nearly 60 replies had been received from readers of German and French WAR RESISTANCE in response to the enquiry whether in future there should be 2, 3 or 4 issues of the quarterly. This was done according to a suggestion made at the last Council meeting. The majority of replies were in favour of having 4 issues and nearly all either paid or were prepared to pay. Edouard Vincent, Secretary of the L.A.F. (French Section), had made a strong appeal not to reduce the number of issues published because, he said, they were trying to make special efforts to strengthen the Section and needed more frequent contact with the International Secretariat. It was agreed to continue publishing the quarterly in German and French four times a year. It was also agreed that the mailing list should be cut down and only those who paid or were interested should receive the magazine.

24. I.P.B. ANNUAL CONFERENCE

No official intimation had yet been received from the I.P.B. office in connection with their annual Conference which, it was understood, would be held in Switzerland sometime at the end of August. Niels Mathiesen pointed out to the Executive that, if the W.R.I. wanted to send suggestions for the agenda of the I.P.B. Members Assembly, it should be done before it is too late. According to I.P.B. rules, suggestions for the agenda should be sent three months in advance. Executive asked the Secretariat to consult other member organisations of the I.P.B. in Britain in this connection. It was also agreed to ask the I.P.B. to circulate the report of the committee set up to make suggestions concerning I.P.B./I.C.D.F. relations well in time for Member Organisations to send their comments and suggestions to be put on the I.P.B. A.G.M. Agenda.

25. LETTER FROM ERNST SCHÖNHOLZER

A letter was received from Ernst Schönholzer saying that he was 'resigning' from W.R.I. membership because he did not agree with the wording of the W.R.I. Declaration. He was of the opinion that the Declaration should include in specific terms that the W.R.I. was against militarism and all military institutions. This was not the first time Ernst Schönholzer had written such a letter. Executive discussed the matter and pointed out that the W.R.I. Declaration was basically anti-militarist in character. The Secretary was asked to inform him of the Executive discussion.

DATE OF NEXT MEETING:

Saturday, May 15th 1965, at Lansbury House.

The meeting concluded at 6 p.m.

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

International Study Conference

The peace movement is going through a new phase where it should review its fundamental objectives and attainments and accordingly plan its strategy, keeping in mind the changing political situation. One thing nearly everyone in the peace movement is experiencing. It is the lack of proper peace-training both for the peace worker and the public at large. How can a scientifically trained band of peace workers be created and how should they help people in giving expression to the forces of non-violence in their day-to-day lives? Can an international programme for such a training be suggested?

The W.R.I. Study Conference 1965 will endeavour to discuss this issue. It will be held in Perugia, Italy, from 13th - 20th August. Subject: Training in Non-Violence. All those interested in this subject are welcome to participate.

An International C.O. Work/Study Camp

will be held from 21st August - 4th September in Signa, Italy. Signa is a small village of 6,000 inhabitants near Florence. Volunteers will be helping to level land for the extension of Villagio Artigiano (artisan village), which was founded 18 years ago by Leopoldo Fantozzi to help destitute and poor children. Nearly 400 boys aged between 11-15 are learning vocations such as ceramics, mechanics, printing, etc. It is an entirely autonomous undertaking, managed in a democratic way, the boys taking full responsibility for running their community. Being a voluntary undertaking, the community is in need of financial help and voluntary assistance. We welcome young pacifists and conscientious objectors from everywhere to participate in the Camp. A press conference will be held afterwards.

This Camp could prove an important event in putting pressure on the Italian Government to recognise the right for conscientious objection to military service. A similar Camp was held last year in Switzerland and was very successful.

It is being hoped that at least some volunteers can take part both in the Conference and the Camp.

Further information and application forms available from:-

War Resisters' International,  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex,  
England

Näher

22.4.65 V. Dr. Schmidt

Verteiler:  
Bangel,  
Brinkmann f. ID,  
Maurer (FF.),  
Pfr. Wandersleb,  
WRI.

Mitteilungen der W R I

lt. Lettres to Council and Sections v. 10.3.1965  
Prot. der WRI-Vorstandssitzung v. 27.2.1965

=====  
=====

1. Im Informationsdienst zu veröffentlichen: ED 748-16-344

a) Sekretariats-Assistent(in)  
Infolge des Abgangs von Tony SMYTHE muß die WRI-Zentrale in ENFIELD/England (bei London) die Stelle eines Sekretariats-Assistenten neu besetzen. Die Bewerber(innen) sollten in der Lage sein, Schreib- und Kontorarbeiten zu verrichten. Grundkenntnisse der englischen, deutschen und französischen Sprache sind erforderlich.

Wir empfehlen vor allen unseren jüngeren Gesinnungsfreunden, die im Ausland ihre englischen Kenntnisse vervollkommen wollen, sich bei der WRI um die ausgeschriebene Sekretärsstelle zu bewerben. Für Unterkunft würde die WRI sorgen.

Die WRI ist eine der bedeutendsten internationalen Friedensorganisationen der Erde, die sich in Ost und West eines hohen Ansehens erfreut. Der letzte Sekretär, Tony SMYTHE, hat bei der Firma BADER (London), die aufgrund ihrer neuzeitlichen Sozialleistungen internationalen Ruf erworben hat, eine gut bezahlte Stelle gefunden. Seine Tätigkeit bei der WRI stellte somit ein gutes berufliches Sprungbrett dar.

b) Internationale Studien-Konferenz 1965  
Im August 1964 veranstaltete die WRI in Offenbach/Main eine internationale Studienkonferenz, die der Deutschland- und Berlinfrage gewidmet war.

Die diesjährige Studienkonferenz wird vom 13. bis 20. August 1965 in PERUGIA/Italien abgehalten. Generalthema der Konferenz ist Ausbildung in den Methoden der Gewaltlosigkeit (engl. Training in Non-Violence).

Eine Erfahrung kann der Pazifist heute bei seiner friedenspolitischen Arbeit immer wieder machen. Es ist das der Mangel an speziellen Ausbildungsmöglichkeiten für praktische Friedensaktionen. Wie kann eine wissenschaftlich geschulte Truppe von Friedensstreitern geschaffen werden, die den Menschen von heute die Kraft der Gewaltlosigkeit näherbringen hilft? Dies ist das Hauptanliegen der Studienkonferenz 1965.

c) Internationales Arbeits- und Studienlager für Kriegsdienstverweigerer

Im Anschluß an die Internationale Studienkonferenz findet vom 21.8. bis 4.9.1965 in SIGMA/Italien (Nähe Florenz) ein internationales Studien- und Arbeitslager statt. Dieses Lager soll vor allem dazu dienen, die italienische Bevölkerung auf die für einen Kulturstaat schlechte Lage der italienischen KDVer hinzuweisen und eine staatliche Anerkennung der Kriegsdienstverweigerer zu erwirken.

Die Arbeiten sollen im Dorf VILLAGIO ARTIGLIANO verrichtet werden wo für eine Gemeinschaft von 400 Jungen Land zu gewinnen ist. Die jungen Leute (im Alter zwischen 11 bis 15 Jahren) verwalten sich selbst.

Freunde, die sich für die Studienkonferenz und/oder für das Arbeits- und Studienlager interessieren, wollen sich an Freund Brinkmann (499 L ü b b e c k e, Kreuzkampweg 10) wenden.

d) 12. Dreijahres-Konferenz 1966  
Nachdem die (amerikanische) Liga für EDVer eine Absage erteilt hat, soll die 12. Dreijahreskonferenz 1966 in Italien stattfinden.

Tagungsort und genauer Termin werden noch bekannt gegeben werden.  
Generalthema der Tagung soll sein: GEWALTLOSIGKEIT UND POLITIK.  
An Unterthemen sind vorgesehen:

- (a) Geschichtliche Einführung in die Machtpolitik der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart;
- (b) Gewaltlosigkeit und politische Institutionen (lokal, national und international);
- (c) was kann die pazifistische Bewegung tun, um die politischen Verhältnisse zu ändern, und mit welchen Methoden?

Die WRI bittet alle Zweigorganisationen um Benennung geeigneter Redner (für obige Themen), um Vorschläge für die nähere Ausgestaltung des Tagungsprogramms, insbesondere aber um eine baldige Ausarbeitung von Arbeitspapieren (back-ground material). Gesinnungsfreunde, die der Ansicht sind, etwas Wesentliches zum Thema Gewaltlosigkeit und Politik und den vorgenannten Untertiteln sagen zu können, mögen ihre Gedanken hierzu auf ca. 4-8 Schreibmaschinenseiten niederschreiben und diese Ausführungen an die WRI-Zentrale schicken (Adresse: War Resisters International, 88 Park Avenue, Lansbury House, KENFELD/ENFIELD Middsax., England). Eine Kopie ihrer Ausführungen, die in deutscher Sprache gehalten sein können, ist an den Auslandsreferenten der DPG, Freund Dr. Gerhard SCHMIDT, 4801 Großdornberg 462, zu ~~schicken~~ übersenden.

## 2. Ratstagung 1965 der WRI

Auf Beschluss des WRI-Vorstands soll jeder Zweigorganisation, also auch die DPG, ein ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Gast-Delegierter zur Ratstagung 1965 entsenden. Die Kosten für Reise, Unterkunft und Verpflegung ~~ist~~ von der Zweigorganisation zu übernehmen. Der Gast-Delegierte ist ggf. der WRI-Zentrale bekanntzugeben.

Anregungen für die Tagesordnung und sonstige Vorschläge für die Ratstagung sind ebenfalls der WRI-Zentrale mitzuteilen.

Ort und Zeit der Ratstagung hat die WRI leider nicht mehr in ihrem Brief von 10.3.1965 und auch nicht im Protokoll über die Vorstandssitzung vom 27.2.1965 erwähnt. Frühere Schreiben stehen mir ~~Yaidex~~ im Augenblick nicht zur Verfügung. Da jedoch ein gewisser Brenda YASIN vom IPM (Irish Pacifist Movement = Irisch-gewisser französische Friedensbewegung) für die Besorgung von ~~ENGLIK~~ französischen und italienischen Dolmetschern verantwortlich ist, könnte vermutet werden, daß die Ratstagung in Irland stattfindet.

## 3. Finanzen

Die Finanzlage der WRI ist nach wie vor schlecht. Es empfiehlt sich daher, daß unser Bundeskassierer eine Vorauszahlung auf den WRI-Beitrag leistet, den jedes DPG-Mitglied seit Nürnberg (1964) in Höhe von 1.- DM jährlich zu entrichten hat.

## 4. Ostender Treffen zwischen WRI und WFR

Dr. MICHALTSCHIEFF hat der WRI mitgeteilt, daß die Bedenken, die die I&K gegen das Arbeits-Dokument der Ostender Konferenz ursprünglich hatte, nach Aufklärung durch das WRI-Sekretariat beseitigt seien.

Der VK wird nach Mitteilung von Klaus VACK die Angelegenheit mit Devi PRASAD diskutieren, wenn dieser zur Jahresversammlung 1965 des VK nach Iserlohn kommt (am 8./9.5.1965).

Seitens der DPG wurden bisher keine Bedenken gegen das Ostender Dokument erhoben, nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil dieses Dokument dank der freundlichen Vermittlung von Freund DIEHL sehr früh schon im englischen Urtext vorlag.

## 5. Internat. Konfoederation für Abrüstung und Frieden (ICDP/IKAP)

Die IKAP bringt seit kurzer Zeit ein ausgezeichnetes Organ, die PEACE PRESS, heraus. Peace Press bringt in englischer Sprache Nachrichten aus aller Welt, die für einen Pazifisten bedeutsam



WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

26. 4. 65

## A G E N D A

for Executive Committee Meeting No.10 to be held at  
Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex,  
on Saturday, 15th May 1965 at 9.30 a.m.

## APOLOGIES

ED 718-16-344

## APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO.9  
(27.2.65)

2. FINANCE:

- (a) Current Statement
- (b) Approval of Expenditure
- (c) Special Reserve Fund
- (d) Accounts for Year ended 31st March 1965
- (e) Estimates 1965/66
- (f) Charity Status
- (g) Relief Fund
- (h) Financial Agent - Switzerland

3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY
4. LANSBURY HOUSE
5. STAFF
6. COUNCIL MEETING 1965
7. LETTER FROM DANILLO DOLCI
8. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1966
9. STUDY CONFERENCE 1965 and C.O. STUDY WORK CAMP
10. STUDY CONFERENCE 1966
11. NAZARENES
12. ACTION SOUTH AFRICA
13. W.R.I. AT UNO
14. 50TH ESPERANTO CONFERENCE, Tokio, August 1965
15. ESPERANTO CONGRESS, Vienna, 11-17 July 1965
16. REVISION OF MILITARY SERVICE REGULATIONS:  
Publication on Conscientious Objection
17. SECRETARY'S REPORT ON HIS NETHERLANDS AND GERMAN VISITS
18. I.P.B. ANNUAL CONFERENCE - August 29th-September 3rd 1965
19. I.C.D.P. COUNCIL MEETING
20. W.C.P. CONFERENCE - HELSINKI 10-17 July 1965
21. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

DATE OF NEXT MEETING

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

## DRAFT AGENDA

26. 4. 65

for Council Meeting No.3 to be held at Kiltarnan,  
Dublin, Eire from Wednesday 28th July 1965 (after-  
noon) till Tuesday 3rd August 1965 (breakfast)

ED 718-16-345

## APOLOGIES

## APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING NO.2 (28.7.64-2.8.64)
2. EXECUTIVE MINUTES
3. SECRETARY'S REPORT
4. FINANCE:
  - (a) Current Statement
  - (b) Audited Accounts 1964/65
  - (c) Estimates 1965/66
  - (d) Reserves
    - (i) General
    - (ii) Relief and Reserve Account
5. AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION
6. SECTIONS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES
7. RECOGNITION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION
  - (a) Nazarenes
  - (b) Publication
8. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1966 - Non-Violence and Politics
9. COUNCIL MEETING 1966
10. STUDY CONFERENCE 1965 - Training in Non-Violence
11. INTERNATIONAL C.O. WORK STUDY CAMP IN ITALY
12. STUDY CONFERENCE 1966 - POLAND - Education for a World without  
war
13. RELATIONS WITH THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
14. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE/  
INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU
15. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE
16. U.N. COMMITTEE FOR PEACE-KEEPING
17. CONTACT WITH CHINA
18. PACIFISM IN AFRO/ASIAN COUNTRIES
19. LETTER FROM DANILO DOLCI
20. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

ED 718-16-345a

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
(Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner)

Telegrammadresse:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD  
Tel.Nr. LABurnum 3977

Lansbury House,  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield,  
Middlesex,  
England

1965 18. 5. 65

Liebe Freunde,

Dieses Jahr kommt unsere alljährliche Bitte um Spenden in der Form einer Broschüre zu Ihnen, die den historischen Hintergrund der Internationale und ihrer Tätigkeit gibt. Es wird Sie freuen zu erfahren, dass sie in sechs Sprachen erscheint. Wir hoffen, dass diese Broschüre bei der wachsenden Anzahl von Anfragen sich als interessant erweist und dazu beiträgt, neue Mitglieder und Helfer zu gewinnen.

Während des vergangenen Jahres verausgabte unser Sekretariat viel Zeit und Energie an das Problem der Kriegsdienstverweigerung. Nachdem die französische Nationalversammlung das Kriegsdienstverweigerergesetz Ende 1963 verabschiedet hatte, organisierten die entlassenen Kriegsdienstverweigerer ein Ersatzdienst-Arbeitslager in Brignoles, das auch weiterhin ein "Laboratorium" in Angelegenheiten der Kriegsdienstverweigerung in Frankreich ist. Auch in der D.D.R. dürfen jetzt einige KDV Ersatzdienst leisten. In der Schweiz und Italien ist die Tätigkeit der KDV während des Jahres 1964 beträchtlich gewachsen. Wahrscheinlich muss dieses Problem im Jahre 1965 sehr betont und grosse Anstrengungen gemacht werden, wenn alle KDV, besonders die in den zuletzt erwähnten Ländern gesetzliche Anerkennung erreichen sollen.

Die Spannung und Gewalttätigkeit in nationalen und internationalen Beziehungen zeigen, dass kein Frieden möglich ist, wenn nicht gewaltlose Lösungen sozialer und politischer Konflikte gefunden werden. Tag für Tag sehen wir und viele unserer Sektionen mehr und mehr ein, dass der Pazifismus uns logischerweise zur gewaltlosen Beilegung von Konflikten führt. Deshalb ist es unsere Aufgabe, ein Programm für die Ausbildung von Friedensarbeitern in Gewaltlosigkeit auszuarbeiten, und herauszufinden, wie Einzelne und Gruppen die Macht der Gewaltlosigkeit im täglichen Leben entwickeln und ausdrücken können. Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft 1965 "Ausbildung zur Gewaltlosigkeit" ist ein Schritt in dieser Richtung.

Liebe Freunde, wir sind uns der Grösse dieser Aufgaben voll bewusst. Nichtsdestoweniger müssen wir alle unsere Kräfte für sie einsetzen, denn wir sind dem Pazifismus und der Gewaltlosigkeit verpflichtet.

Ich bin voller Vertrauen, dass Sie unsere Arbeit durch Ihre freigebigen Spenden unterstützen werden.

Mit kameradschaftlichen Grüßen,

*Joyce Runham Brown*  
Joyce Runham Brown  
Ehrenamtliche Schatzmeisterin

N.B. Die Broschüre ist auch auf Englisch, Esperanto, Französisch, Italienisch und Spanisch erhältlich. Exemplare 6/- das Dutzend (3 DM, 20 Ö.Sch., 3 S. Fr.).

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England

LISTE DER FINANZIELLEN VERTRETER

Australien

John Fallding  
69 Cobran Road  
Cheltenham, N.S.W.

Belgien

Michel Erler  
Rue des Fanchon 15  
Liège  
C.C.P. 284390

Dänemark

Hagbard Jonassen  
Kraholmsvej 6  
Virum  
Postgiro 29793

Deutschland

Robert Jarmuth  
Hamburg 43  
Nordschleswiger Str. 43  
Postscheckkonto 590 54 Hamburg

Frankreich

Roger Paon  
Quartier la Colle  
St. André-de-Nice (A.M.)  
C.C.P. Marseille 1732-23

Italien

Virgilio Galassi  
Viale Caterina da Forli 28  
Milano

Neuseeland

Thurlow Thompson  
209 Opawa Road  
Christchurch 2

Niederlande

Cobi Molenaar  
Mettebos 33  
Brunssum  
Post Giro 1043356

Norwegen

Folkereising Mot Krig  
Kristian Augusts Gate 19  
Oslo 13  
Post Giro 138-51

Schweden

Svenska Världsfredsmissionen  
Gokalund  
Postgiro 13781

Schweiz

Ernst Ammann  
Fichtenstrasse 6  
Zürich 7/32  
Postscheckkonto 80 - 24285 Zürich

USA

Dorothy Rick, International Fund  
Room 1025  
5, Beekman Street  
New York 38, N.Y.

BITTE BEI ALLEN BEITRAGEN VERMERKEN: "Für die War Resisters' International".

(perforiert) - - - - -  
An War Resisters' International, (oder an den finanziellen Vertreter, siehe Liste oben).  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield,  
Middlesex, England

Beiliegend übersende ich ..... als Beitrag für die WRI.  
Unterschrift .....

Name (Druckschrift) .....

Adresse .....

Schecks, Postanweisungen, die nach Enfield geschickt werden, müssen an die WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL zahlbar sein, sonst an Ihren finanziellen Vertreter.

PRINTED MATTER



V. K.

~~10~~ H. MAURER,

6000 FRANKFURT-SCHWANHEIM,

AM RUDESTEIN 43<sup>II</sup>

(GORDSTEINSIEDLUNG).

GERMANY.

31.5.65

EV718-14-847

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - hiv

IF undelivered please return to

LANSBURY HOUSE

88 PARK AVENUE, ENFIELD

MIDDLESEX ENGLAND

37/65

## WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

25th May, 1965

TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

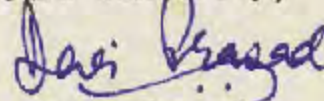
Sections' representatives at Council meeting. Representatives of all Sections are welcome at the Council meeting. Please send the name of the representative of your Section without any delay. This is a good opportunity for Sections to take part in the Council proceedings and to express their views. Both Council members and Sections' representatives should inform Brenda Yasin (The Grange, Kiltiernan, C. Dublin, Eire) and the Headquarters of the time of their arrival and departure.

We are sorry that no comments were received on the draft Agenda. The Executive has, however, finalised it. Still, if you have some comments, please send them immediately. The Executive will be glad to consider them at its next meeting on 28th July.

Triennial Conference. May I draw your attention to item 8 of the Minutes on Triennial Conference 1966. Have you any suggestions regarding speakers? Sections are also expected to prepare study papers as background material for the Conference on the subject of Non-Violence and Politics.

Suggestions about organising a campaign for the recognition of conscientious objection as part of U.N. Charter of Human Rights would be useful. (See item 23 of the enclosed Minutes).

Yours sincerely,


Devi Prasad  
Secretary

Enclosures:  
Minutes of Executive meeting No. 10  
Council meeting Agenda

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

AGENDA

for Council Meeting No.3 to be held at The Grange,  
Kiltiernan, Dublin, Eire, from Wednesday 28th July  
(afternoon) - Tuesday 3rd August 1965 (breakfast)

APOLOGIES

APPROVAL OF AGENDA

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING NO.2  
(28.7.64 - 2.8.64)
2. EXECUTIVE MINUTES
3. SECRETARY'S REPORT
4. FINANCE:
  - (a) Current Statement
  - (b) Audited Accounts 1964/65
  - (c) Estimates 1965/66
  - (d) Reserves
    - (i) General
    - (ii) Relief and Reserve Account
5. LETTER FROM DANILO DOLCI
6. AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION
7. SECTIONS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES
8. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1966 -  
Non-Violence and Politics
9. COUNCIL MEETING 1966
10. STUDY CONFERENCE 1966 - POLAND -  
Education for a World without War
11. U.N. COMMITTEE FOR PEACE-KEEPING
12. 1968, THE U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR
13. PACIFISM IN AFRO/ASIAN COUNTRIES:
  - (a) How to extend W.R.I.'s work in that area
  - (b) The rôle W.R.I. and its Sections can play in  
crisis areas such as Vietnam, Indonesia,  
Malaysia, Congo, South Africa, etc.
14. FUTURE OF RADICAL PEACE MOVEMENT AND W.R.I.'S RÔLE IN THE  
DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS UNILATERALISM AND DEVELOPING A TRAINING  
PROGRAMME
15. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

NOTE TO PARTICIPANTS:

Please notify Brenda Yasin, address as above, Tel.No. Dublin 894471,  
and Lansbury House, the time of your arrival.

ALSO: Please bring soap and towel

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 10

held at

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex  
on Saturday, 15th May 1965 at 9.30 a.m.

PRESENT: Harold F. Bing (Chairman); Joyce Hunham Brown  
(Hon. Treasurer); Hugh Brock, Michael Randle,  
Tony Smythe  
Staff: Devi Prasad

APOLOGIES: Herbert Günneberg was unable to attend due to  
illness. The Executive expressed its sympathy  
and goodwill for his early recovery.

AGENDA: The circulated Agenda was approved with  
additions as recorded in these Minutes.

1. MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING NO. 9

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting No. 9 held on Saturday,  
27th February 1965, were approved and signed by the Chairman.

2. FINANCE:

(a) Current Statement and Approval of Expenditure

Albert Billett was unable to prepare the report because the  
Auditors only sent the books back on Thursday afternoon. The  
Treasurer informed that Account No. 1 showed a balance of  
£348.0.2. and Account No. 2 £1.10.7. Executive authorised the  
payment of outstanding bills amounting to £223.12.4. and asked  
for a report to be submitted at the next meeting.

(b) Special Reserve Fund

For the same reason a statement regarding formation of this special  
Reserve Fund could not be prepared.

(c) Audited Accounts 1964/65

The Treasurer submitted the draft audited accounts and pointed out  
that the auditors had not classified the different items properly.  
Some amounts belonging to one item had been included in another.  
The income through Financial Agents in several countries had also  
not been correctly shown. Executive asked the Treasurer to return  
the accounts to the auditors with comments for correction.

The Executive suggested that the system of keeping the accounts  
could be so simplified as to relieve the work of the auditors and  
thus eventually reduce their fees. It was agreed that the  
Treasurer and Secretary should meet Trevor Davies to seek his  
advice and ask if he could possibly help in the audit next year.

(d) Estimates 1965/66

The estimates were submitted and after some modifications were  
approved. Last year's accounts showed a greatly reduced income.  
After discussing whether the estimates should be made according  
to the money received and whether W.R.I. activities should be cut  
down accordingly, the Executive felt that the work the W.R.I. was  
doing was valuable and should develop according to the need of

the day. New sources of income should be tapped. Suggestions were made in this connection. It was agreed to work out a sample project to contact individuals of Quaker meetings of one region in England. The brochure should be useful in this connection.

(e) Charity Status

A draft "statement of objects" prepared by Mr. Braithwaite for submission to the Department of Education for obtaining preliminary approval before applying for charity status was read out. Mr. Braithwaite had suggested that there were possibilities of getting charity recognition for a Society, Trust or Fund set up for conducting work in the field of research and extension of knowledge about compulsory military service and the social, economic and legal questions affecting such service. The Objects framed were on the basis that the Society would be a Company limited by guarantee. It could also, if preferred, be a Trust and not a "Society". Executive felt that nothing should be done if it involved compromise with our radical objectives. If a separate Trust could be set up to do that part of W.R.I. work which is strictly educational and also could guarantee that funds for it would be from new sources and would not affect the income of the W.R.I., application could be made. It was agreed to consult somebody well informed on the subject and who knew the work of the W.R.I. George Delf's name was suggested.

(f) Relief Fund

It was agreed to continue helping Madame Porchet as before - £10 per quarter for the next year.

(g) Financial Agent - Switzerland

Ernst Ammann of Zürich had agreed to be W.R.I. financial agent in Switzerland. The Executive expressed its thanks to Ernst Ammann for his help.

3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY

In spite of renewed advertisements and personal approaches no new applications had been received. Devi thought that it was mainly due to the unattractive salary provided for the post. However one or two persons had expressed their interest in the post to Devi when he was touring Germany. It was agreed to increase the amount to £12.12.0. per week.

4. LANSBURY HOUSE

As a result of advertisements in PEACE NEWS and THE FRIEND three applications had been received. Two applicants had visited the flat but had found it inadequate. The third had made an appointment to visit it. The question was raised whether it was not the right time to think of shifting the office nearer to Central London, particularly as the downstairs flat was unoccupied. Once the flat was leased it might be difficult to give the tenants notice. Suggestion was made that the W.R.I. should share Dick Sheppard House which might also help the British movement.

The suggestion of moving the office into Central London had already been agreed upon at the Council Meeting 1962 and it still held good but the major difficulty preventing its realisation was financial. It was agreed that as the decision was already taken we should wait for the right opportunity.

5. STAFF

In view of the rising prices it was agreed to raise the salaries of the staff by five percent. It was also agreed to equalize the rates of payment to the three shorthand-typists. The increased salaries therefore would be: Lily Billett (full time) £9.9.0. per week; May Way (3 days) £7.1.9.; Marjatta Bryan (3 days) £7.1.9.; Kathleen Phillips (2 days) £4.14.6.; Albert Billett (part time) £6.0.9; Devi Prasad £17.6.6. These increases should start from the week ending 21st May 1965.

6. COUNCIL MEETING 1965

(a) Interpreters:

In order to ensure the availability of an interpreter for Jean van Lierde in case the secretary of the Irish Pacifist Movement had difficulty in finding someone, it was agreed to request Alfred Tucker to keep those days free.

(b) Timetable:

Executive approved the following timetable:

Wednesday, 28th July - Meeting will start at 14.30 hrs.  
Monday, 2nd August - Meeting to conclude before midday  
" " " evening - Public Meeting in Dublin  
Tuesday, 3rd August - Departure after breakfast

(c) Agenda:

The draft agenda was discussed (refer document 25/65). The Secretary reported that no comments had been received from Council Members or Sections. It was decided that instead of putting them as separate items the following should be included in the Secretary's report: Recognition of Conscientious Objection; Study Conference 1965; International C.O. Work Study Camp in Italy; Relations with the World Council of Peace; International Confederation of Disarmament and Peace/International Peace Bureau; World Peace Brigade; Contact with China. The final agenda is attached.

It was decided to allow adequate time to discuss the future of the radical peace movement and the W.R.I.'s rôle in it, especially in the development towards unilateralism and developing a training programme. On the item "Pacifism in Afro/Asian countries", the W.R.L. should be asked to prepare a document giving the latest information on Vietnam, including suggestions on what the W.R.I. and other movements could do. The Secretary should try to obtain relevant material about crisis areas in the Afro/Asian world.

(d) Representatives of Sections:

No names had yet been received from Sections.

(e) Observers:

It was agreed to invite Gerry Hunnius, general secretary of the ICDP, to attend as an observer.

7. LETTER FROM DANILO DOLCI

Daniilo Dolci had written that, on account of his preoccupation with his own work in Sicily, he was unable to devote any time to W.R.I. work and therefore felt that it was not right for him to continue as Vice-Chairman or even as a Council member. He had asked to be relieved of these posts. The Chairman had replied to Danilo suggesting that, to avoid misunderstanding and in view of his interest in the forthcoming Triennial Conference on Non-Violence, he should let his name stand until the end of the three-year term. Danilo had agreed to this suggestion. Executive endorsed the Chairman's action in this connection.

8. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE 1966

(a) Venue of the Conference

A place for the Conference had not yet been found. There were letters from Guido Graziani (F.o.R. Italy) and from Mr. W. Colman whose name was suggested by Niels Mathiesen. Graziani thought that some place might be available near Rome during Easter 1966. Executive asked the Secretary to go to Italy as soon as possible and fix up an adequate place. If Italy was not possible he should try a place near Geneva, in which case the time for the Conference could, if necessary, be July/August.

(b) Speakers

The Secretary reported that, on the basis of his correspondence with Siddharaj Dhadha, it was possible that Jayaprakash Narayan would be available for the Conference. If JP was not available it was agreed to approach another suitable person from India. David McReynolds of W.R.I. had been consulted in connection with getting a speaker from the U.S. His reply was still awaited. The names of A.J. Muste, David McReynolds and Paul Goodman were among those suggested. Africa Bureau should be consulted about getting a speaker from Africa. Among others suggested were April Carter and Nils Petter Gleditsch.

9. STUDY CONFERENCE 1965 and C.O. WORK-STUDY-CAMP, ITALY

The response to both had been very good. Participation from U.S. and India was also expected. Pietro Pinna was helping in the organisation of the Conference. He would also be the organiser of the Work-Study-Camp at Signa.

The Chairman of the I.P.E., John Kay, had telephoned that £200 had been granted towards the travelling of participants from India and America to the Perugia Conference.

10. STUDY CONFERENCE 1966 - "EDUCATION FOR A WORLD WITHOUT WAR"

A letter had been received from the Polish Peace Committee stating that they had agreed to arrange the 1966 W.R.I. Study Conference in Poland at Teresin, about 40 km. from Warsaw, which is a Gardening Cooperative Centre situated in a forest. Cost per head per day would be approximately \$5. It was agreed that the duration of the Conference should be one week during the second half of August 1966. Suggestions for the agenda should soon be sent to the World Council of Peace and the Polish Peace Committee. It was agreed to consult Anthony Weaver, Professor Henderson, Hagbard Jonassen and Stiv Jakobsson about the agenda to be proposed.

11. NAZARENES

Devi reported on the latest situation. Nothing more had been heard from the Yugoslav Embassy. Necessary information had been sent to the Norwegian Section, Folkereising Mot Krig, to help them with the demonstration they were planning during Marshal Tito's visit to Norway some time at the beginning of May. They were also hoping to arrange an interview with him.

Regarding sending a representative to meet the authorities or Marshal Tito himself, Executive felt that we had done enough negotiating and therefore the question of a visit should be dropped. Now was the time to start a campaign. It was agreed that a campaign should be carried out in different countries simultaneously. Articles and necessary background material should be prepared and sent to PEACE NEWS and other peace journals in different countries and their national press. The GUARDIAN could be of some help in this regard. Rod Prince (Editor P.N.) and Devi should prepare a leaflet and if possible print it in several languages to be used for wide distribution especially among those who might be visiting Yugoslavia during this summer.

It was also agreed to put advertisements in the Personal Columns of TIMES and NEW YORK TIMES offering visitors to Yugoslavia these leaflets to distribute while in that country.

Offers of help had been received from Irene Jacoby of Friends International Centre and Leonard Bird. George Clark and the Caravan Workshops would be visiting Yugoslavia during the summer.

12. ACTION SOUTH AFRICA

It was agreed to drop this item as the proposed memo could not be prepared.

13. W.R.I. AT UNO

No specific suggestions had yet been received from David McReynolds so it was agreed to omit this item from the agenda for the time being and reintroduce it when there was something to report.

14. 50TH ESPERANTO CONFERENCE, Tokio, August 1965

Kuo Mukai, Secretary of the Japan W.R.I. Section, had reported that he was making the necessary preparations to organise a special meeting of the W.R.I. at the Esperanto Conference in Tokio.

15. ESPERANTO CONGRESS, Vienna, 11-17 July 1965

Claude Gacond, who had been suggested as the main W.R.I. representative at the Vienna Esperanto Congress, had informed us that he was unable to accept. Carl Brenner therefore had been asked to represent the W.R.I. and make the necessary arrangements for the special W.R.I. meeting.

16. REVISION OF MILITARY SERVICE REGULATIONS

The Secretary reported that the work was progressing satisfactorily.

17. SECRETARY'S REPORT ON GERMAN AND NETHERLANDS VISITS:

(a) Freundschaftsheim Kuratorium meeting, May 1st

The new Director of the Heim, Pastor Schwenkhagen, had started reorganising the work of the House and had already established good relations with many individuals and organisations. The Kuratorium, which two years ago was only an advisory body, was now functioning as the policy-making body. The Executive Committee of the Heim was nominated by the Kuratorium. It was encouraging to see this new development.

(b) Meetings with W.R.I. Groups

Meetings were held in Hannover, Braunschweig, Goslar and München. Leaders from I.d.K. groups in Bavaria attended the meeting in München. It was particularly useful because it gave a fairly good picture of the I.d.K. work in that part of Germany. Generally peace movements were finding it hard to get new members. It did, though, depend mostly on the quality and enthusiasm of the leadership. Due to the decentralised character of the I.d.K. there was much difference among I.d.K. groups, particularly in their political approaches.

The München I.d.K. group had also arranged a demonstration against American intervention in Vietnam.

V.K. AGM - Iserlohn

Nearly 200 members of the V.K. attended, most of them young. It was a gathering of enthusiastic intellectual young pacifists. One of the important resolutions passed was on Vietnam asking for Cease-Fire and negotiation. Another was against the Hallstein Doctrine. Herbert Stubenrauch had been re-elected Chairman of the V.K.

Meeting with W.R.I. Group in Brunssum (South Holland)

18 people attended some of whom were not members of the group. There was much interest in Gandhian thought. This meeting had proved a great encouragement to Cobi Molenaar who often felt isolated, being situated in a corner of Holland. She was indeed doing very good work in a very conservative part of the country.

18. I.P.B. ANNUAL CONFERENCE AND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The I.P.B. Conference would be held in Vevey on Lake Geneva from August 29th to September 3rd. It was agreed to send the Secretary to represent the W.R.I. Devi was asked to find a second representative from either Switzerland or Germany.

A memo signed by Devi and Philip Eastman of the IFoR had been sent out to I.P.B. member organisations and W.R.I. Council members and Sections. In it suggestions were made about the future of the I.P.B., especially on the activities it should take up during coming years. The memo also suggested that the I.P.B. should not spend too much money on a large secretariat. The Executive approved the memo.

This year there will be three vacancies on the Executive Committee of the I.P.B. for which nominations have been invited. The W.R.I. Executive decided to nominate Alfred Riedel, General Secretary of the V.K., who was being nominated by the V.K., and Devi. The

Secretary was asked to consult Kenneth Lee, Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee, and Philip Eastman regarding the third name.

19. I.C.D.P. COUNCIL MEETING

I.C.D.P. had invited the W.R.I. to send an observer. As Tony Smythe was a member of the I.C.D.P. Council and said that he would be present at the meeting it was decided to appoint him W.R.I. observer as well.

20. WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE CONFERENCE, HELSINKI

The World Council of Peace had sent an invitation to the W.R.I. to send a representative to the Conference. In view of our financial situation the Executive decided not to send anybody.

21. "MEETING POINT 1965": Danube Project (International Cooperation Year)

Under the joint management of the I.C.D.P. and the W.C.P. a boat trip was being organised from September 5th-19th. It will start from Vienna and will go as far as the Roumanian/Bulgarian borders. Nearly 200 participants from western countries and 100 from Eastern (Communist) countries of ages below 35 were expected to take part. In order to have wider representation it will include only a limited number of people from the peace movements (approximately 35 percent). Gerry Hunnius, General Secretary of the I.C.D.P. had enquired if the W.R.I. would like to be a sponsor. In view of the interest the International had taken in this project right from the beginning and the possibilities it offered to spread pacifist ideas, the Executive decided in favour of sponsorship. A token grant of £50 was also made towards the project. The office was asked to help the I.C.D.P. in encouraging suitable people to take part in the Danube project.

22. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL LTH INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY 4th-6th September, near The Hague

In response to the invitation from Amnesty International to send a representative to its Assembly the Executive decided to ask Hein van Wijk (Holland) to represent the W.R.I.

23. HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR 1968

United Nations had declared 1968 as the Human Rights Year. Devi made a suggestion that the W.R.I. should organise a campaign to see that Conscientious Objection to Military Service was recognised as part of Human Rights. The Executive accepted it and asked the office to draw up a plan. It was decided to put this item on the agenda of the Council Meeting.

24. I.P.B. CONFERENCE AT VEVEY, on Lake Geneva

The I.P.B. was organising a Conference entitled "We, the People and U.N. Peace Year" from 21st-25th June. Devi had been invited to it personally. The Executive agreed that he could also represent the W.R.I. if necessary.

25. VIETNAM WEEK

At a meeting organised by the W.C.P. and attended by, amongst others, A.J. Muste of the U.S. and Gerry Hunnius (ICDP) it had been decided to conduct an intensive campaign during the week 23rd-30th May against the war in Vietnam. Organisations had been

asked to conduct a campaign independently and in their own way. Both the I.C.D.P. and the W.C.F. had requested the W.R.I. to make recommendations to its Sections about observing the week. The Executive asked the Secretary to treat this as important and to do whatever possible to make the campaign effective.

26. CONFERENCE ON LANGUAGE PROBLEMS, Ljubljana

A Conference on language problems was to be held in Yugoslavia. It was being organised by some youth organisations. Alfred Tucker had asked if he could also represent the W.R.I. at this Conference which he would be attending and in which he would be speaking on behalf of the Quaker Esperanto Society. The W.R.I. would not be involved in any expense. The Executive agreed unanimously to Alfred's request.

27. U.N. COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING

A memo on the proposed U.N. Committee on Peace-Keeping written by George Delf with a covering letter by the W.R.I. Secretariat had been circulated to several organisations including W.R.I. Sections. It asked individuals and organisations to send their suggestions to the special Committee before June 15th when the Committee would be submitting its report to the U.N. Secretary-General. A letter from Lansbury House had also been sent to U. Thant urging that "while considering different ways and means of peace-keeping the Committee should give prime importance to techniques based on the modern approach to conflict resolution by non-violent methods." It also proposed to the Secretary-General "that the Committee should set up an advisory panel consisting of individuals and representatives of organisations who have experience in non-violent action for peace. This panel should be asked to submit proposals for consideration by the U.N. Committee on Peace-Keeping. The panel should be kept in constant touch with the work of the Committee and consulted." The Executive approved this action. This item had already been put on the Council Agenda.

DATE OF NEXT MEETING:

11 a.m. 28th July, 1965 at Kiltarnan, Dublin

ED 728-16-374



V. K.

o/o H. MAUER.


6,000 FRANKFURT-SCHWANHEIM,

AM RAUBSTEIN 43<sup>II</sup>

(GOLDSTEINSTRASSE)

GERMANY.

12.7.65

if undelivered please return   
LANSBURY HOUSE  
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50/65

## WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

LETTER TO SECTIONSLansbury House  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
EnglandI M P O R T A N T

9th July, 1965

Dear Friends,

Time seems to pass more quickly than sometimes we think. Here we are nearing the next Triennial Conference. As you already know, it is to be held from April 7th - 13th, 1966, at LA DOMUS PACIS (The House of Peace), Rome, not far from the Vatican. Apart from business procedure, the Conference will concentrate on the topic of "Non-Violence and Politics". We are trying to solicit help from experts in this field and are working hard to prepare the detailed programme which you will receive in due course.

I am writing this especially in connection with the elections for Chairman and Council Members. As per the Rules, nominations for the Chairman must be received at Lansbury House before October 1st, 1965. Nominations for Council Members must be received by January 7th, 1966.

In this connection I wish to make some comments based on my experience as General Secretary of the International. The Council is, in fact, the body which guides the work between two Triennial Conferences. It is the final authority on policy matters and also has to see to it that the work develops in the right direction. The function of a Council Member is therefore of the greatest importance. After all, for guidance and support we at Lansbury House depend on our Council Members. The more interest they take in W.R.I. work, the better will be the quality of our work.

I regret to say that in reality this is not happening. The response from Council Members to our circulars and requests for advice has been extremely poor and discouraging. On the other hand the work of the W.R.I. is growing and I feel that the growth has been in the right direction. What we need now is active interest on the part of our Sections and Council Members. The next 5-10 years are going to be very important in the history of the peace movements. The world situation is challenging us with numerous problems. We know that we have not got answers to all of them. But are we prepared to face those questions which are within our sphere? It is certain that without close and constant working contact between the Council, Sections and the W.R.I. Headquarters not much can be achieved. I therefore sincerely request you to give careful thought and help in forming a really active Council for the next term.

The first issue of WAR RESISTANCE in 1966 will be devoted completely to the three-yearly reports of W.R.I. Sections and Associated Organisations and Publications. The material should go to the press by 31st December, 1965. As editing and translating

P.T.O.

takes time, may I request you to send your reports to us by 1st December, 1965, at the latest.

PLEASE NOTE THE FOLLOWING DATES:

- October 1st, 1965 - last date for W.R.I. Headquarters to receive nominations for Chairman.
- January 7th, 1966 - last date for receiving nominations for Council Members.

1st December, 1965 - date by which reports from Sections must be received.

With best wishes,  
Yours sincerely,

*Devi Prasad*  
Devi Prasad  
Secretary

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

# war resisters' international

LANSBURY HOUSE, 88 PARK AVENUE, ENFIELD, MIDD., U.K.  
Telephone: LABurnum 3977  
Telegram: NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

68/67

An alle Friedensorganisationen  
in Deutschland, Oesterreich und  
in der Schweiz

24.7.1967  
zu-wr.

29.7.67

Liebe Freunde,

der Krieg in Vietnam nimmt immer stärkere Formen der Eskalation an, und jede Eskalation macht unsere Aufgabe dringender, den Krieg zu beenden. Von verschiedenen Seiten, vor allem von unseren amerikanischen Freunden, sind wir in letzter Zeit auf eine wichtige Aufgabe hingewiesen worden, die von manchen als die wichtigste uns mögliche hingestellt wird, nämlich: Wie kann man die amerikanische Öffentlichkeit direkt beeinflussen.

Die War Resisters' International hat mit Hilfe einiger anderer Friedensorganisationen im Laufe der vorjährigen Touristensaison Flugblätter (welcome to US-tourists) an amerikanische Touristen in Europa verteilt.

Wir möchten an alle Friedensorganisationen in Europa appellieren, eine umfassende Kampagne mit diesem Flugblatt durchzuführen. (Flugblätter sind bei uns erhältlich.)

Amerikaner haben vorgeschlagen, dass wir Tag für Tag mit Flugblättern vor American Express Büros (amerikanische Reisebüros) und vor gut besuchten Anziehungspunkten für Touristen stehen und ihnen mit der Frage "Are you American?" entgegentreten sollten, um sie direkt und persönlich anzusprechen. Dies ist vor allem deswegen so ausserordentlich wichtig, weil die örtliche Presse in den USA, vor allem in kleineren Städten, nur sehr geringe Information über Vietnam gibt.

Friedensorganisationen in Holland haben z.B. im vergangenen Jahr ein Flugblatt herausgegeben, das die Touristen nicht nur in politischen Dingen anspricht, und sie somit veranlassen könnte, das Flugblatt sofort in den Papierkorb zu werfen, sondern sie haben in diesem Flugblatt auf einige besonders anziehende Ereignisse in Amsterdam, die in dem Sommer in Amsterdam stattfanden, hingewiesen. Dies scheint eine gute Idee, denn es gibt den Touristen unmittelbar mit der Propaganda zugleich nützliche Informationen. Wir sollten versuchen, in dieser Richtung unsere Vorstellungskraft zu entwickeln, vor allem, was die Kommunikation mit amerikanischen Bürgern in Europa betrifft. Es ist unbedingt erforderlich, dass amerikanische Touristen die Meinung der Europäer über den Vietnamkrieg kennenlernen.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Ein anderes Flugblatt, das von der WRI herausgegeben wurde, hat eine aufregende Diskussion in einer Reihe von Zeitungen in Gang gebracht - das Flugblatt an amerikanische Soldaten in Europa (to american soldiers in Europe). Dieses Flugblatt, das sehr bekannt geworden ist, fordert die amerikanischen Soldaten auf, über ihre Funktion nachzudenken, und wenn ihnen ihr Gewissen sagt, dass der

W"Krieg in Vietnam unmoralisch und ungerecht ist, ihrem Gewissen und ihren M"glichkeiten entsprechend zu handeln.

Der "Observer" brachte am 4.6.67 einen grossen Bericht auf seiner Titelseite. Die Pariser Ausgabe der "Herald Tribune" ver"ffentlichte zusammen mit der "New York Times" und "Washington Post" einen noch gr"sseren Bericht auf der Titelseite mit der "berschrift "Flugblatt dr"ngt GIs, zu desertieren". Sie reproduzierten ebenfalls einen Teil des Flugblattes. In Frankreich, Holland und Deutschland sind auch Fernsehprogramme in Verbindung mit der Frage der steigenden Zahl von amerikanischen Soldaten, die die Armee verlassen, gezeigt worden. Auch die britischen Fernsehgesellschaften BBC und ITV sind dabei, Material zu sammeln, um Programme "ber diese Frage zu senden.

Ausserdem hat es den Anschein, dass Fragen "ber dieses Flugblatt, das von 12 pazifistischen Organisationen herausgegeben wurde, im britischen Parlament er"rtert wurden. Am 6.7.67 besuchten ein Detektiv-Inspektor und ein Detektiv-Sergant von Scotland Yard unser B"ro, um diese Sache zu untersuchen. Es war ein freundlicher Besuch. Der WRI-Sekret"r hatte eine interessante Unterhaltung mit den beiden Detektiven und gab eine Erkl"rung, in der gesagt wurde, dass diese Flugblatt-Kampagne auf einer Pressekonferenz im Mai 1966 in London gestartet wurde. Wie wir h"rten, erhielten am selben Tag auch die britische Sektion der WRI, die Peace Pledge Union, die Goodwin Press, die das Flugblatt druckte und das Komitee der 100, eine der 12 Organisationen, "hnliche Besuche.

" " " " "

Der Widerstand in Amerika gegen den Krieg in Vietnam hat verschiedene Formen angenommen. Er ist von teach-ins zu internationalen Demonstrationen bis zu der Spring-Mobilization (Fr"hlings-Mobilisation) gegangen, die in New York fast 400 000 Menschen und in San Francisco 40 - 50 000 Menschen auf die Strassen brachte. Und es w"chst die Erkenntnis, dass der Widerstand nur dann wirkungsvoll werden kann, wenn die Wehrpflichtigen die Gesetze konfrontieren. W"hrend der Spring-Mobilization haben etwa 175 Wehrpflichtige ihre Wehrp"sse verbrannt - und darauf steht bis zu 5 Jahren Gef"ngnis. Aber mit der M"glichkeit der "2-S-Zur"ckstellung" f"r Studenten kommt es trotz der Verbrennungen der Wehrp"sse nicht zu einer bedeutungsvollen Konfrontation.

Inzwischen hat sich eine neue Spitze dieser "We Won't Go"-Bewegung (Wir Wollen Nicht Gehen) gebildet, die "The Resistance" (Der Widerstand). Die Haltung dieser Gruppe ist die der v"lligen und offenen Nichtzusammenarbeit (non-cooperation). "The Resistance" sind eine Gruppe von Leuten, die bereit sind, alle Zur"ckstellungen zur"ckzuweisen und somit eine Konfrontation mit der Regierung zu erzwingen. Ihre Haltung steht im Gegensatz zu einem bisher vorherrschenden Gesichtspunkt, der z.B. vom SDS (Students Democratic Society) eingenommen wird, der sagt, dass man so lange wie m"glich dem Gef"ngnis ausweichen und so lange wie m"glich organisieren sollte, wenn notwendig, im Untergrund. Die Ansicht, die von "The Resistance" vertreten wird, ist, dass Untergrundarbeit in der modernen Zeit eine romantische Idee ist, die dazu verurteilt ist, fehlzuschlagen und eine noch sch"rfere Unterdr"ckung zur Folge hat. Eine der Grundlagen dieser Haltung ist die Bereitschaft, eine m"gliche Gef"ngnisstrafe auf sich zu nehmen. Die einzige Drohung, die die Regierung f"r die Verweigerer bereith"lt, ist das Gef"ngnis. Nur dadurch, dass man sich weigert, durch das Gef"ngnis eingesch"chert zu werden, durch offene und aktive Herausforderung gegen die, die sie ins Gef"ngnis schicken wollen, k"nnen Wehrpflichtige dazu ermutigt und angeregt werden, mehr Widerstand zu or-

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ganisieren. Dies bedeutet nicht, dass sie das Gefängnis hoffieren wollen. Viele werden mit den Behörden Nichtzusammenarbeit praktizieren, um eine Gefängnisstrafe für die Behörden so schwierig wie möglich zu machen. Aber sie werden eine Gefängnisstrafe bereitwillig auf sich nehmen, weil nur ein offener und trotziger Widerstand (im Gegensatz zu einem Widerstand im Untergrund, der ein Zeichen von Furcht ist) ein Schneeball sein kann für eine Massenbewegung.

Die Leute von "The Resistance" sagen weiter: "Wenn die Opposition gegen den Krieg eine wirkliche Bedeutung haben soll, dann muss es eine Opposition sein, die mehr als nur akademisch ist. Es muss eine Opposition sein, die auf einer totalen Hingabe und Verpflichtung beruht und somit totale Freiheit von einer Gesellschaft bedeutet, die darauf ausgerichtet ist, alle unsere Handlungen zu unterdrücken, wenn unsere Verpflichtung bedeutet, unsere Mitmenschen zu lieben, wenn wir uns nicht in die Illusion einer Freiheit begeben, in der wir unserer Regierung zu Kreuze kriechen und ihre "grosszügig erteilten" Kategorien entgegennehmen, wie "zurückgestellter Student", "psychologisch unfit", "Kriegsdienstverweigerer aus Gewissensgründen (Ersatzdienst)". Wir werden unsere Liebe vielmehr in einer gesellschaftlichen Verpflichtung und intensiven gesellschaftlichen Aktion ausdrücken, und wir sind bereit, jedes nur mögliche Risiko, das unsere Haltung logischerweise mit sich bringt, auf uns zu nehmen."

(Entnommen: "WIN Peace and Freedom thru Nonviolent Action" Vol. III, No. 12.)

In den beiden Studienarbeitslagern, die die WRI in diesem Sommer in Italien und England organisiert, sind noch einige Plätze frei. Sicher sind in Ihren Gruppen einige Interessenten, die an diesen Lagern gern teilnehmen würden. Wir bitten Sie, dies allen Freunden bekanntzumachen. Bitte, beachten Sie, dass die Teilnehmer gute Kenntnisse der englischen und französischen Sprache besitzen sollten, da der Studienteil im italienischen Lager nur in französisch und im englischen Lager nur in englisch abgehalten wird.

Das Lager für französisch Sprechende findet vom 15.8. - 2.9.67 etwa 25 km von Genua entfernt statt. Es wird in Zusammenarbeit mit der Movimento Nonviolento per la Pace, unserer italienischen Sektion, durchgeführt. Das Projekt wird in Zusammenarbeit mit der Gemeinde Montoggio und der landwirtschaftlichen Behörde erstellt. Gegenstand des Studiums werden die Probleme sein, die sich aus der Teilung in arme und reiche Länder ergeben.

Das Lager in England findet vom 27.8. - 15.9.67 in Loughborough, Leicestershire (Mittelengland) statt. Das Projekt besteht aus der Errichtung eines kulturellen Zentrums für farbige Einwanderer, um die Verständigung und Integration in Loughborough zu fördern, wo sich Rassenprobleme abzuzeichnen beginnen. Thema des Studienteils ist: Militarismus und der Widerstand dagegen. Es sollen die Wirkungen des Militarismus in verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen, besonders in Grossbritannien, und die Ursachen für das Wachsen des Militarismus untersucht und im zweiten Teil der Widerstand gegen den Militarismus einer kritischen Prüfung unterzogen werden, vor allem im Lichte der gegenwärtigen politischen und gesellschaftlichen Situation.

Daraus sollen Schlüsse für die zukünftige Arbeit gezogen werden, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Frage der Kommunikation zu unseren Mitmenschen, freiwilliger Dienste in der Gesellschaft und gewaltlosen Widerstandes.



Fritz Hartnagel  
79 Ulm, Wettersteinweg 1

Nils C. Nagel  
53 Bonn, Weiherstraße 2

ERKLÄRUNG VON FRITZ HARTNAGEL UND NILS C. NAGEL ZUM SCHEITERN  
DER FUSION ZWISCHEN VK UND IDK

Im November 1967 10.11.67

An alle Mitglieder und Gruppen der IdK

Liebe Freunde,

eineinhalb Jahre haben IdK und VK miteinander über eine Fusion beider Kriegsdienstverweigerer-Verbände verhandelt. Diese Verhandlungen waren erfolgreich. Doch obwohl eine Fusionsvereinbarung zwischen IdK und VK direkt vor dem Abschluß stand, beschloß der IdK-Bundeskongreß am 14./15. Oktober 1967 in Hannover, jetzt erst einmal Fusionsverhandlungen mit der Deutschen Friedensgesellschaft (DFG) aufzunehmen. Der Kongreß folgte damit einem Antrag, der weitere Fusionsverhandlungen mit dem VK unmöglich machen sollte. Jene Kräfte innerhalb der IdK, die der angestrebten Fusion zwischen IdK und VK von vornherein mit äußerster Skepsis gegenüberstanden, haben damit ihr Ziel erreicht: Die Fusion zwischen IdK und VK auf Bundesebene ist gescheitert.

Unter diesen Umständen sahen wir uns nicht mehr in der Lage, weiterhin für den Bundesvorstand der IdK zu kandidieren. Als diejenigen Mitglieder im bisherigen IdK-Bundesvorstand, die seit ihrer Wahl im Jahre 1964 mit Nachdruck für einen Zusammenschluß von IdK und VK zu einem gemeinsamen großen und unabhängigen Kriegsdienstverweigerer-Verband eintraten, halten wir uns für verpflichtet, die Mitglieder und Gruppen über die wahren Hintergründe dieser Entwicklung aufzuklären. Wir wollen damit die IdK-Mitglieder und -gruppen, die an dem Ziel der Bildung eines großen Kriegsdienstverweigerer-Verbandes festhalten, in die Lage versetzen, die nunmehr unausweichlich gewordenen Entscheidungen zu treffen.

Im Februar 1966 trafen sich die Vorstände von IdK und VK zu einer gemeinsamen Sitzung. Es wurde festgestellt, daß zwischen beiden Verbänden keine grundsätzliche Meinungsverschiedenheiten bestünden. Ein Zusammenschluß schien zunächst noch 1966 als möglich. Dementsprechend hat in der IdK niemand gegen eine Fusion mit dem VK offen Bedenken angemeldet, wenngleich deutlich wurde, daß Vertreter der Landesverbände Nordrhein-Westfalen und Bayern den Fusionsbestrebungen mit abwartender Skepsis gegenüberstanden. Die Frage einer Fusion mit der kleinen DFG stand jedoch weder damals noch während der eineinhalbjährigen Verhandlungen mit dem VK zu ir-

- 2 -

einem Zeitpunkt zur Diskussion. Die Verhandlungen mit dem VK gingen anfänglich zügig voran, gerieten dann aber an der Frage der Organisationsstruktur des Gesamtverbandes ins Stocken. Der VK wünschte keine Landesverbände, die IdK beharrte auf den bei ihr bestehenden Landesverbänden. Es wurde in der IdK die angeblich zentralistische Struktur des VK hochgespielt - ein völlig unbegründeter Vorwurf, wenn man berücksichtigt, daß im Bundesausschuß des VK (der dem IdK-Arbeitsausschuß entspricht), alle Gruppen von mehr als 100 Mitgliedern laut Satzung vertreten sind und damit an allen wichtigen Entscheidungen unmittelbar beteiligt sind.

Zweifellos stand hinter der Ablehnung von Landesverbänden durch den VK auch die Befürchtung, daß Landesverbände eine Plattform für politische Alleingänge bieten, die mit der Gesamtkonzeption des Verbandes nicht in Einklang stehen. Dabei wurde offen auf gewisse Tendenzen im IdK-Landesverband Nordrhein-Westfalen hingewiesen. Immerhin war auch der Bundesvorstand der IdK in den letzten Jahren mehrfach gezwungen, politische Erklärungen von Alois Stoff, die dieser als Vorsitzender des Landesverbandes NRW in der Öffentlichkeit abgab, zu rügen. So zuletzt eine namens der IdK gehaltene Rede anläßlich der Verleihung des Lenin-Friedenspreises an Martin Niemöller, in der Alois Stoff die Leistungen der Roten Armee im Zweiten Weltkrieg verherrlichte. Wir sind jedoch der Meinung, daß derartige Entgleisungen nicht durch organisatorische Maßnahmen verhindert werden können, sondern durch eine offene Auseinandersetzung, von der auch ein fusionierter Gesamtverband nicht verschont bleiben würde, geklärt werden müssen. Wir haben deshalb als Mitglieder des IdK-Bundesvorstandes bei den Verhandlungen mit dem VK stets den Standpunkt der IdK unterstützt, daß Landesverbände zumindest innerorganisatorisch von Nutzen sind.

Obwohl der IdK-Bundesvorstand durch einen Beschluß des IdK-Bundeskongresses von 1966 (Saarlouis) zu Kompromissen in Organisationsfragen angehalten war, war es der Bundesausschuß des VK, der schließlich in seiner Sitzung vom Mai 1967 seine Bedenken gegen die Bildung von Landesverbänden zurückstellte und seinen Vorstand ermächtigte, in dieser Frage der IdK weitgehend entgegenzukommen. Damit stand einer Fusion IdK-VK nichts mehr im Wege. Die Verhandlungskommissionen einigten sich in einer Sitzung am 9. September 1967 in Ulm sehr rasch über alle wesentlichen Streitpunkte. Offen blieb lediglich der Name des neuen Gesamtverbandes. Man war sich aber einig, daß an der Namensfrage die Fusion nicht scheitern sollte. Es wurde eine weitere Sitzung für Sonntag, 1. Oktober 1967 in Ulm vereinbart, in der noch eine redaktionelle Überarbeitung des Satzungsentwurfes vorgenommen werden sollte. Es war zu erwarten, daß bereits zum Bundeskongreß der IdK in Hannover eine fix und fertig ausgearbeitete Fusionsvereinbarung mit dem VK vorgelegen hätte.

Völlig überraschend hat jedoch H.M. Vogel als IdK-Bundesvorsitzender diese Sitzung wenige Tage zuvor abgesagt mit der Begründung, daß das Kommissionsmitglied Heinz Huber verhindert sei. Wie sich dann herausstellte, bestand die Verhinderung darin, daß Huber als Mitglied eines Gesangsvereins an diesem Sonntag zum Singen nach Nürnberg mußte! Da diese Begründung doch etwas zu dünn erschien, begründete Vogel seine Absage auch noch damit, daß er seit Monaten kein freies Wochenende gehabt habe. Tags zuvor, am 30.9.1967,

hatte er aber immerhin Zeit, um Fusionsverhandlungen mit der DFG zu führen. Es ist offenkundig, daß die Verhandlungen mit dem VK abgesagt wurden, um zu verhindern, daß dem Bundeskongreß der IdK in Hannover ein positives Verhandlungsergebnis mit dem VK vorgelegt werden konnte, gegen das begründete Einwendungen nicht mehr hätten erhoben werden können.

Die Fusionsgegner aus der IdK hatten wohl gehofft, daß die Fusion mit dem VK an der Frage der Landesverbände ohnehin scheitern würde. Als sich der VK wider Erwarten kompromißbereit zeigte, mußte schnell ein neuer Vorwand zur Verhinderung der Fusion VK-IdK gefunden werden. Er wurde gefunden, indem ausgerechnet in dem Augenblick, in dem eine Einigung mit dem VK unmittelbar bevorstand, Fusionsverhandlungen mit der DFG eingeleitet und mit Nachdruck vorangetrieben wurden. In der IdK-Vorstandssitzung vom 1.7.1967 berichtete Vogel, der DFG-Vorsitzende, Bangel, habe ihm mitgeteilt, daß die DFG völlig überaltert und höchstens noch zwei Jahre lebensfähig sei. Der IdK-Vorstand beschloß daraufhin ein rein informelles Gespräch mit der DFG. Von einer Fusion mit der DFG war auch jetzt keine Rede. Das am 26.8.1967 von Dr. Rebenburg und Wellhardt geführte Gespräch mit der DFG führt jedoch zu ganz konkreten Fusionsverhandlungen, die in der Vorstandssitzung am 2.9.1967 gegen die Stimme von Hartnagel (Nagel war verhindert) sanktioniert und am 30.9.1967 ohne Rücksicht auf die Verhandlungen mit dem VK fortgesetzt wurden. Schon in der Vorstandssitzung vom 2.9.1967 war klar, was damit bezweckt wurde. Dr. Rebenburg brachte in anerkennenswerter Offenheit zum Ausdruck, daß er an eine Fusion mit dem VK nicht glaube. Man solle dem VK gegenüber endlich offen Farbe bekennen und eine Fusion mit der kleinen DFG anstreben. Eine überstürzte Fusion mit der DFG mußte zwangsläufig die Fusion mit dem VK platzen lassen.

Dementsprechend wurde in der AA-Sitzung am Vorabend des IdK-Bundeskongresses in Hannover ein von Vogel, Dr. Rebenburg und Stoff ausgearbeiteter Entschließungsentwurf eingebracht, der den sofortigen Zusammenschluß von IdK und DFG forderte und als Trostpflaster weitere Verhandlungen mit dem VK in Aussicht stellte. Dieser Antrag wurde mit Stimmgleichheit abgelehnt. An seiner Stelle wurde jedoch dem Kongreß ein "Kompromißvorschlag" vorgelegt und von diesem dann mit Mehrheit angenommen, der lediglich in verschleierter Form dasselbe Ziel verfolgt, indem er allgemein die Fusion von IdK, VK und DFG fordert.

Es ist jedoch die erklärte Absicht der Vertreter dieses Antrages, die Fusion mit der DFG unverzüglich durchzuführen und damit den VK vor vollendete Tatsachen zu stellen. Während mit der DFG in aller Eile bereits konkrete Fusionsvereinbarungen getroffen wurden - es steht bereits fest, daß der fusionierte Verband "Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft" heißen soll -, wurden gegen den VK die absurdesten und widersprüchlichsten Verdächtigungen vorgebracht. So glaubte man einerseits feststellen zu müssen, andererseits wieder warf man dem VK vor, eine reine Kriegsdienstverweigerer-Gewerkschaft zu sein und keine "politische Friedensarbeit" zu betreiben.

Es wäre sauber und ehrlich gewesen, wenn diejenigen Kräfte in der IdK, die die Bildung eines gemeinsamen unabhängigen Verbandes aus

VK und IdK nun erneut zum Scheitern brachten, von vornherein offen erklärt hätten, daß sie eine Fusion mit dem VK nicht wollen, anstatt nicht nur den VK, sondern auch einen großen Teil der fusionswilligen IdK-Mitgliedschaft eineinhalb Jahre lang an der Nase heranzuführen. Es ist reine Verschleierungstaktik, wenn nun so getan wird, als ob eine Fusion mit dem VK nach wie vor angestrebt werde. Einige der Fusionsgegner haben das auf dem Bundeskongreß in Hannover auch klar ausgesprochen; Die Fusion mit der DFG, die auf jeden Fall vorgezogen werden soll, soll eine Fusion mit dem VK unmöglich machen. Das formelle Angebot an den VK, man könne ja trotzdem weiterverhandeln, ist reine Augenwischerei.

Niemand war und ist gegen eine Vereinigung aller drei Verbände. Es geht jedoch nicht an, die bereits ausgearbeitete Fusion mit dem VK platzen zu lassen, um zunächst mit der einige hundert Mitglieder umfassenden und aussterbenden DFG einen neuen Verband zu gründen. Durch eine solche Fusion IdK-DFG werden Vorentscheidungen über den Namen, die Satzung und über die personelle Zusammensetzung der neuen Verbandsspitze getroffen, die den zahlenmäßig größten Kriegsdienstverweigerer-Verband, den VK, unberücksichtigt lassen. Es ist selbstverständlich, daß sich der VK auf ein solches, ihn desavourierendes Verhalten nicht einlassen kann. Die Konsequenz war auf dem Kongreß in Hannover deutlich: Eine plötzliche Fusion IdK-DFG nach eineinhalbjährigen erfolgreich verlaufenen Verhandlungen mit dem VK macht eine Fusion mit diesem Verband unmöglich.

Damit sind die Würfel gefallen. Die Gesamtfusion mit dem VK ist an den gleichen Kräften gescheitert, die auf dem Schweinfurter IdK-Kongreß gegen die von Dr. Michaltscheff ausgearbeiteten Grundsätze der partei- und machtpolitischen Neutralität stimmten und damals nur knapp unterlegen sind. Ihre taktische Absicht ist klar und in sich logisch: Während sie in der IdK einen maßgeblichen Einfluß ausüben - wie der Bundeskongreß in Hannover noch einmal zeigte -, wären sie in einem fusionierten Gesamtverband aus IdK und VK in die Minderheit gedrängt. Das wollten sie verhindern.

Niemand bedauert diese Entwicklung mehr als wir, die wir seit Jahren im Bundesvorstand der IdK darum bemüht waren, ein Auseinanderbrechen der IdK zu verhindern und durch den Zusammenschluß mit dem VK einen unabhängigen Kriegsdienstverweigerer-Verband zu schaffen, der in der Öffentlichkeit Gewicht hat und gerade jetzt angesichts der Protestbewegungen innerhalb der Jugend einen wichtigen Kristallisationspunkt innerhalb der Opposition darstellen könnte. Wir sind überzeugt, daß die Mehrzahl der IdK-Mitglieder für die Verhinderung der Fusion durch eine formierte politische Gruppe innerhalb der IdK kein Verständnis hat und nach wie vor die Bildung eines Gesamtverbandes aller unabhängigen Kriegsdienstgegner fordert.

Nach der Ablehnung der Fusion mit dem VK durch den IdK-Bundeskongreß haben wir uns mit Vertretern der die Fusion mit dem VK bejahenden IdG-Gruppen zusammengetan, um eine schnelle Vereinigung mit dem VK herbeizuführen. Wir fordern alle Gruppen und Einzelmitglieder der IdK auf, sich diesem Schritt anzuschließen.

Ben. Wir bitten alle Gruppen, die sich dieser Vereinigung mit dem VK anschließen wollen, sich unverzüglich mit Nils C. Nagel in Verbindung zu setzen. Auf Wunsch stehen wir allen Gruppen auch zu einer persönlichen Aussprache zur Verfügung.

Mit freundschaftlichen Grüßen!

gez. Fritz Hartnagel  
(bisher Beisitzer im IdK-  
Bundesvorstand)

gez. Nils C. Nagel  
(bisher 2. Bundesvorsitzender  
der IdK)

9.1.68

# Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner

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## An die Gruppenvorstände des Verbandes der Kriegsdienstverweigerer

Sehr verehrte Damen und Herren,  
liebe Freunde!

Der Bundesvorstand der IDK hat in einer Erklärung unter der Überschrift „Spaltung statt Fusion?“ zum Abbruch der Fusionsverhandlungen durch den VK-Bundesvorstand sowie zu dessen erklärter Absicht, einzelne Gruppen von der IDK abzuspalten, Stellung genommen.

Er hat sich in einer weiteren Erklärung mit einem Schreiben der ehemaligen IDK-Bundesvorstandsmitglieder Nils C. Nagel und Fritz Hartnagel „an alle Mitglieder der IDK“ auseinandergesetzt und die darin erfolgte Diskreditierung der IDK zurückgewiesen.

Ein Bericht über den bisherigen Verlauf der Fusionsverhandlung zwischen der IDK und dem VK sowie der IDK und der DFG gibt Ihnen detailliert Aufklärung über die Haltung des IDK-Bundesvorstandes zum Problem der politischen und organisatorischen Vereinigung der drei deutschen WRI-Sektionen.

Der VK-Bundesvorstand glaubt in seiner Erklärung von 18. 12. 1967, die Darstellung der IDK entkräften zu können.

Wir überlassen es Ihrem Urteil, über Wert und Unwert der Erklärungen von IDK und VK zu befinden.

Mit freundschaftlichen Grüßen  
gez. Klaus Wellhardt  
(Bundesgeschäftsführer)

S P A L T U N G s t a t t F U S I O N ?

- Erklärung des Bundesvorstandes der IdK -

Der Bundesvorsitzende des Verbandes der Kriegsdienstverweigerer, Reinhold Settele, hat in "Zivil" (11/67) den Abbruch der Fusionsverhandlungen mit der IdK erklärt und daran anschließend zur politischen und organisatorischen Spaltung der IdK aufgefordert. Er gab bekannt, daß der VK-Bundesvorstand dazu am 28./29. Oktober 1967 konkrete Maßnahmen beschlossen hat.

Auf dieser Sitzung wurden die vormaligen IdK-Bundesvorstandsmitglieder Kils C. Nagel und Fritz Hartnagel per Beschluß in den VK-Bundesvorstand kooptiert, nachdem sie sich bereit erklärt hatten, die Abspaltung von IdK-Gruppen zugunsten des VK zu betreiben. Zu diesem Zweck verfaßten sie eine Erklärung, mit der die IdK politisch diskreditiert werden soll.

Zur Rechtfertigung ihres Verhaltens dient den alten und neuen Bundesvorstandsmitgliedern des VK die dubiose Behauptung, die IdK habe durch die Einbeziehung der Deutschen Friedensgesellschaft in die Fusionsverhandlungen den VK eine weitere Beteiligung unmöglich gemacht.

Hierzu erklärt der Bundesvorstand der IdK:

Die ein- und einhalbjährigen Fusionsverhandlungen mit dem VK wurden trotz erweisener Konzessionsbereitschaft der IdK durch wiederholt vorgebrachte politische Vorbehalte des VK gegen die IdK gestört und erheblich verzögert.

In Unterschied dazu eröffneten die Mitte dieses Jahres begonnenen Verhandlungen der IdK mit der DFG die Möglichkeit einer komplikationslosen Vereinigung der beiden Verbände.

Unter diesen Umständen beschloß der IdK-Bundeskongreß am 14./15. Oktober 1967 in Hannover, künftig über den Zusammenschluß von IdK, VK und DFG zu verhandeln. Mit diesem Beschluß hat die IdK nicht nur erneut ihre Bereitschaft bekräftigt, mit dem VK zu fusionieren, sondern - durch die Einbeziehung der DFG in die Verhandlungen - zugleich unter Beweis gestellt, daß sie aufrichtig und vorurteilsfrei um die Vereinigung aller drei pazifistischen Organisationen bemüht ist.

Der Beschluß des IdK-Bundeskongresses hat folgenden Wortlaut:  
"Der Bundeskongreß stimmt dem Ziel zu, durch Vereinigung der drei WRI-Sektionen in der Bundesrepublik die Bildung einer pazifistischen Friedensorganisation herbeizuführen. Zu diesem Zweck soll der organisatorische Zusammenschluß von IdK, VK und DFG so bald wie möglich vollzogen werden".

Über die Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft sagt Reinhold Settele in "Zivil": "Wir haben nichts gegen die DFG. Sie ist eine ehrwürdige, kleine pazifistische Organisation."

Umso unverständlicher muß die Ablehnung des VK-Bundesvorstandes bleiben, das Fusionsgespräch gemeinsam fortzusetzen und an der Vereinigung der drei Verbände mitzuarbeiten. Dies wird von allen bedauert werden, die gleich uns um eine erhöhte Wirksamkeit in der Friedensarbeit durch politische und organisatorische Einheit bemüht sind.

Jetzt aber ist durch die erklärte Absicht des VK-Vorstandes, die IdK durch eine Herauslösung einzelner Gruppen zu spalten, eine neue Situation entstanden. Sie zeigt nicht nur, daß der VK unter Fusion offenbar immer nur die Eingliederung der IdK in den Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer verstanden hat. Sie belastet nicht nur in rücksichtslosester Weise die Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Verbänden. Das Gefährliche dieser vom VK-Vorstand provozierten Situation besteht vor allen darin, daß das Ansehen und die Tätigkeit beider Organisationen geschädigt und beeinträchtigt wird.

So sehr es auch zu bedauern ist, daß der VK eine weitere Beteiligung an den Fusionsverhandlungen verweigert, so kann und darf dies kein Anlaß sein, jetzt gegeneinander zu arbeiten. Der Bundesvorstand der IdK hält es daher für dringend geboten, den Vorstand des VK mit Nachdruck darauf hinzuweisen: die gemeinsame politische Zielsetzung - die Erhaltung von Frieden und Demokratie - läßt solche Praktiken nicht zu.

Der IdK-Bundesvorstand befürchtet, daß durch die vom VK-Vorstand verursachten Spannungen nicht nur die eigenständige Friedensarbeit der beiden Verbände in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wird; er sieht zugleich die Gefahr, daß sich diese Spannungen auch auf solche Bewegungen auswirken, in denen IdK und VK gemeinsam tätig sind: wir meinen hier vor allen solch wichtige Zentren der außerparlamentarischen Opposition wie die Kampagne für Abrüstung und "Notstand der Demokratie", aber auch die sich ständig ausweitende Bewegung gegen den Krieg in Vietnam.

Die erfolgreiche Arbeit dieser Bewegungen beruht auf dem Zusammenwirken demokratischer Organisationen und Gruppierungen. Elementare Voraussetzungen dieser, wie überhaupt jeder Zusammenarbeit zwischen demokratischen Organisationen, sind Vertrauen und gegenseitige Respektierung der politischen und organisatorischen Eigenständigkeit. Die gegenwärtige Haltung des VK-Bundesvorstandes ist durch die krasse Mißachtung dieser Voraussetzungen gekennzeichnet.

Wir sind überzeugt, daß die vom VK-Vorstand praktizierten Spaltungsversuche gegenüber der IdK von den Mitgliedern des Verbandes der Kriegsdienstverweigerer nicht gebilligt werden.

Wir fordern den Bundesvorstand des VK auf, diese Versuche unverzüglich einzustellen und im Interesse der gemeinsamen Ziele zu einer sachlichen Zusammenarbeit zurückzufinden.

gez.: H. M. Vogel  
(Bundesvorsitzender)

Erklärung des Bundesvorstandes der IdK  
zu einem Schreiben von Nils C. Nagel und Fritz Hartnagel an  
"die Mitglieder und Gruppen der IdK"

Aus "zivil" (11/67), der Zeitschrift des VK, erfahren wir, daß Nils C. Nagel und Fritz Hartnagel, die auf dem IdK-Bundeskongreß 1967 in Hannover eine erneute Kandidatur für den IdK-Bundesvorstand ablehnten, Ende Oktober in den Bundesvorstand des VK kooptiert wurden. Mit einer Erklärung in "zivil", die sie in einer erweiterten Fassung "an alle Mitglieder und Gruppen der IdK" adressierten, schließen sie sich der unzutreffenden Darstellung des VK-Vorsitzenden Reinhold Settele über den Verlauf der Fusionsverhandlungen zwischen VK und IdK an, um damit den Abbruch dieser Verhandlungen durch den VK-Vorstand zu rechtfertigen. Dabei geben sie ihre Absicht bekannt, unter der Bezeichnung einer "schrittweisen Fusion" die vom VK-Vorstand angestrebte Spaltung der IdK durch die Herauslösung einzelner Gruppen und deren Übernahme in den VK zu unterstützen.

Soweit sich ihre Erklärung auf die Fusionsverhandlungen zwischen VK und IdK bezieht, verweisen wir auf den Bericht des IdK-Bundesvorstandes und die darin gegebenen Richtigstellungen. Hier aber geht es um den Versuch von Nagel und Hartnagel, die organisatorische Abspaltung von IdK-Gruppen dadurch vorzubereiten, daß sie mit ihrer Erklärung politische Fronten unter den Mitgliedern der IdK aufreißen wollen. Zu diesem Zweck enthält ihr Schreiben zahlreiche Behauptungen, mit denen nicht nur einzelne Freunde, sondern ganze Gruppen und Landesverbände der IdK politisch diskreditiert werden sollen. Zugleich versuchen sie damit, die vom VK-Vorstand während der Fusionsverhandlungen wiederholt vorgetragenen politischen Vorbehalte gegen die IdK noch nachträglich zu bekräftigen.

Aus diesem Grunde interpretieren Nagel und Hartnagel durchaus nicht zufällig in die IdK einen Gegensatz zwischen "unabhängigen Kriegsdienstverweigerern" einerseits und einer "formierten politischen Gruppe" andererseits hinein. Und aus diesem Grunde glauben sie auch, auf "gewisse Tendenzen im IdK-Landesverband Nordrhein-Westfalen" hinweisen zu müssen.

Damit sind nicht etwa die seit Jahren überaus große und beständige Aktivität und der unentwegte Einsatz dieses Landesverbandes für die Ziele der IdK gemeint, seine intensiven Bemühungen in der Mitgliederwerbung und in die Neugründung von Gruppen, seine rege Öffentlichkeitsarbeit im Sinne der Beschlüsse der IdK-Bundeskongresse, die Vielzahl seiner Aktionen und Veranstaltungen, die das Bild einer lebendigen IdK in der Öffentlichkeit entscheiden prägten. Hier ist auch nicht die Rede davon, daß der Landesvorsitzende Alois Stoff durch seine Kontaktaufnahme und freundschaftlichen Beziehungen zu Nobelpreisträger Prof. Dr. Linus Pauling der IdK die Möglichkeit zu bedeutenden Großkundgebungen im gesamten Bundesgebiet vermittelte.

Hier wird auch nicht Bezug genommen auf die vielseitigen Verbindungen, die der IdK-Landesverband NRW durch seine konsequente praktische Tätigkeit zu den Gewerkschaften, zu Vertretern der Kirche, zu Professoren und zur studentischen Jugend herstellte. Hier wird allein in einer nicht mißzuverstehenden Absicht über diese "Tendenzen" gesagt: "Innerhin war auch der Bundesverband der IdK in den letzten Jahren mehrfach gezwungen, politische Erklärungen von Alois Stoff, die dieser als Vorsitzender des Landesverbandes NRW in der Öffentlichkeit abgab, zu rügen."

Der Bundesvorstand der IdK hält es für an der Zeit, zu diesen sogenannten "Tendenzen", mit denen die Arbeit aktiver Freunde in der IdK immer wieder in Mißkredit gebracht werden soll, konkret Stellung zu nehmen:

In den vergangenen Jahren ist nur ein einziges Mal gegen einen Beschluß des Landesvorstandes NRW vom Bundesvorstand der IdK Einspruch erhoben worden: gegen den Beschluß, zu den Weltfestspielen der Jugend und Studenten im Sommer 1965 in Algerien eine Teilnehmerdelegation zu entsenden. Damals erhob der Generalsekretär der IdK, Dr. Theodor Michaltschew, Einspruch, weil es keinen entsprechenden Beschluß auf Bundesebene gab. Als Alois Stoff in einer ausführlichen Antwort darlegte, diesen Beschluß habe der Gedanke zugrunde gelegen, daß eine internationale Begegnung und Verständigung unter der Jugend im Sinne einer Entspannung notwendig sei, äußerte sich Dr. Michaltschew sehr anerkennend über diese Begründung, verblieb jedoch aus den genannten Gründen bei seinem Einspruch. Der Landesvorstand NRW revidierte daraufhin seinen Beschluß, und zwar bevor das Festival wegen der innerpolitischen Entwicklung in Algerien abgesagt werden mußte.

In diesem Zusammenhang sei daran erinnert, daß der Bundesvorstand und Arbeitsausschuß der IdK am 1. Juli 1967 einstimmig (mit den Stimmen von Nagel und Hartnagel) beschlossen, an den Weltfestspielen 1968 in Sofia mit einer Delegation teilzunehmen, wobei Nils C. Nagel keine prinzipiellen Bedenken gegen den Vorschlag hatte, diese Delegation als Sprecher zu leiten.

Der Landesverband NRW der IdK hat in der Vergangenheit mit weit über hundert Presseerklärungen zu wichtigen und aktuellen politischen Ereignissen Stellung genommen. Ein einziges Mal sah sich der Bundesvorstand zu einem kritischen Einspruch veranlaßt, als Alois Stoff anläßlich einer erneuten Zuspitzung der Kubakrise durch die USA einen Brief an den kubanischen Premier veröffentlichte, der in seiner emotionell betonten Solidarisierung mit den Prinzipien der IdK kollidierte. Alois Stoff, der die Berechtigung dieser Kritik voll und ganz anerkannte, stimmte nach einer sachlichen Auseinandersetzung im IdK-Landesvorstand der Vereinbarung zu, öffentliche Erklärungen vor ihrer Herausgabe den übrigen Landesvorstandsmitgliedern zur Bestätigung vorzulegen.

Nur wer nichts tut, macht keine Fehler. Nils C. Nagel war als Presse-Referent der IdK vor solchem Fehlverhalten allerdings sicher: nicht zu Unrecht rügte ein Antrag des Landesverbandes Hamburg auf dem diesjährigen Bundeskongreß der IdK in Hannover, daß seitens des Bundesvorstandes keine Stellungnahmen und Erklärungen zu wichtigen politischen Anlässen herausgegeben wurden.

Zu der Methode große Teile der IdK in ein bestimmtes Licht zu rücken, gehört auch die Behauptung, die Fusion mit dem VK sei "an den gleichen Kräften gescheitert, die auf dem Schweinfurter IdK-Kongreß gegen die von Dr. Michalschewski ausgearbeiteten Grundsätze der partei- und machtblockpolitischen Neutralität stimmten und damals nur knapp unterlegen sind." In Wahrheit stimmte diese nur sehr knappe Minderheit der Delegierten für einen Antrag der IdK-Gruppe Freiburg, in dem der Begriff der "partei- und machtblockpolitischen Neutralität" durch den Begriff der "partei- und machtblockpolitischen Unabhängigkeit" ersetzt war, wie dies in übrigen auch in der seit 1959 gültigen Satzung der IdK gesagt wird.

Aber dieser ergänzende Sachverhalt fehlt in der Darstellung von Nagel und Hartnagel, weil er offensichtlich nicht in das Bild paßt, das sie von "gewissen Tendenzen" in der IdK vermitteln möchten.

Mit keinem Wort erwähnen sie daher auch solche Aktionen des IdK-Landesverbandes NRW, die dessen "machtblockpolitischen Neutralität und Unabhängigkeit" nach allen Seiten hin demonstrieren - wie etwa die von Alois Stoff geleitete und von der Polizei nicht genehmigte Protestaktion vor der sowjetischen Botschaft anlässlich der einseitigen Wiederaufnahme der Atombombenversuche durch die UdSSR. Wenn aber Alois Stoff anlässlich der Verleihung des Lenin-Friedenspreises an D. Martin Niemöller auf einer DFG-Veranstaltung in einer Ansprache unter anderem das Verdienst der Sowjetunion an der Beseitigung des Hitlerfaschismus hervorhob, so liest sich das in der Erklärung von Nagel und Hartnagel so, daß "Alois Stoff die Leistungen der Roten Armee im Zweiten Weltkrieg verherrlichte."

In ihrer Erklärung behaupten sie, die "Fusionsgegner in der IdK" hätten "gegen den VK die absurdesten und widersprüchlichsten Verdächtigungen vorgebracht." Sie schreiben: "So glaubte man einerseits beim VK Tendenzen zur Bildung einer neuen sozialistischen Partei feststellen zu müssen, andererseits wieder warf man dem VK vor, eine reine Kriegsdienstverweigerer-Gewerkschaft zu sein und keine 'politische Friedensarbeit' zu betreiben."

Tatsächlich saßen Nils C. Nagel und Fritz Hartnagel dabei, als in der Fusionsberatung der erweiterten Vorstände von VK und IdK am 23./24. April 1967 in Frankfurt der VK-Vorstand die Auffassung vertrat, der fusionierte Verband werde sich in der Praxis vor allem mit der Wehrdienstverweigerung und der Ersatzdienstbetreuung zu befassen haben, während sich eine eigenständige Friedensarbeit durch die Mitwirkung in der Kampagne für Abrüstung erübrige. Tatsächlich können Nils C. Nagel und Fritz Hartnagel in "zivil" 1/67 über mehrere Seiten die programmatisch angelegte Forderung der VK-Vorstandsmitglieder Stubenrauch und Becker nach der Umwandlung der Kampagne für Abrüstung in eine linkssozialistische Partei nachlesen - wie auch in folgenden Ausgaben die Konzipierung linksschiererischer Positionen durch Reinhold Settele als Basis für eine Vereinigung von VK und IdK. Die Absurdität und Widersprüchlichkeit dieser Auffassungen besteht nicht darin, daß die IdK sie konstatiert, sondern doch wohl darin, daß der VK hier offenbar von einem Extrem ins andere gefallen ist.

Nagel und Hartnagel kreiden Heinz Huber von Bundesvorstand der IdK übel an, daß er seine Teilnahme an der für den 1. Oktober 1967 vorgesehenen Fusionsverhandlung mit dem VK wegen einer persönlichen Verpflichtung rechtzeitig absagte. Nils C. Nagel, der der Fusionsverhandlung vom 9. April 1967 unentschuldig fernblieb, hat sich dazu noch nicht einmal nachträglich geäußert.

Am 1. Juli 1967 faßte der Bundesvorstand der IdK einstimmig - also mit den Stimmen von Nagel und Hartnagel - den Beschluß, das seit Anfang 1967 wiederholt vorgebrachte Angebot der BFG nach einem Gespräch über eine engere Zusammenarbeit mit der IdK aufzugreifen und Dr. Rehensburg und Klaus Wellhardt mit der Wahrnehmung dieses Gesprächs zu beauftragen.

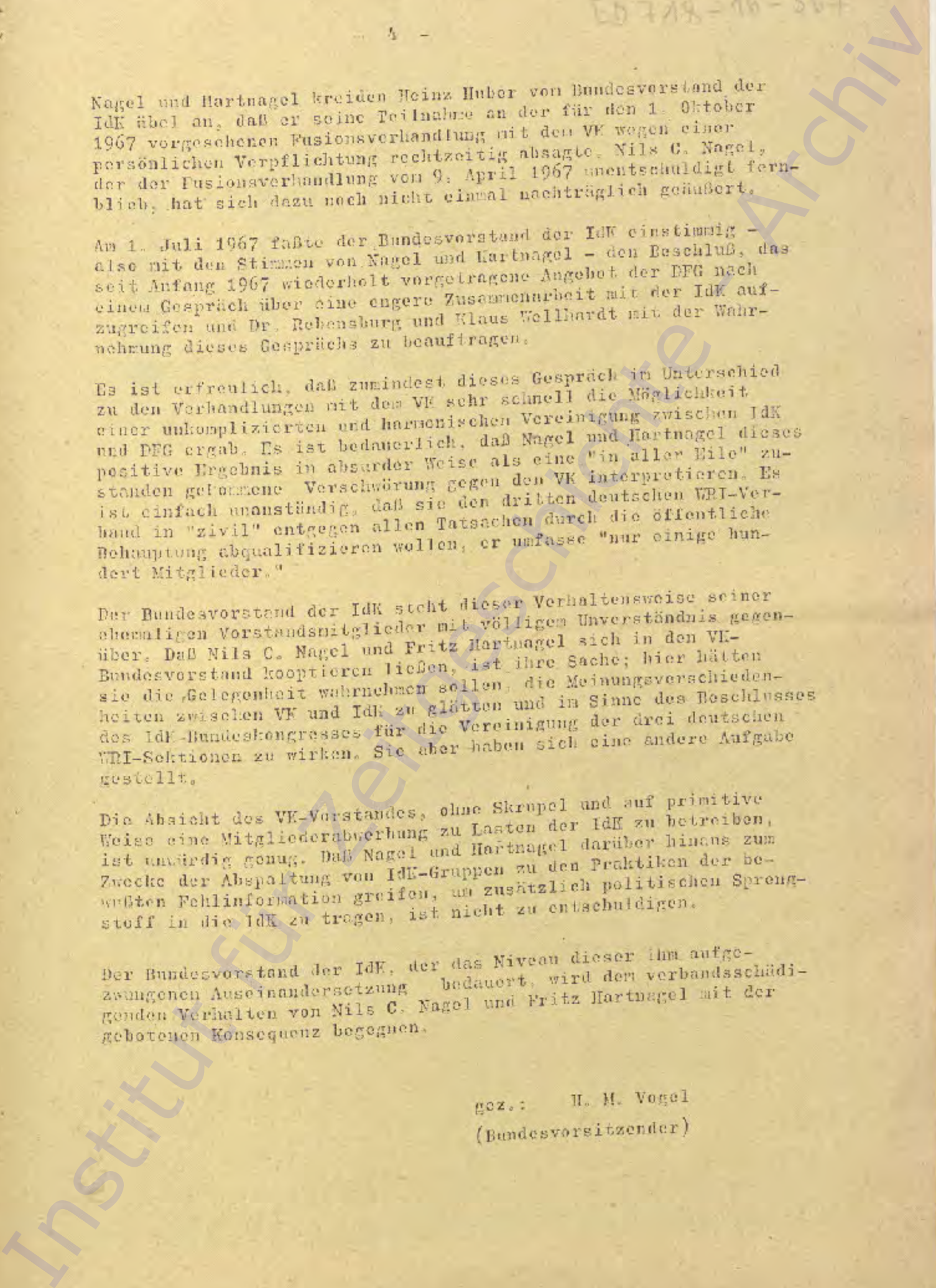
Es ist erfreulich, daß zumindest dieses Gespräch im Unterschied zu den Verhandlungen mit dem VK sehr schnell die Möglichkeit einer unkomplizierten und harmonischen Vereinigung zwischen IdK und BFG ergab. Es ist bedauerlich, daß Nagel und Hartnagel dieses positive Ergebnis in absorder Weise als eine "in aller Eile" zustanden gekommene Verschwörung gegen den VK interpretieren. Es ist einfach unanständig, daß sie den dritten deutschen VRI-Verband in "zivil" entgegen allen Tatsachen durch die öffentliche Behauptung abqualifizieren wollen, er umfasse "nur einige hundert Mitglieder."

Der Bundesvorstand der IdK steht dieser Verhaltensweise seiner ehemaligen Vorstandsmitglieder mit völligem Unverständnis gegenüber. Daß Nils C. Nagel und Fritz Hartnagel sich in den VK-Bundesvorstand kooptieren ließen, ist ihre Sache; hier hätten sie die Gelegenheit wahrnehmen sollen, die Meinungsverschiedenheiten zwischen VK und IdK zu glätten und im Sinne des Beschlusses des IdK-Bundeskongresses für die Vereinigung der drei deutschen VRI-Sektionen zu wirken. Sie aber haben sich eine andere Aufgabe gestellt.

Die Absicht des VK-Vorstandes, ohne Skrupel und auf primitive Weise eine Mitgliederabwerbung zu Lasten der IdK zu betreiben, ist unwürdig genug. Daß Nagel und Hartnagel darüber hinaus zum Zwecke der Abspaltung von IdK-Gruppen zu den Praktiken der bewußten Fehlinformation greifen, um zusätzlich politischen Sprengstoff in die IdK zu tragen, ist nicht zu entschuldigen.

Der Bundesvorstand der IdK, der das Niveau dieser ihm aufgezungenen Auseinandersetzung bedauert, wird dem verbandsschädigenden Verhalten von Nils C. Nagel und Fritz Hartnagel mit der gebotenen Konsequenz begegnen.

gez.: H. M. Vogel  
(Bundesvorsitzender)



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# BERICHT

des Bundesvorstandes der IdK  
über den Verlauf und die Ergebnisse  
der Fusionsverhandlungen  
mit dem Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer (VK)  
und der Deutschen Friedensgesellschaft (DFG)

In „zivil“ (11/67), der Zeitschrift des VK, hat der VK-Bundesvorsitzende Reinhold Sottale die Fusionsverhandlungen mit der IdK für gescheitert erklärt. Unter der Überschrift: „Um eine Hoffnung ärmer — IdK verhindert Fusion“ hält er der IdK vor, sie habe durch die Einbeziehung der Deutschen Friedensgesellschaft in die Fusionsverhandlungen den unmittelbar bevorstehenden Zusammenschluß von IdK und VK verhindert.

Der Bundesvorstand der IdK hat alle Vorstände der IdK bereits zweimal ausführlich über den Verlauf dieser Verhandlungen unterrichtet. Neben diesen besonderen Materialien hat er über den jeweiligen Fortgang der Verhandlungen in den Protokollen seiner Sitzungen berichtet. Er legt nunmehr den Mitgliedern der IdK einen umfassenden Bericht über seine Bemühungen um einen Erfolg in den Fusionsverhandlungen vor. Es ist notwendig, dabei auch zu den Vorwürfen Stellung zu nehmen, die in „zivil“ gegen die IdK erhoben wurden.

### **Vorgeschichte der Fusionsverhandlungen**

Bereits mit einer einleitenden Bemerkung zu früheren Fusionsverhandlungen gibt Reinhold Settele eine völlig falsche Darstellung, wenn er schreibt, daß 1958 die „Vereinigung von IdK und GdW (Gruppe der Wehrdienstverweigerer) zu unserem Verband (VK)“ erfolgt sei.

Es trifft absolut nicht zu, daß die 1958 geführten Verhandlungen zwischen der IdK als dem Deutschen Zweig der 1921 gegründeten War Resisters' International (WRI) und der anlässlich der Remilitarisierung in der Bundesrepublik entstandenen Gruppe der Wehrdienstverweigerer zur „Vereinigung von IdK und GdW“ führten. Vielmehr schloß sich damals eine Minderheit vormaliger IdK-Gruppen der GdW an und begründete mit ihr den Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer (VK). Dieser neue Verband wurde nach einigen Jahren ebenfalls Mitglied der WRI.

Zwischen der IdK und dem VK wurden in der folgenden Zeit Fusionsgespräche geführt, in die später auch die DFG einbezogen wurde, nachdem sie als dritter deutscher Verband Mitglied der WRI geworden war. Diesen Fusionsbestrebungen lag der gemeinsame Gedanke zugrunde, das organisatorische Nebeneinander der drei deutschen WRI-Sektionen zugunsten eines einheitlichen Verbandes aufzuheben.

Die damaligen Verhandlungen scheiterten, weil der VK politische Vorbehalte gegen Gliederungen der IdK vortrug und dabei forderte, daß aktive und angesehene Bundesvorstandsmitglieder der IdK bei einer Fusion nicht dem neuen Gesamtvorstand angehören sollten.

Diese politischen und personellen Vorbehalte des VK beinhalteten Vorwürfe in der Art, daß in der IdK auch linkgerichtete Kräfte tätig seien, die keine eindeutige Stellung gegenüber der Aufrüstung im Osten einnahmen und deren grundsätzliche pazifistische Haltung daher bezweifelt werden müsse. Die IdK hat sich gegenüber diesen unberechtigten Vorwürfen, mit denen sich der VK in die fatale Nähe jener Verdächtigungen begab, wie sie für die Zeit des Kalten Krieges charakteristisch waren und von interessierter Seite immer wieder gegen aktive Pazifisten erhoben wurden, entschieden verwahrt. Sie hat dementsprechend auch die personellen Forderungen des VK abgelehnt.

Diese Differenzen resultierten nicht zuletzt aus der unterschiedlichen Haltung der beiden Verbände in der Frage ihrer machtpolitikpolitischen Neutralität: während die IdK niemandem die Mitarbeit in ihren Reihen verweigert, der sich mit seiner Unterschrift vorbehaltlos zur WRI-Grundsatzerklärung bekennt und den IdK-Grundsatz ihrer partei- und machtpolitikpolitischen Neutralität strikt respektiert, enthält die Satzung des VK eine bis heute gültige Klausel, die in dieser Hinsicht eine antikommunistische Interpretation und Handhabung zuläßt.

1962 wurden die Fusionsverhandlungen eingestellt. Die drei deutschen WRI-Verbände einigten sich darauf, einer späteren Fusion durch eine künftig intensivere Zusammenarbeit den Boden zu bereiten. In den folgenden Jahren wirkte sich insbesondere ihre Mitarbeit in der Kampagne für Abrüstung positiv auf das gegenseitige Verhältnis aus.

In dieser Atmosphäre eines besseren Einverständnisses schlug der Bundesvorsitzende der IdK, Helmut Michael Vogel, dem VK Ende 1965 ein Gespräch beider Bundesvorstände vor, um Fragen und Probleme zu erörtern, die künftig in gemeinsamer Arbeit betrieben werden könnten.

### **Neue Verhandlungen**

Aufgrund dieser Anregung trafen sich im Februar 1966 die Vorstände von IdK und VK. Gleich zu Beginn dieser Zusammenkunft erklärten die Vertreter des VK, daß es wenig sinnvoll sei, nur über eine verbesserte Zusammenarbeit zu sprechen; es sei vielmehr an der Zeit, ungeschickt früherer Mißerfolge, erneut die Fusion der beiden Verbände vorzubereiten. Im Vorstand des VK sei man der Überzeugung, daß keine politischen Differenzen einer Fusion mehr entgegenstehen. Die Arbeit beider Verbände in den letzten Jahren habe gezeigt, daß man in allen wesentlichen Fragen enger aneinandergerückt sei. Die Vertreter des VK versicherten ausdrücklich, daß auch keine Vorbehalte mehr gegenüber Freunden in der IdK bestehen. Die Unterschiede in der Organisationsstruktur beider Verbände stellten ebenfalls kein unüberwindliches Hindernis für eine Fusion dar.

Diese ebenso überraschende wie erfreuliche Erklärung wurde vom Bundesvorstand der IdK einhellig begrüßt. Eine gemeinsame, von beiden Bundesvorsitzenden unterschriebene Erklärung, die gleichlautend in den beiden Verbandszeitschriften veröffentlicht wurde, unterrichtete die Mitgliedschaft vom Neubeginn der Fusionsverhandlungen.

### Grundsätzliche Überlegungen zur Fusion

Im Bundesvorstand der IdK wurden im Verlauf der Verhandlungen wiederholt grundsätzliche Fragen einer Fusion diskutiert. Dabei wurde von fast allen Beteiligten betont, daß der Sinn und Zweck einer Fusion nur darin bestehen kann, einen Gesamtverband zu schaffen, der den vormals getrennten Verbänden politisch und organisatorisch überlegen sein muß. Man war sich einig, daß diese erhöhte Wirksamkeit nicht allein durch die bloße Zusammenführung der Mitglieder beider Verbände erreicht werden kann, solange noch erhebliche Differenzen bestehen. Ungeklärte Meinungsverschiedenheiten in wesentlichen Fragen würden bei einer Fusion im Gesamtverband zwangsläufig zu Auseinandersetzungen führen, die seine Wirksamkeit beeinträchtigen müßten.

Nur eine echte Übereinstimmung, aufrichtiges gegenseitiges Vertrauen und ehrliche Bereitschaft zu einer vorbehaltlosen Zusammenarbeit kann daher die Basis für eine Fusion sein.

Der Bundesvorstand der IdK hielt diese Voraussetzungen nach den Erklärungen der VK-Vertreter bei der Neuaufnahme der Fusionsverhandlungen für gegeben.

### Das Problem der Verbandsstruktur

Erste Schwierigkeiten ergaben sich jedoch schon bei der Diskussion über den Aufbau des künftigen Gesamtverbandes. Sie sind zunächst zu verstehen aus der unterschiedlichen Gliederung der beiden Verbände: während die dezentralistisch aufgebaute IdK Landesverbände mit gewählten Vorständen in fast allen Bundesländern hat, verzichtet der zentralistisch gegliederte VK auf Landesverbände und beschränkt sich auf einen Bundesausschuß, der sich aus dem Bundesvorstand und aus Vertretern der Gruppen mit über hundert Mitgliedern zusammensetzt.

Die IdK sprach sich dafür aus, den Bundesausschuß des VK — ergänzt durch die Vertreter der Landesverbände — beizubehalten. Sie vertrat jedoch die Auffassung, daß der Bundesausschuß, der nur zweimal im Jahr tagt, kein Ersatz für regional kontinuierlich arbeitende Landesverbände sein kann. Ausgehend von den guten Erfahrungen jahrelanger IdK-Arbeit und im Interesse einer verbesserten Öffentlichkeitsarbeit in einem Gesamtverband legte sie deshalb großen Wert auf die Beibehaltung von Landesverbänden als einer unentbehrlichen Mittelinstanz zur Aktivierung, Unterstützung und Neugründung von Gruppen in den Bundesländern.

Zudem ergeben sich in einem Bundesland immer wieder Probleme, die für den Bundesvorstand von untergeordneter Bedeutung sind und die von regionalen Gremien wahrgenommen werden müssen. Es war daher immer Auffassung der IdK, daß die Landesverbände zugleich auch politische Gremien sein müssen, deren spezifische Notwendigkeit insbesondere auch aus der staatsrechtlichen Struktur der Bundesrepublik (Bund und Länder) resultiert.

Im übrigen aber hält die IdK auch grundsätzlich die Praxis einer politischen Entmündigung gewählter Vorstände gerade in einem Friedensverband für undemokratisch und in-diskutabel.

Auf der ersten Sitzung der beiden Fusionskommissionen am 5. März 1966 akzeptierten die VK-Vertreter Herbert Stubenrauch, Werner Böwing und Alfred Riedel die Argumente der IdK und stimmten dem Vorschlag zur Einrichtung von Landesverbänden zu.

### Blockierung der Verhandlungen

Zu unerwarteten Auseinandersetzungen kam es jedoch bereits einen Monat später, als sich im April 1966 in Frankfurt die erweiterten Vorstände von VK und IdK trafen, um die Ergebnisse der ersten Fusionsverhandlung zu beraten.

Auf dieser Sitzung widersprach der VK-Vorstand seine Zustimmung zur Einrichtung von Landesverbänden mit der Begründung, Landesverbände könnten ein politisches Eigen-

leben mit Auffassungen und Verhaltensweisen entwickeln, die mit der Haltung des Bundesverbandes nicht mehr übereinstimmen. In der Diskussion begründeten die Vorstandsmitglieder des VK ihre Ablehnung insbesondere mit unberechtigten Vorwürfen gegenüber dem IdK-Landesverband Nordrhein-Westfalen. Ihre Argumente entsprachen dabei in Form und Inhalt genau jenen Vorwürfen, die sie bereits in früheren Jahren gegen die IdK erhoben hatten. Da sich ihre Bedenken in unzumutbarer Weise auch gegen anwesende Vertreter der IdK richteten, konnte eine rapide Abkühlung der Verhandlungsatmosphäre nicht ausbleiben. Auf die Frage der IdK, wie dieses Verhalten mit der ausdrücklichen Versicherung zu vereinbaren sei, wonach es seitens des VK keine Vorbehalte mehr gegenüber Freunden in der IdK gäbe, schränkte der VK-Vorstand seine Erklärung nachträglich dahingehend ein, dies gelte nur für den Bundesvorstand der IdK.

Die IdK bedauerte diese Erklärung, zumal von ihrer Seite aus noch niemals gegen irgendeinen Vertreter des VK irgendwelche Vorbehalte geltend gemacht worden waren. Hier aber hatte sich gezeigt, daß das vordergründig rein organisatorische Problem „Landesverbände“ von den Vertretern des VK insofern entscheidend politisiert worden war, als sich dahinter alle ihre Vorbehalte gegen große Teile der IdK verbargen.

Binnen zweier Monate hatte der VK-Vorstand damit seine Haltung gerade in jenen Fragen revidiert, in denen nach Auffassung der IdK eine Übereinstimmung zu den wesentlichen Voraussetzungen einer Fusion gehört. Wie sehr dies den Fortgang der Verhandlungen blockierte, geht auch daraus hervor, daß über ein Jahr vergehen sollte, ehe sich im April 1967 wieder Vertreter der beiden Vorestände zu einer Fusionsberatung trafen.

### **Konzessionsbereitschaft und Initiativen der IdK**

In seiner heutigen Darstellung über den Verlauf der Fusionsverhandlungen spricht Reinhold Settele wiederholt von den „heimlichen Fusionsgegnern“ in der IdK. So schreibt er in „zivil“: „Im Laufe der Verhandlungen bekamen wir immer wieder den Eindruck, daß in der IdK starke Kräfte wirksam sind, die die Fusion nicht wollten, doch schienen die hoffnungsvollen Momente zu überwiegen.“ Diese hoffnungsvollen Momente bestanden nach Reinhold Settele allein in der Haltung der „Vertreter des VK, die eine solche Kompromißbereitschaft aufbrachten und dadurch die Verhandlungen zu einem günstigen Ergebnis führten“.

Der tatsächliche Verlauf der Verhandlungen steht allerdings in klarem Widerspruch zu diesen Behauptungen.

Die IdK hat ihre aufrichtige Bereitschaft zur Fusion von Anfang an konkret unter Beweis gestellt. Sie erklärte sich von vornherein — und ohne späteren Widerruf — damit einverstanden, daß die hauptamtlich geführte Bundesgeschäftsstelle sowie die Bundeskasse des Gesamtverbandes bei dem vormaligen VK-Vertreter verbleiben sollte. Jedem mit Organisationsfragen Vertrauten muß nicht eigens gesagt werden, daß die IdK mit dem Verzicht auf diese Schlüsselpositionen im künftigen Gesamtverband dem VK einen bemerkenswerten Vertrauensbeweis entgegenbrachte.

Einen weiteren konkreten Beweis ihres Fusionswillens erbrachte die IdK durch die Angleichung ihres Beitrageinzugs an das beim VK schon immer praktizierte System der zentralen Kassierung. Die IdK hat die Umstellung von der Haus- und Gruppenkassierung auf das neue System in der eigenen Organisation nach mehrmaligen Anläufen schließlich durchsetzen können, mußte jedoch erleben, daß ihre Bemühungen ausgerechnet dort durch wiederholte Zustimmung und anschließende Weigerung empfindlich gestört wurden, wo die Bestrebungen zu einem Anschluß an den VK in der IdK sehr stark sind. Auch als die Verhandlungen durch die revidierte Haltung des VK-Vorstandes regelrecht blockiert wurden, ging die praktische Initiative zu ihrer Fortsetzung von der IdK aus: der Bundesvorstand arbeitete einen Satzungsentwurf für einen Gesamtverband aus, der die IdK-Auffassungen über Grundsätze, Ziele, Aufgaben und Struktur des fusionierten Verbandes fixierte und dabei zugleich den Vorstellungen und Befürchtungen des VK weitestgehend Rechnung trug.

Hier waren gerade die vormaligen IdK-Bundesvorstandsmitglieder Nils C. Nagel und Fritz Hartnagel um Auskunft zu bitten, wenn man erfahren will, mit welchem Zeitaufwand, mit welcher Geduld und Kompromißbereitschaft im Bundesvorstand der IdK an diesem Satzungsentwurf gearbeitet wurde.

So formulierte der Bundesvorstand unter Berücksichtigung der VK-Einwände gegen mögliche politische Eigenmächtigkeiten der Landesverbände über deren „Befugnisse und Kompetenzen“:

„1. Die Gruppen und Landesverbände sind verpflichtet, in ihrem regionalen Bereich die Grundsätze, Ziele und Aufgaben der Organisation nach bestem Vermögen wahrzunehmen, durchzusetzen und dabei stets die Beschlüsse, Auffassungen und Interessen der Gesamtorganisation zu berücksichtigen.

2. Bundeskongreß, Bundesausschuß und Bundesvorstand sind berechtigt, den Gruppen und Landesverbänden Aufträge und Weisungen zu erteilen.

3. Der Bundesvorstand ist berechtigt, Beschlüsse oder Erklärungen der Gruppen und Landesverbände aufzuheben oder zu widerrufen, wenn diese die Bestimmungen dieser Satzung verletzen, den Beschlüssen der Bundeskongresse widersprechen oder die Interessen der Organisation in gravierender Weise schädigen.“

Trotzdem lehnte der Bundesausschuß des VK Landesverbände in der vorgeschlagenen Form (gewählte Vorstände, politisches Aussagerecht) ab und erklärte in einem Schreiben vom 29. Oktober 1966, damit seien seitens des VK die „sachlichen Grenzen“ für weitere Verhandlungen abgesteckt.

Auf ihrem Bundeskongreß 1966 in Searlouis beschloß die IdK, die Fusionsverhandlungen mit dem VK unbedingt fortzusetzen und dabei „in Fragen der Organisation des Gesamtverbandes kompromißbereit zu sein, wenn ansonsten über Ziele und Aufgaben des Gesamtverbandes Übereinstimmung mit dem VK besteht“.

Ein ganzes Jahr lang blieben die Kontakte zwischen den Vorständen von IdK und VK auf den Austausch von Briefen beschränkt, in denen die unterschiedlichen Auffassungen einander gegenüberstanden. Reinhold Settele faßte dies in seinem Schreiben vom 12. Februar 1967 an den IdK-Bundesvorstand in dem aufschlußreichen Satz zusammen: „Die Lage ist doch die, daß die IdK an Landesorganisationen festhalten will, während wir sie für überflüssig und gefährlich halten.“

### Fortgang der Verhandlungen

Am 1. April 1967 tagte der Bundesvorstand der IdK mit dem Arbeitsausschuß in Anwesenheit aller Vertreter der Landesverbände. Unter der Federführung von Fritz Hartnagel wurden weitere Kompromißvorschläge für die Verhandlungen mit dem VK formuliert. Dabei wurde an der Einrichtung von Landesverbänden mit gewählten Vorständen festgehalten, das politische Aussagerecht der Vorstände jedoch noch enger gefaßt, als es im Satzungsentwurf formuliert war. Die neuen Vorschläge wurden einstimmig beschlossen.

Eine Woche später, am 9. April 1967, lehnten die VK-Vertreter auch diese neu erarbeiteten IdK-Vorschläge ab. Die erste gemeinsame Beratung nach einjähriger Unterbrechung blieb ohne ein bemerkenswertes Ergebnis.

Auch der VK-Bundeskongreß Ende April 1967 behandelte die Frage einer Fusion mit der IdK übersaus widerspruchsvoll. Er beschloß zwar die Fortführung der Fusionsverhandlungen, stand im übrigen jedoch im Zeichen heftiger Angriffe gegen die IdK durch zahlreiche Sprecher, ohne daß die Vorstandsmitglieder des VK dagegen Stellung nahmen. Die altbekannten Vorbehalte gegen die IdK blieben auch hier unwidersprochen.

Ein Antrag der VK-Gruppe Hannover, der die Kompromißbereitschaft der IdK hervorhob und auch den VK-Vorstand berechtigen sollte, seinerseits in der Frage der Landesverbände kompromißbereit zu sein, wurde von Reinhold Settele scharf abgelehnt und daraufhin zurückgezogen. Werner Böwing meldete sich unmittelbar vor seiner Wahl zum Zweiten Bundesvorsitzenden zu Wort, um den Delegierten mitzutellen, daß auch er „stärkste Bedenken“ gegen eine Fusion mit der IdK habe. Nachträgliche Erklärungsversuche durch Reinhold Settele konnten die sehr negativen Eindrücke, die der Kongreß

*In dieser Frage bei den als Gäste anwesenden Bundesvorstandsmitgliedern der IdK hinterlassen hatte, nicht beseitigen.*

*Die nächste und bisher letzte Fusionsverhandlung fand am 9. September 1967 in Ulm statt. Bei dieser Sitzung teilte der VK-Vorstand mit, daß er nunmehr der Einrichtung von Landesverbänden in modifizierter Form („Landesbezirke“) zustimme.*

*Hier soll hervorgehoben werden, daß diese Annäherung an die Kompromißvorschläge der IdK der erste und einzige Kompromiß des VK gegenüber der IdK in den anderthalbjährlichen Verhandlungen darstellt.*

Unter dem Eindruck dieses Verhandlungsfortschritts gingen auch die Vertreter der IdK im Interesse einer weitgehenden Einigung noch über die ihnen vom Bundesvorstand und Arbeitsausschuß aufgegebenen Richtlinien hinaus.

## **Ergebnis der Verhandlungen mit dem VK**

Zweifellos war mit der letzten Beratung in Ulm die langwährende Stagnation in den Verhandlungen mit dem VK endlich überwunden, so daß nunmehr auch alle übrigen, den Gesamtverband betreffenden Fragen besprochen werden konnten. Wenn jedoch Reinhold Settele ausführt, damit habe der Zusammenschluß von VK und IdK unmittelbar bevorstanden, so wird hier nachträglich ein Zweckoptimismus propagiert, der mit einer objektiven Berichterstattung wenig zu tun hat.

Immerhin ist festzustellen, daß in einem knappen halben Dutzend Verhandlungen fast ausschließlich über Fragen der Organisationsstruktur gesprochen worden ist. Auch der Vorstand des VK weiß, daß zum Beispiel in folgenden Fragen noch keine Klärung erfolgt war: personelle Besetzung des Vorstandes, Höhe des Beitrages und Verteilung des Beitragsaufkommens, Name des Gesamtverbandes. Allerdings wäre in diesen Fragen auch nach Auffassung der IdK eine Einigung sicher gewesen.

Der Bundesvorstand und Arbeitsausschuß der IdK hatten ihrer Verhandlungskommission jedoch auch aufgetragen, endlich eine verbindliche Klärung der vom VK vorgebrachten politischen Vorbehalte gegen Vertreter und Gliederungen der IdK herbeizuführen; selbst Reinhold Settele betont in seiner Erklärung in „zivil“ noch einmal ausdrücklich, daß nach wie vor „schwerwiegende organisatorische und politische Vorbehalte“ gegenüber der IdK bestehen.

Vor allem aber war in Ulm vereinbart worden, bei den nächsten Verhandlungen das politische Programm des Gesamtverbandes zu beraten. Hier muß erwähnt werden, daß der VK — ein Jahr nach Beginn der Fusionsverhandlungen — in seiner Zeitschrift eine grundsätzliche Diskussion begann, die in ihrem Kern beinhaltet: es sei notwendig, „alt-pazifistische“ Vorstellungen und Zielsetzungen über Bord zu werfen und stattdessen sozialistische Positionen zu beziehen.

Ohne hier auf Einzelheiten dieser Diskussion einzugehen, ist der Bundesvorstand der IdK der Auffassung, daß derartige Tendenzen dem Unionscharakter einer pazifistischen Organisation — die nach allen Seiten hin offen sein muß — widersprechen. Allein dieses Problem zeigt jedoch, daß die überaus wichtige Frage nach dem politischen Standort und der Aufgabenstellung eines künftigen Gesamtverbandes durchaus noch diskutiert und geklärt werden mußte.

## **Erfolgreiche Verhandlungen mit der DFG**

Bereits am 1. April 1967 teilte H. M. Vogel dem Bundesvorstand und Arbeitsausschuß der IdK mit, daß Vorstandmitglieder der DFG mit dem Wunsch an ihn herantreten seien, mit der IdK ein Gespräch über eine engere Zusammenarbeit und eine eventuelle Fusion zu führen. Unter Berücksichtigung des bevorstehenden Termins vom 9. April 1967 (IdK/VK-Verhandlung), enthielt sich der IdK-Vorstand jedoch vorerst einer Stellungnahme, zumal zu Beginn der IdK/VK-Verhandlungen vereinbart worden war, zunächst nur die Fusion von IdK und VK anzustreben.

Da sich in den Verhandlungen mit dem VK keine Fortschritte ergaben, beauftragten Bundesvorstand und Arbeitsausschuß der IdK am 1. Juli 1967 durch einstimmigen Beschluß (mit den Stimmen von Nagel und Hartnagel) Dr. Rebensburg und Klaus Welt-

fährt, mit der DFG ein erstes Gespräch über eine engerer Zusammenarbeit zu führen. Auf der Bundesvorstandssitzung am 2. September berichteten die beiden IdK-Vertreter, die DFG habe in diesem Gespräch erneut ihren Wunsch nach einem Zusammenschluß mit der IdK geäußert. Eine erste und unverbindliche Diskussion über diese Frage habe gezeigt, daß einer eventuellen Fusion mit der DFG weder politische noch organisatorische Schwierigkeiten entgegenstehen.

Der Bundesvorstand der IdK beschloß daraufhin, noch am 7. Oktober 1967 mit der DFG ein Fusionsgespräch zu führen, um über das Ergebnis auch auf dem Bundeskongreß der IdK konkret berichten zu können. Diese Beratung mit dem Gesamtvorstand der DFG ergab in allen wesentlichen Fragen — grundsätzliche politische Auffassungen, Struktur der Organisation, Höhe der Beiträge und ihre Aufteilung — Übereinstimmung zwischen beiden Verbänden. Da von keiner Seite irgendwelche politischen oder personellen Vorbehalte geltend gemacht wurden, zeichnete sich die Möglichkeit einer harmonischen und komplikationslosen Vereinigung ab.

### Der Beschluß des IdK-Bundeskongresses

ED 718-46-371

Unter diesen Umständen wurden im Bundesvorstand und Arbeitsausschuß der IdK am 13. Oktober 1967 in der Diskussion über die Fortführung der Verhandlungen zunächst unterschiedliche Auffassungen vertreten. Einerseits wurde vorgeschlagen, vorerst die Verhandlungen mit dem VK zu einem positiven Abschluß zu bringen und dann als neuer Gesamtverband mit der DFG weiter zu verhandeln. Andererseits wurde empfohlen, die günstigen Voraussetzungen für eine Fusion mit der DFG zu nutzen und anschließend die Verhandlungen mit dem VK fortzusetzen. Nach längerer Diskussion beschloß der Vorstand der IdK mit klarer Mehrheit, dem Bundeskongreß der IdK einen Antrag vorzulegen, demzufolge künftig gemeinsam über die Fusion aller drei deutschen WRI-Verbände verhandelt werden soll.

Die Diskussion auf dem Bundeskongreß der IdK am 14./15. Oktober 1967 nahm in etwa den gleichen Verlauf. Die Befürworter einer Fusion „zunächst mit dem VK“ unterlagen bei der Abstimmung über einen von ihnen vorgelegten Initiativvertrag. Die Befürworter einer Fusion „zunächst mit der DFG“ zogen dagegen ihren Antrag zurück.

In der sehr ausführlichen Diskussion sprach sich die Mehrheit der Delegierten für den vorliegenden Antrag des Bundesvorstandes und Arbeitsausschusses der IdK aus.

Auch D. Martin Niemöller, Präsident der IdK und der DFG, befürwortete mit Nachdruck diesen Antrag, der Verhandlungen über eine Vereinigung von IdK, VK und DFG forderte. Walter Diehl vom Bundesvorstand der DFG erklärte als Gast des Kongresses die Bereitschaft der DFG, zur Verwirklichung dieses Zieles beizutragen. An Reinhold Settele, der ebenfalls Gast des Kongresses war, richtete er die Bitte um Teilnahme und Mitarbeit.

Reinhold Settele lehnte dies brüsk ab und erklärte im Widerspruch zum unmißverständlichen Wortlaut des Antrages, dieser bringe die Absicht großer Teile der IdK zum Ausdruck, die Fusion mit dem VK scheitern zu lassen.

Der Bundeskongreß der IdK faßte mit der eindeutigen Mehrheit von 48:32 Stimmen den folgenden Beschluß:

„Der Bundeskongreß stimmt dem Ziel zu, durch Vereinigung der drei WRI-Sektionen in der Bundesrepublik die Bildung einer pazifistischen Friedensorganisation herbeizuführen. Zu diesem Zweck soll der organisatorische Zusammenschluß von IdK, VK und DFG so bald wie möglich vollzogen werden.“

### Zur Haltung des VK-Bundesvorstandes

Die IdK hat mit diesem Beschluß auf ihrem Bundeskongreß ihre Bereitschaft zu einer Fusion mit den beiden anderen deutschen WRI-Verbänden bekräftigt. Es ist zu bedauern, daß Reinhold Settele auf dem Bundeskongreß und später auch in „zivil“ versuchte, diesem Beschluß der IdK eine Auslegung zu geben, die mit seinem Wortlaut nicht in Einklang zu bringen ist. So schreibt Reinhold Settele in „zivil“: „Uns war klar,

daß mit der Aufnahme der DFG-Verhandlungen die Fusionsgegner in der IdK die Notbremse ziehen wollten."

Abgesehen davon, daß die IdK ihre erfolgreichen Gespräche mit der DFG bereits zu einem Zeitpunkt aufnahm, als in den Verhandlungen mit dem VK keine Fortschritte verzeichnet werden konnten, ist es gewiß keine gute Sitte, den klar formulierten Beschluß einer befreundeten Organisation als das krasse Gegenteil dessen zu interpretieren, was er seinem Wortlaut und Sinn nach besagt.

Wenn der VK-Vorstand diese Haltung heute damit zu erklären versucht, die Einbeziehung der DFG in die Fusionsverhandlungen habe ihm eine weitere Teilnahme unmöglich gemacht, weil er dazu nicht das Mandat seines Bundeskongresses habe, so kann dies nicht überzeugen. Als die Vorstände von IdK und VK im Februar 1966 ihre Fusionsverhandlungen aufnahmen, hatten sie dazu auch nicht das ausdrückliche Mandat durch entsprechende Beschlüsse ihrer vorausgegangenen Bundeskongresse; wohl aber konnten sie einer nachträglichen Bestätigung ihrer guten Absicht auf den folgenden Bundeskongressen sicher sein.

Im übrigen kann eine Fusion — ganz unabhängig von den Verhandlungen zwischen den Vorständen — ohnehin nur von den Bundeskongressen der beteiligten Verbände beschlossen werden. Es ist nicht einzusehen, warum der nächste VK-Bundeskongreß seinem Vorstand die Zustimmung hätte verweigern sollen, wenn die drei deutschen WRI-Verbände inzwischen gemeinsam gute Voraussetzungen für ihre Vereinigung erarbeitet hätten. Die brüskierende Stellungnahme des VK-Vorstandes gegen den Beschluß der IdK und gegen die Verhandlungsbereitschaft der DFG wird nur noch unverständlicher, wenn Reinhold Settele in „zivil“ gleichzeitig erklärt: „Wir haben nichts gegen die DFG. Sie ist eine ehrwürdige, kleine pazifistische Organisation.“

Mit absoluter Sicherheit aber kann hier festgestellt werden: zu den Maßnahmen, die der VK-Vorstand am 28./29. Oktober 1967 zur Spaltung der IdK beschloß, hat er allerdings von niemandem und auch nicht von der eigenen Organisation ein Mandat. Der Versuch des VK-Vorstandes, jetzt unter Umgehung der für ihn zuständigen Gremien an eine Minderheit in der IdK mit der Absicht heranzutreten, sie aus der IdK herauszubrechen, verstößt in eklatantester Weise gegen alle Grundsätze, die den Beziehungen zwischen befreundeten demokratischen Organisationen zugrundeliegen.

Der Bundesvorstand der IdK hat den Bundesvorstand des VK daher in einer Erklärung mit aller Entschiedenheit aufgefordert, diese verwerflichen Praktiken unverzüglich aufzugeben und zu einer sachlichen Zusammenarbeit zurückzufinden.

### **Abschließende Stellungnahme des Bundesvorstandes der IdK**

Der Bundesvorstand der IdK betrachtet sich nach wie vor an den Beschluß des IdK-Bundeskongresses gebunden. In diesem Sinne wird er die Verhandlungen mit der DFG fortsetzen. Die Einladung an den VK zu einer gleichberechtigten und konstruktiven Mitarbeit bleibt dabei in vollem Umfang bestehen. Die einzige und zugleich selbstverständlichste Bedingung, die sich daraus für den VK ergibt, ist die sofortige Einstellung seiner Spaltungsversuche. Der Bundesvorstand der IdK wird allerdings eine Vereinigung mit der DFG nicht an einer weiteren ablehnenden Haltung des VK scheitern lassen.

In den vergangenen Jahren hat sich, wenn auch erst in einigen Städten der Bundesrepublik, eine enge und erfolgreiche Zusammenarbeit zwischen örtlichen IdK- und VK-Gruppen ergeben. Der IdK Bundesvorstand begrüßt diese Entwicklung und ist der Auffassung, daß diese Zusammenarbeit durch die gegenwärtigen Spannungen in keiner Weise beeinträchtigt werden darf. Gerade die gemeinsame Tätigkeit von IdK und VK auf örtlicher Ebene wird die beste Voraussetzung sein, um jene Vorbehalte und Differenzen zu überwinden, die bisher eine Vereinigung verhinderten.

Der Bundesvorstand der IdK hält trotz aller Schwierigkeiten und Enttäuschungen unbeirrt an dem Ziel einer Vereinigung aller drei deutschen WRI-Verbände fest.



ED 7/18-16-372

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Übersetzung von MAUERER vom 22.9.66

London vom 30.8.66  
Anlage zum Rundschreiben 143/66 - Flugblatt-Text  
an VK-BV, Offenbach

Rundschreiben 142/66

Vorgeschlagener Text des Neudrucks des Flugblattes an amerikanische Soldaten

### AN AMERIKANISCHE SOLDATEN IN EUROPA

Sie werden schon wissen, daß es in Europa eine weitverbreitete Kritik an dem amerikanischen Krieg in Vietnam gibt. Sie wissen vielleicht, daß nicht all das nicht nur "kommunistische Propaganda" ist. Im Gegensatz zu dem, was Ihnen von einigen amerikanischen Offiziellen gesagt worden sein könnte, sind es nicht bloß "Kommunisten und Fanatiker", die sich gegen diesen schrecklichen Krieg sind.

Staatsmänner und Religionsführer in aller Welt haben ihn verdammt, alle Parteien drängend, zu verhandeln, bevor es zu weiterem Morden kommt. Hunderttausende von Amerikanern, einschließlich Kongreßmitgliedern, Ministern, Lehrern, Wissenschaftlern, sind gegen ihn. Der Weltrat der Kirchen hat ihn verdammt. Das Oberhaupt der Vereinten Nationen nennt ihn den barbarischsten der modernen Kriege. Und wir Bürger vieler Länder, vereint in unserem Glauben an demokratische menschliche Werte und in unserem Widerstand gegen allen Krieg, verdammen diesen Krieg ebenfalls - und bitten Sie, die Ihnen darin aufgezwungene Rolle zu überdenken.

Wenn Sie nach Vietnam gesandt werden, werden Sie ein Teil eines Systems sein, der ganze Dörfer mit Männern, Frauen und Kindern zerstört, sie mit Napalm verbrennt und die Überlebenden in Flüchtlingslagern zwingt. Es ist zu wenig, zu sagen, "die Vietcong tun das auch" oder "es könnten Vietcong unter ihnen sein". Ungeachtet dem großen Unterschied zwischen den individuell brutalen Taktiken von Guerillakriegern in einem kleinen bäuerlichen Land und den massiv brutalen Taktiken von Bombardements durch eine große Industrienation, muß sich jeder Soldat selbst fragen, ob er aufrichtig beide Wege rechtfertigen kann.

Man erwartet/verlangt von Amerika, daß "die kommunistische Aggression in Vietnam gestoppt" wird, genau so, wie amerikanische

Truppen im zweiten Weltkrieg geholfen haben, "Hitler in Europa zu stoppen". Aber 1944 wurden die US-Truppen als Befreier umjubelt. ~~Heute in Vietnam sind sie gefürchtet und gehaßt als eine Besatzungsarmee von den meisten Vietnamesen, einschließlich der vielen, die die VietCong nicht unterstützen. Beide Seiten begehen Scheußlichkeiten: aber es sind die amerikanischen und die von den USA unterhaltenen Saigon-Truppen, die zwei oder drei vietnamesische Zivilisten umbringen für jeden gezählten VietCong-Guerilla. Das ist ein schmutziger Krieg, und weitere Kämpfe auf beiden Seiten kann ihn nur noch schmutziger machen. Viele vietnamesische Führer sagen, daß, wenn die USA auf einer Feuereinstellung bestehen würden, die VietCong - von denen viele in dem Teufelskreis, in dem auch Sie sich befinden, gefangen sind - es nicht wagen würden, das Feuer wieder aufzunehmen, wegen der großen Kriegsmüdigkeit des vietnamesischen Volkes.~~

: : : : : ED 718-16-374

Was können Sie tun? Reden ist einfach, aber Sie sind es, der zur Entscheidung gedrängt ist. ~~M~~ Viele von uns, die wir die ~~HK~~ Organisationen unterstützen, die ~~dieses Flugblatt herausgeben~~ auf diesem Flugblatt aufgeführt sind, <sup>sind</sup> ~~wurden~~ schon mit der ~~Kriegspflicht~~ Wehrpflicht konfrontiert worden. Einige haben sich ihr unterworfen, andere haben in verschiedenen Arten widerstanden, einige wurden in Lager oder Gefängnisse gesteckt. Wir können Ihnen diese Dinge nur zu ernstem Nachdenken vorschlagen, aber Sie sind es, der ~~nur~~ ~~nur~~ Denken und über sein eigenes Leben entscheiden muß.

Unter Hitler gab es einige deutsche Soldaten, die sich weigerten, Grausamkeiten zu begehen. Es gab russische Soldaten im ungarischen Volksaufstand, die sich weigerten, auf die ungarischen Demonstranten zu schießen. Während des Algerienkrieges bekämpften Tausende ~~französischer~~ französischer Wehrpflichtiger den Krieg und halfen in verschiedenen Arten, ihn zu beenden. Viele demonstrierten offen in den Straßen, einige setzten sich vor Truppentrübe. Einige gingen geschlossen aus der Armee - sie wollten keinen Anteil am Krieg, trotz der Risiken durch "Desertieren". Andere ergaben sich vollkommen und gingen als Kriegsdienstverweigerer aus Gewissensgründen ins Gefängnis. All diese Männer, in all diesen Ländern, standen vor Gericht und wurden bestraft.

Wir bitten Sie, diese Dinge sehr ernsthaft zu überlegen. Vielleicht wissen Sie nicht, daß

- 1) Sie Ihren Widerstand gegen den Vietnamkrieg ausdrücken können durch Petitionen und Briefeschreiben an höhere Offiziere, Präsident Johnson, Senatoren, Kongreßmitgliedern und andere,
- 2) ~~daß~~ Sie innerhalb der Kasernen protestieren können oder an öffentlichen Demonstrationen teilnehmen können,
- 3) ~~daß~~ die Armee manchmal ~~den Widerstand~~ ~~den Widerstand~~ eines Soldaten anerkennt und seinen Rang ändert. Einige Verweigerer haben Befehl mißachtet, wenn ihr Widerstand nicht beachtet worden ist und sich geweigert, nach Vietnam zu gehen. Gefreiter James JOHNSON, Gefr. David SAMAS und Gefr. Dennis MORA haben das getan und erwarten ihre Verhandlung. Die Strafen können hart sein, aber sie glauben daß es besser ist, diese Strafen zu ertragen als noch größere (Grausamkeiten) dem vietnamesischen Volk zuzufügen;
- 4) Wenn es keine legale Zufluchtsmöglichkeit innerhalb der Armee gibt, kann ein ~~Einzelner~~ ~~(Mensch)~~ Einzelner (Mensch) das Mut erfordernde Risiko unternehmen, offen zu versuchen, die Armee zu verlassen, allein oder mit anderen. Er kann in dieser mehr direkten Art NEIN sagen zu diesem brutalen Krieg.

Er wird unterstützt von dem Nürnberger Urteil, das nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg von der US-Regierung anerkannt worden ist und daß die einzelnen Soldaten für ihre Taten im Krieg für verantwortlich hält. Ein Soldat kann diese persönliche Verantwortlichkeit bejahen und versuchen, ihr gerecht zu werden auf jede Art, die er für möglich hält und sich zu widerstehen imstande fühlt. Auch ~~der~~ der Krieg fordert solchen Mut, aber zur Zerstörung.

Es ist nicht einfach, irgendwelche von diesen Dingen zu tun. Aber ~~weil wir die folgenden Organisationen unterstützen~~ weil wir, die wir die ~~gute~~ folgenden Organisationen unterstützen, ~~da~~ diese Fragen selbst überdenken mußten, sind wir vielleicht auch in der Lage, Ihnen zu helfen, das gleiche zu tun. Wir sind verantwortungsvoll/vertrauensvolle Bürger in vielen ~~vielen~~ Teilen von Europa & und den Vereinigten Staaten. Wir möchten Ihnen gerne helfen, ein unabhängiges menschliches Wesen zu sein, nicht nur eine laufende Armee-Nummer. Wir verlangen dies von allen Soldaten überall.

W R I , England  
 V K , Deutschland  
 WAR RESISTERS' LEAGUE, USA

....

....

# WRI NEWS LETTER

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION IN BRITAIN'S FORCES

TAX REFUSAL IN AUSTRALIA

LECOIN CALLS FRANCE TO BE AN EXAMPLE  
TO THE WORLD

FORTHCOMING ACTIVITIES

No. 67

8th February 1968

## BRITAIN

### Forces loosen grip on Objectors

On 5th February, Mr. Reynolds, Minister of Defence for Administration, told the House of Commons his conclusions regarding boy entrants to the Forces and Conscientious Objectors within the Forces based on the recommendations of the Latey Committee's report.

He said that all boy entrants should have the right to be released within six months of entry rather than within three months as it now stands. This will be brought into effect as soon as possible.

He also said that he accepted the Committee's third recommendation, that parental consent to enlistment should be required up to 18. (At the moment it is required up to 17 1/2.) But he said this will not be implemented until the general age of majority in Britain is lowered to 18 (from 21).

The second recommendation was that all entrants should have the right to be released within three months after their 18th birthday, and this proposal was rejected by the Minister who made the startlingly frank admission that, "it is most likely that.....the Forces would be unable to replace their losses."

On conscientious objection, Mr. Reynolds said that from now on an objection will be recognised per se, and a person who wished to leave the Forces would have the right to have his case heard by his Commanding Officer, then referred to service authorities, in the same way as applications for compassionate discharge. A right of appeal from the primary decision will be introduced and a successful appeal will be regarded as decisive.

If a conscientious objection is established, the serviceman will be able to purchase his discharge.

This obviates the need for a person to commit a statutory offence and serve "90 days" which has often been the case in the past.

(Hansard 5.2.1968)

We are grateful to Stephen J. Green for compiling this issue of NL.

The WRI Newsletter is the information service of the WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL mainly for its own affiliates and fraternal organisations. It is published 15 to 18 times a year. Those interested can obtain it for an annual subscription of 15s. (air mail £1.15.0d.)

War Resisters' International, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex, England. Phone 01-360-3977 Cable Nofrontier  
Enfield.

The British People's Declaration for Peace in Vietnam

The BCPV is mounting a campaign to raise enough signatures and endorsements to this statement to make the "British Peoples" part a reality.

The Statement which will be released to the Press on February 15th over 300 signatures, calls for immediate disassociation by the British Government from U.S. action, cessation of bombing, and a return to the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

AUSTRALIA

Refusal to pay Defence Tax

Glen Tomassetti deducted \$40. from her tax return last year because she says that this amount, one-sixth of her total tax due, is the amount that the Government spends on "Defence". She is challenging the tax under an Australian Law which embodies the United Nations Charter, because she says, Australia's participation in the Vietnam War is contrary to the principles of this Charter, and she is therefore not bound to help pay for it. Edward Stanton of N.S.W. has taken a similar stand in a carefully-worded letter to his Tax Authorities, enclosing receipts from the three peace Organisations to whom he sent the portion of his tax that would normally go on "Defence" spending. A lot of interest has been roused in Australia by these stands and it is certain that more people will follow suit.

(Peacemaker (Australia) January 68)

First C.O. Appeal because of Vietnam dismissed

Private Dennis O'Donnell of Victoria had his appeal for total exemption from military service dismissed by a County Court. Pvt. O'Donnell was asking for exemption because the war which the Australians were helping to wage in Vietnam was morally wrong. Two "selective" objections of this type have so far been allowed and about nine have been dismissed. This was the first appeal heard by a Higher Court and the Judge followed the Lower Court's decision that an objection to a particular war did not constitute an objection to "any form of Military Service." Private O'Donnell has now been drafted.

(Peacemaker (Australian) January 68)

U.S.A.

Maximum Sentence on C.O.

Jeremy Mott of CADRE was a recognized C.O. who quit after 9 months alternative service because, "I did not feel like legitimizing mass murder by complying with the main agent of that murder - the Selective Service System."

On December 27th Judge Parsons gave him the maximum 5 years in prison because of the Resistance movement. "I am not trying to intimidate anybody" he said but, "the time has come to stop this."

(Peacemaker (American) December 67)

Reclassification used as weapon against Resisters.

Hundreds of resisters in America have been reclassified from 2-S (student deferment) or 1-O (conscientious objection) status, to 1-A because of their participation in resistance activities. Many others have received delinquent notices or had visits from the F.B.I.

(Peacemaker (American) December 67)

### Port Chicago Vigil

1st February 1968.....544th Day.....544 days of continuous effective protest against the bloody war.....

120 people in Santa Rita Jail for demonstrating (in the rain) at Oakland, 20 days for a first offence.....90 days for a second offence.....5 extra days for going limp.....!

3 people got 30 days each for stopping trucks for half-an-hour at the Naval Weapons Station, double that received for the same offence last year.....

Joan Baes escaped arrest at the second Oakland sit-in so she walked to the police van to spend Christmas in jail.....

(Vigil Voices - February 1968)

### Vietnam War increases defiance of Laws

The War in Vietnam dramatically increased the abuses and offences against the Selective Service System in America in 1967.

J. Edgar Hoover, head of the F.B.I., stated in his annual report that Federal agents had arrested over 600 "absentees" during the year - A.P.

(La Dernière Heure - January 6, 1968)

### More Support for Dr. Spock

On January 11th, in the shadow of the indictments of Benjamin Speck, Mitchell Goodman, William Coffin, Marcus Raskin and Michael Ferber, an expression of support and will to continue was communicated to America through a televised News Conference held by Paul Goodman, Stuart Becham, David McKeynolds and others. In addition to speeches and statements, two draft cards were torn up, and the pieces held up before the cameras in defiance of the heavy sentences that can be imposed. The Press Conference brought home forcibly that these men will not be intimidated in their stand against this immoral war.

(Dennis Gould - Class '70, Colby College)

### FRANCE

#### Leccoin calls France to lead the World

A very impressive list of signatories have formed a "Committee for the Abolition of Wars and Unilateral Disarmament of our own Country" in France. Their booklet condemns war, violence, arms manufacturers etc. states that a just war is no longer possible and calls upon France to unilaterally reject her arms and, in company with (they hope) Britain, Italy and Germany, to lead the rest of the world to a state of peaceful brotherhood. Louis Leccoin told the WRI that he would like to see similar committees formed in many countries to work for complete disarmament. The address of the "Comité pour l'extinction des guerres, pour le désarmement unilatéral de notre propre nation", is through the Secretary, Louis Leccoin, 20 rue Alibert, Paris 10e.

### SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Branch of the WRI are holding a meeting to discuss further action in their boycott of American Goods during the war in Vietnam and various other urgent questions. They are also holding a march in support of the eight men who returned their military uniforms in March last year in Berne and will welcome support for this.

A group has been formed at Geneva University to express solidarity with a young conscientious objector who has just started a 2 months prison sentence.

(IRG Swiss Branch, Lisserweg 14, 2506 Bienne)

### FINLAND

The Scandinavian WRI Sections are planning to hold a combined study week in Finland in the Summer. The Swedish Freds-och Skiljedomsföreningen is acting as Swedish co-organiser and the combined course will replace the peace-study week that the SFSF usually organise. Full details will be available later.

(Freden - January 1968)

### GERMANY

#### Esperantist Seminar

The World Esperanto Youth Organisation (TEJO) is again organising a training Seminar for Youth Leaders, which will include discussion and training in Finances, Administration techniques, Public Relations, Editorial Work and running Meetings.

The Seminar is open to members and non-members of TEJO alike and will be held from 6/13th April at Aachen. The languages will be German and Esperanto with translations into English and French if desired.

(TEJO, Kastelenstraat 231, Amsterdam  
Netherlands)

### W.R.I. NEWS

#### Seminar on Human Rights

Plans are well under way for this Seminar to study the implementation or otherwise of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to discuss areas that require urgent action.

#### Trans-European March

The W.R.I. is holding an important March against NATO and the Warsaw Pact through Europe in the summer to celebrate NATO's 20th birthday. Full details available later.

#### Gandhi

A list of speakers is being prepared for organisations which are holding special meetings or celebrations for Gandhi's centenary year. It is hoped that many organisations will organise some form of tribute to the Mahatma during the year.

#### Africa challenges the Non-violent Revolution

Our International Study Conference in 1968 will be devoted to studying the problems of non-violence in the emergent countries. It will be held in Dar-es-Salaam in the Autumn.

#### Publications

The next issue of "War Resistance" will be devoted to Human Rights. It contains brief outlines of the 19 International Conventions on various Rights of man with tables and comments.

#### European Section Meeting

3rd meeting of the WRI Section in Europe will be held at Basel on the 2/3rd March 1968. All WRI members are welcome to attend. Ask WRI for details.

ED 718-16-378

# Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner

Deutscher Zweig der WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
parteilos unabhängig : gegründet 1921 : in 89 Staaten vertreten

## OFFENER BRIEF

des Bundesvorstandes  
der Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner  
an die  
Abgeordneten des Deutschen Bundestages

Bundesvorstand/Pressestelle

43 Essen, Hindenburgstraße 82-86  
Telefon 23 53 18  
21. Mai 1968

24. 5. 68

Sehr verehrte Frau Abgeordnete, sehr geehrter Herr Abgeordneter!

Der Bundesvorstand der Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner (IdK) erhebt schärfsten Protest gegen die Haltung der Bundestagsabgeordneten, die während der Zweiten Lesung der verfassungsändernden Notstandsgesetzgebung im Bundestag für deren Annahme stimmten. Wir danken denjenigen Abgeordneten, die diesem Anschlag auf das Grundgesetz konsequent ihre Zustimmung verweigerten.

Millionen Bürger unseres Landes — vertreten durch die Gewerkschaften, durch Studenten- und Jugendorganisationen und andere demokratische Verbände — haben gemeinsam mit angesehenen Repräsentanten des wissenschaftlichen, kulturellen und kirchlichen Lebens gegen eine Verabschiedung dieser Gesetze protestiert. Hunderttausende haben auf Kundgebungen, auf Versammlungen und mit Demonstrationen die Ablehnung der Notstandsgesetze gefordert. Allein 70 000 Demokraten beteiligten sich deshalb am Sternmarsch nach Bonn. Dagegen haben Meinungsumfragen ergeben, daß nur 10 Prozent aller Bundesbürger für die Notstandsgesetzgebung sind.

Trotzdem hat der Bundestag zugelassen, daß die demonstrierenden Notstandsgegner, die die Meinung der großen Mehrheit der Bevölkerung repräsentieren, als „radikale Minderheit“ verketzert wurden; er hat ihr leidenschaftliches Eintreten für die Verteidigung des Grundgesetzes und die darin garantierten demokratischen Grundrechte ignoriert.

Wir solidarisieren uns mit den Aktionen der Arbeiter und Studenten gegen die Notstandsgesetze, mit ihren Vorlesungs- und Warnstreiks in Universitäten und Betrieben. Wir begrüßen den Aufruf des DGB-Landesbezirks Hessen zu Proteststreiks anläßlich der bevorstehenden Dritten Lesung der Notstandsgesetze im Bundestag. Die Mitglieder der IdK werden — entsprechend den Beschlüssen der IdK-Bundeskonferenzen — auch weiterhin mit großem Einsatz die Bemühungen aller wahrhaften Demokraten zur Verhinderung der Notstandsgesetzgebung unterstützen.

Wir empfinden es als beschämend und bezeichnend, daß die Abgeordneten des Bundestages während der Zweiten Lesung der Notstandsgesetze noch nicht einmal den Mut zu der beantragten namentlichen Abstimmung hatten. Wir werden daher alles tun, um die Bundestagsabgeordneten zu einer öffentlichen Rechenschaftslegung über ihr Verhalten bei der Abstimmung im Bundestag zu veranlassen.

Und wir erklären schon heute mit allem Nachdruck:

**Wir werden keinem Abgeordneten noch einmal unsere Stimme geben oder ihm in demokratischen Organisationen und Verbänden Ämter und Funktionen anvertrauen, der im Bundestag bei der Dritten Lesung für die Verabschiedung der demokratiefeindlichen Notstandsgesetzgebung gestimmt hat.**

Wir appellieren noch einmal an Sie als Abgeordnete des Deutschen Bundestages, der Demokratie in unserem Land eine letzte Chance zu geben und bei der Dritten Lesung im Bundestag gegen die von der Regierung vorgelegten Diktaturgesetze zu stimmen.

Hochachtungsvoll  
im Auftrage des Bundesvorstandes der  
Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner  
gez. Klaus Wellhardt

ED 7/12-16-370

wri  
13th triennial  
Newford USA  
29-31 August 1969  
Gandhi Centenary Year

गान्धीजी के १०० वीं जन्मदिन  
१२ वीं वैश्विक सम्मेलन  
२५-२७ अगस्त १९६९  
हैवरफर्ड संयुक्त राज्य  
才十三回大会  
戦争抵抗者  
米国一九六九



Ben Shahn

LIBERATION and REVOLUTION - Gandhi's Challenge

13th Triennial Conference of the  
WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
(3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1, England)  
Haverford, U.S.A. 25-31 August, 1969

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**LIBERATION AND REVOLUTION—  
Gandhi's Challenge 25-28 August**

PRELIMINARY AGENDA

Opening session  
**Liberation and Revolution**

Second session  
**Liberated nationalism—the role of  
nonviolence**

Third session  
**Liberation through social and  
economic change**

Fourth session  
**Beyond all separatism**

There will be commissions working on specific topics:

**Student and youth movements**

**Japan: USA security treaty**

**Middle-east**

**NATO and Warsaw Pact-European security**

**Africa**

**Latin America**

**Problem of minorities**

Background papers on related subjects are being prepared

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**WRI BUSINESS CONFERENCE 29-31 August**  
(Open to WRI Members and invites only)

The world pacifist movement

The role of the WRI and its future Structure and Programme  
for the years immediately ahead, especially in the light of the  
findings of the Conference on Liberation and Revolution.

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Languages: English, French, Spanish and German

Cost: Conference fee       \$15.-  
Board and lodging       \$10.- per day

For further information complete and return the form.

ED 712-16-380

## Revolution and Liberation—Gandhi's Challenge

August 25-31, Haverford, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

Haverford College is a long way from Kyoto, New Delhi, Buenos Aires, Saigon, Paris, Prague, Moscow or Dar es Salaam. But between August 25 and 31 of this year, 1969, it will be the site of the thirteenth Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International.

This Triennial Conference has a special importance. First, it falls the same year as the Gandhi Centenary. Never has there been a time when pacifists so urgently needed to examine the contribution of Gandhi to the Twentieth Century. Never have we been so pressed to examine whether revolution and liberation can be achieved through nonviolence or, as so many among the oppressed and "the wretched of the earth" feel, violence and bloodshed is the only way forward. That question cannot be shrugged aside and ignored.

Second, the Haverford Conference will mark the first time in history that a world pacifist assembly has taken place in the Western Hemisphere. Nowhere in the world is such a gathering of peace-concerned persons more appropriate than in the United States, the centre of imperial power, one of the two nuclear giants of the earth. In the United States the world sees a nation which has at its command more power for destruction than any other nation in the history of the world. And yet it is in the United States, where the world has seen a peace movement unlike any in recent history, a movement strong enough and courageous enough to oblige the military-industrial complex to enter into negotiations with the Vietnamese. It is in the U.S. that thousands of young men have burned their draft cards or returned them to the government, and faced prosecution.

We are grateful to the War Resisters League and the other North American affiliates\* of the W.R.I. for giving us the chance to meet leaders of the American movement. We have also the unique opportunity, by attending the Conference, to help to strengthen and encourage the peace movement in the United States, to remind it that it is truly part of an "international fellowship of resistance" to all violence. In Haverford there will be a converging of Asians, Latin Americans, Africans, Europeans, working together to forge an international pacifist programme for the years immediately ahead.

### The War Resisters League

The W.R.L. was formed in 1923 by men and women who had been resisters to World War I. One of the present members of the WRL Executive Committee was among

WRI

13th Triennial Conference—Haverford, U.S.A.  
Liberation and Revolution—Gandhi's Challenge

to: War Resisters' International, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1, England

Please send ..... application form/s. I am/we are interested in/attending the conference/sending representative/s to the conference.

Name and address .....

Organisation .....

(in block letters please)

\*WRI affiliates in North America:  
W.R.L.  
Fellowship of Reconciliation (USA)  
Institute for the Study of Nonviolence  
A Quaker Action Group  
Fellowship of Reconciliation (Canada)  
Doughboy Society  
Quebec Peace Union

those imprisoned during that war, thus linking the WRL to a tradition of resistance that goes back fifty years, even before the WRL was formally established. The WRL has remained over the decades, a voice for those youth who sought to break with all militarism and who wanted to find nonviolent and democratic alternatives to the organized use of violence. Historically the WRL has been the centre of radical pacifism in the United States, a secular organization which brought together socialists, anarchists, and religious radicals. Many of the early members had been followers of Eugene Victor Debs, the American socialist leader jailed for opposing World War I. Over the years the WRL has remained on warm terms with religious pacifist movements but has maintained its own secular identity.

Perhaps the hardest test for the WRL was World War II, when thousands of war objectors were jailed in the United States and the WRL played a major role in raising funds for those families whose husbands and fathers had been imprisoned and later worked for an amnesty. Throughout World War II the offices of the WRL remained open. Later, in the McCarthy period, the WRL also suffered, its funds and staff reduced to a low point. Over the years the WRL has made enemies by its consistent defence of democracy and its consistent opposition to all organized violence. During World War II it was attacked by the Communists as a Fascist organization, while during the Korean War it was accused by conservatives of being Communist.

The WRL has not only had continuing contact with the intellectual community, but it has also kept in close touch with those youth who have gone into revolt against American materialism and are attacked as hippies by the public press.

The WRL members—and all North American pacifists—are eagerly looking forward to meeting those of us who have led nonviolent movements in Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America. The Americans have been impressed by events outside their own country and perhaps have been more deeply touched by Gandhi's ideas than any of the European pacifist groups. Because of this it is possible for us, even in these desperate times, to conceive of that journey to share with our American friends, in love and comradeship, the common task of building a world governed by the compassion of which man is capable, rather than by the brutality thus far demonstrated by all the "great powers" of the planet, East or West.

ED 713-16-380a

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
3 CALEDONIAN ROAD,  
LONDON N.1. ENGLAND  
tel: 01-837 3860

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

War Resisters' International  
3 Caledonian Road, London N. 1  
England

13. Dreijahreskonferenz - Haverford College  
Haverford bei Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA

Teil I Befreiung und Revolution

Gandhis Herausforderung  
(25. - 28. August 1969)

Teil II WRI Geschäftskonferenz

(nur für WRI Mitglieder und geladene Gäste)  
(29. - 31. August 1969)

Name (Blockschrift) \_\_\_\_\_

Adresse (Blockschrift) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Tel. \_\_\_\_\_

Sind Sie Mitglied der WRI? Ja / Nein

Sind Sie Einzelmitglied der WRI oder Mitglied durch eine Sektion (welche)? \_\_\_\_\_

Sind Sie Delegierter einer Sektion, assoziierten Organisation oder Zeitschrift (welcher)? \_\_\_\_\_

Vertreten Sie irgendeine andere Organisation? Wenn ja, geben Sie bitte Name und Adresse der Organisation an. \_\_\_\_\_

Werden Sie teilnehmen: nur an Teil I   
nur an Teil II   
an Teil I und II

Sprachen

Welche Sprachen verstehen Sie ?

Englisch  Deutsch  Französisch

Esperanto  Spanisch

Eine Simultanübersetzungsanlage wird nur für die Plenarsitzungen zur Verfügung stehen. Wären Sie bereit, in den Gruppendiskussionen zu

13th. triennial conference, "liberation & revolution - Gandhi's Challenge"  
August 25-31, Haverford, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

dolmetschen? Wenn ja, in welchen Sprachen ?

von \_\_\_\_\_ in \_\_\_\_\_  
von \_\_\_\_\_ in \_\_\_\_\_  
von \_\_\_\_\_ in \_\_\_\_\_  
von \_\_\_\_\_ in \_\_\_\_\_

Allgemeines

Benötigen Sie Unterkunft im Haverford College ? Ja / Nein

Falls Sie keine Unterkunft benötigen, wünschen Sie Ihre Mahlzeiten im Haverford College einzunehmen ? Ja / Nein

Wünschen Sie vegetarische Mahlzeiten ? Ja / Nein

Kosten

Unterkunft und Verpflegung pro Tag und Person betragen £ 4.6.0. oder \$ 10,00.

Konferenzgebühr (wird nicht zurückerstattet) £ 6.10.0. oder \$ 15,00. Dieser Betrag schliesst auch die Kosten für die Konferenzpapiere ein.

- a) Ich füge einen Scheck über £ 6.10.0 . (oder entsprechenden Betrag) \_\_\_\_\_ für die Konferenzgebühr bei.
- b) Ich habe die Konferenzgebühr an den Finanzvertreter der WRI in \_\_\_\_\_ (siehe beigefügte Liste der Finanzvertreter) geschickt.

\_\_\_\_\_ Datum

\_\_\_\_\_ (Unterschrift)

Senden Sie die Anmeldung bitte an folgende Anschrift:

War Resisters' International  
3, Caledonian Road,  
London, N. 1., ENGLAND

Telefon: 01- 837 3860 - Drahtanschrift: Nonviolent London N 1

WRI

# 13. DREIJAHRES KONFERENZ HAVERFORD, USA

25. - 31. August 1969

## EIN BRIEF VON UNSEREN NORDAMERIKANISCHEN MITGLIEDERN

Liebe Freunde und Mitarbeiter,

die Unterzeichneten vertreten Gruppen und Publikationen in Nordamerika, die der War Resisters' International (Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner) angeschlossen sind. Zu der Zeit, da wir schreiben, dauert der Krieg in Vietnam trotz der Friedensverhandlungen immer noch an; droht auch anderwärts in der Welt Krieg auszubrechen; ist der Massenhunger in Biafra und, obwohl wir davon weniger hören, auch in vielen Teilen Asiens und Südamerikas schreckliche Wirklichkeit; sind unsere Völker innerlich gespalten und erleben täglich Gewalttaten. Vor allem ist dies ein Zeitpunkt, da sich die Vorräte an Kernwaffen in unheimlicher Stille vermehren und uns alle, ja die ganze Menschheit, bedrohen.

Wir in den Vereinigten Staaten leben im Mittelpunkt westlicher Militärmacht, und Kanada ist wirtschaftlich und vertraglich eng an die U.S.A. gebunden. Manch einer mag sich fragen, warum die Dreijahreskonferenz der WRI überhaupt in den Vereinigten Staaten stattfinden soll. Warum nicht in einer friedlicheren Weltgegend (vorausgesetzt man könnte sie finden!), in einem Land, das sich nicht so unbedingt der Gewalt verschrieben hat, das weniger von dem Hass und den Spannungen gemartet wird, die aus der Gewalt entstehen und ihrerseits wieder Gewalt hervorbringen?

Weil die WRI da sein muss, wo es Spannungen und Militärmacht gibt. Es war ganz richtig, dass nach dem Überfall auf die Tschechoslowakei kleine internationale Teams von Pazifisten

in die Länder des Sowjetblocks gingen, um der verantwortlichen Macht durch die friedliche Verteilung von Flugblättern entgegenzutreten. Aber ist es nicht noch viel wichtiger, dass wir der Militärmacht hier auf der westlichen Halbkugel entgegentreten? Wir fordern Sie auf, uns den Rücken zu stärken, uns zur Seite zu stehen, wenn wir uns zu Ehren Gandhis zu einer Weltkonferenz versammeln, um Mittel und Wege zu finden, die Gewalt aus der Welt zu verbannen, der Unterdrückung Einhalt zu gebieten und die Menschheit zu befreien. Im Zeitalter schnellsten technischen Fortschritts wollen wir der Menschheitsfamilie ihr Schicksal in die eigenen Hände geben, damit die Technik eine Kraft des Lebens und nicht eine Kraft des Todes werde.

Wir können uns kein passenderes Jahr und keinen geeigneteren Ort denken, um Gandhis Lehren von neuem zu überdenken und Richtpunkte für die Zukunft zu finden. Wir laden Sie herzlich ein und bitten Sie dringend, zu kommen. Reservieren Sie schon jetzt die Tage vom 25. August bis einschliesslich 31. August 1969 für die erste pazifistische Weltkonferenz in der westlichen Hemisphäre.

Es handelt sich um weit mehr als ein Treffen zwischen Westeuropäern und Amerikanern. Wir hoffen auf Delegationen aus Asien, Afrika und Lateinamerika. Es soll eine Weltkonferenz werden, zu der Sie, indem Sie dieses Erlebnis mit uns teilen, einen einmaligen Beitrag leisten können, und von der wir alle, so meinen wir, viel zu gewinnen haben.

In herzlicher Verbundenheit,

Otto Nathan, Schatzmeister der War Resisters' League  
Ralph DiGia, Verwaltungssekretär der WRL  
David McReynolds, Reisesekretär der WRL  
Igal Roodenko, 1. Vorsitzender der WRL  
Jim Peck, Direktor für Öffentlichkeitsarbeit der WRL  
Paul Johnson, Chefredakteur von WIN (Zeitschrift,  
erscheint zweimal monatlich)  
Barbara Deming, Redaktionsausschuss von Liberation  
(Monatszeitschrift)  
Paul Goodman, Redaktionsausschuss von Liberation  
Ann Davidson, WRI Konferenzkomitee  
Sid Lens, Redaktionsausschuss von Liberation  
Al Hassler, Exekutivsekretär des USA-Versöhnungsbundes  
Bob Eaton, A Quaker Action Group  
Bob Moon, Vorsitzender des USA-Versöhnungsbundes  
John Braxton, WRI Konferenzkomitee  
Edward P. Gottlieb, WRI Konferenzkomitee  
John Darr, WRI Konferenzkomitee  
Sam Coleman, 2. Vorsitzender der WRL  
Dave Dellinger, Herausgeber von Liberation  
Ira Sandperl, Institute for the Study of Nonviolence  
Roy Kepler, Institute for the Study of Nonviolence  
George Willoughby, A Quaker Action Group  
Vicky Rovere, WRL  
Dimitri Roussopoulos, Quebec Peace Union  
Mildred Fahrni, Versöhnungsbund Kanada

April 1969  
35/69