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ED 718-17-2

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SESSIONS

of the

TENTH TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

Gandhigram, India : 21-27th December, 1960

One hundred persons from India, twenty-three from Great Britain, twenty from the German Federal Republic, nine from the United States of America, eight from Australia, four each from Belgium and Japan, three from Norway, two each from Denmark, Holland, Israel, New Zealand and Switzerland, and one each from Austria, Canada, Ceylon, Eire, Finland, France, Ghana, Italy, Liberia and South Africa participated in the Tenth Triennial Conference.

Wednesday, 21st December

10:00 a.m. Dr. (Mrs.) T.S.Soundram Ramachandran, Honorary Treasurer of Gandhigram, opened the Conference Exhibition of Peacemaking, Khadi, Village Industries and Constructive work. She was introduced by Arlo Tatum, General Secretary of the W.R.I.

3:30 p.m. An informal tea was provided by Gandhigram to welcome Conference participants.

5:00 p.m. After introductions, G. Ramachandran delivered the welcome address, and introduced Jayaprakash Narayan, who delivered the Inaugural Address. R. Srinivasan, Secretary of Gandhigram and of the India Conference Committee, offered the vote of thanks.

8:45 p.m. In a Preliminary Conference Session various announcements regarding Conference arrangements were dealt with.

Thursday, 22nd December

8:30 a.m. With Harold Bing, W.R.I. Chairman, presiding, the following persons contributed to the session entitled: PEACEMAKING: WORLD PANORAMIC VIEW, Joseph Abileah (Israel); Johan Galtung (Norway); Stanley Halliday (Eire); Ralph Hegnauer (Switzerland), read in his absence; Niels Jonassen (Denmark); Jean van Lierde (Belgium); Stuart Morris (Great Britain); Bayard Rustin (U.S.A.); Bill Sutherland (Ghana); Alwar Sundell (Finland); Hans-Konrad Tempel (West Germany); Hein van Wijk (Holland) and Taiji Yamaga (Japan).

8:45 p.m. Persons from the surrounding villages joined for entertainment by the Indian Hosts.

Friday, 23rd December

8:30 a.m. With Vallabhswami, Chairman of the Sarva Seva Sangh presiding, three addresses were presented under the title of PEACEMAKING: SARVODAYA, G. Ramachandran presented "The Economics of Peace"; Siddharaj Dhadha on "Bhoodan: A Developing Movement", and Danilo Dolci on "Uplift in Sicily: An Experiment".

3:00 p.m. The first meeting of the eight discussion groups was held. Chairmen: Group One - G. Anthony Bishop (Australia). Group Two - Devi Prasad (India). Group Three - Swami Viswananda (India). Group Four - Piere Martin (France).

Group Five - Trefor Davies (Gt. Britain). Group Six - George Willoughby (U.S.A.). Group Seven - Manmohan Choudhury (India), and Group Eight - Nabkrishna Choudhury (India).

These reports were compiled each time by Arlo Tatum, who then presented the composite report to the Conference.

Saturday, 24th December

8:30 a.m. The report of discussion groups was presented and discussed. As altered, it formed the basis for one section of the Conference Statement.

10:30 a.m. Under the theme PEACEMAKING: NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION there were three addresses, with Bill Sutherland presiding. Bayard Rustin spoke on Direct Action for Racial Integration, Pierre Martin on Direct Action for Peace in Algeria, and Michael Scott on Direct Action against Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Sunday, 25th December

9:30 a.m. The eight discussion groups met.

3:00 p.m. Arlo Tatum presented the composite report of the morning's discussions, followed by discussion. The report as amended was referred to a special drafting committee composed of Jayaprakash Narayan, Stuart Morris, Bill Sutherland and Marjorie Sykes. Their draft statement on Direct Action, after discussion at a Business Session, was incorporated into the Conference Statement.

Monday, 26th December

10:30 a.m. Jayaprakash Narayan presided over a session entitled PEACEMAKING: SHANTI SENA. He offered his views on the necessity for an International Shanti Sena, and Asha Devi Aryanayakam spoke on the India Shanti Sena, of which she is Convener.

3:00 p.m. The eight discussion groups met.

Tuesday, 27th December

8:30 a.m. Arlo Tatum presented the composite report of the preceding day's discussion group reports. An extended plenary discussion followed.

11:30 a.m. The Conference Statement, based on all previous reports, was approved as appended to this report.

3:30 p.m. G. Ramachandran presented R.R. Diwakar, Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, who delivered the Valedictory Address. Arlo Tatum proposed the vote of thanks to all those who had contributed to the success of the Conference.

During the Conference there were held informal meetings of the Fellowship of the Friends of Truth, Indian W.R.I. members, and a meeting was held regarding the chartered plane from Europe.

-3-

At Gandhigram prayers, held each day, the following participated as speakers: Trefor Davies, R.R.Keithahn, Abbé Paul Carrette and Stuart Morris.

There were three cultural evenings. During the Conference about 30 participants took part in meetings at Madurai and in surrounding villages, with audiences totalling several thousands. There was widespread publicity in the Indian press.

ARLO TATUM

# The Gandhigram statement

ED 718-12-4

Reprinted from Peace News, Jan. 6, 1961

*The following is the full text of the statement issued last week at the end of the War Resisters' International Conference at Gandhigram, India. The tenth triennial conference of the WRI was held there from December 21—27.*

THE general title of the conference was "Peace making" and the subject was dealt with under the following headings: Sarvodaya, Non-violent Direct Action and Shanti Sena.

After discussions in eight groups and subsequently in plenary sessions, the conference reached the following decisions:

Pacifists must actively associate themselves with methods which validly express Truth and Love and must dissociate themselves from what is evil. Therefore those committed to non-violence must never give any moral support to the conventional methods of defence, or any other action in which they would think it wrong to participate as individuals.

The conference commends the work of the Bhoodan movement as being fundamentally sound in approach and principles, which are also applicable to many situations outside India, such as in Sicily, where the work being undertaken is also commended.

The conference is convinced that both the capitalist conception of private ownership and the Communist conception of State ownership of the means of production and distribution are insufficient where the ideal of non-violence is concerned. It emphasised the need for decentralising political and economic power in the achievement of a non-violent society.

It believed that the major means of production and distribution should be owned by the community and that distribution should assure economic justice and social equality. Though some industries require a degree of centralisation and certain services could legitimately be owned by a democratic government, co-operatives unfettered by any political attachment should play an active rôle in the reorganisation of society.

A clear understanding of Truth and Love must determine not only personal conduct but the economic, political and social

structure and relationships within the new society.

The conference endorsed the principles and practice of non-violent direct action, which it agreed should be defined as "any action which does not involve violence undertaken by individuals or groups against a social or international evil or for the purpose of resolving conflicts."

## NECESSARY STEP

While creating conflict may be a necessary step in the removal of international or social evil, the final aim will be to develop good will and understanding between all concerned. Such action could involve defiance of the law or established custom, non co-operation and individual protest. Participants in such actions must be prepared for suffering and sacrifice.

Planning and preparation should include the following points among others:

- There should be a specific objective for each campaign even though larger issues might be involved.
- There should be careful training of the participants amongst whom should be persons most directly affected whenever possible.
- There should be an appeal to the conscience of the wrong-doers and good will towards them, and also towards any agent of the State involved.
- There should be an attempt to gain public support for the campaign and sympathisers should be encouraged to take supporting action on as wide a scale as possible.

The question of the place of Non-violent Direct Action in a democracy was discussed, and it was generally agreed that there might be circumstances justifying its

use under any form of government.

The conference expressed its appreciation of all those at present engaged in such Direct Action and urged that more general practise of Direct Action should be encouraged in every possible way.

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.

The conference desired that the above resolution should be sent to the United Nations Convention on Human Rights and to the European Court of Human Rights for their information and necessary action.

The conference heard an explanation of the proposed scheme for compulsory National Service in India involving military training and discipline for students entering the Universities. It also took note of the existing programmes of military training in schools and colleges. The confer-

ence expressed its deep concern and regret at the growth of military tendencies in India. It encouraged its Indian members and their friends in their efforts to persuade people to realise the dangers involved in their programmes and in their endeavours to evolve a system of new education.

The conference suggested that, if and when the proposed programme of National Service involving military training was brought into operation, steps should be taken to oppose it by non-violent means, and pledged its support for any such steps.

## PEACE BRIGADE

The conference endorsed the idea of an International Shanti Sena or World Peace Brigade and considered that the establishment of such a body was a matter of urgency. In its judgement the world Peace Brigade should be independent of the United Nations and all governments. The conference envisaged practical constructive work as being an integral part of the activities of the world Peace Brigade. The co-operation of organisations whose members and supporters adhered to non-violence should be sought. It was agreed that persons attending the conference who were willing to volunteer their services should record such willingness so that a nucleus of potential volunteers would be at the disposal of a World Peace Brigade. Conference considered that it would be necessary to require volunteers to accept a form of non-violent discipline. It was recognised that there were serious problems to be solved before the World Peace Brigade could be established; among such problems were the selection and training of volunteers, language barriers, and the financing of activities.

The conference called upon the Council of the War Resisters' International to take the initiative in the matter. It requested the Council to appoint a committee, not necessarily confined to WRI members, to explore the problems involved and to present their findings to an International Conference for the Establishment of a World Peace Brigade to be held as soon as feasible. In the meantime, the WRI was asked to accept responsibility.

The above statement was unanimously endorsed at a plenary session on Tuesday, December 27 1960.

CONSTITUTION

(As agreed at the International Conference, 1957  
and as amended at the International Conference 1960)

THE BASIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL

1. The basis of the War Resisters' International is the following Declaration adopted at the first International Conference at Bilthoven, 1921:

"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."

AFFILIATION

2. Any organisation whose members individually accept the Declaration or an alternative form approved by the Council is eligible for affiliation as a Section of the International subject to the approval of the Council.

ASSOCIATION

3. (a) Any pacifist organisation whose members do not individually accept the W.R.I. Declaration or an approved equivalent, or any organisation which does not provide for individual membership but whose objectives are consistent with those of the W.R.I. Declaration, may be accepted by the International Council as an Associate Organisation.  
(b) Any publication appearing not less than four times each year whose policy is consistent with the W.R.I. Declaration but which is not the publication of an affiliated Section or Associate Organisation, may be accepted by the International Council as an Associated Publication.

MEMBERSHIP

4. In addition to all members of affiliated Sections, any individual in a country where there is no Section or who is ineligible for membership in any existing Section, may be accepted as a member on signing the Declaration.

DISAFFILIATION

5. The International Council shall have the right to terminate the affiliation of any Section or the association of any Organisation or Publication on stating its reasons. Any Section, Organisation or Publication so disaffiliated shall have the right of appeal to the International Conference.

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

6. An International Conference shall be held at least once in every three years, to which Sections shall be entitled to send delegates whose votes shall be determined by the number of members. Each Associate Organisation and Associated Publication shall have the right to send not more than two representatives. Individual members of the International or of Sections may attend. The basis of voting shall be determined by the Rules.

The Conference shall determine the policy of the International and shall elect a Council to serve until the next Triennial Conference. A special Conference shall be summoned at the request of one-fifth of the Sections.

## COUNCIL

7. 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. The Council shall have the right to co-opt additional members. It shall meet at least once a year, shall be responsible for carrying out decisions of Conference and shall act in the name of the International between Conferences. It shall represent the International in all matters both legal and non-legal.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

8. There shall be an Executive Committee, composed of Council Members, which shall be responsible for carrying out the decisions of the Council and for general administration including finance. It shall meet normally at least four times during the calendar year.

## STAFF

9. The Council shall be empowered to appoint and pay a Secretary (or Secretaries) and Assistant Secretary (or Assistant Secretaries) who must be members of the International and shall be expected to attend Executive and Council Meetings and Conferences. The Council shall have the right to terminate such appointments.

## FINANCE

10. There shall be no fixed affiliation fee, but all Sections, Associate Organisations and Associated Publications are expected to contribute according to their ability. The International shall also raise funds by direct appeal, with the co-operation where possible of the Sections concerned. The Annual Financial Statement and Balance Sheet shall be submitted for the approval of the Council.

EMERGENCY RELIEF FUND

11. There shall be an Emergency Relief Fund administered by the Executive Committee which shall report annually thereon to the Council.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

12. This Constitution may be amended only at an International Conference and if the amendment is supported by not less than two-thirds of the votes cast. Amendments may be proposed only by the Council or by a Section or Sections and only Sections are entitled to vote on any such amendments. Notice of any proposed amendment shall be circulated to Sections and Council Members at least six months prior to the first day of the Conference.

RULES

13. The Council shall have power to make rules to implement the Constitution. Such rules shall have immediate effect, but shall be subject to approval by the next International Conference. Rules shall have the same force as the Constitution. Changes in Rules may be made only if approved by not less than two-thirds of the Council Members present. To remain in force changes made by the Council must be approved by not less than two-thirds of the votes cast at the next International Conference.

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RULES

(As agreed at the International Conference, 1957 and as amended at the International Conference, 1960)

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

1. Decisions of the International Conference shall be minuted and reported to the first succeeding Council Meeting. The Council shall act in accordance with these decisions.
2. Sections shall be allotted one vote for every fifty members or part thereof, but no Section shall be entitled to more than five votes. Each Associate Organisation shall be entitled to two votes and each Associated Publication to one vote, except where otherwise provided for. Each Council Member attending an International Conference shall be entitled to one vote on all matters except the election of the Council and its Chairman.
3. Preliminary Agendas shall be circulated to all Sections not less than three months before the Conference, and final agendas not less than six weeks before the Conference.

COUNCIL

4. 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. The Chairman shall be elected by postal vote of Sections and all votes must reach the International Secretariat not less than 120 days before the first day of the Triennial Conference.
5. All candidates for election to the 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.
6. The 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. Each Section shall be entitled to vote for not more than 12 candidates.
7. All nominations of candidates for election must be in writing. The written consent of the candidate must be obtained by the nominators or the International Secretariat. Announcements of nominations shall include the names of the nominators.
8. The Council shall elect the Vice-Chairman and appoint the Treasurer(s).
9. Any Section wishing to submit an item for consideration by the Council shall inform the International Secretariat which shall place it on the Agenda of the next meeting.

10. Any Council Member receiving an official request from a Section to place an item or items on the Council agenda shall act in accordance with that request, and a Council member may also be required by any Section to express its view on any item on the Council agenda.

11. Agendas and Minutes of the Council shall be circulated to all Sections.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

12. The Executive Committee shall be elected by the Council from amongst its members. The Executive Committee shall establish its own procedure within the framework of the Constitution and Rules and shall report to the Council.

13. Dates of forthcoming Executive Committee Meetings shall be notified to other Council Members, any of whom may attend with the right to speak and vote.

14. Minutes of the Executive Committee shall be sent to all Council Members and Sections.

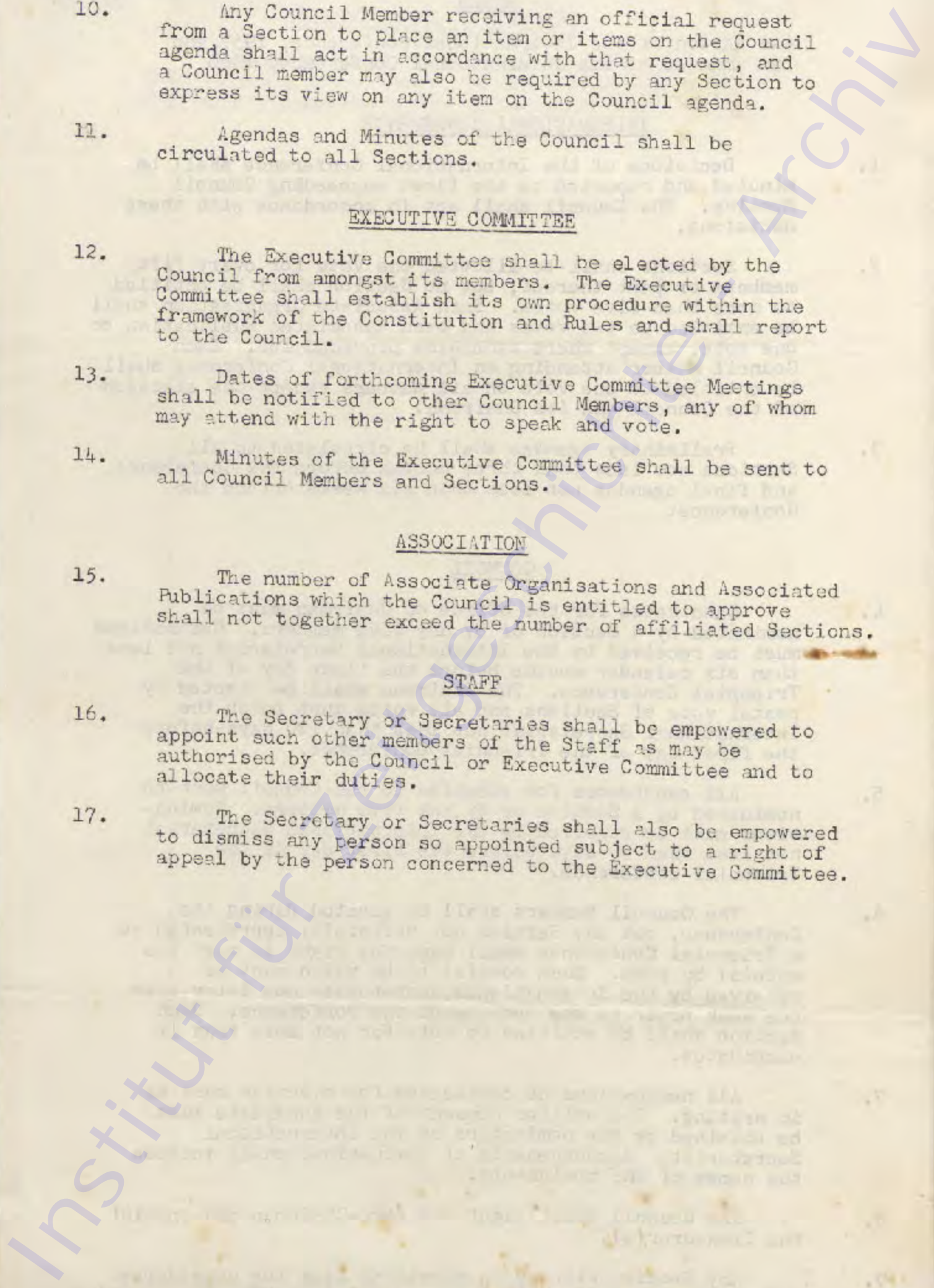
ASSOCIATION

15. The number of Associate Organisations and Associated Publications which the Council is entitled to approve shall not together exceed the number of affiliated Sections.

STAFF

16. The Secretary or Secretaries shall be empowered to appoint such other members of the Staff as may be authorised by the Council or Executive Committee and to allocate their duties.

17. The Secretary or Secretaries shall also be empowered to dismiss any person so appointed subject to a right of appeal by the person concerned to the Executive Committee.



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23rd November 1962

ED 718-17-8

AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE

10-12 November 1962

The Conference, to discuss international direct action against War was called by the Committee 1962 for Peace (Holland), the International Sub-Committee of the Committee of 100 (Gt. Britain) and Zengakuren (Japan), with the assistance of the W.R.I.

Individual Sponsors were:

Britain: Pat Arrowsmith, Hugh Brock, Bertrand Russell, Michael Scott and Tony Smythe

Holland: E.M. Buter, L.O. ten Cate, Prof. Dr. de Graaf, Father S. Jelma, Prof. Dr. J. Pressner, Ds Krijn Strijd and Prof. Dr. Emile V.W. Vereruyse.

Messages were received from Aldo Capitini and the Czech Peace Committee etc.

Saturday, 10th November

Ideas and policies: Introduced by Prof. Dr. Fritz de Jong Edzn (Holland) and Arno Hamers (Belgium).

Prof. de Jong gave a comprehensive account of the events which had led to the Cold War and the policy of nuclear deterrence. He thought that the nature of modern war was leading political and military leaders to the belief that war was no longer an effective instrument of national policy. This had led to disarmament conferences which as yet had not broken the vicious circle of the arms race. It was necessary to alert public opinion, offer practical proposals for such things as disengagement which could lead to a lessening of tension and to oppose blind anti-communism and war propaganda. Limited war was no longer feasible as it could escalate. All war preparations and practices designed to make war acceptable should be denounced.

Arno Hamers stressed the importance of finding a non-violent solution while believing that non-violence could not be made acceptable to communists or those not practising a religion. Soviet proposal for total disarmament should be examined and brought to the attention of the American Government. He could not agree to subversive activities in Communist countries as this would strengthen NATO. Action against nuclear tests was a good starting point.

The discussion was rather general and lacking in direction as the principles involved were not related to specific objectives. The main subjects brought up were: Unilateralism and the different definition in each country, Disengagement, especially as a point of contact between movements in the West and East, Neutralism as a positive concept, the progression from an Anti-Bomb to an Anti-War position, non-violence as a technique or a principle. The Italian delegation stressed the different conditions to be found in various countries and for their own part saw the Italian movement as anti-militarist because nuclear weapons were of limiting significance in their country. The Japanese delegation rejected attempts to influence governments, suggesting that the emphasis should be put on the creation of a popular movement not necessarily tied to

to non-violent principles. The military and political implications of the Common Market were stressed.

Sunday, 11th November

Methods, Demonstrations and Projects

The starting point for this discussion was the development of the anti-war movement nationally. Reports of national activity were given notably by Herbert Stubenrauch, the Chairman of the Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer in West Germany, Hans Bruggerman (Holland), Keiichi Suzuki (Japan), Claude Michel (France), Peter Cadogan (Gt. Britain) and Giuliano Rendi (Italy).

The main general points raised were:

- (a) The conditions hostile to the movement in each country
- (b) Forms of national action
- (c) The creation of new radical organisations
- (d) Easter 1963
- (e) Industrial Action.

The German report in particular included concrete suggestions. Next Easter marches would be held in the Federal Republic and if possible in Poland and Czechoslovakia. The three main slogans suggested for all the marches were -

- We will not have nuclear bases in our country
- We will have disengagement in East and West
- We will implement the Rapacki Plan

There was further discussion on the possibility of encouraging the growth of an independent movement in the East - that is without necessarily working through the officially recognised Peace Councils. Claude Michel said that conscientious objectors to the Algerian War would now be objectors to the A-Bomb. Marches were being planned in France, efforts had been made to influence the Vatican Council and individual action such as tax refusal was being encouraged. Marches had to have a positive aspect and means had to be consistent with ends.

Hans Bruggerman made the following points:

- (a) An independent voice had been heard at the Moscow Peace Conference. A Declaration against all tests had been passed. Co-existence should start in the peace movement.
- (b) There had to be a Committee of 100 in Holland as a co-operating direct action arm of the C.N.D.
- (c) Training Centres should be set up.
- (d) The Dutch Reform Church Synod had declared that it was the duty of a Christian to oppose nuclear weapons. Christians should refuse to co-operate with military service immediately and not wait until the outbreak of nuclear war.
- (e) Direct Action should be international and an International Peace Force should be set up.

Arno Hamers outlined the serious situation developing between the French and Flemish-speaking communities in Belgium and the difficulties in trying to offer a non-violent solution.

Most of the substance of these discussions is contained in the Conference Statement included with this report.

ED 718-17-9

Sunday evening

Tony Smythe (W.R.I. Secretary) introduced a discussion on internationalising the peace movement.

He thought that internationalisation would only be possible as national movements became more radical and more firmly based. There was a need for a comprehensive world-wide peace movement including all independent organisations and for a working association between direct action groups. The European Federation Conference in January 1963 might provide the nucleus for the broader movement but it was notable that direct action and individual responsibility as opposed to pressures on governments had not been included in the agenda for this Conference. Nevertheless the fullest support should be given to it by organisations represented at Amsterdam.

He stressed that it was neither desirable nor necessary to set up a centralised structure which would remain out of touch with rank and file members. There were international peace organisations already in existence which could take on much of the work of improving understanding and contact as a prelude to active co-operation, i.e. W.R.I., I.F.O.R., International Peace Bureau, W.I.L.P.F., A.I.T.-C.N.T., Socialist and Youth Internationals.

The question of co-operation with the W.P.C. was difficult and perhaps it should be limited to Peace Councils in communist countries. Ways of making contacts in the East should be sought, e.g. individual travel, East/West work camps, attendance at communist peace conferences, the Esperanto movement. More direct contact between individuals and local groups was needed and no major demonstrations or conferences should be contemplated without international representation.

National crisis contingents should try to work within the framework of the World Peace Brigade. Special attention should be given to the development of the movement in France and Germany and more imaginative international projects similar to EVERYMAN III and the Sahara Protest should be encouraged.

Dr. Heinz Kloppenburg, observer from the European CND Federation talked of the need for co-ordination and co-operation, while urging individuals to join the movements in which they felt most at home. Much anxiety was expressed about the Sino/Indian border situation and measures to help the Indian movement were considered. Again specific proposals about internationalising the movement were incorporated into the final statement.

Monday, 12th November

The discussion on the International Movement was continued. Then followed an examination of non-violent methods based on the experiences of those present. The idea that civil disobedience and industrial action were integral parts of the direct action approach was well received. No one could think of a way to deal with badly trained police dogs except perhaps cats! This part of the Conference, although not on the Agenda, proved to be most valuable. The final session was devoted to modifying the statement as drawn up by a working committee elected by the Conference. The time was far too short for this to be done satisfactorily and the number of participants had dropped from 50 to 26.

Proposals (a) to hold a demonstration to assert the right of aliens to speak on political matters in public (illegal in Holland), and (b) to suggest the formation of a peace brigade with international contingents to intervene in the Sino/Indian war, were defeated, the first owing to undertakings the Conference organisers had made to the authorities beforehand and the second because there was no time for discussion.

THE AMSTERDAM PROPOSITIONS

1. To-day we see our primary object as total opposition to nuclear weapons and nuclear bases and from this standpoint we have built and are building a peace movement of a new kind and new dimensions. Given this primary object it is apparent that the thinking of many of us has moved and is moving from an anti-bomb to an anti-war position.

2. We ask our friends in the peace movements of every country in the world to consider what they might do to promote non-violent direct action against the bomb and the danger of a third world war. This is the more important because:

- (a) traditional forms of political action are proving incapable of meeting the dangers produced by power-politics.
- (b) the failure of official disarmament talks has proved that we cannot rely upon government initiatives.

By non-violent action we mean:

- (a) that in our opposition to the bomb we should use means that in themselves express our answer to the Bomb, i.e. human values, personal insistence on peace.
- (b) the use of methods that enable us to communicate our case to police and troops who might be used against us.
- (c) recognition of the fact that if we used the methods of the other side we would in any case face inevitable defeat.

By direct action we mean:

- (a) the acceptance of personal responsibility for what has to be done.
- (b) the creation of new forms of organisation in which personal responsibility eliminates the old distinction between leaders and led.
- (c) forms of action in which responsibility is undertaken by those who volunteer rather than by those who are elected.

3. We want to see the demonstrations of Easter 1963 given a new international character by the presence of much larger international contingents. We urge people everywhere to consider what they might do personally and through their organisations to make this possible.

4. We propose that in the World Campaign International (or whatever it is to be called) there be provision for a section of those whose special interest is in non-violent direct action. We suggest that in the preparation of the agenda of the London Conference there be provision for a full discussion of individual responsibility and reliance upon the growth of popular movements as distinct from action by Governments and the established political machinery.

5. Marches in East and West European countries which are focussed on achieving disengagement in Central Europe should:

- (a) where possible, start from or end at NATO or Warsaw Pact bases.
- (b) make the demand that their governments should each immediately start to implement plans for the disengagement and not wait for reciprocal agreements and negotiated treaties on disarmament.

6. We suggest to our friends in Germany that they consider simultaneous West and East German marches to the East-West German border without attempting to cross it, i.e. we do not suggest action that could be interpreted as provocation.

7. We wish to organise an exchange of information between the movements and groups participating in the Conference according to the following principle:

that each movement and group taking part should commit itself to sending to the other movements and groups a copy of each publication, bulletin, circular, pamphlet, appeal, etc. published by that group.

8. We propose that the January Conference should aim at having the same slogans adopted by Easter Marches in each country. For our own part we suggest:

We will not have nuclear bases in our country  
Dismantle foreign bases everywhere now  
Against nuclear weapons East and West  
Against military alliances East and West  
People of the world, unite for Peace  
Violence has failed - Use non-violence  
Scientists for social progress, not for better bombs  
Disengagement begins at home

etc. etc.

9. Since the W.R.I. Headquarters are able to provide telephone and office facilities we ask them to consider acting as a continuation and liaison committee for this conference and for non-violent action groups throughout the world and to help recall this conference as and when it is considered necessary.

10. We are convinced of the value of holding another meeting of the participants to this conference in, say, the spring of 1963.

11. We ask the peace organisations all over the world to try to establish a study and training centre in their country and to try to see that young people, especially conscientious objectors, visit these centres for some time to become trained volunteers in non-violent action.

12. Action precedes the organisation of a movement. Because in the course of action individuals create a genuinely democratic movement, we encourage the development of local and national initiatives in direct action for peace leading eventually to a substantial anti-war international.

14. We believe that it is not necessary at this stage to set up another new formal organism to co-ordinate direct actions and demonstrations internationally conceived.

Direct contact can be established between the various organisations and local groups through established sympathetic and co-operating bodies such as W.R.I., Zengakuren, W.F.B., Peace News, Committee of 100, etc. The W.R.I. has an information service which could be developed if it is provided with news from all interested groups, and we urge all direct action groups to use it.

15. We commend the idea of demonstrations of a dual character, i.e. with direct action and with associated forms of conventional action taking place in the same or related places and at the same time.

16. This meeting has taught us that to know each other better is a necessary prelude to common action. We trust that this will be only the first of frequent contacts between the peace movements of our several countries.

17. The non-violent struggle against nuclear weapons must be not only an end in itself, but must carry with it its positive aspects. We must develop forms of service and constructive association and so demonstrate this aspect of our ultimate end.

18. Recognising the permanent crisis in which we live we shall by direct action seek to express the feelings of the millions of people throughout the world who would be effected by modern war. We consider that the wealth of the advanced countries involves them in responsibility for the poverty of the less advanced countries and that this, not re-armament, should be our immediate concern.

19. One of the main aims of this conference is to strengthen the possibility of international industrial action against nuclear war preparations, because this would be a decisive factor making for peace.

This conference recommends close direct liaison between industrial workers in the peace organisations of each country represented - the aim of this liaison being to achieve simultaneous strike action against nuclear armaments - for example by dockers.

20. We ask every peace movement in the world to consider a new form of action in the face of particular crises - namely that in each country there be a crisis contingent of those personally prepared to proceed to the location of a particular crisis and there to join up with the peace movement of the country or countries immediately concerned to take whatever form of non-violent direct action they think best.

21. The following resolution was moved but since the time factor prevented any discussion and in view of the need to examine the matter more carefully it was agreed that it should simply be noted for further discussion.

In the Cuban crisis the American government put Cuba in quarantine. This means that President Kennedy would permit civil cargoes to Cuba and forbid military ones. We bring this notice to the peace movements everywhere and suggest a world-wide quarantining of all foreign bases, i.e. suitable non-violent direct actions to permit only civil supplies to enter.

22. We appeal to both sides in the Sino-Indian border dispute, and particularly to our friends in the Indian peace movements, to do all they can to come together in peaceful negotiation and to waste no further time or lives in this senseless slaughter. No conditions at all should be made for the beginning of such negotiations except that of an immediate cease fire. We ask all peace movements in the world to seek means to help the forces of non-violence in both countries.

NOTES: Under the terms of reference of the conference these propositions are recommendations to interested people and organisations throughout the world.

In order to be accepted by the conference, propositions and amendments had to secure a two-thirds majority.

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This is not the official report of the Amsterdam Conference. It is the report of the W.R.I. delegate. The Propositions have been edited and are fewer than those originally made.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
ENGLAND.

# AMSTERDAM

Called by the National Committee of 100 - Great Britain  
International Sub-Committee, 5, Acton Way, Cambridge

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This document is addressed to all those organisations and individuals who feel, as we do, that in face of the growing danger of war we should make a determined move towards internationalising the peace movement. It was on this very point of internationalism that total failure was registered in 1914 and 1939. Today we can take advantage of the lessons of those experiences. ED 718-17-11

The Amsterdam conference will address itself to ideas, policies and methods and to the practical steps that might be taken in the next few months. When our first circular was sent out (1st September 1962) we had in mind setting up the Anti-War International as proposed by Zengakuren of Japan. Since then we have had discussions with the European Federation (CND) and the WRI both of which are working actively in a similar international direction. We have no desire to make for divisions in the movement and in September we did not know about the conference to be called in London by the European Federation for January next. We have therefore made certain changes.

We fully support the January conference (to which pacifist and direct action organisations are to be invited) and any misunderstanding has been cleared up. The European Federation will be represented at Amsterdam. The November conference will of course take such decisions as it thinks best (in the form of recommendations to interested bodies) but we from the Committee of 100 shall urge that no formal Anti-War International as such be then set up.

We look forward to a period of intensified international thinking and association. Nothing does more good than meeting one another face to face and so establishing relationships that have endless possibilities of development. This we shall do at Amsterdam. At the same time and from our own particular Committee of 100 point of view we hope to meet at Amsterdam every organised body of opinion that subscribes to non-violent direct action.

## REPRESENTATION

In our experience the old method of electing delegates is neither very good nor very effective. May we suggest that interested organisations make the conference known to their members and ask those who are actively interested and whose circumstances permit them to volunteer to go. (It has to be made clear whether or not they have to pay their own expenses). The only likely problem then is the possibility of too many volunteers - best to deal with that one when it comes up.

We originally suggested ten delegates from each country. This was a rough guide bearing in mind the size of the room at the Krasnopolsky where the conference will take place. Some will send less, others can send more. It is important to remember that any decisions taken at Amsterdam will have only the force of recommendations, so that unequal representation is not important. Will those who are coming communicate directly with the Conference Bureau c/o Mr E.M. Buter, Jac. Obrechtplein 3, Amsterdam - from which credentials can be obtained. Mr Buter is Secretary of the COMMITTEE 1962 FOR PEACE of the Netherlands, the organisation which has been good enough to act as the intermediary in calling the conference. We are greatly in their debt.

The only condition as regards attendance at the conference is that representatives come from genuinely independent peace organisations i.e. those that are "equally opposed to all weapons of mass destruction and to military alliances East and West alike" (our first circular 1st September). This may well mean that people will come from several different organisations of the same nationality. This is well and good since no one enjoys a monopoly in the struggle against war.

Conference fees... We have to cover the hire of the rooms, printing, postage, tea and coffee. This works out as follows - Delegates £2 i.e. twenty guilders. Observers £1. Youth delegates and observers 10/-. Accommodation for delegates will be free - in the homes of our friends in Amsterdam. Each individual will be personally responsible for his own fee whatever arrangements he might make about it 'back home'. He will likewise be responsible for his own travelling expenses.

As will be apparent from these arrangements this will not be an expensive conference. We are making a minimum charge and may well find ourselves involved in expenses that we have not yet foreseen. Donations, over and above the fees, would be very welcome from individuals and organisations. (If we had some money in hand we might be able to help some people with travelling expenses - but no undertaking can be given in this respect). Please send currency to Amsterdam or Cambridge.

Individual sponsors so far are:

GREAT BRITAIN Bertrand Russell, Michael Scott, Pat Arrowsmith, Hugh Brock and Tony Smythe.

THE NETHERLANDS L.O. ten Cate, Dr Krijn Strijd, Father S. Jelma, Prof. Dr Emile W.W. Verduynse, Prof. Dr J. Pressner, Prof. Dr de Graaf, and E.M. Buter.

Can we have the names of individual sponsors from other countries please?

#### CONFERENCE AGENDA

Saturday 10th November. 10.00 - 12.30 - Ideas and policies in face of the threat of war. Introduced by Prof. Dr Prits de Jong (Amsterdam). 14.00 - 17.30 - Ideas and policies continued. Evening free.

Sunday 11th November. Methods, demonstrations and projects. (We hope to hear in these course of these Sunday sessions short reports of experience to date in every country represented with particular reference to their lessons for the future and international implications.)  
Morning:- 10.00 - 12.30. Afternoon free. Evening:- 19.30 - 22.00.

Monday 12th November. 10.00 - 12.30 - Internationalising the peace movement. Lessons of previous failures. The various organisations now at work; their development and inter-relation. 14.00 - 16.00. Practical steps for the next stage. Finalising recommendations. The London Conference.

We would like a different chairman for each session and from a different country each time. The function of an opening speaker, as we see it, is to introduce the discussion rather than attempt a comprehensive survey of his subject. We are therefore asking all introductory speakers to limit themselves to thirty minutes.

International conferences in Amsterdam are frequently and successfully conducted in English - so we are told by our friends in the Netherlands. They suggest that we do likewise on this occasion. Subject to the approval of conference itself the deliberations will be in English.

THE PRESS. The view we have taken so far is that it will make for greater freedom of discussion if the press is absent. For that reason and not because we have anything to conceal the press will not be admitted unless conference decides otherwise. There will be a press conference after the last session and we hope that a number of delegates will be able to stay for it.

MEMORANDA. Documents for circulation (100/200 copies) should be brought to Amsterdam or preferably sent to the Bureau well in advance of November 10th.

In the absence of a comprehensive list of anti-war organisations this circular is being sent to all organisations and individuals on our international contact list. We hope that all who receive this communication will make the success of the Amsterdam conference their personal concern. We accept the fact that this will be primarily a European conference - the financial and geographical barriers being what they are - but organisations in other continents may well have members in Europe who will be able to come. We know that Zengakuren will be there.

13th October 1962

Peter Cadogan  
for THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF 100

Bredablik, Denmark - 29th August - 4th September 1962

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE

Breidablik, Denmark: 29th July - 4th August, 1962

ED 718-17-13

THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN WEST GERMANY

- H.G. Friedrich, Germany

The position of pacifists and C.O.'s is difficult in Germany, but the peace movement has been in existence for a long time, starting with the movement "Down with Weapons", at the turn of the century. It was these early influences which helped to bring about the Peace Conference of 1889 and the setting up of the International Court at the Hague. We know that this was not able to stop either the First or the Second World War but its existence made it difficult for all but a few politicians to talk in militaristic terms. At this time members of the peace movement did not go as far as C.O.'s or those who practise civil disobedience. Members were soldiers in the First and Second World Wars.

The situation was changed in 1921 with the advent of the W.R.I. For the first time the idea of organised resistance to war was presented. Most Germans who took part in this movement were in great difficulties in 1933 and either had to leave the country or were put in concentration camps. In 1945 there was a revulsion against the war machine but this was not a pacifist phenomenon. People just thought Germany would not have weapons again and so threaten world peace. This is why the peace movement remained in the background until 1955. Conscription was introduced in 1956 and the peace movement was forced to take action.

The war left a very unhappy heritage with Germany divided into five parts. We already know about West and East Germany and Berlin, but part of Eastern Germany is under Polish control and part of Prussia under Russian. There are several movements in Germany working for reunification up to the Russian border.

The pacifists want to give up these parts of Germany to avoid tension in Central Europe. This means all those talking about reconciliation are accused in the West of being pro-Communist.

We have several organisations: Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer, Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner and Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft - all affiliated to the W.R.I. - and some religious and socialist groups. The number of members was influenced in 1956 by the fact that two political parties were against conscription. When the Social Democrats accepted conscription, the number dropped. Now there are 15,000 organised war-resisters. 4,000 of these have been recognised by tribunals. 500 are now doing alternative service.

It may seem strange to an English audience to go into this in such detail, but in Germany we have to work hard to make the idea of conscientious objection acceptable. The work against conscription has been local in character and rather ineffective. The Social Democrats lost an election on the issue of conscription. In this situation we miss the large number of German pacifists who left during the Nazi regime or were killed.

Anti-nuclear work began similarly and has lost ground. But it has brought forward people who were not previously connected with the pacifist movement. These people were inspired by the Aldermaston March. In 1960 the first Easter March took place. In 1961 and 1962 the marches split up and ended with meetings of 50,000

people. Because of the size of Germany there were about 20 marches and they lasted between two and four days, covering from 40 to 120 kilometers. Often they went through unpopulated areas. Nevertheless they accomplished something in Germany that has not been done before. They helped to unify pacifist groups. None of the participating political groups were allowed to show banners on the march.

We believe that these marches will form the basis for future progress and direct action. After the Easter March we sent delegates to the Geneva Conference. The 6th and 9th of August were selected as special action days. Groups helped in the San Francisco to Moscow March and some other actions.

In 1958 all those born in 1922 were conscripted once more. This caused a tremendous and successful protest wave. The Government has not yet called them up. Then those born in 1939 were called up. Among them we find the greatest number of C.O.'s. In 1959 a law for the mobilisation of cars as well as people was brought in. For this reason we have started a campaign with car-stickers saying "This car stays a civilian." Many cars in Germany carry it.

Trade Unions have officially kept out of the Easter Marches, but there have been a number of resolutions in favour of them. At a meeting of the Trade Union Youth Section a declaration was made that the 1st of September should be Anti-War Day. Pacifist groups and Easter Marches will participate in this.

The Easter March has grown up into a vital organisation against nuclear war. Its actions are legal. Civil disobedience is not yet intended. But now there are some groups being formed to commit illegal action. In West Germany there is a Committee of 100 and they carried out sit-downs in Dortmund, where there is a British missile base, and in Bonn at the British and American Embassies. The penalties are higher than in Britain.

In 1961, at the New Year, the World Peace Brigade was founded in Beirut. One of the first projects is to be carried out in Germany. Its aim and the form it will take have still to be discussed.

To sum up: The peace movement exists on three levels.

- 1) Conscientious objection, personal refusal.
- 2) Easter Marches. A mass-movement which includes non-pacifists.
- 3) The World Peace Brigade. This work we regard as very important in Germany.

We look forward to the development of the W.P.B., particularly because international demonstrations are difficult and in a divided Germany international demonstrations are particularly important.

The last ten years of peace work have created a large body of experienced people, so that we have caught up lost ground. As Germany has been developed as an integral part of N.A.T.O., so the German peace movement has developed as an integral part of the W.R.I.

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If reprinted, please give acknowledgment to the author and the War Resisters' International.

ROLE OF NON-VIOLENT ACTION IN EUROPEAN MOVEMENT.

- April Carter

ED 718-17-14

A detailed discussion of the relevance of non-violent action to the creation of a successful European Resistance Movement.

1. Public Opinion

Faced with the threat of a nuclear war it is not enough merely to use constitutional methods - to draw up petitions or make speeches. In order to bring immediate pressure to bear on governments in times of extreme crisis it is necessary to take more extreme action - to discourage reservists from being called up into the army, to try to get trade unionists to refuse to handle or transport arms or troops, to try to get industrial action, to undertake civil disobedience, etc. One major function of non-violent action is to act as a brake on the government, to enable people to act as a pressure group weighing against the other pressure groups - the economic, the military, the right wing extremists, the press, etc. The state of public opinion is of great importance in times of crisis - the Mershon Report on Accidental War emphasised that the danger of accidental war was increased by hysterical or belligerent public opinion, and the possibility of preventing an accident turning into war was assisted by an anti-war and balanced public opinion.

2.(a) Limitations of Constitution

But constitutional action is not only limited as a means of acting in a crisis. It is also limited in a more long-term way as a means of changing public opinion and as a means of getting a change of policy. A movement with limited resources cannot hope to counter effectively the barrage of pro-government and pro-NATO propaganda purely by counter-propaganda. It is also very difficult, if not impossible, to counter emotional and instinctive ideas about defence purely by logical argument or by emotional appeals through exhibitions and films, etc. There is the added problem that the kind of emotional appeal made by films and exhibitions tends to be an appeal to fear and horror, which may be self-defeating. If you frighten people too much they become incapable of action. They push the whole problem to the back of their minds.

(b) Forms of Non-Violent Action

We need therefore to find a means of propaganda which extends beyond our limited resources, and to make use of the mass media. We need to get across to people, to make them take notice of the dangers of war and to listen to our arguments. But we don't want to frighten them too much; we want to give them confidence in their ability to change the situation, to make them aware of their power and to get them to act.

For all these<sup>3</sup> purposes non-violent action is the best answer.

The forms of non-violent action vary. For a start marches and vigils are very important. They lead people beyond signing a petition or going to a meeting to declare their beliefs publicly. They give people more confidence by a demonstration of their numbers, by the sense of purpose and excitement they generate, and by the interest and publicity they usually receive. Marches and vigils also have the advantage that they are not normally illegal and so people who believe mainly in constitutional methods can take part in them. Where marches and vigils are illegal - where leafletting or banners are forbidden for example - it is a fairly clear breach of civil liberties and you may get people to go against the law on a civil liberties basis.

But marches and vigils, though they initially often have a big impact, have limitations if they are regarded as only methods of public demonstration or action. Everyone begins to get used to them - the press takes less notice, the public accept demonstrations as part of the social scene, the demonstrators themselves begin to get tired of marching and become frustrated and disillusioned. This is certainly happening in England, where there have now been five Aldermaston Marches at Easter. At the end of the last Aldermaston March there was a terrific feeling of excitement and almost of revolution in some parts of the March as it entered Whitehall. People were spreading out right across the street and running - with nothing at the end of it except to disperse in a side street. But, marching is essentially a basis for action - it creates the emotional climate and momentum for action. It expresses frustration and determination, although after a while tending to increase them. A campaign which uses marches but never goes on to further action may find violence breaking out after its demonstrations.

This danger does not exist to nearly the same extent if demonstrators can be led on to organised disciplined non-violent action; to civil disobedience in cities and at bases; where trade unionists are involved, to strike action perhaps; where possible, to refusing taxes for war, call-up into the army, etc.

These actions are not, of course, merely safety valves for campaigners. They are means of making a major impact on the press, on the public, and on the political parties and the government. They are expressions of a real resistance movement, a potentially powerful resistance. They can show people what to do and how to work against nuclear war, and so to break down fear and apathy.

So long as they are in a minority the demonstrators taking non-violent action are primarily trying to persuade the majority. They are a pressure group with the ability to obstruct the government or the military machine, but NOT able to enforce a fundamental change of policy without majority backing. The aim of the civil disobeyers is to win over the general public and the police and troops, so that in time they can totally immobilise the war machine. They must, however, win major support first. Thus the psychological aspects of non-violent action - voluntarily going to jail or risking injury, maintaining openness with the police, military and authorities and generally establishing the quality of the resistance is very important. Here the precise tactics adopted - which I have not time to discuss - are very important.

### 3. Democracy and Civil Disobedience

Of course, civil disobedience will arouse great hostility from some sections of the population. Many actions carry severe legal penalties, and where the state feels threatened it will use them. The British Government felt threatened at Wethersfield last December when it called out thousands of troops and police and imprisoned six of the ring leaders on a very serious charge. As soon as strike action for political purposes is proposed, business men, and politicians and people who are strongly conservative or liberal begin to foresee anarchy and revolution and get worried. Disaffection from the services or mutiny is likely to be very severely punished.

It is precisely because this kind of action poses a real threat to the state and to vested interests that it is important. It could be effective in stopping a war. It could overthrow a government. Even the early stages of this kind of resistance movement have this potentiality.

This kind of action is essential to supplement parliamentary political action. Trying to create a political party with such a revolutionary policy as unilateral nuclear disarmament - refusing to have nuclear bases, coming out of all military alliances like NATO, etc. is an incredibly difficult task. It may be harder in Britain than in some countries in Europe, because our parliamentary

and voting system strongly discourages attempts to create small parties and because the Labour Party still commands great traditional loyalty even among CND members, although the organisation of power inside the Labour Party makes it impossible for the Party to become unilateralist. But basically the same problems apply in all countries. New parties are competing against established political loyalties and prejudices. They have small resources to combat the great resources of the more conservative parties - in Britain thousands of pounds were spent by big business interests campaigning against nationalisation before the elections in addition to the major advertising campaign organised by the Tories during the election itself. Elections tend to be conducted on the basis of personalities, crude emotional appeals and slogans and scares. There is terrific pressure on the left to keep out a right wing government by letting in a nominally "socialist" one, which almost certainly has policies just as or more reactionary on foreign policy and defence as the Conservatives or Christian Democrats.

But the difficulties of building up a new party, of winning support and gaining resources is only a small part of the total problem of working through Parliament and elections. To become a government one has to have a majority in Parliament. And at this stage European countries with proportional representation are likely to have even greater problems than Britain, because often governing parties have to form a coalition on a compromise basis. But unilateral disarmament and neutralism is not the sort of policy on which one can compromise. Even supposing in 20 years, and this is a very optimistic assessment, a number of European countries reached the stage where unilateralist and neutralist governments were elected with overwhelming majorities, then major problems would still remain.

Unilateral disarmament is likely to encounter very strong opposition from the military and from big business if their trade is likely to be disrupted. And trade with the U.S.A. and the Common Market is quite likely to be interrupted if a country goes unilateralist. On this sort of issue there is almost bound to be a belligerent right wing majority. The civil service, in particular the foreign and defence ministries, are likely to resist policies so out of keeping with their traditions. It is also very important to remember that there will be strong external pressure from the U.S. and from NATO countries.

I think that if Britain now attempted to disarm unilaterally, whilst still out of the Common Market and in a politically favourable position for unilateralism and neutralism, a unilateralist government might have to face the following problems: an economic embargo from the U.S. and the Common Market; a right wing attempt at a coup d'état; a U.S. collusion with the right wing and attempt to keep U.S. bases and troops in Britain; intensive pressure from business interests. There is a great danger that in trying to deal with these the government would give in - and if this were an ordinary political party with a belief in parliamentary and constitutional methods only, led by people with the outlook of politicians, then I am positive it would give in. If on the other hand it were a determined and really revolutionary party, it would be forced towards taking dictatorial measures both by stringent economic controls and by suppressing right wing opposition. In this situation non-violent action offers at least a partial answer. Non-violent resistance by strikes, civil disobedience, etc. could probably prevent a right wing coup - as a general strike prevented the Kapp Putsch in 1920 in Germany. Workers could force their employers not to oppose the government by strikes or by actually taking over the businesses. Thus massive non-violent action in support of a genuinely popular government could on the one hand prevent the government giving in, and on the other remove the necessity for it becoming very authoritarian.

I would like to make it clear that I am not saying there would be economic embargoes or a right wing coup - though I am almost certain there would be economic and right wing pressure. Obviously

the exact reactions would depend on the strength of the movements in other countries, in other NATO governments, the reactions of the Soviet Union, etc. Nor do I want to make a dogmatic Marxist analysis of class terms. If we can develop and present clearly and coherently enough the implications of unilateralism and carry out our non-violent action campaign in the right way, I think we can get some support and sympathy from intelligent politicians, military and business men. If we have major popular support we must already have won over a good deal of conservative opinion among ordinary workers.

Non-violent action is an essential part of gaining initial support, of actually getting a unilateralist government, and of carrying unilateralism through after a government has been elected. If we are to get a unilateralist government within the foreseeable future, I think it can only be as the result of mass internal agitation in response to a political crisis, by, in fact, a semi-revolutionary situation, not by ordinary electoral means. However a government may be elected, non-violent action is an essential part of the movement. It must be possible to call for a civil disobedience, or strikes or disaffection if the situation demands it.

#### 4. The Common Market

So far I have been talking about the limitations of purely parliamentary and constitutional methods within nation states as they now exist. But I think we have to recognise that those countries within the Common Market have already surrendered some of their sovereignty and are going to surrender more. If the E.F.T.A. countries do join the E.E.C. then all West Europe will probably be within an economic and political union which will lead to greater concentration of power and to much less importance being given to national parliaments and national governments. In this situation it seems to me that the disarmament movement is literally being forced to use non-violent action. If national parliaments become even more meaningless on defence and foreign policy and economic matters, if national governments have to accept decisions of a central Council or Commission, if Europe becomes effectively controlled by a military, political and economic bureaucracy and by the big industrial cartels, then parliamentary methods become nearly irrelevant. Even now in the E.E.C. the greatest power lies with the 9-man Commission of civil servants, not with the Council of government representatives.

In this kind of situation unilateralism becomes infinitely more difficult to envisage. It would mean coming out of a political and economic union; it might in the future mean defying the regulations and perhaps even the army of such a union. It would certainly be a revolutionary step, much more so than unilateralism would be for a country like Britain now. In an advanced stage of political union it might even be impossible to elect a unilateralist government at a general election. Whatever the precise position, non-violent action would be even more essential to obtain and maintain unilateralism and neutralism.

In a union of western European states tending towards a United States of Europe, I think the more realistic and likely tendency would be for movements also to unite, and instead of working for unilateral national disarmament, to organise a concerted campaign with the ultimate objective of unconditional disarmament by the whole union and a transformation of this union. Trying to influence this kind of centralised power structure through constitutional and electoral means is a good deal less realistic than on a national level. The Parliamentary Assemblies now attached to the various European organisations are bodies with absolutely no controlling power and no real function except to satisfy the prestige and vanity of M.P.'s and to give these organisations a democratic appearance.

Thus the only means open to the disarmament movements are those of non-violent action: the use of civil disobedience, attempt to immobilise bases, coordinated strike action by workers for the same

firm in different countries. Gradually the labour movements will be forced to integrate their policies and actions for economic purposes. We will have to work to integrate them for political purposes also. Campaigns against conscription should be based on a European neutralist policy; movements should attempt to subvert their own troops and troops from other countries based in their country, and so on.

## 5. Universal Application

ED 718-17-16

One of the great assets of non-violent action is that it can be a method of unifying movements all over the world. As I mentioned earlier, this is the only method which can be used anywhere in the world, in the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., West Germany and Poland, Britain and Sweden. In liberal democratic states violence has obvious major disadvantages; it completely goes against all the accepted traditions of politics and liberal ideas. Though non-violent action does to some extent also, it can be convincingly shown as a necessary part of a really democratic process, the key factor being its non-violence, the inability of demonstrators to force a dissenting majority to accept policies, the willingness of non-violent demonstrators to go to jail, to accept society's laws, etc. Psychologically violent resistance would isolate the resisters from support and sympathy and would tend to drive them in on themselves and make them fanatics cut off from their society and the realities of the situation.

Violence in countries like East Germany has different problems, but equally real ones - the ability of totalitarian governments to deal with violent resistance by their secret police, centralised military power, etc. I think some of the same problems as in liberal democracies apply in the Soviet Union and Poland, where the governments do have some popular support, where the régimes are not totally repressive. Non-violent action is more likely to enlist support from other citizens and is more difficult for the government to crush with complete ruthlessness. Of course non-violent action has very serious problems in a dictatorial or totalitarian régime too, and may need resort to a certain amount of underground organisation. If the movement can be organised or sparked off, then massive non-cooperation is more likely to be effective than an armed rising. This view was obviously held by West German Trade Union leaders who at the time of the 1956 Hungarian uprising decided, after consultation with East German resistance leaders, to call for a general sit-down strike in East Germany in support of the Hungarian revolution. The Americans refused the use of their radio for this purpose, but if the call had been made and acted upon it might, in view of the situation in Poland at that time, and unrest in Czechoslovakia and Rumania, have changed the whole course of events.

So non-violent action is the only common and effective method available. But is it necessary to have the same methods? Cannot we build up a movement with the same policy which uses different methods in different countries? From what I have already said it is clear that if we are entering a new political era and are going to operate in a politically united Europe then it is essential to have the same methods within that Union.

It is still quite possible this union of Europe will not come about, and even if it does what about the Soviet Union, the U.S., the countries in Asia and Africa? Must all these movements have the same methods and policies in order to work together?

I think the short answer is "Yes", more or less. Obviously different countries have very different problems and it would be absurd to expect complete uniformity of policy, strategy and tactics even within Western Europe. But movements which work together must have basically the same policy and approach and must use a common method. This is partly because meaningful co-operation entails co-ordinated action. There is also a more fundamental reason. Unless movements have broadly the same policies then they cannot work together for any period. A more permanent co-operation must be based on agreement on fundamentals - and the methods used are fundamental; moreover they determine policy. Or rather basic policy determines the methods used.

It is fairly obvious that a revolutionary movement using sabotage and assassination could have very little in common on any level with a movement devoted to purely constitutional action. But there is also a great gulf between purely constitutional and between non-violent action movements on the one hand, and between non-violent action and violent movements on the other. The violent F.L.N. has very little in common with Kenneth Kaunda's more or less non-violent U.N.I.F., although both have the common goal of independence. Nearer home the split between the C.N.D. and the Committee of 100 goes much deeper than a disagreement about civil disobedience. Basically the C.N.D. and the Committee of 100 have quite different conceptions of unilateralism and how to achieve it.

In fact I think ultimately that unconditional disarmament, neutralism, and the creation of conditions for maintaining peace demand the use of non-violent action as a method and the acceptance of the ideas underlying non-violence. By using purely constitutional methods one is in fact accepting the present political set-up and the forces operating within it. An ordinary political party, using only parliamentary methods, would find itself incapable of carrying out unilateralism and would be forced into some kind of mutilated position. Moreover the people who would in the first place accept only parliamentary methods, and who would tend to form a political party, are inevitably the people most predisposed to accept the present political system and present political assumptions. In the British C.N.D. the people most unwilling to take a clear stand on NATO for example are Labour M.P.'s, or people very close to the Labour Party. The different way CND and Committee of 100 delegates at the Moscow Congress acted is very revealing.

These two contentions - that relying solely on parliamentary methods forces one to accept the assumptions of the present system and to give way to powerful pressure groups; and that it is naturally the people most predisposed to accept the system, and hence most likely to give way under pressure, who rely solely on parliamentary means - are both illustrated by the record of the Labour Party in Britain. I imagine they are also illustrated by the records of the Social Democratic Parties in other European countries.

At the other extreme a movement which has a policy devoted to violence, although it might well be able to effect a revolution, is not likely to bring about the kind of revolution leading to disarmament. This applies even to countries like Spain or East Germany, where there is some immediate justification for violence. A violent revolution is likely to create the following problems: intervention on behalf of one side or the other by some other country, or Cold War bloc; if there is no intervention, the resisters may need to rely on one bloc for arms; apart from the problems of outside pressure, a violent resistance is likely to lead to a highly centralised and ruthless government which sets out to repress all opposition, thus alienating outside sympathy and giving an excuse for economic sanctions from a military bloc. Nor is a government, which has won its position by force of arms and which may well maintain itself by force of arms unless it has massive support, likely to disarm unconditionally. However, I would like to distinguish between a movement with an organised policy of violent revolution and between occasional and spontaneous outbreaks of violence in a resistance movement. Even a basically non-violent movement may be involved in some fighting or rioting. In countries like Spain and Portugal, where there have recently been very exciting examples of non-violent resistance by the students and by the miners, the non-violent resistance is spontaneous rather than planned as a policy or principle and it is very probable there will be incidents where students stone the police, etc. Though this may be unfortunate, it does not have the same political results and implications as a campaign of planned violence, and should not exclude us from making contacts with the Spanish and Portuguese resistance.

To sum up, non-violent action should be the central method of the European movement and should be the method we seek to encourage in other countries. Co-operation (as opposed to informal discussions and liaison) should be based on a policy of unconditional disarmament and non-violent action to obtain it.

This should not exclude parliamentary action. It is extremely important to break through old party alignments to a new, radical grouping. Putting up candidates can be an important focal point for an educational campaign, and is also in itself a demonstration. The existence of parties like the Socialist Peoples Parties with deputies in Parliament has an important demonstrative value in representing a radical opposition, in exposing the Social Democratic Parties, in helping make the public aware of military policies and the way they are being operated.

In the long run unconditional disarmament must be carried through by some kind of constitutional and popularly approved body. In western Europe parliamentary democracy has great popular prestige. I think we must use parliament and must work through the liberal democratic processes as far as we can, because it is a method of campaigning, because many people within our movement see it as important, and because we must not frighten people away by seeming too extremely revolutionary or anarchist. But we must not allow ourselves to be emasculated by the parliamentary process, which means keeping non-violent action central to the campaign the whole time. At this stage it seems most logical for individual national movements to concentrate on whatever parliamentary and political campaign is appropriate to them, but for the European movement as a whole to cooperate on the basis of non-violent action.

ED 718-17-17

6. Non-Violent Defence Policy

Finally I would like to mention briefly the rôle of non-violent action as a future defence policy. This follows on logically from all that I have been saying about non-violent action and unilateralism. A country which has opted unconditionally out of power politics and military alliances cannot logically maintain a large conventional force. This would largely negate the value of leaving NATO. For, example, a West Germany which was still fully armed, though out of NATO would not decrease tension in Central Europe. The existence of a number of non-allied but still fully armed countries might in some ways pose more of a threat. There would also be great pressure towards regaining or acquiring nuclear weapons if each country was attempting to maintain its military strength but was not allied to the U.S.A.

So in effect nuclear disarmament and neutralism mean total disarmament. This in turn means the possibility of occupation by some other power, and the only way for an unarmed nation to resist is by non-violent action. Clearly use of non-violent action as a method of opposition now is a very good preparation for its possible use in the future against an occupying power.

7. Conclusion

So to recapitulate finally why non-violent action is necessary and relevant to us: a) it can enable people to bring pressure on the government in a crisis and so "buy" time for the longer term aim of disarmament; b) it can arouse public opinion and give people a sense of power and so help mobilise them; c) it is a means of attacking powerful vested interests and is thus an essential complement to parliamentary methods. It is necessary both to obtain a unilateralist government and to maintain a unilateralist policy; d) in a political union of Europe it would become even more important as a method as the relevance of constitutional methods will decrease still further; e) non-violent action is the only method which can be used by movements all over the world. It is necessary to unify movements on a basis of agreed policy and method. Non-violent action is also the only method consistent with unilateralist policy. So it should be the central method of a European movement and the basis for cooperation with all movements; f) non-violent action is the only possible defence policy for a unilaterally disarmed country and so our present methods of resistance carry directly into future national policy.

Breidablik, Denmark: 29th August - 4th September 1962

THE ROLE OF NEUTRAL NATIONS:

Austria, Sweden, Switzerland

ED 718-17-18

- Betril Sandén

Switzerland

The Swiss state may be said to have its origin in 1291, when, out of the collapse of feudalism, there developed a union of three communities of Alpine people about Lake Lucerne. The purpose of the union was primarily mutual protection against external foes, particularly the Hapsburgs. The evolution of Switzerland from then on was a gradual drawing together of more and more valley communes and free cities around the original League. Differences in religion prevented Switzerland from allying with either Catholics or Protestants during the religious wars. Rather than divide their union the Swiss kept a difficult neutrality, thus avoiding national suicide. However, in the 15th and early 16th centuries the Confederation took part in many aggressive foreign wars and were, on the whole, victorious. The disastrous battle of Merigano in 1515 marked the end of the important rôle played by Switzerland in European affairs. The first official declaration of neutrality dates from that time.

A word should be said about the provision of mercenary soldiers. Judging from the popularity of this practice the Swiss might be said to have found a "moral equivalent to war", and by this mean provided an outlet for the warlike tendencies of its population. According to some authorities they sacrificed 700.000 men to France alone.

In the Joint Peace Treaty of 1648 at Munster after the Thirty Years War, the European Powers recognised the independence of Switzerland and at the same time the thirteen cantons formulated and openly proclaimed a declaration of perpetual neutrality towards all European peoples. During the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century alliances with France forced Switzerland into treaties hardly consistent with neutrality, although its neutrality continued to be formally recognised.

The term neutrality was at this time vaguely defined and could most properly be said to mean only "not full participation" in wars. Hugo Grotius in his "De Jure Belli Ac Pacis" called the neutrals "medei" - those who were between peace and war. The neutrals themselves ought to decide which side was the most just and which unjust. He argued however that, if the question of guilt was debatable, "those who remain at peace should show themselves impartial to either side in permitting transit, in furnishing supplies to troops and not assisting those under siege". In the 17th and 18th centuries it was generally accepted that under certain conditions a neutral could give direct and even important aid to one of the belligerents without being accused of prejudicial actions by the opposite party. For a while the neutral state could, apparently shift its favours much as it pleased: but, in the 18th century the general conception grew that partiality was justified only when it could be shown to be in accordance with a treaty signed before hostilities began. Each belligerent thus knew in advance which of its friends would give him maximum support and which would limit their assistance to troops, money and supplies. In order to prevent the violation of neutral rights armed neutrality was declared and applied to particular situations. The Napoleonic Wars ended this stage of neutrality. However, this did not prevent the principle of neutrality from a come-back. The foundations were now laid for that strange and important political creation of the 19th century - impartial and passive neutrality or neutrality based on the law.

The characteristic trait of this impartial neutrality was, in the first place, a policy carried out in accordance with international agreements. Two aspects now became important - rights and duties. With the new stress on duties, the neutral country had certain obligations in return for the privilege of staying out of war and having its rights respected. The first of these duties was the pledge to take an impartial and passive attitude and prevent belligerent actions from being committed within its territory. Permanent Neutrality as an international status was a creation of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, when Switzerland managed to achieve general recognition. "The powers which signed the Declaration of Vienna of March 20th, declare by this present act, their formal and authentic acknowledgment of the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland, and they guarantee to that country the integrity and inviolability of its territory in its new limits, such as they are fixed".

In 1839, Belgium obtained the same privileged status and in 1867 Luxembourg. Throughout the last half of the 19th century, the question of neutral rights and duties appeared to an ever increasing extent on the agendas of the International conferences until it was finally settled at the Hague Conventions at the turn of the century, 1899 and 1907. One of the first and most important articles asserted categorically that "the territory of neutral nations is inviolable" - a key point in the neutral theory. In two articles it was explicitly maintained that it was "for the neutral powers an admitted duty to apply these rules impartially to the several belligerents." By the Hague Conventions the belligerents were told how far they could go and the neutrals had a safe legal basis for their efforts to prevent them from going further. The principle of armed neutrality was recognised. Neutrality as it was formulated in those documents was "a legal status arising from the abstention of a state from all participation in a war between other states, and the recognition by the latter of its abstention and impartiality." There now existed an elaborate juridical system, but due to the fact that ratification was not universally obtained, the Hague Conventions never became an international obligation in a strictly legal sense.

Switzerland kept out of the two World Wars. During this century the Swiss always have been able to convince others that their neutrality is of a very special kind. It is interesting to note that Switzerland entered the League of Nations in 1920 with reservations required by its permanent neutrality and was not inclined to change her mind during the thirties. The Swiss were exempted by the League from military sanctions but they were still expected to carry out economic ones. It would, therefore, be difficult to classify Switzerland's neutrality as being strictly impartial. Diplomatically it was put in this way "Switzerland is not indifferent, but it tends to be impartial".

The Swiss have presented four justifications for their insistence on neutrality.

1. Their claim of legal right to remain permanently neutral has been restated many times since 1815 and from a strictly judicial point of view there can be no question of its validity.
2. Swiss relief to prisoners and wounded is of such importance that the whole world benefits by guaranteeing its neutrality.
3. Switzerland, being right in the middle of Europe, would risk complete annihilation if involved in a modern war.
4. Neutrality is one of the essential conditions of peace within the Union and consequently of the independence of the nation made up of elements which differ in language and culture. The first world war showed the dangerous elements that were latent in the sympathies and antipathies of the different nationality groups. This caused extreme difficulties, even when the country was neutral, and would be likely to become extremely dangerous if the country were to enter into a war.

Switzerland is not a member of the United Nations. Karl Naef states that the U.N. is a club for solidarity between companions in

arms and not for solidarity between people. The U.N. is questionable, due to the Security Council and the right of veto. The neutrality of Switzerland has been preserved 147 years. Early in the fifties Switzerland - in keeping with her traditional policy - refused to accept a visit of the Swedish air-force. This, although Sweden also is neutral, and, since 1817, one of the guarantors of Swiss permanent neutrality.

Neutrality is a basic policy for both Switzerland and Sweden, but this incident may give you a hint of the different conceptions of neutrality of both countries.

### Sweden

ED 718-17-19

Sweden has never been guaranteed through international treaties permanent neutrality. As a conscious policy, Swedish neutrality is also much younger than that of the Swiss. It is true that Sweden has tended towards neutrality long before its position as a great power was broken. In 1691 the first treaty was made between Sweden and Denmark about an active and armed neutrality. This treaty was to be followed by many others. Remarkable is the armed confederation of neutrality of 1780 between the Scandinavian countries and Russia. This confederation was not a manifestation of the desire to keep out of wars but to maintain the principle of the freedom of the sea in conflicts where there was no direct interests. A consistent policy of neutrality was unthinkable before Sweden was driven out of the power-political system in Europe.

In 1860 there was a reaction to growing militant Scandinavism. The War Minister at that time, General Reuterskiöld, revealed the complete inefficiency of the Swedish defence and cut short all plans for Swedish participation in the Danish-German war. From that time the policy of neutrality drove Sweden into isolationism. Sweden refused even to sign a declaration of neutrality together with Denmark.

In 1883 the first Swedish Nobel Peace Prize Winner, K.P. Arnoldson, proposed a motion in the Swedish parliament for the permanent neutralization of Sweden.

During the First World War, Sweden was able to maintain her neutrality, although there were great difficulties in carrying through the trade necessary for the country. She had to submit to measures by the Allies that greatly reduced her sovereignty and her right of self-determination. During the War, Sweden repeatedly made attempts to establish cooperation with the other neutral countries in a common defence of neutrality.

In October 1916, Sweden, through her legation in Washington, invited the United States to join the Scandinavian countries, Spain, Switzerland and Holland in a conference of neutrals. However, the Secretary of State, after having conferred with the President, declined to participate. Sweden also tried to promote neutral cooperation when President Wilson, in the middle of December 1916, made his famous offer of mediation to the belligerents. The neutrals had wanted to establish a league for the maintenance of their neutral non-combatant status. In February 1917 it was clear that Wilson wanted the opposite. He wanted cooperation for war. Sweden and the other neutrals did not hesitate in giving their answers. None of them wanted cooperation that would bring them into a war which they had desperately struggled to keep out of.

In the early twenties, some proposals were made by the members of the League of Nations to try to achieve security through military alliances. Sweden was from the very beginning very much opposed to this. The Swedish attitude was that individual governments should retain the right to determine whether military sanctions should be employed in certain cases or not.

Consequently, Sweden was severely criticized in the League Assembly for her selfish attitude.

The failure of the League to take a whole-hearted and efficient stand in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict caused great disillusionment in the Scandinavian countries and brought a complete change in their attitude to the sanction system.

The Swedish Government pointed out that the lack of universality in the League was the main reason why it was not able to function according to the Covenant. It was further emphasised that sanctions, military and economic, had to be compulsory and applied in full, which they never had been, instead of always partially and by degrees. The Swedes pointed out that in certain cases no sanctions had been enforced against an aggressor. The Swedish Government concluded that if the League were to succeed, its chief aim should be to "ensure consistent and impartial application of the principles of the Covenant and to establish universal cooperation within the framework of the League". The Swedish Foreign Minister, Östen Undén, stressed that this was the official view of his government and not his own personal opinion. He was very anxious to point out that this should be recognized as a "loyal and legitimate interpretation" of the fact that conditions had changed. He did not think that it would imply an abandonment of the idea of collective security. The League was not weakened by a recognition of its actual weakness, but it would be an advantage to all states to make the distinction between theory and practice and realise the limitations of the League instead of maintaining a "fictitious system of automatic and obligatory sanctions".

This meant, in fact, that Sweden had given up all confidence in the League as a means of achieving security and had officially declared her intention to look for it somewhere else.

It is true that Sweden was not the only European country which realised this. The Foreign Ministers of Finland, the three Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg met in Copenhagen in July 1938, where they declared that, although their states would continue to work with the League of Nations, they had decided to regard the sanction system as being non-obligatory. From 1937 there had been increasing agitation in Sweden for the neutrality of the whole north. The idea was that the northern states should help each other to maintain their neutrality, yet they wanted no defence alliance. They feared that such action might be interpreted as being directed against any of the great states. They also felt that the military weakness of Denmark made a northern defence pact impossible.

There was much confused talk about neutrality and the defence of it during the years 1937-38, but very few spoke in favour of a return to impartial neutrality. The Editor of the *Arbetet*, a leading socialist paper, said that "a genuine Swedish neutrality is impossible in any conflict to which Germany is a part". He based this view on the German dependence on Swedish iron ore. The arguments in this debate had had much in common with those which were presented for American isolationism. In essence Sweden should retain her full freedom of action and neither be bound by obligations to the League nor to strict neutrality.

Sweden succeeded in keeping out of the Second World War. But how neutral was she? The Swedish neutral policy during the war was far from impartial. Her bargaining with Germany forced her to compromise with her neutral status. Swedish concessions to Germany have, however, often been over-estimated.

The policy of neutrality had, admittedly, served Sweden well, even if the ways and means by which her neutrality had been preserved did not always conform to international law.

The foundation of a defensive alliance for the three Scandinavian countries was again discussed after the Second World War. The Swedes insisted now that they could not join a defence pact if this did not include adequate guarantees against association with states outside the Northern pact. Sweden was willing to give up her isolation as far as Scandinavia was concerned, but she persistently

refused to give up her traditional neutrality between East and West. In January 1949 the Prime Minister and the Defence and Foreign Ministers of Denmark, Norway and Sweden met in Karlstad, Sweden to attempt a compromise for common defence. This resulted in the so-called Karlstad Plan. This defence scheme was dependent upon the presumption that the Scandinavian countries would obtain limited American resources and military guarantees without accepting any of the obligations of joint defence. Soon afterwards they were however informed that states not members of the North Atlantic Pact would have to pay for whatever they might get. The Karlstad Plan was eventually rejected because of Sweden's persistent refusal to join any western defence system. Norway and Denmark joined NATO. It must be admitted that Sweden has been consistent in her policy. In October 1945, before the Cold War had quite started, the Swedish government issued the following official statement: "We are willing to join a collective organisation for security and in case of a future conflict abstain from neutrality to the extent that the organisation may want us. However, if there should appear within this organisation a tendency among the great powers towards a partition into two groups, then it must be our policy not to be driven into such a group-making or formation of blocs". If Sweden joined NATO the tension between the two sides would be greatly increased and she has preferred to place herself between the huge constellations of hostile powers. Realising the difficulties, the Swedish Foreign Minister, Osten Undén, once said "whether the policy of neutrality in a hypothetical situation of war is possible or not does not entirely depend on ourselves and it is hard to judge the chances in advance."

To-day all states depend more or less on each other. It is impossible for one nation to follow its independent course and completely disregard the rest. Undén wrote in 1949, quoting a Swiss colleague: "Neutrality is not a policy of isolation but leaves a big space open for work and collaboration for peaceful purposes." Sweden is a member of the U.N. and has, together with other neutrals, tried to play an active and influential rôle in international politics, e.g. the work of Dag Hammarskjöld and the Undén Plan for Nuclear Disengagement.

Saturday, the 28th July, 1962, was historically important for Sweden. At the meeting of the Ministerial Council of the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) the Swedish Minister of Trade, Gunnar Lange, gave an account of the Swedish point of view concerning a possible association with the Common Market. He said: "My country is more than ever before convinced of the advantages peaceful co-operation and far-reaching economical integration offer all parties involved. The co-operation of the members of E.E.C. has an evident political trend. There are certain important features of full membership which are not compatible with our policy of neutrality, because neutrality is not only a juridical question but to a high degree also a political one. Neutrality presupposes an attitude in peace-time, which maintains confidence in both the intention and ability to remain neutral in war and times of crisis. Without giving up her neutrality, Sweden could not be a full member of E.E.C. Therefore Sweden applies for an association with E.E.C."

At this meeting the Austrian Foreign Minister Bruno Kreisky also was present, which leads us on to the question of Austrian neutrality.

### Austria

Austria to-day contains about seven million people, approximately the same as Sweden which, however, is more than five times the size of this tiny central European country. Yet, her geographical position in the centre of Europe has given her an important rôle in its history.

In the spring of 1945, as Russian forces pushed across her eastern borders, the troops of the United States, France and Great Britain invaded from west and south, Austria once more became the

traditional frontier where East encounters West. By the Moscow Declaration of the 1st November 1943 the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and Soviet Russia agreed that Austria, as the first free country to fall a victim to Hitler's aggression, should be liberated from German domination. Yet the occupation continued after 1945 and by the summer of 1952 Austria had been occupied longer by its 'liberators' than by the Nazis. In fact, by 1952, peace treaties had been completed with many ex-enemies, Italy, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria and Japan.

However, early in February 1955 the Soviet Foreign Minister, Molotov, talked of the possibility of an Austrian State Treaty. In April the same year a delegation from the Austrian government was invited to Moscow. There a treaty was signed conditional on Austria's acceptance of a permanent neutrality after the Swiss pattern. This meant that Austria was not to enter into any military alliances and not to permit foreign military bases on her soil.

At the beginning, the Western powers were somewhat sceptical of this solution because they feared that Austria would now turn eastwards. In May 1955, the State Treaty was signed by Austria and the four occupation powers in Vienna and all foreign troops left the country.

Thus a new period started in Austria's history. Austria was now an independent neutral nation and its neutrality did not restrict the freedom of opinion. The political aim of Austrian statesmen has been "to justify Austria's independent existence by maintaining a healthy economy and social order and by setting an example of good world-citizenship." Political leaders have repeatedly, since the Second World War, stressed that their country's best hope for the future is as part of some effective international order. Austria's belief in international co-operation has been demonstrated in a number of ways: Austria is now an active member of the U.N.; even before her acceptance as a member of the U.N., she did a fine job in the specialized agencies; she has also shown an interest in the European Community and is a member of the Organisation for E.E.C., the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, as well as having a permanent observer to the European Coal and Steel Community. Due to treaties with East and West, Austria is prevented from becoming a full member of the E.E.C.

Pierre Wigny, the former Belgian Foreign Minister, said in Munich during the Congress of the European Movement in June this year that it was important not to force associated members to accept the political aims of the Six. "This would mean" he said, "that Austria would be condemned to political isolation in between the two blocs and that our relations with the African nations could be misjudged. Instead of forcing nations, whose loyalty to our ideal might be questionable, it is better to arrange an association for them of a purely economic nature".

One of the first tests of the Austrian neutrality was during the Hungarian crisis in 1956. During November and December Austria faced an acute refugee problem when 182,000 Hungarians came over the frontier to get refuge. In May 1958, only 18,250 Hungarian refugees were still in Austria, and most of them are now well integrated. Austrian activities were not limited to help for refugees. The government directed two political appeals to Soviet Russia. In one they demanded the cessation of the Russian use of force, in the other they suggested that Hungary should get the same neutral status as they had. Austria has demanded at the U.N. the re-establishment of normal conditions in Hungary. It is interesting that the Austrian attitude in the Hungarian conflict has not complicated her relationship with the U.S.S.R. The earlier frequent tensions at the borders with Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia have now ceased, probably on Moscow's recommendation.

The capacity of Austria to forget and forgive was illustrated by her attitude towards Yugoslavia. In spite of Yugoslavia's

provocative post-War claims against Austria, excellent relations between the two countries have now been established. The Yugoslav Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was able to say that no Yugoslav minorities in foreign countries were so well-treated as the Slovenes in the Austrian province, Carinthia.

The neutral position of Austria raises the question: which rôle can Austria play as a mediator between East and West? Raab said in a radio speech in January 1958 about this problem: "The question for Austria is - can we in a useful way help the work for effective disarmament as a step towards lasting peace? Even if Austria only can play a very humble rôle in general and total disarmament, we will never neglect to stress constantly the necessity for the whole of mankind to secure peace and further progress."

The Austrian army consists of 45,000 men. Nuclear weapons and heavy armaments are not allowed by the State Treaty. The Defence Expenditure is 5 percent of the total budget. Both the main political parties of Austria to-day advocate a conciliatory rôle for their country in international relations. Although a certain impartiality exists there can be no doubt where the main sympathy lies. Yet, the decision to turn West was reluctantly made. Many Austrians take a long view and see the country's future against the broad background of its past history. Dr. Gleissner put it in this way: "It is the will of the people that Austria should issue not challenges, but invitations, should be a meeting-point not a dividing line, nobody's bastion but everybody's bridge". Diplomatically Austria is best suited to be a conciliator. Her size and exposed position both point to the same conclusion. The weight she could add to either side would not be sufficient to prevent hostilities. In any war between East and West she would be the first one to suffer.

### Conclusion

ED 718-17-21

The history of neutrality falls into three main stages. First, a period of partial neutrality, which was terminated by the Napoleonic Wars. Second, the impartial neutrality built on law, which was killed by World War I, and the theory of collective security. In the final stage the theory of collective security disappeared and neutrality became a sort of non-combatant position, the main feature of which has been a strong armed national defence, at least, as far as Switzerland and Sweden are concerned.

Here are some relevant questions:

1. What are the main tasks for the Swedish policy of neutrality?
2. Can the Swedish defence in the present position avert aggression and in case of a Great Power conflict is it a guarantee for the neutrality of the country?
3. If not, should Sweden (a) leave her position of neutrality and, for example, join NATO? (b) strengthen her own military defence, through nuclear weapons, missiles, etc.? (c) do away with military defence? (d) replace military defence with defence of another character, for example, by investing defence expenses and military manpower in help to the developing countries, by making Sweden a Red Cross Nation, by training citizens in active non-violence, and thus, through goodwill and the very nature of the means, avoiding the provocative side effects of traditional defence? (e) strengthen the U.N. and work for the formation of an international police force? (f) anything else?

It is said that the U.N. is constructed for peace, and that neutral nations will perish in the third world war. That seems rather likely but who will not perish in a coming war? Nowadays, in quite a new way, Man can be said to be fit for peace and only peace. The institutions and means for an all-out war must be

abolished. Both internal and international conflicts will however continue to exist. Neutrality, even defended with conventional weapons only, is not the solution to these conflicts. The Swedes often look upon their neutrality as a consolation in a world of horror. But, drawing a circle around her territory saying to the Great Powers, "Do what you please, but stay out of this area and leave us alone" is neither realistic in a world of total and nuclear warfare, nor is it any great contribution to world peace or to the prevention of imminent disaster. Unilateral disarmament could most likely come from the neutrals, but they have not thought of unilateralism as a possible policy. Disengagement and neutrality may be a practical first step for the countries now tied by military alliances. However, neutrality is enough. International problems must be solved not dissolved. When old means prove useless, new must be invented and applied. A unilateral trust and active engagement in non-violence in its many-sided conception, may give Mankind some glimmer of hope for lasting peace in the future.

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Institut für Friedensforschung

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE

Breidablik, Denmark: 29th July - 4th August, 1962

NEUTRALISM AND RESISTANCE

ED 718-17-22

- Chris Farley (from Britain)

We were going to have a discussion of the rôle of neutral states but we seem to have spoken more about pacifist movements and there has been little discussion of neutral zones and disengagement, etc., and of the "great power" concept of neutralism.

Because military fear is not developing so rapidly we need to reconsider our attitude to neutralism. Historically there have been two main motives: National states have either increased their national security by neutralism or they have not felt sufficiently involved in war preparations by other nations. Both attitudes to neutralism are rapidly losing their significance. The development of nuclear weapons ensures that all nations will suffer in World War III. They will soon guarantee that there will be no survival anyway. Therefore there must be a new basis for neutralism not founded upon traditional national interests. Here lies the only hope of increasing world security. The new importance of neutralism in the Cold War has been recognised in political circles. Many proposals for neutral zones have been made in an attempt to separate the two power blocs and remove the danger of head-on confrontation as in Berlin.

All these proposals for "imposed" neutralism have an importance for war resisters. Any such agreed nuclear areas would be guaranteed by the great powers with their nuclear weapons. It is therefore difficult for war resisters to support such proposals by the great powers because they cannot support the methods to be used. This suggests that we should have a quite different approach to neutralism.

We need a policy with three important qualities:

1. It must have enough power and clarity to challenge the governments.
2. It must be capable of attracting mass support
3. It must have radical implications allowing the policy to be developed as the movement grows.

Can neutralism be the basis for such a programme? I believe it can for the following reason: opposing weapons in our own country means abandoning the policy of deterrents. This means that we are demanding the end of modern power politics which would imply the abandonment of alliances such as NATO. This is the road to neutralism. It has been said that neutralism does not necessarily come any nearer to what the W.R.I. wants. That is true, but a policy of neutralism is completely contradictory to the preparations for nuclear war which are now being made by second-class European powers. I therefore suggest that the W.R.I. in heavily armed neutral countries could very well question the military assumptions of the governments there.

In a nuclear age it is ridiculous for a neutral nation to build powerful weapons because it can never become powerful enough. The demands of modern war preparations are now so total that if it believes in deterrents the neutral state can only practice this way through a system of alliances. Once outside an alliance a nation is, militarily speaking, in a hopeless position. Therefore the weapons of neutral nations are useless.

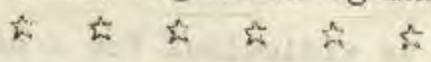
Neutrality is the sort of simple concept that is essential for a mass movement and it is already well established in many parts of the world. It can expect enough support if it has radical implications. There seem to be amongst us two approaches to neutrality depending on whether we live in a neutral state or a NATO state.

What at present can neutrals do? They can do things through their governments by asking them to put pressure on East and West and they can put forward proposals of their own. They can publicise the manoeuvres of the great powers when it becomes apparent that they do not really want disarmament. This would reduce the reliability of citizens in the powerful states, which is very important from our point of view. As long as citizens believe what they are told to believe we cannot make much progress. The neutral states can also help to restrict the spheres of influence of the power blocs by foreign investment and by their geographical position. For example, a concerted attempt by neutral governments could help to keep the U.S.A. out of the oil fields of the Middle East and the United Fruit Co. out of the Caribbean, or could reduce the economic domination China will attempt to build in Africa in the next decade.

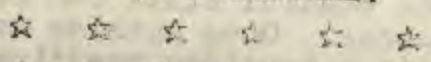
States becoming neutral are in a different position. To leave an alliance is now a revolutionary act and this would help to break up the alliances and reduce tension. War resisters have always been rightly suspicious of government programmes. What can neutral peoples themselves do? I suggest they could do many of the things that Governments could but are not likely to do. For example, Bertrand Russell had a project to send boats to Christmas Island. He wrote to the heads of various states some of whom replied in a friendly way but none of them did anything, which is the standard by which they must be judged. N'Krumah wrote that it was now too late. Tito said it was too dangerous. Nehru passed it on to pacifists as their job not his. These replies have important implications for us. Supposing Indian war resisters did find it possible to send a ship they would then show that they could do something of which their government disapproved while pretending to support it. In this way we would be able to take over the jobs that governments will not do but should be doing.

Russell suggested that neutrals should stop air communications with the U.S.S.R. if tests continue. If Prime Ministers can order this there is no reason why pilots themselves cannot do it or train drivers. There is no end of ways people can bring pressure to bear on governments.

One of the most useful things in a Conference like this is to collect practical suggestions, for, although they seemed impossible 6 months ago, events are moving so fast that they will soon become possible. We must involve people, for it is they who are the victims. Our actions should be designed to embarrass governments and they should be international. Every day we are being blackmailed by our governments on an international scale. The military say we must do everything we can militarily to help defend 2 million Berliners and West Germans and all of us in our own countries feel that this sort of appeal is quite unfair. The best way to answer it is for people in West Germany to stand up and say they do not want help which will involve killing with nuclear weapons. I believe the true logic of neutrality is in war resistance. Of course military governments are not logical and so it is possible for them to be neutral and opposed to war resistance at one and the same time. I believe that it is necessary for war resisters to show the illogicality of military government by using military arguments against it.



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War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE

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ED718-17-23  
EUROPE TO-DAY AND TOMORROW

- Ulrich Herz from Sweden

My first personal contact with the W.R.I. was nearly 30 years ago - and it was here in Copenhagen - at the great 1935 W.R.I. Conference.

To-day in my introduction there will not be much about pacifism; instead I shall give you a general historical background for the discussion of the problems of pacifism which you will hold here in the next few days. I shall try to make my analysis of the European situation as objective as possible. It cannot be absolutely objective for the simple reason that everyone sees things from a certain point of view, quite literally and geographically. I see them from the viewpoint of a neutral country some distance from the heart of Europe. Such a detached viewpoint has, of course, advantages as well as disadvantages. The advantages are that one is not so directly involved in the rough and tumble, the disadvantages that one sees it from outside and therefore perhaps may miss something.

My subject is: "Europe To-day and Tomorrow", but I must say something very briefly about Europe Yesterday and the day before yesterday. Two ideas or principles have set their stamp on Europe's development up to the first World War, that is from about 300 years ago until the beginning of this century. The first idea is that of national Self-Determination, originally a left-wing idea, directed against despotic rulers, and therefore with a democratic core. But the consequences of this idea were in Europe a splintering into numerous small nation-states. Moreover the expressed principle on which Europe was re-organised after the first World War was again that of self-determination, and that led to a further division into relatively small nation states.

The second idea which characterised European development was that of Imperialism, which was born of the necessity to plan the economy on a larger scale than that of the small nation-state, of the realisation that economic ties promise the best results if they extend over the whole world, still with one nation as the nucleus, with one nation as the ruling caste to build up the empire. As political opponents of imperialism we run the risk of overlooking its historical significance, that is, of not fully understanding how imperialism brought about a marked acceleration of economic development.

It can be pointed out that this development was speeded up at the expense of other peoples, and that is partly true, but only partly. In spite of that imperialism was, paradoxically, the first example of global co-operation in non-military spheres. Both ideas, the idea of self-determination, and the idea, or the reality, of imperialism, have been finally exposed by the two world wars. After the second world war in all parts of the world, and particularly in Europe, new principles had to be found for reconstruction, principles which rejected the maxim of national sovereignty and on the other hand salvaged from the wreck of imperialism the idea of large-scale planning. The side of imperialism which involved the oppression of weaker peoples had, of course, to be thrown overboard. It became absolutely necessary to build up larger economic units because of the emergence of the two great closed economic blocs, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. If Europe is to have even the possibility of continued economic life beside these two blocs, the European nations must form themselves into an economic unit.

At this point it is possible to raise an objection and to ask: why economic blocs at all? Would it not be much better to aim directly at Free Trade on a world scale? The answer is, of course, that the American market and the Russian market in fact exist, and that therefore, with World Free Trade, the countries which are confined to their own small national markets would have no chance at all. At the same time there was in Europe a need to create large political units, for the existence of independent nation-states is still a threat to world peace - The causes of the two world wars had a great deal to do with national antagonisms and territorial disputes.

For these reasons there has been strong support since the war for the idea of European Union. A first step, very significant and, in my opinion constructive, was the Marshall Plan. But the tragedy was that, although Marshall Aid was originally offered to all the European nations without exception, the Soviet Union and its satellites decided after some hesitation not to accept. It is easy to see after the event why the Soviet Union took this attitude: It would have been much more difficult after accepting American aid to carry on the Cold War. So the Soviet Union must have thought the Cold War inevitable. But the unfortunate result was that Marshall Aid deepened the gulf between East and West.

At the same time as Marshall was carrying out his plan other things too were happening in Europe. Among others the so-called Council of Europe was founded in 1949, an attempt at a political organ of European co-operation. As you know this Council achieved very little in the first four, five or six years of its existence, because only one thing was debated, viz. what a united Europe was to look like, and two parties grew up, the Federalists and the Functionalists, so-called. I cannot spend long on their differences, but this debate is so important for an understanding of the present situation that I must say a few words on it. The Federalists thought that first the supreme political body must be created and this body then be allowed to rule as an All-European Government. 'Let us first appoint the government and then let the government and the All-European parliament decide in what spheres we Europeans must work together.' The Functionalists thought: 'Let us review one sphere after another, economics, social legislation, education, defence, and determine in each sphere what we can perhaps do together. Let us co-operate in one sphere after another and eventually the areas of co-operation will become so extensive that there will be more or less nothing left to the national governments, and that will be the right time to create a central political authority.' You know too that the Federalists had their strongest support on the Continent, in France, Western Germany and Holland, whereas the Functionalists come in the main from England and Scandinavia. This appears paradoxical, in so far as we in the North have always imagined that we are the least nationalistically-minded peoples in Europe, while extreme nationalism has played a great part in France and Germany. In this debate it was seen that the nations with the most nationalistic history were prepared, strangely enough, to give up their national sovereignty at once in favour of a centralised union, while the moderately nationalist nations, like the Scandinavians and the English, thought it would be wiser to go slowly.

Let me here interrupt my historical review and remind you - although that is unfortunately hardly necessary - that simultaneously the Cold War was developing between the two Great Powers, and that from this viewpoint and, so to speak, for quite different reasons, Europe has become the centre of interest, that is, Europe as a purely geographical buffer between East and West. Now what complicates the task of forming a political judgment of Europe is the interplay of these two problems, that of European unity and that of Europe's rôle in the world-wide conflict between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. They are not identical problems, but it is impossible to separate them. I think it is right and necessary to emphasize that these two problems are not identical, that is to say that the question of the unification of Europe, the question of intensive economic co-operation, will remain, will possibly even grow in importance.

In 1949 an honest attempt was made to separate these two questions: the Statutes of the Council of Europe laid down that military questions are excluded from its purview; and at the same time NATO was founded as a completely independent organisation to deal with the question of Europe's attitude in the East-West conflict. The question of economic co-operation was not to be influenced by military considerations. But that did not prevent a plan for a European army being brought forward, already in 1950, within the framework of the Council of Europe, and discussed in the next four years. This plan fell through in 1954 - from our pacifist viewpoint fortunately; although to be truthful we must add that this happened because the French parties of the right opposed it for nationalist reasons. But the final outcome was this functionalist solution: European defence is a matter for NATO; and the Council of Europe has shelved the question of a European army.

So since 1954 the military-political situation in Western Europe has been fairly constant. NATO consists of the states which joined at the start. There has been no tendency to extend it, or to force those states that did not join to do so. In other words the movement for European Union has since 1954 had a purely civilian basis. It is not incorrect to take it as a working hypothesis that NATO is considered adequate for Western defence and that the things that have happened in Western Europe since, such as the Common Market, have primarily no military motive. I do not need here to undertake an appraisal of NATO. We are against it and we have our reasons, but we do not need to go into them now; we know them well enough.

Now in the last part of my talk I take up again my original theme: European reconstruction, economic and political, disregarding the military side. You all know that Marshall Aid developed into a permanent organisation, O.E.E.C., which indeed still exists, an organisation for purely economic co-operation between sovereign states, and so without supra-national status. O.E.E.C. has done important work, particularly as regards the abolition of tariffs. But this was too slow for the federalists, and probably they were right. So the federalists took a particularly functionalist initiative - they set up in 1951 and Coal and Steel Union. This was doubtless from one point of view a stroke of genius. For two reasons: it brought about intensive economic co-operation in a key industry, and secondly it was calculated to make war between France and Germany impossible by putting their steel production under common management. To be honest I must admit that a different interpretation is also possible - the so-called camouflage hypothesis, which explains all the events in the civilian sphere as elements in a great American strategic plan to establish a united Europe as a military bulwark against the Soviet Union. Personally I do not believe in this camouflage theory, although for us pacifists, who know how military strategists work, it is almost difficult not to believe it. And I know, of course, that there are some historical facts which can be adduced to support it. My reason for not believing it is that, as far as I can see, the indications against it are much stronger, the indications that economic and political co-operation grew up primarily for other than strategic reasons.

From the economic viewpoint the Coal and Steel Union was so successful that a few years later the federalist states were ready for a second functionalist step - the 1957 Treaty of Rome. Why do I say functionalist step? Because if you read the Rome Treaty it is quite clear that it deals with economic co-operation and ignores all other questions, political or military. It could have been the basis for economic co-operation between all the states of Europe. Why then are there seven countries which were not ready to join? Because the E.E.C. solution is federalist in the extreme, with a common authority and immediate surrender of national sovereignty in the economic field. It is clear that England and the Scandinavian countries, as well as others such as Switzerland and Austria, i.e. countries with a political tradition quite different from that of France and Germany, considered this solution too extreme, and were not prepared, psychologically or politically, to go so far in surrender of the right of self-determination in economic questions.

Their answer, as you all know, was to form E.F.T.A. two years later, with its seven member states and with exactly the same aims as EEC, but with a definite, or, if you like, an extreme functionalist constitution, i.e. each state reserves the right to accept E.F.T.A.'S decisions or not. Its members are ready to co-operate on every question on which they agree, and all questions on which they cannot agree are shelved. But here it was shown, as so often in history, that centralisation is more effective in the short run than decentralisation, if we consider concrete results. It is always easier, as the Soviet Union too has shown, to increase production by strict and rigid organisation. Now we must not forget that the six-member E.E.C. consists entirely of federalists, for whom the fact that the Treaty of Rome is not a merely economic treaty is not so terribly important. For they are federalists, i.e. they say: "When we have once got supra-national authorities, let them get on with governing." The happiest solution, of course, would have been if E.E.C. had been prepared to negotiate a compromise by which the federalists agreed to limit their co-operation until further notice to the economic sphere, while the functionalists agreed to be more generous in the surrender of sovereign rights within this limited sphere.

Now here, my dear English friends, the English betrayal comes on the scene, that is the tragic fact that after two or three years England has deserted E.F.T.A. and is attempting to join E.E.C. (I am quite certain that this move did not originate on the political left, and that the pacifists have no part in this betrayal.) As you know, the consequence of this move is that E.E.C. has a clear advantage in economic negotiations, since E.F.T.A. is split and its seven members must now negotiate separately with E.E.C. I must in all honesty ask whether, in this exceedingly favourable position for de Gaulle and Adenauer and the other leading E.E.C. politicians, we have any guarantee that we shall not suddenly find these E.E.C. people to be at least influenced by considerations of military policy, or indeed secretly dominated by them. That is to say, can we be certain that West Germany, whose geographical position gives her great influence in NATO, will not make use of her strong economic position to tie the others down, more or less, in military questions too? This question, of course, can only be asked; it cannot be answered. But we can say that a great deal depends on whether England, Scandinavia, Austria and Switzerland are prepared, for the sake of competing on equal terms in the economic field, to submit to E.E.C. conditions, or whether, in the negotiations, they have enough moral backbone to salvage a part of their functionalist principles, to say Yes to E.E.C. but only on condition that their co-operation is limited to the economic field.

You know that in some countries the pacifists are recommending their governments not to join E.E.C. I do not consider this a happy solution of the problem, indeed I think it would be a catastrophe. My argument is that for England and Scandinavia to stay outside would weaken these countries to such an extent economically, that in every field, including the military field, the leading E.E.C. countries would acquire such a dominant position that the federal ideology - in my opinion a dangerous ideology - would gain a decisive influence over the fate of Europe. Here again it may be objected that even from the purely economic viewpoint it must be dangerous, or at least undesirable, to join E.E.C.; for, if E.E.C. works well, does that not mean, even in the purely economic field, a harder attitude towards the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, since they cannot join E.E.C.? It is true that if E.E.C. works well and includes, at best, the whole of Western Europe, it will accentuate the economic barrier between East and West; that is inevitable, for a reason that has nothing, or very little, to do with the Cold War, for the reason that economic co-operation between centralised economies and those based on so-called Free Enterprise is so incredibly difficult technically as to be almost impossible. So it is not a catastrophe to have two or three great markets in the world, the Soviet Union forming one closed market and the remaining states one or two. E.E.C., of course, would have to be so constituted that, if the Soviet economy becomes more liberal, it is more or less open to such tendencies, tendencies which three or four or five years

ago played a fairly important rôle in the Soviet Union; for at that time it was quite clear that the Soviets wanted access to the free world market, although more recently this tendency has changed.

The converse belief, that a more rigid centralisation in the West would make for economic co-operation with the East, is not true. On the contrary intensive economic associations between states in the open world market are in part a function of a decentralised, or, if you like, of a private enterprise economic system. There are therefore two theses which I can put before you as my own opinion. The first has a positive formulation: It is important to persist in economic and eventually in political co-operation in Europe, but it is also important for this to happen as functionally as possible. For otherwise, if it is too centralised, there is the danger that military considerations may relegate civil principles to second place. This danger is even greater if co-operation follows expressly federalist lines. My second thesis, which is pure impertinence, runs: It is unfortunate if the pacifist movement, and indeed may I say the political left as a whole, are led astray by their opposition to the policy of military blocs into a negative attitude towards such ideals as the Coal and Steel Community, E.E.C., the Council of Europe, and the like. I mean that the battle for these bodies must be fought out inside them. It is unwise and defeatist to say that these bodies are more or less infected with military policy, and so we must stay as far out of them as possible. Why is that unfortunate? Because to stay out means to maintain a policy of preserving national sovereignty, and such a policy of isolationism can never find a place in the programme of a pacifist movement.

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE

Breidablik, Denmark: 29th July - 4th August, 1962

THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

-Peter Cadogan from  
Great Britain

The conscientious objector movement dates back to the First World War but there is pacifist tradition in England going back 300 years. As Europeans we should remember that the foundations of pacifism were in the Anabaptist Movement in the Netherlands, Germany and England in the 16th century. Soldiers of the Cromwellian New Model Army refused to leave England to fight the Irish.

In Britain today the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (C.N.D.) is an umbrella organisation. Its conventional electoral wing stems from the Labour Party, the churches and the Communist Party. The Communist Party is part of the Establishment in that its aim is to capture office in the trade unions.

The C.N.D. is governed by its Annual Conference, the National Council, which meets quarterly, and the Executive, which meets as often as need be between the Quarterly Meetings. In the Chair sits Canon Collins. Peggy Duff is the Secretary and various notables sit round the executive table. Canon Collins comes from St. Paul's Cathedral. There are a number of clergymen in the Campaign. Most of them are in the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Also there are half a dozen Members of Parliament who represent the 60 M.P's in the Campaign. Among them are such men as Michael Foot, Sydney Silverman and Anthony Greenwood who see the Campaign as part of the Parliamentary campaign against the Conservatives and in relation to winning votes for the Labour Party. They want to see a large movement which will be a force in the elections. We feel that they don't really want to alter the power structure. In the past they have spoken of reforming N.A.T.O. from within. They do not oppose all military alliances and there are no M.P's supporting the Committee of 100.

Then we have Jack Horner, the Secretary of the Fire Brigades Union and other trade unionists who see the support of trade union leadership as being a necessary addition to the campaign through Parliament. There has been an increase in the influence of people like Jack Horner and Frank Cousins, the Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union. All these men are firmly opposed to direct industrial action in practice and they sit on one of the important sub-committees of the Campaign which is called The Labour Advisory Council and which gives advice on how to build the Campaign in the unions. They seek to do this through the official channels and not by industrial action, as decided by the last Annual Conference of the Campaign and which is the policy that we in the Committee of 100 are working for.

This week we are in the middle of a series of crises on this question. Last Sunday the Council met and at that meeting Pat Arrowsmith proposed that the Campaign officially encourage the formation of action groups in the factories. Canon Collins

tried his best to defeat this proposal. He said that if we work on an industrial basis in the factories, we would change the whole character of the Campaign. Doubtless we would. However, Pat Arrowsmith moved her resolution in the face of strong opposition from Canon Collins and it was carried. We came away from the meeting thinking we had won an important new stage in the development of the Campaign.

That same afternoon after the meeting Canon Collins met the Press and issued a statement flatly denying the decision. When Pat Arrowsmith and Michael Scott heard of this, they resigned from the Council. Between now and next Easter we face a period during which there will be a very significant struggle for the whole character and policy of the Campaign in Britain.

There are a number of distinguished people on the Council who have been associated with the Parliamentary Left for a long time: James Cameron, the journalist, Jacquetta Hawkes, the archeologist, writer and wife of J.B. Priestley, the novelist. There is one very significant figure in the background. He is Prof. J.D. Bernal, a famous scientist, a well-known fellow-traveller and the Chairman of the Communist dominated World Peace Council. He presided at the recent Congress in Moscow.

I must say a word here about the Communist Party. It entered the peace movement at the Stockholm Peace Congress of 1948 but for many years the British Peace Committee, a Section of the World Peace Council, was discredited in the eyes of most people because it was associated with the Communist Party. As in other countries, the Communist Party in Britain went through a crisis in 1956 with Khrushchev's anti-Stalin speech and Hungary. 10,000 Party members left the Party, and the Communist front organisations, of which the British Peace Committee was one, declined and almost collapsed. The following year the Independent Peace Movement, the C.N.D. and the Direct Action Committee got under way and the Communists were left behind. In 1961 the Communists came back and joined C.N.D. activities and this tends to be a complicating factor. However, the Campaign is strong and independent and we are quite confident that we can deal with the Communist Party.

Now let me turn to the C.N.D. Council again. There are two other groups. The first and the most numerous is that of the representatives of regional groups. All over Britain we have strong local and regional organisations which are virtually autonomous and it is there, with the Youth C.N.D., that the real strength of the Campaign lies, and not at the top. It is reckoned that we have the support of 20% of the population. That means about 10 million passive supporters.

Now I will turn to the Committee of 100. It is significant that all the 14 people in this room who come from England are supporters of the Committee of 100. They are all in the Campaign as well, of course. In a way this makes clear a very important distinction between the Committee of 100 and the leadership of the C.N.D. We seek international action in terms of person to person contact and international thinking. We represent the second wing of the Campaign and believe in Non-Violent Direct Action.

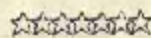
There are at least 9 different kinds of people in the Committee:

1. There are the pioneers of Direct Action.
2. The radical pacifist militants.
3. Quakers and religious pacifists.
4. Ex-Communists and Trotskyists.
5. Disillusioned left-wing Labour people.
6. Anarchists.
7. English empiricists, such as Bertrand Russell, who have kept out of politics because it is a dirty game.

8. Revolutionary syndicalists, who have had a new lease of life because of the problems arising out of automation and because of the recognition that nationalisation does not mean socialism.  
9. The last group is probably the most important: the young people from schools, colleges and universities who have come straight into the front-line of the Campaign without belonging to any of the traditional groups.

The Direct Action Movement is a movement of young people. In the Committee we advocate unilateralism every-where and would encourage the building of movements in America and the Soviet Union. We were overjoyed at the success of the San Francisco to Moscow March and only a few weeks ago had a demonstration in Moscow ourselves. We fully support the World Peace Brigade and the proposed voyage to Leningrad. We are working for the creation of an Anti-War International bringing people like ourselves together from all over the world for concerted thinking and action.

The Campaign in Britain faces two ways on the question of unilateralism and we hope to put this right during the course of next year. At the last C.N.D. Conference a resolution was passed for unilateralism in Britain only; multilateralism for Russia and America. But the same Conference went on record as being in favour of building unilateralistic movements every-where. The other important question is that of industrial action. We are in favour of building up a Campaign based on Committee of 100 organisation and ideas in industry for industrial, political action against the bomb. Token strikes have taken place. We hope to add to the "sit-down" the forces of industrial and international action and we will try to shift the Campaign from dependence on parliamentary methods and official trade unionism to dependence on the ideas and incentives of ordinary members themselves. We do not want to rely on other people to lead us. We believe that once the situation is understood, people will start to act for themselves in vast numbers. During the past 18 months we have introduced a new kind of political philosophy: Non-Violent Direct Action.



If reprinted, please give acknowledgements to the author and the War Resisters' International.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
ENGLAND.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE

Breidablik, Denmark: 29th July - 4th August, 1962

## THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN ITALY

-Mario Tassoni, Italy

It is a little difficult for me to tell you about Italy after hearing about the movement in England. In England there is adult thinking and consequently adult quarreling. In Italy, on the other hand, we have not reached the stage of adult thinking nor of adult quarreling. Furthermore, in England there is a tradition of religious and ethical dissent, while in Italy the tradition of dissent belongs to the political left and to the trade unions.

We have three pacifist organisations: the newly founded Section of the W.R.I., a Section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Centre for Non-Violence at Perugia. The Centre was founded and is directed by the Professor of Philosophy Aldo Capitano. He is the Philosopher of Non-Violence. It was the Centre that last year organised the march from Perugia to Assisi. The march took place on a Sunday over a distance of 26 kilometers. It started early in the morning and arrived at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. There were 25,000 people present at the end of the march.

Of course taking part were radical pacifists. There were also many others. Help for the organisation of the march came mainly from trade unions, co-operative associations and municipalities (local councils). This is an important point. Many municipalities in certain regions are supporting these activities in Italy. Mayors take part in the marches and so do the police. Another character of the Italian march is that the peasants join in. There are not only intellectuals and young people and students but peasants in their Sunday dress - all in black. Whole families come: mothers, fathers, sons and daughters and little children sitting on their parents shoulders.

I saw slogans like this: "We have suffered too much in two world wars. Now I, Antonio Jaccobini, will not have any more." They are taking part because they are against war. Their opposition is opposition of feeling rather than intellect. Communists and Socialists also take part but they do so under policies laid down by the Centre. They don't have their flags or their political slogans. All slogans are prepared by the Centre for Non-Violence. Many of the slogans are very general but some are absolutely pacifist. Everyone chooses the slogan he prefers.

After the enthusiasm of the first march many others were organised in different cities. Usually they take place on Sunday, sometimes during the day and sometimes during the night. The last march organised by the Centre was in Toscana, Umbria. The municipalities took part. The marches have been reported well in the newspapers and people are now not only talking about the problem of nuclear weapons but about non-violence. The Centre for Non-Violence has passed over the organisation of marches to the newly constituted Italian Peace Council which is much more comprehensive.

Aldo Capitani has asked me to pass certain information to you. He says that Direct Action groups are being formed but people taking part in them will have to undergo training beforehand. They have got to know how to act in certain situations. Conscientious objection is growing and he thinks that we will have victory in a few months. There is a remarkable protest strength in Italy.

Pacifist work in Italy cannot be carried through putting aside the Communists because in many regions people are born Communist. To exclude them or to make any distinction is almost like being a racist. He is speaking about the peasants and the workers, not about the intellectuals. To be a Communist in Italy is very different from being a Communist in the U.S.A. or in England. It is something very natural. If you want to improve your conditions or the conditions of your friends, then you are a Communist. We have to ask them to come and join us. We accept that ideologically there cannot be any compromise but action with the peasants and with the workers must be a common effort.

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If reprinted, please give acknowledgements to the author and the War Resisters' International.

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue,  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
ENGLAND.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCEBreidablik, Denmark: 29th August - 4th September 1962

## THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN NORWAY:

## A CHANGE OF GENERATION

- Niels Mathiesen, Secretary of Folkereising  
Mot Krig, W.R.I. Section in Norway

The first peace organisation in Norway was the Norwegian Peace Association, founded in 1885 and still in existence. With 9 other organisations it belongs to the Norwegian Peace Council, founded in 1945, which acts as a coordinating body. The other nine organisations are: The War Resisters' International, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Teachers' Peace Council, the International Order of Godtemplars, the youth branch of the I.O.G.T., the Norwegian Clergy's Peace Association, Service Civil International, Women's League for Peace & Freedom, and the Friends.

Outside the Norwegian Peace Council there are also organisations worth mentioning: One World (World Federalists), the Independent Norwegian Group, the World Federation of Democratic Women, the Norwegian Section of the World Peace Council and several peace committees in the trade unions.

Apart from these organisations there are the two anti-nuclear movements: Protest against Nuclear Arms, also called "The 13", and Action for Nuclear Disarmament. Although not a peace movement the new People's Socialist Party deserves mention as it stands for unilateral disarmament, against any nuclear arms or tests, and for Norway's withdrawal from NATO. The party was founded last spring, and got two representatives in Parliament at the elections last fall, thereby taking the absolute majority from the Labour Party.

A special body must be mentioned: The National Secretariat of Conscientious Objectors, which was started in 1954 and reorganised in 1961. Originally it served both as an information centre for would-be C.O's, and as a coordinating body for all C.O's in service. Since then the W.R.I. Section has taken over the first of these functions. But once a boy has started alternative service the National Secretariat takes over, acting more like a trade union for C.O's, representing them in their dealings with the authorities and the public. The Secretariat prints a small paper circulated to all C.O's, dealing especially with their particular problems during service time. Slowly both the National Secretariat and the paper have won a certain recognition from the authorities, which regard them as officially representing C.O's. This recognition was formally given in the last annual report to Parliament by the commissioner for military and civilian conscripts. During recent years the average number of C.O's has been two percent of the conscripts.

The relation between the C.O's and active peace work has for many years been a source of the greatest disappointment, as there is only a small number of them who care about any kind of peace activity at all. Sociological research confirms the reason for this circumstance, as at least fifty percent of the C.O's have refused military service for religious reasons. The C.O's with a strong religious orientation simultaneously have a corresponding weak orientation towards political or peace work activities.

Nevertheless some of the best militants in the peace movement are recruited from the ranks of C.O's; generally they are boys who started their peace activities during service time.

## The Peace Council

Cooperation within the Norwegian Peace Council has been rather weak and fruitless owing to diverging opinions particularly on two points. First, there are some more radical organisations, like the W.R.I., which urge more action, and some more conservative ones which are more concerned about maintaining, or obtaining, respectability and which are satisfied with passing non-controversial resolutions. Secondly, there are varying opinions upon the question of collaboration with more or less communist-inspired organisations. The more radical and active organisations take the view that peace work must not be limited to western movements, whereas the more cautious ones stress the importance of public prestige.

The disturbing factor within the Norwegian Peace Council during recent years has undoubtedly been the W.R.I., which has steadily urged for coordinated action and for the inclusion of all peace movements which sincerely want to take part in the Council's activities. The result has unfortunately been that the Council has wasted most of its time on formal discussions of procedure and it has not been possible to bring more activity into its work, although the W.R.I. has been supported in its view by a steadily growing number of the other member organisations. The W.R.I. has now decided that it is a waste of time and energy to try and work within the Norwegian Peace Council; it will therefore maintain its membership but in matters of action it will contact the relevant organisations directly.

One result of the lack of activity in the Norwegian Peace Council has been the formation of a separate executive committee for uniting Norwegian peace organisations for Scandinavian co-operation. Every year a Scandinavian peace conference, open to all organisations, ranging from the most conservative to the World Peace Council, is arranged. These conferences have been held twice in Norway and once in Denmark. In my opinion their work has not been concrete enough to be of real value, although they have brought many people together and to some extent have improved the east-west relations in Scandinavian peace work.

It seems now that people have been too engaged in the anti-nuclear movements and the movement against the Common Market, to keep up the activity of this committee of peace organisations. In the near future the committee will therefore probably cease to function.

## Movement Against Nuclear Weapons

Originally the anti-nuclear movement sprung from the more active peace organisations, mainly the W.R.I., and from the group of people around the weekly radical paper "Orientering" (the group which later formed the People's Socialist Party). The first initiative to organise anti-nuclear activity was probably given by the W.R.I. when it arranged a tour of a hundred demonstrators to the first Scandinavian anti-nuclear protest march which took place in Denmark in October 1960. This mass demonstration inspired many of the participants to organise similar activities in Norway, and the two groups - Protest against Nuclear Arms and Action for Nuclear Disarmament - came into being. They have attracted many people from outside the peace movements, and the interesting point is that many of these people through activity in the anti-nuclear movements have become pacifists and members of the W.R.I.

The relation between the two parts of the anti-nuclear movement in Norway corresponds more or less to the relation between the A.M.S.A. and the Campaign in Sweden. That is: Protest against Nuclear Arms, "The 13", is sponsored by well known people with the immediate task of influencing the political parties, mainly the Labour Party, against introducing nuclear arms in Norway, on mass demonstrations and petitioning throughout the country. This end was

reached and the movement continues, but without any particular activity, except for the preparation of a correspondence course about nuclear problems.

The other movement, Action for Nuclear Disarmament, has then taken over activities in agreement with "The 13". This movement consists of ordinary people, it has the wider support of activists and has worked with demonstrations of a smaller, but more radical, nature. Unlike "The 13" it is concerned with nuclear arms on an international scale, not just their introduction in Norway. The movement has particularly been built up in and around Oslo, local groups have also been organised in a few other towns lately, as well as a special student group in Oslo. Action for Nuclear Disarmament now seems to be organisationally weak and partly in a state of collapse. This summer plans have therefore been worked out for a reorganisation of both movements into one national campaign. The two anti-nuclear movements have, unfortunately, not been represented in the Norwegian Peace Council till now, and the latest efforts of the W.R.I. to open the way for them into the Council have probably been in vain.

The most active Norwegian peace movements are the Service Civil International, the youth branch of the I.O.G.T., the Friends, the World Federalists, the anti-nuclear movements and the Norwegian Section of the W.R.I. The others seem to be mainly occupied with keeping themselves alive. Of the organisations mentioned the first two are not exclusively peace movements. Nevertheless they are often active participants in different kinds of coordinated peace efforts. The activity of the Friends has a world-wide reputation and needs no further comment here. They have more than once supported the activist standpoint of the W.R.I. in the Norwegian Peace Council.

#### Folkereising Mot Krig

For us working in the W.R.I. of course this organisation has become THE peace movement in our country. This point of view seems also to be shared by members of other peace organisations. Numerically the World Federalist Organisation is much larger than the W.R.I., but taking into account that the W.R.I. requires a radical pledge of its members, as well as more money than the other organisations, it might be considered as the comparatively strongest organisation. On the other hand only one citizen out of every 1700 is a member of the Norwegian W.R.I.

A change of generation seems finally to have taken place in the peace movement in Norway. In the first years after the World War II the pacifists of the 1930s re-established the W.R.I. Section. Now we see clearly from the 140 new members of the last year that the young generation, more or less the post-war generation, is joining in force. Parallel to this development the Section has obtained some kind of social recognition. In contrast to the situation ten years ago we are not any longer looked upon as merely enemies of the defence effort. Our alternative has slowly become something which any decent citizen feels obliged to regard as an ideal, although he himself may have very different opinions about the realism of this ideal. This may be shown by such small, in themselves perhaps insignificant, incidents like one of the largest daily papers referring to the organisation simply as the "WRI", without finding it necessary to explain what the abbreviation stands for, or the Minister of Foreign Affairs (one of the "wise men of NATO") accepting an invitation to write in our paper. Speaking of our paper, PAX, it must also be said that the W.R.I. Section is the only peace organisation which has been able to issue a paper which is being sold largely to non-members and which is quoted and commented upon in the daily press.

This change of generation clearly involves a change of policy - a change which reflects a difference between the pre-war and the

post-war pacifists. No doubt the atom bomb has to a large extent brought about the change from the often negative attitude to peace-war problems found in the pacifist of the 1930s to the more active attitude in search for alternatives, of the last decade. Although the atom bomb certainly must be recognised as a factor which has stimulated activity in all peace movements and which has brought new movements into being, this change of policy would probably have taken place even without the bomb. It is of course useless to enter into speculations of this kind, as long as the bomb is there, and we do not know, and will never know, what our world to-day would have been without the bomb.

Considering the average of our national council which is 38.5 and that of the editorial board which is 25, it is understandable that differences of opinion may occur between the leaders of the organisation and some of the members who think back to the wonderful meetings with blazing speeches of the late 30's - a time when the official policy of the labour party was anti-militarist. Despite the fact that government policy after the war has been strongly supporting military defence and the population for 17 years has been influenced by the NATO-press, young people to-day are becoming conscientious objectors in a far greater number than before the war, and some of them even become members of the W.P.I. There are of course many reasons for this development, the main one certainly being that our situation to-day is far more acute and dangerous than ever before, and that therefore all kinds of peace activities have been intensified. The problem of survival for a future has become a vital question of immediate importance to a part of our generation.

If our peace movement only had continued the pre-war activities, refusing to do military service, denouncing all that was bad and evil in a society which relied upon military defence, this movement most probably would not have got anywhere and would certainly not have been supported by people of the post-war generation. The demand to-day is for constructive alternatives, for new approaches to the old problems which never have been solved, but which will have to be solved now if we are not to perish together with them.

It would be empty vanity to say that our peace movement is offering our youth these alternatives. But we have been working to find them, and we carry on this search. Until now our efforts have been mostly channelled into the peace brigades, non-violent national defence and peace research, linked with more modern means of communication to the public. The time of public meetings with anti-war speeches seems to belong to the past. The printed word in a modern lay-out, cinema advertisements, pickets and vigils have taken over. Unfortunately most means of mass communication are expensive ones so we do not reach very far. Some encouraging experiences have nevertheless shown the value of public sale of peace literature and the sending out of press releases. Much more could certainly be done in this field, as well as in using the radio and television. But it all requires infinitely more initiative and energy than arranging a public meeting.

### Civil Disobedience

Finally it would probably be appropriate briefly to state the place of civil disobedience in this context. In Norway civil disobedience is mostly known on the theoretical level, there having been very few occasions for transferring theory into practice. The most widespread kind of civil disobedience is the resistance to civil defence service which is compulsory. A growing number of pacifists refuse this service and such a refusal leads to fines or imprisonment. A person liable to civil defence service may be prosecuted repeatedly after a first refusal and the fines grow with each new refusal. So far we know only of cases of at the most three summons, and of fines up to £20, or imprisonment for 10-12 days.

According to Gandhian terminology this is only defensive civil disobedience. The offensive civil disobedience has, as far as I know, only been used a couple of times in anti-nuclear sit-downs outside embassies in Oslo, where no arrests were made. The question of offensive civil disobedience has often been discussed in the Action for Nuclear Disarmament, where the majority of the leadership is in favour of it. Until now they have avoided using it because there has been no unanimous decision about it. Also there has been no important reason for using civil disobedience, because the demonstrations on almost all occasions have been granted permission by the police, sometimes with compromises on non-essential points in the plans. The anti-nuclear movement therefore has preferred to demonstrate in co-operation with the police, instead of defying the Law. This also is the reason why the representative of the Action for Nuclear Disarmament at the recent World Congress for general disarmament and peace, did not take part in the civil disobedience vigil in the Red Square, Moscow.

Sooner or later, however, we will find ourselves in a situation which will require offensive civil disobedience and no doubt a great majority of the W.R.I. people as well as a great part of the anti-nuclear movement will then join in such demonstrations, probably here as in other countries led by the younger generation.

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If reprinted please give acknowledgments to the author and the War Resisters' International.

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Institut für Zeitgeschichte

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telegraphic Address: Nofrontier Enfield  
Telephone: LABurnum 3977

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
England

15th May, 1963

25.5.63 (W)

Dear Friend,

I enclose the draft programme for the Triennial Conference, a document by Arlo Tatum on "Individual refusal in the Nuclear Age" and various suggestions for travel to and from the Conference.

From London there are various alternative routes to Stavanger but I should say at the outset that the train journey is too long, arduous and complicated.

There are two possibilities for cheap air travel:

1. There is a night tourist flight for Bergen leaving London at 11.55 p.m. on Wednesday 24th July. The disadvantages are that you will arrive in Bergen at 02.45 on Thursday morning and then will have to wait around before catching the Hydrofoil at 7.30 a.m. to Stavanger. Also the fare to Bergen is considerably more than the fare to Stavanger and you will have the additional cost of the hydrofoil trip. The fact remains that this is the only cheap flight which will get you to the Conference in good time. As some of the staff and officers of the W.R.I. will have to go on this flight in order to attend the Council Meeting on Friday we would prefer to make a block booking on it.
2. There is another night tourist flight leaving London at 23.55 on Friday, arriving in Stavanger at 02.40 on Saturday. This will, of course, be cheaper, but we wonder what effect a sleepless night will have on the first day of the Conference.

Reductions can be obtained on block bookings -  
10-15 persons 5 p.c. 15 and over 10 p.c.  
We would therefore be willing to make such bookings if we could get sufficient support. We will have to limit ourselves to the two flights mentioned above and I would appreciate an immediate reply if you would like to go on either of them. It is unlikely that we will get a sufficient number to make block bookings on both planes.

If you go in a party you need not return on the same flight but you must make sure that you book your place coming back (during 1 month), remembering that you will have to take another night tourist flight and ascertaining beforehand on which nights they operate.

If you intend to go by any other route I hope you will understand that arrangements cannot be made for you through the W.R.I. Headquarters as we will have far too much work to do in preparation for the Conference.

Best wishes  
Yours fraternally

*Tony Smythe*  
Tony Smythe (Secretary)

P.S. The travel information mainly concerns participants who will be going from or passing through Great Britain.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
11th TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

PRELIMINARY AGENDA

The final Agenda and the complete list of speakers will be circulated shortly before the Conference. Papers on the various subjects under discussion will be sent to participants as and when they are received at W.R.I. Headquarters.

SATURDAY, 27th July

Morning Session

1. Address of Welcome by the Hosts
2. Address of Welcome and Opening Speech by the Chairman
3. Introduction of Sections' Delegates and Observers
4. Messages and greetings
5. Election of Steering Committee, Drafting Committee and Tellers
6. Report of work done during the last 3 years - W.R.I. in the Changing World Context: Tony Smythe and Devi Prasad

Afternoon Session

Presentation of Accounts: Hon. Treasurer

Relevance of Individual Refusal in the Nuclear Age

Speakers: Danilo Dolci and another speaker to be announced later

Discussion in Groups

During the discussion Ballot Papers will be made available at the office.

Papers: Arlo Tatum (circulated), Stuart Morris.

Evening Session

Reports from groups and plenary discussion on "Relevance of Individual Refusal in the Nuclear Age".

- - - - -

SUNDAY, 28th July

Morning Session

International Anti-War Movement

Speaker: F.C. Hunnius

Papers: Philip Eastman (Secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation)

Discussion in Groups

Afternoon Session

Reports from groups and plenary discussion on "International Anti-War Movement"

Relationship with the World Peace Council

Report of the Council Meeting with Observers of Peace Councils

Address by one of the Observers from the Peace Councils

Plenary discussion

Papers: Heinz Knechtelski

Evening Session

W.R.I. and Future Organisational Trends

Plenary discussion

Papers: Pierre Martin, the Secretaries,  
Federal Pacifist Council of Australia

- - - - -

MONDAY, 29th July

Morning Session

Pacifism in Africa and India

Speakers: Pierre Martin and Devi Prasad

Papers: John Papworth, Michael Scott

Discussion in Groups

BALLOT FORMS must be handed in by 12.30

Afternoon Session

Reports from groups and plenary discussion  
on "Pacifism in Africa and India"

Announcement of New Council

Evening Session

Social (talented entertainers please inform  
Secretariat)

- - - - -

TUESDAY, 30th July

Morning Session

Current Issues:

The Struggle against Segregation: Bayard Rustin

Arab/Israeli Relations and Pacifism in the  
Arab World: Joseph Abileah

Plenary Discussion

Afternoon and

Evening Sessions

Plenary Session

Adoption of Resolutions: Rapporteurs from the  
groups will be invited to formulate motions or  
recommendations to put before the Conference.

Motions on subjects not directly related to  
those under discussion may be put but should be  
submitted to the Steering Committee not later  
than Sunday evening.

Conference Statement

Chairman's Closing Address

- - - - -

WEDNESDAY 31st July

Excursion and Council Meeting

- - - - -

Other papers have been requested from: Niels Jonassen,  
Lanza del Vasto, Tony Smythe, Herbert Stubenrauch, Ernest Wolf,  
A.J. Muste, Deryck Siven.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

NOMINATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE COUNCIL

28. 6. 63

ABBREVIATION

NOMINATORS

ED 718-17-34

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| A.N.V.A.   | Algemene Nederlandse Vredesactie (Holland)   |
| A.M.K.     | Aldrig Mere Krig (Denmark)   |
| D.F.G.     | Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft (Germany)  |
| F.M.K.     | Folkereising Mot Krig (Norway)   |
| F.P.C.     | Federal Pacifist Council of Australia  |
| I.d.K.     | Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner (Germany)  |
| I.d.K.G.   | I.d.K. Groups representing Augsburg, Beyreuth, Donauwörth, Kempten, München, Scheinfurt (signed by M.Volz, E.Sutter, H.Geldhauser, G.Haut, H.M.Vogel and D.Bogner) |
| I.d.K.E.G. | I.d.K. Essen Werden Group (signed by W.Weber, Alois Stoff, Hans Otto, Wolfgang Metzgen, Christa Claüsen, Alfred Puth and many others)                              |
| I.P.M.     | Irish Pacifist Movement (Eire)   |
| Is.S.      | W.R.I. Israeli Section   |
| Ind.S.     | W.R.I. Indian Section  |
| N.Z.C.P.S. | N.Z.Christian Pacifist Society   |
| P.P.U.     | Peace Pledge Union (Gt. Britain)   |
| S.V.F.M.   | Svenska Världfredsmissionen (Sweden)   |
| W.R.L.     | War Resisters' League (U.S.A.)   |

Name

Nominators and Description

|                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| ABILEAH, Joseph<br>(Israel)       | A.M.K., F.M.K., I.d.K., S.V.F.M.<br>Born 1915 in Austria. Married, 3 children. Immigrated to Palestine in 1926. Graduate of Collège des Frères, Jaffa. Professional violin-viola. Worked for Arab-Jewish co-operation since school days and objected participation in Arab-Israeli war. Member of W.R.I. Israeli Section since 1949 and International Council since 1957. Active in S.C.I. and other peace movements   |
| BANKINGTON, A.C.<br>(New Zealand) | N.Z.C.P.S.<br>Born 1906 New Zealand. 10 years Secretary of Workers Educational Association. Member of Riverside Community, Christian pacifist co-operative farm. Foundation member N.Z.Federation against War. Co-founder N.Z.C.P.S. 1936, official since. Absolutist C.O. prosecuted 10 times, imprisoned 3 times for peace campaigns. Member World Pacifist Meeting, Australian Peace Congress. Methodist lay preacher. Member W.R.I. International Council 1957-60    |
| BROCK, Hugh<br>(Gt. Britain)      | N.Z.C.P.S.<br>Born 1915. Married. Editor of Peace News since 1955. Assistant Editor since 1946. Chairman P.P.U. 1954-55. First Chairman of Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and of the 1958 Aldermaston March Committee. Served on C.B.C.O., Executive of National Peace Council, Member of Friends Peace Committee   |
| DOLCI, Danilo<br>(Sicily)         | F.M.K., F.P.C., I.d.K., Is.S., S.V.F.M.<br>Born 1924. Was imprisoned during war for refusal of combat service. Abandoned architectural studies to devote his life to the poor of Sicily, where he is working to promote development, through studies of the conditions; working with people for non-violent pressure on authorities. 1958 was awarded Lenin Peace Prize, with which money he founded the Centro Studi e Iniziative per la Piena Occupazione in Partinico |

- DAWTRY, Frank P.P.U.  
(Gt. Britain)  
Active locally and nationally. British No More War Movement 1927/37. P.P.U. since 1937. National Council P.P.U. 1941/56 and 1958/60. Member W.R.I. Council 1945/60. Professionally associated with penal reform, abolition of capital punishment and constructive treatment of offenders
- DESAI, Narayan Is.S.  
(India)  
Born 1924. Joined Gandhi's secretariat at 13. Toured with Gandhi and spent 2 years in independence and underground movements. 7 years teacher Basic Education School. Walked 7,000 miles for Bhoodan, having joined Bhave in 1952. Started Peace Institute at Rajghat. Secretary to Sarva Seva Sangh for 6 months and joint secretary since 1959. Author of four books
- ☆ GALTUNG, Johan F.M.K., I.d.K., S.V.F.M.  
(Norway)  
Born Oslo 1930. Chairman F.M.K. 1960/62. First editor of Pax, co-author of Gandhi's Political Ethics and other books on non-violence. Professor at Columbia University, N.Y. 1957/60. Since then director Peace Research Institute, Oslo. Currently UNESCO Professor of Sociology, Latin American School of Sociology, Chile
- GROOM, Donald Ind.S.  
(Gt. Britain)  
Field Secretary for Friends Peace Committee. Joined the No More War Movement in 1935, later the P.P.U. Undertook Relief Work in Barcelona in 1938, later Assistant Director of Relief for Spain in Paris for 1 year. Went to India 1940 and spent the next 20 years there, first attached to the Friends Rural Centre and later for four years with Vinoba Bhave
- GUNNEBERG, Herbert I.d.K.E.G., I.d.K.G.  
(Germany)  
Born 1931 Duisburg. Married to a social worker, 3 children. Protestant pastor for religious instruction at vocational schools in township of Essen/Ruhr. 1957 member of I.d.K. 1962 first chairman I.d.K. North-Rhine Westfalia. Marshal to the Easter March Duisburg/Dortmund Does not belong to any political party
- HALLIDAY, Stanley I.P.M.  
(Eire)  
Founder member I.P.M. and Secretary for 19 years. Now Vice-President, auditor and editor of publications. Works for Freedom from Hunger projects and Peace Committee of Society of Friends, of which he is an active overseer. Whilst admiring the spectacular in others finds activity with his pen sufficient for his own peace efforts
- ☆ JONASSEN, Hagbard A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.M.K., Is.S., N.Z.C.P.S.,  
(Denmark) P.P.U., S.V.F.M.  
Born 1903. M.A. University of Copenhagen. Doctor degree there 1956. 20 months in C.O. camp. Founder Member A.M.K. 1926 Member of Danish Council, since then as General Secretary, Chairman and now as Vice-Chairman. Vice-Chairman W.R.I. since 1957. 1944-57 chairman of relief organisation founded by A.M.K.

KNAUS, Alfred  
(Germany)

Ind.S.

Born 1922 Stuttgart. Profession - foreign correspondent. At present Secretary German branch of Service Civil International. 1929-1940 school and commercial college. 1941-47 military service, military prison, war prison. Since 1948 active member W.R.I. and S.C.I. 1953/56 social service with S.C.I. in India/Pakistan and work with Bhoodan movement. 1961 organizer of Easter March Stuttgart. Participant in Beirut Conference of World Peace Brigade

LIERDE, Jean van  
(Belgium)

A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.M.K., I.d.K., Is.S., N.Z.C.P.S.,  
P.P.U., S.V.F.M.

Formerly leader young catholic movements. Trade Unionist. Journalist, editor of revue "Carrefours de la Paix". Secretary of I.R.G. Co-President of Belgian F.o.R. An official of Amis de Présence Africaine and a militant member of Jeunes Gardes Socialistes. Member of Anti-Colonialist Committee

MARTIN, Pierre  
(Senegal)

A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.M.K., I.d.K., Is.S., N.Z.C.P.S.,  
P.P.U., S.V.F.M.

Sociologist. Imprisoned several times for anti-colonialist activities and for campaigning for recognition of conscientious objection in France. Residing now in Africa where he is developing co-operatives with the technical assistance of volunteers. Lecturer and journalist propagating the knowledge of non-violence in Dakar. Member of Committee of World Federalists and a Council Member of World Peace Brigade

MATHIESEN, Niels  
(Norway)

A.M.K., N.Z.C.P.S.

Born 1928 in Spain. Studied fine arts and stage design Paris and Vienna. Became W.R.I. member during civilian service as welfare officer of main C.O. camp 1955. Secretary of National Section 1956, a position he has held since. Member of C.O. Council, Norwegian Peace Council Executive, CND National Executive, I.F.o.R. Council, Scandinavian representative for World Peace Brigade. From August 1963 secretary-general International Peace Bureau, Geneva

MORRIS, Hilda  
(Gt. Britain)

P.P.U.

née von Klenze. D.Ph. Cologne. Member W.R.I. since 1947. On staff P.P.U. since 1949. Member P.P.U. National Council 1963. Editor of Non-Violence Bulletin 1956-60. Regular contributor to Die Friedensrundschau. Interpreter and translator for W.R.I. Headquarters. On speakers' panel of Council for Education in World Citizenship since 1950

PIERRE, Abbé  
(France)

Is.S.

Born 1912. Active in underground movement against Nazi occupation. Former deputy of French National Assembly. Vice-President of I.L.C.O.P. Founder and director of Centre Emmaus. Author. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Croix de Guerre

RADHAKRISHNA  
(India)

Ind. S.

Born 1923. Married, 2 children. Worked in Gandhian Basic Education. 14 years with Hindustani Talimi Sangh (Educational Reconstruction under Gandhi) and 3 years Education Officer in a refugee township in Punjab doing educational and social organisation. General Secretary of Sarva Seva Sangh. Ambition to evolve new techniques of training for peace.

★ RANDLE, Michael  
(Gt. Britain)

A.M.K., F.M.K., F.P.C., N.Z.C.P.S., S.V.F.M.

Born 1934. Married, 1 child. Former member of Operation Gandhi, former chairman of Direct Action Committee and former secretary Committee of 100. Now Editorial Assistant Peace News

RIEMECK, Renate  
(Germany)

A.N.V.A.

Born 1920. Studied at Universities of Jena and Munich. 1948 lecturer of history at Oldenburg College. 1952/55 Professor at Colleges of Braunschweig and Weilburg. 1955/60 Prof. at Wuppertal. Author of some books on German history. Member of Nat. Exec. I.d.K. Took part in anti-nuclear campaign from 1958, in consequence of which had to stand against government and was forced to resign from academic profession. Helped to build up the German Peace Union in 1960

RUBINSTEIN, Meir  
(Israel)

Is.S.

Born Leipzig 1915. Married, 2 children. Went to Palestine 1933. Studied at Hebrew University. Since then land surveyor, 1943/1962 in government service. Member of clandestine defence organisation Haganah 1935-1948. 1949 C.O. Refused military service 1951, recognised by authorities. Active volunteer in A.F.S.C. work camps and committee 1953/57. 1958 founded Israeli group of S.C.I. Secretary until 1963. Started painting 1942. First one-man show 1955

★ RUSTIN, Bayard  
(U.S.A.)

A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.M.K., F.P.C., I.d.K., Is.S.,  
N.Z.C.P.S., S.V.F.M., W.R.L.

Quaker. Active in peace and civil rights movements 25 yrs. Former advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr. Arrested over 20 times in civil rights struggle. First Field Director CORE. C.O. spent three years in prison during World War II. Member Sahara Protest Team. Council Member World Peace Brigade. Coordinator Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington 1957. Director Youth Marches for Integrated Schools, Washington D.C., 1958/1959. An Editor "Liberation". Presently Exec. Sec. W.R.L.

SANDEN, Bertil  
(Sweden)

F.M.K.

Born 1940. Refused military service at draft and served alternative duty in fire brigade 1959-60. Entered Lund University 1960. Member W.R.I. 1961. Leader of Action Committee of Lund's CND 1962. Organizing courses in active non-violence 1962-63. Member World Peace Brigade 1962. Member National Committee Swedish CND 1963

WIJK, Hein van  
(Holland)

A.N.V.A., I.d.K.

Born 1907 Amsterdam. 1932 Chairman Pacifist Youth Movement, member League Against Imperialism. 1938 lawyer defended C.O's before military courts, after the war almost only one in Holland. Legal adviser C.E.C.O. Holland. Chairman A.N.V.A. W.R.I. Council Member 1946-54. Started interest in Holland in Algerian war and relief work for refugees in Tunisia. Contributed largely as legal adviser of C.O's and of the P.S.P. to a series of improvements in a new law for C.O's 1962

☆ Present Council Members

Country in brackets indicates country of residence

Retiring Council Members

Nominated but unwilling to stand

G. Anthony Bishop  
Banwarilal Choudhri  
Stuart Morris  
Heinz Kraschutzki

René Bovard  
Aldo Capitini  
Alfred Hassler  
Fritz Katz

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

STUBENRAUCH, Herbert  
(Germany)

F.M.K., N.Z.C.P.S.

Born 1939. Married, 2 children. Teacher. Chairman V.K. Member Central Committee of the Easter March in Germany. Not member of any political party but of Sozialistischer Bund, friend of the Society of Friends, against Konrad Adenauer and Walter Ulbricht - for Bertrand Russell and Ernst Bloch

☆ SUTHERLAND, Bill  
(Tanganyika)

A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.P.C., I.d.K., Is.S., S.V.F.M.

African representative World Peace Brigade. Former activities: Research historian C.O.R.E. Peacemaker Committee. Paris/Moscow Project 1951. National Co-ordinator Peacemakers (U.S.A.), Private Sec. to Ghana Finance Minister. Volunteer worker in All Africa Peoples' Conference. Sahara Protest Worker. 1959/60 adviser to Israeli Labour movement on African Affairs. Council Member World Peace Brigade

SVAHNSTROM, Bertil  
(Sweden)

N.Z.C.P.S.

Born 1907. Journalist. 21 years foreign correspondent of Swedish papers in Berlin, London, Helsinki and Paris. Left journalism 1958 in conflict over defence policy. From 1959 editor of "Freden". In 1958 helped to start Aktionsgruppen mot Svenska Atombomb. Chairman of Kampanjen mot Atomvapen. Swedish representative on European Fed., member of Continuing Com. of proposed Confederation. Author of various books and pamphlets

☆ TATUM, Arlo  
(U.S.A.)

A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.M.K., I.P.M., Is.S., N.Z.C.P.S., P.P.U., W.R.L.

Married. Twice imprisoned C.O. Exec. Sec. War Resisters' League 1953-55. Gen. Sec. W.R.I. 1955/62. Currently Exec. Sec. Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors. Director of Peace News. Council Member of World Peace Brigade. Member of Turn Towards Peace Council and Consultative Peace Committee

VASTO, Lanza del  
(France)

Is.S.

Associated with Gandhian movement for 20 years. Italian by birth. Dr. Phil., poet, musician, artist. Author of books on Non-Violence, Gandhi and Vinoba Bhava. Founded Communauté de l'Arche in France

WHITNEY, Fred  
(Australia)

F.P.C.

Born 1916. Married, 2 children. Formerly resident in Britain. Absolutist C.O. Quaker. Now President P.P.U. (S.Aust.), Federal Pacifist Council and Howard League for Penal Reform (S.Aust.). Associated with Aboriginee Advancement League and Native Welfare and active with Welfare of Colombo Students

all you need to know for

718-17-37

15. 7. 63 WVK

W A R

R E S I S T E R S'

I N T E R N A T I O N A L

11TH TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

Solborg Ungdomsskole  
Stavanger  
Norway

26th July - 31st July 1963

Conference  
Agenda



INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL 1960 - 63

Harold F. Bing  
(Chairman)

Hagbard Jonassen  
(Vice-Chairman)

Joyce Runham Brown  
(Honorary Treasurer)

Joseph Abileah  
Banwarilal Choudhri  
Johan Galtung  
Jean van Lierde  
Stuart Morris  
Bayard Rustin

G. Anthony Bishop  
Danilo Dolci  
Heinz Kraschutzki  
Pierre Martin  
Michael Randle  
Bill Sutherland

Arlo Tatum

Secretaries : Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe

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DIRECTIONS TO SCHOOL:

Stavanger is reached from Oslo -

- a) by train from Oslo West (600 kilometers, 10-11 hrs.)
- b) by plane from Oslo Airport (1 hr.20 mins.)

Solborg is reached in Stavanger by buses number 6 and 7 from Torget (market place) to Tjensvollveien (bus stop) 10-15 mins. As buses run in two directions, remember to ask for the right direction before entering. Torget is only a few minutes' walk from the railway station. Ask your way - the people of Stavanger are very helpful.

Efforts will be made to meet conferees and take them to the School but this will not be possible in every case.

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POSTAL ADDRESS OF SCHOOL :

Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger, Norway

Telephone : Stavanger 24 7 35

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A G E N D ASATURDAY, 27th July

- 9.15 - 12.15 Address of Welcome by the Hosts  
 Address of Welcome and Opening Speech by the  
 Chairman  
 Introduction of Sections' Delegates and Observers  
 Messages and Greetings  
 Election of Steering Committee, Drafting Committee  
 and Tellers  
 Report of work done during the last 3 years -  
 W.R.I. in the Changing World Context :  
 Tony Smythe and Devi Prasad
- 14.00 - 15.30 Presentation of Accounts - Hon. Treasurer  
 and  
 15.45 - 17.30 Relevance of Individual Refusal in the Nuclear Age  
 Speakers: Danilo Dolci and Rev. Herbert Günneberg  
 Discussion in Groups
- During the afternoon Ballot Papers will be made  
 available to Sections' Delegates at the Secretaries'  
 Office
- Papers circulated: Arlo Tatum; Stuart Morris
- 19.30 - 21.00 Reports from Groups and plenary discussion on  
 "Relevance of Individual Refusal in the Nuclear  
 Age"

SUNDAY, 28th July

- 9.15 - 12.15 International Anti-War Movement  
 Speaker: F.C.Hunnius  
 Papers circulated: F.C.Hunnius; Tony Smythe  
 Discussion in Groups
- 14.00 - 15.30 Reports from Groups and plenary discussion on  
 "International Anti-War Movement"

3.

- 15.45 - 17.30 Relationship with the World Peace Council  
Report of the Council Meeting with Observers of  
Peace Councils: Hagbard Jonassen  
Address by one of the Observers from the Peace  
Councils  
Plenary discussion  
Paper circulated: Heinz Kraschutzki
- 19.30 - 21.00 Social (talented entertainers please inform  
Secretariat)
- 

MONDAY, 29th July

- 9.15 - 12.15 Pacifism in Africa and India  
Speakers: Pierre Martin and Devi Prasad  
Papers circulated: Pierre Martin; John Papworth  
Discussion in Groups

BALLOT FORMS must be handed in by 12.30

- 14.00 - 15.30 Reports from Groups and plenary discussion on  
and "Pacifism in Africa and India"  
15.45 - 17.00 Announcement of New Council
- 19.30 - 21.00 W.R.I. and Future Organisational Trends  
Plenary discussion  
Papers circulated: Pierre Martin; also T.S. on  
"International Anti-War Movement"
- 

TUESDAY, 30th July

- 9.15 - 12.15 Current Issues  
Speakers: Michael Scott and Others  
Arab/Israeli Relations and Pacifism in the Arab  
World  
Speaker: Joseph Abileah  
Plenary discussion

4.  
ED 718-17-39

14.00 - 15.30 Plenary discussion

15.45 - 17.30 Adoption of Resolutions:

and Rapporteurs from the Groups will be invited  
19.30 - 21.00 to formulate motions or recommendations to  
put before the Conference

Motions on subjects not directly related to  
those under discussion may be put but should  
be submitted to the Steering Committee not  
later than Sunday evening

Conference Statement

Chairman's Closing Address

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WEDNESDAY, 31st July

Excursion and Council Meeting

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Discussions will be in five groups with approximately 20 persons  
in each

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There will be a morning break from 10.45 - 11.00

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COST:

All Conferees: Conference fee 25s/- (Towards expenses incurred  
in distributing Conference papers, making arrangements, and for  
speakers and translators.)

Full Board and Lodging: 35s/- per day for adults. Price for  
children by arrangement on arrival

Meals for those not staying at the School: Breakfast 6 N.Kr;  
lunch (main meal) 8 N.Kr., Coffee/Tea 4 N.Kr. and Supper 6 N.Kr.

PAYMENT: Balance of cost to be paid in Norwegian Kroner please to  
the Secretaries' Office during the Conference or not later than  
Monday, 29th July, 20 hrs.

Extra accommodation before or after the Conference should be paid  
separately but to the Secretaries' Office as above

Exchange: approx. 1 Kr. = 1s/-; .54 Fl. .6 DM; .6 Sw.Fr.; .70 F.Frs.  
7 B.Frs.; 87 Lire;

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COUNCIL ELECTIONS:

Harold F. Bing (Gt. Britain) was unanimously elected as Chairman  
Vice-Chairman is elected by the Council at its first meeting  
after the Conference.

Hon. Treasurer is not elected but appointed by Council and will  
continue to serve.

The following nominations have been put forward for the Inter-  
national Council:

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| Joseph Abileah    | A.C. Barrington     |
| Hugh Brock        | Frank Dawtry        |
| Narayan Desai     | Danilo Dolci        |
| Johan Galtung     | Donald Groom        |
| Herbert Günneberg | Stanley Halliday    |
| Hagbard Jonassen  | Alfred Knaus        |
| Jean van Lierde   | Pierre Martin       |
| Niels Mathiesen   | Hilda Morris        |
| Abbé Pierre       | Radhakrishna        |
| Michael Randle    | Renate Riemeck      |
| Meir Rubinstein   | Bayard Rustin       |
| Bertil Sandén     | Herbert Stubenrauch |
| Bill Sutherland   | Bertil Svahnström   |
| Arlo Tatum        | Lanza del Vasto     |
| Fred Whitney      | Hein van Wijk       |

Only 12 persons can be voted for

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VOTING: Only delegates from Sections, Associated Organisations  
and Publications are entitled to vote on constitutional matters  
or for the election of Council. The Conference chairmen will  
make it quite clear whether any particular vote is an official  
one involving only delegates. It may be that unofficial voting  
will be necessary to assess the feelings of the Conference on  
particular issues for the guidance of Council. In this event all  
W.R.I. members will be able to vote. Visitors and Observers  
should not vote.

DELEGATES: Please note that Ballot Forms will be available  
for Sections' delegates on Saturday afternoon, 27th July in the  
Secretaries' Office.

Completed Ballot Forms should be handed in not  
later than 12.30 hrs. on Monday, 29th July.

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LANGUAGES: English French and German.

In view of the number of Conference documents and the fact that many of the reports from Sections were sent to the W.R.I. Secretariat so late, it has not been possible to translate everything into German and French. We offer our profound apologies to the German and French-speaking conferees and hope that the interpreting arrangements will be adequate to make up for the lack of translations.

We must rely on bi-lingual conferees to help all they can and we would be grateful for volunteers to translate documents, even after the Conference.

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LIST OF DOCUMENTS:

1. Arlo Tatum - "Relevance of Individual Refusal in the Nuclear Age"
2. Heinz Kraschutzki - "Western Pacifism and the World Peace Council"
3. John Papworth - "Pacifism in Africa"
4. Pierre Martin - "Democracy and the W.R.I."
5. Tony Smythe - "W.R.I. and the International Peace Movement"
6. Pierre Martin - "African Evolution"
7. F.C.Hunnius - "Some thoughts on the International Peace Movement"
8. Stuart Morris - "The Relevance of Pacifism in the Nuclear Age"

PAX - special edition in English for the Triennial Conference. Each Conferee will receive one copy free. More copies can be obtained for N.Kr.2 each; 10 copies N.Kr.13; 50 copies N.Kr.50

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STAVANGER PEACE BUREAU - Fredskontoret, Lagårdsveien 19. This office, which is situated not far from the railway station and air terminal, will serve as the Conference office in Stavanger. In case of difficulty please contact the Bureau.

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Local Congress Committee: Mrs. Valborg Tjora and Mr. Rolf Tønnesen (Stavanger F.M.K.) and Mr. & Mrs. Larssen (Peace Bureau).

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Conference Organiser in Norway: Niels Mathiesen, Folkereising Mot Krig, Kristian Augusts Gate 1, Oslo 13

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7.

YOUTH HOSTEL & CAMPING SITE: Tjensvold camping-ground by the Youth Hostel, Camping-lodge, Mosvangen Youth Hostel, Tjensvold. Telephone 26 556. 5-10 minutes walk from Tjensvold to Solborg. Closed from 11 hrs. - 17 hrs.

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BOOKSTALL: Housmans, International Booksellers, 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1., England and the Pax Literature Service will be at your disposal.

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EXHIBITION: There will be an Exhibition of peace activities in many countries kindly prepared by the F.M.K.

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TIMES OF MEALS:

|            |   |       |
|------------|---|-------|
| Breakfast  | - | 8.15  |
| Lunch      | - | 12.30 |
| Tea/Coffee | - | 15.30 |
| Supper     | - | 18.00 |

Vegetarian meals will be provided for those who have requested them

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EXCURSION: Details of the Excursion will be available on arrival

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POINTS TO REMEMBER:

- Please bring with you:
1. All Conference documents
  2. Special edition of "Pax"
  3. "War Resistance" if available beforehand
  4. Soap and Towel
- 

The W.R.I. Executive Committee would like to express its sincere thanks to the Norwegian Section, Folkereisning Mot Krig, and especially its Secretary, Niels Mathiesen, for their hospitality and help with the Conference arrangements

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LIST OF PARTICIPANTS  
as at 10.7.63

AUSTRALIA

Shirley Abraham

BELGIUM

Jean van Lierde

BRITAIN

Peter Allen  
Lily Billett  
Harold Bing  
Eileen Brock  
Hugh Brock  
Joyce Runham Brown  
John Byrde  
Diana Fussell  
Lucy Hayes  
Harry Mister  
Hilda Morris  
John Papworth  
Devi Prasad  
Michael Randle  
Michael Scott  
Tony Smythe  
Alfred Tuckler  
Margaret White  
Richard White  
Sidney White  
Charles Witt

CANADA

F.C. Hunnius  
Valerie Hunnius

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dr. Jan Tomyo

DENMARK

Kaj Ditlefsen  
Erlind Holm  
Keld Jensen  
Hagbard Jonassen  
Olav Liengård  
Gitte Löber  
Svend Svendsen

EAST GERMANY

Prof. Jensen  
Dr. Franz Loeser

EIRE

Marguerite Lovell  
Betty Taylor

FINLAND

Börje Sidbäck  
Mrs. Sidbäck  
Deryck Siven

FRANCE

Louis Simon  
Lanza del Vasto

HOLLAND

Saskia Ferwerda  
Cobi Molenaar

ISRAEL

Joseph Abileah

ITALY

Aldo Putelli

NORWAY

Jan Bojer  
Nils Petter Gleditsch  
Jorunn Greve  
Grace Hector  
Alf. G. Kjetså  
Burnis Lewis  
Niels Mathiesen  
-- Ronhaug

SENEGAL

Jacqueline Martin-Dumeste  
Pierre Martin-Dumeste

SICILY

Danilo Dolci

SWEDEN

Wilhelm Bartel  
Stiv Jakobsson  
Henrik Karlsson  
Lisa Karlsson  
Bertil Sandén

SWITZERLAND

René Bovard  
Arthur Villard

WEST GERMANY

Werner Altes  
Rüdolf Breüch  
Christa Clausen  
Eduard Damm  
Franz Decker  
Paul Eickhoff  
Karl Gruhl  
Herbert Günneberg  
Hans Klack  
Alfred Knaus  
Walter Lidl  
Joseph Mertens  
Irmgard Nesslering  
Philipp Nesslering  
Irmgard de Ondarza  
Juliane Rosendahl  
Gerhard Schmidt  
Frau Schmidt  
Herbert Stubenrauch  
Heinrich Werner  
Hannlore Vack  
Klaus Vack  
Heinrich Köster

U.S.A.

Elise Boulding  
Kenneth Boulding  
Ralph di Gia  
Walter Ludwig

LIST OF SECTIONS AND ASSOCIATED PUBLICATION  
represented at the Conference

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|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <u>Australia:</u>     | Federal Pacifist Council  |
| <u>Belgium:</u>       | Internationale des Résistants à la Guerre   |
| <u>Denmark:</u>       | Aldrig Mere Krig  |
| <u>Eire:</u>          | Irish Pacifist Movement   |
| <u>Finland:</u>       | Finnish Section   |
| <u>France:</u>        | Ligue d'Action Pacifiste  |
| <u>Germany:</u>       | Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft<br>Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner<br>Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer |
| <u>Great Britain:</u> | Peace Pledge Union  |
| <u>Israel:</u>        | Israeli Section   |
| <u>Italy:</u>         | Italian War Resisters   |
| <u>Norway:</u>        | Folkereisning Mot Krig  |
| <u>Sweden:</u>        | Svenska Världfredsmissionen   |
| <u>Switzerland:</u>   | Swiss War Resisters   |
| <u>U.S.A.</u>         | War Resisters' League   |
| <u>Publication:</u>   | Peace News  |

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND

ED 718-17-42

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER ENFILLE

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield  
Middlesex  
ENGLAND

16th July, 1963

19. 7. 63

PRESS NOTICE

You are invited to attend a Press Conference at the Atlantic Hotel, Stavanger, on Friday 25th July at 20hrs. The Conference is being called on the occasion of the 11th Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International which will be taking place from 26th-31st July at Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger. Over 100 delegates from 20 countries will be meeting to discuss vital issues concerned with the struggle for Disarmament and Peace: Universal Legal Status for Conscientious Objectors, the Peace Corps, International Direct Action against War, Pacifism in Africa and India, etc.

In the belief that personal contact between peace workers of East and West would be a small contribution towards understanding and the lessening of Cold War tension, four Peace Committees in Eastern Europe were invited to send Observers to the Conference. We are expecting small delegations from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. The Deutscher Friedensrat of the Democratic German Republic, had accepted our invitation but its observers, Prof. Jensen and Dr. Franz Loeser, have been refused permission to enter Norway. All the details are not yet in our possession but we have taken the matter up with the Norwegian Ambassador in London. If we find that purely political considerations are again being applied to stop the growth of friendship between the peoples of East and West, we will be making the strongest possible protest to the Governments concerned. We will have more details for you at the Press Conference.

Amongst the delegates who will be available to answer your questions are:

HAROLD F. BING, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., W.R.I. Chairman; DANILO DOLCI, the well-known social reformer now working amongst the poor of Sicily; REV. MICHAEL SCOTT, Director of the Africa Bureau in London, Chairman of the World Peace Brigade and, with Bertrand Russell, a founder member of the Committee of 100; PIERRE MARTIN, sociologist and expert on Peace Corps affairs, now working in Senegal; REV. HERBERT GÜNNEBERG, social worker and Protestant pastor in Essen; HERBERT STUBENRAUCH, Chairman of the Verband der Kriegedienstverweigerer and member of the Easter March Committee in Germany; HUGH BROCK, Editor of "Peace News", the British pacifist weekly; DIDERICH LUND, President of the Folkereisingning Mot Krig, (W.R.I. Section in Norway), civil engineer, NIELS MATHIESEN, Secretary of F.M.K., and the W.R.I. Secretaries, Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe.

A Statement of the Aims and Principles of the W.R.I. is enclosed

ED 718-17-43

Maurer an Vack

21. 7. 63

FRIEDENS-AUSSTELLUNG zur 11. WRI-Dreijahreskonferenz Stavanger

In einem "Rundbrief an alle Sektionen" der WRI vom 8. 5. 63 heißt es:

"Es ist beschlossen worden, zu versuchen, eine Ausstellung von Friedens-Literatur und -Propaganda während der Dreijahreskonferenz zu arrangieren. Alle Sektionen sollten Muster von Broschüren, Flugblättern, Plakaten, Fotografien und sonstigem, wovon sie denken, daß es interessant sei, so schnell wie möglich senden an

Folkereising Mot Krig, Kristian Augusts Gate 19, Oslo 13, Norwegen.  
Örtliche Gruppen sollten eigenes Material beistellen."

Ich schlage vor, daß Du noch einiges selbst mitnimmst, da es zum Schicken wohl zu spät sein dürfte (ich hatte die Sache ja bereits mal kurz bei Dir erwähnt). Anbei als Beitrag von Frankfurt ein paar verschiedene KONTAKTE.

Hovt

to be held at Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger, Norway  
from 26th July - 31st July, 1963

ED718-17-44

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

- Arlo Tatum

There was a time, notably during the 1920s and 30s, when some of the finest "brains" of the pacifist movement thought of conscientious objection to military service as the key to the socio-political non-violent revolution we are still seeking to bring about. When I say "we are seeking", I do not include those who see nothing fundamentally wrong with their own country's present social structure, or the institutions which determine the formal relationships between men. I do include socialists and anarchists within the peace movement, and a third group which perhaps one could call - with tremendous respect - the primitive religious. Most persons in the latter group are Hindus or Christians, seeking to strip society of its top-heavy out-of-control governments, political parties, prisons, and passports (and maybe churches and temples), so that man can find and practice a brotherhood under God from which radically different institutions would spring. All three groups, fortunately, have a good deal in common.

Conscientious objection might have been the "key" in the pre-nuclear age, when the numerical strength of a nation's armed forces was the decisive factor, assuming equal skill, morale and equipment. However, whether it was substantially correct or ill-conceived is a matter of only historic interest, for the counting of noses is now of secondary interest to the commander-in-chief of nuclear-equipped combat forces.

I would make important qualifications to the preceding observation. First, we tend to forget - those of us with bombs - that not all nations huddle for protection under the bombs of one of the three and one half nuclear powers. We should be somewhat grateful that this is true. Of these nations, some do not have (or do not enforce) compulsory military conscription which can be refused, but my comments are intended to be upon the relevance of making an open commitment not to enter military service, when and if called upon.

The second qualification is that clearly certain nations need large standing armies for situations in which the use of nuclear weapons would not accomplish the political-military objective. Who knows when Soviet troops will be "needed" in one of the smaller communist countries, or when United States troops will be "needed" in Central or South America? There is the Middle East to consider, and Korea and Viet Nam. Non-nuclear armies are usable for a great variety of purposes. Nuclear weapons have only two functions: to deter and to destroy utterly. Politicians with weak stomachs purport to believe in only the former use, as does the mythical John Q. Citizen.

By and large, however, the master slogan-maker who came up with "WARS WILL CEASE WHEN MEN REFUSE TO FIGHT" would be unhappy with the nuclear age, for his venerable slogan is true only in the sense that it is true to say "Wars will cease when men refuse to push buttons". This day and age, there is probably a greater dimension of truth in saying "Wars will cease when men refuse to pay taxes".

During my years in Great Britain I was ever on the lookout for some indication that the peace movement, or a part of it,

would really fight conscription. Alas, it was quite outside the action areas of any group. Upon my return to the United States the extension of conscription was coming up. My belated agitation for the peace movement to take up the issue resulted in the passing of some resolutions, but little else. By and large, only a handful of persons were concerned deeply enough to oppose the extension.

I presume this lack of response sprang from an analysis similar to mine: that the extension of the draft could not be prevented; that the public wasn't much interested; that there were larger issues to occupy our time and energy. Where we disagreed was that I was (and am) convinced that on such a fundamental issue, with an obvious time-limit, a massive peace-education campaign could have been launched amongst young people, with telling effect. We did not do so, and now must wait four years for a similar opportunity.

I must not go into detail, for this is but an example of the mood of the movement. We must face the disconcerting fact that the world peace/pacifist movement, generally speaking, is reasonably content to see millions of young men undergo enforced destructive indoctrination and training, so long as there is minimal provision for conscientious objection. In more crass language, this is called the "I'm all right, Jack!" attitude - the one which stimulates such self-righteous indignation in pacifists when seen in others.

It is alarming but not surprising that as conscription becomes a military anachronism in those countries which house most of the pacifists, we have begun to down-grade conscientious objection. We have been too narrowly anti-military to be sensitive to the psychological, economic, political and social effects of conscription - all of which are patently negative, and play an enormous rôle in mankind's highly organised march toward self-destruction. To relegate conscientious objection to a position of minor significance is at least as dangerous as to think of it as the way to solve the problem of war.

If one looks at the broad independent peace movement with objectivity, it is perfectly clear that committed conscientious objectors (of all ages) lead it, stimulate it, criticise it, push it, finance a great deal of it, and created it in the first place. The exceptions for the most part have been put on their own as a matter of strategy, because pacifists thought they would be more effective. This is not a sociological freak situation; who does not know the power of the committed person? If we down-grade the importance of principled commitment to non-participation in organised violence the peace movement could, in time, easily degenerate into two camps: the frustrated semi-violent and the "own-government" oriented. There may be, indeed, a slight tendency in this direction in any case.

I have never concealed my conviction that the most powerful conscientious objector position is that of non-cooperation, and I deem it to be utterly relevant to our situation in this thought-controlling nuclear age. I would like to see us move from the traditional civilian alternative service position of conscientious objection toward that of total non-cooperation. (Of course, we should continue to support in every way those who cooperate with alternative service, just as we support and assist those who take the noncombatant position within the armed forces.) I want our conscientious objection position strengthened, in other words, instead of de-emphasised. (And we must not rule out the return of conscription to certain countries, for the government thinks it knows that even pacifists will not offer wholehearted opposition. It could return, and elsewhere continue, not from military "necessity", but as a governmental instrument for producing citizens who will dutifully participate in and support whatever the government deems necessary for defence.)

There can be, I contend, no coherent, reliable commitment to non-violence without the particular commitment of the conscientious

objector. One can certainly be a C.O. without a commitment to non-violence, and it is in this area also that a great deal of education amongst ourselves is sorely needed. I have, however, noted with satisfaction the increase in the number of C.O.'s of both races in the Southern part of the U.S.A. These are men who recognise the connection. With equal satisfaction one commends the substantial number of C.O.'s who are active in the integration movement. The C.O. position is equally related and relevant to the anti-nuclear weapons movement, whatever certain W.R.I. Sections may think to the contrary, and to the broader peace movements.

Persons committed to one of the C.O positions are making a unique contribution to the cause of peace; I earnestly hope that contribution will become greater, rather than get lost in the a-violent broader movement.

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PACIFISM IN AFRICA

- John Papworth

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Where a reasonable prospect of success in achieving their aims has existed, the African political leaders have adhered to non-violent courses. In this way many African countries such as Nigeria, Tanganyika and Ghana have achieved independence by means which may be described as pacifist. This does not mean that the leaders of these countries are pacifists; on the contrary, nearly all of them would have been prepared to resort to violence to achieve their ends if they had felt convinced that other avenues to doing so were closed. The nature of the independence struggle of countries such as Egypt and Algeria is witness to this and, indeed, I can think of only one African leader who would be prepared to give up his position rather than countenance policies of violence - that is Kenneth Kaunda of N. Rhodesia. In an interview for "Peace News" earlier this year he was asked "If it should happen that your own party decided that some kind of violent resistance were necessary, would you feel able to remain leader of the party?". And he replied, "Obviously that would be my end as a political leader because I would disagree with that sort of thing." Chief Luthuli of South Africa may well be another but I am not sufficiently acquainted with his views to judge.

To-day the freedom struggle in the remaining areas of the continent which are under minority rule is dominated by a readiness to resort to violence and an outlook which assumes violence to be inevitable. Nobody making personal contact with refugees from the Portuguese Colonies, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa or South West Africa can fail to be impressed with the extreme scepticism with which they view any non-violent approach to solving their problems.

In this respect the experience of the World Peace Brigade Centre in Dar es Salaam has been doubly unfortunate. It will be recalled that the Centre was established early in 1962 with the object of organising a 'Peace March' to N. Rhodesia from Tanganyika. Six or seven volunteers gathered there, but when, after a week or so, it became evident that the March was being delayed and even (as in the event it was) abandoned, most of them dispersed.

So far so good. The initiative for the March and the Centre had come from Africans, and when it was clear that the African leaders had changed their minds about the former, the way was open to concentrate on the latter.

centre were undertaken by the volunteers who remained, the Centre itself made no headway. At the end of 1962, after the Tanganyika Government had given the W.P.B. notice to quit the rent-free premises it had occupied for twelve months, a move was made to much larger premises which were rented with funds provided by pacifist sources in the U.S.A. After a month or so in the new premises the project was abandoned and the Centre closed down on the grounds that the Africans themselves did not want it.

It may be thought unfortunate that the Centre had not been so conducted that the local people would have come to value it more highly, but, in any event, it is important that the lessons of this failure be clearly drawn, if pacifists wish to affect the course of events in Africa in any way, and if the errors themselves are not to be repeated.

(1) Any project undertaken should have objectives which are clearly defined. The lack of clear objectives was the basic cause of the Dar es Salaam failure. A 'training centre', for example, can mean almost anything or nothing, and a training centre in non-violence organised by one group of nationals for another is merely hare-brained insolence. The retort I received from a Tanganyikan that I should start such training centres in Europe, since that is the home of most of the violence that afflicts us, was all but unanswerable.

(2) Programmes of activity should be drawn up before embarking on a project. This not only helps to reveal possible snags but does much to indicate the qualities required in those selected to lead. Neither London, Delhi, New York or any other centre appears to have given any detailed consideration to the programme of the training centre. Who was going to train who in what, and how? It would be easy to blame the volunteers on the spot for the failure that ensued, but the overall blame must attach to the bodies which authorised their activities without seeking to define them in detail.

(3) Volunteers in a project must work as a team on a democratic basis. Since most of the money for the Dar project came from one country, there was a tendency to regard the business of joint decision-making and joint consultation with members of the team from other countries as superfluous. The ensuing failure was not, however, regarded as a responsibility of the donor country so much as of the World Peace Brigade as a whole.

(4) Participants must expect as a matter of course to share the standard of life of the people among whom they have chosen to work.

(5) A shared programme of work with the local population on a daily basis must be regarded as a basic minimum objective. This is not only an essential step for making effective contact, but also a sure means of making the programme's objectives known and gaining local support for them. Apart from a weekly discussion on current affairs held at the Dar Centre for a limited number of refugees, there was no contact (if one excludes casual social contacts) with the local population at all.

The double misfortune arising from a failure to act on these

of the really promising idea the Brigade incorporates, and in the reputation for bumbling and ineffective do-goodism it has acquired in Africa. It must be realised in this latter respect that Dar es Salaam is an important refugee and political centre having strong links with other parts of the continent.

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What is the next step to be? It is possible that the rôle of a body of people prepared at short notice to undertake emergency action in the cause of peace is based on a misconception. Such actions as are taken, especially when they are taken in isolation, are apt to be misunderstood or even, as in the case of the Indo-Chinese Border Friendship March, to be greeted with suspicion, hostility and even abuse. Hence there seems to be a strong case for an international body whose members, by a continuous programme of voluntary service and propaganda, are able to demonstrate the ability of people everywhere to work together for peaceful objectives, and from whose ranks teams can be drawn for specific emergency action in times of crisis.

This background of, what could well be, solid practical achievement would give any future emergency action taken an authority which at present is conspicuously lacking. All too often the average newspaper reader is apt to regard peace marches, boat trips to Leningrad and so forth as rather a lark and to miss altogether the relevance of such actions to the war danger.

There are already a large number of voluntary bodies doing aid and welfare work in different parts of Africa and for a number of reasons I hope that pacifist activities in Africa will not seek to emulate them. We live in societies which seek the aggrandizement of the individual rather than his fulfilment in creative living, and it seems to me that efforts to emulate the conditions which promote this aggrandizement (and murder men's inborn aspiration for peace) are not matters of any positive concern to pacifists except insofar as they desire to change them.

Most committed pacifists are by now, surely, aware that the war danger arises from the way society is organised to exploit nature rather than to work in harmony with it. Since man himself is part of nature it follows that he himself is at once the agent and a major victim of this exploitation and the consequential destruction of his environmental harmony.

There is now a substantial body of literature from parts of early religious writings through authors such as Thoreau, Gandhi, Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Ruskin and William Morris down to authors of our time such as Lewis Mumford, Leopold Kohr and others which makes the point that pacifism is a way of life - socially no less than individually. Their chief lesson, I take it, is that however much (and however many!) individuals desire peace, if the social order of which they are part is geared to a sustained assault on their environment, the interests created by this assault, territorial sovereignty, a high standard of consumption, foreign trade, the balance of payments and so on and so on, will lead men to identify themselves with those interests and fight over them.

In brief - the nature of modern society makes war inevitable.

There is thus, it seems to me, a need for pacifist evangelism

in Africa based on the practice of hard commonsense communitarianism, based on a readiness to work in harmony and respect with and for nature and, it follows as a matter of course, man. In the villages, despite the depredations of colonialism and the curious ideas about progress entertained by many modern African leaders, the spirit of small-scale community life is still very strong. It would be the business of pacifist field workers, as I see it, to encourage progress and modernism in every way possible by means which ensure that the sovereignty, integrity and vitality of village community life is strengthened. In the Western world, in the name of progress, this has been largely destroyed. It should be no part of the pacifist task to participate in 'aid' programmes in Africa which serve to repeat the same tragedy and confront Africans, as it surely will unless adequate contrary measures are taken such as I am here suggesting, with the same dilemma of power politics as prevails in the West.

How is this to be done?

An international seminar on pacifist community development should be in continuous session to brief and, if necessary, instruct volunteers on the distinct nature of their task, and of the work being done elsewhere in the same field (especially in India).

The volunteers themselves should expect to make their own way to a work locality and to receive the minimum assistance from external sources in doing their work.

The nature of the work to be done is so incredibly diverse as to forbid any attempt to describe it in outline. We want more education in Africa, yes of course, but it must be, when pacifists are doing the job, education for life, not for Western orientated forces of death. Economics must be sane, non-violent community economics, not the mass megapolitan economics of the West. Farm training must mean husbandry, not short-term exploitation of soil and stock. Health training must be in terms of the need to consume fresh organically grown local produce as a commonsense basis for natural physical well-being.

It is not possible in a short paper to do more than allude to these matters somewhat sketchily. But one activity now being pursued in community centres in India and Africa is worthy of special note since it epitomises the kind of approach pacifists must adopt. It was, I believe, a missionary doctor in Africa who first worked out the idea of harnessing the gasses given off by sewage and virtually any kind of decaying vegetation, filtering them and afterwards using them for heating, cooking and lighting. The idea has been taken up in a number of community centres in India, and in one place at least the gas is being used to generate electricity. Despite a great deal of enthusiasm there are a number of obstacles to the application of this principle on anything but a small scale and even then there are a number of shortcomings to be overcome. But the principle of improving the quality of life from local resources without making people increasingly dependent on a remote centre of government, which makes them more independent, is surely one pacifists should seek to extend.

How is this work to be financed?

It would appear necessary to establish an international trust fund for this purpose and with a suitable body of sponsors it should be possible to make a start. The Dolci principle of doing something first and then seeking support should be widely applied and in this way bodies such as OXFAM and others might be induced to give assistance.



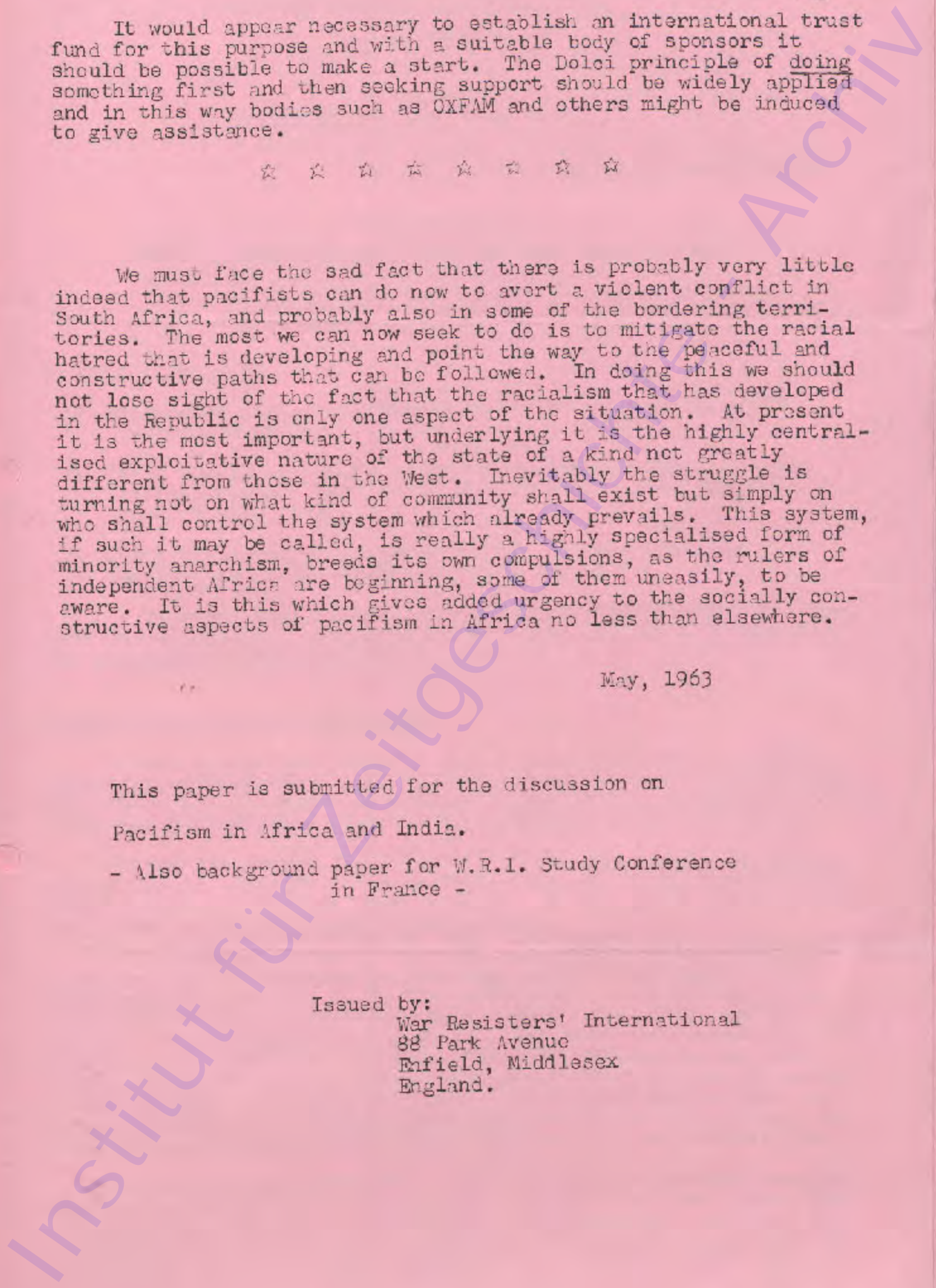
We must face the sad fact that there is probably very little indeed that pacifists can do now to avert a violent conflict in South Africa, and probably also in some of the bordering territories. The most we can now seek to do is to mitigate the racial hatred that is developing and point the way to the peaceful and constructive paths that can be followed. In doing this we should not lose sight of the fact that the racialism that has developed in the Republic is only one aspect of the situation. At present it is the most important, but underlying it is the highly centralised exploitative nature of the state of a kind not greatly different from those in the West. Inevitably the struggle is turning not on what kind of community shall exist but simply on who shall control the system which already prevails. This system, if such it may be called, is really a highly specialised form of minority anarchism, breeds its own compulsions, as the rulers of independent Africa are beginning, some of them uneasily, to be aware. It is this which gives added urgency to the socially constructive aspects of pacifism in Africa no less than elsewhere.

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Pacifism in Africa and India.

- Also background paper for W.R.I. Study Conference  
in France -

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DEMOCRACY AND THE W.R.I.

- Pierre Martin - Council Member

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Some suggestions for improving the organisation of the W.R.I., for consideration by the 11th Triennial Conference and the newly elected International Council

Grounds for concern

- ★ Members of the W.R.I. should be better able to influence Council decisions
- ★ There should be closer co-operation between Sections and between Headquarters and Sections with a trend towards federal structure
- ★ There should be more direct participation in pacifist activities in the underdeveloped countries

If these three points are acceptable there would be a good case for changing or modifying current practice and, if necessary, for changing or adding to the Rules.

Democratization and Integration

I have always felt that it was inappropriate for a pacifist organisation like the W.R.I. to be based on national organisation, that is to say on groups of members restricted by national frontiers which are themselves a cause of war between the men they divide.

On the other hand, we live in a period when large economic, political and military units are being created which extend beyond those frontiers. Before 1966, the date of our next Conference, our structure will be completely out of date.

The division of the W.R.I. into national sections is unnecessarily arbitrary and corresponds to the demands of reactionary rulers. What counts in the W.R.I. is the individual; his pacifism is an expression of his relationship to humanity, not to the nation-states. Everything which denies the individual his humanity is in opposition to pacifism. On this point the militarists are more internationalist than we, with their military blocs and alliances, common armaments and purpose, joint training and manoeuvres. We need to develop a federal structure on a world scale, the sort of thing attempted by the World Peace Brigade, our own brain-child.

It is probably premature to abolish all the national sections now and to replace them with regional groups but I do suggest that an exploratory enquiry be made amongst the Sections, so that, by July 1963, they may be able to indicate what regroupings would be possible either immediately or in the near future. There are some regroupings which seem quite logical: Scandinavia, the French-speaking region, even Germany and France.

If we were to adopt such measures we would be better able to exploit our feeble means, for instance by sharing permanent secretariats, and would become more efficient. The Regional Secretariat could be moved from one main centre of the Region to another, in turn, according to necessity and financial circumstances.

I would propose that:

- (a) the International Secretariat ask each Section with which other(s) it is prepared to fuse; (or at least associate closely with for a probationary period)
- (b) if reciprocal agreements can be reached, the appropriate steps be taken with the approval and, if necessary, the assistance of the W.R.I. Conference, Council and Secretariat:
- (c) to ensure a more equitable representation on Council, in addition to the 12 members elected as individuals, some means should be found to enable the representatives of large Sections or Regional Groups to take part and assist in decision-making. The Council has full powers to co-opt or to invite individuals to its meetings so that this proposal could in fact be implemented for the time being without any immediate change in the Constitution: in the event that one Region should have no member elected to Council, one representative of this Region should be co-opted after appropriate consultation in the Region. All Regions would thus be assured of representation beyond the provisions already made in Article 10 of the Rules.

Council decisions, made in the presence and with the help of Regional representatives, would have a better chance of being acceptable to the whole movement and in this way the problem of relationships between the International Secretariat and the Sections would be eased. It should be recognised that the W.R.I. itself could only meet the travel expenses of the elected Council and that Regions would have to be financially responsible for their own representatives. This presents special difficulties for the movements in Australasia and, to the extent that it exists, in South America. No solution can be perfect, however, and we must concentrate on improving the system we have.

The procedure of leaving all important decisions to the Triennial Conference, which may mean waiting for three years, is hopelessly out-dated and unwieldy. If Sections were more closely associated with the work of the Council the principle that the Council, with whatever postal consultation deemed necessary, could take such decisions, should be recognised.

All Sections should be aware of their right to make proposals to or bring matters before the W.R.I. Executive and Council and should make more use of it.

### Finance

The finances of the W.R.I. would be more predictable if the Sections agreed to give a fixed proportion of their own income to the International funds every year. The proportion would vary from 10% to 50% according to the size and wealth of each Section (small Sections are usually able to give a bigger proportion of their income than the larger Sections, although the amount may be less).

It should be recognised by the Conference that, although first claim on the Relief Fund should go to prisoners for peace and their dependents, money could be given for grants to pacifists who wish to work in underdeveloped countries rather than comply with military service. Funds especially for this purpose could be raised.

This would demonstrate the positive contribution that pacifism can make and would help introduce pacifist ideas into the countries chosen by the volunteers. The idea is being put to other organisations and wide co-operation, i.e. with I.F.o.R., S.C.I., would be possible.

(For example: to send a volunteer from Europe to West Africa and support his maintenance in the field for one year would cost £325. One part of that sum could be supplied by specialized organisations, e.g. War on Want, OXFAM, etc.)

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W.R.I. AND THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT

- Tony Smythe

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"Only a massive international resistance movement can eliminate the curse of war and stop the steady drift toward universal suicide .. This task requires the labours of countless individuals, as well as of many movements and peoples." Here, in the declaration of the Student Peace Movement, issued after the Camp Sunnybrook Conference in Pennsylvania last summer, is a basic statement of our need - a need which, judging from the bewildering succession of international peace conferences over the last two years, is widely recognised. This is a good occasion to search for some unified conception of the peace movement from the pacifist or unilateralist standpoint, with a view to defining the W.R.I.'s particular rôle. What has been achieved? What are the problems which inhibit more rapid progress? Where do we go from here and what are the chances of success?

War is a world problem. The devastating effect of war would be felt by all - as all now feel the effects of war preparations. Our attempt to build a world-wide and independent force for peace with some semblance of common purpose is, therefore, a very practical and necessary response to the situation. If millions are being mobilised for waging war, then we must mobilise yet more millions to wage peace and create a world public opinion favourable to the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Such a movement cannot be seen merely in terms of organisation, although organisational machinery will play an important part in making co-ordination, contact and co-operation possible. It will represent the collective efforts of all those who are sincerely and actively engaged in the struggle. A common policy is limited to a common desire for peace. On the other hand, within the broad framework of the movement, there is room for an organic growth which will stimulate each section in its specific task. Objectives and methods will vary. Some organisations will concern themselves with nuclear disarmament, test bans, disengagement and other governmental solutions through the United Nations. Others will aim at direct resistance to military alliances and the power blocs, total disarmament, popular pressure and revolutionary changes, both political and social. All will be united in giving strength to isolated pockets of resisters and assisting the formation of new organisations, in demonstrating the alternative to the cold war mentality and opposing the militarism of East and West alike. Priority must be given to disarmament with the recognition that this can only be the first step towards the relationship, between peoples and nations, we call peace. Peace without freedom, both political and economic, is war without the trimmings.

National Basis

Many of these considerations apply equally well to the national movements which should serve as a reminder that, especially in the early stages, the extension of the movement internationally is entirely dependant upon our strength at home. There is no substitute for hard campaigning amongst people and in conditions we know best. The

international movement is little more than the sum of national activity and if this decreases or falters in any way, we might as well go back to the beginning again. There is a suspicion in the minds of some people that the frequent flights of leaders and functionaries of peace organisations to far-off places and their subsequent return, brimful of enthusiasm and new ideas, are a sign of frustration in the face of continual set-backs. Others believe that surplus energy in the countries with fairly vigorous peace campaigns is being used to force the pace when new movements are still learning to walk. There is enough truth in both these criticisms to make us not expect too much too soon. Development should mirror reality rather than rely on vague international sentiment. All progress in the international field must be interpreted to the national movements so that each member senses the importance of his own contribution in the general strategy.

### Obstacles

International organisation has characteristic problems which cannot be minimised. A Frenchman fighting conscription or the force de frappe, a Japanese opposing military integration with the United States, a Greek calling for democracy, an African battling with imperialism, poverty and disease, an Englishman sparring with the invisible deterrent - each is aware of common interests but finds it hard to envisage a common programme.

The pacifist movement has been organised internationally for many years and yet real cohesion has been hard to achieve. There is almost one version of pacifism for each country and many pacifists are hardly aware that they have links with movements abroad. If they are, they often have no conception of the conditions that others are confronted with. The reasons are several and have relevance for all peace organisations. Communications are hampered by language, the inadequacy of the written word for exchanging ideas and the cost of travel. Consequently contact is maintained through international clearing houses and national offices, secretaries or delegated individuals. The membership knows little of what is going on. When there are meetings the dialogue is limited to generalities. This is probably what makes international conferences such pleasant occasions - everyone agrees! An impression of radical purpose is produced artificially. Only when particular subjects are under discussion does it emerge that there are very basic variations in approach. It is not then surprising that confusion occurs. The Common Market controversy provides a good example. Campaigners in Britain were against entry for very sound political reasons. For equally sound reasons German pacifists were mainly in favour. Even at the W.R.I. Study Conference in Denmark last year it was difficult for both sides to understand the two positions and quite impossible to arrive at an agreed conclusion.

### Recent Developments

This dismal picture becomes much brighter when seen against the background of recent advances. Although the Pugwash Conferences have become eminently respectable they underlined the rôle of independent experts and helped to expose the sterility of the inspection squabble. Although the good resolutions of the Accra Assembly, The World Without The Bomb, have petered out under a welter of documents and 'conclusions', the value of "non-aligned opinion against cold war platitudes" has been well established. The Amsterdam Conference of direct action and pacifist organisations showed that people were not only prepared to think internationally but to act together. The decision by the European CMD Federation, so long a paper organisation, to hold the Oxford Conference and invite all the main independent peace organisations proved that differences in method, degree or emphasis could and should be subordinate to common aims and aspirations.

All the implications of the Oxford Conference are not yet clear but the immediate result was a triumph for toleration between the ultra radical and more conservative wings of the movement, even though their inter-relationship was not discussed in any detail. A decision was taken to form, with the aid of a representative continuing committee, the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace. The support already received indicates that this purpose will be accomplished. If it is, we will have an organisational framework around which an international movement and, more important, international action can grow. The Statement of Aims and Principles, which will be the initial policy basis for the Confederation, represented the lowest common denominator between the participating organisations and therefore contains little that is new. Its redeeming features are that mention is made of the causes of war and individual responsibility. It requires member organisations to provide evidence that "by consistent deeds and stated policies" they stand for, amongst other things, opposition to "All countries' membership of all nuclear alliances". In this way, although non-alignment is nowhere adequately defined, aligned organisations are kept in their proper place which is outside. While the identity and the independence of the Confederation are being established before the public, this provision is essential and yet does not exclude contact with such organisations as the World Council of Peace and its associates, or their affiliation should they become more independent.

The Confederation cannot be regarded as an international super-structure for making new policy or for initiating action. Policy is a matter for each organisation and will only find expression through the Confederation when, as in the Aims and Principles, it is generally accepted. The value and the very existence of the Confederation will depend upon the contributions of member organisations and upon their ability to use it as a vehicle for co-operation with other members. If it can help to open up channels of communication between organisations in many countries and if it can provide the opportunity for a continuous and, what I am sure will be, a creative dialogue between contrasting and even opposing tendencies, it will be fulfilling a much-needed function admirably. If the Confederation fails from lack of support the need for greater international liaison and contact between all established sections of the broad peace movement will remain.

### A Changing Movement

The emergence of the Confederation presents certain problems to established international organisations like the W.R.I., the I.F.o.R., the International Peace Bureau (formerly I.L.C.O.P.) and the European C.N.D. Federation. They have all been carrying out some tasks which could be better dealt with by the Confederation. National bodies will have to reconsider their affiliations (theoretically there are some which could be affiliated to all the Internationals) and decide how their interests are best served, bearing in mind the financial obligations of affiliation. The only answer is for each international organisation to restate clearly its purpose and its programme in relation to the rest of the movement, thus avoiding overlap. The pressure will be against sectarianism so that pacifists may find that a narrow definition of pacifism impedes the pacifist contribution to the movement and the exclusive nuclear disarmers may discover that they need to be more flexible in deference to growing anti-militarism. It is to be hoped that the outcome of all the attempts to regain equilibrium will be to bring a breath of fresh air into those stuffy quarters which have long been in need of a good spring clear. One would like to see the old groupings flourish with a new sense of purpose and the non-violent direct actionists, peace researchers and student peace movements provide more revolutionary content, knowledge and vigour.

An international movement must comprise many different tendencies and if this is recognised at the start perhaps we will not be continually afflicted by the "fundamental" splits we are so used to nationally. In any case the dividing lines are much harder to draw. National conditions rather than ideas often dictate the methods to be used. What is legal in one country can be illegal in the next and, therefore, no purpose can be served by distinguishing between constitutional action and civil disobedience. While at the national level it is perfectly reasonable to adopt one method rather than another, it is not reasonable in the international context to take issue to the point of rejecting methods practised by other movements in the light of their own experience and circumstances.

### Foundations

The affairs of the international movement should be conducted in such a way as to involve everyone. There is a distinct danger in seeing international co-operation as being purely a matter of organisation or official contact. A dynamic force cannot be organised - it must grow. Contact between officials is of limited consequence. Somehow, in spite of all the obstacles already described, ways of getting local groups and rank-and-file members to share in the work will have to be found. Once there is an awareness of the importance of international work at every level and a growing sense of personal responsibility which extends beyond national boundaries, real progress can be made.

Those who travel abroad on business or on holiday can be put in touch with local peace movements. Direct associations could be formed between two or more local or regional groups in different countries and not necessarily ideologically similar. Individuals, preferably linguists, would be responsible for maintaining the association. First letters, then news sheets and pamphlets could be exchanged and discussed. Participation in joint projects would be made possible by offers of accommodation and shared expenses. Already some such schemes are in operation with every variation on the central idea. The effect of the widespread adoption of these simple measures would be to transform the whole idealistic concept of internationalism into a practical proposition. Liaison, between groups in arms-producing centres like Seattle and Stevenage, between dockers' committees in London and Rotterdam and students in Berlin, Paris and Rome, could lead to a succession of more meaningful and imaginative actions than have yet been envisaged.

### Mass Action

From the point of view of the public and the opposition the strength of the movement will be measured, at first, by its ability to have co-ordinated or simultaneous mass demonstrations. The spread of Easter Marches and the exchange of marchers this year gave a powerful impression of solidarity and unity without much conscious liaison having been attempted. The Aldermaston March, which started as a purely national effort, became an inspiration to peace organisations in many countries and has been the most important single factor responsible for the birth of the international movement. Now that people are willing to take part in activity abroad, the idea that no major demonstration or conference should be without international participation in some form should be encouraged. This will lead to more co-ordinated mass action.

In contrast to mass activities are the smaller projects which are conceived internationally and rely on teams of volunteers. The Sahara Protest and the San Francisco-Moscow March had an impact far out of proportion to their size and provided the volunteers with experience which they were then able to put to good use at home. A small team of deeply committed and experienced individuals can

carry the peace offensive into the centre of conflict and can pose the non-violent alternative in a strikingly dramatic manner. More actions of this type are needed, care being taken to avoid large expenditure not commensurate with the results. Perhaps there should be an international organisation for non-violent action projects although the World Peace Brigade experiment has not, up to now, been very encouraging. The alternative is to set up ad hoc committees for each project and although this would preclude long term planning and a sense of continuity it would save the expense of keeping an organisation together.

### Africa

It is not possible in a general review of the international movement to deal fully with the question of relationships with organisations in developing countries, particularly in Africa, and in countries within the Sino-Soviet bloc. Special problems are involved which need separate treatment. Peoples in colonial territories or under pressure from imperialism are naturally preoccupied with the issues most immediate to them. The atmosphere is not conducive to the creation of peace movements as such and the only alternative is to co-operate with national governments, political parties and their leaders. While we can be completely sympathetic to their basic aims we cannot invariably agree to their methods or political practices once in power.

### and The Communist Bloc

In Eastern Europe all peace activity is controlled by officially sponsored peace organisations and, although a minimum of dissent finds expression through them, their political analysis is identical with that of their governments. Our main concern should be to stimulate the growth of independent opinion and to establish contact with the many individuals who are as interested in peace as we are. Seminars, work camps and correspondence all have a part to play. Whether much can be done through the peace committees is a subject for investigation. Frequent consultations with them will certainly lead to a better understanding. It would be unreasonable to expect or demand radical protests in the East where opposition is rare and not easily tolerated. However, marches for the implementation of government proposals such as the Rapacki Plan could hardly provoke a strong official reaction and yet would give an opportunity for mild dissent. They would also give strength to our own efforts. Similarly, the best encouragement for anti-war opinion in Communist countries will be the growing influence of movements in the West and particularly in West Germany.

The task of the W.R.I. and its Sections is to develop the pacifist contribution within the general context of international action for peace. A definition of "pacifist contribution" would include the practice and theory of non-violence which many of us regard as being the key to war resistance and constructive peace-making.

We have a long experience to draw from. We have a revolutionary approach which is provoking much serious consideration amongst sections of the peace movement still dedicated to gradual change through accepted political and social institutions. The pacifism of the W.R.I. is based upon deep individual commitment and personal responsibility. These are factors which are of primary importance in a world of power elites, mass apathy and demagogic leadership. The W.R.I. can point the way forward if, within its own structure, it can demonstrate how internationalism, organisational democracy and the practice of non-violence actually work. Below I list some proposals, mainly concerned with structure and organisation, which, in my opinion, would take us beyond our present static position and

enable us to offer a more creditable justification for our existence than hitherto. They are neither meant to be comprehensive, nor original.

1. Encourage direct contact between Sections, local groups and individual members.
2. Adopt, with the backing of Sections, a scheme to create twin and triangular associations between local peace groups in different countries. Also nationally when, for example, a well-established Section takes some financial responsibility for a particularly weak or small one.

(The third group in a triangular association should preferably be in a developing country or in a Communist country, or in one such as Greece, with particular importance politically but with few traditions of peace activity.)

3. Accept Pierre Martin's suggestion to send C.O.'s to developing countries and launch a world fund for the purpose. This could be dovetailed with proposal 4.
4. Sections to take a hand in encouraging non-violent, constructive and action projects with a view to building a hard core of committed and experienced volunteers in each country. The W.R.I., W.P.B., I.F.O.R. and other international bodies be asked to support and sponsor international projects. For this the work of the Peace Brigade should be continued and expanded with the object of establishing an international team of volunteers drawn from local and national organisations. An exchange scheme for peaceworkers would create a fund of international experience which could be utilised at all times and especially during crises (i.e. 10 volunteers in each country where there is support for non-violent action could be exchanged for 10 from another country. All could be engaged in full time peace work or social service or voluntary part-time work).
5. W.R.I. members be regarded as members of the national Sections when visiting or living in foreign countries.
6. More attention be given in the movement to Esperanto and other solutions to the language problem.
7. Active support for the International Confederation for Peace and Disarmament be continued by the W.R.I. which would represent the interests of its smaller Sections while encouraging the larger ones to join. The Confederation be used as a means of remaining in close liaison with a variety of peace groups for consulting them and for exchanging information. The W.R.I. to join with all groups in broad political actions for disarmament and disarmament initiatives. Working relationships between pacifist and non-violent organisation be developed within the Confederation as far as possible but through the W.R.I. and W.P.B.
8. Promotion of War Resistance and the Information Service by Sections, members and groups, ensuring more articles, more reports, more news items, more subscribers and more money. The English, French and German editions could be vastly improved with adequate support and other language editions could be considered. (They are certainly needed). War Resistance can provide a link between all members. It does not seek to make general propaganda nor to compete with Sections' bulletins. Ideally it should reflect the progress of the movement internationally and report on national events and ideas when they have an international significance. The Information Service should keep the whole of the movement in touch with every initiative for peace. Sections must be responsible for passing on the information to their members.

9. Inclusion of international column in Sections' Bulletins with W.R.I. news and comments and possibly contributions from peace workers in other countries.
10. Organisation of travel in regional areas (South East Asia, Australasia, South America, Africa, etc.) by local representatives of the W.R.I., financed by the Secretariat and Sections wishing to take special responsibility for this work. (This proposal was accepted by the Council in 1961 as a more practical alternative to moving the Secretariat out of Europe).
11. Regular sending of reports and advance notices of all relevant peace actions to the Secretariat by Sections and groups.
12. Establish an International Peace Centre in Central London financed by well-wishers throughout the world.
13. Ensure participation of non-British members in the Executive Committee, whatever the financial burden.
14. With the approval of Conference and Sections, the Secretariat to feel free to give all possible technical assistance to international peace actions and projects not immediately within the scope of traditional W.R.I. activity, i.e. San Francisco-Moscow March, Convoy to Greece for Hiroshima Day, etc.

(Revised version of paper already circulated unofficially).

This paper is submitted for the discussion on the International Anti-War Movement.

Issued by:

War Resisters' International  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

NOMINATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE COUNCILABBREVIATIONNOMINATORS

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| A.N.V.A.   | Algemene Nederlandse Vredesactie (Holland)   |
| A.M.K.     | Aldrig Mere Krig (Denmark)   |
| D.F.G.     | Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft (Germany)  |
| F.M.K.     | Folkereising Mot Krig (Norway)   |
| F.P.C.     | Federal Pacifist Council of Australia  |
| I.d.K.     | Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner (Germany)  |
| I.d.K.G.   | I.d.K. Groups representing Augsburg, Beyreuth, Donauwörth, Kempten, München, Scheinfurt (signed by M.Volz, E.Sutter, H.Geldhauser, G.Haut, H.M.Vogel and D.Bogner) |
| I.d.K.E.G. | I.d.K. Essen Werden Group (signed by W.Weber, Alois Stoff, Hans Otto, Wolfgang Metzgen, Christa Claüsen, Alfred Puth and many others)                              |
| I.P.M.     | Irish Pacifist Movement (Eire)   |
| Is.S.      | W.R.I. Israeli Section   |
| Ind.S.     | W.R.I. Indian Section  |
| M.Z.C.P.S. | M.Z.Christian Pacifist Society   |
| P.P.U.     | Peace Pledge Union (Gt. Britain)   |
| S.V.F.M.   | Svenska Världfredsmissionen (Sweden)   |
| W.R.L.     | War Resisters' League (U.S.A.)   |

NameNominators and Description

|                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| ABILEAH, Joseph<br>(Israel)       | A.M.K., F.M.K., I.d.K., S.V.F.M.<br>Born 1915 in Austria. Married, 3 children. Immigrated to Palestine in 1926. Graduate of Collège des Frères, Jaffa. Professional violin-viola. Worked for Arab-Jewish co-operation since school days and objected participation in Arab-Israeli war. Member of W.R.I. Israeli Section since 1949 and International Council since 1957. Active in S.C.I. and other peace movements  |
| BARRINGTON, A.C.<br>(New Zealand) | N.Z.C.P.S.<br>Born 1906 New Zealand. 10 years Secretary of Workers Educational Association. Member of Riverside Community, Christian pacifist co-operative farm. Foundation member N.Z.Federation against War. Co-founder N.Z.C.P.S. 1936, official since. Absolutist C.O. prosecuted 10 times, imprisoned 3 times for peace campaigns. Member World Pacifist Meeting, Australian Peace Congress. Methodist lay preacher. Member W.R.I. International Council 1957-60     |
| BROCK, Hugh<br>(Gt. Britain)      | N.Z.C.P.S.<br>Born 1915. Married. Editor of Peace News since 1955. Assistant Editor since 1946. Chairman P.P.U. 1954-55. First Chairman of Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and of the 1958 Aldermaston March Committee. Served on C.B.C.O., Executive of National Peace Council, Member of Friends Peace Committee  |
| DOLCI, Danilo<br>(Sicily)         | F.M.K., F.P.C., I.d.K., Is.S., S.V.F.M.<br>Born 1924. Was imprisoned during war for refusal of combat service. Abandoned architectural studies to devote his life to the poor of Sicily, where he is working to promote development, through studies of the conditions; working with people for non-violent pressure on authorities. 1958 was awarded Lenin Peace Prize, with which money he founded the Centro Studio e Iniziative per la Piena Occupazione in Partinico |

- DAWTRY, Frank (Gt. Britain) P.P.U.  
Active locally and nationally. British No More War Movement 1927/37. P.P.U. since 1937. National Council P.P.U. 1941/56 and 1958/60. Member W.R.I. Council 1945/60. Professionally associated with penal reform, abolition of capital punishment and constructive treatment of offenders
- DESAI, Narayan (India) Is.S.  
Born 1924. Joined Gandhi's secretariat at 13. Toured with Gandhi and spent 2 years in independence and underground movements. 7 years teacher Basic Education School. Walked 7,000 miles for Bhoodan, having joined Bhave in 1952. Started Peace Institute at Rajghat. Secretary to Sarva Seva Sangh for 6 months and joint secretary since 1959. Author of four books
- GALTUNG, Johan (Norway) F.M.K., I.d.K., S.V.F.M.  
Born Oslo 1930. Chairman F.M.K. 1960/62. First editor of Pax, co-author of Gandhi's Political Ethics and other books on non-violence. Professor at Columbia University, N.Y. 1957/60. Since then director Peace Research Institute, Oslo. Currently UNESCO Professor of Sociology, Latin American School of Sociology, Chile
- GROOM, Donald (Gt. Britain) Ind.S.  
Field Secretary for Friends Peace Committee. Joined the No More War Movement in 1935, later the P.P.U. Undertook Relief Work in Barcelona in 1938, later Assistant Director of Relief for Spain in Paris for 1 year. Went to India 1940 and spent the next 20 years there, first attached to the Friends Rural Centre and later for four years with Vinoba Bhave
- GUNNEBERG, Herbert (Germany) I.d.K.E.G., I.d.K.G.  
Born 1931 Duisburg. Married to a social worker, 3 children. Protestant pastor for religious instruction at vocational schools in township of Essen/Ruhr. 1957 member of I.d.K. 1962 first chairman I.d.K. North-Rhine Westfalia. Marshal to the Easter March Duisburg/Dortmund. Does not belong to any political party
- HALLIDAY, Stanley (Eire) I.P.M.  
Founder member I.P.M. and Secretary for 19 years. Now Vice-President, auditor and editor of publications. Works for Freedom from Hunger projects and Peace Committee of Society of Friends, of which he is an active overseer. Whilst admiring the spectacular in others finds activity with his pen sufficient for his own peace efforts
- JONASSEN, Hagbard (Denmark) A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.M.K., Is.S., N.Z.C.P.S., P.P.U., S.V.F.M.  
Born 1903. M.A. University of Copenhagen. Doctor degree there 1956. 20 months in C.O. camp. Founder Member A.M.K. 1926 Member of Danish Council, since then as General Secretary, Chairman and now as Vice-Chairman. Vice-Chairman W.R.I. since 1957. 1944-57 chairman of relief organisation founded by A.M.K.

KNAUS, Alfred  
(Germany)

Ind.S.

Born 1922 Stuttgart. Profession - foreign correspondent. At present Secretary German branch of Service Civil International. 1929-1940 school and commercial college. 1941-47 military service, military prison, war prison. Since 1948 active member W.R.I. and S.C.I. 1953/56 social service with S.C.I. in India/Pakistan and work with Bhoodan movement. 1961 organizer of Easter March Stuttgart. Participant in Beirut Conference of World Peace Brigade

LIERDE, Jean van  
(Belgium)

A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.M.K., I.d.K., Is.S., N.Z.C.P.S., P.P.U., S.V.F.M.

Formerly leader young catholic movements. Trade Unionist. Journalist, editor of revue "Carrefours de la Paix". Secretary of I.R.G. Co-President of Belgian F.o.R. An official of Amis de Présence Africaine and a militant member of Jeunes Gardes Socialistes. Member of Anti-Colonialist Committee

MARTIN, Pierre  
(Senegal)

A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.M.K., I.d.K., Is.S., N.Z.C.P.S., P.P.U., S.V.F.M.

Sociologist. Imprisoned several times for anti-colonialist activities and for campaigning for recognition of conscientious objection in France. Residing now in Africa where he is developing co-operatives with the technical assistance of volunteers. Lecturer and journalist propagating the knowledge of non-violence in Dakar. Member of Committee of World Federalists and a Council Member of World Peace Brigade

MATHIESEN, Niels  
(Norway)

A.M.K., N.Z.C.P.S.

Born 1928 in Spain. Studied fine arts and stage design Paris and Vienna. Became W.R.I. member during civilian service as welfare officer of main C.O. camp 1955. Secretary of National Section 1956, a position he has held since. Member of C.O. Council, Norwegian Peace Council Executive, CND National Executive, I.F.o.R. Council, Scandinavian representative for World Peace Brigade. From August 1963 secretary-general International Peace Bureau, Geneva

MORRIS, Hilda  
(Gt. Britain)

P.P.U.

née von Klenze. D.Ph. Cologne. Member W.R.I. since 1947. On staff P.P.U. since 1949. Member P.P.U. National Council 1963. Editor of Non-Violence Bulletin 1956-60. Regular contributor to Die Friedensrundschau. Interpreter and translator for W.R.I. Headquarters. On speakers' panel of Council for Education in World Citizenship since 1950

PIERRE, Abbé  
(France)

Is.S.

Born 1912. Active in underground movement against Nazi occupation. Former deputy of French National Assembly. Vice-President of I.L.C.O.P. Founder and director of Centre Emmaus. Author. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Croix de Guerre

- RADHAKRISHNA  
(India) Ind. S.  
Born 1923. Married, 2 children. Worked in Gandhian Basic Education. 14 years with Hindustani Talimi Sangh (Educational Reconstruction under Gandhi) and 3 years Education Officer in a refugee township in Punjab doing educational and social organisation. General Secretary of Sarva Seva Sangh. Ambition to evolve new techniques of training for peace.
- ★ RANDLE, Michael  
(Gt. Britain) A.M.K., F.M.K., F.P.C., N.Z.C.P.S., S.V.F.M.  
Born 1934. Married, 1 child. Former member of Operation Gandhi, former chairman of Direct Action Committee and former secretary Committee of 100. Now Editorial Assistant Peace News
- RIEMECK, Renate  
(Germany) A.N.V.A.  
Born 1920. Studied at Universities of Jena and Munich. 1948 lecturer of history at Oldenburg College. 1952/55 Professor at Colleges of Braunschweig and Weilburg. 1955/60 Prof. at Wuppertal. Author of some books on German history. Member of Nat. Exec. I.d.K. Took part in anti-nuclear campaign from 1958, in consequence of which had to stand against government and was forced to resign from academic profession. Helped to build up the German Peace Union in 1960
- RUBINSTEIN, Meir  
(Israel) Is.S.  
Born Leipzig 1915. Married, 2 children. Went to Palestine 1933. Studied at Hebrew University. Since then land surveyor, 1943/1962 in government service. Member of clandestine defence organisation Haganah 1935-1948. 1949 C.O. Refused military service 1951, recognised by authorities. Active volunteer in A.F.S.C. work camps and committee 1953/57. 1958 founded Israeli group of S.C.I. Secretary until 1963. Started painting 1942. First one-man show 1955
- ★ RUSTIN, Bayard  
(U.S.A.) A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.M.K., F.P.C., I.d.K., Is.S., N.Z.C.P.S., S.V.F.M., W.R.L.  
Quaker. Active in peace and civil rights movements 25 yrs. Former advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr. Arrested over 20 times in civil rights struggle. First Field Director CORE. C.O. spent three years in prison during World War II. Member Sahara Protest Team. Council Member World Peace Brigade. Coordinator Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington 1957. Director Youth Marches for Integrated Schools, Washington D.C., 1958/1959. An Editor "Liberation". Presently Exec. Sec. W.R.L.
- SANDEN, Bertil  
(Sweden) F.M.K.  
Born 1940. Refused military service at draft and served alternative duty in fire brigade 1959-60. Entered Lund University 1960. Member W.R.I. 1961. Leader of Action Committee of Lund's CND 1962. Organizing courses in active non-violence 1962-63. Member World Peace Brigade 1962. Member National Committee Swedish CND 1963

STUBENRAUCH, Herbert F.M.K., N.Z.C.P.S.  
(Germany)

Born 1939. Married, 2 children. Teacher. Chairman. V.K. Member Central Committee of the Easter March in Germany. Not member of any political party but of Sozialistischer Bund, friend of the Society of Friends, against Konrad Adenauer and Walter Ulbricht - for Bertrand Russell and Ernst Bloch

SUTHERLAND, Bill A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.P.C., I.d.K., Is.S., S.V.F.M.  
(Tanganyika)

African representative World Peace Brigade. Former activities: Research historian C.O.R.E. Peacemaker Committee. Paris/Moscow Project 1951. National Co-ordinator Peacemakers (U.S.A.). Private Sec. to Ghana Finance Minister. Volunteer worker in All Africa Peoples' Conference. Sahara Protest Worker. 1959/60 adviser to Israeli Labour movement on African Affairs. Council Member World Peace Brigade

SVAHNSTROM, Bertil N.Z.C.P.S.  
(Sweden)

Born 1907. Journalist. 21 years foreign correspondent of Swedish papers in Berlin, London, Helsinki and Paris. Left journalism 1958 in conflict over defence policy. From 1959 editor of "Freden". In 1958 helped to start Aktionsgruppen mot Svenska Atombomb. Chairman of Kampanjen mot Atomvapen. Swedish representative on European Fed., member of Continuing Com. of proposed Confederation. Author of various books and pamphlets

TATUM, Arlo A.N.V.A., A.M.K., F.M.K., I.P.M., Is.S., N.Z.C.P.S.,  
(U.S.A.) P.P.U., W.R.L.

Married. Twice imprisoned C.O. Exec. Sec. War Resisters' League 1953-55. Gen. Sec. W.R.I. 1955/62. Currently Exec. Sec. Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors. Director of Peace News. Council Member of World Peace Brigade. Member of Turn Towards Peace Council and Consultative Peace Committee

VASTO, Lanza del Is.S.  
(France)

Associated with Gandhian movement for 20 years. Italian by birth. Dr. Phil., poet, musician, artist. Author of books on Non-Violence, Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave. Founded Communauté de l'Arche in France

WHITNEY, Fred F.P.C.  
(Australia)

Born 1916. Married, 2 children. Formerly resident in Britain. Absolutist C.O. Quaker. Now President P.P.U. (S.Aust.), Federal Pacifist Council and Howard League for Penal Reform (S.Aust.). Associated with Aboriginee Advancement League and Native Welfare and active with Welfare of Colombo Students

WIJK, Hein van  
(Holland)

A.N.V.A., I.d.K.

Born 1907 Amsterdam. 1932 Chairman Pacifist Youth Movement, member League Against Imperialism. 1938 lawyer defended C.O's before military courts, after the war almost only one in Holland. Legal adviser C.B.C.O. Holland. Chairman A.N.V.A. W.R.I. Council Member 1946-54. Started interest in Holland in Algerian war and relief work for refugees in Tunisia. Contributed largely as legal adviser of C.O's and of the P.S.P. to a series of improvements in a new law for C.O's 1962

☆ Present Council Members

Country in brackets indicates country of residence

Retiring Council Members

Nominated but unwilling to stand

G. Anthony Bishop  
Banwarilal Choudhri  
Stuart Morris  
Heinz Kraschutzki

René Bovard  
Aldo Capitini  
Alfred Hassler  
Fritz Katz

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

11. dreijährliche Konferenz

in der Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger, Norwegen  
vom 26. bis 31. Juli 1963

20.2.64 Ldn.

DEMOKRATIE UND W.R.I.

- Pierre Martin, Ratsmitglied

Einige Vorschläge zur Verbesserung der Organisation der W.R.I., zur Unterbreitung an die 11. dreijährliche Konferenz und an den neu ernannten internationalen Rat.

Besorgniserregendes

- ☆ Die W.R.I. Mitglieder sollten einen grösseren Einfluss auf die Beschlüsse des Rates ausüben können
- ☆ Zwischen den einzelnen Sektionen sowie zwischen den Sektionen und der Zentrale sollte es eine engere Zusammenarbeit geben, in Richtung einer föderativen Organisation
- ☆ Es sollte mehr direkte Teilnahme an pazifistischen Betätigungen in Entwicklungsländern geben

Demokratisierung und Integration

Es ist mir von jeher als unangebracht erschienen, dass eine pazifistische Organisation wie die W.R.I. aus nationalen Organisationen aufgebaut sein sollte, d.h. aus an nationale Grenzen gebundenen Mitgliedergruppen, wo doch solche Grenzen eine Kriegsursache sind zwischen den Menschen, die sie voneinander trennen.

Ausserdem leben wir in einem Zeitalter der Schaffung grosser wirtschaftlicher, politischer und militärischer Einheiten, die sich über diese Grenzen hinaus erstrecken. Schon vor 1966, dem Jahr unserer nächsten Konferenz, wird unsere Struktur gänzlich veraltet sein.

Die Aufteilung der W.R.I. in nationale Sektionen ist viel zu willkürlich und entspricht den Anforderungen reaktionärer Leiter. In der W.R.I. ist das einzelne Mitglied von Bedeutung; sein Pazifismus ist der Ausdruck seiner Beziehungen zur Menschheit und nicht zum Nationalstaat. Was irgendwie der Menschlichkeit des Einzelnen entgegensteht, ist nicht im Einklang mit Pazifismus. In dieser Hinsicht sind die Militaristen internationaler eingestellt als wir mit ihren militärischen Blocks und Bündnissen, gemeinsamen Waffen, Zielen, Ausbildung und Manövern. Wir müssen eine weltumfassende föderative Struktur schaffen, so wie die Weltfriedensbrigade, unser eigenes Geisteskind, sie anstrebt.

Es ist wahrscheinlich noch etwas verfrüht, alle nationalen Sektionen abzuschaffen und sie durch regionale Gruppen zu ersetzen, aber ich schlage immerhin vor, dass bei den Sektionen eine Befragung veranstaltet werde, sodass sie bis zum Juli 1963 sagen können, welche Umgruppierungen sofort oder in ziemlich bald vorgenommen werden könnten. Einige solcher Umgruppierungen erscheinen durchaus logisch: Skandinavien, das französisch sprechende Gebiet, sogar Deutschland und Frankreich.

Wenn wir uns zu solchen Massnahmen entschliessen können, werden wir besser imstande sein, unsere beschränkten Mittel auszunützen, indem wir z.B. Sekretariate teilen, und wir würden rationeller arbeiten. Das regionale Sekretariat könnte abwechselungsweise von einem Hauptzentrum der Region zu einem anderen ziehen, je nach Bedürfnissen und finanziellen Bedingungen.

Ich möchte vorschlagen,

- (a) dass das internationale Sekretariat jede Sektion befragt, mit welcher oder welchen andern sie bereit wäre, sich zusammenschliessen (oder wenigstens für eine Probezeit sich eng zu verbinden);
- (b) dass bei gegenseitiger Übereinstimmung die nötigen Schritte unternommen werden mit der Billigung und, wenn nötig, der Mithilfe von I.R.G. Konferenz, Rat und Sekretariat;
- (c) dass im Hinblick auf eine gerechtere Vertretung im Rat Mittel und Wege gefunden werden, neben den 12 als Einzelpersonen gewählten Mitgliedern auch Vertreter grosser Sektionen oder regionaler Gruppen teilnehmen und bei der Beschlussfassung mitwirken können. Der Rat hat volle Ermächtigung, Mitglieder für seine Sitzungen zu kooptieren oder einzuladen, sodass dieser Vorschlag einstweilen ohne unverzügliche Verfassungsänderung ausgeführt werden könnte und zwar auf folgende Weise: Wenn von irgend einem Gebiet kein Mitglied in den Rat gewählt wurde, sollte nach Befragung des Gebietes ein Vertreter von dort in den Rat kooptiert werden. So könnten alle Regionen der Vertretung sicher sein auch über das bereits in Artikel 10 der Ausführungsbestimmungen Vorgesehene hinaus.

Ratsbeschlüsse, die in Gegenwart und unter Mithilfe von regionalen Vertretern gefasst worden sind, würden der ganzen Bewegung eher genehm sein und auf diese Weise würde das Problem der Beziehungen zwischen dem internationalen Sekretariat und den Sektionen leichter gemacht. Natürlich müsste man sich darüber klar sein, dass die W.R.I. selber nur für die Reisespesen der gewählten Ratsmitglieder aufkommen könnte, während die verschiedenen Gebiete finanziell für ihre eigenen Vertreter verantwortlich sein müssten. Dadurch ergeben sich gewisse Schwierigkeiten für die Gruppen in Australasien und, soweit solche existieren, in Sud-Amerika. Jedoch wird es nie eine vollkommene Lösung geben und wir müssen uns darauf konzentrieren, das existierende System zu verbessern.

Das Verfahren, wonach alle wichtigen Entscheide der dreijährlichen Konferenz überlassen werden, was manchmal eine Wartezeit von drei Jahren bedeutet, ist ganz und gar veraltet und unpraktisch. Wenn die Sektionen enger mit der Tätigkeit des Rates verknüpft sind, muss das Prinzip anerkannt werden, dass der Rat diese Entscheide treffen kann, wenn nötig nach brieflicher Umfrage.

Alle Sektionen sollten sich ihres Rechts bewusst sein, dem Exekutivausschuss und dem Rat Vorschläge und Anliegen zu unterbreiten

und sollten mehr Gebrauch davon machen.

### Finanzen

Die finanzielle Lage der W.R.I. könnte besser vorausgesehen werden, wenn die Sektionen sich bereit erklären wollten, jedes Jahr einen fixen Prozentsatz ihres eigenen Einkommens an die internationale Kasse beizusteuern. Diese Abgabe könnte sich zwischen 10% und 50% halten, je nach Grösse und Vermögen der Sektion (kleine Sektionen können gewöhnlich einen höheren Prozentsatz ihres Einkommens geben als die grösseren Sektionen, wenn auch die Summe weniger sein mag).

Die Konferenz sollte festlegen, dass der Hilfsfonds in erster Linie für die für den Frieden im Gefängnis Sitzenden und für ihre Angehörigen da ist, dass aber auch an Pazifisten Beiträge gemacht werden können, die in Entwicklungsländern arbeiten wollen anstatt Militärdienst zu leisten. Für diesen Zweck könnten auch besondere Gelder gesammelt werden.

Dadurch könnte die positive Seite des Pazifismus hervorgehoben und pazifistische Ideen in die von den Volontären ausgewählten Ländern eingeführt werden. Dieser Vorschlag wird auch anderen Organisationen unterbreitet und eine umfassende Zusammenarbeit, z.B. mit dem international Versöhnungsbund und dem internationalen Zivildienst, wäre ermöglicht.

(Beispiel: Die Entsendung eines Volontärs von Europa nach West-afrika und sein Lebensunterhalt dort während eines Jahres würden £325 kosten. Ein Teil dieser Summe könnte von spezialisierten Organisationen wie War on Want, OXFAM usw. aufgebracht werden.)

Juni 1963

Obige Ausführungen sind ein Beitrag zur Aussprache über W.R.I. und zukünftige Organisation

Herausgegeben von:

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88 Park Avenue,  
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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

11th Triennial Conference

to be held at Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger, Norway  
from 26th July to 31st July, 1963

28. 6. 63

DEMOCRACY AND THE W.R.I.

- Pierre Martin - Council Member

Some suggestions for improving the organisation of the W.R.I., for consideration by the 11th Triennial Conference and the newly elected International Council

Grounds for concern

- ☆ Members of the W.R.I. should be better able to influence Council decisions
- ☆ There should be closer co-operation between Sections and between Headquarters and Sections with a trend towards federal structure
- ☆ There should be more direct participation in pacifist activities in the underdeveloped countries

If these three points are acceptable there would be a good case for changing or modifying current practice and, if necessary, for changing or adding to the Rules.

Democratization and Integration

I have always felt that it was inappropriate for a pacifist organisation like the W.R.I. to be based on national organisation, that is to say on groups of members restricted by national frontiers which are themselves a cause of war between the men they divide.

On the other hand, we live in a period when large economic, political and military units are being created which extend beyond those frontiers. Before 1966, the date of our next Conference, our structure will be completely out of date.

The division of the W.R.I. into national sections is unnecessarily arbitrary and corresponds to the demands of reactionary rulers. What counts in the W.R.I. is the individual; his pacifism is an expression of his relationship to humanity, not to the nation-states. Everything which denies the individual his humanity is in opposition to pacifism. On this point the militarists are more internationalist than we, with their military blocs and alliances, common armaments and purpose, joint training and manoeuvres. We need to develop a federal structure on a world scale, the sort of thing attempted by the World Peace Brigade, our own brain-child.

It is probably premature to abolish all the national sections now and to replace them with regional groups but I do suggest that an exploratory enquiry be made amongst the Sections, so that, by July 1963, they may be able to indicate what regroupings would be possible either immediately or in the near future. There are some regroupings which seem quite logical: Scandinavia, the French-speaking region, even Germany and France.

If we were to adopt such measures we would be better able to exploit our feeble means, for instance by sharing permanent secretariats, and would become more efficient. The Regional Secretariat could be moved from one main centre of the Region to another, in turn, according to necessity and financial circumstances.

I would propose that:

- (a) the International Secretariat ask each Section with which other(s) it is prepared to fuse; (or at least associate closely with for a probationary period)
- (b) if reciprocal agreements can be reached, the appropriate steps be taken with the approval and, if necessary, the assistance of the W.R.I. Conference, Council and Secretariat;
- (c) to ensure a more equitable representation on Council, in addition to the 12 members elected as individuals, some means should be found to enable the representatives of large Sections or Regional Groups to take part and assist in decision-making. The Council has full powers to co-opt or to invite individuals to its meetings so that this proposal could in fact be implemented for the time being without any immediate change in the Constitution: in the event that one Region should have no member elected to Council, one representative of this Region should be co-opted after appropriate consultation in the Region. All Regions would thus be assured of representation beyond the provisions already made in Article 10 of the Rules.

Council decisions, made in the presence and with the help of Regional representatives, would have a better chance of being acceptable to the whole movement and in this way the problem of relationships between the International Secretariat and the Sections would be eased. It should be recognised that the W.R.I. itself could only meet the travel expenses of the elected Council and that Regions would have to be financially responsible for their own representatives. This presents special difficulties for the movements in Australasia and, to the extent that it exists, in South America. No solution can be perfect, however, and we must concentrate on improving the system we have.

The procedure of leaving all important decisions to the Triennial Conference, which may mean waiting for three years, is hopelessly out-dated and unwieldy. If Sections were more closely associated with the work of the Council the principle that the Council, with whatever postal consultation deemed necessary, could take such decisions, should be recognised.

All Sections should be aware of their right to make proposals to or bring matters before the W.R.I. Executive and Council and should make more use of it.

### Finance

The finances of the W.R.I. would be more predictable if the Sections agreed to give a fixed proportion of their own income to the International funds every year. The proportion would vary from 10% to 50% according to the size and wealth of each Section (small Sections are usually able to give a bigger proportion of their income than the larger Sections, although the amount may be less).

It should be recognised by the Conference that, although first claim on the Relief Fund should go to prisoners for peace and their dependents, money could be given for grants to pacifists who wish to work in underdeveloped countries rather than comply with military service. Funds especially for this purpose could be raised.

This would demonstrate the positive contribution that pacifism can make and would help introduce pacifist ideas into the countries chosen by the volunteers. The idea is being put to other organisations and wide co-operation, i.e. with I.F.O.R., S.C.I., would be possible.

(For example: to send a volunteer from Europe to West Africa and support his maintenance in the field for one year would cost £325. One part of that sum could be supplied by specialized organisations, e.g. War on Want, OXFAM, etc.)

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This paper is submitted for the discussion on the W.R.I. and Future Organisational Trends.

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W.R.I. AND THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT

- Tony Smythe

"Only a massive international resistance movement can eliminate the curse of war and stop the steady drift toward universal suicide .. This task requires the labours of countless individuals, as well as of many movements and peoples." Here, in the declaration of the Student Peace Movement, issued after the Camp Sunnybrook Conference in Pennsylvania last summer, is a basic statement of our need - a need which, judging from the bewildering succession of international peace conferences over the last two years, is widely recognised. This is a good occasion to search for some unified conception of the peace movement from the pacifist or unilateralist standpoint, with a view to defining the W.R.I.'s particular rôle. What has been achieved? What are the problems which inhibit more rapid progress? Where do we go from here and what are the chances of success?

War is a world problem. The devastating effect of war would be felt by all - as all now feel the effects of war preparations. Our attempt to build a world-wide and independent force for peace with some semblance of common purpose is, therefore, a very practical and necessary response to the situation. If millions are being mobilised for waging war, then we must mobilise yet more millions to wage peace and create a world public opinion favourable to the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Such a movement cannot be seen merely in terms of organisation, although organisational machinery will play an important part in making co-ordination, contact and co-operation possible. It will represent the collective efforts of all those who are sincerely and actively engaged in the struggle. A common policy is limited to a common desire for peace. On the other hand, within the broad framework of the movement, there is room for an organic growth which will stimulate each section in its specific task. Objectives and methods will vary. Some organisations will concern themselves with nuclear disarmament, test bans, disengagement and other governmental solutions through the United Nations. Others will aim at direct resistance to military alliances and the power blocs, total disarmament, popular pressure and revolutionary changes, both political and social. All will be united in giving strength to isolated pockets of resisters and assisting the formation of new organisations, in demonstrating the alternative to the cold war mentality and opposing the militarism of East and West alike. Priority must be given to disarmament with the recognition that this can only be the first step towards the relationship, between peoples and nations, we call peace. Peace without freedom, both political and economic, is war without the trimmings.

National Basis

Many of these considerations apply equally well to the national movements which should serve as a reminder that, especially in the early stages, the extension of the movement internationally is entirely dependent upon our strength at home. There is no substitute for hard campaigning amongst people and in conditions we know best. The

international movement is little more than the sum of national activity and if this decreases or falters in any way, we might as well go back to the beginning again. There is a suspicion in the minds of some people that the frequent flights of leaders and functionaries of peace organisations to far-off places and their subsequent return, brimful of enthusiasm and new ideas, are a sign of frustration in the face of continual set-backs. Others believe that surplus energy in the countries with fairly vigorous peace campaigns is being used to force the pace when new movements are still learning to walk. There is enough truth in both these criticisms to make us not expect too much too soon. Development should mirror reality rather than rely on vague international sentiment. All progress in the international field must be interpreted to the national movements so that each member senses the importance of his own contribution in the general strategy.

### Obstacles

International organisation has characteristic problems which cannot be minimised. A Frenchman fighting conscription or the force de frappe, a Japanese opposing military integration with the United States, a Greek calling for democracy, an African battling with imperialism, poverty and disease, an Englishman sparring with the invisible deterrent - each is aware of common interests but finds it hard to envisage a common programme.

The pacifist movement has been organised internationally for many years and yet real cohesion has been hard to achieve. There is almost one version of pacifism for each country and many pacifists are hardly aware that they have links with movements abroad. If they are, they often have no conception of the conditions that others are confronted with. The reasons are several and have relevance for all peace organisations. Communications are hampered by language, the inadequacy of the written word for exchanging ideas and the cost of travel. Consequently contact is maintained through international clearing houses and national offices, secretaries or delegated individuals. The membership knows little of what is going on. When there are meetings the dialogue is limited to generalities. This is probably what makes international conferences such pleasant occasions - everyone agrees! An impression of radical purpose is produced artificially. Only when particular subjects are under discussion does it emerge that there are very basic variations in approach. It is not then surprising that confusion occurs. The Common Market controversy provides a good example. Campaigners in Britain were against entry for very sound political reasons. For equally sound reasons German pacifists were mainly in favour. Even at the W.R.I. Study Conference in Denmark last year it was difficult for both sides to understand the two positions and quite impossible to arrive at an agreed conclusion.

### Recent Developments

This dismal picture becomes much brighter when seen against the background of recent advances. Although the Pugwash Conferences have become eminently respectable they underlined the rôle of independent experts and helped to expose the sterility of the inspection squabble. Although the good resolutions of the Accra Assembly, The World Without The Bomb, have petered out under a welter of documents and 'conclusions', the value of "non-aligned opinion against cold war platitudes" has been well established. The Amsterdam Conference of direct action and pacifist organisations showed that people were not only prepared to think internationally but to act together. The decision by the European CND Federation, so long a paper organisation, to hold the Oxford Conference and invite all the main independent peace organisations proved that differences in method, degree or emphasis could and should be subordinate to common aims and aspirations.

All the implications of the Oxford Conference are not yet clear but the immediate result was a triumph for toleration between the ultra radical and more conservative wings of the movement, even though their inter-relationship was not discussed in any detail. A decision was taken to form, with the aid of a representative continuing committee, the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace. The support already received indicates that this purpose will be accomplished. If it is, we will have an organisational framework around which an international movement and, more important, international action can grow. The Statement of Aims and Principles, which will be the initial policy basis for the Confederation, represented the lowest common denominator between the participating organisations and therefore contains little that is new. Its redeeming features are that mention is made of the causes of war and individual responsibility. It requires member organisations to provide evidence that "by consistent deeds and stated policies" they stand for, amongst other things, opposition to "All countries' membership of all nuclear alliances". In this way, although non-alignment is nowhere adequately defined, aligned organisations are kept in their proper place which is outside. While the identity and the independence of the Confederation are being established before the public, this provision is essential and yet does not exclude contact with such organisations as the World Council of Peace and its associates, or their affiliation should they become more independent.

The Confederation cannot be regarded as an international super-structure for making new policy or for initiating action. Policy is a matter for each organisation and will only find expression through the Confederation when, as in the Aims and Principles, it is generally accepted. The value and the very existence of the Confederation will depend upon the contributions of member organisations and upon their ability to use it as a vehicle for co-operation with other members. If it can help to open up channels of communication between organisations in many countries and if it can provide the opportunity for a continuous and, what I am sure will be, a creative dialogue between contrasting and even opposing tendencies, it will be fulfilling a much needed function admirably. If the Confederation fails from lack of support the need for greater international liaison and contact between all established sections of the broad peace movement will remain.

### A Changing Movement

The emergence of the Confederation presents certain problems to established international organisations like the W.R.I., the I.F.O.R., the International Peace Bureau (formerly I.L.C.O.P.) and the European C.N.D. Federation. They have all been carrying out some tasks which could be better dealt with by the Confederation. National bodies will have to reconsider their affiliations (theoretically there are some which could be affiliated to all the Internationals) and decide how their interests are best served, bearing in mind the financial obligations of affiliation. The only answer is for each international organisation to restate clearly its purpose and its programme in relation to the rest of the movement, thus avoiding overlap. The pressure will be against sectarianism so that pacifists may find that a narrow definition of pacifism impedes the pacifist contribution to the movement and the exclusive nuclear disarmers may discover that they need to be more flexible in deference to growing anti-militarism. It is to be hoped that the outcome of all the attempts to regain equilibrium will be to bring a breath of fresh air into those stuffy quarters which have long been in need of a good spring clear. One would like to see the old groupings flourish with a new sense of purpose and the non-violent direct actionists, peace researchers and student peace movements provide more revolutionary content, knowledge and vigour.

An international movement must comprise many different tendencies and if this is recognised at the start perhaps we will not be continually afflicted by the "fundamental" splits we are so used to nationally. In any case the dividing lines are much harder to draw. National conditions rather than ideas often dictate the methods to be used. What is legal in one country can be illegal in the next and, therefore, no purpose can be served by distinguishing between constitutional action and civil disobedience. While at the national level it is perfectly reasonable to adopt one method rather than another, it is not reasonable in the international context to take issue to the point of rejecting methods practised by other movements in the light of their own experience and circumstances.

### Foundations

The affairs of the international movement should be conducted in such a way as to involve everyone. There is a distinct danger in seeing international co-operation as being purely a matter of organisation or official contact. A dynamic force cannot be organised - it must grow. Contact between officials is of limited consequence. Somehow, in spite of all the obstacles already described, ways of getting local groups and rank-and-file members to share in the work will have to be found. Once there is an awareness of the importance of international work at every level and a growing sense of personal responsibility which extends beyond national boundaries, real progress can be made.

Those who travel abroad on business or on holiday can be put in touch with local peace movements. Direct associations could be formed between two or more local or regional groups in different countries and not necessarily ideologically similar. Individuals, preferably linguists, would be responsible for maintaining the association. First letters, then news sheets and pamphlets could be exchanged and discussed. Participation in joint projects would be made possible by offers of accommodation and shared expenses. Already some such schemes are in operation with every variation on the central idea. The effect of the widespread adoption of these simple measures would be to transform the whole idealistic concept of internationalism into a practical proposition. Liaison, between groups in arms-producing centres like Seattle and Stevenage, between dockers' committees in London and Rotterdam and students in Berlin, Paris and Rome, could lead to a succession of more meaningful and imaginative actions than have yet been envisaged.

### Mass Action

From the point of view of the public and the opposition the strength of the movement will be measured, at first, by its ability to have co-ordinated or simultaneous mass demonstrations. The spread of Easter Marches and the exchange of marchers this year gave a powerful impression of solidarity and unity without much conscious liaison having been attempted. The Aldermaston March, which started as a purely national effort, became an inspiration to peace organisations in many countries and has been the most important single factor responsible for the birth of the international movement. Now that people are willing to take part in activity abroad, the idea that no major demonstration or conference should be without international participation in some form should be encouraged. This will lead to more co-ordinated mass action.

In contrast to mass activities are the smaller projects which are conceived internationally and rely on teams of volunteers. The Sahara Protest and the San Francisco-Moscow March had an impact far out of proportion to their size and provided the volunteers with experience which they were then able to put to good use at home. A small team of deeply committed and experienced individuals can

carry the peace offensive into the centre of conflict and can pose the non-violent alternative in a strikingly dramatic manner. More actions of this type are needed, care being taken to avoid large expenditure not commensurate with the results. Perhaps there should be an international organisation for non-violent action projects although the World Peace Brigade experiment has not, up to now, been very encouraging. The alternative is to set up ad hoc committees for each project and although this would preclude long term planning and a sense of continuity it would save the expense of keeping an organisation together.

### Africa

It is not possible in a general review of the international movement to deal fully with the question of relationships with organisations in developing countries, particularly in Africa, and in countries within the Sino-Soviet bloc. Special problems are involved which need separate treatment. Peoples in colonial territories or under pressure from imperialism are naturally preoccupied with the issues most immediate to them. The atmosphere is not conducive to the creation of peace movements as such and the only alternative is to co-operate with national governments, political parties and their leaders. While we can be completely sympathetic to their basic aims we cannot invariably agree to their methods or political practices once in power.

### and The Communist Bloc

In Eastern Europe all peace activity is controlled by officially sponsored peace organisations and, although a minimum of dissent finds expression through them, their political analysis is identical with that of their governments. Our main concern should be to stimulate the growth of independent opinion and to establish contact with the many individuals who are as interested in peace as we are. Seminars, work camps and correspondence all have a part to play. Whether much can be done through the peace committees is a subject for investigation. Frequent consultations with them will certainly lead to a better understanding. It would be unreasonable to expect or demand radical protests in the East where opposition is rare and not easily tolerated. However, marches for the implementation of government proposals such as the Rapacki Plan could hardly provoke a strong official reaction and yet would give an opportunity for mild dissent. They would also give strength to our own efforts. Similarly, the best encouragement for anti-war opinion in Communist countries will be the growing influence of movements in the West and particularly in West Germany.

The task of the W.R.I. and its Sections is to develop the pacifist contribution within the general context of international action for peace. A definition of "pacifist contribution" would include the practice and theory of non-violence which many of us regard as being the key to war resistance and constructive peace-making.

We have a long experience to draw from. We have a revolutionary approach which is provoking much serious consideration amongst sections of the peace movement still dedicated to gradual change through accepted political and social institutions. The pacifism of the W.R.I. is based upon deep individual commitment and personal responsibility. These are factors which are of primary importance in a world of power elites, mass apathy and demagogic leadership. The W.R.I. can point the way forward if, within its own structure, it can demonstrate how internationalism, organisational democracy and the practice of non-violence actually work. Below I list some proposals, mainly concerned with structure and organisation, which, in my opinion, would take us beyond our present static position and

enable us to offer a more creditable justification for our existence than hitherto. They are neither meant to be comprehensive, nor original.

1. Encourage direct contact between Sections, local groups and individual members.
2. Adopt, with the backing of Sections, a scheme to create twin and triangular associations between local peace groups in different countries. Also nationally when, for example, a well-established Section takes some financial responsibility for a particularly weak or small one.

(The third group in a triangular association should preferably be in a developing country or in a Communist country, or in one such as Greece, with particular importance politically but with few traditions of peace activity.)

3. Accept Pierre Martin's suggestion to send C.O.'s to developing countries and launch a world fund for the purpose. This could be dovetailed with proposal 4.
4. Sections to take a hand in encouraging non-violent, constructive and action projects with a view to building a hard core of committed and experienced volunteers in each country. The W.R.I., W.P.B., I.F.o.R. and other international bodies be asked to support and sponsor international projects. For this the work of the Peace Brigade should be continued and expanded with the object of establishing an international team of volunteers drawn from local and national organisations. An exchange scheme for peaceworkers would create a fund of international experience which could be utilised at all times and especially during crises (i.e. 10 volunteers in each country where there is support for non-violent action could be exchanged for 10 from another country. All could be engaged in full time peace work or social service or voluntary part-time work).
5. W.R.I. members be regarded as members of the national Sections when visiting or living in foreign countries.
6. More attention be given in the movement to Esperanto and other solutions to the language problem.
7. Active support for the International Confederation for Peace and Disarmament be continued by the W.R.I. which would represent the interests of its smaller Sections while encouraging the larger ones to join. The Confederation be used as a means of remaining in close liaison with a variety of peace groups for consulting them and for exchanging information. The W.R.I. to join with all groups in broad political actions for disarmament and disarmament initiatives. Working relationships between pacifist and non-violent organisation be developed within the Confederation as far as possible but through the W.R.I. and W.P.B.
8. Promotion of War Resistance and the Information Service by Sections, members and groups, ensuring more articles, more reports, more news items, more subscribers and more money. The English, French and German editions could be vastly improved with adequate support and other language editions could be considered. (They are certainly needed). War Resistance can provide a link between all members. It does not seek to make general propaganda nor to compete with Sections' bulletins. Ideally it should reflect the progress of the movement internationally and report on national events and ideas when they have an international significance. The Information Service should keep the whole of the movement in touch with every initiative for peace. Sections must be responsible for passing on the information to their members.

9. Inclusion of international column in Sections' Bulletins with W.R.I. news and comments and possibly contributions from peace workers in other countries.
10. Organisation of travel in regional areas (South East Asia, Australasia, South America, Africa, etc.) by local representatives of the W.R.I., financed by the Secretariat and Sections wishing to take special responsibility for this work. (This proposal was accepted by the Council in 1961 as a more practical alternative to moving the Secretariat out of Europe).
11. Regular sending of reports and advance notices of all relevant peace actions to the Secretariat by Sections and groups.
12. Establish an International Peace Centre in Central London financed by well-wishers throughout the world.
13. Ensure participation of non-British members in the Executive Committee, whatever the financial burden.
14. With the approval of Conference and Sections, the Secretariat to feel free to give all possible technical assistance to international peace actions and projects not immediately within the scope of traditional W.R.I. activity, i.e. San Francisco-Moscow March, Convoy to Greece for Hiroshima Day, etc.

(Revised version of paper already circulated unofficially).

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SOME THOUGHTS ON THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT

- F.C. Hunnius

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I Introduction:

The peace movement throughout the world presents a paradoxical picture to-day. Countless millions of people sincerely desire peace yet nowhere is there a genuine mass-movement for peace. And even if there were such a mass-movement for peace, the leadership would find itself in an awkward position since it has no comprehensive plan of action and, what is even more important, no vision of the future which the peoples of the world can grasp and integrate with their own personal visions and ambitions. We lack not only imagination, we are also organizationally weak and we still cling to outmoded systems and habits of thought in an era which, by its technological achievements, has made a new science of politics obligatory.

This then is the broad framework of what I want to talk about to-day. I want to lay bare our weaknesses because I believe this to be necessary: I also want to make a number of suggestions which may help us to emerge from the confusion and muddle in which we find ourselves. What follows is, of course, not an analysis in depth but merely a number of observations and suggestions.

II On Imagination:

To an unprecedented degree, the results of modern technology dominate our socio-political behaviour to-day. In the words of Gunther Anders, "political actions and developments are taking place within the atomic situation". We all know this, yet our thinking and actions are still dominated by old and now meaningless concepts and dogmas.

A.J.Muste, C. Wright Mills and many others have repeatedly told us that our major orientations - liberalism and socialism - have collapsed, not only as explanations of the present but also as ideologies of the future. The resulting inertia and lack of imagination is most clearly characterized by the Great Freeze in initiative in the foreign policy of all the major nation states. A similar Great Freeze has unfortunately prevented the peace movement from acting with relevancy. Apart from a few important exceptions we react to events. We not only lack a vision of the future, we also lack a comprehensive plan of action.

In his article "A Plea for Social Imagination", Robert Jungk asks us if we have now "utterly forgotten these grand and noble longings that peered so very far ahead ... Can our imagination be fired only by the sort of scientific hypothesis which must be first tested ... ?" There can be no social philosophy without certain hypotheses about the future. A.J.Muste has said that the future rarely corresponds to blueprints and that the city of peace and fraternity has yet to be built. Granted that present blueprints, if they existed, would change many times as we approached our goal; but the relative isolation of the peace movement is perhaps partly

due to the<sup>very</sup> lack of a blueprint, sketchy and utopian as this may be at first. How can we gain support for our short-term actions if we have no vision of the future, no plan how to get there and consequently no confidence in our own success? How can our short-term actions be politically relevant if they take place in a vacuum?

It is of course difficult to achieve this breakthrough and to liberate ourselves from the traditions and ancestral thought patterns of the past. Out of habit we often imitate; it is a convenient shortcut to a solution. We copy from past experience for a number of reasons. One is that we lack the ability or the time to formulate new and relevant policies. We face an additional problem in the fact that past successful innovators, in the words of Bertrand Russell, "have appealed, as far as they could, to tradition, and have done whatever lay in their power to minimize the element of novelty in their system". Since a new utopia will contain much that is new and little that will appeal to the sense of tradition in us, we face a task perhaps more difficult than that of past revolutionaries.

An utopia is an intellectual product and we have some of the finest thinkers of our age in the peace movement. Why then have we failed so miserably? The fact that a few of our best thinkers have realized this dilemma is a hopeful sign. "We must release the human imagination in order to open up a new exploration of the alternatives now possible for the human community; we must set forth general and detailed plans, ideas, visions; in brief, programs!" (C.Wright Mills). Nowhere is this more essential than in the peace movement, that movement which presents the only universally applicable revolutionary force, that movement which the German author Anton Zischka calls the emerging "Peace International". We have been told that the end of ideology has arrived, that it is unscientific to build visions of the future. Well, let us be unscientific in this respect; no vision of the future has ever succeeded because it was scientific. Let us speak not only to the mind of man but also to his imagination. The significance of a new vision for mankind cannot be understood in the present socio-economic framework of competing nation states. One has to acquire new thought patterns which transcend the limitations of segmentary concepts. It is a matter of "seeing" even more than of "knowing".

That imaginative thinking has applications other than the creating of an image of the future is well illustrated by Herman Kahn who has developed his double concept of "Scenario and alternative Scenarios" in his book, "Thinking about the Unthinkable". Meant to be applied by governments, this concept can also be of value to the peace movement. In brief, it describes a conceivable course of events in the near future by a process that can perhaps be called Imaginative Social Science Fiction. One obvious application is that it would enable us to think about future crises in advance and thus use these crises constructively instead of reacting at the last moment in an uncoordinated and confused manner.

".... everywhere there are visionaries and a visionary is fine - if he sees the bridge to his vision." This quotation by Brock Chisholm brings us to another problem that has not been adequately dealt with by the peace movement. While we need the "sociological imagination" to understand the present and a vision of the future to which we can rally, we must also have a plan of action that is both imaginative and realistic. Since we operate in different socio-economic environments, we will need different plans of action which must be united by a common vision of the future.

Let me digress for a moment and comment on another roadblock that has prevented us in the past from thinking, planning and working together. It is what Michael Scott calls the many individual and organizational egotisms in the peace movement. We all have a distaste for unpleasant facts. Many of us have an inherited arrogance - a conceit that we are the sole possessors of the truth.

This arrogance, this lack of imagination plus the dogmatism of a large number of peace workers goes a long way to explain the composition and the isolation of the peace movement in the western industrialized nations. The independent peace movement is in fact not a movement at all but a loose conglomeration of socialists, ex-communists, pacifists and rebellious youth. Peace must cease to become an issue of political dogma if it is ever to become the common concern of all peace-loving people. People who support causes have frequently been uncompromising and dogmatic; and this is but another challenge to the imagination and resourcefulness that we must apply if we are to succeed in our work.

History to-day is world history. It affects every man, woman and child. Yet despite occasional warnings the peace movement in the west acts as if it were still operating from the centre of the universe. I would suggest that, in the realm of images of the future, Europe now seems exhausted and tired. The occasional flashes and sparks grow fainter and fainter and the American dream, whatever its significance and value for Americans, has lost its appeal to the peoples outside North America. What is largely overlooked by us is that in many other parts of the world, in the communist countries, in Asia and Africa and parts of Latin America, there is at work an unquestionable upheaval of mass-appealing images of the future. These images are already changing the face of the world. We may not find them acceptable but it is an illusion to think that we can create a meaningful image in isolation from the revolutionary thinking of these peoples who are united by common suffering and hope, the most dynamic combination for social change.

It has been pointed out repeatedly by historians and psychologists that no movement can long remain a growing and dynamic entity if it concentrates on protest alone. It must offer its followers hope - hope for a better future. Most of us believe that this future must be built on the concept of non-violence as a way of life and that we must use non-violent means to achieve this end. I do not believe this concept will be accepted by very many people if it is presented, as it largely is to-day, as a negative protest against the tyranny of the bomb and against human injustice. It will have a chance of being accepted if it is offered as an essential part of the good life, of social, material, and spiritual happiness. Crane Brinton in his study of four revolutions offers one major generalization: "These four revolutions" says Brinton, "exhibit an increasing scale of promises to the 'common man' - promises as vague as that of complete 'happiness' and as concrete as that of full satisfaction of all material wants ..." We should not be afraid to include material gain; there is nothing inherently evil in this and, for better or for worse, it is one of the driving forces of our age.

In discussing the Committee of 100, Chris Farley said that, "one cannot set out to build a mass movement without giving people a clear idea of where it is going and how it proposes to get there. No theory, no sense of direction. No sense of direction, no mass movement."

It is of the greatest urgency that we re-examine our priorities. We must take the time for an extended discussion and analysis on our image of the future. There have been a number of initiatives in this direction, but either the response has been poor ("we are too busy"), or they have been limited in their appeal. It is absolutely essential that our dialogue on the future image of mankind be an international dialogue. I would think this ought to be one of the immediate functions of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace.

### III On Organisation

Some comments on the nature and problems of mass organisations.

There are many causes and ideologies, both secular and religious, competing for the allegiance of man. Peace in some form is on the platform of all of them. In the final analysis the cause which will triumph will not necessarily be one with the most realistic or politically feasible programme, although these will have to be part of a successful ideology: no - victory will only come to that cause which, in addition to a loyal and dedicated leadership, has a well-functioning and dynamic organization to advance its aims, to welcome new supporters and members and to "put teeth" into its promises of equality, dignity and peace for all.

The organizational inefficiency of the peace movement, with a few exceptions, is indeed alarming. It is also unnecessary. This is a controversial topic for two reasons. One is the obvious extremes which have resulted from efficiently run organizations; the totalitarian state is an example. The very concept of organization has become tainted in the eyes of the rebel. We deplore the emergence of "the organization man" and its accompanying conformism. The other reason is, I believe, the traditional dogmatism of some of our most talented peace workers whose political views and beliefs were formed long before the atomic age began. Yet there is nothing inherently evil or dehumanizing in organizational efficiency and there are examples to prove this for anyone who cares to look around. The charge that an efficiently run organization will, ipso facto, be undemocratic needs to be examined in some detail. In any case we have not escaped this dilemma for we seem to have accepted the worst parts of both. Our organizations are inefficiently run but, at the same time, are structurally undemocratic. If you do not believe this to be true you are labouring under a dangerous illusion. The policy making power in most peace groups is centred in a small number of people and this is even true to a lesser extent in the formulation of action. Have you ever tried to answer the question as to who calls the shots in an emergency? There is a political doctrine coined by a neo-Machiavellian, the German Nazi lawyer Carl Schmitt, who said: "Sovereign is he who decides the emergency situation". The answer to this question does not of course degrade the peace movement in any way, but it underlines one of the complexities of democratic leadership which we must openly face. The way in which an individual acquires power within an organization is not the only topic we must analyse; we must also concern ourselves with the more basic problems of organizational analysis. It should not be beyond the wisdom of man to find an organizational formula which satisfies our desire for democratic leadership and yet guarantees a greater degree of efficiency and flexibility.

This brings us to another point which I would like to raise only in the form of a question. We know from historical evidence that in time of crisis people demand leadership and are ready to obey a leader. Have we seriously thought about the possibility of a world crisis - or even World War III? Have we anything to offer if such a crisis comes? Have we the leadership and the organizational ability to act boldly and constructively in such an event? Or is it too objectionable to even think about the unthinkable? There are numerous examples to prove that the capacity of the individual to act courageously under severe pressure is greatly enhanced if he feels that he is a member of a group in which he has confidence. The isolated individual frequently panics when the pressure mounts to the breaking point.

The view that if we had only a large enough number of supporters we would get through to power is not necessarily valid, in fact it may well be a naïve assumption when applied to the industrialized nations of the world. Let me give you one example: In the 1930's

there occurred in Britain a huge upsurge of propaganda and action to preserve the League of Nations and to introduce economic sanctions against Italy in order to stop Mussolini's aggression against Ethiopia. If my memory serves me right, eleven million British citizens were polled, of whom a clear majority favoured economic sanctions. This was a larger number of people than had ever voted in an election, yet the government ignored them. Why had this tremendous effort failed? How can this be prevented from happening again? I would think that one important reason was the lack of a well functioning organization.

It follows that we must organize the peace movement on new and more efficient lines. While my general purpose is to stress the importance of research and training in this field, I would, nevertheless, like to raise a few of the more obvious issues that confront us in this area.

One can divide a topic in many ways. One way to look at the problem of organization and planning, and these two are closely interrelated, is to examine two types of planning: "Efficiency planning", and "economic planning". By efficiency planning we mean the planning of the realization of selected aims; economic planning refers to the utilization of the limited means at our disposal. These two types of planning are of course interdependent. They apply to all types of organizations. There is a great need for a concerted intellectual attack on the organizations of peace along the lines suggested above. Before going into more concrete details of organizational problems, let me make a few remarks applicable in particular to mass organizations. We like to think that members of the peace movement are all intellectually committed to the cause of peace and this is undoubtedly largely correct. Unlike the Negro struggle in the United States and the national liberation movement in the former colonial areas, our members do not suffer materially from the absence of peace (while the negro does suffer materially from the absence of equality and justice). We do not suffer materially because peace in fact exists - or if you prefer - war does not exist. The problem is that we may well become a mass movement, which we are not at present, and there are certain general symptoms of mass movements which should give us cause for concern and which demand organizational solutions. One is the fact that a rising mass movement attracts a great many people who join in order to seek refuge from their personal anxieties and frustrations. They want to be absorbed into a closely knit corporate whole. The peace movement will get its share of such adherents. This in turn demands, if success as a mass movement is desirable, that it must develop an organization capable of integrating these people without at the same time losing direction and purpose. It may of course be advisable for the peace movement not to attempt to become a mass movement; this again is a question which must be studied. Mass movements in the past have all exhibited a number of traits which many of us would find objectionable. If we do not want to degenerate into the kind of mass movement described in "The True Believer", we should spend some time and effort thinking about the consequences of our present actions and the direction in which we are moving.

At the Beirut conference of the World Peace Brigade, G. Ramachandran had this to say when discussing non-violence as a tactic as opposed to a way of life: "When the thing filters down to the masses, non-violence is always of a qualified nature; but for the organizers, conviction must be complete. They are the salt of such a movement... Then trust the people ....." Applied to a mass movement this statement illustrates the experience and realistic appraisal of the author. Loyal and pure leadership does not necessarily mean that we need a centralized and monolithic giant guided and directed by an oligarchy. One thought in this respect which ought to be taken into account is the fact that the internal strength of a large organization depends to a certain degree on the ability to evoke loyalties towards smaller groups within the large organization. As Kenneth Boulding points out, "it is often the small face-to-face

group that commands the deepest loyalties, especially in difficult or dangerous situations."

Time does not permit me to go into the details of organizational reform. I am going to raise a number of points which seem to me particularly relevant, hoping that it will suffice to underline the need for a planned programme of research in order to determine our organizational structure, as well as to implement a programme of training for future organizational leaders.

### On Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy has become a much criticized phenomenon in our age, and rightly so. But this should not prevent us from analysing its uses and abuses. An organization need not be bureaucratic and in fact should not be bureaucratic unless its leadership has taken a decision to this effect. In this latter case the bureaucratization of an organization ought to take place according to a carefully worked out plan and not, as it is so often the case, by merely drifting into an undesirable bureaucratic straitjacket. We should systematically study the desired size and structure of our various organizations, noting that certain characteristics will, to a large degree, determine the usefulness or uselessness of bureaucratization. Roughly speaking, it can be said that the more attainable and the more unchanging the goal of an organization is, the more desirable bureaucratization of its structure becomes. A vague goal and ever-changing intermediate goals demand a flexibility which bureaucratization would make difficult to maintain. The larger an organization becomes, the more benefit can bureaucratization bring, although we should be aware of the dangers. It has been said that ideologies are frequently "administered" by bureaucracies. The effect of this on a revolutionary movement would be tragic.

There is ample opportunity to make a study of this phenomenon, which would be of great benefit to the peace movement. Apart from a number of classics on organization and bureaucracy, such as those written by Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Robert Michels and others, we would do well to engage in research on a few well functioning organizations, such as business corporations, peace organizations, religious groups and political parties. We live in an age of technically efficient organizations, yet we have not succeeded in employing this reservoir of efficiency for the only goal that really matters to-day. People not only like success, they also like efficiency and will work hard to achieve it. They shun failure and inefficiency and will not associate themselves with an organization that appears disorganized.

### Membership and Recruitment

It has never been entirely clear to most supporters of the peace movement who, in fact, determines the goal of any given peace organization. Three answers seem possible: the totality of the membership, a small minority of persons within the organization or an authority which stands outside the organization. It is not my desire to argue in favour of any one solution, but it is my strong feeling that there ought to be clarity about this point. I do not believe that the present lack of clarity is the result of some sinister scheme: more likely it is due to the fact that we have never analysed this aspect of our work. This is objectionable both from the point of view of morality and practicality.

There is a very complex but nevertheless direct relationship between the degree of participation in decision making, the attitude and loyalty of the members and the effectiveness of the organization. Given our values and convictions we should attempt to discover the most efficient combination. While the method of trial and error is legitimate and useful where no relevant data or experience exists,

it is outright treason if we continue to muddle through as we are doing at present. It is interesting to note in this connection that simultaneous to the growth of large organizations there has recently taken place a decentralization within their structure. In other words, the effective span of control over a given component of an organization has decreased; this has been particularly evident in the military.

The question of a planned drive for membership is important to most organizations. Peace organizations in particular have difficulties in attracting new members. As in most other fields, it will pay off if we take the time to study available methods of recruitment. To give but one example of many; a recent study of a voluntary organization, conducted by the Survey Research Center of Ann Arbor, came to the conclusion that recruitment had been markedly successful where new members had particular qualifications which were needed by the recruiting organization. It also seems clear that the majority of people simply do not know what we stand for. Insofar as we have a clear-cut policy, this is mainly a failure of our educational propaganda. A recent survey in an electoral district in Britain clearly showed that the majority of people polled did not know what the policy of the C.N.D. was. Similar isolated surveys in the U.S. have produced identical results. One particular survey by two American sociologists showed that once the people were given relevant material to read their attitude changed considerably. We simply must find more effective methods of reaching the public.

### Flexibility and Policy

Closely related to the questions discussed above is the problem of flexibility. We know from experience how difficult it is for an organization to change its policy and its goal. As one extreme case we need only remember the fate of the Women's Christian Temperance Union which, after the repeal of prohibition, retained its former goal unchanged and consequently lost most of its supporters and all of its power. It is generally easier to work from one intermediate goal to the next, retaining as the final goal a general vision of the future which need not be altered at every change in the political situation. This problem exists for all peace organizations but it is of particular relevance to the non-pacifist organizations, many of which operate on the basis of limited goals without the background of a final goal. To come back for a moment to another problem, it is of course true that the realization of intermediate goals increases the influence of the decision-making elements in an organization, whose task it will be to formulate new intermediate goals as the need arises. One of the negative aspects of too great a reliance on limited goals is the danger that they may come to dominate the entire life of the organization; they may become irrelevant and lose any meaningful relation to the final goal.

Related to this topic is the question of conflict between competing goals within one organization. In some cases this may lead to group conflict if the leadership is not able to resolve this problem. Such a conflict is by no means always undesirable. It may for instance result in a more realistic response to the changing socio-political situation. It may, however, result in the breakdown of the organization. The experience of the Quakers may give us some valuable hints how to avoid the more unpleasant by-products of this phenomenon.

### Communication

Omitting the details of communication theory I would like to draw your attention to a number of factors which are of particular importance to us. Those organizations which permit their members to participate in the decision making process will increase their efficiency greatly if all members fully share and comprehend the policy. Failure to do so is frequently due to an ineffective system of communication.

Related to this is the necessity for each member to have at his disposal all information relevant to act efficiently in his pre-determined capacity. This does not mean that all members must have all available information at their disposal (I am speaking here mainly of tactical and factual information necessary to carry out duties). Information is the raw material for rational action and this applies particularly to those members who act independently as well as to those who are in a position of leadership. Since it is impossible for one individual to cope with the entire output of information, it is essential, particularly in large organizations, to have a unit which screens and distributes to a given member or officer only that information which is needed for the carrying out of his duties. It is evident that such a selection centre can have a direct influence on the organization and it is of the greatest importance that the person empowered to fulfil this task be in complete accord with the goals, policies and tactics. Perhaps I have said enough to indicate the need for a thorough study of communication within our peace organizations. Both library research and field work will yield valuable results. The output of any organization depends not only on the available input - manpower, money, dedication, etc. - but on the structure and efficiency of the organization. These are elements which we can control. However, instead of seeking improvements we concentrate our energies on phenomena external to our organization, not realizing that these are more difficult to influence. It is again a question of priorities; we would do better if we started by putting our own house in order before turning our attention to the outside community.

The peace movement has one great advantage over most other organizations - the dedication of its members. Yet we throw away much of this advantage by refusing to overhaul our outdated and inefficient organizational methods. We simply must take the necessary time, energy and money to study this problem in depth.

#### On Financing:

That the financing of the peace movement is chaotic and insufficient needs no emphasis. Financing is an art which can be perfected if it is seriously planned. We badly need to give more serious and systematic thought to this problem. Since it is unlikely that the numerous peace groups will merge into one, we should perhaps analyse this problem with a view to a coordinated financial campaign in each country. Examples, such as that of the Canadian Peace Research Institute, ought to be studied for possible application to the peace movement. Useful proposals have been made in the past by individuals and groups but in most cases these have not been followed up, have not been studied by anyone familiar with this problem, and have not been shared with other groups. The peace groups in each nation ought to make a study of the methods of financing one of their first priorities and should share their experience. The International Confederation should act as a central communication link in this effort.

#### IV. International Research and Action for Peace:

Critics and opponents of Peace Research frequently use one or more of the following arguments. It is said that we already know all we need to know to achieve lasting peace. All too often this attitude is held by members of the peace movement who are prisoners of a fixed dogma or ideology of the pre-atomic age. Others argue that the scientific method is not suited to develop the kind of wisdom which we now lack.

I believe it would lead to unnecessary duplication if I attempted to reply to these arguments on the level of Peace Research as it is understood to-day. There are many books and pamphlets which deal with this question and I would strongly urge you to familiarize

yourselves with them. Most of us admit the need and relevance of Peace Research in the sphere of orthodox politics; disarmament, the economics of disarmament, methods of inspection, and even the more recent and still largely theoretical research in conflict resolution. What concerns us here however is the particular relevance of Peace Research for peace action groups. Far from giving a complete survey of this field, I can only hope to highlight a few important instances where a marriage of Peace Research and Peace Action would not only be beneficial but essential if we are to move forward with maximum speed.

Prof. Lentz and Dr. Jungk have outlined three directions for Peace Research, all of them relevant to the peace movement as well as to the traditional social units. Research will eventually have to help us in obtaining answers to three problems. Jungk calls the first area of peace research, "pure speculation", while Lentz describes it as research to find "desirable cultural goals or directions". We have dealt with the need for imaginative thinking at the beginning of this paper.

Clearly separated from pure speculation is the need for research in "practical prognostication" or what Lentz calls, "the means of reaching a particular goal". The need for a comprehensive plan, or perhaps several plans, would seem to be of obvious necessity.

The third topic of research lies in the field of methods and techniques, as Lentz puts it: "Technique or procedure for achieving democratic agreement regarding both the goals and the means." We have discussed before one element of this category, the need for a drastic overhaul of the organizational apparatus of the peace movement. That such an overhaul must be preceded by research ought to be evident to everyone. In an over-simplified way it boils down to the Where, What and How: where to look for the relevant issues and problems, what to look for and finally how to look for the best methods. A group in the United States has adopted the slogan, "No research without action, and no action without research". The peace movement would benefit if it adhered to this dictum. Whether existing Peace Research Institutes would be willing to undertake such research can be ascertained easily enough. In case of a negative reply we will have to organize our own research teams which should not be beyond the capabilities of the peace movement. I will return to this issue in the final section of this paper.

There is in fact a certain amount of relevant research going on at the present time but the initiative has rarely come from the large and well-established peace groups and the findings of such research have frequently been ignored. The scale of these efforts is small, they are without adequate coordination and frequently unconnected with the activities of the peace movement. The absence of this link is only partly due to the lack of appreciation on our part for the relevance of peace research. It is, I suggest, mostly due to lack of planning. If you lack an overall plan you will only too often overlook this problem since seemingly more pressing issues will keep you from seeing the overall situation. Thus it is of the utmost importance that any comprehensive plan we might work out, should have a built in system of priorities.

Since we are not only concerned with a plan for the peace movement but are also searching for a new image of the future, we should undertake to establish liaison with existing institutes, such as the recently formed Social Science Institute in Vienna, UNESCO, and the emerging International Library and Institute for Research and Planning of the Future. We cannot ignore developments in such areas as community planning, communication, education, etc. These issues are closely related to the emerging world of tomorrow and are thus of concern to the peace movement. The primary purpose of our planning must be to avoid, not duplication, but gaps or omissions in the process.

A.J. Muste has said that we must achieve peace by new and peaceful means. We must, he continues, "refuse to be either victims or executioners." I am certain that we all adhere to this affirmation and when I raise some searching questions it is only in order to force ourselves to be honest, realistic and international in our thinking and planning. This takes me to the urgent need for a much deeper understanding of the national liberation movements in the developing areas of the world. Many of us have supported the revolutionary movements in many of the former colonial countries. While we condemn violence, we have nevertheless supported violent revolutions. A few of us have also supported the use of force by the United Nations in places like the Congo. However uncomfortable we feel about this, we must face it. Perhaps we ought to be more historical in our approach. What is morally supportable in one country under certain conditions, may not be supportable in another context. Perhaps this is what we have done. But can we at the same time support and not support? Can we, with honesty and consistency, say to our friends elsewhere: we do not condone the use of violence anywhere but we understand why you have to resort to violence. Can we, on such a basis, form a working relationship with the users of violence? Ought we to form such a relationship? Are we not perhaps destroying our absolute values, our belief in non-violence? Are we not introducing a morally objectionable double standard, or is it simply morally and practically defensible common sense?

Many of us look at democratic freedoms as an inalienable right which must not be abandoned - or must be achieved - at any price compatible with our conscience. Many of us condemn the upholders of the "rather dead than red" school, saying that they have no right to will the death of millions. Many of us would rather be red than dead if this choice should ever confront us. We would be willing to accept a morally repugnant alternative in order to avoid the horrors of World War III. Yet, what is our attitude to the use of violence in the national liberation movement of the former colonial countries? Are these people not faced with a dilemma that they cannot cope with except by the use of violence? Is not the goal of liberty to them as important as peace is to most of us? We urgently need to re-examine our attitudes to these problems. This must be an examination not only of our ethical standards but of our tactics as well. It is an historical fact that in almost every case the industrialization of a nation has preceded the development of democratic freedoms (with the possible exception of India). Are we to build the future world in isolation from the majority of mankind? I am not trying to state a particular solution, but I am arguing in favour of facing this dilemma. Once we recognise a problem, the first step to its solution will have been taken.

The solution must be non-partisan and the search for the solution, international. It cannot be an exclusive Western search, if it is to have any moral and practical meaning at all. It is not enough to be morally pure in our actions. We must also act in a manner which is morally acceptable to others and we must act in a manner which is politically relevant internationally. We must emphasize our collective strength and unitary action wherever possible which in turn requires unitary knowledge. We must be positive, creative, and responsible. Non-violence is not a philosophy and method of weakness but of strength. We must instil in man the certainty that, in acting in unison with other men all over the world, no problem is insurmountable. We clearly cannot build a separate world of tomorrow in each of the hundred-odd nation states that exist to-day.

We know that nationalism is still one of the dynamics of social and political change in many parts of the world. Most of us also believe that we must develop a new loyalty, a world loyalty which must be placed above loyalty to the nation state. Yet the concept of supra-nationalism is either ignored or looked at with suspicion by the peoples of the developing areas. The dialectical solution to this dilemma, at least for a communist, was given by Mao Tse-tung

shortly before the liberation of China, when he stated: "For us, patriotism is intimately connected with internationalism.... Patriotism is the application of internationalism in the national-revolutionary war." This dictum still holds true for a large part of mankind.

World Government:

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For some time now there has taken place in the peace movement an increasingly serious debate about the question of World Government and its relation to our priorities of policy and action. World Government is looked upon by many as the only ultimate institutional framework known to us to-day which can prevent the outbreak of a World War. This alone forces us to make a thorough analysis of the issue. Central to the argument against World Government is the fear of dictatorship and organized violence, both justified since a World Government may very easily come into existence through violence and may have to depend, at least in its beginning, on a political dictatorship greater than the world has ever witnessed before.

I believe there are three points that need to be analysed and thought about in some detail:

1. We frequently assert our opinions without an adequate understanding of the international socio-political framework in which we live.
2. We frequently do not ask the right questions, or at least we do not ask the most promising questions. We do that partly because of lack of time and partly because we have already made up our minds and are looking only for reasons to support our position.
3. We have not explored what World Government could mean. We have concentrated on the obviously unpleasant aspects of a centralized giant controlling the destiny of man.

As I have indicated before, the largest part of mankind lives to-day under some form of dictatorship. This does not mean that we should be complacent about this and cease to work for the elimination of violence and terror, but it is a fact which we cannot neglect. I have no special insight into the feelings and aspirations of people who live in poverty and ignorance, but I would imagine that to them even more important than the need to be free, is the need to belong, to feel the strong bonds of community, to be guided and protected. This even applies to some of the major industrialized nations of the West. We do not really know what the attitude of the people is but we should attempt to find out. We have the tools to do it and, in fact, a major attitude study of this nature is about to be undertaken this fall.

I said before that we often do not ask the right questions. One example is our horror of the tyranny of a strong World Government. I believe we would do well to separate in our minds the political control of any future World Government, from the internal organization of world society. History gives us many examples of occasions when political dictatorship has co-existed with a certain amount of internal democratic freedom. As Toynbee has pointed out "The loss of freedom in one field, does, after all, not necessarily mean the loss of freedom in all fields". Political freedom as we know it may not be the most important freedom to fight for; at least this may be the view of a very large number of people whom we have hitherto ignored in our plans and deliberations. I believe Tocqueville made a very shrewd observation about the desires of the common man when he said: "... I should be inclined to think freedom less necessary in the great things than in the little ones, if it were possible to be secure of the one without possessing the other." And finally, implicit in the "rather red than dead" philosophy is the realization that dictatorships can be changed if the will to do

so is strong and held by a sufficiently large number of people. The reason I am speculating on new approaches to the question of World Government is simply this: I believe that the argument that war is inevitable as long as the nation state exists is so convincing to so many people that World Government will eventually come about, by one method or another. I also believe that World Government need not be an undesirable solution if we search for means and methods to make the transition as well as the final product conform as closely as feasible to our values, the values of the family of man. The problem is that time is short and if we waste too much of it trying all the wrong exits we may well perish in the conflagration. We will not achieve perfection overnight; let us then search for the most acceptable solution and then work for it.

It has been said repeatedly that even non-violence can bring about suffering and violence. The fact we would not be the executioners does not alter the potentially violent end product while it is clear that we must continue to practise non-violence. The question is how to do it most effectively. To what final political solution are we applying our struggle? No answer to this should be taken for granted without a thorough examination but we must apply ourselves to this issue since we cannot struggle for peace effectively unless we have a morally acceptable and politically relevant policy and goal.

The heated debate between Camus and Sartre after publication of "The Rebel" illustrates, I believe, the dilemma of many pacifists. Camus argues that political revolution ends in employing the guillotine or the purge, it sacrifices the present for the future. This is correct but his solution, to find one's values in individual consciousness, independent of action and history, is politically irrelevant and unsatisfactory as a basis for common action for peace. Equally unacceptable is Sartre's choice, at the time of the debate, to work with the communist party since it represents to him the universal agent of revolution. But Sartre's belief that only through collective action, even at the risk of injustice, can we create new values is, I believe, one which most of us can accept. In practice we have indeed already accepted it without however facing the obvious moral dilemma it poses.

Uncoordinated as it is, there is no doubt that a revolutionary movement exists to-day which takes different forms and directions in different socio-economic environments. It is also true that the coherent and militant leadership of the intellectual, necessary to turn this smouldering force of discontent into a positive revolutionary force with a common aim, has been largely absent. Nowhere is this more evident than in the industrialized nations of the world. The so-called "transfer of the intellectual", a common pre-revolutionary feature, has in fact begun to take place. But we cannot forge a coherent and dynamic peace movement from a collection of isolated individuals, important as these are. It is of course much easier to plan in terms of individuals than it is to plan and work in terms of families, unions, churches, professional associations and regions. I believe we can draw two lessons from this, the second being of direct relevance to the peace movement:

1. Planning in terms of aggregates of abstract individuals is the historical avenue to the eventual cultural atomization of society and the establishment of a political dictatorship.
2. Unless we in the peace movement plan and work with man in his complex network of autonomous and semi-autonomous groups, we will be ineffective politically.

One of the most promising fields yet unexplored is that of the vast number and variety of intermediate groups which exist in every nation state. It is, I believe, incorrect to say that the conflict in modern political history has been between the state and the individual; the conflict has been between the state and the

social group. The most fateful conflicts in history have been those between the central government and the authority of guild, village community, class and religious body. From these conflicts have come some of the most important humanitarian gains and personal liberties in our culture. From this same conflict have also arisen problems of balance of authority and problems of personal freedom which are very nearly overwhelming us at the present time.

In our search for a rational alternative to the power of the total state, be that a nation state or a World Government, we must, in my opinion, search for an organized institutional solution. The individual alone is powerless and, since totalitarianism is made possible only through the obliteration of all intermediate layers of values and association, we should perhaps thoroughly analyse the rôle and function of intermediary groups within the state. The results of such research may bring us closer to an acceptable future political order.

To argue, as some students of politics do, that the total state represents only a historical abnormality is fruitless and furthermore historically incorrect. It is even more ridiculous to argue that the total state is irrational. It is clearly rational in that it recognizes in human personality certain basic needs for security and status, and strives by every possible technique to satisfy those needs. In terms of organization it is as rational as a large industrial corporation. It does not rule by terror and force, although they exist, it rules by psychological manipulation, flattery, bribery and mass identification with new images; in short with all the known techniques of indoctrination. But in the final analysis it can only triumph if it succeeds in destroying all autonomous intermediary values and associations.

Let me summarize: The centralization of political power does not logically lead to the centralization of all public affairs. The distribution of socio-cultural power need not be the same as the distribution of political-military power. We should consider the indispensable rôle of the small social group and its relation to the centralized political power of the state.

Whichever direction our thinking takes us, we are always confronted with the seemingly paradoxical relation between the nation state and the individual citizen. The citizen is awed by the power and the glory of the state, and those who are awed do not think of radical change. The modern state does not only demand the supreme allegiance of its citizens, it has also become the greatest refuge from the insecurities and frustrations of life. Yet even the modern state functions through social institutions. And while the citizen is taught to seek his security in the nation state, it is precisely the failure of the nation state to assure military security and economic well-being which has inspired the widespread questioning of the moral and practical credentials of the nation state.

#### V Some tentative Proposals:

Our present vision of a world at peace is too vague, complicated and utopian for the great majority of peoples. We must make the pursuit of peace more relevant to the immediate concerns of the individual and the small social group. This not only applies to the developing areas but to the industrialized countries as well. A recent survey by the journal "New Society" showed that domestic issues were given preference over foreign affairs by a very large margin of all the people polled.

One of the reports of the Accra Assembly, after pointing out that propaganda against war was ineffective because it was too threatening as well as being too dull, went on to suggest that we should concern ourselves more with the millions of people who are presently, directly or indirectly, economically dependant on the arms race. The slogan, "Peace will full employment", is one which

we can back up with available facts, yet we have made little use of it up to now. The same report goes on to argue that we have not fully utilized the resources of the creative artist.

I believe we will all agree that we must recruit many more workers, far and away beyond those active in peace groups to-day. One advantage of a comprehensive plan is that people are more likely to respond.

We can recruit people on two different levels. We should encourage concerned individuals to work within their own professional and social groups which is where they are most effective. There are many potential peace workers who may find it distasteful to join a peace group, to take part in meetings, demonstrations and committee work. Such people can however, be extremely constructive within their given occupational and social groups. They could perhaps also be organized into small groups of eight to ten people on the principle of a "net", as has been outlined in a recent paper entitled: "How to go into business for yourself".

The second level of recruitment is to the peace movement proper. We will always need a dedicated core of people who will advance the cause of peace. Since we aim to bring about a social revolution, it can be argued that we would only weaken the dynamic nature of our movement if we encouraged everyone to join it. Sorel pointed out long ago that the prosperous middle class always pursues the chimera of social peace, and it is certainly correct to state that liberals and socialists as a group have not distinguished themselves in the past by outstanding courage and wisdom. Most of them are so worried about upsetting the status quo that they shrink from any revolutionary proposals and actions. And yet we cannot hope to achieve our goal in isolation from the majority of people.

The concept of individuals working within their own occupations and groups, perhaps also in small and loosely knit community groups, and a relatively smaller number of people functioning as the core of the movement is one we ought to think about more seriously. Let me just give you two orthodox examples: Turn Toward Peace in the United States has begun to work quite systematically on the establishment of community peace centres; some of their literature would be of use to groups in other countries. An attempt is being made in Canada to persuade local community governments to undertake studies about the economic and social consequences of disarmament on their own community.

A wide range of possibilities will remain unexplored, or at best isolated, until we reconsider our priorities and put research and planning ahead of uncoordinated action. Dr. Teller once said that if atom bombs led to disaster it would not be by accident but by careful planning and design. We should add that if atomic energy is to lead us to peace it will also not be by accident but by careful planning; and the planning ought to start within the peace movement.

No one person can make a meaningful analysis of the situation, and the points I now raise are thus only suggestions which may be of use to the International Peace Movement.

A great number of good and solid proposals have been made by groups and individuals which unfortunately are not circulated or coordinated in an organized fashion. You will find an incomplete list in the bibliography. As a first step I suggest that a small group of peace workers should bring the available information together, organize it into a meaningful report and circulate it internationally. It would seem to me that the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace should act as the initiator and coordinator of such an effort. It is also quite feasible to expect Peace Researchers to cooperate on this project. In a recent survey of 44 scientists, conducted by David Singer, 24 of the 44 had no reservation at all

about the rôle of scholars in peace action groups. The initial project (compiling of available material) should include the three levels of research mentioned by Jungk and Lentz. It would probably be necessary to conduct this research on the national level with the International Confederation acting as a clearing house.

Whether the next step would lead to a series of national or regional meetings, or whether we should at this stage move into the international arena is itself a question which has to be carefully thought about. At least in the area of imaginative thinking about our future world we must take care not to remain on the level of nations or even groups of nations. In our thinking, in our research and in our actions we must begin to build the world of tomorrow, and we cannot do this if we remain the prisoners of our national traditions, valuable as they may seem. This is a difficult task, both intellectually and in practice. While we must continue to strengthen our national peace groups, we must at the same time think, plan, and act at a level that transcends the frontiers of state, race and religion.

Have you ever asked yourself why a given national peace organizational rarely offers material support to an organization of a different nation? With rare exceptions this is a fact. We seem to take it for granted that our particular struggle for peace is more important than that of any other group. We have not yet learned to think and act internationally. There are occasions when an action in another country is so obviously more important than anything else that we ought to give to it all our help. I do not believe that we will begin to solve this problem until we have established a set of priorities on the international level and until we begin to act as an international movement which we must by definition be.

We have again arrived at the problem of priorities. Let us then analyse them, let us do the research outlined above, and then let us meet under the auspices of the International Confederation and by patient discussions arrive at an acceptable plan of action. We are falling into the habit of becoming just a little too smug about our own organizations and our own immediate projects.

To act meaningfully to-day, is to arrive at our conclusions internationally and, when required, to act internationally. To be politically relevant, means to act according to a plan, incomplete and changeable as this will have to be. It means to be organizationally efficient, to train cadres, to explore new ways of reaching the goal of a warless world.

Let us reconsider our priorities now and let us act accordingly. Let us breathe life into the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace and make it a meaningful factor in our struggle for peace. Let us be imaginative, responsible and bold lest we join with Albert Jay Nock in writing our memoirs: The memoirs of a superfluous Man.

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11th TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE - 1963

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THE RELEVANCE OF PACIFISM IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

- Stuart Morris

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It is somewhat ironical that possession of and reliance on the H-bomb, against which we all protest, has made possible the abandonment of conscription in Britain and has raised the question of the relevance of pacifism and of the individual pledge to renounce war in the nuclear age.

Historical Background

To find the answer it is necessary to go back and remember that the circumstances in which the First World War ended were very different to those in 1945. A real post-war period followed the First World War. Not only relief at the ending of hostilities but the fact that by general avowal it had been the war to end war brought a period of high hopes largely centred round the League of Nations. It was not until people began to realise the difficulties in turning pious hopes into practical realities, to accept the lack of any real intention to disarm and to appreciate the consequences of the Treaty of Versailles, that at least the more thoughtful ones began to realise that victory in war did not guarantee peace, that the League had made little change in the international situation, that peace was not the fruit of collective security and that something had to be done about it.

The relevance of the Pledge

It was under such circumstances that Dick Sheppard issued his challenge by asking through the British press that any man should send him a postcard if he agreed that war had become so immoral and futile that it was time for all sensible people to renounce it. The response which met his challenge faced him with a responsibility for action. Had the response been very much larger, the problem might have been solved: had it been smaller, there would have been less responsibility to take action. In actual fact, there was thrown upon Dick Sheppard and the fellowship which he created out of those who did respond, the responsibility of turning a personal conviction into a public witness. So the work of the Peace Pledge Union began. Even so, there were some who regarded the pledge more as an expression of the hope that there would not be another war than as an affirmation of their attitude should it come. Nevertheless, the pledge was the most relevant action which individuals could take in a world which was drifting towards another war. The more the possibility of war dominated the situation, the more relevant it became until in the final resort men and women were challenged to show the strength of their conviction and stand by that pledge regardless of the consequences.

The scope of the Pledge

I emphasise the fact that it was not only those liable by reason of age or sex to conscription for whom the pledge was relevant. Pacifists refused to take part in that particular war because they had undertaken to renounce all war once and for all. That in war time meant war resistance, but at all times it involved war renunciation.

Although it is unfortunately true that many pacifists only seem to become active in peacemaking when others become active in war making, the pledge is relevant and binding at all times. The pledged pacifist has the advantage over others because his attitude is clear and unequivocal. He takes his stand on a principle and applies it universally. He does not distinguish between one kind of war and another: between one weapon and another: between one age and another. He does not believe that there can be a just war, even for the purpose of defence or to liberate the oppressed or to save Christianity: even with or without the use of nuclear weapons. To think in terms of defence is wrong, not only because there is no defence in the nuclear age: no way of liberation through war: no vindication of faith or ideals through war, but because it leads to the dilemma in which men try to justify what in heart and mind and conscience they know to be unjustifiable. The renunciation of war because it is always immoral is a basic expression of the Truth and Love from which all right action must spring and without which there can be no world fit to live in. The renunciation of war is the vindication of Truth and Love. The claim to object in conscience has never been limited, and pacifists at least have recognised the inherent right and duty of women as well as men and all ages of both sexes to register their scale of moral values through the refusal to take part in war or sanction its methods. The pledge is the necessary vindication of our humanity and the acceptance of our responsibility to choose good rather than evil and life instead of death. Thus the pledge has never been the be-all and end-all.

#### Implications of the Pledge

The negative is the source of the positive blue-print for the peaceful world. If the pledge does not take individuals into the political arena, its implications do, and from the beginning the P.P.U. has always tried to make that clear, through its first Manifesto, its Affirmations, and more recently through the revised Implications, which are now attached to the pledge-card. Nothing of that basic position has been changed because after World War II there was no post-war period, because we moved straight into the cold war, because the nuclear age was heralded in by the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is as necessary and relevant to renounce the cold war as the hot war. Indeed, had the stirring of conscience, which the first atomic tragedy provoked, not been lulled by the attempt to justify the action, had more men and women then responded to the prompting of conscience and refused to have anything more to do with a method which had become so foul, the question of the relevance of the pledge would not be under discussion. Indeed, it is not the pledge which has proved irrelevant, it is man's acquiescence in the method of war, even if it involves nuclear weapons. It is war which has become patently irrelevant as a method of defence or of solving problems. It has largely been the increasing recognition of what nuclear war means which has helped to change the approach to the problem and produced the more recent and more popular movements which are still more in the nature of a reaction, through fear and frustration, against the horrors of nuclear destruction than a conscientious refusal of the method of war itself.

#### Protest or Pledge?

Such movements aim in the main at compelling the government to change its policy (in which it sincerely, if wrongly, believes) under pressure of large demonstrations or by a challenge to its authority (which it derives from the voters who put it into power). There is little evidence that that is likely to be effective with the present or any other government, or that there is any short-cut to the end in view. The pacifist movement does not seek to be a mass movement and by its very nature accepts in our time the rôle of the redemptive minority which has always played a significant part through history. It relies not on compelling a change of policy, but in so convincing individual men and women of the immorality and the ineffectiveness of the method of war that it builds up surely if slowly an increasing

number of men and women who will both renounce war and resist war preparation, refusing to tolerate so monstrous a method of destroying the human race, which denies the basic truth of the universe and blasphemes the love of God. In that situation, a pledge movement is at least as relevant and perhaps more reliable than a protest movement.

### Logical extensions of the Pledge

Moreover, the logical extension of the individual pledge to renounce war is the advocacy of the national renunciation of war through total, unconditioned disarmament, and that is the most relevant and positive policy for the nuclear age. To be concerned with the renunciation of nuclear weapons alone not only overlooks the increasingly new horrors of biological and chemical warfare, but disregards what is at least the possibility that if nuclear weapons were renounced a conventional war becomes more likely. In that event, the knowledge of how to make nuclear weapons and the opportunity of making them remains, and nuclear war follows. Looking back over the long attempt to secure disarmament by agreement and facing the realities of the present deadlock in the cold war, there would seem to be no hope of general and total disarmament if the insistence on inspection and control remains. The one hope for a break-out from the vicious circle of fear and suspicion rests in the readiness of one nation to give the moral lead of doing what is right because it is the right thing to do, and of accepting the policy of unilateral total disarmament. The individual pledge issues in the policy of unilateral disarmament and unilateral disarmament must be the outcome of the individual renunciation of all war. The pledge is relevant because its corollary is relevant. But the pledge is not limited to the individual renunciation of war, the refusal of military service or the advocacy of unilateral disarmament, though it must include them. It involves the acceptance of full responsibility for providing as far as possible for all men the conditions which are necessary for a full and free life. Spiritually these can only be fulfilled through the recognition of where truth lies and what love demands. Materially they can only be fulfilled through the redeployment of all those resources now being wasted on war preparations for the general good of all mankind through the provision of what is needed to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, house the homeless and bring life where death now reigns.

### Non-Violence

Considerations of space forbid any discussion in this paper about non-violence, though nothing is more important than further study of, and experiment in, non-violence to insure that action should always conform to the essential conditions of non-violence. It should be recognised on the one hand that pacifism involves the acceptance of this new scale of values and that way of life which conforms to them, and the refusal to tolerate their destruction by violence. On the other hand, non-violence should not be regarded as an alternative to violence or as offering a better method of defence, security or protest, as though it was only a different method or alternative strategy to violence for which some substitute has to be found. Violence is the deviation from the true way of living whose expression is non-violence, for which the pledge becomes the relevant starting point.

### Conclusion

To sum up the pledge is relevant in all circumstances and ages because its basic truth does not change with changing times. It is especially relevant because it challenges individuals to do more than protest against evil and to take the jump from the traditional belief in violence to the active acceptance of non-violence. In days when the individual is submerged in the mass it emphasises the necessity of individual choice, the virtue of individual responsibility and asserts the basic values of man's personality. It is only in and

through the abandonment of war itself that the weapons of war will perish and the resources of mankind be devoted towards establishing a sane and peaceful world. While conscription or the threat of it exists anywhere: while there is a single person in prison for conscience sake: while there is need to win and maintain freedom and make plain that the last word is never with the State: while millions starve when the resources which could minister to their needs are wasted in futile attempts to obtain an illusory security: while individuals are made to feel remote and impotent to affect their own destiny, while the need remains to secure the end of war in total disarmament - so long the individual renunciation of war is significant and essential and pacifism the most moral, practical and effective policy. Perhaps the individual pledge to renounce war would assume a new relevance for all of us if we were doing more to make clear its relevance to others.

This paper is issued in connection with the discussion on Saturday afternoon.

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WESTERN PACIFISM AND THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

- Heinz Kraschutzki

I have often been asked if our movement embraces East and West, for, if not, it can be of little value.

The conflict between the Communist and Western blocs endangers the peace of the world. Once this is under control minor conflicts can no longer be dangerous.

Prejudice and hatred are widespread on both sides. If the peace movement cannot counteract such sentiments it will have failed in its most important task.

Co-existence is the only alternative to war. The peace movement should demonstrate the possibility of friendly co-existence by establishing closer contact and understanding between Western pacifist movements and the World Peace Council which has its stronghold in Communist countries.

In our international work we shall be successful if we discover what different peoples have in common rather than what their differences are. Should we not therefore try to discover what the Western pacifist movement and the World Peace Council have in common?

Circumstances and Ideas

Let us first assume that all those working in peace organisations seriously want peace. Then we must recognise that different circumstances are bound to create different attitudes to war and that peacemakers are subject to the influence of such circumstances. We must guard against making generalised conclusions and talking in slogans which may not be applicable to the whole world.

Let us compare citizens of Czechoslovakia and Germany. Czechoslovakia is a young state, independent, except for one period, since 1918. It has never embarked upon an aggressive war. It was overrun in 1938 and suffered immensely. It has no possible enemy but West Germany, which officially lays claim to part of its territory. War to a Czech cannot mean anything but a new German invasion. Resistance against the Government means nothing to someone who has every confidence that his Government will never attack anyone.

In West Germany, however, older Germans can only remember wars in which Germany was the aggressor. Even now the German Government is claiming territories from its Eastern neighbours and its aims cannot be realised without war or a strong military threat. A German who wants peace must be in opposition to his Government, so naturally he is led to think in terms of individual war resistance.

Let us take Britain and China as examples. Britons have not had to fight on their own soil for centuries but have indulged in colonial wars to safeguard capital interests. Individual war resistance is therefore a legitimate response. China, on the other hand, in its long history has indulged in few aggressive wars and even Tibet came into the empire not by conquest but by marriage in about 1250. Since the ill-famed Opium War of 1840 China has been harassed, ill-treated and humiliated by foreign powers of East and West and this period of her history is not yet over. China is now banned from the family of nations and is continually menaced by the remnants of the Kuomintang. China is outlawed, outcast and has no recourse to International Law. How, then, can we expect her people to develop a sense for legal procedure or the spirit of non-violence?

Yet, in spite of all this, the Chinese have given us some fine examples of what might be called unilateralism. Having defeated the Indian Army, they retired to the so-called MacMahon Line. Later they handed back to the Indians all the war materials they had seized and repatriated prisoners of war. They tried to force India back to the negotiation table without guarantees. This has not been sufficiently recognised and praised by the Western pacifist movement.

### South America

In South America the attitude of the people towards militarism must be entirely different. Some Republics spend up to 50 per cent. of their revenue for military purposes and yet there is no danger of war at all. The army exists solely to keep the people down, to protect the landlords and capital (partly American) against people like Castro. All our European arguments concerned with the horrors of war are unrealistic there and the matter of eliminating militarism is purely a political question.

### Circumstances and Methods

Western pacifism has grown out of the situation in Europe and North America. Its ideology and methods are completely justified. Individual war resistance has led to non-violence and unilateralism. This should be recognised by supporters of the W.P.C. and they should avoid dismissing Western pacifist methods as being weak or sentimental. Those who have gone to jail have shown that there is no weakness in the movement. But it should also be recognised that, over the last few years, the attitude of the W.P.C. towards pacifism has changed. In its monthly Bulletin, pacifist activities are given considerable space now.

The Soviet Union has proposed total and universal disarmament. I have no reason to believe that this was not sincere. We must realise, though, that such a measure would mean no great hardship for Russian or Chinese citizens but would be a very serious matter for American citizens. Russia and China are short of manpower. Every man set free from the army or the armaments industry would find a job the next day. Not so in the U.S.A. Although Professor Bernal says in his book "World Without War" that American industry would remain fully occupied in contributing to raising the standard of living in the under-developed countries after total disarmament, nevertheless it would mean for many the loss of highly-paid jobs and unemployment.

### Universal Dogmas Must Be Abandoned

It seems to be a dogma of Western pacifism that the peace

movement must be in opposition to Governments. While this is absolutely true for most Western countries, it is not equally so for some Communist countries. In West Germany, speaking in favour of peace makes a man suspect and can ruin his career, while in some countries of the Communist bloc the Governments themselves are making considerable peace propaganda.

We must be more tolerant about opposition to our own Governments and this warning comes from someone who has been opposed to his own Government all his life.

Non-violence has proved very effective in a nation with some 400 million inhabitants which won independence from the colonial yoke. I am convinced that it would work when well prepared and well applied in nearly all circumstances. But I shrink from asking the Chinese to adopt non-violence. An outlawed person who is barred from legal processes tends to think more in terms of violence. We should not look down on people in this situation, who are not in favour of non-violence. Our own experience is too young for that. Non-violence requires a long education. I am afraid that non-violent tactics in South Africa will not convince the Verwoerd Government that Apartheid must be abandoned. Unilateralism is a wonderful idea and I myself stand for it. But, again, do not let us be absolute about it. If countries like Cuba were to disarm unilaterally, I have little doubt that exiled Cubans would land to-morrow and with sufficient armaments to conquer.

#### What Can We Do?

Because we recognise that circumstances are different in different countries, we should not think of merging groups within the Western pacifist movement with those associated with the W.P.C. Not even a close collaboration is advisable. But we could, and should, stop the "Cold War" between Western pacifists and the W.P.C. We should stop looking down on each other, each side believing that its way is the only true one. There are many ways and this will remain so until the aim is achieved. We should recognise the sincerity of those who are working on the other side, as we have no grounds for doubting it. We should try and get rid of old prejudices. I know that the attitude of the W.P.C. was not very friendly towards pacifism at its first big Congress in Vienna, but I also know that this has changed. I know that the attitude of parts of the pacifist movement and many leading personalities was very negative towards the W.P.C. but I will remind you that many people are members of both groups and are helping to make the ideological distance between them smaller and smaller. I am convinced that the more contact we have the better we shall understand each other. Peacemaking should begin at home.

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## PACIFISM IN INDIA

- Devi Prasad

Indian history, as I suppose all histories do, shows that pacifist thought and action existed in India throughout its long course. The most well-known example is the renouncement of war by Ashoka. After realising what colossal human suffering and death his Kalinga battle had caused, he literally threw away his sword and took to the religion of non-violence. During his reign there were no more wars.

On the other hand the two greatest epics of Indian mythology which are deeply rooted in Indian life, Ramayana and Mahabharata, are mainly stories of 'just wars'. Only some Gandhians have tried to interpret these mythological stories in terms of non-violence. My own feeling about it is that what must be drawn from these pre-historical stories is a lesson in direct action against social and political injustice rather than lessons in non-violence. Those who cite these stories as models by giving them a new interpretation and also those who are critics of the trends and policies depicted in Ramayana and Mahabharata, must not forget that the period these prehistoric stories belong to, was prior to 1,000 B.C. At that time the concept of non-violence had not been worked out even in the remotest way. To stretch the history of non-violence to the extent of calling Krishna and Ram exponents of non-violence, as understood today would be historically a naivety. (Rama is the hero of Ramayana and Krishna is the author of Gita, the essence of Mahabharata). In the past non-violence in India remained, if I may say so, on a wide-spread scale only as an instrument of individual action against all sorts of evils. Nonetheless political ideals in Indian history all along have been those of Ramayana and Gita.

One thing that makes a lot of sense is that perhaps, due to this very cultural background, Indian masses responded to Gandhi's challenge of non-violence, both in South Africa and India. As a result some pioneer experiments to use non-violence as an instrument for political change were made. Who knows, India might have gained her independence long before she did, if she had used violence, as several leftists claimed. There is no doubt India would have become independent in any case, even by the use of force, but in that case would not the course of history - not only of India but of many others - also have been different? That is a question which needs thorough research. The Indian experiment, however, provided a glimpse into the little explored world of non-violence.

As far as pacifism is concerned, Sarvodaya workers in India think that it is only a statement of belief, while non-violence is a dynamics to build up a social order in which the best of pacifism - absence of war, hot and cold, - will be its logical outcome. Many people in the Indian movement think that 'Western pacifism', as they call it, has not yet been able to take humanity anywhere near 'no war' situation. Moreover, it must be admitted that 'Western pacifism' has not made much of a contribution towards solving those problems which face Asian and African countries, particularly in regard to eradication of poverty, unemployment, social and

economic inequality and industrialisation. To put it briefly, Indian people and its leadership do not see much relevance for pacifism as such in their conditions today.

The Goa episode and Indian armed conflict with China brought this issue to the surface. Pacifists in Europe and USA were highly disappointed when they saw that the Indian movement did not protest at Indian armies marching into Goa and later when it even supported, though indirectly, armed defence against China.

Here it may be useful to go into another matter which may explain further the reasons why the Indian movement failed to make the kind of protest pacifists in Europe might have made if faced with a similar situation. I quote here from a letter written by a European friend on this issue. This friend - of full-fledged pacifist belief - has lived in India more than a quarter of a century and understood the Indian situation very well. "I think one thing Westerners are inclined to forget is that for them the Government is impersonal but for us it is very personal, composed of old fellow workers. We may criticise and oppose them - but at the same time it is much more difficult to undertake direct action against them than against an impersonal machine. I don't say this as an excuse - but at least my own position is that I am not sure how far I should be justified in embarrassing old and new fellow workers on this question - and yet not doing so is a 'pain in the neck'."

Nehru and others, who took the final decision of resisting the Chinese with armies, and the leaders of the Sarvodaya movement have been close colleagues and intimate friends for decades. They shared the same thoughts and actions for many years under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. At the moment when they thought their country was facing a crisis, it was difficult for the Sarvodaya leaders to oppose their old colleagues in their war efforts. Moreover, it cannot be denied that any other set of politicians would have pushed the country into a full blast. They would not have even talked of non-alignment and settlement by negotiations as much as Nehru did. Vinoba and the Sarvodaya movement knew it very well. But, as a non-violent movement it completely collapsed. Their non-violence, they said, had not developed enough to place before the country an alternative to armed defence.

This was not the first time peace workers have faced such a dilemma. Unfortunately we tend not to learn from others' experiences. Often we do not even learn from our own experiences. I wonder what would happen if England or Norway were invaded tomorrow. Isn't it true that the reactions of pacifists and other peace workers will depend upon who invades - Ireland, France, Germany, Communist Russia or the Red Dragon? The point in saying this here is not to draw parallels. I am trying to say that the problems for pacifism are the same everywhere and the same is true of non-violence. As there is no sense in saying 'we believe in non-violent reconstruction but our country will be defended by arms', it is equally meaningless to say 'we will go on saying NO to war but our social and political values will continue to be the same.'

The Gandhian movement has been keeping in touch with pacifists in Europe and America, especially since the First World Pacifist Conference in 1949. The Gandhigram Triennial Conference and the formation of the World Peace Brigade have brought them still closer. Nevertheless, we should admit that not enough progress has been made towards understanding of each other's approach. Unfortunately, due to the India-China conflict, the gap seemed to have widened. I felt concerned when I heard people saying, "Oh, there is not any peace movement in India", or "They do make too much of their pacifism. They think they have made a revolution by getting their Government pass some kind of law for the recognition of conscientious objection."

I repeat, the problem facing pacifism today concerns not only India but the international movement as a whole. India does not yet realise what militarism has in store for her. People who have gone through it and have fought against it, can bring this home to the Indian people. Just pacifism looks meaningless to them. The time has come when pacifists must realise that pacifism is dynamic and enlarges its scope according to historical necessities. It cannot confine itself only to individual action and that, too, limited to saying NO to war. It should be able to challenge existing values responsible for social, political and economic tensions in society. It is time that pacifists realise that they can no more ignore or overlook problems under the pretext of priorities. Hunger of 60% of world's population, industrial domination of the so-called under-developed countries by the Western centralised system, apartheid of South and South West Africa, the wide-spread colour prejudice in England and USA, unemployment and its effects all over the world - all these are no less important than Lenin's fast, Queen Frederika's visit to England or Cuba. The day pacifists realise their responsibilities and act politically and personally towards fulfilling them, they will make a remarkably great impact on Asian countries.

There is a fairly large minority in the Sarvodaya movement which accepts the basic assumptions of pacifism - of no war - though they do it as a natural corollary of non-violence. If these people get a 'constructive push' from those pacifists who consider non-violent social dynamics a manifestation of pacifism, it should not take too long for them to act positively in spite of their intimate personal relations with the old stalwarts.

During my stay in Europe I have again and again been realising that whatever mutual contact Western and Indian peace workers have had till now, it has not been sufficient. The New Delhi - Peking March has proved this. Coming together of pacifists from Europe and America with Indian Sarvodaya workers has made both parties conscious of how far apart their ways of thinking have been.

When the large-scale hostilities broke out between India and China, several Sarvodaya workers took a position somewhat on pacifist lines but later they modified it under the influence of Vinoba and other leading personalities of the movement who belong to Nehru's generation and whose outlook, in spite of their profound knowledge of the world situation, was based on Indian traditions already mentioned. It is sufficient to recall that in one of his public speeches Vinoba said that this was a just war like that of Mahabharata. These are sentiments which carry greater weight than secondhand knowledge.

It is unbelievable how casually Vinoba disposed of the question of National Cadet Corps (NCC) which is military training in Colleges and is fast becoming compulsory in all universities of India. When Ed Lazaar asked Vinoba why they should not non-co-operate by not joining the NCC, as they are taught to kill each other, Vinoba replied, "What, after all, is NCC? They just teach you discipline. They do not even kill birds. NCC is just training students for discipline. In India all education is bookish. Now, in the name of war preparations, they are giving physical training." Indian intelligentsia, particularly the reformist type, is very conscious of the lack of so-called discipline in the country. They think that drill, taught to soldiers, can develop this kind of discipline in the youth. It is a tragedy that not many Sarvodaya workers realise the harm such a discipline does to the development of free personality and the type of non-violent society envisaged by them.

20th century reformists in India have all along thought that the lethargy which Indians suffer from, can be overcome by military

economic inequality and industrialisation. To put it briefly, Indian people and its leadership do not see much relevance for pacifism as such in their conditions today.

The Goa episode and Indian armed conflict with China brought

-4-

drills. (Many of these reformists have had their training in England or on Western lines in India). Gandhi, too, recommended such a training for Shanti Seniks. Vinoba Bhave continues the tradition. The fact is that Vinoba and his colleagues have extraordinary faith in those who hold the reins of power in the country. He thinks that these people can never lead the country to militarism. I myself partially share his belief and feel that Nehru and many of his lieutenants honestly do not want to turn the country into a military state. But I cannot be blind to the fact that these people are not masters of their situation. They have, by rejecting Gandhi's ideas of non-violent society, got into the same trap which the West has been in and which will lead India to the same tragedy unless positive and intensive efforts are made. The peace movement in India lacks this understanding because India has not had to face two world wars in the way the West had. This is why it is all the more necessary that a close and intimate relationship is established between the Indian peace movement and pacifists, especially the radical pacifists of Europe and America. Work done by the Sarvodaya movement during several past decades, and especially by the Bhodan movement, has created a potential atmosphere. This atmosphere must be used to make a synthesis between the pacifist and non-violent approaches and build up a comprehensive peace movement which does not yet exist anywhere.

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WOULD THE W.R.I. ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE?

-Devi Prasad

The position of the W.R.I. in the international peace movement is at present at a point when, for its own survival as an effective body, it has become necessary that it re-defines its aims and scope of activities. I pointed this out in a memo presented to the Council meeting in July 1963. Here I wish to elaborate it further.

W.R.I. is known as an organisation mainly working for the recognition of the right of conscientious objection. Many of its constituents also feel that the sole purpose of the W.R.I. is to encourage and aid young people in becoming C.O's and give financial relief to those who have suffered for the cause. I need not proceed with the argument if the International declares for good that that is precisely what it exists for. But, really, the matter does not end here, as many do not agree with that assumption. There are three factors which force us to go deeper into the matter. Firstly many individuals and some Sections have expressed more than once that the W.R.I. is not doing a fraction of what it ought to be doing. Secondly, there are several individuals and organisations outside the International who expect guidance and leadership in a much wider field from the W.R.I. Thirdly and of great importance is the original statement of the International itself, which, as it is, and also by its implications promises a much wider course of action than merely working for the recognition of C.O's.

International Movement today

Now, are we going to respond to these expectations? If we do, we are faced with the task of outlining our objectives and programme of action in present-day terms. Let us have a look at the peace movement as a whole. There seems to be three major movements working differently in different situations. European peace movement is pre-occupied mainly with anti-nuclear campaign and in a lesser degree general disarmament. The American movement is equally concerned with nuclear weapons and disarmament but also has a special problem of racial integration. Indian movement, which had very little to do with wars until recently, is making experiments in re-constructing its rural life. In a way the Indian movement is very much confined to the Indian situation, while others have entered, more or less, into the international arena. On the other hand their internationalism is not getting beyond their Western perspective. Otherwise it should have had more appeal - or made its impact felt - in Asia, Africa and South America.

It should get out of its Western perspective

Although we know that a nuclear war will not spare any country, peoples of half the countries of the world cannot even imagine what a nuclear war would be like. However much anxiety the Cuban crisis had created in U.S.A. and Europe, men and women in Sudan or Borneo were struggling for a day's meal and were little concerned with the

gravity of the world situation. I do not deny that a consciousness and concern has grown in the West for the poverty-stricken countries. Peace workers are realising that there cannot be real peace as long as so many people are without the basic necessities of life, and they are responsible for the growth of movements like the War on Want.

### Universality of Pacifism

The forces behind the organism of the peace movement are - a) fear of total annihilation, b) dynamism of pacifist and non-violent approach to problems (this includes both emotional and political aspects). I am afraid the peace movement has not yet discovered the political factors of this latter enough to bring it to the forefront in the campaign and to make a forceful appeal. On the other hand, the fear factor has been utilised, perhaps, a little too much. In other words, till now the concern of the peace-movement has been the human survival. This, though fully justified, does not give the movement a constructive character. That is why it has not yet taken a revolutionary form, in spite of its revolutionary potential. Until this happens it will have little appeal to people at large.

The revolutionary potential of the peace movement lies in its acceptance of non-violence and pacifism and these are fundamentally universal. Till now, no doubt, peace movements have worked on pacifist and non-violent assumptions, but they have in most cases understood them partially and only in context to their local situations. To make use of their revolutionary potential it is necessary to discover and establish the universal factors of pacifism and non-violence. These will apply equally to all regions and will cover all aspects of peacemaking - political, economic, social and moral. It needs an extensive programme of exchange of ideas and workers and co-operation on all planes. I do not want to enumerate here the ways this can be done. Several suggestions on these lines are given in Tony Smythe's document "W.R.I. and the International Peace Movement."

### Pacifism Must Provide a New Political Philosophy

Pacifist movement has worked on an emotional plane. Its political content has been practically untouched. Individuals have pointed this out from time to time, but as a movement, it seems, it has completely failed in putting forward a socio-political programme. In recent years a few movements have started talking of political action, but they, too, have not offered a political theory. Even if all the countries of the world provide unconditional recognition of C.D.'s and freedom to demonstrate against war, pacifism will remain ineffective unless it speaks and functions in terms of a new politics. The new politics will have to examine existing values and offer alternatives. The unbalance in the distribution of industrial power in different countries, concentration of political and economic powers, conflict between production and distribution, reasons for apathy in people, active and passive violence among groups and countries, lack of initiative and social responsibility in ordinary citizens, methods of education on all levels, all these and other issues affecting society must become the direct concern of the movement.

### Not Reformism but Change of Values

In this connection a thought on movements working for freedom from hunger may be useful. One is astonished at the response of the people to these projects. Millions of pounds have been collected and sent to poor countries "not as charity but an aid to help them to stand on their own feet." This shows that people who are in a position to spare something from their own pockets have realised the need for eradicating poverty from other countries as well.

They do not, though, realise that giving aid instead of charity does not make much difference in terms of establishing new values. It is the change in outlook towards one's own belongings in relation to society that is important. These movements, though they emphasise the moral and religious side, do not touch the political factors involved in the question of eradication of poverty. What surprises one is the fact that in spite of the participation of a majority of pacifists these movements have kept completely unconcerned with the political factors. All this ultimately helps in keeping the social and political status quo intact. Revolutionary urges are pacified without being effective.

### Consolidation of Forces

With the increasing awareness of the fact that disarmament and other issues are inter-related, peace movements are modifying their manifestos and widening the scope of their activities. This tendency is reflected in international liaison work, particularly in international organisations being formed every now and then. While acknowledging this healthy trend I cannot help pointing out the colossal waste of money and energy that is going on in the process. An ordinary worker who does not normally sit in conferences such as the Beirut, Amsterdam, Oxford, etc., feels at a loss when he hears of the birth of yet another International. These Internationals can be justified only if they function as different wings (anti-nuclear and general disarmament - conciliation - pacifism) of a comprehensive non-violent peace movement, to co-ordinate the work of local grassroot movements. For instance the function of organisation A. should be of co-ordinating projects and campaigns against nuclear weapons, while B. should be working in the field of social and political injustice and C., perhaps, for total disarmament. On the other hand all the three should be conscious that they are different components of a much wider movement. It would be ridiculous if all the organisations were to work for the same things separately.

Space here does not permit an analysis of the aims and objectives of the W.R.I., W.P.B. and the Confederation. But it is clear from their basic declarations that their objectives are not very different from each other. They all want nuclear disarmament (except the W.R.I. - it does not mention it, as it was born before the nuclear era), they want total disarmament, peaceful solution of conflicts, etc.

### Why a New Organisation?

There is one explanation of the reason why some people are creating new organisations. It is perhaps the failure of the old one that makes the need for a new one felt. ILCOP remained ineffective, W.P.B. did not take any shape. It will not be surprising if one hears that the Confederation is already in a shaky state - even before it is actually born. It is desirable, therefore, to go into the whole issue of international liaison work at this stage. Many international organisations fail for reasons such as a) trying to build up a top-heavy and elaborate constitutional machinery, b) lack of co-ordination in the absence of active grass-root movements everywhere, (and these bodies have not made efforts to initiate and help the growth of local groups), c) failure to get established without a personnel who can devote their full time and energy to the task for several years and this has been wanting in most cases, d) they do not define the specific field they will be working in, resulting in competition or confusion. Such international organisations must function as special bodies for different aspects of the movement. They should be manned by people who can devote their full time and energy to the work for a fairly long period. Major task of any international organisation should be to build up grass-root movements all over the world.

Would W.R.I. Come Forward?

As things stand today, there seems to be dearth of persons who can devote their full time for several years, nor is there much inclination to allocate different activities to different bodies. Under these circumstances, and keeping in mind the ultimate purpose of the W.R.I., it therefore seems sensible that it takes upon itself the responsibility of international co-ordination on a fuller scale, particularly of radical movements. It is with this idea in mind that at Beirut some of us suggested that the W.P.B. works through a special committee of the W.R.I. and does not form a separate international organisation. The W.R.I. is well-established and has in its objectives, implied in the Declaration, covered most of the points required for an international movement. If by expanding its scope and adapting its constitutional structure, as necessary, it responds to the need of the day, it will give a correct direction to the international non-violent peace movement.

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ARABISCH-ISRAELI-BEZIEHUNGEN UND PAZIFISMUS IN DER ARABISCHEN WELT

- Joseph Abileah

Wenn man mich auffordert, über arabisch-israeli-Beziehungen zu sprechen, so kann ich nur sagen, dass es sie nicht gibt, weil unsere Grenzen geschlossen sind, kein Postverkehr besteht und überhaupt keine Verbindung möglich ist. Was den zweiten Punkt, Pazifismus in den arabischen Ländern, anbetrifft, kann ich auch nicht viel sagen, da ich keine Möglichkeit habe, in irgendein arabisches Land zu gehen, um die Lage an Ort und Stelle zu studieren.

Über Zionismus

Nichtsdestoweniger will ich Sie nicht enttäuschen und will mit einer Definition des Zionismus beginnen, der in den Augen der Araber die Ursache des Kriegs in unseren Ländern war und ist. Der Zionismus war von seinen Gründern als eine Bewegung gedacht, die das sogenannte jüdische Problem in der Welt lösen sollte. Sein Ziel war für ein verirrttes Volk eine Heimat zu schaffen und es den Juden zu ermöglichen, die von den Umständen gedrängt vom wirtschaftlichen Standpunkt gesehen sich oft auf unehrliche Weise ernährten, durch Landarbeit oder andere ehrenhafte und gesunde Berufe ihren Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen. Dieses war verbunden mit dem Traum, eine neue, ideale sozialistische Gesellschaft in einem Altneuland zu schaffen.

Aber in der Verwirklichung und praktischen Anwendung dieser Ideale zeigten sich viele Mängel. Die Rolle der Araber wurde auf die leichte Schulter genommen und wenig beachtet. Die kulturellen Unterschiede zwischen Osten und Westen brachten Schwierigkeiten. Die neuen Einwanderer bemühten sich nicht sie zu überbrücken. Philosophische, ethnologische und politische Abweichungen kamen bald dazu. Es hat immer Einzelmenschen sowie Gruppen gegeben, die vor einer falschen Stellungnahme warnten und auf den rechten Weg zur Verständigung hinwiesen. Ich nenne einige, von denen ich ein paar persönlich kannte: Kalvarisky, Smilamsky, Rupin, Henrietta Szold und Dr. Magnes. Sie alle waren Mitglieder von Bewegungen für Zusammenarbeit mit den Arabern, sowie auch Prof. Buber, Prof. Simon und der Vorsitzende unserer W.R.I.-Sektion, Nathan Chofshi, die alle noch am Leben sind.

Durch die europäischen Verfolgungen wurde die Schaffung einer nationalen Heimat eine dringende Notwendigkeit und es wurde unmöglich zu verhindern, dass die zionistische Bewegung, die sich ja schon in ideologischem Zerfall befand, zu einer nationalistischen Massenbewegung wurde, wie viele andere in der Welt.

Pazifismus in der Arabischen Welt

Was den Pazifismus in der arabischen Welt anbetrifft, stammen meine Kenntnisse hauptsächlich von Touristen, die über die Grenze kamen, oder von Schriften, die mir in die Hände fielen. Ich möchte einige davon erwähnen: erstens den Quaker Moses Bailey, der sich vor zehn Jahren gründlich mit dieser Sache befasste und der in einem Vortrag in unserer W.R.I.-Gruppe in Haifa auf die grosse Anhänglichkeit der arabischen Flüchtlinge, die Bauern sind, an ihre Heimatdörfer in Palästina hinwies. Ein anderer, Dr. Don Peretz, unternahm

eine mehr wissenschaftliche Untersuchung und wies auf die wirtschaftliche Katastrophe hin. Viele andere erzählten uns von der Verbitterung und äussersten Empörung der Araber über die Ungerechtigkeit, deren Opfer sie sind und sagten, dass die Atmosphäre alles andere als pazifistisch sei. Und das ist nicht alles. Die arabischen Länder erkennen das, was wir Rederfreiheit und Freiheit des Handelns nennen, nicht an. Jeder, gegen den der Verdacht besteht, dem israelischen Staat Wohlwollen entgegenzubringen, steht in Gefahr, die Todesstrafe auf die brutalste Weise zu erleiden. Eines aber ist vollkommen klar: es gibt keinen Antisemitismus im europäischen Sinn in den arabischen Ländern. Alle sind einig in der Erklärung: Wir sind nicht gegen die Juden, wir sind gegen den Staat Israel und erkennen die Legalität seiner Existenz nicht an.

Vor der Schaffung dieses Staates gab es eine Reihe von weit-sichtigen Arabern, die Zusammenarbeit mit den Juden vorschlugen. Sie wurden von den Nationalisten erbarmungslos niedergeschossen. Wir sind sicher, dass es auch jetzt Pazifisten gibt, dass sie aber unter den in ihren Ländern bestehenden Umständen sich auf keine Weise äussern können. Als ich dieser Konferenz fuhr, begegnete ich in Stuttgart einem Mann aus Bagdad. Wir unterhielten uns freundschaftlich und ich fragte ihn, ob er etwas über Pazifisten in irgendeinem arabischen Land wusste. Seine Antwort war: "Ja, ganz gewiss." Dann fragte ich, ob sie sich weigern würden zu kämpfen, um Palästina zu befreien. Die Antwort war: "Nein, nicht ein einziger."

Als politische Lösung halten wir jetzt nur eine Föderation von Staaten im mittleren Osten für möglich, zu denen, mit einer gewissen Autonomie, auch Israel gehören könnte. Wir anerkennen das Recht der Araber, zu ihren früheren Besitztümern im früheren Palästina zurückzukehren. Wo dies praktisch unmöglich ist, sollte ihnen volle Kompensation und die Möglichkeit der Rehabilitation in einem anderen Bezirk zugestanden werden.

Unsere Bitte, wie in früheren Jahren, ist dass die W.R.I. eine Verbindung sei zwischen uns und friedlich gesinnten Menschen, die irgendwo in arabischen Ländern gefunden werden könnten.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
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ENGLAND

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Ever since we gained our independence in 1814, we have considered Norway to be a peaceful country, without other foreign political interests than maintenance of our own freedom and independence and working for healthy international juridical development. It was natural that we chose a neutral policy — one which was maintained for 135 years, until we signed the NATO Treaty in 1949. It is the modern Norwegian peace movements primary task to see to it that membership in NATO will only be an intermezzo in Norwegian history; a regrettable interlude, caused by an unfortunate combination of a psychological complex from 1940 and lack of foresight. It is in other words our goal to rebuild our national honour and our reputation as a country which always works for peace between nations.

The work for Norwegian disarmament and withdrawal from NATO has however more to it than just the narrow nationalistic goal of re-establishing our country's reputation and honour. In a situation where the major powers have been deadlocked in mutual suspicion and a war of propaganda without being able to reach agreement about the simplest steps on the path of disarmament, we find that the smaller nations' potentialities for active participation are even greater.

One country must begin unilaterally if we are to realize worldwide disarmament, and it is the Norwegian peace movement's business to work to see it that this country will be Norway. We live in a border country between East and West, and our historical tradition has made us one of the most reticent of all the NATO countries, for example when it concerns our attitude towards nuclear arms. A change in the Norwegian defence policies is more probable than corresponding changes in the majority of other NATO countries. Seen in this light, the Norwegian peace movement can be of importance for the world's possibilities of survival.

Pacifism and «Folkereisning Mot Krig», the Norwegian section of War Resisters' International, will play a central role in the work for unilateral Norwegian disarmament instigation. If we can tear ourselves away from the dogmatic, introvert pacifism (which has conscientious objection to military service as its main emphasis) and develop a constructive pacifism which points out new solutions and alternatives, and which puts these out on the market, then we will have possibilities of winning decisive influence on Norwegian foreign policy. There are signs that indicate that Norwegian pacifism is today on the threshold of a new period of growth which can lead to such an influence.

PAX, which is published by the Folkereisning Mot Krig and which was started in April 1962, has now got an average circulation of near 4,000 copies, and is making steady progress. When one takes into consideration that our choice of subject and level of discussion can never make us a competitor of Readers' Digest, this is a large number for such a small country.

If Norwegian pacifism is to conquer the tasks which the near future demands solutions to, then we have got to get help from the large international peace movement. We are grateful that we can communicate in this manner with our friends abroad through PAX, our own periodical. We would particularly thank War Resisters' International who has made it possible to publish this English Edition of PAX on the occasion of the WRI's 11th triennial conference in Stavanger in July.

Partly, it is our hope that this edition will allow us to give the international peace movement an impression of the problems and discussion within the Norwegian peace movement, and partly we hope we can contribute somewhat to the debate concerning the form which resistance to war should take in the nuclear age. We hope that this Special Edition can improve the contact between our country and our friends abroad so that we can contribute something to the development of an inclusive international co-operation between the independent peace movements of the world.

Tor Bjerkmann.



SPECIAL EDITION IN ENGLISH 1963

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# THE ROLE OF PACIFISM

BY TONY SMYTHE

*Tony Smythe, 25, teacher in a progressive school 1958—59, assistant secretary of the WRI 1960—62, secretary from 1962. A founding member of the National Committee of 100. Served 3 months in jail as conscientious objector in 1958, 1 month in 1961 with 35 other Committee of 100 members for having organised the September demonstration in Trafalgar Square. Member of the Continuing for Disarmament and Peace.*

The seriousness of the world situation to-day demands that the struggle for peace be intensified and extended into every sphere of social activity. While it remains in its present fragmented state, the peace movement is hardly capable of meeting the challenge before it. The first requirement therefore is to build a world-wide force for peace with some semblance of common purpose which can both offer effective resistance and a constructive alternative to power politics. An objective of this kind may sound inordinately ambitious but, nevertheless, its realisation is one of the essential prerequisites for survival. In the nuclear age there is not much comfort in merely being right.

There have been isolated instances of successful peace actions and there is a tremendous potential amongst existing organisations which could be realised if they were to subordinate their sectional interests to an agreed objective. Within the broad framework of such a movement there is room for organic growth which could stimulate each section in its specific task. Differences in approach will remain but they would be less of a problem if it became common practice to concentrate on demonstrating the validity of particular policies through action rather than to waste energy telling others what they are doing wrong.

Recently there have been several examples of interesting attempts to establish permanent co-operation between organisations at local, national and international level. In Germany, rival national groups often work well together locally. In Italy, the Consulta della Pace, co-ordinates nationally the activities of many peace organisations, including the communists. In the U.S.A., Turn Towards Peace is working in the same field (without the communists). Perhaps most significant of all was the Conference of Independent Peace Organisations (pacifist, CND and direct actionist), which was held in Oxford, U.K., last January. After intensive discussion a representative continuing committee was mandated to form the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace some time during 1963. This may evolve into the organisational basis for a world movement. The aim of the Confederation will be: to furnish better means of contact and communication; to distribute information; to focus the political demands of the movement and bring them to the attention of world public opinion and governments; also to provide links between what might be described as the conventional peace forces and political parties, tra-

des unions and peripheral groups such as those concerned with peace research.

The activity and development of the W.R.I. and its Sections should be seen in this context. We have an important — possibly a vital — contribution to make. First, however, we have to take a close look at ourselves and subject some of our most cherished beliefs to a critical re-examination in the light of present conditions. Is pacifism really relevant and if so what kind of pacifism?

The movement grew out of the struggle for a very fundamental human right — the right not to kill in whatever cause, in whatever circumstances. It was hoped that this stand would find expression in public opinion and governmental policies with the result that war would finally be abolished. It was no fault of the pacifists that the vision did not become a reality. Wars would have ceased had men refused to fight but most men, or even a significant proportion, did not. Logically the next step should have been to ask why, but there is little evidence that the movement as a whole did any such thing. Possibly there was not much time or energy left for speculation of this kind when pacifist opinions were being smeared or suppressed and individuals ruthlessly persecuted by the State and their fellow citizens. From a vantage point in the sixties it does seem that the movement, shocked by its failure and in an attempt at self-preservation, became introverted and exclusive. The principle that, out of a deep sense of personal commitment, people should withdraw their consent and participation to duties they consider to be utterly wrong is probably the most important teaching of pacifism to date. However a principle which is not applied socially very soon becomes a dogma. If its implications are not sought out and acted upon consistently it remains an article of faith, an isolated expression of personal opinion. It neither attracts nor deserves to attract the consideration and support of others.

To-day the pacifist movement gives expression to a curious mixture of ideas from the downright revolutionary to the mildest form of bourgeois idealism. Our consistently libertarian tradition precludes any insistence that one school of thought should prevail over another unless by merit and the power to persuade. There is no denying, however, that there are conservative elements at work which, while seeking to preserve the essence of the original pacifist message, tend to dismiss new influences with the result that policies are not keeping abreast of events.



FROM TRAFALGAR SQUARE

membership is stagnant, pacifism is losing its significance in the total struggle for peace and radical initiative is being transferred elsewhere. Having made this assertion I will take issue on some decisive points which we would do well to clarify in the coming months.

*Restrictive Practices.*

The attainment and preservation of peace is admittedly a formidable and awe-inspiring task. However, any acceptance of minority pressure keep status, although that is certainly our position at the moment, is dangerous, irresponsible and can only ensure defeat with all that implies. The creation of a mass movement with widespread popular support is the only rational response to preparations for total and suicidal war. Principled pacifism is unlikely to provide the basis for a mass movement by itself, but our efforts should be integrated with all other forces for peace at whatever level of commitment. There is no reason why we should not continue to press home the need for a complete rejection of militarism but a more pragmatic approach to meet particular needs in special situations would earn more success than the tall or nothing requirements of most pacifist pledges. Part of our function is education through propaganda but we make things difficult for ourselves by demanding last things first, rather like a teacher who starts with higher mathematics rather than the first principles of arithmetic. In W.R.I. conferences ample recognition has been given to the fact that traditional pacifism not be immediately suitable in Africa and Asia so why cannot concessions be made in countries where pacifism has some support? If pacifism does not have an appeal amongst, for example, industrial workers, then it is not for them to change but for us to formulate a conception of pacifism which will be acceptable to them.

*Nonviolence*

Nonviolence as a theory of social dynamics, in spite of much talk, has still not made its impact on pacifist thought. Although in a primitive stage of development and no panacea, it deserves a place in modern political theory and is indispensable to peacemaking. It represents an advance, for while pacifism rejects war, nonviolence helps us to seek out the causes of war, especially those rooted in the individual human personality, and provides the means for dealing with conflict at all levels. Pacifism can stop with one personal rejection of organised violence but nonviolence confronts us at every point of

decision and can constitute the basis for the self reappraisal which must precede the sweeping social changes we would like to bring about. Interest in nonviolence is widespread and it is for pacifists to confirm that interest by practical application. Without nonviolence I doubt that pacifism has much to offer. At one time our only answer to conflict was to withdraw. Now, imbued with the potential strength of nonviolence, we should not be afraid to go to the centre of conflict and harness all the creative forces at work to achieve peaceful solutions. There are even occasions when nonviolent methods can be employed to break tension and bring underlying conflict into the open where it can be subjected to moral and social pressures.

*Direct Action*

Way back in the 1930's radical pacifists like Bart. de Ligt were urging the necessity of positive nonviolent direct action. Again at the W.R.I.'s last Triennial Conference in India direct action methods were endorsed. Still the movement hesitated to use them or even give support to those who did. The reason lies, I think in the failure to resolve the non-resistance versus nonviolent resistance controversy. There is a feeling that positive action amounts to coercion which is interpreted as being non-physical violence. On the other hand the very name of the W.R.I. shows that the concept of resistance has been with us from the beginning. True, we have to educate the public and convert our opponents, but do the same considerations apply equally well to institutions? A characteristic of our age is the rise of the institution which assumes an existence of its own and becomes less dependent upon individuals and their opinions. In spite of increasing centralisation, decision-making does not rest with individuals, whose minds can be changed, but is the result of a bewildering complexity of pressures, some predictable, others less so. Rational considerations often do not enter into discussion on matters which may have a bearing on the lives of millions. The military and other repressive institutions developed by the State must be matched strength for strength recognising that our strength is of a different quality. If this is coercion, then I support coercion. An individual can renounce war and be disregarded. Collective renunciation, surely the objective of the pacifist movement, inevitably becomes resistance and therefore a political factor which, if sufficiently widespread, can force a change. The public is encouraged to express opinion indirectly through political channels which, in the most stable



GLIMPSES FROM  
THE NORWEGIAN  
EASTER MARCH  
1961

societies, are easy to control from above. Small wonder that many, who by no means would support nuclear war, throw up their hands in disgust and assume there is nothing they can do. Direct action — and refusal of military service comes under this category — gives the individual something he can do and a movement prepared to organise direct action gives him the possibility of making some impression.

If we are to resist, we must develop suitable nonviolent methods and an overall strategy. We must apply ourselves to exposing the weak points in the defences of the warfare state and undermine its capacity to prepare and enter into armed conflict. Direct action is being undertaken in many countries to-day and to that same extent should pacifists assist and participate and raise the standard of the action to the required level.

#### *Politics*

It is all very well to oppose war and to draw attention to the horrors of war. But the logic of authoritarian society, capitalist, communist and in between, depends upon internal violence and outward aggression. Pacifists need to understand that war lies in the very economic and political foundations of the nation-state and that to overcome war revolutionary changes are essential. If we begin to be successful in our quest for peace we will have directly threatened the existing power structure. Many pacifists regard politics as being beyond their terms of reference or they participate in conventional political activities and even give support to forces which represent the negation of everything pacifism stands for. Has not the time come for us to be prepared to go beyond our moral stance and undertake an exhaustive analysis of practice and its apparent failure to measure up to the requirements of the nuclear age? Such an analysis would lead us to conclude that new political theories and methods are badly needed in which case we should give some lead in formulating them. A very plausible case has been made for the view that civil disobedience is an integral component in the machinery of democracy. This and other opinions deserve very serious consideration and will require a heightening of political awareness in the movement.

I often feel we would be on firm ground if we momentarily accepted the premises upon which military strategy and cold war politics are based and disputed the accepted conclusions in the same terms. The striking fact about the deterrent and various other manifestations of the

diseased thinking which controls our destiny is that they cannot be justified rationally even by governments. It is all the more cause for regret that some pacifists appear convinced.

#### *Conscientious Objection*

War resistance has, in some countries, become identified exclusively with conscientious objection. Individual refusal of military service is one action at least we can all support. It is reasonable then for pacifist groups to devote some of their time to encourage young people to become C.O.'s, campaign for C.O.'s rights where they have none, provide financial aid for dependents and for legal expenses, etc. The setting up of separate non-partisan organisations to help C.O.'s is a welcome measure. However, conscientious objection is not war resistance but a legal provision made by governments with liberal support to deal with a dissident and in most cases harmless minority. Above all it is a civil rights issue and should be supported by pacifists for that reason, just as we would support the right to strike and universal suffrage. Meek submission to a long prison sentence or alternative service is not necessarily the best way to resist war.

It is lamentable waste for pacifists to give all their attention to dealing with conscription in countries where it is in force. There should be no suggestion that membership should be limited to those who are or have been C.O.'s.

Responsibility does not end at achieving status for C.O.'s or in publicising the appropriate legislation but should be extended to putting issues before those who are already in the fore. Many, when they see militarism from the inside, realise their mistake and desperately need support. Is our commitment such that we can give them that support whatever the consequences to ourselves?

I have just touched upon some of the issues which confront the pacifist movement to-day. My opinions are, of course, purely personal and do not necessarily reflect the policy of the W.R.I. and its Sections. There are many equally important subjects I have left out from lack of space, i.e. structure and organisation; the socio-economic aspects of peacemaking; education. All deserve intensive discussion throughout the movement and if a more general conception of pacifism emerged our work would benefit and we would be able to play our part with more assurance and energy. For me, the role of pacifism is to give an intellectual and moral lead. Pacifists should be the activists of the world peace movement.

## NAKED

A SHORT STORY BY

TARJEI VESAAS

TRANSLATED BY NOEL COBB

He was left lying here behind her, nameless, in a wounded, tight-lipped country.

Certainly no one has ever been so alone as this one. He has just arrived and is lying out in the open. The day is wrapping him in its clearness, and he flails against it, thinking that there must be something for him in all this.

No one bends over him to ask what his name is. But, of course, no name has been found for him. Never has anyone come so naked from his mother's body.

With one wax-white finger he makes an arc over himself. It is just a small movement down at the bottom of something of no interest to anyone.

One hot day there were two beautiful sisters who mutely looked at one another's faces. That is: one of them looked, the other was merely looked at. And she couldn't slip away, couldn't sink into the earth with her guilt. Lowering her eyes was of no help. If she tried, she only felt that mute, unrelenting stare all the more. She had to endure it, and she knew it.

She stood there facing her sister, and she was already being put to use by life: had a child under her heart.

But the history of all this was dark.

Dark. More is not known. What is known of the dark?

What have you sold? We are at war with m.

Something seemed to break in the face which was turned to her — as if a cry of anguish and fury fought to burst out, «God — to your green —».

But the cry didn't pass beyond her lips. Instead she hurried away, because someone else approached, their mother, and she couldn't stand being there with her mother.

So the mother and the unhappy one stood there — two, but both alone.

Something strange shot through them. The need to put everything aside. Because it was I and Thou. — But that was only for a second.

It died away. Wasn't permitted. Then the mother went, stooping, into the background. She, too. It grew dark around the girl who was left. Hadn't she had a kind of puzzled hope just now? But a miracle couldn't happen. She must have destroyed something that was far too valuable. Little by little, she began to feel so herself. Away, away, she thought.

He is seven times naked — who lies here behind her. Concerning her — there is only silence. She just is not here. But the weight she carried is still felt in this country.

He lies on his back and kicks. And is full of trust in the things around him.

The wind blows against him, not warm, gooseflesh forms on his thin skin. But he turns, friendly-minded, in meeting. The wind in such a country blows scorching cold, but the nameless one gapes, friendly; and the wind howls over the open chasm. There is something in the distance which he doesn't understand, but which interests him. It is a circle of the living, but it never comes near. He feels that he should be there with them and is friendly-minded towards them, but they never come nearer. He just looks at them — while sharp straw and pebbles stick up into his fresh body from the cradle he has been given. He is friendly-minded and lies quietly there and waits for he doesn't know what.

A yellow fog rises from a brake. Creeps over the fields. Creeps over the nameless one. He coughs a little in it, but is friendly-minded towards it because it came to him, and he sort of scribbles in it, with his finger. Writes in a wordless language. It creeps over him, but it does not kill him. There is so much which can happen here in a wounded country, and now it is creeping over him and breathing on him. But life is resilient: and he has wounded no one.

The night falls quietly down on him. He does not know what it is and whimpers a bit. Not so easy to be alone in it, but it came to him and is for him. The circle of the living also fades away as it grows night. It is a small thing to miss, but he has had so few things to miss, he has been friendly-minded towards everything and now perhaps there isn't anything more?

But there is. He is alive. The sun moves like fire somewhere and is everyone's. He appears again in a renewed, blinding light. He didn't die in the night, either. He lies on his back and waits for he doesn't know what. He is seven times nameless, but still he waits.

His freezing finger makes a numb gesture. A tiny arc in the black vault of the sky — and yet, it was from east to west, anyway.

Tarjei Vesnaas.

Tarjei Vesnaas, born 1897, is a Norwegian author and poet of international fame. In 1953 his volume of short stories, «The Winds», won the Venetian literary prize, and he is an often-mentioned candidate for the Nobel prize. This short story, «Naked», has been printed before in the Norwegian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's outstanding publication, «Solstice».

Noel Cobb, born 1938 in Michigan. He studied philosophy until in 1959 he declared himself expatriated and left the USA. In Norway he reads psychology and has published many poems and articles in *Dagbladet*, Norway's big and unique left-wing newspaper. He soon hopes to publish a volume of verse, «The Roots of Movements».

# THE ROLE OF PEACE RESEARCH

BY JOHAN GALTUNG



JOHAN GALTUNG

It is our deep misfortune that the asymmetry between the machinery for war and the machinery for peace never has been more pronounced than today, and never have the possible consequences of the war machinery been more disastrous. This is not only a question of quantity. Unfortunately, it is also a question of quality, not in the sense that military man is inherently better, but in the sense that he is a professional, confronted with all kinds of peace amateurs. Hence, the major thesis of this paper: for peace to progress, professionalization is indispensable, it must be made a full-time, serious, professional, gainful and highly demanding occupation of the highest number possible of men and women all over the world.

*And this is the role of peace research:* to provide us with the discipline that collects and unifies man's knowledge of the conditions of peace, broadens it, makes it more valid so as to serve as a basis for this emerging profession.

Today peace is the concern of two groups of people: a certain number of officials in the establishment, divided between the establishment branches of diplomacy (including the international organizations), the military, and technical assistance — and the peace movement. There are three crucial differences between the two. First of all, the professional man of the establishment will necessarily develop a segmental view of the world, a narrow perspective tied to his training and the wish for prestige for himself and his institution; the member of the peace movement has little training to make him narrow and little prestige to lose. Secondly, the man of the establishment is concerned with day to day implementation of policy. He becomes a specialist in details, in how to put a program into practice where the peace movement member is too far from the sources of power to do much more than formulate vague slogans that are ideologically consistent, but totally lacking in knowledge of the details necessary for implementation. Thirdly, the man in the center will see many more facets, will move among compromises, have complex tastes and lose sight of simple and clear-cut ideologies.

It is our second deep misfortune that the rest of the population seem to be suspended between these two extremes: the narrow and often opportunistic expert and the idealistic but often naive peace movement. What is missing here is precisely a full mobilization of the academic forces, a mustering of man's intellect in the same way as has been done to master the problems of somatic health and of utilization of natural

resources. This kind of research could be interspersed between the peace periphery and power elite. It could provide the latter with a much broader perspective and a more theoretically founded knowledge than it is able to develop by itself. On the other hand, peace research can give to the peace movement a sense of responsibility to develop the implications of its own ideas, an impulse to move from the slogan to the proposal level. If a successful symbiosis is established, peace research would receive from the establishment detailed information, problems the politician has to face but that are only partly perceived by the rest of us — and it would receive from the peace movement its reservoir of hypotheses of bad and good ideas for serious testing and elaboration.

Thus, the basis for exchange exists if only the parties can be persuaded that they will gain from it. This is the basis for social organization, and the question is: in what organizational structure are these ideas best implemented? By and large there are three models that have gained a certain currency, and they will be examined.

First of all, there is the idea of building peace research into the three executive branches mentioned. In US both Department of State and the Department of Defence have research agencies, and so has the AID, and, most important since it represents one of the best examples of what intelligent behavioral science can contribute to the design and improvement of a social institution: the Peace Corps.

Secondly, there is the idea of building peace research into the peace movement, as to a considerable extent has been done in Canada, and is being done in England. The Canadian Peace Research Institute is financed by funds contributed by the public, with Canadian peace movement as an important factor.

Thirdly, there is the idea of the institute independent of either, linked to a university or a foundation, recruiting its personnel through the usual academic channels, its hypotheses by the usual, more or less random ways of scientific research, its motivation through a multitude of sources, among which the desire to contribute to peace may gradually decrease at the expense of the desire to contribute to science in general and one's own career in particular — as for most other sites of academic learning.

Now, when the peace research movement is still in its infancy is the time to choose and decide, and I will strongly advocate the third model. Both models 1 and 2 have built into

them the danger of two types of persons having correlative and corrosive effects on each other. Thus, the social scientist may become bogged down with responsibility if he is to become a part of the establishment. With all the uncertainties that will be with the science of peace for the foreseeable future, the researcher will not be given sufficient time for careful examination of methods and postulates. He will soon know too much about politics and be so bound by the rules of secrecy that he will not be able to contribute to policy. For stronger, more established sciences, well protected by the rules of professional societies this may be less important, but that stage is certainly still in the future for peace research. Although it may not be so vulgar that the peace researcher receives his pay and in return uses his academic means to prove the policy-makers right, it is almost certain that the governmentally employed peace researcher will be suspected of doing so, because of the high variability we still will have for some time in what constitutes a valid answer to a question, not to mention what constitutes a valid question.

The peace movement has the same motive to use the prestige of science to receive a sort of academic certificate of validity. But where the establishment may react with fear and hostility at being researched upon, the peace movement may feel so obviously right in what they assert that they see peace research mainly as a time-consuming ritual to become more legitimate; to be discarded if its conclusions cannot be incorporated in the ideology. This does not constitute the right setting for serious research either. Demands and expectations will be too high and often extra-scientific.

But there is also another side of the coin; the damaging influence the researcher can have on both policy-makers and the peace-movement. He can kill both with the incessant: how do you know that, what is the empirical or theoretical support for that belief, have you done research on that? This will be detrimental for the policy-maker's ability to act and act quickly; if often only on hunches — as well as for the timid and often immature, but still spontaneous and imaginative inventiveness of the peace movement. However how much one may want to change them, they both perform invaluable functions very different from that of research and very important to society.

If the answer lies in independent organization of peace research, how then is contact to be maintained so that there still can be an impact on center as well as periphery, in the way

mentioned? There are a number of answers to this, all of them well known. In a society with freedom of communication, journals, conventions and the diluted content of scientific insight that reaches the public via the mass media will do much of the job. But there are other possibilities, such as systems of mutual internships. Just as much as the peace researcher should do his time in one or more of the governmental branches, the executives there should at some stage in their careers have participated in projects or followed courses and seminars sufficiently much to know the idiom and have some sense of quality. A system of mutual recruitment would be to the benefit of both parties. To temper the influence of the establishment of peace research it can be similarly argued that institutions of peace research should have a pattern of exchange with the peace movement, both in the sense that their officials are invited to participate and in the sense that qualified participants form a basis for recruitment into that academic field.

Thus, peace research will probably be at its best if it is independent of either but in good contact with both administration and the peace movement; sensitive to pressures from both, but able to resist them. The same applies to the international level; good connections with, but at the same time independence of the United Nations and its specialized agencies as well as the international peace movement. Many people argue strongly that the UN or the UNESCO should build their own peace research, and there are good reasons for this. But the International Peace Research Institute, which is bound to come, should be located outside the UN for at least three reasons. First of all, UN is and will increasingly much be a party to conflicts — and in general it is wise to keep a certain distance between the organization that does the research and the organization on which research is done. Secondly, there is the problem of accommodating 110 masters and the danger is high that the researchable topics palatable to all of them will be few, far between and of minor interest. This is one of the factors responsible for the low output of UNESCO sponsored research, and there is no foreseeable end to its importance.

As peace research emerges, it seems safe to predict that we shall get a development in peace science similar to what we have had in medical science. I am thinking of professionalization. A profession is much like a caste with its own rules. Above all, professionals are their own status-judges, they stand in a contractual relation-

*Johan Galtung, 33, at present UNESCO expert in Chile. Leader of the Section for Research on Peace and Conflict at the Institute for Social Research in Oslo. Council Member of the WRI and former leader of the Norwegian section. Author of a series of peace research publications. Member of the editorial board of PAX.*



DEMONSTRATION  
AT THE  
ENGLISH EXHIBITION  
IN BERGEN  
1962

ship to the rest of society: a state in the state, with a certain autonomy, but they have to pay for it by rendering the society services deemed to be indispensable. There are dangers like the narrowness in perspective referred to, but there is the major advantage of *esprit de corps* and high ethical standards. Thus, professionalization is a normative, a moral fact with profound implications. The archetype is the oath sworn by physicians all over the world, attributed to Hippocrates. Let us look at it, because the implications are so stimulating.

There are five rules.

The physician shall prescribe according to ability and judgment and never do harm to anyone. This norm represents the universalism of medical man, he shall be equally at the disposal of everybody, friend as well as foe, and do his best.

Then there is the negative side of this: «To please no one will I prescribe a deadly drug nor give advice which may cause the patient's death. He shall not use his science against the *raison d'être* of his *metier*: that of saving life.

Then there is one of a more general nature: «I shall keep myself far from all intentional ill-doing and all seduction, and especially from the pleasures of love with women, or with men. The morale is clear: he shall not use his professional status to obtain gratifications that otherwise would have been blocked to him.

These are model rules, they give the moral basis just as medical science gives the cognitive basis for the high status of medical man, a rank that is among the requisites for his ability to carry out his functions. On this basis of trust and insight medicine has worked such wonders as doubling the expected life age for great portions of mankind during a period of one century. Thus, it is tempting to project into the future and envisage the time when the peace scientists will form a profession with equally strong norms, placing their knowledge at the disposal of the development of international order much in the same spirit as the United Nations Technical Assistance expert tries to do it today, but on much more burning topics; where they will «prescribe according to ability and judgment, and never do harm to anyone».

This being said, there are three ways in which a strong peace science can contribute to peace, when by «strong» we mean both in quality and quantity.

First of all the obvious, by being the technical advisers on peace. Without elaborating this point it should be mentioned that there is a serious

shortcoming in the current formula to the effect that «the goals should be set by the politicians, and the means worked out by the scientists». It excludes the important function of science as the provider of new perspectives, of new horizons, of new goals. There is so much experience to the effect that man needs a utopia in his mind if he shall create a better world, and this is not provided by contemporary international politics with its desperate efforts to tackle the problem ad hoc, as they are. Peace research should present a number of models of the future world for us to choose between — and in the meantime it must see as its task to contribute its best knowledge in such fields as the recruitment of personnel to cross-cultural statuses and positions of strain, how to conduct conferences; how to improve channels of communication; how to provide United Nations Police Forces with the best symbolic images; how to distribute international civil servants so as to maximize international loyalty; how to avoid that economic development leads to self-sufficiency at the expense of decreased interdependence, and less war-avoiding interlocking between states; how to utilize the potentials for nonviolent defense that will have to be used in a disarming or disarmed world, etc. — to mention some of the fields we are engaging ourselves in in Norway. In the short and the long run, there is no doubt that peace research can contribute. To deny that is to deny rational man.

But, and this is the second point: contributing will not only be in terms of concrete proposals. If the idea is as stated, to provide the cognitive basis for a healthy international community, then the very fact that this is being done in great numbers will have a tremendous impact. It will make foreign policy more rational — with the dangerous implications this may have. But more importantly: it will produce strong norms against shallow thinking, empirically unfounded and theoretically badly guided advice. It will create a better sense of quality, and this will, in turn, lead to more quality.

Thirdly, the professionalization mentioned above. With a gradually emerging profession of peace scientists we shall have a very important basis for recruitment into national and international centers of policy-making. If they can bring with them some of the spirit of the Hippocratic oath, a major peace factor will have been created.

In conclusion, then, let me be practical about this. In a world that uses 120 billion dollars

# SCANDINAVIAN PEACE PRESS

each year on armaments, equivalent to 8-9 % of the world's production of goods and services and to close to 100 % of the national incomes of the developing countries, at the same time as around 50 million of the world's inhabitants are attached to a military machinery with a well-known over-kill capacity, there is little time to lose. We will have to arrive at something similar to the institutional basis of medical science in a much shorter time. Where medical science, with its strong emphasis on universalism in dealing with human beings needed something like the structure of the nation state to really unfold itself, peace science cannot do with this since its units of research are nations. It will need some kind of internationalization as soon as possible — if only in the relatively uncommitting form of an international association and frequent conferences.

But one can hope for and ask for more. Why not an *International Peace Research Year*, modeled after the International Geophysical Year? Some of its possible functions could be

1. under the auspices of the United Nations to call for a general concentration of available scientific forces on the conditions for peace,
2. to establish an international, independent institute,
3. to facilitate communication between those interested in this kind of research, across national, professional and academic barriers,
4. to establish a systematic archive of peace proposals and peace hypotheses,
5. to discuss possibilities of giving some peace researchers a kind of protected international status, and work on an ethical code for the field, and above all
6. to do joint research on such topics as non-violent defence; readiness for different kinds of functional internationalization; ability to withstand disappointments in the disarmament process; economic, social and psychological impediments to disarmament, etc. There is no other limit to this list than one's own imagination.

All this is eminently feasible. It will be to the benefit of science, to those sincerely concerned with building peace, inside and outside the peace movement, and above all to peace itself. It puts peace down as a serious, difficult, time-consuming, challenging and professional concern; where everybody should have opinions but not everybody is a technician. Hence, it deserves the full support of the peace movement — just as medical research deserves the support of anybody concerned with decreasing man's suffering.

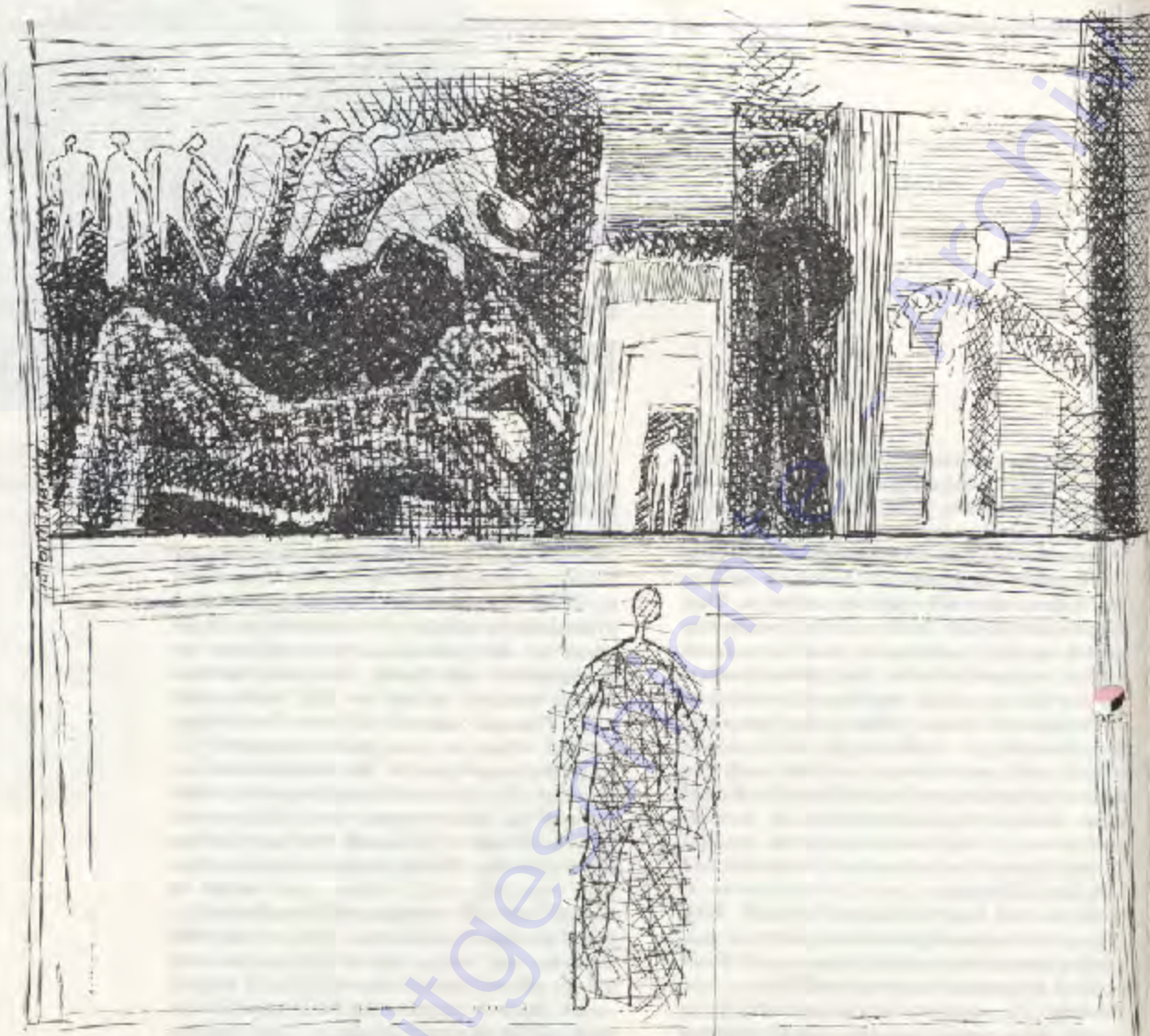
In order to improve the connections between the Scandinavian countries and the international peace movement, three of the major Scandinavian Peace periodicals have founded the *Scandinavian Peace Press*. The three periodicals are *Freden*, published by The Swedish Association for Peace and Arbitration, and edited by Bertil Svahnström, a member of the continuing Committee of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace; *Alternativ*, a new Danish monthly edited by Erik Skalse; and *PAX*. Through Scandinavian Peace Press, international writers on peace and disarmament will reach the larger part of the independent peace movement in Sweden, Denmark and Norway, and will be able to speak to an audience of between 10 and 15 thousand. We have the best hopes of being able to strengthen communications especially with authors that write in English, and will coordinate all requests of articles through Scandinavian Peace Press. We also hope that foreign authors will be stimulated by our efforts. Articles may be sent to *Scandinavian Peace Press* under the following addresses (and will be circulated among the three papers): PAX, Kristian Augusts gate 19, Oslo 1, Norway. *Freden*, Jungfrugatan 30, Stockholm Ø, Sweden. *Alternativ*, Frederiksborgvej 157, København NV, Denmark.

## THIS ISSUE

In preparing this special edition of PAX, we have had a lot of help from *Tom Scharf*, who has translated most of the articles which were written in Norwegian, from *Noel Cobb*, who has translated the shortstory by Tarjei Vesaas, from *Sonja Lid Larssen* and *Lars Andreas Larsen*, Stavanger, who have been collecting advertisements, from *Tony Smythe* and *Devi Prasad* in the War Resisters' International, and from *Harry Mister* in Peace News.

Extra copies of this edition may be ordered by use of the coupon on the reverse side of the cover. The rates are:

- 10 copies: 13 N. Kr. — 13 shillings — \$ 1.80
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noel  
cobb:  
the  
battleship

IT IS VERY LARGE. IT IS  
A BATTLESHIP.

ITS GIGANTIC WELDED SIDES  
ARE COVERED WITH GREEN RUST.

MY FIRST DAYS ON BOARD  
ARE RATHER VAGUE.

THERE ARE FEW MEN LEFT NOW.  
THERE ARE DAYS WHEN I MEET NO ONE.

WE ARE AT WAR, WITH THE WORLD.  
IT IS THE THIRD OR FOURTH ONE.

WHEN WE ARE ATTACKED, I PLAY  
DEAD. IT SEEMS QUITE REAL.

SOMETIMES I MEET SOMEONE I KNOW.  
THEN THERE ARE HAIRCUTS, MOVIES, AND CHURCHES.

BUT WE DON'T TALK MUCH TOGETHER.  
WE ALL HAVE OUR JOBS. AND AS I SAID,

IT IS VERY LARGE. THERE IS ROOM  
FOR THE WHITE HOUSE IN THE HOLD.

ONCE, WHILE LOST (SOMEWHERE BELOW  
THE KITCHEN), I FOUND AN ENORMOUS HALL.

AND FIVE THOUSAND EMPTY BEDS.

The Norwegian Section of the W.R.I. is grateful for this opportunity to extend a fraternal welcome to all war resisters coming to Stavanger this summer for a Conference of particular importance.

Some of you we have already met and we are looking forward to seeing you again. Others will be newcomers. We hope that there will be many of you and we promise to make you feel at home in our country.

The Norwegians are known for their boasting but as regards peace work we have to be little modest. We hope you will come here with your heads and your brief cases filled with fruitful thoughts and bright ideas and that you will share them, and your experience, with us. Perhaps you will find that we are approaching some aspects of peace work in a different way so there may be something we can give you too. We will be happy if this is so.

We do not want our movement to be a society for supposedly superior human beings with their souls cleansed in a whiter than white detergent and pacifism. We want it to struggle forward, towards a goal we cannot yet see and by means we have not yet been able to develop fully.

The W.R.I. Triennial Conference does not take place after every three years; it marks the beginning of a three-year period of peace work. Therefore we want to give a particularly enthusiastic welcome to those of you who will be the peace workers of tomorrow. **Please try hard to come.**

Perhaps some of you would like to spend some more time in our country before or after the Triennial Conference. Without resorting to the eloquence of a travel brochure we can only recommend that you do this. But make your plans well in advance, there are more tourists than hotel accommodation. We will be glad to try and help you where your travel agent gives in. That will be impossible if you leave it too late. Do not write to the W.R.I. Headquarters for advice but directly to the Norwegian Section, Folkereising Mot Krig, Kristian Augusts Gate 19, Oslo 1. On the other hand bookings or enquiries about the Conference are the business of the International — not ours.

We will greet you under the spell of the Nordic sun with the light of your hearts in our eyes.

Niels Mathiesen, Secretary.

WELCOME  
TO  
THE 11th  
TRIENNIAL  
CONFERENCE  
OF  
THE  
WAR  
RESISTERS'  
INTERNATIONAL



Salborg ungdomsskole, Stavanger.

# G L I M P S E S O F S T A V A N G E R



Stavanger is one of Norway's oldest towns. The exact date of its founding is not known, but we do know that in the year 1128 King Sigurd Jorsalfarer came to Stavanger in order to be married with Cicilia by the bishop there, as the Bishop of Bergen had refused to give the union his blessing on account of the king having deserted his former wife Queen Malmfrid.

The Bishop of Stavanger, Reinald, who was the first bishop of that town, was willing to carry the religious ceremony in return for a large gift to the cathedral, which had just begun construction. It is this cathedral which is to-day one of the town's jewels and also its pride, resting peacefully between the idyllic Breiavatnet and Vågen.

In front of the cathedral lies the market square, enclosed by a remarkable mixture of modern concrete buildings and low, old, wooden houses. Here also stands a statue of the town's most famous poet, Alexander Kielland, with his back to the cathedral, his gaze turned towards teeming life around the fish barrels and the market stalls. He was a rich man's son who fought against the hypocrisy of his townsmen and the «patented hardheartedness» of his time.

Building activity in the town goes on constantly, and the old buildings clustered round the market place are on the retreat before the new concrete

and glass architecture. But the tourist and no less the people of Stavanger itself can be glad that the centre of the town shall be left in peace. Here one can still recapture the atmosphere of the «good old days» as one wanders around the irregular streets where a car can just manage to get through, though only if the pedestrians keep well in against the walls of the houses. But though the facades themselves are somewhat modest, the shops within are fully up to date. Stavanger is used to receiving tourists and can offer the most discriminating visitors a variety of holiday attractions.

In the summer bathing is often very popular in the delightful sandy bays along the Jæren or in the fjords. Motor boats provide tours around the beautiful and idyllic fjords of Ryfylke. Between the fjords mountains rise several hundred meters and grant solitude to the tourist who goes by foot. Marked out footpaths and good and reasonable tourist huts make walking tours manageable and safe even for those unaccustomed to wandering in the mountains.

Stavanger has good connections both with other parts of Norway and with abroad. Stavanger airport, which lies 10 kilometers outside the town, runs several flights daily connecting it with the international air net and there is direct boat connection with Rotterdam, Newcastle and New York. Within the country itself one can use either plane or boat northwards along the coast, or else one can take the train running along the southern coast to Oslo.

To-day Stavanger is a town of well over 50 000 inhabitants. It is built mainly on shipping, industry and fishing, and has a good supply of electricity. It also has a very rich hinterland, so that Stavanger to-day is in a state of vigorous growth.

Valborg Tjora.

# PROGRAM OF THE CONFERENCE

## SATURDAY 27TH JULY

### Morning session

Address of welcome.  
Introduction of delegates and observers Messages.  
Election of steering committee, drafting committee  
and tellers.

Opening speech by the chairman.  
Report of the work done during the last 3 years by  
Tony Smythe and Devi Prasad.

Distribution of ballot forms.  
Presentation of accounts by Joyce Runham Brown.

**RELEVANCE OF INDIVIDUAL REFUSAL IN THE  
NUCLEAR AGE**

Speaker: Danilo Dolci.

Discussion groups.

Reports of discussion groups.

### Afternoon session

### Evening session

## SUNDAY 28TH JULY

### Morning session

**INTERNATIONAL ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT.**

Speaker: Jerry Hunnius.

Discussion groups.

Reports of discussion groups.

**RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL.**

Report of the Council Meeting with observers of Peace  
Councils.

Address by one of the observers from Peace Councils.

Discussion groups.

**WRI AND ITS FUTURE ORGANISATIONAL TRENDS.**

### Afternoon session

### Evening session

## MONDAY 29TH JULY

### Morning session

Reports of discussion groups.

**PACIFISM IN AFRICA AND INDIA.**

Speakers: Pierre Martin and Devi Prasad.

Discussion groups.

Reports of discussion groups.

Announcement of new Council.

**SOCIAL.**

### Afternoon session

### Evening session

## TUESDAY 30TH JULY

### Morning session

**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SEGREGATION**

Speaker: Bayard Rustin.

**ARAB-ISRAELI RELATIONS AND PASIFISM IN THE  
ARAB WORLD**

Speaker: Joseph Abileah.

Discussion groups.

Reports of discussion groups.

Plenary session.

Adoption of resolutions. Conference statement. Chair-  
man's closing address.

### Afternoon session

### Evening session

Cost: Adults 35 s/- per day plus 25 s/- conference fee.  
Please write for application forms from the FMK secretariat.

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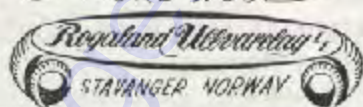
**Krig**

STAVANGER AVD.  
(War Resisters' International)

WHEN VISITING THE OLD TOWN OF STAVANGER  
COME AND SEE OUR FINE COLLECTION OF  
HANDKNITTED CARDIGANS, PULLOVERS ETC

NORWEGIAN  
GENUINE  
PURE WOOL

IN DER ALTEN STADT STAVANGER ANGEKOMMEN  
SEHEN SIE SICH UNSERE REINWOLLIGEN HAND  
GESTRICKTEN JACKEN UND PULLOVERS AN



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STAVANGER

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HILLEVÅG, STAVANGER

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EN BOK FRA BANG  
DEN BESTE PRESANG!

**A. Madland**

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**Bull-bygg**

Kvalitet i bygningsvarer

**T. Bull-Njaa**

# A DIALOGUE ON PACIFISM

BETWEEN STUART MORRIS AND MICHAEL RANDLE

RECORDED BY NILS PETTER GLEDITSCH

The pacifist opposition to war in Britain, as in most countries where there is a pacifist movement, has traditionally been based on an individual pledge to renounce war. As an expression of individual morality and commitment, the pledge has its value. As an instrument for changing policy, its relevance can be questioned. The failure of pacifists to deal effectively with war and authoritarianism, as well as the greater urgency of the nuclear age, should make us consider our methods in the work for a world without war. Two British pacifists, well-known both at home and to the international peace movement, have agreed to do this in the following dialogue.

SM: It has always seemed to me rather ironical that the Hydrogen Bomb has made possible the abandonment of conscription in Britain, and raised the question of the relevance of pacifism and the individual pledge to renounce war. I think perhaps there is a confusion between *war resistance* and *war renunciation*. It may only be possible to resist war during war time, it is possible to renounce war *all* the time and whether or not individual resistance is possible in the nuclear age, individual renunciation of war obviously is. The claim to object conscience has never been limited to those liable to conscription, it has been regarded as the inherent right and duty of *all*, of both sexes and all ages. The pacifist movement has never sought to be a mass movement, by its very nature it accepts the role of a minority, as it relies not on expecting a government to change a policy in which it may merely believe, but in convincing individuals of the immorality and ineffectiveness of war, and so building a public opinion which will produce a government able to adopt and carry through a completely different policy. That is why I would suggest that even in the nuclear age, the pledge to renounce war is as relevant as the protest movement.

MR: I think the pledge is still relevant and important in that it involves a personal commitment, but I think that it should be the basis of *resistance*. All of us would heartily agree with your statements on war being immoral and so on, but it is important to note that the nuclear issue has made a difference to people's thinking about war and peace. I was brought up as a Catholic, and taught that war could be justified under certain circumstances, but there were very strict limitations. One of the things that I not justified, was indiscriminate destruction. I was forced to the position where I had to say, in the modern situation, can there be anything

but indiscriminate wars? It seems to me that we have to be responsive to people who will never take a complete pacifist position along the lines of the peace pledge, but who feel that war is very likely to be a nuclear war, and therefore will support an anti-war position.

SM: I would not in any way express hostility of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament or the Committee of 100, but as a pacifist we can not regard the aims of these two organisations as sufficient. I have always been glad that the nuclear disarmament movement adopted from pacifism the principle of unilateralism, but I have regretted that they limited it to a particular field. I fully recognise the difference which nuclear war has made to public opinion. My personal dilemma has been that if you get rid of nuclear weapons, you might make conventional war more likely since the deterrent does in fact deter — temporarily. It seems to me to be commonly recognised that you can't get rid of the know-how for making nuclear weapons, and that therefore any conventional war would become a nuclear war in six months time. Then you are back where you started. I would say that the only way in which you can get rid of nuclear weapons, is by getting rid of war itself. I also think it is essential that there should be a clear pacifist witness and a specific pacifist fellowship, and I would be unhappy if the pacifists who work in the nuclear disarmament movement, strengthened the CND at the cost of weakening the pacifist movement.

MR: I feel that the most hopeful thing would be for individuals to push their own organisations in a pacifist direction. I think this has happened very considerably with the Committee of 100. They set up the Schools for nonviolence, and recently they brought out a policy statement which certainly comes much closer to the pacifist position than anything the nuclear disarmament has produced up to now.

SM: I still think, however, that there is value in maintaining an organisation with the experience that we have gained over the last 25 years. Where I think we *have* been very much fault, is in not seizing the opportunity to develop far more the thought about nonviolence, and I welcome every attempt now, both by practical experiment and by study, to enlarge the whole field of nonviolence, thinking in terms of a nonviolent society and a warless world.

MR: I think this is a very important point. We both think that the personal renunciation is very important, but it mustn't be just a renounce war when it personally affects me in the form

*Michael Randle, 29, editorial assistant in Peace News, member of the WRI Council, secretary of the Committee of 100 from the start until December 1961, chairman of the Direct Action Committee (a predecessor of the CND) until 1961. Convicted 1961 under the Official Secrets Act, and served an 18 month sentence.*

*Stuart Morris, a founder member of the Peace Pledge Union (WRI, British Section) and its general secretary. He is also editor of the PPU paper 'The Pacifist', member of the WRI executive committee. Served a 12 month sentence during the war (sentenced under the Official Secrets Act). A member of the Fellowship Party since 1961, he plans to contest Westminster in the forthcoming general election.*



## STUART MORRIS, PEACE PLEDGE UNION

of conscriptions. I think you could sign the pledge and feel that you had renounced war; and leave it at that. It seems to me there is a case for a completely committed pacifist movement with much more emphasis upon acting within society *now*, trying to proselytise, but including personal renunciation of war.

SM: I think we've always been rather careful to emphasise the full implications of the pledge, political, social, economic, and at our summer conference this year, we will be considering the study of nonviolence and the essentials of warless society. I hope that is one of the ways in which we may come into closer cooperation with the nuclear disarmament movement. I think none of us have really gone very far in our study of nonviolence yet.

MR: No, and I think that the Indian situation has put us all on the spot. We have very little that we can possibly say ought to be done in that kind of situation.

SM: But the dilemma in which the Indians find themselves, and which is tending at this moment to divide the Indian pacifist movement, is the widespread attitude which regards nonviolence as a kind of alternative to military resistance. Some pacifists will go as far as Jayaprakash Narayan does, and say that we have to build up a nonviolent resistance to the Chinese aggressor. Now, I don't regard that as pacifism, because it's assuming that you know where the aggression lies. It's taking sides. It's not preserving the desire to seek the truth and act in accordance with it. It's a new form of nationalism in which you are going to support your country whether it's right or wrong, only you are not going to use the method of violence.

MR: It could be that Jayaprakash Narayan has come to this conclusion after having studied the situation, that it's not just an expression of his nationalism. If so there would be a case for thinking in terms of nonviolent defence. There are certainly some situations where one would take sides, in South Africa for instance.

SM: I know this is the basic difference between those who speak of nonviolence in terms of resistance, and those who think of nonviolence in terms of nonresistance. I tend towards the nonresistance position, because I've got a Christian background. I don't think we ought to have any defence. I don't see how you can defend yourself by nonviolence — you certainly can't against a nuclear attack. You might be able to defend yourself against an aggressor, but I don't think even that is realistic, in the strict terms of *defence*. Because when violence comes

out against nonviolence, violence will always, at least temporarily, gain the upper hand. After that, you may be able, through noncooperation, to render ineffective the invasion or the attack.

MR: I think this is a difference in language more than anything else. Would you count this noncooperation as part of nonresistance?

SM: Yes, but with this background to it: that you refuse to cooperate with evil, but not necessarily with an individual whom you may regard as doing something which is evil. The only way of convincing him that he's wrong, may be through maintaining your personal relationship with him.

MR: But the point I was trying to get at was that noncooperation might be a program that might be equally advocated by those who consider themselves advocates of nonresistance or nonviolent resistance. Therefore, if you further explore the meaning of nonviolence, there are many meeting points.

NPG: Would you like to say something about the necessity for direct action, as you see it.

MR: The main point, it seems to me, is that when you have a thing as big as nuclear weapons, there is always a temptation to push it to the back of one's mind. One of the things that the peace movement has to do is to bring this into the front of people's minds so that they grapple with the question and answer it definitely, one way or the other. Perhaps some people will not answer it the way we want them to, but at least they will come to some conclusion as to what they should do. I think direct action is necessary *in addition* to leaflets and propaganda. I think there is another, and more nebulous argument, namely that direct action affects the whole climate of opinion. A government is much more likely to go to war when there is a sort of war hysteria about. A continuous campaign of propaganda direct action, can keep the climate of opinion against war. I think also it is possible that it can put a brake on the government in critical situations, as it may have done at the time of Suez.

SM: I would emphasise the importance of making quite certain that the means you use in direct action, in fact do achieve the end you think they ought to. The danger has been that the actual issue has tended to become overshadowed more and more by the question of police behaviour and other minor issues. Direct action becomes a challenge to government, to authority, if you like to police, rather than a protest against a policy.

MR: There is some truth in this, and to some



## MICHAEL RANDLE, PEACE NEWS

extent I think I agree that it is an advantage. When you start delving into what nuclear disarmament means, you find yourself involved in these questions of individual rights and civil disobedience, the power of the state and so on. I think it is one of the advantages of direct action that it brings out these related issues, in addition to the main issue of nuclear disarmament. Another thing which I wanted to say about direct action is that in certain situations it does offer an embryo of the kind of defence, or system of maintaining one's values that one would like to see used in the face of invasion or a tyrannical government.

SM: Of course I should agree that civil disobedience is a basic human right and indeed duty. The difficulty is that many of the laws protested against aren't themselves bad. That is where Gandhi had an easier job, in being able to pick out symbolic acts against laws which were obviously in themselves oppressive. It sometimes tends to blur the issue that you protest against the police operating a law on a particular occasion, which normally we should all regard as a perfectly legitimate regulation.

MR: I think you have to recognize various categories of civil disobedience. There would hardly be any argument in the pacifist movement that unjust laws, as we would consider conscription, should definitely be resisted. Where you are resisting a law which is not in itself oppressive, this does raise other issues. But I would say that a very cogent argument can be made out for committing an obstruction, at say a nuclear weapons base or factory. And I certainly think that even an obstruction in the streets, which maintains its nonviolence, can be justified as a shock tactic.

SM: There seems to be the danger, assuming that because a person pursuing an action is prepared not to resort to violence, then that action necessarily becomes nonviolent. Now that doesn't seem to me to be valid, an action which by its very nature is likely to provoke violence, can't really be called nonviolent.

MR: There have no doubt been some nuclear disarmament demonstrations where nonviolence really has not been understood. There has been a tendency to provoke the police and then to say "All right, no violence", when the police do get violent. Obviously that's wrong. However, I think sometimes one is quite justified in going ahead with an act that in itself seems necessary and justified, even though the initial reaction may be hostile. You are not trying to provoke attack just for the sake of it. For example, if

you go and sit in front of a base that is being built, the initial reaction to that may be hostile. In a sense it's a provocative act, but it may also be a very necessary one. The point is, that if a man is going toward another man with a knife, he can see the consequences of his action; while if he's building a rocket base, he's so many stages removed. And yet, the violence in the end is so enormous.

SM: Well, that would lead me to suggest a difference between thinking in terms of *coercing* people to adopt your point of view, and *convincing* them to your point of view. If you are going to prevent workers on a nuclear base, who don't accept the pacifist position, by simply getting in their way, you are not convincing them. You are trying to compel them to accept your point of view.

MR: I feel that in this kind of situation one has to engage in a kind of nonviolent coercion, to the extent of forcing upon people the necessity of making a choice about what they are doing. It seems to me that when you sit in front of those workers, who are trying to build that base, you are making them face up the issue that is involved. You are saying to them, look, millions of people who are no different from me will be killed if this base is used. Now you must use violence against me, or remove me in some way — this seems to me a justifiable thing to do.

SM: But can coercion ever really be nonviolent? Aren't you overlooking the possibility that an act can be mentally violent?

MR: Obviously there can be forms of objectionable coercion, which is not physical at all. Probably it is a mistake to use the word coercion, because it's got these overtones of violence attached to it, but one must recognize that stepping in between a man and his victim is a form of obstruction. In that sense it's coercive. It's certainly preventing him from doing something that he wants to do.

SM: It's not so much preventing him from doing it, as to his violence upon yourself, in the belief that the intervention will just make him pull himself together and think. It's part of the process of conversion rather than of coercion.

MR: Yes, I think it would be quite stupid to believe that we can impose our will through a nonviolent resistance campaign. I admit that there is another emphasis within the civil disobedience movement which I am not so sympathetic to, which sees this as a way of really physically trying to stop things. I think this is an unrealistic approach.

# NORWAY AND THE STRU

HALVARD LANGE — MARI HOLMBOE RUGE

In December 1962, PAX invited a number of prominent Norwegians to answer the following question:

WHAT, IN YOUR OPINION, SHOULD NORWAY DO IN COMING YEARS TO CONTRIBUTE TO DISARMAMENT?

Among the answers were:

■ *Foreign Minister HALVARD LANGE.*

The disarmament question is, more than ever before in our civilization's history, a question which directly affects all of us. It is often said that the responsibility for disarmament lies primarily with the nuclear powers. This is correct insofar as no disarmament can come about without their co-operation.

However, it must be an unavoidable duty and right for every nation, large or small, and without regard to geographical location, to work actively towards the joint goal of Peace in a disarmed world. This has been and will continue to be one of the foundation stones in Norwegian foreign policy.

The negotiations in Geneva, which will be continued in the coming year, have clearly shown that the little nations who participate in the negotiations can give valuable contributions. Norway, as we know, is not a member of the 18-man committee, but we will continue to study carefully the individual suggestions and plans which will be considered, and make our views known in the United Nations and other places where we can positively affect the result of the negotiations.

The events in connection with disarmament during the United Nations' 17th General Assembly — among other things the approval of the two test-stoppage resolutions — should provide a good basis for further Geneva negotiations. Therefore I cannot see that, in the present state of negotiations, it would serve any purpose to take any Norwegian initiative vis-a-vis the nuclear powers.

As far as one can see, Norway will this coming year as in previous years best use the United Nations as its forum for disarmament initiatives, and will there work effectively for the largest possible support for those suggestions we find most realistic.

The formation and activity of the Norwegian

Disarmament Committee must be judged against the background I have drawn up here, and I should think that its present mandate covers all the considerations I have mentioned.

■ *MARI HOLMBOE RUGE, Research Assistant, Institute for Social Research — Section for Research on Peace and Conflict.*

On the suggested National Budget for 1963 there is a post for the Defence Department Research Institute for altogether 18 million Norwegian kroner (\$ 2,500,000) In spite of the fact that the research carried out in the Institute's name is scientific research which demands expensive equipment — that is a lot of money. In light of the large and expensive apparatus which the modern military is, it probably is not too much.

Let us take a look at what the State contributes to disarmament purposes. We have, for the past year, had a Disarmament Committee appointed by the Government which is to assist the Government with studies of different disarmament plans. As members of the committee we find among others members of parliament, professional soldiers, a professor of Law and representatives of the Foreign Office. All of these have demanding positions, and can only use a tiny portion of their time and abilities in the committee service.

The Committee Forman and Secretary together — altogether — 7,200 kroner a year (about 1000 dollars) as compensation for the extra work this committee gives them. The other members get a small compensation pr. meeting. This is all the committee has to work with. There is not a single person in Norway today who has disarmament problems as his proper field of work. (Except some researchers at the Defence Departments Research Institute, an institution which can hardly be called independent in this case).

This work, which should have the highest priority on behalf of the State is today run as a «hobby» activity. This is not meant as a criticism of those who in spite of everything have so much interest for this cause that they work with disarmament problems in addition to their daily work. However it is a shame that the Norwegian State allots 18 million kroner to military research and yet does not have the money to create a single fulltime job for disarmament purposes, not to mention an inde-

# GGLE FOR DISARMAMENT

GUDMUND HARLEM — DIDERICH H. LUND

pendent institution with the roomy working conditions this task ought to be able to demand.

We will likely get a committee which will discuss the organization of Peace Research here in Norway, a happy sign of the State's awakening interest. But this should not prevent the Disarmament Committee from making a full contribution to this work.

■ *Minister of Defence, GUDMUND HARLEM:*

Permit me first of all to make a reservation concerning your question «How to ensure peace through disarmament?». The most important problem in 1963 is to ensure peace. Disarmament is also a very important task. But if a disarmament is undertaken in an unwise manner, peace can be endangered.

The nearest possibility we have for any action concerning disarmament is a test-ban agreement for nuclear weapons. This agreement should to a sufficient degree take into consideration the Soviet Union's demands to continue to be able to build its security politics on a high degree of secrecy, and U.S. demands for guarantees that precisely this secrecy does not lead to a camouflaged development of new offensive weapons. We should, for Norway's part, try to help to such a form of agreement.

In addition we ought to do what we can to reduce suspicion between the two power-blocks. Within our own country and within the western alliance we can try to reduce unreasonable effects of this suspicion. It is just as important that parts of the Norwegian population don't egg suspicions on by constantly representing our allies as aggressive and offensive-minded. Just how important this is we can best understand if we think over how it would effect us if there were circles within the Eastern Block who repeated that the Soviet leaders were aggressive and offensive-minded.

Perhaps we cannot clearly see today what possibilities lie in a test ban agreement. It would, among other things, give the two main powers a joint interest in keeping the agreement vis-a-vis all other countries. What this can lead to, in the way of securing world peace, is not possible to predict. But it does give us a basis for encouraging thoughts.

■ *DIDERICH H. LUND, engineer, President of the Norwegian Section of War Resisters' International 1962/63:*

Of politically practical projects which could thinkably contribute to disarmament there is nothing so important for our government as to support and strengthen the U.N. There are many ways to accomplish this.

1) The U.N. must encompass all independent nations, and first of all China must get its seat in the Security Council. Our government has always voted for this natural state of affairs and we hope that it will at every opportunity give its wholehearted support for this cause.

2) Political agreements between member states directed against other groups, damages and weakens the authority of the U.N. We regard the Warsaw Treaty, S.E.A.T.O. and N.A.T.O. as conflict-breeding and dangerous. Norway ought to prepare to leave the N.A.T.O. We should not join the Common Market which has strong political goals and which will even more strongly set our differences with the East in relief. It is through a strengthened U.N. we can hope for advances in the East-West relations, reconciliation and co-operations between the power blocks. This is the road to disarmament and a beginning feeling of security between nations.

3) Let the larger part of our contribution to the developing countries go through the U.N.O. In Norway all parties and groups of any importance agree that the freeing of the poorer countries from hunger, disease and ignorance is the great task we have facing us for the rest of this century. The U.N. must have the opportunity to lead this work. It will involve problems of organization, but it will give the U.N. a position and a strength which will increase its possibilities for peacebringing work.

4) Our political parties and our Government are certainly, in reality, in agreement with us pacifists concerning the real goals for our international politics. We can assume that in back of their mistakes and quasi-security there lie hidden quite a bit of helplessness and confusion. It is our task to help to clear up the issues and point out practical ways and means. We must create a public opinion which strongly and clearly demands advances tantamount to reconciliation and co-operation between the power blocks. In this manner it will become politically possible for our leading men to change that course towards disaster which they follow today.

# ALFRED NOBEL AND THE

BY URSULA JORFALD

*Ursula Jorfald, born 1886, Scandinavia's distinguished expert on the austrian pacifist pioneer Bertha von Suttner (1843—1914) and her epoch, and widely recognized for her criticism of the Nobel Peace Prize committee. Editor of the International League of Women for Peace and Freedom's paper in Norway. In 1962 she published «Bertha von Suttner and Nobel's Peace Prizes», which was enthusiastically reviewed by the press.*

When the great Swedish inventor and industrial magnate Alfred Nobel died on the 10th of December 1896, his will showed that the main part of his fortune of about 32 million Swedish kroner was to go to cultural and scientific purposes, divided into four prizes, while the fifth was to be given to the peace movement, or, as it states in his will, «and a part to one who has worked the most or the best for greater brotherhood and for elimination or reduction of standing armies, or the organization and spreading of peace conferences».

A royal commission was created to make by-laws for this tremendous donation, with the well known politician and Mayor of Stockholm, Carl Lindhagen, as one of its most prominent members. At this time there was no disagreement about the fact that it was Nobel's good friend, the great fighter for peace Bertha von Suttner, whom we can thank for the fact that Nobel became so vividly interested in the peace movement that he created the Peace Prize. By way of personal conversation and an active correspondence between them, she obtained a good understanding of Nobel's intentions and desires concerning his will, and she wrote to Lindhagen and appealed to him to see that the Peace Prize would not be able to be divided, and should not be able to be given to institutions, or as Nobel had said to her, «my intention is to give people willing to work for this movement let's say about 200,000 francs, so that they will be able to give up all their time for it. Or, the amount should be a reward to somebody who has really given something to the movements».

But when the prize was first given out in 1901, and it was in spite of everything divided between Passy and Dunant, Lindhagen wrote to her that her comments were completely correct and convincing, but he had found it necessary to make a compromise in order to bring the case to a successful completion. It was in this way that the original framework for the Prize was exceeded, even in its very first presentation, and the Prize was made into a reward with a great deal wider area than Nobel's intention was, and had originally been. In the later presentations, the Nobel committee has essentially kept to only the one of the will's conditions, namely the one that concerns peoples brotherhood, without the least consideration for the other two; disarmament and peace congresses. These days it seems as though the intention of the prize has primarily become that of creating goodwill for Norway by preferably being given in order to honour heads of states and politicians of the day,

while it originally was intended as a help and inspiration for the fighting peace movement. In the last months we have gotten a frightening example of what this leads to, as the Peace Prize winner Lester Pearson has overthrown the Canadian government because it did not want to have atomic weapons in Canada.

During the first year of the Peace Prize, Nobel's spirit and intentions were, just the same, more alive among the Nobel committee's members. However that was the time when people like Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, who was an enthusiastic and strong supporter of the peace movement, and peace workers like Bertha von Suttner, Alfred Fried, Arnoldson, Bajer and others got the Prize. During the First World War, others, however, came into the Nobel Committee, who seem to have distanced themselves somewhat from Nobel and his time's views on the peace movement's ideas, and we get a series of political presentations, like for example the Prize to Austen Chamberlain, Dawes and Brian, not to mention General Marshall. However, there are notable exceptions among these.

And just as the presentation of the Prize itself has distanced itself more and more from the original decisions, it has gone the same way with the funds which the Nobel committee has authority over, and which should in fact be used to support the Peace movement.

The Nobel Committee has the responsibility for three funds, mainly the «organization funds» which in 1959 was 209,195 Swedish kroner, the Nobel Foundation savings of 138,000 Swedish kroner, and the Special Fund which was 1,988,159 Swedish kroner! The intention with this fund was, according to the by-laws, that the interest earned from these funds could be used with even greater freedom at all times to promote the peace movement than the case is with the rest of the committees funds, which only can be used for the Nobel Foundation and its activities. The interest from these funds was in the same year 111,117 kroner. What is this interest money used for? Well, most of it went for the daily expenses of the foundation, a course at the Foundation for teachers was, in 1959, given 5,275 kroner, and the peace organizations were given 2,000 kroner. It is here that the deviations from the original intentions are particularly noticeable.

It is the Norwegian Storting's Election Committee who decides who is to sit in the Nobel committee and it is then this committee which is responsible for the presentation of the prize, and for its funds. Among the many objections



# PEACE PRIZE

made in Sweden when it was made known that the prize was to be presented in Norway, was what they considered it too difficult to give this assignment to a parliament with its changing partisan character. One sided party rewards... could not be avoided.» (Carl Lindhagens Memoirs, page 246.) This fear has unfortunately shown itself to be well founded. Instead of preferably giving peace workers a seat in the Nobel Committee, the choice of members has more and more gone over to being pure political rewards, and people who have little or no knowledge of the peace movement have been elected. Even as early as in 1905 the Swedish parliamentarian and peace movement sympathiser Edvard Wavrinsky became aware of this situation, when he wrote: «I have my doubts that the composition of the Norwegian Nobel committee is such that one will there find the necessary specialist knowledge, which would certainly be there if the committee got an expert on the peace movement from one of the great cultural countries in its midst. Then, in all probability the peace movement would not get such surprises as they got this year.» (The Prize that year went to the Institute de Droit International.)

There is a remarkably undemocratic custom in the Nobel committee, which is that all its decisions are secret, and that all internal disagreements are not noted in a protocol. Carl Lindhagen didn't like this, and he writes in his Memoirs: «I have for my part been against all secrecy. I believe that this by-law should be placed with publicity when it concerns the suggestions for the Prize and the committee's decisions. Particularly backwards is the fact that disagreements are not noted in a protocol, and because of that not retained for the future. Public inspection must certainly be the most natural control system. That it happens in secrecy will seldom bring good back, particularly when then public is put on a wrong track... Those who are in disagreement with the decisions taken, feel uncomfortable by having to appear publicly as though they agreed with the committee's decisions. Such a reactionary constitution is built on a lie, as it publicly brags of internal agreement which doesn't exist». But in spite of Lindhagen's warnings, the secrecy system continues till this day.

The absolutely most important point on the peace movement program during Nobels time was arbitration. In all probability it was the interest for this cause which was the decisive factor for Nobel when he decided that the

Peace Prize was to be given out by the Norwegian Storting, the national parliament which more than any other at that time had made arbitration treaties and had supported peace work by among other things sending delegations to peace congresses, while Nobels own country, Sweden, had shown little understanding for this cause. There is, however, these days a tendency to explain this by saying that it was Nobel's enthusiasm for Björnson which was the reason that Norway was to give out the Prize. We have no proof of his enthusiasm for Björnson, while on the other hand we know that he appreciated Victor Rydberg, Selma Lagerlof, Ibsen and others a great deal. But primarily it was Byron who was his favorite poet, so if it was his literary taste that was the deciding factor, then it should have been the English parliament which would have been the first to come into consideration as the distributor of the Prize. If we can manage to eliminate these two facts: First that Bertha von Suttner is the Peace Prize's spiritual creator, and second that the Norwegian Storting received the honour of giving the Prize out because of its positive attitude towards the arbitration cause, then the Peace Prize's purpose and intention can be disregarded, and we can experience something like NATO, whom by many is regarded as our greatest factor for peace, getting the Peace Prize one sunny day.

New members are soon to be elected for the Nobel committee. Therefore, the peace organizations have now got an opportunity to see to it that the party-political evil circle finally, once and for all, can be broken.

The Royal Swedish Commission which in its time made the by-laws for the Nobel Foundation, has probably consisted of men who stood at a distance from the peace movement, and who had not understood Nobels real purpose with the Peace Prize. In this manner, the whole conception of the Prize got on to the wrong track from the very beginning, and it will be terribly difficult to get back. One of Alfred Nobels witnesses to the signing of his will, Engineer L. Hvass, wrote in 1914 an article with the title «Nobel's Will Not Carried Out». He is very anxious about the development: «I feel sorrowfully that as the years go by, the will of the great deceased and his real intentions are not being followed, because nobody tries to delve into the meaning of the will in order to make his spirit and intentions clear.»

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE 1901-1961  
NOTE CONCENTRATION OF DOTS IN EUROPE AND THE U.S.

# THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN

BY NIELS MATHIESEN

Niels Mathiesen, born 1928. From August 13 secretary at the International Peace Bureau in Geneva, and till then prime mover in our own organization, the Norwegian branch of WRI, since 1956. Although a full-time peace organizer, he has seven years' education in stage decoration from Paris and Vienna.

The first peace organisation in Norway was the Norwegian Peace Association, founded in 1885 and still in existence. With 9 other organisations it belongs to the Norwegian Peace Council, founded in 1943, which acts as a coordinating body. The other 9 organisations are: The War Resisters' International, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Teachers' Peace Council, the International Order of Good Templars, the youth branch of the IOGT, the Norwegian Clergy's Peace Association, Service Civil International, Women's League for Peace and Freedom, and the Friends.

Outside the Norwegian Peace Council there are: One World (World Federalists), the Independent Norwegian Group, the World Federation of Democratic Women, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and WISP. Although not a peace movement, the new People's Socialist Party deserves mention, as it stands for unilateral disarmament, against any nuclear arms or tests, and for Norway's withdrawal from NATO. The party was founded 1961, and got two representatives in Parliament at the elections same year, thereby taking the absolute majority from the Labour Party.

A special body must be mentioned: The National Secretariat of Conscientious Objectors, which was started in 1954 and reorganised in 1961. Originally it served both as an information centre for would-be C.O.'s, and as a coordinating body for all C.O.'s in service. Since then the WRI section has taken over the first of these functions. Once a boy has started alternative service, however, the National Secretariat takes over, acting more like a trade union for C.O.'s representing them in their dealings with the authorities and the public. The Secretariat prints a small paper circulated to all C.O.'s, dealing especially with their particular problems during service time. Slowly both the National Secretariat and the paper have won a certain recognition from the authorities, which regard them as officially representing the C.O.'s. This recognition was formally given in an annual report to Parliament by the commissioner for military and civilian conscripts. During recent years the average number of C.O.'s has been 2 percent of the recruits.

### *The Peace Council.*

Cooperation within the Norwegian Peace Council has been rather weak and fruitless owing to diverging opinions particularly on 2 points. First, there are some more radical organisations, like the WRI, which urge more action, and some more conservative ones which are more

concerned about maintaining, or obtaining, respectability and which are satisfied with passing non-controversial resolutions. Secondly, there are varying opinions upon the question of collaboration with more or less communist-inspired organisations. The more radical and active organisations take the view that peace work must not be limited to western movements, whereas the more cautious ones stress the importance of public prestige.

The disturbing factor within the Norwegian Peace Council during recent years has undoubtedly been the WRI, which has steadily urged coordinated action and the inclusion of all peace movements which sincerely want to take part in the Council's activities. The result has unfortunately been that the Council has wasted most of its time on formal discussions of procedure and it has not been possible to bring more activity into its work, although the WRI has been supported in its view by a steadily growing number of the other member organisations. WRI has now decided that it is a waste of time and energy to try and work within the Norwegian Peace Council; it will probably maintain its membership, but in matters of action it will contact the relevant organisations directly.

One result of the lack of activity in the Norwegian Peace Council has been the formation of a separate executive committee for uniting Norwegian peace organisations for Scandinavian cooperation. Every year a Scandinavian peace conference, open to all organisations, ranging from the most conservative to the World Peace Council, is arranged. These conferences have been held twice in Norway, once in Denmark, and will this year take place in Sweden. In my opinion their work has not been concrete enough to be of real value, although they have brought many people together and to some extent have improved east-west relations in Scandinavian peace work.

### *Movement against nuclear arms.*

Originally the anti-nuclear movement sprung from initiatives in WRI and WILPF, and from the group of people around the weekly radical paper «Orientering» (the group which later formed the People's Socialist Party). One of the first initiatives to organise anti-nuclear activity was probably given by the WRI when it arranged a tour of a hundred demonstrators to the first Scandinavian anti-nuclear protest march which took place in Denmark in October 1960. This mass demonstration inspired many of the participants to organise similar activities in

# NORWAY

Norway. Two groups — Protest against Nuclear Arms and Action for Nuclear Disarmament — came into being.

The relation between these two parts of the anti-nuclear movement in Norway corresponded more or less to the relation between the AMSA and the Campaign in Sweden. That is: Protest against Nuclear Arms, «The 13», is sponsored by well known people, and was set up with the immediate task of influencing the political decisions, mainly the Labour Party, against introducing nuclear arms in Norway, on mass demonstrations and petitioning throughout the country. This end was partly reached, and the movement thereby ceased to function, although it is still in existence.

The other movement, Action for Nuclear Disarmament, then took over activities in agreement with «The 13». This movement consisted of ordinary people, it had the wider support of activists and worked with demonstrations of a smaller, but more radical, nature. Unlike «The 13» it was concerned with nuclear arms on an international scale, not just their introduction in Norway. The movement was particularly built up in and around Oslo, local groups were also organised in a few other towns, as well as a special student group in Oslo. Action for Nuclear Disarmament became organisationally weak and came to a state of collapse. Plans were therefore worked out in spring 1962 for a reorganisation of both movements into one national campaign, and the Norwegian CND came into being. During the last year the Campaign has been built out to cover the larger parts of Southern Norway, working along the same lines as the corresponding movements in other countries.

The activities of the Norwegian CND are based upon this declaration of principles: 1) Nuclear arms must never be introduced on Norwegian territory, and must not be part of the Norwegian defence programme. 2) The Norwegian government must actively contribute to nuclear disarmament, and urge prohibition of any kind of production, testing, stockpiling, spreading and use of nuclear arms. 3) The population must always get true and complete information about the dangers of nuclear warfare, testing and continued nuclear arms race.

In the last Easter Marches and later, the CND has particularly protested against Polaris and the introduction of nuclear arms in NATO.

The Action for Nuclear Disarmament and the CND have attracted many people from outside

the peace movements, although the greater part of the hard core consists of pacifists. An interesting point is that many of these people through anti-nuclear movements and actions have become pacifists and members of the WRI.

The anti-nuclear movements have, unfortunately, not been represented in the Norwegian Peace Council till now, and the latest efforts of the WRI to open the way for them into the Council have probably been in vain.

The most active Norwegian peace movements are the Service Civil International, the youth branch of the IOGT, the Friends, the CND, WISP and the WRI. The others seem to be mainly occupied with keeping themselves alive. Of the organisations mentioned the first two are not exclusively peace movements. Nevertheless they are often active participants in different kinds of coordinated peace efforts. The activity of the Friends has a world-wide reputation and needs no further comment here. They have more than once supported the activist standpoint of the WRI in the Norwegian Peace Council.

### *Folkereising Mot Krig.*

For us working in the WRI of course this organisation has become THE peace movement in our country. This point of view seems also to be shared by members of other peace organisations. Numerically the World Federalists is much larger than the WRI, but taken into account that the WRI requires a radical pledge of its members, as well as more money than the other organisations, it might be considered as the comparatively strongest organisation. On the other hand only one citizen out of every 1700 is a member of the Norwegian WRI.

A change of generation seems to have taken place in the peace movement in Norway. In the first years after World War II the pacifists of the 1930's re-established the WRI section. Now we see clearly from the new members of the last years that the young generation, more or less the post-war generation, is joining in force.

Parallel to this development the section has obtained some kind of social recognition. In contrast to the situation ten years ago we are not any longer looked upon as merely enemies of the defence effort. Our alternative has slowly become something which any decent citizen feels obliged to regard as an ideal, although he himself may have very different opinions about the realism of this ideal. This may be shown by such small, in themselves perhaps insignificant, incidents like one of the largest daily papers



NORWEGIAN  
C.G. AS SEEN BY  
KAI ØVRE

G.O.'s  
DEMONSTRATING  
IN OSLO  
1961



referring to the organisation simply as the «WRI», without finding it necessary to explain what the abbreviation stands for; or the Minister of Foreign Affairs (one of the «wise men of NATO») accepting an invitation to write in our paper.

Speaking of our paper PAX, it must also be said that the WRI section is the only peace organisation which has been able to issue a paper which is being sold largely to non-members and which is quoted and commented upon in the daily press.

Considering the average age of our last national council, which is 38.5 and that of the editorial board, which is 25, it is understandable that differences of opinion may occur between the leaders of the organisation and some of the members who look back to the wonderful meetings with blazing speeches of the late 30's — a time when the official policy of the labour party was anti-militarist. Despite the fact that government policy after the war has been strongly supporting military defence, and that the population for 18 years has been influenced by the NATO-press, young people to-day are becoming conscientious objectors in a far greater number than before the war, and some of them even become members of the WRI. There are of course many reasons for this development, the main one certainly being that our situation to-day is far more acute and dangerous than ever before, and that therefore all kinds of peace activities have been intensified. The problem of survival for a future has become a vital question of immediate importance.

If our peace movement only had continued the pre-war activities, refusing to do military service, denouncing all that was bad and evil in a society which relied upon military defence, this movement most probably would have got nowhere and would certainly not have been supported by people of the post war generation. The demand to-day is for constructive alternatives, for new approaches to the old problems which never have been solved, but which will have to be solved now if we are not to perish together with them.

It would be empty vanity to pretend that our peace movement is offering our youth these alternatives. But we have been working to find them, and we carry on this search. Until now our efforts have been mostly channelled into the peace brigades, nonviolent resistance and peace research, linked with more modern means of

communication to the public. The time of public meetings with antiwar speeches seems to belong to the past. The printed word in a modern layout, cinema advertisements, pickets and vigils have taken over. Unfortunately most means of mass communication are expensive ones, so we do not reach far. Some encouraging experiences have nevertheless shown the value of public sale of peace literature and the sending out of press releases. Much more could certainly be done in this field, as well as in using the radio and television. But it all requires infinitely more initiative and energy than arranging a public meeting.

Finally it would probably be appropriate briefly to state the place of civil disobedience in this context. In Norway civil disobedience is mostly known on the theoretical level, there having been very few occasions for transferring theory into practice. The most widespread kind of civil disobedience is the resistance to civil defence service which is compulsory. A growing number of pacifists refuse this service, and such a refusal leads to fines and imprisonment. A person liable to civil defence service may be repeatedly prosecuted after a first refusal, and the fines grow with each new refusal. So far we only know cases of at the most four summons, and of fines up to £ 20, or imprisonment for 30 days.

According to Gandhian terminology this is only defensive civil disobedience. The offensive civil disobedience has, as far as I know, only been used a couple of times in anti-nuclear sit-downs outside embassies in Oslo, where no arrests were made. The question of offensive civil disobedience has often been discussed in the Action for Nuclear Disarmament, where the majority of the leadership was in favour of it. Until now one has avoided using civil disobedience, because there has been no important reason for it. The demonstrations have, on almost all occasions, been granted permission by the police, sometimes with compromises on non-essential points in the plans. The anti-nuclear movement therefore has preferred to demonstrate in cooperation with the police, instead of defying the law.

Soner or later, however, we will find ourselves in a situation which will require offensive civil disobedience, and no doubt a great majority of the WRI people, as well as a great part of the anti-nuclear movement, will then join in such demonstrations, probably here as in other countries led by the younger generation.

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- is published monthly in Norwegian by Folkereising og Mot Krig, the Norwegian Section of the WRI.
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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

11th TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

held at Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger, Norway  
26th - 30th July, 1963

16. 9. 63

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL11th TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

DRAFT AGENDA for comment and suggestions by Council  
Members and Sections

SATURDAY 27th July

- Morning Session
- (a) Address of Welcome by the Chairman
  - (b) Address of Welcome by the Hosts
  - (c) Introduction of Sections' Delegates and Observers
  - (d) Messages, etc.
  - (e) Election of Steering Committee, Drafting Committee and Tellers
  - (f) Opening Speech by the Chairman
  - (g) Report of the work done during the last 3 years - W.R.I. in the Changing World Context: Tony Smythe & Devi Prasad
  - (h) Distribution of Ballot Forms
  - (i) Presentation of Accounts: Hon. Treasurer

Afternoon Session

Relevance of Individual Refusal in the Nuclear Age

Suggested speakers: A.J. Muste, Archbishop Roberts, Bishop of Nagpur

Discussion in Groups

(Requests to be made for documents from Arlo Tatum, Stuart Morris and Niels Jonassen)

Evening Session

Reports of Discussion Groups on Relevance of Individual Refusal in the Nuclear Age

SUNDAY, 28th JulyMorning Session International Anti-War Movement

Suggested speakers: F.C. Hunnius and ?

(Requests to be made for documents from Tony Smythe, and ? )

Discussion in Groups

Afternoon Session

Reports of Discussion Groups on International Anti-War Movement

Relationship with the World Peace Council

Report of the Council Meeting with Observers of Peace Councils

Address by one of the Observers of Peace Council

Discussion in Groups

Evening Session

W.R.I. and its Future Organisational Trends

Suggested speakers ?

MONDAY, 29th July

Morning Session Reports of Discussion Groups on Relationship  
with the World Peace Council  
Pacifism in Africa and India  
Suggested speakers: Pierre Martin and Devi  
Prasad  
Discussion in Groups

BALLOT FORMS must be handed in by 12.30

Afternoon Session Reports of Discussion Groups on Pacifism in  
Africa and India  
Announcement of New Council

Evening Session Social

TUESDAY, 30th July

Morning Session Current Issues  
Speakers to be announced at a later date  
Discussion in Groups and Reports

Afternoon and  
Evening Sessions Plenary Session  
Adoption of Resolutions  
Conference Statement  
Chairman's Closing address

WEDNESDAY, 31st July

Excursion and Council Meeting

ED 718-17-101

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

MINUTES OF 11TH TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

held at Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger, Norway

26th - 30th July, 1963 16. 9. 63

SATURDAY, 27th July, 1963

Chairman: Harold Bing

Diderich Lund, Chairman of Folkereising Mot Krig, welcomed the participants of the Conference on behalf of the Norwegian Section. Harold Bing, in his opening speech, welcomed the delegates and visitors on behalf of the International, and particularly Dr. Tomko and Mr. Trepczynski who attended on behalf of the Czechoslovak and Polish Peace Committees as Observers.

After stating the aims of the Conference: (1) clarification of our basic principles and their implications and (2) formulation of plans for future work, he reviewed the world situation in relation to which we must operate if our work is to be effective. He said that there had been little outward improvement in the world situation since our meeting at Gandhigram in 1960. During these years we had passed through several major international crises but slow progress was to be expected because war was an ancient institution deeply rooted in human society while the peace movement was relatively new.

In the world of to-day rapid changes were taking place:

1. White political domination was coming to an end;
2. The division between industrialised and non-industrialised countries was breaking down;
3. Literacy and education was being extended, and
4. The technical revolution was making its effect felt.

All these would involve radical changes in the status quo which would be resisted by those enjoying privileges under the present system and by tradition. They would try to resist the change even by violence. Under such circumstances our job was to convince people and governments that non-violent methods for bringing about change were valid and effective.

The growing activities of the peace movement during the past three years and its internationalisation should encourage us and point the way forward. There was already some evidence of a thaw in the cold war which should give us greater opportunities, especially in developing East/West relations in the peace movement.

The Chairman appreciated the preparatory work done for the Conference by the F.M.K., the excellent arrangements at the School, and the work of the contributors of documents, the W.R.I. Secretariat and office staff in preparing the background material for discussion. He felt that the Conference memoranda would be useful for study purposes in future.

Greetings and Messages:

Greetings and messages were received from many friends and organisations in many countries.

Introductions:

The Chairman introduced the participants. Delegates from the following member organisations were present: Federal Pacifist Council (Australia); Internationale des Résistants à la Guerre (Belgium); Aldrig Mere Krig (Denmark); Irish Pacifist Movement (Eire); Finnish Section; Ligue d'Action Pacifiste (France); Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft, Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner and Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer (West Germany); Peace Pledge Union (Gt. Britain);

Israeli Section; Folkereising Mot Krig (Norway); Svenska Världsfredsmissionen (Sweden); Swiss Association of War Resisters; War Resisters' League (U.S.A.). "Peace News" (Gt. Britain and "La Voie de la Paix" (France).

Mention was made of G. Anthony Bishop, Banwarilal Choudhri, Heinz Kraschutzki and Stuart Morris, who had decided not to stand for re-election to the Council and also could not attend the Conference. The Chairman expressed gratitude to them for their long service to the W.R.I. He also mentioned the absence of Bayard Rustin who was busy organising the non-violent Negro protest march on Washington.

Refusal of Visas to East German Observers:

The Conference regretted and strongly protested against the refusal of visas to Dr. Franz Loeser and Prof. Hans-Hinrich Jenssen, representatives of the Deutscher Friedensrat (East German Peace Committee) by the Norwegian Government. The following telegram of protest was sent to the Foreign Office in Oslo:

"The W.R.I. is anxious to extend the area of cooperation between members of all peace movements. For this reason the Peace Committees of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Poland were invited to send observers to its 11th Triennial Conference.

Learning that Professor Jenssen and Dr. Loeser of the Deutscher Friedensrat were refused visas by the Norwegian Government and being unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation for the decision, this Conference records its concern at what it believes to be an unwarranted interference with the freedom of speech and access between all people of goodwill.

It requests the WRI Secretariat to continue to press for an explanation and an assurance that similar action will not be taken in the future.

With four days of the Conference remaining there is still time for the decision to be reversed and all present here earnestly request the Norwegian Government to take this course.

For the Conference

Harold F. Bing  
Chairman

Telegram 27.7.63 to the Foreign Office, Oslo.

Appointment of Tellers, Group Chairmen, Rapporteurs, Drafting and Steering Committees:

|                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| <u>Tellers:</u>            | Betty Taylor, Shirley Abraham, Deryck Siven, Gerhard Schmidt  |
| <u>Group Chairmen:</u>     | Group A - Gerry Hunnius; Group B - Stiv Jakobsson; Group C - Oddvar Halrynjo; Group D - Pierre Martin and Jean van Lierde; Group E - Alfred Knaus |
| <u>Rapporteurs:</u>        | Alf Knag, René Bovard, Joseph Abileah, Bertil Sanden, Hilda Morris  |
| <u>Drafting Committee:</u> | Pierre Martin, Hilda Morris, Stiv Jakobsson, Michael Randle, Bertil Sandén, Nils Petter Gleditsch   |
| <u>Steering Committee:</u> | Hagbard Jonassen, Niels Mathiesen, Joseph Abileah, Herbert Günneberg  |

The Chairman and Secretaries were ex-officio members of the Drafting and Steering Committees.

Secretaries' Report:

The Triennial report prepared by the Secretaries was printed in "War Resistance" and circulated in advance. In presenting it to the Conference Devi Prasad asked that the discussions of the Conference should result in giving a clear guidance to the Headquarters in regard to the application of our principles in present-day context, three years' programme of the movement and the work of the Headquarters and its relations with its Sections and other peace organisations.

Elaborating this Tony Smythe placed before the Conference specific questions such as:

1. Is the relationship between Headquarters and its Sections adequate?
2. Are the Sections in contact with each other and are they learning from each other's experience?
3. Are we satisfied with the progress of the World Peace Brigade and what should our relations be with the Brigade?
- cc 4. What could we do to build up the Confederation into an effective international movement?
5. What should be our relations with the World Council of Peace?
6. Are we satisfied with our ability to act in crisis situations?

A variety of opinions were expressed, especially on the question of the World Peace Brigade. It was felt that the Brigade could still provide the means for developing international non-violent action. It should, however, be completely re-organised.

In regard to the International it was felt that more exchange of information between different Sections and other movements was desirable. A suggestion for organising a meeting of German and French pacifists was put forward. This was important because of the changing relationships between the two countries on an official level. The desirability of closer contact and co-operation with the World Council of Peace, and its associates was also expressed.

Treasurer's Report

Joyce Funham Brown placed the financial picture of the International before the Conference and said that, although expenditure during the last year worked out very close to the estimate, the drop in income was as high as £1,000. Half of the decline in income may be due to the increase in the number of organisations to which the same people subscribed.

The solution lay in the degree of responsibility the Sections were prepared to take for raising funds, for without their whole-hearted support the International would cease to function. They should either allot a greater fixed proportion of national funds to the International or encourage individual members to make direct contributions. The Secretariat would continue to make every possible economy. The W.R.I. was reaching a wider public and it would be disastrous if at this stage the programme had to be cut for want of finance.

The scope of the Relief Fund should be enlarged to provide help for C.O's who wished to do constructive service in developing countries.

Constitution and Rules:

The Chairman informed the Conference that the Council had discussed the validity of certain nominations to the Council which were on the ballot papers. In one case the difficulty was due to two possible interpretations of Rule 5. To clarify this the Council recommended an amendment to the Rules to make clear that a candidate must be a member at the time of nomination. After some discussion the Conference accepted the proposed amendment by the required two-thirds majority. Rule 5 therefore now reads:

5. All candidates for election to the Council must be members of the W.R.I. at the time of nomination and 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.

The Chairman then announced that Abbé Pierre was ineligible for election because he was not a member of the movement, this information having only recently been received from the French Section, and that Bertil Svahnström was ineligible as he was not a member at the time of nomination.

#### Relevance of Individual Refusal in the Nuclear Age

Danilo Dolci in his speech entitled "Reflections on Conscientious Objection, Groups and Social Planning", which was circulated in advance, showed the importance of the individual conscience and its relation to the small group in which the individual lives. He pointed out the necessity of a unified planning of a particular quality which must be both fulfilling and corrective.

Herbert Günneberg in his speech "Individual Refusal in the Nuclear Age" emphasised that individual refusal ought to grow into political action. Touching upon several anti-war projects, especially in Germany, he pleaded for a wider international co-operation.

Discussion took place in groups and then in plenary session (with Hagbard Jonassen in the chair) on the basis of reports from groups.

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SUNDAY, 28th July, 1963

Chairman: Harold Bing

#### Earthquake in Yugoslavia

The Conference received the news of the disaster in Skopje with great sympathy and decided to send the following telegram to the Foreign Office in Belgrade:

"Conference of War Resisters' International meeting in Norway expresses sympathy with Yugoslav people in great disaster.

Harold Bing  
Chairman

"

The Conference also decided to make a collection and send it to Yugoslavia. The collection amounted to £29.

#### International Anti-War Movement

F.C.(Gerry) Hunnius presented his document, which had already been circulated, with a short speech. He strongly expressed the need for 'imaginative thinking', a comprehensive plan for peace movements, research work into peace action and organisational aspects of the movement. He asked the Conference to discuss how peace work could be 'professionalised' and the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace made an effective international movement. After a short discussion the Conference divided into groups. Findings of groups were discussed in plenary session.

### Relation with World Council of Peace

Hagbard Jonassen reported on the discussions the Council had had at its special meeting with the Observers from the Polish and Czechoslovak Peace Committees. The Council had recommended that the War Resisters' International adopt a policy of active co-operation with the W.C.P. whenever the opportunity occurred for an experimental period of one year through activities such as: (a) official contacts, (b) contacts between rank-and-file members of the movement, and (c) work camps, seminars and other such activities.

Hagbard told the Conference that discussions were carried on in a very friendly and useful way. The Council was happy to establish personal relations with the Polish and Czechoslovak Peace Committees through Mr. Trepczynski and Dr. Tomko.

Mr. Trepczynski spoke on behalf of Dr. Tomko and himself and gave his impressions of the discussions at the special meeting, along with the outline of approach of their Peace Committees. Several points of view were expressed from opposition to active co-operation to the full support of Council's recommendation in regard to relations with the W.C.P. and its associates. A large majority of delegates were of the opinion that, while fully understanding and clarifying the differences in approach to unilateralism, conscientious objection and non-violence, co-operation on specific projects was desirable.

### Social Evening:

Lars and Sonja Larssen of the Stavanger Peace Bureau had organised a most colourful folk dancing display and a programme of Norwegian music was played.

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MONDAY, 29th July, 1963

Chairman: Diderich Lund

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### Pacifism in Africa and India:

Africa: Pierre Martin had given a comprehensive account of problems in Africa in his document "African Evolution" which has been circulated in advance. Presenting it to the Conference he asked the W.R.I. and other bodies to make large scale efforts to spread the idea of non-violence in Africa. He emphasised that while the continent was united by anti-colonialism, a sentimental sense of African unity and a consciousness of under-development, it was subject to grave sociological tensions. He said that personal aid, along with education in non-violence, should be sent to African villages in the form of "Missionaries for Peace". He put forward a suggestion in regard to Portuguese Guinea and hoped that the Conference would support his project in Senegal. The Conference felt that the idea of sending C.O.'s to developing countries was useful and the W.R.I. should make special efforts in this direction.

Pierre further emphasised the importance of the recent Addis Abbaba Conference of African States, with its decisions in favour of the neutralisation and denuclearisation of Africa. It was important that African States should withdraw from all military alliances.

India: Devi Prasad presented a critique of the situation on Pacifism in India, explaining that pacifism as understood in the West had not appealed to Indians and other Asian peoples. He emphasised the need of mutual understanding between pacifist movements and the non-violence movement in India. He said we should try to find a synthesis between pacifist movements and the non-violent approaches so that a comprehensive

integrated world peace movement could be built up. He felt that unless pacifism developed into a force capable of giving answers to social, political and economic problems to those countries - in fact to the whole world - it could not be effective any more.

Discussions took place first in groups and then in plenary sessions after receiving reports from the groups.

In regard to work in Africa the general feeling was that the W.R.I. should try to avoid duplicating the work of other organisations. What was important was that our work should develop both aspects simultaneously - non-violent construction and non-violent resistance.

The Conference also recognised the limited importance of Peace Corps. It felt strongly that they should be international in character. The Council was asked to consider supporting work in developing countries.

In regard to the question of "Pacifism and Non-Violence", it was suggested that either the next Triennial Conference or a special world conference should be organised to go deeper into this issue. It was emphasised that a great amount of preparatory work should be undertaken before the proposed Conference. The need for training centres in non-violence was strongly felt. It was also suggested that fuller use should be made of existing centres such as the Communauté de l'Arche, for such training.

Results of Ballot for New Council: Chairman: Hagbard Jonassen

The result of the voting was as follows: Pierre Martin 69, Jean van Lierde and Arlo Tatum 66, Joseph Abileah 63, Bayard Rustin 59, Danilo Dolci 56, Hagbard Jonassen 47, Niels Mathiesen 43, Michael Randle 38, Hugh Brock 36, Narayan Desai 35, Bill Sutherland, Johan Galtung and Herbert Günneberg 34, Frank Dawtry 29, Hein van Wijk 38, Bertil Sandén 24, Radhakrishna and Herbert Stubenrauch 20, Donald Groom 19, Hilda Morris 17, Stanley Halliday 14, Renate Riemeck and Lanza del Vasto 13, Fred Whitney 12, A.C. Barrington and Alfred Knaus 10, Meir Rubinstein 2.

Harold Bing announced the new Council in the order given: Pierre Martin, Jean van Lierde, Arlo Tatum, Joseph Abileah, Bayard Rustin, Danilo Dolci, Hagbard Jonassen, Niels Mathiesen, Michael Randle, Hugh Brock and Narayan Desai. Three candidates had tied for the twelfth place: Johan Galtung, Herbert Günneberg and Bill Sutherland. In accordance with precedent, lots had been cast, as a result of which Bill Sutherland was elected. The new Council at a special session had decided to co-opt Herbert Günneberg and Johan Galtung to the Council.

W.R.I. and Future Organisational Trends

Discussions were held on the basis of Tony Smythe's and Pierre Martin's papers. Tony asked the Conference to discuss the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace and the W.R.I.'s relationship to it. He also asked the Conference whether, although the main job of Headquarters was to co-ordinate the activities of its Sections, in view of the great demand on the W.R.I., it should not have active relations with other movements and also be prepared to help and undertake initiatives in international activities.

The Conference agreed that the Secretariat at Lansbury House should be free to undertake and support such international projects as fell within the scope of the W.R.I. declaration. It was also decided that the W.R.I. should apply for affiliation to the Confederation. Sections were asked to consider direct affiliation, although it was also suggested that those Sections which were not in a financial position to affiliate should express their support of the Confederation through the W.R.I.

The Conference felt very strongly that relations between Headquarters and Sections should be strengthened. The significance of Easter Marches was recognised and Headquarters were asked to encourage and assist these. Greetings should be sent to the Hiroshima Day demonstrators in Athens.

The Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty:

The Conference felt that the campaign for unilateral and complete and general disarmament should be intensified, although the partial treaty could be a beginning of a break-through in the Cold War.



TUESDAY, 30th July, 1963

Chairman: Harold Bing

Current Issues:

As Michael Scott was not able to attend the Conference the situation in South Africa could not be discussed, therefore the Council had recommended that the German situation in connection with the proposed Emergency Laws be discussed.

Heinrich Werner, Klaus Vack and Gottfried Wandersleb spoke on different aspects of the problem. They thought that international pressure should be put on the German Government. It was emphasised that immediate action against these proposed laws was necessary. The Conference felt that the Bonn Parliament should know that there would be international action against these laws if they passed them. The W.R.I. Secretariat had already sensed the urgency of the matter and had sent out a memorandum to its Sections and News Release contacts, urging them to take action.

Harold Bing said that Headquarters would be prepared to distribute information to its Sections and other movements if our German Sections supplied the necessary material.

The Conference welcomed the Vancouver to Berlin walkers and recognised the importance of their project. It also supported the idea of the Berlin workshop proposed by them.

Arab/Israeli Relations and Pacifism in the Arab World:

Joseph Abileah described the tense situation that existed between the Arabs and Israelis. He said it was extremely difficult to "break through this rock" of hostile relationship. Joseph also touched upon the issue of pacifism in Arab Countries. As very little data was available and first-hand knowledge of the conditions was lacking among the delegates it was difficult to carry the discussions further than a few comments. The Conference felt that Sections should be asked to organise international meetings in their towns which Arab and Israeli nationals should be encouraged to attend. In this way some kind of personal understanding might be established. The Conference felt that there was a great need to go into this matter thoroughly.

Adoption of Conference Statement:

The Chairman placed the draft of the Statement prepared by the Drafting Committee before the Conference. Amendments were made after discussing each point separately. The Conference endorsed the Statement with an overwhelming majority and left it to the Chairman for final verbal revision.

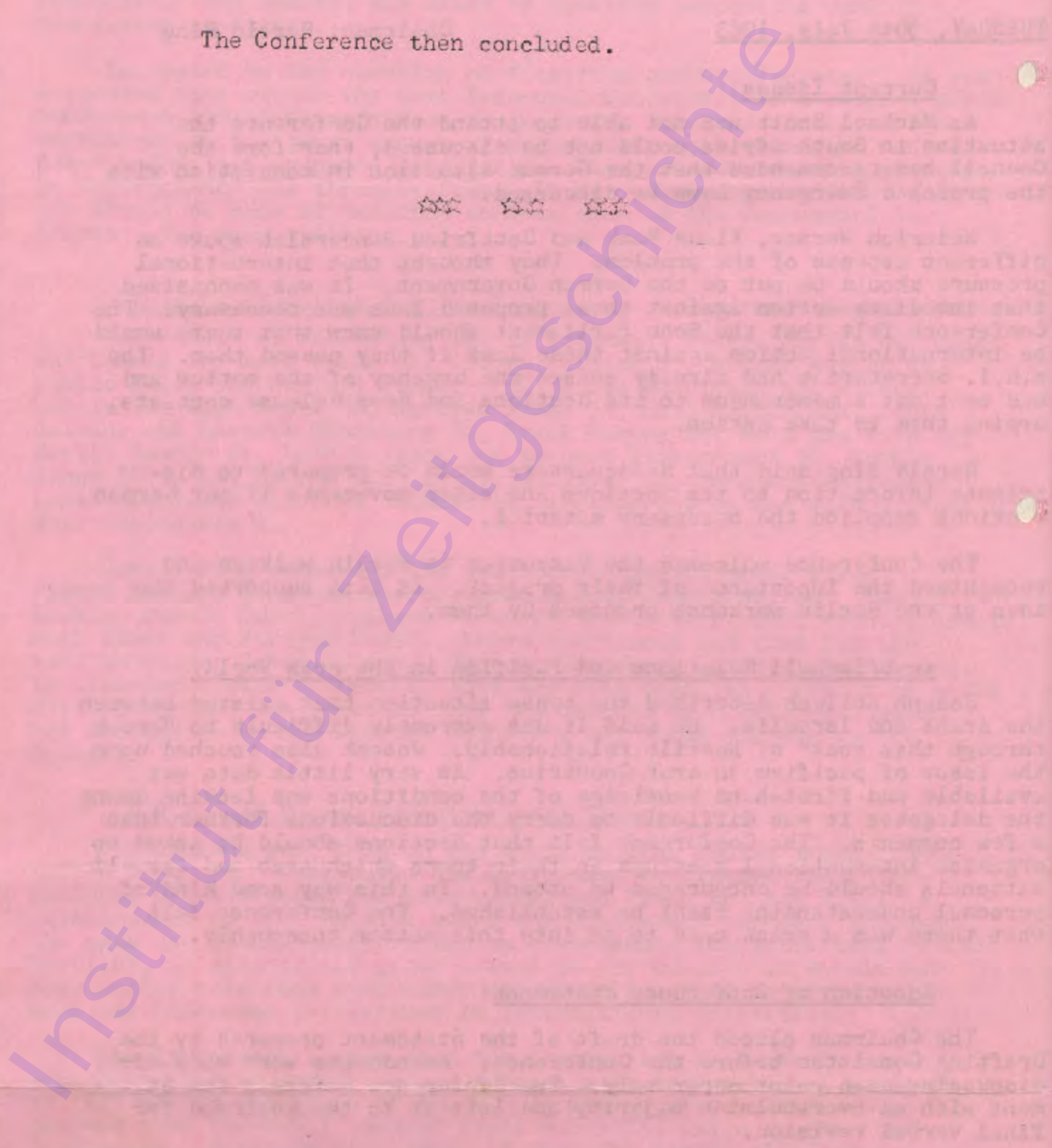
Chairman's Closing Remarks:

In his concluding remarks Harold Bing hoped that delegates would implement the decisions of the Conference in their own regions and would try to build up close co-operation between Sections and other peace movements. He thanked the delegates, observers and visitors for the useful and friendly way in which the Conference had been conducted. Thanks were expressed to the following persons and organisations: the F.M.K. and its members, Diderich Lund, Niels Mathiesen, Mr. & Mrs. Larssen, the authorities and staff of the Solborg Ungdomskole, the team of interpreters (particularly Alfred Tucker, Diana Fussell, René Bovard, Joseph Abileah, Alfred Knaus and Hilda Morris), the Peace Committees of Poland and Czechoslovakia, the staff of Lansbury House and the Chairman.

The Conference then concluded.

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

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NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

14th August, 1963

LETTER TO COUNCIL AND SECTIONS

Dear Friends,

A general note of satisfaction and enthusiasm was expressed by participants of the 11th Triennial Conference when it concluded on the evening of the 30th July. I am sure those of you who could not be present at the Solborg Ungdomsskole would agree after seeing the reports, especially the Conference Statement, that the Conference gave serious consideration to many of those questions that confront us to-day in regard to our policy and its application in the day to day work of the W.R.I. and its Sections. It has certainly clarified many issues and given positive guidance to the movement. This means that we have now heavier responsibilities than ever. It is no use making pious promises and big decisions unless an intensive effort is made to implement them. Let us therefore continue to work with greater enthusiasm.

I wish to pick out a few points from the Minutes of the Council Meetings and the Conference Statement for your special attention:

1. W.R.I. and the International Confederation for Disarmament & Peace

The Conference and the Council, while deciding that the W.R.I. should affiliate to the Confederation, recommended that Sections also should consider direct affiliation to the Confederation. The point is that if the Confederation is to function effectively in building up the international movement we expect from it, pacifist movements should actively participate in its activity and share the responsibility. It is therefore recommended, especially from the point of view of strengthening the influence of the W.R.I. in the Confederation, that Sections who have the necessary resources should join the Confederation as full members. However, it had been made clear that Sections which were not in a financial position to do so could participate in the activities of the Confederation through the W.R.I. Headquarters by informing us accordingly. They will then receive Confederation publications and circulars through us.

2. World Conference on Pacifism and Non-Violence

One of the major issues before the Conference was of relationships between Pacifism and Non-Violence. If the idea of the proposed World Conference on this topic is to materialise and something useful emerge from it, a great deal of preparatory work will have to be done. Sections can help to a great extent by collecting material on the subject and organising study groups and seminars. The findings of such group discussions would be very useful. Danilo Dolci has promised to write a detailed memorandum on this proposal and it will be circulated as soon as possible. We hope Sections will start giving serious consideration to this matter.

3. Peace Research

It was noted with satisfaction that work on peace research is gradually being taken up by individuals and institutes in several countries. Unfortunately the findings of such research work do not reach ordinary peace workers and people at large. In view of this it is desirable that our Sections take more and more interest in peace research and the dissemination of the useful information derived from it to the general public.

4. Letter from German Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic

As you know from the papers representatives of the German Peace Committee were refused visas by the Norwegian Government. The Conference strongly protested against this hostile attitude. The German Peace Committee sent a letter to the Conference with suggestions for the cessation of East/West tension. Council decided to circulate it to Sections for their information. If you have any comments on it please let me have them.

5. Arab/Israeli Relations

The Conference considered the question of Arab/Israeli relations. As there was insufficient time to go deeper into the issue the Conference asked Headquarters to communicate to Sections its concern on this problem:

"For the purpose of developing mutual understanding between Israelis and Arabs, the Conference recommends to all W.R.I. Sections the invitation of Israelis and Arabs to informal meetings, work camps, seminars, etc. organised by them.

The Conference requests the W.R.I. to seek to establish links between members of the Israeli Section and individuals in Arab countries concerned to bring about peace."

6. Finance


From the accounts you have received you will have noticed that, although our expenses have gone up, mainly due to increasing activities, contributions have gone down, and if we have to implement all that the Conference has suggested, we would need much greater financial help, particularly from Sections. I hope you will bear this in mind and make special efforts to increase your contributions.

7. Conference Minutes

The Conference Minutes and list of participants will be ready in a few weeks and will be sent to you in due course. The Report of the Conference will be included in the next issue of "War Resistance".

I hope you will find the Conference Statement stimulating and will also publicise it as much as you can.

Best wishes  
Yours sincerely

  
Devi Prasad  
Secretary

ENCLOSURES:

- ✓ 1. Minutes of Council Meeting No.4
- ✓ 2. Minutes of Council Meeting No.1
- ✓ 3. Conference Statement
- ✓ 4. Letter from Peace Council of the D.D.R.
- ✓ 5. Haggard Jonassen's report on the meeting of Council members with the Polish and Czech observers

COUNCIL MEETING NO. 4

held at Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger,  
Norway, on Friday, 26th July, 1963

PRESENT:

Harold F. Bing (Chairman), Hagbard Jonassen (Vice-Chairman), Joyce Runham Brown (Hon. Treasurer), Joseph Abileah, Danilo Dolci, Jean van Lierde, Pierre Martin, Michael Randle and Herbert Günneberg (representing the German movement for discussions with Peace Council observers for afternoon session). Interpreters: Alfred Tucker and Diana Fussell. Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe

The Chairman welcomed the Council members to their last meeting for the present term.

APOLOGIES: G. Anthony Bishop, Banwarilal Choudhri, Johan Galtung, Heinz Kraschutzki, Stuart Morris, Bayard Rustin, Bill Sutherland and Arlo Tatum. Bayard Rustin was absent because of commitment to the march on Washington.

The Chairman expressed gratitude for the long and dedicated service of four Council members who were not standing for re-election: Heinz Kraschutzki, Stuart Morris, Tony Bishop and Banwarilal Choudhri.

Council expressed its sympathy and concern to Hagbard Jonassen on hearing of his wife's serious illness.

APPROVAL OF AGENDA:

The Agenda was approved as circulated with certain additions.

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES:

Minutes of Council Meeting No. 3 (25th-29th July 1962 in London) were approved as circulated and signed by the Chairman.

2. MATTERS ARISING FROM COUNCIL MEETING NO. 31.10. Short Term Travelling Agents

It was agreed to keep this item on the agenda until such time as it could be implemented.

1.18. Charter Plane

The money still owing for the charter plane to India has been written off on the advice of the auditors, though hope of recovering it had not been entirely abandoned.

1.10. Japanese Anti A- and H-Bomb Council

Further correspondence with the Council had not indicated that there was any need to resume sending delegates to its conferences. It was believed that the Council had virtually ceased to exist after an ideological split.

2. Recognition of C.O's in France

Pierre Martin gave an account of the situation until the time that he left Paris to come to the Conference. He had attended the debate in the National Assembly and the question was still unresolved on his departure. News had now been received that the Bill had been passed by 90 votes to 30. It would not go before the Senate before becoming law. Seventeen amendments had been tabled and so

it was not known what final form the Bill would take. One hundred and twenty C.O's were in civilian service camps, theoretically under the direction of the S.C.I. In fact the military controlled them to the extent of censoring and at times depriving them of their mail. Thirty C.O's were still in prison. The original Bill before the Assembly was in some ways an improvement on the one put last year, and in some ways a retrogression. The definition of a C.O. had become more restricted: "religious or philosophical to take part in warfare." Before it had been "refusal to take part in organised violence." C.O's would appear before a seven-man commission under the presidency of a judge before call-up. There would be three representatives of the military and three civilians nominated by the Prime Minister for their interest in youth work.

### 3 (a) Study Conference 1963

Devi Prasad reported that the arrangements were going very well. Pierre Martin said that delegates from Portuguese Guinea would be attending and this would provide an admirable opportunity to influence in some small way the situation in Portuguese Guinea.

### 3 (b) Freundschaftsheim

The Freundschaftsheim Executive Committee had not sent any communication to the Headquarters. The situation there is such that further contact would be of little use.

### 5. Affiliation of Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft

Executive confirmed the affiliation of D.F.G. at its meeting on the 19th January after being satisfied that conditions of the constitution had been fulfilled, and this was approved by Council.

## 3. EXECUTIVE MINUTES:

Council members made no comment on these.

## 4. APPLICATIONS FOR AFFILIATION AND ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP:

### (a) Association of Swiss War Resisters

The Association of Swiss War Resisters, under the presidency of René Bovard and the vice-presidency of Ralph Hegnauer, was accepted as an affiliated Section after the Council had examined its statement of aims and principles which were fully in accord with the requirements of the W.R.I. The Zurich group at present affiliated to the W.R.I. would become an autonomous group within the Swiss Association. The affiliation therefore would presumably lapse in favour of the Association.

### (b) Peacemakers (Britain)

In view of the present situation of this organisation Council decided not to accept the Peacemakers as an affiliated association.

### (c) Liberation (U.S.A.)

An approach had been made by the Editorial Board of Liberation to become an Associated Publication. Council agreed to give Executive authority to accept association when the application form had been received, providing it fulfilled the conditions laid down in the constitution.

## 5. FINANCE:

### (a) Audited Accounts 1962-63

Joyce Runham Brown introduced the discussion on the audited accounts which had been passed by the Executive Committee. A large donation of £1,800 had eased the situation with regard to the reserves, but cash in hand was still extremely limited. The expenditure had approximated to the estimates, but the income

from donations and the contributions of Sections had dropped by £1,000. In particular, income from Britain and the United States had dropped. Although recognising that the responsibility for finance should not fall entirely on these countries, Council asked the staff to take measures to improve the position, and also to concentrate on raising the income from Germany which had a great potential not yet realised. It was decided that the Treasurer should make a special appeal to the Conference and especially to the Sections to increase their contributions.

(b) Estimates for 1963-64

The estimated income was large when compared with the actual income for the last financial year, but an attempt would have to be made to reach this sum if the anticipated expenditure was to be covered. Printing bills would be particularly large because of the Triennial Conference.

(c) Current Statement

There was approximately £600 in the bank and bills amounting to £800.

(d) Relief Fund

Pierre Martin's suggestion, discussed under Item 9 for financing the sending of C.O's to work in developing countries, was approved by the Council. It was decided that the Fund need not be strictly confined to maintaining C.O's and their families, but should be made available for wider purposes at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

6. REVISION OF CONSTITUTION - PIERRE MARTIN'S MEMO

The Council examined and discussed the memorandum, but decided to make no further recommendations to the Conference beyond that in Item (d). Comments from Wim Jong (Holland) and Theodor Michaltscheff (W.Germany) were noted. It was recognised that in, for example, Scandinavian countries, regional associations could be very effective. Pierre stated his intention of putting forward a suggestion by the Editorial Board of La Voie de la Paix to the Conference that W.R.I. should sponsor a meeting between French and German pacifists, and that this meeting might lead later on to one between pacifists in the Common Market countries.

7. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION AND THE W.R.I.

This item was transferred to the Agenda of the first meeting of the new Council.

8. TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE:

(a) Agenda and Arrangements

Some modifications were made due to the fact that Michael Scott and Bayard Rustin would not be able to attend the Conference. Joseph Abileah would concern himself mainly with Arab/Israeli relations, and also under Current Issues the situation in Germany would be dealt with. Herbert Günneberg was asked to refer this matter to the German delegation. It was thought that the German situation was not sufficiently understood by members of the peace movement in other countries and that the German movement, if it were to make any impression, would need the active support of all Sections and the International.

Pierre Martin expressed the view that the high cost of the Conference to participating members had restricted attendance.

(b) Group Chairmen

In this and the following items various names were submitted by the staff and discussed. The following names went forward to

the Conference:

| <u>Discussion Groups</u> | <u>Chairman</u>                         | <u>Rapporteur</u> |
|--------------------------|---|-------------------|
| A                        | Gerry Hunnius                           | Alf Knag          |
| B                        | Stiv Jakobsson                          | René Bovard       |
| C                        | Oddvar Halrynjo                         | Joseph Abileah    |
| D                        | Pierre Martin<br>and<br>Jean van Lierde | Bertil Sanden     |
| E                        | Alfred Knaus                            | Hilda Morris      |

(c) Tellers

Betty Taylor, Shirley Abraham, Deryck Siven, Dr. Gerhard Schmidt

(d) Drafting Committee

Pierre Martin, Hilda Morris, Stiv Jakobsson, Michael Randle, Bertil Sanden, Nils Petter Gledditsch

(e) Steering Committee

Hagbard Jonassen, Niels Mathiesen, Joseph Abileah, Herbert Günneberg.

The Chairman and Secretaries would be ex-officio members of these committees.

(f) Secretaries' Triennial Report

Comments were reserved for the Conference.

9. COUNCIL ELECTIONS:

There was a long discussion on the problems raised by the nominations of Abbé Pierre and Bertil Svahnström. It had been definitely established that Abbé Pierre, although not available for personal confirmation, was not a member of the W.R.I. and was therefore ineligible for election. The case of Bertil Svahnström was more difficult because he had become a member between the time of his nomination and the closing date for nominations. Many serious and far-reaching issues were raised in this discussion and there was a clear difference of opinion within the Council. Finally it was agreed by a two-thirds majority to insert in the Rules the clarification that a candidate must be a member at the time of nomination.

10. PRESS CONFERENCE:

Names were agreed upon for the press conference in Stavanger.

11. REFUSAL OF ENTRY PERMITS TO OBSERVERS FROM EAST GERMANY:

It was agreed that an emergency resolution to be drafted by Tony Smythe should be put to the Conference at the first session.

12. MEETING WITH OBSERVERS FROM WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

An agenda for the meeting in the afternoon with the observers was agreed upon. The welcome and statement of W.R.I. policy by the Chairman would be followed by statements from both the observers. There would then be a general exchange of views, and then an examination of how to bring about increased co-operation through (a) official contacts, (b) between rank and file members of the movement, and (c) through work camps, seminars and other such activities.

It was decided to recommend to the Conference that the W.R.I. adopt a policy of active co-operation with the World Council of Peace whenever the opportunity offered for an experimental period of one year.

13. MOSCOW TEST BAN TALKS

This matter was referred to the meeting of the new Council.

14. DATE OF NEXT MEETING (first meeting of the new Council):

Wednesday, 31st July, at Solborg Ungdomskole, Stavanger, Norway.

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COUNCIL MEETING NO.1

held at Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger,  
Norway on Wednesday, 31st July, 1963

PRESENT: Harold F. Bing (Chairman), Joyce Runham Brown (Treasurer), Joseph Abileah, Hugh Brock, Danilo Dolci, Herbert Günneberg, Hagbard Jonassen, Jean van Lierde, Pierre Martin, Niels Mathiesen (part time), Michael Randle.  
Interpreters: Alfred Tucker and Diana Fussell.  
Staff: Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe.

The Chairman welcomed the new members.

APOLOGY: Bill Sutherland (by telephone from Geneva)

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES:

The Minutes of the fourth and last meeting of the old Council held on 26th July were submitted, and, after minor amendment, were approved as a correct record by those who had been present at that meeting. The Chairman was authorised to sign them.

2. RESULTS OF BALLOT FOR NEW COUNCIL AND CO-OPTIONS

The voting was as follows: Pierre Martin 69, Jean van Lierde and Arlo Tatum 66, Joseph Abileah 63, Bayard Rustin 59, Danilo Dolci 56, Hagbard Jonassen 47, Niels Mathiesen 43, Michael Randle 38, Hugh Brock 36, Narayan Desai 35, Bill Sutherland, Johan Galtung and Herbert Günneberg 34, Frank Dawtry 29, Hein van Wijk 28, Bertil Sandén 24, Radhakrishna and Herbert Stubenrauch 20, Donald Groom 19, Hilda Morris 17, Stanley Halliday 14, Renate Riemeck and Lanza del Vasto 13, Fred Whitney 12, A.C. Barrington and Alfred Knaus 10, Meir Rubenstein 2.

The Tellers were: Shirley Abraham, Gerhard Schmidt, Deryck Siven and Betty Taylor.

The Chairman reported that the following eleven were elected in the order given: Pierre Martin, Jean van Lierde, Arlo Tatum, Joseph Abileah, Bayard Rustin, Danilo Dolci, Hagbard Jonassen, Niels Mathiesen, Michael Randle, Hugh Brock, Narayan Desai.

Three candidates had tied for the twelfth place: Johan Galtung, Herbert Günneberg and Bill Sutherland. In accordance with precedent, lots had been cast as a result of which Bill Sutherland was elected. The Council decided to co-opt Johan Galtung and Herbert Günneberg.

3. ELECTION OF VICE-CHAIRMAN:

Danilo Dolci was elected as vice-chairman.

4. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

It was decided that the Executive Committee should consist of: Hugh Brock, Herbert Günneberg, Niels Mathiesen, Michael Randle and the Chairman and Treasurer. Council were reminded that all Council members are entitled to attend Executive Meetings if available.

5. FINANCE:

Consideration was given to various suggestions for raising funds which had been made during the Conference, e.g. a percentage grant of the income by Sections, special fund-raising by local groups, and an increase in individual subscriptions which it was suggested might be encouraged if direct membership with Headquarters could be made more generally available.

It was decided that a memorandum on the subject would be prepared by the Treasurer and Secretaries for submission to Council at an early date.

6. MEMBERSHIP:

The question of the relative value to the International of membership through Sections and direct membership was considered at length in the light of discussion which had taken place in the Conference. It was decided that this matter will have to be fully considered, probably at the next Council meeting, since it might involve changes in the Constitution. The Secretariat was asked to prepare at a convenient date, a memorandum on this subject for submission to Council and Sections.

7. RECOGNITION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION:

It was agreed that, in view of the French legislation, time was appropriate to make a further appeal for the inclusion in the European Convention of Human Rights, of the right of Conscientious Objection to military service.

Names were suggested of influential persons connected with the Council of Europe whose help might be sought. It was thought that at a later date it would be useful for the W.R.I. to have a standing panel of legal experts to advise on this matter.

8. WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE:

It was decided to write to the World Council of Peace and its associates, telling them of the relevant discussion and decisions of the Conference, as given in the Conference Statement, and inviting action on the lines suggested.

9. GERMAN PEACE COMMITTEE (German Democratic Republic):

Although the German Peace Committee had appointed two observers to the Conference, they had been unable to attend due to a refusal of visas by the Norwegian authorities. A protest had already been sent to the Norwegian Foreign Minister. The German Peace Committee, however, had sent a letter to the Conference with concrete suggestions for the relaxation of East-West tensions. It was agreed to circulate copies of this letter to Sections for their information. Council members were asked to send to the office their suggestions for a suitable reply.

10. DELHI-PEKING MARCH:

The Conference had suggested the desirability of strengthening the European representation on the March. For practical considerations, and in view of the present Chinese misunderstanding about the purpose of the March, the Council thought it inadvisable to send a direct W.R.I. representative. We should use our influence to explain to the Chinese authorities the real purpose of the March, and, if their attitude became more favourable, our Indian members on the March should be asked to represent the W.R.I. officially.

11. CONTACT WITH CHINA:

In view of the growing isolation of China and the consequent increase in international tension, the Council felt that every effort should be made both at International and Sectional levels, to make contact with Chinese governmental representatives and the China Peace Committee in order to further mutual understanding.

12. LETTER TO DANISH DOCKERS:

The Secretariat was instructed to communicate to the appropriate dockers' organisation the conference approval and support of the boycott of shipments from South Africa.

13. AFRICAN PROJECT:

Arising out of the Conference suggestion Pierre Martin and the Secretaries were asked to advise the Council as to the possibilities of a project in connection with Portuguese Guinea and/or Senegal after the Study Conference at Charbonnières, which would be attended by a leader of the liberation movement in Portuguese Guinea.

14. FRANCO-GERMAN PACIFIST MEETING

Note was taken of the negotiations already in hand for a joint meeting of representatives of French and German pacifist movements, and the Council undertook to give any practical assistance it could.

15. WORLD PEACE BRIGADE:

Conference had suggested the need for an investigation into the aims and working of the Brigade. It was reported that such an investigation had already been begun by the European Council of the Brigade, and a memorandum submitted to A.J. Muste. It was decided to await the outcome of these discussions before taking any further action.

16. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC:

It was noted that in the operation of conscription in the German Democratic Republic religious objectors were being exempted administratively. It was decided to write to the German Democratic Republic government urging that this practice should be widened to include conscientious objectors on other grounds. A copy of this letter should be sent to the German Peace Committee.

17. PEACE ORGANISATION STRUCTURES:

Arising from Conference suggestions on this subject, it was decided that while the W.R.I. would undertake responsibility for an enquiry into the structure and working of its own Sections, it was desirable that this should be accompanied by similar enquiries by other Peace movements. Tony Smythe was asked to raise this matter at the forthcoming meeting of the Continuing Committee of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, and report to the Executive, with a view to the appointment of a committee for this purpose.

18. PEACE RESEARCH:

It was noted that a considerable number of University and other organisations were engaged in Peace Research, but their findings were not available to the general peace movement. It was decided to urge the Confederation to take appropriate action for the dissemination of results of such research. The W.R.I. should co-operate as far as possible.

19. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE:

It was decided to apply for affiliation as recommended by the Conference and to write to Sections asking them to consider applying for direct affiliation.

20. FEDERAL PACIFIST COUNCIL OF AUSTRALIA:

An invitation was received to send a representative of Headquarters to visit the W.R.I. Sections in Australia. The Council warmly welcomed the invitation and undertook to keep it in mind with a view to its acceptance at the first practical opportunity.

21. SOUTH AMERICA:

Proposals which had been made for co-operation with the I.F.o.R. and the American F.o.R. in projects which they were respectively sponsoring, had not reached fruition. The Council hoped that the W.R.I. would co-operate if it proved possible. Devi Prasad would bear this in mind when attending the forthcoming meeting of the I.F.o.R. Council in Holland.

22. STUDY CONFERENCE 1964:

Council decided that negotiations should be begun immediately with a view to holding the 1964 Study Conference in Poland. The representative of the Polish Peace Committee had expressed his interest in and support for this idea.

23. REVIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE OF W.R.I. SECTIONS:

The Secretaries informed the Council that the situation in relation to many Sections was unsatisfactory. In some cases there was evidence that Sections had almost ceased to function, and in other cases no replies to letters had been received for a long time. It was agreed that the Secretaries should draw up a detailed report on the state of Sections with a view to consideration by the Council.

24. HISTORY OF THE WORLD PACIFIST MOVEMENT:

It was agreed that such a history was badly needed, and Pierre Martin offered to contact a post-graduate student he knew who was writing a thesis in this field, with a view to the possibility of her writing a fuller history.

25. CONFERENCE ON PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE:

The Council considered the recommendation of the Conference on this subject. Danilo Dolci made a number of practical suggestions and was asked to prepare a comprehensive memorandum for circulation among Council Members at an early date.

26. NEXT MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

It was decided that the first meeting of the new Executive Committee should be held in London during the week-end 5th-6th October 1963.

27. COUNCIL MEETING - 1964

It was provisionally decided that the next Council Meeting should be held from 24th-27th July, 1964 and preferably in West Germany, so that it could assist in some kind of activity related to the Franco-German Pacifist rapprochement mentioned in Minute No. 14.

Before adjournment of the meeting the Chairman thanked on behalf of the Council Alfred Tucker and Diana Fussel for their help with interpretation; the authorities and Staff of the Solborg Ungdomsskole and the Norwegian Section, Folkereising Mot Krig, and especially Niels Mathiesen, for the excellent arrangements made for the Conference and Council meetings.

*German to follow*  
↓  
*her 16.9.*

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

11th TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

held at Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger,  
Norway - 26th - 30th July, 1963

ED 718-17-111

CONFERENCE STATEMENT

The 11th Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International meeting at Stavanger, Norway, 26th-30th July, 1963, has re-examined the aims and functions of the International in present-day conditions.

X THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE

It affirms the fundamental importance and relevance of the individual conscience in the struggle against war in the nuclear age and for the purpose of bringing about social change. It therefore recommends continued efforts to increase the number of conscientious objectors to all forms of war and war-preparation, including civil defence; to secure legal recognition of conscientious objection in all countries; to obtain release of all those imprisoned for war resistance and to extend the area in which the individual conscience may express itself in opposition to war and in developing new forms of political and social life.

X PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE

Recognising the central importance for the future of the peace movement of the relationships between conscientious objection to war and the use of non-violence in bringing about social and economic change, the Conference urges that a comprehensive and searching study of this question be initiated in the following ways:

- (i) the next Triennial Conference and/or a special world conference to be devoted to this topic
- (ii) as preparatory work, smaller study conferences be held in different parts of the world
- (iii) Council should invite selected persons to submit their thoughts on this subject, this material to be compiled and made available to study conferences along with such other matter as may already be available
- (iv) efforts be made to bring together representatives of non-violent action groups, e.g. from the Southern States of the U.S.A. and from India, and those primarily concerned with the anti-war struggle. It is further recommended that one or two carefully selected representatives of pacifist groups in Europe be sent to participate in the Delhi-Peking march
- (v) Sections be encouraged to set up training centres and to hold seminars among their own members
- (vi) a fund be started for a mutual exchange of volunteers

X PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES:

The Conference recognises that the growth of international peace activities places additional demands and obligations on the W.R.I. and therefore recommends that the Secretariat be free to undertake and support international projects falling within the scope of the Declaration. Fullest possible consultation between the Secretariat, Executive, Council and Sections should continue. The first responsibility of the Secretariat is to co-ordinate the activities of Sections. It should also be ready to help other pacifist and non-violent action groups engaged in the struggle against social and political injustice and, at this particular time, against segregation, racial discrimination and apartheid.

✓ Easter Marches

Recognising the significance of the Easter Marches, the W.R.I. should encourage and aid these in every possible way and particularly in helping to increase their international character.

X Test Ban Treaty

The Conference welcomes the achievement of a partial Test Ban Treaty between the three major nuclear Powers as indicating a relaxation of tension and urges all other countries and, in the first place France and China, to adhere to it. It believes that this first step should be followed by the abolition of all atomic and conventional weapons if mankind is to be freed from the danger of war. It therefore urges an intensification of the campaign for complete and general disarmament but, since serious obstacles to simultaneous disarmament remain with the current framework of power politics, it continues to advocate unilateral disarmament both on moral grounds and as the best method of breaking the vicious circle of suspicion and mistrust. It would, however, welcome any unilateral measures of partial disarmament.

Dockers' Actions and South African Boycott

The Conference expresses its solidarity with the action of those Scandinavian dockers who have refused to handle cargoes from South Africa. It suggests that members can share responsibility for this action by contributing to strike funds.

The Conference urges members to support a general boycott of South Africa as called for by the conference at Addis Ababa. It also recognises the importance of industrial action against war, e.g., by the boycotting of arms shipments, and recommends members and Sections to further such action.

Vancouver to Berlin Walk

The Conference welcomes the Vancouver to Berlin walkers at the Conference and commends their example.

Athens Demonstration

The Conference takes note of the international demonstration to be held in Athens on Hiroshima Day (August 6th) and asks any W.R.I. members participating in this action to convey its greetings,

X German Situation and Franco-German Relations

The Conference realises the great dangers to democracy and civil rights inherent in the projected Emergency Laws now under consideration in the German Federal Republic and the grave difficulties they would create for the work of German war resisters. It recognises that they may also have serious repercussions on the political situation in Europe. It therefore urges all Sections to acquaint themselves with the facts and to consider what action they can take to support the German movement in its struggle against the passing of the Emergency Laws.

Sections should also be encouraged wherever possible to work for the relaxation of tension in Europe and the solution of the German problem through such measures as regional disarmament in Central Europe and the opening of negotiations between the two German States.

Council is asked to investigate the possibility of organising a meeting between pacifists in Germany and France with a view to increasing direct co-operation between them.

Work in Developing Countries

The Conference recommends that the W.R.I. undertake an investigation of the opportunities for its work in developing countries with a view to setting up at least one project in the next three years. The situation in Senegal, where a W.R.I. Council member is already serving, and in Portuguese Guinea should be specially explored.

In any such project there should be co-operation with other organisations and groups working in the same field.

THE WIDER PEACE MOVEMENT:

ED 718-17-112

International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace

The Conference recommends that the W.R.I. apply for membership of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace. This Confederation will co-ordinate at national and international level the work of peace organisations subscribing to its aims. These aims include general and complete disarmament and the non-military solution of all conflicts.

"The constituent organisations also agree, as a first step, to oppose actively:

1. The testing, manufacture, stock-piling and use of nuclear weapons by every country, their own included;
2. The maintenance of nuclear bases, whether on their own or other territory;
3. Membership of nuclear alliances;
4. The spread of nuclear weapons to any new powers or blocs".

(Statement of Aims of the Confederation)

In taking this step the Conference recognises the importance of co-operation among peace organisations and emphasises the need for a positive approach in such co-operation. At the same time it reaffirms the W.R.I.'s support for unilateral disarmament.

The Conference recommends W.R.I. Sections to consider direct affiliation to the Confederation.

World Council of Peace

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.

Regardless of the above considerations, it remains the aim of the W.R.I. to insist on the right of conscientious objection and on co-operation with any conscientious objectors and peace groups in all countries.

World Peace Brigade

In view of the difficulties which have confronted the World Peace Brigade in carrying out the tasks it has attempted, the Conference considers it desirable to have an investigation of its purpose, organisation and finance. If the Brigade is to continue, the Conference thinks it should be organised on the basis of local and national groupings which would be co-ordinated regionally and internationally. It commends for consideration the idea of contingents

of volunteers available to work for prolonged periods in areas of possible conflict and the setting up of training centres which might well be associated with pacifist communities such as those of l'Action Civique Non-Violente and the Communauté de l'Arche and with the Service Civil International.

Peace Corps, etc.

Recognising the importance of constructive work in the developing countries, the Conference is glad to note the increased activity in the field evidenced by the growth of governmental and non-governmental organisations. While some members question the value of government-sponsored peace corps, the Conference is in general agreement that all such work should be organised as far as possible on an international basis and with international teams and should seek to develop personal relations between the parties concerned.

It urges the recognition of such work as an alternative to military service for those willing so to accept it and asks the W.R.I. to encourage its members to engage in such work, while pointing out the necessity of their adequate moral and technical training.

RESEARCH

A. Peace Organisation Structure

The Conference recommends that the W.R.I. appoint a committee to study the most effective methods of organisation in peace work, basing its findings on material collected from Sections on the ways in which they are at present dealing with their organisational problems. Published material and questionnaires may be used to gather this material, one aim of which will be to increase the sense of identity between the International and individual members and Sections.

An approach should be made to the International Confederation with a view to carrying out similar enquiries by other organisations and the collation of the results.

B. Peace Research

In view of the need for a scientific study of the problems of peace, the Conference asks Sections to consider in what ways this may be promoted in their own countries, whether independently or under government auspices, and to take all possible steps to further such research. Sections should further undertake to collect and by all available means to disseminate and dramatise among the general population such findings as will further disarmament and promote peace. Co-operation with the International Confederation is recommended in the carrying out of these functions.

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

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Copy of translation of letter from the Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin, to the 11th Triennial Conference of the W.R.I. at Stavanger, Norway, dated 24th July, 1963

ED 718-17-113

Dear Friends,

As we were denied the entry permit we are unfortunately not able to discuss together with you problems important to us and many people. We regret this fact all the more as our representatives to your Conference would have been friends who have for many years been writing and working for understanding and peace. This is true of the philosopher and university lecturer Dr. Frank Loeser who, together with his parents, had to leave Nazi Germany and was an active supporter of the peace movement in Britain and the U.S., and it is true of the theologian and university professor Dr. Hans Hinrich Jenssen who has been an active member of the Christian circle of our Peace Council for many years.

These friends and we all are interested in discussions with War Resisters' International because we hope that an exchange of experience and opinions would help to overcome differences and promote understanding and co-operation between the different peace organizations. We feel that unity among all people working for understanding and peace is to-day more important than ever before. For this very reason also we helped in the preparations for and the carrying into effect of the Moscow World Congress for Disarmament and Peace last year and were particularly pleased about the fact that there the participants from the two German states and West Berlin agreed on a joint statement. In our contacts to other peace organizations we always try to put aside differences so as to facilitate agreement on common aims and methods to be applied against armament and war.

For more than thirteen years we have been demanding a nuclear arms stop and a test ban. We support the establishment of atom-free zones and, above all, general, complete and controlled disarmament. Belonging to a people whose political and economic rulers were mainly responsible both for the First and for the Second World War, we demand that Germany take decisive steps towards general disarmament and safeguarding peace.

After the numerous proposals (for finding ways and means of safeguarding peace and of coming to an understanding) were submitted by our parliament to the Government in Bonn and the G.D.R. government; to the Geneva Disarmament Conference and to the U.N. General Assembly, we welcome and support the immediately practicable measures Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, now proposed to the German Federal Republic and which serve to facilitate preparations for general and complete disarmament in both German states. They are:

- (a) Both German states renounce force and the threat of resorting to force against other states and against each other
- (b) Both German states agree upon an immediate armament stop
- (c) Both German states renounce all atomic armament, the production, use, stock-piling and acquisition of missiles, atomic, chemical and biological weapons
- (d) Both German states renounce participation in tests with such weapons in other countries
- (e) Both German states agree upon, if necessary in conjunction with other states, the immediate stoppage of stock-piling more foreign atomic weapons in Germany
- (f) Both German states put a stop to all war propaganda on their territory and all propaganda for territorial claims

- (g) Both German states oppose the increase in the number of atom powers

We are of the opinion that these are proposals that could be accepted by anyone sincerely desiring the maintenance of peace. They are a minimum programme and pave the way towards ensuring on the basis of international law that Germany will not again plunge the world into war. The conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states would be an effective guarantee in this direction. We are of the opinion that points at issue in international politics can only be solved by negotiations, never, however, with armed force. For this very reason the Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic and all who are here working for understanding and peace demand that the vestiges of the Second World War and all those forces be removed who in one part of Germany are again urging an armed solution of international controversies and therefore want to come into the possession of atomic weapons.

If our friends, Dr. Loeser and Dr. Jenssen were able to participate in the Stavanger discussions they would not only have brought up these problems but would also have voiced their opinion about problems which, following a conference in Oxford in January of this year, are now being discussed in many peace movements and also in the German Democratic Republic. We are in agreement with the general aims that were discussed at that conference. These general aims are not points of controversy among the different organizations of the peace movement. Differences have arisen in connection with certain definitions which could aggravate the differences among the peace organizations and create criteria that are alien to the nature of a peace movement.

Renowned members of War Resisters' International and members of other peace organizations, among them Professor Linus Pauling, who holds the Nobel Prize, Professor Bernal, President of the World Council of Peace, Mrs. Diana Collins, Mrs. Dora Russell and others warned of increasing the division and discontentment among the war resisters. We join in this warning and should like first of all to define the nature of a peace movement. Is its nature determined by its attitude toward one or another government? We are not of this opinion. A peace movement can in our opinion be recognised by its consistent activities for peace and its opposition against all those who obstruct understanding and refuse to negotiate with people holding different opinions, who want war and profit from armament.

Why should we fight the government of the German Democratic Republic when it again and again makes proposals for a policy of reason and goodwill, proposals for general disarmament and for the maintenance and protection of peace in Europe? Why should the people in Ghana working for peace fight their government which is advocating a world without the bomb? Should our friends in Poland oppose the establishment of an atom-free zone only because this proposal was made by the foreign minister of their government?

In West Germany, in Great Britain and in other countries there are obviously members of peace movements who are holding this view. They only consider such people consistent peace fighters who, on principle, oppose their and other governments. If in the near future a government would come to power in Great Britain which adopts a programme of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and of disarmament - would the CND movement oppose such a government? Most probably not. It would presumably support it and nobody could reproach the CND for having become a "committed" movement that no longer belongs to the community of peace organizations.

What object is there in introducing into the peace movement a differentiation between "uncommitted" and "committed" peace organizations as certain people did in Oxford. Such a differentiation will result in distrust and a split among the war resisters. Mrs. Dora Russell wrote in the "Tribune" of May 31st this year: "But if the object of peace movements is to make it possible for the two sides in the Cold War to live in friendly relations with one another, then

surely the first step should be for the two sides of the peace movement to get together . . . . . When I read in SANITY an article which advocated starting non-governmental peace movements in Communist countries 'by subversion if necessary', I really began to wonder if CND had become affiliated to the United States Central Intelligence Agency spy system."

Reading an article by Pat Arrowsmith in "Peace News" of May 3rd, 1963, headed "Letter from East Germany", one finds Mrs. Russell's assumption confirmed. In the form of a report about alleged experiences the article gives detailed instructions for subversive activities in the German Democratic Republic. This is choosing the descending path of defamation and the climate of cold war.

All who seriously want peace and understanding should dissociate themselves from such methods and consider the question how independent people can be who are making use of professional methods of sabotage.

In view of such intrigues and other manoeuvres aiming at division and confusion the Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic once again wants to emphasize that it is prepared to co-operate with all people and organizations advocating general disarmament and a policy of reason and goodwill, of understanding and peace.

In the peace movement headed by the World Council of Peace people of the most varied political and religious beliefs are represented. We also oppose tendencies in that movement which could weaken the peace struggle and, through dogmatic and sectarian conception, confuse the people and organizations working for general disarmament and peace. Patiently but consistently we are opposing the conception of our Chinese friends who declare that as long as there is capitalism there will always be war and that peaceful coexistence is an illusion. We feel that such conceptions must be contradicted in the interest of maintaining and safeguarding peace. One can have different opinions about different problems, but anything that could increase the danger of war must be avoided. There must be co-operation between all who want peace, and the struggle against the representatives of the arms race must become so effective that it will soon lead to arrangements about general disarmament and peace. In this spirit we once again want to declare our support for the message to all peoples of the world which was adopted in Moscow on July 14th, 1962, which reads:

"It is for the forces of peace to set an example towards bringing about better understanding and dissolving mistrust. To this task we believe our Congress has made a powerful contribution. Ways must be found, appropriate to every country and every organization, to continue this beginning. Passivity harms the cause of peace. On us all depends the dawn of the day when mankind will be liberated from the threat of nuclear death. We who want peace are many. If we all should act, and if all who act should act together in friendship, we could clear the road to our common aim, enduring peace."

Dear Friends,

From Berlin we are sending greeting to Stavanger. We wish your Conference best of success. All our best wishes to the friends of peace who are participating in your Conference.

(Sgd) W. Friedrich  
/Prof.Dr.Dr.h.c.Walter Friedrich/  
President

(Sgd) Heinz Willmann  
(Heinz Willmann/  
General Secretary

Peace Council of the  
German Democratic Republic

Special Council Meeting with Observers of the Polish and Czechoslovakian Peace Committees on Thursday afternoon, 26th July, 1963

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HARBARD JONASSEN'S REPORT TO THE CONFERENCE

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In continuation of the meeting which four members of the Council had in 1959 in East Berlin with representatives of the German Peace Committee, we had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Trepczynski from Poland and Dr. Tomko from Czechoslovakia as our guests at a meeting on 26th July.

Harold Bing gave a statement on the policy of the W.R.I., then our two guests spoke of the policies of their organisations.

This was followed by questions and discussions to find out points of differences and agreements. I found it of great importance when our Czechoslovakian friend said that one could work for peace in different ways and that nobody had the monopoly on the question of peace-making.

There was some discussion on topics such as general and unilateral disarmament and the value of individual resistance.

While we believed unilateral disarmament was of great importance as a real beginning and multilateral disarmament seemed difficult because of existing mutual distrust, our Polish and Czechoslovakian friends found unilateral disarmament to be too slow a way.

Several members of the Council expressed the opinion that though all governments say they want general disarmament it was very difficult to find out if a government really wanted it. Our guests said it was not so difficult when one studied the different proposals put forward for disarmament. We felt that even when a government was serious in its intentions it might take such political steps which lead the world in the wrong direction.

The meeting discussed the question of co-operation in specific projects. It was clear that we do not agree on some fundamental questions but we agreed that there were areas where we could co-operate with each other, particularly to create better understanding.

It was agreed that:

- (a) official contacts between our organisations were not only possible but something we would wish and work for by means of activities such as exchange of literature - papers, publications, etc.
- (b) We should try to bring together people from eastern and western countries in work camps, seminars, etc.

The Council also discussed with the Peace Committee representatives how these suggestions could be implemented.

Our Polish friend said that he found the Easter marches a splendid idea and thought it possible to arrange marches in Poland and invite people from outside to join.

The W.R.I. extended its invitation to the Polish and Czechoslovakian Peace Committees to send delegates to the Study Conference in France in August. We also mentioned the idea of holding the next W.R.I. Study

Conference (1964) in Poland and got a very positive response. Mr. Trepczynski indicated that it should be possible to arrange such a conference in co-operation with the Polish Peace Committee. The arrangement of an international Work Camp in Poland and Czechoslovakia also seems to be a possible form of bringing young people from East and West together.

As a result of our meeting I would say it had been of great value for us to get this personal contact with our two friends. Though our opinions differ on several points we felt that both sides were anxious to find ways and means to overcome mistrust and create better understanding.

We thanked Mr. Trepczynski and Mr. Tomko for coming and for taking part in our discussion in such a positive and friendly way.

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

Vertical watermark text: "Institut für Zeitgeschichte" (Institute for Contemporary History)

ED 718-17-116

K O N F E R E N Z - B E S C H L Ü S S E

~~D-i-e~~ Die 11. der alle drei Jahre stattfindenden Konferenzen der War Resisters' International in Stavanger, ~~wem~~ Norwegen, vom 26. bis 30. Juli 1963 hat erneut die Ziele und Funktionen der WRI unter dem Gesichtspunkt der gegenwärtigen Situation überprüft.

DIE BEDEUTUNG DES INDIVIDUELLEN BEWUSSTSEINS

Die grundsätzliche Wichtigkeit und Bedeutung des individuellen Bewußtseins wird im Kampf gegen den Krieg im nuklearen Zeitalter ebenso bejaht wie für den Zweck, eine soziale Veränderung herbeizuführen. Es empfiehlt sich deshalb, die Bemühungen fortzusetzen, die Zahl der Kriegsdienstverweigerer gegen alle Formen des Krieges und der Kriegsvorbereitung einschließlich der Zivilen Verteidigung zu erhöhen, die legale Anerkennung ~~aller~~-~~arten~~ der Kriegsdienstverweigerung in allen Ländern zu sichern, die Freilassung Aller aus diesen Gründen inhaftierten zu erreichen und den Bereich zu erweitern, in dem das individuelle Bewußtsein seine Gegnerschaft zum Krieg auszudrücken ~~in-der-Lage-ist~~ und ~~die-Entwicklung~~ neuer Formen des politischen und sozialen Lebens zu entwickeln in der Lage ist.

PAZIFISMUS UND GEWALTLOSIGKEIT

Der Zusammenhang zwischen Kriegsdienstverweigerung und Gewaltlosem Widerstand mit dem Ziel, eine soziale und wirtschaftliche Veränderung herbeizuführen, wird von zentraler Bedeutung für die Zukunft der Friedensbewegung sein. Deshalb dringt die Konferenz darauf, daß eine verständliche Untersuchung dieser Frage nach folgenden Gesichtspunkten eingeleitet ~~q~~ wird:

- 1) ~~Dieses-Thema-seil-auf-der~~ <sup>Die</sup> nächsten Dreijahreskonferenz und/oder ~~auf~~ einer besonderen-Konferenz-behandelt=<sup>+++</sup> ~~wären~~ Weltkonferenz soll diesem Thema gewidmet werden.

- 2) zur Vorbereitung sollen kleinere Studienkonferenzen in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt abgehalten werden.
- 3) Der WRI-Rat soll ausgewählte Personen einladen, ihre Gedanken zu diesem Thema vorzutragen. Das erarbeitete Material soll den Arbeitstagungen zur Verfügung gestellt werden, zusammen mit bereits verfügbaren anderen Unterlagen.
- 4) Man sollte versuchen, Vertreter aller Gruppen für Gewaltlose Aktionen zusammenzubringen, zum Beispiel aus den Südstaaten der USA und aus Indien, sowie die, die sich in erster Linie mit dem Kampf gegen den Krieg befassen. Weiterhin wird empfohlen, daß einer oder zwei sorgfältig ausgewählte Vertreter europäischer pazifistischer Gruppen zur Teilnahme am Delhi-Peking-Marsch entsandt werden.
- 5) Die Sektionen sollen aufgefordert werden, Schulungszentren einzurichten und mit ihren Mitgliedern Seminare abzuhalten.
- 6) Es soll ein Fonds eingerichtet werden, der es ermöglicht, Mitglieder der verschiedenen Organisationen auszutauschen.

#### PRAKTISCHE MASSNAHMEN:

Die Konferenz ist sich bewußt, daß das Anwachsen der internationalen Aktivität für den Frieden der WRI zusätzliche Forderungen und Verpflichtungen auferlegt. Sie ermächtigt daher das Sekretariat, internationale Projekte, die in den Rahmen dieser Erklärung fallen, zu planen und zu unterstützen. Eine möglichst enge Zusammenarbeit zwischen Sekretariat, WRI-Rat und Sektionen soll weiterhin bestehen. Die Hauptaufgabe des Sekretariats ~~liegt in~~ ist ~~die~~ es, die ~~der-Koordinations-der-einzelnen~~ Aktionen der Sektionen zu koordinieren. Es sollte auch in der Lage sein, anderen pazifistischen und gewaltlosen Aktionsgruppen, die ~~sich~~ gegen soziale und politische Ungerechtigkeit ~~und~~ kämpfen - und das heißt heute, gegen Rassentrennung, Rassendiskriminierung und Apartheidpolitik -, zu helfen.

## OSTERMÄRSCHÉ

Da die WRI die Bedeutung der Ostermärsche erkannt hat, wird sie diese auf jede mögliche Art fördern und unterstützen und besonders dazu beitragen, ihren internationalen Charakter zu verstärken.

## TESTSTOPABKOMMEN

Die Konferenz begrüßt den Abschluß eines teilweisen Teststopabkommens zwischen ~~den~~ den drei ~~Großmächten~~ großen Atommächten als ein Anzeichen nachlassender Spannung und fordert alle ~~Länder~~ anderen Länder, an erster Stelle Frankreich und China, auf, sich ihm anzuschließen. Sie glaubt, daß diesem ersten Schritt eine Vernichtung aller atomaren und konventionellen Waffen muß, wenn die Menschheit von der Gefahr des Krieges befreit werden soll. Deshalb dringt die Konferenz auf eine Verstärkung der Kampagne für vollkommene und allgemeine Abrüstung, befür~~chtet~~<sup>wortet</sup> jedoch angesichts der Schwierigkeiten der Verwirklichung einer gleichmäßigen allseitigen Abrüstung, die sich aus der verschiedenen machtpolitischen Struktur der einzelnen Länder ergeben, ~~aus-moralischen-wie-Gründen-~~ ~~wie-auch~~ auch eine einseitige Abrüstung, und zwar sowohl aus moralischen Gründen wie auch als die beste Art, den Todeskreis aus Mißtrauen und Verdächtigung zu brechen.

- + + + + + ./.. Hafentarbeiter-Aktion/Südafrika-Boykott  
 ./.. Vancouver-Berlin-Marsch-Befürwortung  
 ./.. Für Athen-Demonstration

## DIE DEUTSCHE LAGE UND DIE DEUTSCH-FRANZÖSISCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN

Die Konferenz ist sich der großen Gefahren für die Demokratie und die Grundrechte bewußt, die sich aus dem nun für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland geplanten Notstandsgesetz ergeben und erkennt besonders die sehr tiefgreifenden Schwierigkeiten, die dieses für die Arbeit der deutschen Kriegsdienst-

verweigerer bringen wird. Die Konferenz glaubt, daß dieses Gesetz auch ernste Rückwirkungen auf ~~das~~ <sup>die</sup> politische Situation in Europa ~~haben-würde~~ hätte. Deshalb werden alle Sektionen aufgefordert, sich mit den nötigen Fakten vertraut zu machen und sich zu überlegen, wie sie die deutsche Bewegung in ihrem Kampf gegen das Notstandsgesetz unterstützen können. Die Sektionen sollen weiterhin aufgefordert werden, alles ihnen mögliche für die Entspannung in Europa und die Lösung des deutschen Problems zu tun, zum Beispiel Maßnahmen ~~wke-wke-wke-wk~~ wie eine regionale Abrüstung in Mitteleuropa und die Aufnahme von Verhandlungen zwischen den beiden deutschen Staaten. Der WRI-Rat ist beauftragt, zu untersuchen, welche Möglichkeiten für ein Treffen französischer und deutscher Pazifisten bestehen, mit dem Ziel einer stärkeren direkten Zusammenarbeit.

#### ARBEIT IN ENTWICKLUNGSLÄNDERN

Die Konferenz empfiehlt, ~~das~~ daß die WRI untersucht, welche Möglichkeiten für ihre Arbeit in den Entwicklungsländern bestehen in der Absicht, wenigstens ein Projekt innerhalb der nächsten drei Jahre in Angriff zu nehmen. Besonders soll die Lage in Senegal, wo bereits ein WRI-Rat-Mitglied dient, und in Portugiesisch-Guinea untersucht werden. Bei jedem dieser Projekte sollten alle Organisationen, die auf demselben Gebiet tätig sind, zusammenarbeiten.

#### DIE SONSTIGE ARBEIT FÜR DEN FRIEDEN

##### Die "Internationale Konföderation für Abrüstung und Frieden"

Die Konferenz empfiehlt, daß die WRI sich um die Mitgliedschaft in der "Internationalen Konföderation für Abrüstung und Frieden" bemüht. Diese Konföderation wird alle nationalen und internationalen Bemühungen koordinieren, die ihre Ziele unterstützen

von Friedensorganisationen, die ihre Ziele unterschreiben, koordinieren. Diese Ziele beinhalten allgemeine und vollständige Abrüstung und die nicht-militärische Lösung aller Konflikte.

"Die Gründungsorganisationen kommen außerdem darin überein, als einen ersten Schritt gegen nachstehende Tatbestände aktiv vorzugehen:

- 1) Versuche, Herstellung, Lagerung und Verwendung von nuklearen Waffen durch irgend ein Land einschließlich dem eigenen;
- 2) die Unterhaltung von nuklearen Stützpunkten, gleichgültig, ob auf eigenem oder einem anderen Territorium;
- 3) Mitgliedschaft in nuklearen Bündnissystemen;
- 4) die Weitergabe von Atomwaffen an neue Länder oder Machtblöcke.

(Aus der Proklamation der Ziele der Konföderation.)

Dadurch, daß die Konferenz diesen Schritt unternimmt, erkennt sie die Wichtigkeit der Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Friedensorganisationen und unterstreicht die Notwendigkeit einer positiven Inangriffnahme einer solchen Zusammenarbeit. Gleichzeitig bringt sie nochmals die Versicherung der WRI zum Ausdruck, die Bemühungen um einseitige Abrüstung zu unterstützen. Die Konferenz empfiehlt den Sektionen, die direkte Angliederung an die Konföderation zu erwägen.

#### Weltfriedensrat

Die Konferenz erkennt, daß es grundsätzliche Differenzen in den Auffassungen über die Mittel und Wege der Friedensarbeit gibt zwischen der WRI und dem Weltfriedensrat, zum Beispiel in der Frage der persönlichen Gewissensentscheidung und der einseitigen Abrüstung. Die Konferenz hält es trotzdem für erstrebenswert, daß ein engerer Kontakt und ein besseres Verstehen zwischen den beiden Organisationen erwünscht ist, wo immer es sich ermöglichen läßt. Sie empfiehlt dem

WRI-Rat, dem Weltfriedensrat und seinen Mitgliedern vorzuschlagen:

- 1) Austausch von Literatur, Publikationen und Informationen,
- 2) Diskussionen und Konferenzen <sup>abzuhalten</sup> mit dem Zweck, die gemeinsamen Ansichten zu klären,
- 3) entsprechend den Ergebnissen von 2) gemeinsame Aktionen mit bestimmten Zielen unter klar definierten Bedingungen, <sup>zu veranstalten,</sup> zum Beispiel Befürwortung des Rapacki- und des Kekkonen-Planes, Entspannungszonen,
- 4) Organisation von Arbeitslagern und Bemühungen, Einzelpersonen und Gruppen aus kommunistischen und aus nichtkommunistischen Ländern zusammenzubringen.

Unabhängig von den oben angeführten Erwägungen bleibt es das Ziel der WRI, auf dem Recht der Weigerung aus Gewissensgründen zu bestehen, ebenso wie auf dem Recht der Zusammenarbeit mit <sup>allen</sup> Verweigerern aus Gewissensgründen und mit Friedensgruppen in allen Ländern.

#### Weltfriedensbrigade

Im Hinblick auf die ~~angesichts der~~ Schwierigkeiten, vor die sich die Weltfriedensbrigade bei der Bewältigung der vorgenommenen Aufgaben gestellt sieht, hält die Konferenz es für wünschenswert, eine Untersuchung ihres Zweckes, ihrer Organisation und ihrer Finanzierung vorzunehmen. Wenn die WFB weiterbestehen soll, so ist die Konferenz der Meinung, daß sie in lokalen und nationalen Gruppen organisiert wird, die dann regional und international zu koordinieren wären. Sie empfiehlt Prüfung der Möglichkeit, Kontingente von Freiwilligen aufzustellen, die für längere Zeit in Gebieten möglicher Konflikte ~~leben~~ arbeiten könnten, und ferner den Aufbau von Schulungszentren, die man sehr gut mit pazifistischen Gemeinschaften wie z.B. ~~Et~~ "L'Action Civique Non-Violente", "Communauté de L'Arche" und "Service Civil International" verbinden könnte.

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Friedenskorps usw.

In Anerkennung der Wichtigkeit konstruktiver Arbeit in den Entwicklungsländern vermerkt die Konferenz mit Freude die zunehmende Aktivität auf diesem Gebiet durch das Anwachsen von Regierungs- wie auch von privaten Organisationen. Während einige Mitglieder den Wert regierungsgeförderter Friedenskorps in Frage stellen, herrscht in der Konferenz doch im allgemeinen Übereinstimmung darüber, daß all diese Arbeit soweit wie möglich auf internationaler Basis ~~organisiert werden sollte~~ organisiert und mit internationalen Teams organisiert werden sollte und daß die persönlichen Beziehungen zwischen den einzelnen beteiligten Gruppen gefördert werden sollten. Die Konferenz unterstreicht die Bedeutung dieser Arbeit als eine Alternative zum Militärdienst für jene, die bereit sind, sie zu akzeptieren, und sie bittet die WRI, ihre Mitglieder zu solcher Arbeit anzuregen und gleichzeitig auf die Notwendigkeit ihrer moralischen und technischen Ausbildung hinzuweisen.

ANALYSEN

A) Struktur der Friedensorganisation

Die Konferenz empfiehlt der WRI, eine Kommission zum Studium der wirkungsvollsten Methoden zur Organisation der Friedensarbeit zu bilden, die ihre Untersuchungen auf Material stützt, zu dem alle Sektionen beigetragen haben. Auf der Suche nach Material wird die lose Verbindung der einzelnen Gruppen durch engen Kontakt miteinander zu einer internationalen Kette werden.

B) Friedensforschung

Im Hinblick auf ein wissenschaftliches Studium der Friedensprobleme bittet die Konferenz die Sektionen um Überlegungen, auf welche Art dieses Studium in ihren Ländern geleistet werden kann, entweder unabhängig oder unter Anleitung ihrer Regierung, und alle möglichen

Schritte zu unternehmen, diese Bemühungen zu fortzusetzen. Die Sektionen sollen sich sodann mit allen Mitteln bemühen, das gesammelte Material zu veröffentlichen und möglichst weit zu verbreiten, da dies <sup>eine</sup> wesentliche Hilfe im Kampf für Abrüstung und Frieden ist. ~~Bei der~~ <sup>Für die</sup> Bewältigung dieser Aufgaben wird ~~eine~~ die Zusammenarbeit mit der Internationalen Konföderation empfohlen.

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PROTOKOLL DER ELFTEN DREIJÄHRLICHEN KONFERENZ  
in Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger, Norwegen,  
vom 26. bis 30. Juli, 1963

24. 10. 63

Samstag, d. 27. Juli, 1963

Vorsitzender: Harold Bing

Diderich Lund, Vorsitzender der Folkereisning Mot Krig, bewillkommnete im Namen der norwegischen Sektion die Teilnehmer an der Konferenz. In seiner Eröffnungsrede bewillkommnete auch Harold Bing die Delegierten und die Gäste im Namen der Internationale, und besonders Dr. Tomko und Herrn Trepczynski, die als Beobachter für die tschechoslowakischen und polnischen Friedenskomitees teilnahmen.

Nachdem er die Ziele der Konferenz dargelegt hatte: (1) Klärung unserer grundlegenden Prinzipien und ihre Folgerungen, und (2) Formulierung von Plänen für künftige Arbeit, gab Harold Bing einen Überblick über die Weltlage, in der wir operieren müssen, wenn unsere Arbeit erfolgreich sein soll. Er sagte, die Weltlage habe sich seit dem Treffen 1960 in Gandhigram nur wenig gebessert; während dieser Jahre hätten wir einige grössere internationale Krisen überstanden. Da aber Krieg eine uralte, in der menschlichen Gesellschaft tiefverwurzelte Einrichtung sei, während die Friedensbewegung verhältnismässig neu sei, müsse man mit nur langsamem Fortschritt rechnen.

In der heutigen Welt fänden schnelle Veränderungen statt:

1. Die politische Herrschaft der weissen Rasse näherte sich ihrem Ende;
2. Die Trennung zwischen industriellen und nicht-industriellen Ländern sei am Zusammenbrechen;
3. Das Analphabetentum sei am Verschwinden;
4. Die Folgen der technischen Revolution machten sich bemerkbar.

Alle diese würden grundlegende Änderungen mit sich bringen, gegen die sich diejenigen, die unter dem herrschenden System und durch Tradition Privilegien besitzen, wehren würden, sogar mit Gewalt. Unter solchen Umständen sei es unsere Aufgabe Völker und Regierungen zu überzeugen, dass Änderungen durch gewaltlose Methoden durchgeführt werden können.

Die wachsende Tätigkeit und die Internationalisierung der Friedensbewegung in der letzten drei Jahren sollten uns ermutigen und den Weg vorwärts zeigen. Es gebe schon Zeichen eines Aufstauens im Kalten Krieg, das uns grössere Gelegenheiten geben sollte, besonders im Entwickeln von Ost-West Beziehungen in der Friedensbewegung.

Der Vorsitzende würdigte die vorbereitende Arbeit der F.M.K. für die Konferenz, die ausgezeichneten Einrichtungen in der Schule, die Arbeit deren, die Beiträge geliefert hatten, des W.R.I. Sekretariats und Europersonals, die das Grundmaterial für die Diskussionen vorbereitet hatten. Er meinte, die Konferenzmemoranden könnten für künftige Studien nützlich sein.

Grüsse und Botschaften:

Grüsse und Botschaften wurden von vielen Freunden und Organisationen in vielen Ländern erhalten.

Vorstellungen:

Der Vorsitzende stellte die Teilnehmer vor. Delegierte der folgenden Mitgliederorganisationen waren anwesend: Federal Pacifist Council (Australien); Internationale des Résistants à la Guerre (Belgien); Aldrig Mere Krig (Dänemark); Irish Pacifist Movement (Irland); die finnische Sektion; Ligue d'Action Pacifiste (Frankreich); Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft, Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner und Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer (Deutsche Bundesrepublik); Peace Pledge Union (Grossbritannien); die israelische Sektion; Folkereising Mot Krig (Norwegen); Svenska Världsfredsmissionen (Schweden); der schweizerische Verband der Kriegsdienstgegner; War Resisters' League (U.S.A.); "Peace News" (England); "La Voie de la Paix" (Frankreich).

Erwähnt wurden G. Anthony Bishop, Banwarilal Choudhri, Heinz Kraschutzki und Stuart Morris, die sich nicht mehr zur Wiederwahl zum Rat stellten und auch der Konferenz nicht beiwohnen konnten. Der Vorsitzende dankte ihnen für ihre lange Dienstleistung für die W.R.I. Er erwähnte auch die Abwesenheit von Bayard Rustin, der damit beschäftigt war den gewaltlosen Protestmarsch der Neger nach Washington zu organisieren.

Ablehnung von Visen für ostdeutsche Beobachter:

Die Konferenz bedauerte und protestierte scharf gegen die Ablehnung durch die norwegische Regierung von Visen für Herrn Dr. Franz Loeser und Herrn Prof. Hans-Hinrich Jenssen, Vertreter des Deutschen Friedensrates. Folgendes Protesttelegramm wurde ans Aussenamt in Oslo gesandt:

"Die W.R.I. bemüht sich, die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Mitgliedern aller Friedensbewegungen auf möglichst weite Gebiete auszudehnen. Aus diesem Grunde wurden die Friedenskomitees der Tschechoslowakei, der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Ungarns und Polens eingeladen, zu ihrer dreijährlichen Konferenz Beobachter zu senden. Nachdem die Konferenz erfahren hat, dass die norwegische Regierung Herrn Prof. Jenssen und Herrn Dr. Loeser vom Deutschen Friedensrat Visen verweigert und keine befriedigende Erklärung für diesen Entscheid gegeben hat, gibt sie ihrer Besorgnis Ausdruck über etwas, was sie für eine ungerechtfertigte Einschränkung der Rede- und Bewegungsfreiheit aller Menschen guten Willens ansieht.

Sie bittet das W.R.I. Sekretariat seine Bemühungen um eine Aufklärung fortzusetzen und eine Zusicherung zu fordern, dass eine ähnliche Massnahme in Zukunft nicht getroffen wird.

Da die Konferenz noch vier Tage dauert, kann der Entscheid noch aufgehoben werden, und alle hier anwesenden ersuchen die norwegische Regierung aufs ernsteste, diesen Schritt zu tun.

Im Namen der Konferenz

Harold F. Bing  
Vorsitzender "

Telegramm am 27.7.63 ans Aussenamt, Oslo.

Ernennung der Stimmzähler, Gruppenvorsitzenden, Bericht-  
erstatter, Antragbearbeitungs- und Verfahrensausschüsse.

Stimmzähler: Betty Taylor, Shirley Abraham, Deryck Siven, Gerhard Schmidt

Gruppenvorsitzende: Gruppe A - Gerry Hunnius; Gruppe B - Stiv Jakobsson; Gruppe C - Oddvar Halrynjo; Gruppe D - Pierre Martin and Jean van Lierde; Gruppe E - Alfred Knaus

Berichterstatter: Alf Knag, René Bovard, Joseph Abileah, Bertil Sandén, Hilda Morris

Erklärungsbearbeitungsausschuss: Pierre Martin, Hilda Morris, Stiv Jakobsson, Michael Randle, Bertil Sandén, Nils-Petter Gleditsch

Verfahrensausschuss: Haggard Jonassen, Niels Mathiesen, Joseph Abileah, Herbert Günneberg

Der Konferenzvorsitzende und die Sekretäre waren von Amtes wegen Mitglieder der Antragbearbeitungs- und Verfahrensausschüsse.

Bericht der Sekretäre:

Der von den Sekretären vorbereitete dreijährliche Bericht war in "War Resistance" gedruckt und im voraus verteilt worden. Als ihn Devi Prasad der Konferenz vortrug, bat er, dass die Diskussionen darauf hinauslaufen sollten, der Zentrale eine klare Richtschnur zu geben in Bezug auf die Anwendung unserer Grundsätze in der heutigen Situation, im dreijährigen Programm der Bewegung und in der Arbeit der Zentrale sowie in ihren Beziehungen zu den Sektionen und zu anderen Friedensorganisationen.

Dies weiterausführend legte Tony Smythe der Konferenz bestimmte Fragen vor:

1. Reichen die Beziehungen zwischen Zentrale und Sektionen aus?
2. Haben die Sektionen untereinander Kontakt und lernen sie gegenseitig von ihren Erfahrungen?
3. Sind wir mit dem Fortschritt der Weltfriedensbrigade zufrieden, und was sollte unser Verhältnis zur Brigade sein?
4. Was könnten wir tun, um den Internationalen Bund für Abrüstung und Frieden zu einer wirksamen internationalen Bewegung aufzubauen?
5. Was sollte unser Verhältnis zum Weltfriedensrat sein?

6. Sind wir zufrieden mit unserer Fähigkeit in Krisenzeiten zu handeln?

Verschiedene Meinungen wurden geäußert, besonders über die Frage der Weltfriedensbrigade. Man meinte, dass es noch möglich sei, dass die Brigade internationale gewaltlose Aktion entwickeln könnte. Sie sollte aber vollständig neu organisiert werden.

Was die W.R.I. anbetrifft, wäre mehr Kontakt zwischen den verschiedenen Sektionen und mit anderen Bewegungen wünschenswert. Es wurde vorgeschlagen eine Begegnung zwischen deutschen und französischen Pazifisten zu organisieren. Dies sei wichtig wegen der sich ändernden Beziehungen zwischen den Regierungen der beiden Länder. Mehr Kontakt und Zusammenarbeit mit dem Weltfriedensrat und assoziierten Organisationen seien auch wünschenswert.

#### Bericht der Schatzmeisterin

Joyce Runham Brown legte der Konferenz den Stand der Finanzen vor. Obwohl die Jahresausgaben dem Voranschlag entsprächen, sei das Einkommen um £1 000 gefallen. Die Hälfte dieses Defizits sei vielleicht auf die Zunahme in der Zahl der Organisationen zurückzuführen, die dieselben Einkommensquellen in Anspruch nehmen.

Eine Lösung dieses Problems sei nur darin zu finden, dass die Sektionen ein grösseres Verantwortlichkeitsgefühl für die Finanzen der W.R.I. empfänden, denn ohne ihre volle Unterstützung müsse die Tätigkeit der Internationale aufhören. Sie müssten entweder der W.R.I. einen grösseren Prozentsatz ihrer eignen Einkünfte zuweisen, oder ihre Mitglieder anregen, direkte Beiträge an die Internationale zu leisten. Das Sekretariat werde nach wie vor so sparsam wie nur möglich wirtschaften. Die W.R.I. mache mit weiteren Schichten Kontakt und es wäre eine Katastrophe, wenn ihre Programme jetzt wegen Geldmangels beschnitten werden müsse.

Der Hilfsfond sollte ausgedehnt werden, um Kriegsdienstverweigerer zu unterstützen, die in unterentwickelten Ländern Aufbauarbeit leisten wollten.

#### Statuten und Ausführungsbestimmungen

Der Vorsitzende sagte, der Internationale Rat habe gezweifelt, ob die Aufstellung gewisser Kandidaten auf den Stimmzetteln gültig sei. In einem Fall basierte der Zweifel auf der Möglichkeit von zweierlei Auslegungen des Paragr. 5. Um dies zu klären beantragte der Rat eine Verbesserung der Bestimmungen. Nach einiger Diskussion wurde der Verbesserungsantrag mit der notwendigen Zweidrittel-Mehrheit von der Konferenz angenommen. Parag. 5 heisst also jetzt:

Alle Ratskandidaten müssen zur Zeit ihrer Aufstellung Mitglieder der W.R.I. sein, und müssen durch eine Sektion oder durch 5 Mitglieder aufgestellt werden. Kandidatenaufstellungen müssen mindestens 90 Tage vor dem ersten Tag der Dreijährlichen Konferenz in die Hände des internationalen Sekretariats gelangen.

Der Vorsitzende erklärte dann, dass die Aufstellung des Abbé Pierre ungültig sei, da er, wie die französische Sektion erst kürzlich mitgeteilt habe, nicht Mitglied der Bewegung sei, und die des Bertil Svahnström auch, da er zur Zeit seiner Aufstellung nicht Mitglied war.

Sachdienlichkeit Individueller Verweigerung im Atomzeitalter

Danilo Dolci betonte in seiner Rede "Gedanken über Kriegsdienstverweigerung aus Gewissensgründen, Gruppen und eine neue soziale Ordnung", die vorher verteilt worden war, die Wichtigkeit des individuellen Gewissens und dessen Verhältnis zu der kleinen Gruppe, in der das Individuum lebt. Er zeigte die Notwendigkeit eines integrierten Planens auf, das sowohl das Individuum befriedigte als auch die soziale Ordnung verbesserte.

In seiner Rede "Individuelle Verweigerung im Atomzeitalter" betonte Herbert Günneberg, dass individuelle Verweigerung in politisches Handeln übergehen sollte. Er erwähnte mehrere Anti-Krieg Projekte, besonders in Deutschland, und befürwortete dringend umfassendere internationale Zusammenarbeit.

Die Diskussion fand erst in Gruppen statt und dann in Plenarsitzung (unter Vorsitz von Hagbard Jonassen) auf Grund der Gruppenberichte.

Sonntag, d. 28. Juli, 1963

Vorsitzender: Harold Bing

Erdbeben in Jugoslawien

Die Nachricht der Katastrophe in Skopje erhielt die Konferenz mit tiefer Sympathie und sandte folgendes Telegramm ans Aussenamt in Belgrad:

"In Norwegen tagende Konferenz der War Resisters' International ausdrückt Sympathie mit jugoslawischem Volk in grosser Katastrophe.  
Harold Bing, Vorsitzender".

Die Konferenz beschloss auch eine Sammlung aufzunehmen und den Ertrag (der sich auf £29 belief) nach Jugoslawien zu schicken.

Internationale Anti-Krieg Bewegung

In einer kurzen Rede legte F.C.(Gerry) Hunnius ein Memorandum vor, das er schon hat verteilen lassen. Er betonte die Notwendigkeit schöpferischen Denkens, eines umfassenden Plans für Friedensbewegungen, und einer Untersuchung der Möglichkeiten in den Sphären von Friedensaktionen und Organisation. Er forderte die Konferenz auf zu besprechen, wie Friedensarbeit "professionalisiert" und der Internationale Bund (Konföderation) für Abrüstung und Frieden zu einer wirkungsvollen internationalen Bewegung werden könnten. Nach kurzer Besprechung teilte sich die Konferenz in Diskussionsgruppen, deren Berichte nachher in einer Plenarsitzung besprochen wurden.

Verhältnis zum Weltfriedensrat

Hagbard Jonassen berichtete über die Diskussionen bei dem besonderen Treffen zwischen dem Rat und den Beobachtern von den polnischen und tschechoslowakischen Friedenskomitees. Der Rat habe empfohlen, dass die W.R.I. während einer Versuchsperiode von einem Jahr mit dem W.F.R. aktiv zusammenarbeiten sollte, wenn immer sich die Gelegenheit böte, z.B. (a) durch Fühlungnahme zwischen den beiderseitigen Zentralen, und (b) zwischen einzelnen Mitgliedern, (c) durch Arbeitslager, Seminare und dergleichen.

Hagbard sagte, die Diskussionen hätten in einer sehr freundlichen Atmosphäre stattgefunden und sich als nützlich erwiesen. Der Rat freue sich, dass ein persönliches Verhältnis zu den polnischen und tschechoslowakischen Friedenskomitees durch Herren Trepczynski und Tomko entstanden sei.

Herr Trepczynski sprach für sich und Dr. Tomko über ihre Eindrücke von den besonderen Diskussionen sowie über die Einstellung ihrer Friedenskomitees. In der Diskussion kamen verschiedene Meinungen zum Ausdruck, die sich von Opposition bis zu voller Bejahung der Vorschläge des Rats erstreckten. Die grosse Mehrheit der Delegierten, obwohl sie die abweichenden Einstellungen zu einseitiger Abrüstung, Kriegsdienstverweigerung und Gewaltlosigkeit voll begriffen, waren der Meinung, dass eine Zusammenarbeit an spezifischen Projekten wünschenswert sei.

### Geselliger Abend

Lars und Sonja Larssen vom Friedensbüro in Stavanger organisierten eine farbenfrohe Vorführung von Volkstänzen nebst einem Programm von norwegischer Musik.

Montag, d. 29 Juli, 1963

Vorsitzender: Diderich Lund

### Pazifismus in Afrika und Indien:

Afrika: In seinem Bericht "Afrikanische Evolution", die vorher verteilt worden war, hatte Pierre Martin eine umfassende Klärung der afrikanischen Probleme gegeben. Indem er ihn der Konferenz vorlegte, forderte er die W.R.I. und andere Organisationen auf, auf einer weiten Front zu versuchen, den Gedanken der Gewaltlosigkeit in Afrika zu verbreiten. Obwohl der Kontinent durch Anti-Kolonialismus, ein sentimentales Gefühl der Einheit, und das Bewusstsein der Unterentwicklung geeint sei, unterliege er ernststen soziologischen Spannungen. Man sollte persönliche Hilfe in die afrikanischen Dörfer schicken, in der Form von "Friedensmissionären." Er machte einen Vorschlag in Bezug auf Portugiesisch-Guinea und hoffte die Konferenz würde sein Senegal-Projekt unterstützen. Die Konferenz war der Meinung, dass es nützlich wäre, Kriegsdienstverweigerer in die Entwicklungsländer zu schicken und dass die W.R.I. sich besonders darum bemühen sollten.

Pierre betonte weiter die Wichtigkeit der kürzlich in Addis Abeba stattgefundenen Konferenz der afrikanischen Staaten und ihrer Beschlüsse zugunsten der Neutralisierung und Atomtrentwaffung von Afrika. Es sei auch wichtig, dass afrikanische Staaten sich allen militärischen Bündnissen entziehen sollten.

Indien: Devi Prasad trug eine Kritik der Situation des Pazifismus in Indien vor: der westliche Pazifismus habe bei den Indern und anderen asiatischen Völkern keinen Anklang gefunden. Von Nöten seien gegenseitiges Verständnis und eine Synthese zwischen den pazifistischen Bewegungen und der indischen Gewaltlosigkeitbewegung, damit eine integrierte Weltfriedensbewegung aufgebaut werden könnte. Wenn der Pazifismus nicht zu einer Macht werde, die die sozialen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Fragen in diesen Ländern - nein -, in der ganzen Welt - beantworten könne, so könne er keine Wirkung mehr haben.

Diskussionen fanden erst in Gruppen statt und dann, nachdem die Gruppen berichtet hatten, in Plenarsitzungen.

In Bezug auf Afrika war es die allgemeine Ansicht, dass die W.R.I. die Arbeit anderer Organisationen nicht verdoppeln sollte. Wichtig ist dass unsere Arbeit beide Gesichtspunkte gleichzeitig entwickeln sollte - gewaltloser Aufbau und gewaltloser Widerstand.

Die Konferenz erkannte auch die begrenzte Wichtigkeit der Friedens-Korps an. Sie war der entschiedenen Meinung, dass sie international sein sollten. Sie forderte den Rat auf, die Möglichkeit zu erwägen, Arbeit in den Entwicklungsländern zu unterstützen.

Auf die Frage "Pazifismus und Gewaltlosigkeit" sollte, so wurde vorgeschlagen, entweder die nächste dreijährliche Konferenz, oder eine besondere eigens dazu einberufene Weltkonferenz tiefer eingehen. Es wurde betont, dass viel Vorbereitung vor der vorgeschlagenen Konferenz nötig wäre. Zentren zur Ausbildung in Gewaltlosigkeit seien dringend notwendig. Dazu könnten schon bestehende Zentren, wie z.B. die Communauté de l'Arche, besser ausgenützt werden.

Resultat der Ratswahl:

Vors. Hagbard Jonassen

Das Wahlresultat war: Pierre Martin 69, Jean van Lierde und Arlo Tatum 66, Joseph Abileah 63, Bayard Rustin 59, Danilo Dolci 56, Hagbard Jonassen 47, Niels Mathiesen 43, Michael Randle 38, Hugh Brock 36, Narayan Desai 35, Bill Sutherland, Johan Galtung und Herbert Günneberg 34, Frank Dawtry 29, Hein van Wijk 28, Bertil Sandén 24, Radhakrishna und Herbert Stubenrauch 20, Donald Groom 19, Hilda Morris 17, Stanley Halliday 14, Renate Riemack und Lanza del Vasto 13, Fred Whitney 12, A.C. Barrington und Alfred Knaus 10, Meir Rubinstein 2.

Harold Bing gab die Namen der Mitglieder des neuen Rats wie folgt bekannt: Pierre Martin, Jean van Lierde, Arlo Tatum, Joseph Abileah, Bayard Rustin, Danilo Dolci, Hagbard Jonassen, Niels Mathiesen, Michael Randle, Hugh Brock and Narayan Desai. Für den zwölften Platz hatten drei Kandidaten die gleiche Stimmenzahl. Wie in früheren Fällen, sagte er, wären Lose gezogen worden, denzufolge Bill Sutherland als gewählt galt. In einer besonderen Sitzung hätte der Rat beschlossen, Herbert Günneberg und Johan Galtung als zusätzliche Ratsmitglieder hinzuzuwählen.

#### W.R.I. und Zukünftige Organisation

Die Diskussionen gingen von Tony Smythes und Pierre Martins Memoranden aus. Tony forderte die Konferenz auf, den Internationalen Bund für Abrüstung und Frieden und das Verhältnis der W.R.I. dazu zu diskutieren. Obwohl es die Hauptaufgabe der Zentrale sei, die Tätigkeit der Sektionen zu koordinieren, sollte sie nicht auch, fragte er, (da die W.R.I. in Anspruch genommen sei) zu anderen Bewegungen aktive Beziehungen unterhalten, und bereit sein, bei internationalen Aktionen zu helfen und Initiativen zu ergreifen?

Die Konferenz stimmte zu, dass das Sekretariat in Lansbury House die Freiheit haben sollte, internationale Projekte zu unternehmen oder unterstützen, wenn sie durch die W.R.I.-Grundsatzklärung gedeckt sind. Es wurde auch beschlossen, dass die W.R.I. bei dem Bund offizielle Assoziation (Affiliation) beantragen sollte. Sektionen sollten direkte Affiliation mit dem Bund erwägen, aber es wurde vorgeschlagen, dass diejenigen Sektionen, die finanziell nicht

imstande wären, diesen Schritt zu tun, ihre Unterstützung des Bundes durch die W.R.I. zum Ausdruck bringen sollten.

Die Konferenz war entschieden der Meinung, dass die Beziehungen zwischen Zentrale und Sektionen stärker sein sollten. Sie erkannte die Bedeutung der Ostermärsche und bat die Zentrale sie zu unterstützen. Grüße sollten an die Demonstrierenden am Hiroshima-Tag in Athen geschickt werden.

#### Der Moskauer Test-Stop-Vertrag

Dieses Teilabkommen kann nach Meinung der Konferenz der erste Schritt zur Durchbrechung des Teufelskreises des Kalten Krieges sein, aber die Konferenz empfahl die Intensivierung auch der Kampagne für vollständige allgemeine Abrüstung, sowie auch für einseitige (seitens eines einzigen Landes).

Dienstag, den 30. Juli

Vors. Harold Bing

#### Aktuelle Fragen

Da Michael Scott am Kommen verhindert war, konnte die Konferenz die Lage in Süd-Afrika nicht besprechen und deshalb hatte der Rat eine Diskussion der deutschen Lage im Zusammenhang mit den geplanten Notstandsgesetzen vorgesehen.

Heinrich Werner, Klaus Vack und Gottfried Wandersleb sprachen über verschiedene Seiten dieses Problems. Sofortige Schritte gegen diese Gesetzentwürfe seien dringend notwendig und sie forderten einen internationalen Druck auf die Bonner Regierung. Die Konferenz war darüber einig, dass man den Bundestag wissen lassen sollte, dass er, falls er diese Gesetze verabschiedete, internationale Schritte gegen sie zu erwarten hätte. Das W.R.I.-Sekretariat hatte die Dringlichkeit der Sache schon erkannt und an alle Sektionen und Presseinformationskontakte ein Memorandum ausgeschildt, in dem diese dringend ersuchte, Schritte zu unternehmen.

Harold Bing sagte, die Zentrale sei bereit, Sektionen und andere Bewegungen darüber zu informieren, wenn unsere deutschen Sektionen das nötige Material lieferten.

Die Konferenz bewillkommnete die Marschierer von Vancouver nach Berlin und erkannte die Wichtigkeit ihres Unternehmens an. Auch die Idee des von ihnen vorgeschlagenen Berliner Seminars (Workshop) fand den Beifall der Konferenz.

#### Araber/Israeli-Beziehungen und Pazifismus in der arabischen Welt:

Joseph Abileah beschrieb die gespannte Situation, die zwischen Arabern und Israelis herrscht. Er sagte, es sei äußerst schwierig, diesen "Fels feindlicher Beziehungen zu durchbrechen." Er berührte auch die Frage des Pazifismus in den arabischen Ländern. Da die Delegierten keine Kenntnisse der Verhältnisse hatten, war es schwer, die Diskussion über ein paar Bemerkungen hinaus weiterzuführen. Die Konferenz war der Meinung, dass den Sektionen nahegelegt werden solle, in ihren Städten internationale Treffen zu organisieren und Araber und Israelis dazu einzuladen. Auf diese Art könne vielleicht eine persönliche Verständigung entstehen. Die Konferenz war sich darüber klar, dass es sehr wichtig ist, diese Sache gründlich zu durchdenken.

Annahme der Konferenz-Erklärung

Der Vorsitzende legte den Entwurf der Erklärung, die von dem zuständigen Ausschuss vor der Konferenz vorbereitet worden war, vor. Nachdem jeder Punkt einzeln diskutiert worden war, wurden einige Änderungen gemacht und die Konferenz nahm die Erklärung mit einer überwältigenden Mehrheit an. Sie überliess dem Vorsitzenden die endgültige Fassung.

Schlusswort des Vorsitzenden

In seiner Schlussrede gab Harold Bing der Hoffnung Ausdruck, dass die Delegierten die Beschlüsse der Konferenz in ihren eignen Ländern ausführen und versuchen würden, enge Mitarbeit zwischen Sektionen und anderen Friedensbewegungen aufzubauen. Er dankte den Delegierten, Beobachtern und Gästen für ihre Hilfe und Freundlichkeit, die der Konferenz ihr Gepräge gegeben hätten.

Bedankt wurden auch die F.M.K. und ihre Mitglieder, Diderich Lund, Niels Mathiesen, Herr und Frau Larssen, die Behörde und Personal der Solborger Ungdomsskole, die Dolmetscher (namentlich Alfred Tucker, Diana Fussell, René Bovard, Joseph Abileah, Alfred Knaus und Hilda Morris), die Friedenskomitees Polens und der Tschechoslowakei, das Personal von Lansbury House und der Vorsitzende.

Die Konferenz wurde dann vertagt.

☆☆☆

# Ergebnisse von Stavanger

## Bericht von der WRI-Konferenz

von Klaus Vack

Wir berichteten bereits in unserer letzten Ausgabe von ZIVIL kurz über die dreijährliche Weltkonferenz der "War Resisters' International", die vom 26. - 30. Juli 1983 in Stavanger, Norwegen, stattfand. Im folgenden drucken wir die wichtigsten Beschlüsse der WRI-Konferenz in vollem Wortlaut ab.

Die Wahl erbrachte, daß der seitherige Vorsitzende Harold F. Bing, Großbritannien, wiedergewählt wurde. Für die Wahl des Internationalen Rates, der neben dem Vorsitzenden aus 12 Ratmitgliedern besteht, lagen 28 Vorschläge vor. Gewählt wurden: Pierre Martin-Dumeste (Senegal), Jean van Lierde (Belgien), Ario Tatum (USA), Joseph Abileah (Israel), Bayard Rustin (USA), Danilo Dolci (Italien), Håvard Jonassen (Dänemark), Niels Mathiesen (Norwegen), Michael Handie (Großbritannien), Hugh Brock, (Großbritannien), Narayan Dasai (Indien). Auf dem zwölften Platz lagen drei Kandidaten mit der gleichen Stimmzahl: Johan Galtung (Norwegen), Bill Sutherland (Ghana) und Herbert Günneberg (Bundesrepublik). Die Losentscheidung fiel auf Bill Sutherland.

Bei seiner ersten Zusammenkunft machte jedoch der neugewählte Rat von dem satzungsgemäßen Recht Gebrauch, weitere Ratmitglieder hinzuzuwählen. So wurden Johan Galtung und Herbert Günneberg als vollberechtigte Mitglieder in den Internationalen Rat aufgenommen.

Die deutsche Delegation war bei der WRI-Konferenz stark vertreten, da es in der Bundesrepublik 3 WRI-Bünde gibt: Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft; Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner; Verband der Kriegsdienstver-

Besondere Bedeutung kommt aus der Sicht der bisherigen politischen Haltung des VK der Erklärung zu, in der die WRI um die Mitgliedschaft bei der Internationalen Konföderation für Abrüstung und Frieden nachsucht. Der deutsche Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner ist bereits Mitglied der Konföderation; ebenfalls die ADF (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände) die auf einer gemeinsamen Sitzung Anfang dieses Jahres beschlossen wurde.

Im folgenden nun die wichtigsten Beschlüsse der WRI-Konferenz:

### Aktionen

Die Konferenz erkennt, daß das Anwachsen internationaler Friedens-Aktionen der WRI zusätzliche Anforderungen und Verpflichtungen auferlegt, und empfiehlt deshalb, dem Sekretariat freie Hand zu lassen für die Übernahme und Unterstützung internationaler Projekte, die in den Bereich der Grundsatzklärung fallen. Möglichst vollständige Beratung zwischen dem Sekretariat, dem Exekutiv-Ausschuß, dem Rat und den Sektionen sollte beibehalten werden. Das Sekretariat hat die erste Verantwortung, die Aktionen der einzelnen Sektionen zu koordinieren. Es sollte auch bereit sein, anderen pazifistischen und gewaltlosen Aktionsgruppen zu helfen, die zum Kampf gegen soziale und politische Ungerechtigkeit und, zu dieser besonderen Zeit, gegen Rassentrennung, Rassen-Ungleichheit und Apartheid verpflichtet sind.

### Ostermärsche

In Anerkennung der Bedeutung der Ostermärsche sollte die WRI, diese ermutigen und

konventionellen Waffen folgen muß, wenn die Menschheit von der Gefahr der Kriege befreit werden soll. Sie empfiehlt deshalb dringend eine Intensivierung der Kampagne für vollständige und allgemeine Abrüstung, aber da im gegenwärtigen Rahmen der Gewaltpolitik erste Hindernisse für gleichzeitige Abrüstung bestehen bleiben, verteidigt sie weiterhin die einseitige Abrüstung, einerseits aus moralischen Gründen, und andererseits als die beste Methode, den Teufelskreis von Argwohn und Mißtrauen zu durchbrechen. Sie würde jedoch auch jede einseitige Maßnahme einer teilweisen Abrüstung begrüßen.

Fortsetzung Seite 84

## Statt eines Rundschreibens

Diese Zeitschrift verdankt ihren Titel dem Denkvorgang eines ihrer Leser. Aus mehr als hundert zum Teil recht bolustigenden Vorschlägen hat dann der Bundesvorstand den Titel „ZIVIL“ ausgewählt.

Seit dieser Zeit ist der Bundesvorstand sicher, daß viele unentdeckte oder schon entdeckte Talente unter Kriegsdienstverweigerern oder sympathisierenden Freunden vorhanden sind. Kurz und gut, wir brauchen ein neues Plakat und falls Sie es noch nicht gemerkt haben, dies ist eine Ausschreibung zu einem entsprechenden Wettbewerb.

Hier nun die Einzelheiten:

Teilnehmen kann wer will, also auch Nichtmitglieder unseres Verbandes. Sollten Sie also einen künstlerischen Freund haben, so unterrichten Sie ihn bitte von unserer grandiosen Idee. Das Plakat soll ein Format von DIN A 1 haben.

Thema: „Ich bin stolz auf ihn, er ist Kriegsdienstverweigerer“. Nun, Sie schmunzeln, genau das sollen diejenigen, die wir mit unserem Plakat ansprechen wollen. Also diesmal keine Hiroshima-Totenkopf-Jesus-zerbricht-selbst-Gewehr-welnde Mutter-und-so-weiter-Motive!

Es soll ein Plakat sein (bunt oder zwei- bis dreifarbig) mit einem Mädchen nebst Jungling, der, wie Sie sicher schon gemerkt haben, eben jener Kriegsdienstverweigerer ist, auf den besagte Maid stolz ist.

Der Bundesvorstand wird preisrichterlich fungieren, wobei der Rechtsweg ausgeschlossen ist. Einsenden sollen Sie Ihre Entwürfe an die Verbandsgeschäftsstelle, Offenbach/Main, Postfach 648. Einsendeschluß ist der 1. 12. 83. Entwürfe, welche wir nicht verwenden, werden zurückgesandt. Für den Entwurf, der schließlich zum Plakat wird, erhält der Produzent ganze DM 200,- (Zweihundert) in bar.

So, nun an die Arbeit. Die Agit-prop-Abteilung von Bundeswehr und Volksarmee fordern wir auf, uns unsere Idee nicht zu stehlen und sich gefälligst selbst den Kopf zu zerbrechen.

Werner Böwing



Auf der WRI-Konferenz von links: Danilo Dolci - Italien; Dolmetscherin, Devi Prasad, Tony Smythe - WRI-Sekretäre

weigerer. Zur deutschen Frage nahmen in Kurzreferaten Pfarrer Wandersleb (DFG), Pfarrer Werner (IdK) und Klaus Vack (VK) Stellung. Eine Entschließung nimmt dann auch zur deutschen Frage Stellung.

Zu fast allen Erklärungen, die die WRI-Konferenz faßte, wurden Grundsatzreferate gehalten, die in Arbeitsgemeinschaften und im Plenum zur Diskussion standen. Die Konferenz war im großen und ganzen von einer guten und verständnisbereiten Zusammenarbeit gekennzeichnet.

unterstützen in jeder möglichen Weise, und besonders dadurch, daß sie hilft, deren internationalen Charakter zu verstärken.

### Test-Stop-Vertrag

Die Konferenz begrüßt die Vollendung eines teilweisen Test-Stop-Vertrages zwischen den drei großen nuklearen Mächten als ein Zeichen für das Nachlassen der Spannung, und bittet alle anderen Länder, und an erster Stelle Frankreich und China dringend, sich ihm anzuschließen. Sie glaubt, daß auf diesem ersten Schritt die Abschaffung aller atomaren und

zivil - Zeitschrift für Kriegsdienstverweigerer erscheint als Monatszeitschrift des Verbandes der Kriegsdienstverweigerer in der War Resisters' International e. V. (VK) im Verlag des Verbandes der Kriegsdienstverweigerer, 5050 Offenbach (Main), Waldstraße 99, Postfach 648, Telefon 68 37 64.

Redakteur und verantwortlich für den Inhalt: Herbert Stubenrauch, 5600 Wuppertal-Elberfeld, Ludwigsstraße 26, Telefon 45 17 60.

Redaktionsmitglieder: Werner Böwing, Klaus Vack. Ständige Mitarbeiter: „Pazifistische Dienste“, Dr. Wilhelm Udo, 3370 Sassen, Hornstraße 3; „Neues“, Klaus Vack, 6050 Offenbach (Main), Postfach 648; „Aktionen und Tatsachen“, Horst Meurer, 6000 Frankfurt (Main), Burgstraße 47. Die Spalte „Ich bin Alfons Schlickerrieder“ schreibt für uns Rudolf Rolfs. Druck: Graphische Werkstatt, Offenbach (Main), Schäferstraße 12. Bestellungen bei jeder Postanstalt und bei allen Gruppen des Verbandes der Kriegsdienstverweigerer. Preis des Postabonnements 6,- DM pro Vierteljahr zuzüglich Zustellgebühr. - Nachdruck erwünscht.

A.



zustimmen, auf nationaler und internationaler Ebene koordinieren. Diese Ziele schließen allgemeine und vollständige Abrüstung und die nichtmilitärische Lösung aller Konflikte ein.

„Die Mitgliedsorganisationen stimmen auch darin überein, als einen ersten Schritt, sich aktiv zu widersetzen:

1. den Versuchen, der Herstellung, Lagerung und der Anwendung von Kernwaffen in jedem Land, einschließlich ihres eigenen;
2. der Aufrechterhaltung von Kernwaffen-Stützpunkten, sei es auf eigenem oder fremden Gebiet;
3. der Mitgliedschaft in Kernwaffen-Bündnissen;
4. der Weitergabe von Kernwaffen an alle weiteren Mächte oder Blöcke.“

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.

**Weltfriedensrat**

Während die Konferenz anerkennt, daß es zwischen der W.R.I. und dem Weltfriedensrat grundlegende Unterschiede des Vorgehens in der Arbeit für den Frieden gibt, z. B. in der Frage der individuellen Verweigerung aus Gewissensgründen und der einseitigen Abrüstung, erwägt sie nichtsdestoweniger, daß enger Kontakt und Verständigung zwischen den beiden Organisationen, wo nur immer möglich, wünschenswert ist. Sie empfiehlt dem Rat, dem Weltfriedensrat und seinen Assoziierten vorzuschlagen:

1. Austausch von Literatur, Veröffentlichungen und Informationen,
2. Diskussionen und Konferenzen mit dem Ziel, die gemeinsamen Gesichtspunkte zu erklären,
3. Gemäß den Ergebnissen von 2, gemeinsame Aktionen mit bestimmten Zielen und unter klar abgegrenzten Bedingungen, z. B. Einreten für den Rapacki- und den Kokkonenplan und Disengagement-Zonen,
4. Organisation von Arbeitslagern, und Versuche, Einzelpersonen und Gruppen von kommunistischen und nichtkommunistischen Ländern zusammenzubringen.

Ungeachtet der obigen Erwägungen bleibt es das Ziel der W.R.I. auf dem Recht der Verweigerer aus Gewissensgründen und auf der Zusammenarbeit mit allen Verweigerern aus Gewissensgründen und Friedensgruppen in allen Ländern zu bestehen.

**WRI-Fortsetzung**

**Aktionen der Hafenarbeiter und Südafrika-Boykott**

Die Konferenz erklärt ihre Solidarität mit der Aktion jener Skandinavischen Hafenarbeiter, die sich geweigert haben, Schiffsloadungen aus Südafrika zu löschen. Sie gibt die Anregung, daß Mitglieder sich an der Verantwortung für diese Aktion beteiligen können, indem sie zu den Streik-Fonds finanziell beitragen.

Die Konferenz bittet die Mitglieder dringend, einen allgemeinen Boykott Südafrikas, wie er von der Konferenz in Addis Abeba gefordert wurde, zu unterstützen. Sie erkennt ebenfalls die Wichtigkeit industrieller Aktionen gegen den Krieg, z. B. durch den Boykott gegen Waffen-loadungen, und empfiehlt Mitgliedern und Sektionen weitere derartige Aktionen.

**Deutsche Situation und Französisch-Deutsche Beziehungen**

Die Konferenz erkennt die großen Gefahren für Demokratie und Menschenrechte, die den geplanten Notstandsgesetzen anhaften, welche gegenwärtig in der Bundesrepublik beraten worden, sie erkennt die ersten Schwierigkeiten, die diese Gesetze für die Arbeit der deutschen Kriegsdienstgegner entstehen lassen würden. Die Konferenz erkennt, daß diese Gesetze ebenso ernste Rückwirkungen auf die politische Situation in Europa haben können. Sie bittet alle Sektionen daher dringend, sich mit den Tatsachen vertraut zu machen und zu erwägen, was sie unternehmen können, um die deutsche Friedensbewegung in ihrem Kampf gegen die Verabschiedung der Notstandsgesetze zu unterstützen.

Die Sektionen sollten auch ermutigt werden, überall, wo es möglich ist, für die Entspannung in Europa zu arbeiten und für die Lösung des deutschen Problems durch Maßnahmen wie regionale Abrüstung in Mitteleuropa und die Eröffnung von Verhandlungen zwischen den beiden deutschen Staaten.

Der Rat wird gebeten, die Möglichkeit der Organisation eines Treffens zwischen Pazifisten in Deutschland und Frankreich, mit der Absicht einer Verstärkung der direkten Zusammenarbeit zwischen ihnen, zu untersuchen.

**Friedenscorps**

In Erkenntnis der Wichtigkeit konstruktiver Arbeit in den Entwicklungsländern ist die Konferenz erfreut, die vermehrte Aktivität auf diesem Gebiet festzustellen, die durch das Anwachsen von staatlichen und nicht-staatlichen Organisationen bewirkt wird. Während einige Mitglieder den Wert regierungsgeförderter Friedenscorps in Zweifel ziehen, herrscht bei der Konferenz allgemeine Übereinstimmung, daß alle derartigen Arbeiten so weit wie möglich auf einer internationalen Basis und mit internationalen Teams organisiert werden und dar-

auf ausgerichtet sein sollte, persönliche Beziehungen zwischen den Beteiligten zu entwickeln.

**B. Friedens-Forschung**

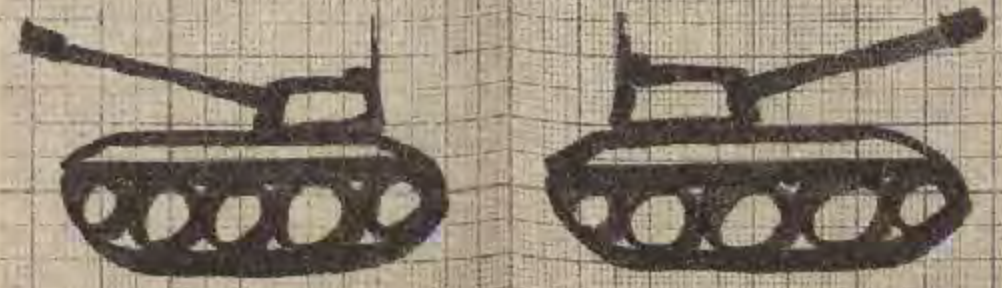
Im Hinblick auf die Notwendigkeit eines wissenschaftlichen Studiums der Probleme des Friedens bittet die Konferenz die Sektionen, zu überlegen, in welcher Weise dieses in ihren eigenen Ländern unterstützt werden kann, — ob unabhängig, oder unter dem Schutz der Regierung, — und alle möglichen Schritte zu unternehmen, um solche Forschung zu fördern. Weiterhin sollten die Sektionen es unternehmen, die Ergebnisse, die die Abrüstung fördern und den Frieden unterstützen werden, zu sammeln, und mit allen zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln unter der allgemeinen Bevölkerung zu verbreiten und zu dramatisieren. Zusammenarbeit mit der Internationalen Konföderation bei der Ausführung dieser Aufgaben wird empfohlen.

Bei dem Kommando „Panzer, Marsch!“ entsteht im Falle A beträchtlicher Schaden. Dasselbe Kommando bei B angewendet, bringt offensichtlichen Nutzen.

**Internationale Konföderation für Abrüstung und Frieden**

Die Konferenz empfiehlt, daß die W.R.I. um die Mitgliedschaft bei der Internationalen Konföderation für Abrüstung und Frieden nachsucht. Diese Konföderation wird die Arbeit von Friedens-Organisationen, die ihren Zielen

B.



## SOS für Solidaritätsfond

Liebe Freunde,

falls Sie um die Zeit des großen Marsches gegen Rassendiskriminierung nach Washington Zeitungen wie die FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, DIE WELT, STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG oder auch Ihre Heimatzeitung gelesen haben, falls Sie in eine der großen Schweizer Zeitungen oder der Presseorgane in USA und England geschaut haben, konnten Sie feststellen, daß unser Verband einen Solidaritätsfond „Freiheit und Gleichberechtigung aller Rassen“ gegründet hat. Übrigens: Sie konnten dies auch in ZIVIL August/September lesen in unserem Leitartikel „Jetzt oder nie!“. Die Presse-Agentur upi hat unseren Leitartikel als den deutschen Solidaritätsbeweis für die Negerbefreiung gewertet und eine Kurzmeldung über den ganzen Erdball geschickt.

So sind wir unversehens mit einem Vorschub ruhm bedacht worden, dessen wir uns erst würdig erweisen müssen. Bisher konnten wir einen Teilerfolg an unsere schwarzen Freunde in den Vereinigten Staaten überweisen. Dieser Betrag ist ein Beweis, der über seinen finanziellen Wert hinaus unseren Freunden die Kraft für ihren schweren Kampf geben wird. Aber: Nicht nur einige, sondern alle Mitglieder sollen einen Beitrag — und sei er auch noch so klein — für den Solidaritätsfond leisten.

Denken Sie bitte an unser Sonderkonto bei der Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft, 6050 Offenbach, des Verbandes der Kriegsdienstverweigerer, Konto-Nr. 740 430/101. Die Bank hat das Postscheckkonto 172 480 Frankfurt. Die Geldspenden sind mit dem Vermerk „Solidaritätsfond“ auszuzeichnen.

## Diktatorenfreund Jäger leugnet Terror in Angola

Der Weltsicherheitsrat der Vereinten Nationen hat Portugal angeklagt, den „Frieden und die Sicherheit in Afrika zu stören.“ Nach einem Untersuchungsbericht der Vereinten Nationen wurden in der portugiesischen Kolonie Angola Frauen und Kinder ermordet, ganze Dörfer dem Erdboden gleichgemacht; 120 000 Angolaner flüchteten aus ihrer Heimat.

Der Vizepräsident des Deutschen Bundestages, der sich kürzlich auf einer von der Atlantischen Gesellschaft organisierten Besuchsreise in Angola aufhielt, stellte fest, daß auf 88 Prozent der Fläche Angolas „Ruhe und Frieden“ herrsche. Hatte der Besuchsreisende die falsche Brille aufgesetzt?

Aber Portugal und Spanien scheinen es Dr. Jaeger besonders angehen zu haben. Diese Diktaturen sind offenbar für ihn das Muster, das er der Bundesrepublik zur Nachahmung empfehlen möchte. Die Hinrichtung politischer Gegner in Spanien mit Würgschrauben scheint ihn nicht zu stören — tritt er doch auch bei uns für die Todesstrafe ein. Oder sind es die sozialen Verhältnisse in Portugal, die Herr Jaeger so schätzt? Vier Fünftel aller Wohnungen in diesem Land haben weder Elektrizität noch Wasser. Ein hochqualifizierter Arbeiter muß sich mit dem königlichen Lohn von 250 bis 300 DM zufrieden geben, und die Arbeiter können sich keinen bezahlten Urlaub leisten.

## Rudolf Rolfs

Hier spricht Moritz Klein! Was fragen Sie? Ob ich das Knacken in der Leitung höre? Sie meinen, das sei der Verfassungsschutz... Nein, beruhigen Sie sich nur, der Bundesinnenminister hat ja auch gesagt, daß alles nicht so sei... Sie meinen, Strauß habe als Verteidigungsminister auch gelogen?... Aber bei einem Mann in so einer Stellung ist das doch etwas anderes. Er lügt doch nur für unser Vaterland!... Ob ich Vertrauen zur Regierung habe? Jedenfalls Respekt!... Warum? Sie machen sich aber Gedanken! Sie sind wohl auch schon vom Kommunismus infiziert, Sie Kritiker?...

Da war das Knacken wieder drin... Ob ich den Artikel 10 des Grundgesetzes kenne? Wofür soll ich denn noch alles Zeit haben? Ich muß den Chrom an meinem Wagen putzen, die Fernsehübertragung vom Fußballspiel will ich mir ansehen und meine Frau will unbedingt, daß wir uns eine Campingausrüstung kaufen, da heißt es Überstunden machen. Wo soll ich da die Zeit fürs Grundgesetz hernehmen?..... Wie bitte? Der Artikel heißt: Das Briefgeheimnis sowie das Post- und Fernmeldegeheimnis sind unverletzlich? Ja, ich habe das Knacken auch gehört... Und wenn das der Verfassungsschutz ist, so hört er sicherlich nur mit, um zu kontrollieren, ob das Fernmeldegeheimnis auch nicht verletzt wird.

Sie sagen, daß da welche dabei sind, die schon dabei waren als das vorige noch nicht vorbei war? Warum nicht? Die haben schließlich Erfahrungen! Sie meinen, dann könnte man die Gaulerter auch wieder als Ministerpräsidenten einsetzen. Aber, das ist doch unmöglich... Wieso? Na, weil die doch inzwischen zu alt sind!.....

Was sagen Sie? Sie wollen gegen die Übergriffe des Verfassungsschutzes demonstrieren? Was kriegen Sie denn dafür pro Stunde? Nichts? Wovon sprechen Sie?... Von staatsbürgerlichem Verantwortungsgefühl?... Bitte, das habe ich auch. Schließlich habe ich keine Wahl in den letzten Jahren ausgelassen. Naja, aber nur die letzte, da

war das Wetter zu schön und meine Frau hat so gedrängelt wegen unserer neuen Federballausrüstung, die sie unbedingt ausprobieren wollte.

Wie das nun ist mit mir wegen der Demonstration? Gibts denn da keine jüngeren Leute, die so etwas machen können? Wissen Sie, mir wäre es peinlich, wenn mich da jemand oppunieren sieht. Da kommt man zu leicht in den Geruch ein zu konsequenter Demokrat zu sein. Ja, eben hat es wieder in der Leitung geklickt... Ich glaube, ich mache doch nicht mit bei der Demonstration. Wenn es sich um Lohnforderungen handeln würde oder um Tierschutz, dann meinetwegen, doch aus politischen Sachen will ich mich raushalten. Sie merken ja, wie das bei mir in der Leitung immer knackt. Die haben mich sicherlich schon auf dem Kleier und wenn es wieder Lebensmittelkarten gibt bin ich der Dumme und werde benachteiligt....

Wer hat denn da eben ‚Heil Hitler!‘ gesagt?... Waren Sie das?... Hallo!... Haben Sie eben ‚Heil Hitler!‘ gesagt?... Nein?... Wer war es denn dann? Da muß was in der Leitung sein!... Aber der Herr Bundesinnenminister sagte doch... Schließlich hat der doch die Leitung!....

Ich habe doch nichts gesagt?... Ich war doch schon immer nicht dagegen... Bevor man mich aufhängt, hänge ich lieber ein. Lieber den Hörer in der Gabel als das Messer am Hals... Sollte wieder mal ein Umschwung kommen, rufen Sie mich bitte an... Keine Angst, die da Mithören sind ja dieselben.

Herr  
Moritz Klein

Es wird langsam Zeit, daß man nicht nur nach jenen fahndet, die sich Anregungen für ein anderes Deutschland in den bürokratischen Diktaturen östlicher Staaten suchen, sondern alle unter die Lupe nimmt, die glauben, uns für Diktaturen nach Portugals und Spaniens Muster reif machen zu können. Die Notstandsgesetze, für die sich Herr Jaeger ins Zeug legt, werden uns durch seine Äußerungen über Portugal und Spanien immer verdächtiger. Mo.

Aus „Metall“ 16/63

## Hinweis der Redaktion

Durch ein Versehen haben wir vergessen, den Namen des Graphikers zu erwähnen, der uns freundlicherweise die beiden Graphiken „Öffentliche Meinungsbildung“ und „Kirchentumspolitik“ überließ, die wir in der letzten Nummer von ZIVIL brachten: es ist der Graphiker August Schaller, Mannheim.



ED 718-17-13A

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

28 Park Avenue  
Enfield  
Middlesex  
ENGLAND

22nd February, 1963

Letter to Council and Sections

Dear Friend,

Enclosed herewith is a leaflet giving details of our Study Conference this summer. The theme of the Conference is NON-VIOLENCE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE. As this is a subject which needs deep study and a lot of advance preparation, we hope that those who wish to attend will book well in advance. We would like to see young, active people participating in this Conference, people who have knowledge of the problems of peace in their own countries and in the world at large. We hope you will help us to make this Conference as widely known as possible.

With best wishes,  
Yours sincerely,

Devi Prasad  
Secretary

Institut für ...

718-17-432

The most important part of the...  
attainment and peace...  
the causes of tensions and...  
the development of weapons...  
we see that millions of people...  
starvation or are starving to death...  
some necessary for us to work out a...  
which will take into...  
aspects of peace and...



WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
STUDY CONFERENCE  
NON-VIOLENCE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC  
CHANGE

at CHATEAU DE CHARBONNIERES

par Authon-du-Perche (Eure-et-Loir), FRANCE

Summer 1963

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

SECRET

Times 21st August (evening news) to 21st August  
(breakfast) 1963

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
The Conference...  
The Chairman...  
- quarterly organ  
of the War Resisters' International, 88 Park  
Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, ENGLAND

Annual subscription 5/-

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."

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

The more we go into the questions of disarmament and peace, the more we realise how deep the causes of tensions and unrest are rooted in Society. While fear and tension mount, due to the development of weapons of mass destruction, we see that millions of people are suffering from malnutrition or are starving to death. It has become necessary for us to work out a peace programme which will take into consideration all these aspects of peace making.

Disarmament is fundamental and needs to be emphasised. Peace movements everywhere have stressed this aspect and it is encouraging to note that most of them have realised that co-operation at an international level is essential for success. But one thing is certain: disarmament by itself is not the answer to the problem of war. There are a number of factors involved. For instance: what repercussions would there be on our economic, political, military and social life? Is it possible to create a peaceful world while retaining the social and economic values prevalent today or is it necessary to think of a new social order? What form will this new social order take? What will be its political structure? What about defence?

It is felt by many in the peace movement that the aim of disarmament and the idea of a new social order are concepts which must be integrated if a new pattern of social behaviour is to be established. They must be based on the use of non-violence as a method of changing political and economic structures.

It is true that an ideal Society often appears to be only a remote possibility, but if we want lasting peace we must continue to strive towards this objective with greater vision and energy.

PRACTICAL

DETAILS

Time: 24th August (evening meal) to 31st August (breakfast), 1963

Place: The Conference will be held in the beautiful Château de Charbonnières, within easy reach of the magnificent Chartres Cathedral, the Loir Valley, Chateaudun and Vendome. An excursion to places of interest will be organised.

As there are nurseries and other special facilities, Château Charbonnières is an excellent place for families.

Accommodation: This is limited to 65 people. Non-members of the W.R.I. are also welcome.

Languages: French, English and German

Cost: From 15-18NF (22/- - 26/- sterling) per day plus 22 NF (32/6) Conference fee for each individual. Children 2-7 years 9 NF (13/3), 7-14 13 NF (19/-), under 2 4 NF (6/-)

First class French cuisine.

A list of reading material, agenda and papers will follow in due course. THE SUBJECTS TO BE STUDIED ARE SUFFICIENTLY PROFOUND TO REQUIRE STUDY BEFORE-HAND.

Booking: There is a limit to the number of places available. Therefore apply NOW for a Conference Application Form from the W.R.I. Headquarters. Booking will be confirmed on receipt of the form and 22 NF (32/6) Conference fee, which is not returnable.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex,  
ENGLAND

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL : 11TH TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

to be held at

ED 718-17-123

SOLBORG UNGDOMSSKOLE, STAVANGER, NORWAY

Friday evening 26th July - Wednesday morning 31st July

APPLICATION FORM

NAME (Block Capitals) \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS (Block Capitals) \_\_\_\_\_

Please state if your membership of W.R.I. is held direct with Headquarters or through a Section (which Section) \_\_\_\_\_

If you are an Official Delegate give name of Section or associated body \_\_\_\_\_

If you are an Observer give name and address of Organisation \_\_\_\_\_

Do you intend to attend the entire Conference? YES/NO If not, please indicate which days you will be present:

Friday evening  Saturday  Sunday   
 Monday  Tuesday  Wednesday morning

LANGUAGES: Which languages do you use: English  French  German

If none of these, state language you understand & require interpreting for \_\_\_\_\_

Can you assist in:

- (a) Interpreting main speeches from \_\_\_\_\_ into \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) Interpreting for discussion groups from \_\_\_\_\_ into \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) Translating conference documents from \_\_\_\_\_ into \_\_\_\_\_

GENERAL:

Do you require:

- (a) Vegetarian meals or special provisions of any kind \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) A single room \_\_\_\_\_ (no guarantee)
- (c) Accommodation for Children YES/NO If so how many \_\_\_\_\_ What age(s) \_\_\_\_\_

If a Kindergarten can be organised will you make use of it? \_\_\_\_\_

Will you be camping at the site near the school? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, will you require meals at the school? \_\_\_\_\_

Are you interested in an excursion on 31st July? \_\_\_\_\_

COST: Adults 35s/- per day plus 25s/- Conference/Booking fee (non-returnable)

- (a) I enclose booking fee of 25s/- or its equivalent
- (b) I have sent the booking fee to \_\_\_\_\_ Financial Agent

Balance to be paid on arrival at the Conference or not later than midday, Monday 29th July

PLEASE RETURN THIS APPLICATION FORM TO:

War Resisters' International  
 88 Park Avenue  
 Enfield, Middx., England

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

Telegraphic Address:  
NOPRONTIER ENFIELD

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield  
Middlesex  
ENGLAND

ED 718-17-134

15 May, 1963

25.5.63 G

Dear Friend,

✓✓ Enclosed herewith you will find the Provisional Agenda for our Study Conference and a list of suggested reading material. The list should provide the background material for a study of the fundamental questions involved in the theme of the Conference.

Roughly speaking the Agenda is divided into four sections:

- a) analytical study of the present economic, social, political and military situation
- b) Satyagraha - non-violent direct action - as an instrument to bring about change in social and political relations
- c) non-violence at work. Study of case-histories of some experiments being carried out in different parts of the world
- d) future course of action by the peace movement on local and international levels. Role of W.R.I., World Peace Brigade, Confederation for Peace and Disarmament, ILCOP, etc.

We are requesting several friends to write background papers. As and when ready, they will be sent to you.

We hope you will come to the Conference fully prepared, so that the discussions become instructive and useful. The Conference should be regarded a success only if the participants go back to their homes afterwards with new ideas and hopes for finding non-violent solutions to local and international problems.

With best wishes,  
Yours sincerely,

*Devi Prasad*

Devi Prasad  
Secretary

NON-VIOLENCE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE

W.R.I. Study Conference, France, 1963

A short list of background study material

- Richard Gregg POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE; James Clarke, London, 1962
- Jaiprakash Narayan FROM SOCIALISM TO SARVODAYA; a Sarva Seva Sangh booklet
- Vinoba Bhave SWARAJ SASTRA; a Sarva Seva Sangh booklet
- Gora PARTY-LESS DEMOCRACY; Satyagraha Ashram, Raipur, M.P., India
- April Carter COMMON MARKET - A CHALLENGE TO UNILATERALISTS; a "Peace News" leaflet
- April Carter DIRECT ACTION; a "Peace News" leaflet
- \_\_\_\_\_ THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF DISARMAMENT; Economist Intelligence Unit, sponsored by the United World Trust, 224 pp.
- \_\_\_\_\_ DISARMAMENT - WHAT IT WOULD MEAN TO BRITAIN'S ECONOMY; a United World Trust leaflet
- \_\_\_\_\_ UNITED NATIONS SURVEY ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF DISARMAMENT
- Gandhi SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA; Navajivan Ahmedabad, India, 251 pp., 1950
- Thoreau ON THE DUTY OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE; a "Peace News" pamphlet
- Gene Sharp CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN A DEMOCRACY; an article in "Peace News" (Feb. 22nd, 1963)
- Joan V. Bondurant THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE; Princeton University, U.S.A., 269 pp., 1958
- Nicolas Walter NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE; a reprint from "Anarchy", published by Schools for Non-Violence

- Vinoba Bhave SHANTI SENA; Sarva Seva Sangh, 183 pp., 1961
- Stephen King-Hall COMMONSENSE IN DEFENCE; a King-Hall Service leaflet, 1960
- Bradford Little NATIONAL DEFENCE THROUGH NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE; Chicago, 69 pp., 1958
- Gandhi DEMOCRACY, REAL AND DECEPTIVE; a Navajivan booklet
- Vinoba Bhave BHOODAN YAGNA; a Navajivan booklet
- Danilo Dolci ACTION MUST COME FROM THE PEOPLE; an article in "Peace News" (September 21st, 1962)
- " " THE MEANING OF PEACE; an article in "Peace News" (September 28th, 1962)
- J.C. Kumarappa THE NON-VIOLENT ECONOMY AND WORLD PEACE; a Sarva Seva Sangh booklet
- F. Singleton & A. Topham WORKERS CONTROL IN YUGOSLAVIA; a Fabian Research pamphlet
- Rod Prince THE RESPONSIBLE ECONOMY; a review of WORKERS CONTROL IN YUGOSLAVIA in "Peace News", April 26th, 1963
- \_\_\_\_\_ REPORT OF THE STUDY TEAM TO YUGOSLAVIA; a Sarva Seva Sangh booklet
- \_\_\_\_\_ FACTORY FOR PEACE; an article in "Reconciliation" (May, 1963)

NOTE; The above books and leaflets are available from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London N. 1., ENGLAND

Provisional Agenda

W.R.I. STUDY CONFERENCE

on

NON-VIOLENCE AND SOCIO -ECONOMIC CHANGE

at Château de Charbonnières

par Authon-du-Perche (Eure-et-Loir), FRANCE

24th - 31st August, 1963

SATURDAY, 24TH AUGUST

Arrival of delegates.  
Evening session: Welcome, introductions, notices about arrangements, etc.

SUNDAY, 25TH AUGUST

Morning session: Towards New Social Order. An analysis of present values and structure of society. Possibilities of new social, economic and political relations.

Afternoon session: Present Political and Economic Situation; Capitalism, Parliamentary System, European Economic Community, etc.

Evening session: Military Trends and the Cold War. Their Effects on Political, Social and Economic Situations.

MONDAY, 26TH AUGUST

Morning session: Continuation of the previous two topics.

Afternoon session: Social and Political Prerequisites and the Results of Unilateral Disarmament. Speaker: April Carter

Evening Session: Socio-Economic Change and Peace in Africa.

TUESDAY, 27TH AUGUST

Morning, afternoon and evening sessions: Non-violent direct action. a) Historical background b) Non-violent direct action as an instrument for bringing about social, economic and political changes; its dynamics Speaker: Gene Sharp

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WEDNESDAY, 28TH AUGUST

Morning session: Non-Violent Defence; Social and Economic Prerequisites of Non-Violent Defence. Speaker: Theodor Ebert

Afternoon and evening: Excursion

THURSDAY, 29TH AUGUST

Morning, afternoon and evening sessions: Social and Economic Development and Peace. Case histories of Danilo Dolci's work in Sicily, Bhoodan movement in India, Yugoslavian experiment of decentralisation. Speakers: Eyvind Hytten and others.  
- Factory for Peace. -

FRIDAY, 30TH AUGUST

Morning and afternoon session: Immediate Next Steps on Local and International Levels; long-term programme of action by organisations like W.R.I., World Peace Brigade, Confederation for Peace and Disarmament, ILCOP, etc.

Evening session: Discussion on findings and closing of the Conference.

SATURDAY, 31ST AUGUST

Departure after breakfast

NOTE:

- 1) Topics will be introduced by speakers who will be expected to answer questions afterwards. After a short general discussion the Conference will divide into groups. Reports of groups will be discussed in plenary sessions.
- 2) Speakers on some of the topics have yet to be found.

Ko. 2 K. ✓ 8.5.

7.5.63

9.5.63

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
LANSBURY HOUSE  
88 PARK AVENUE  
BUSH HILL PARK, ENFIELD,  
MIDDLESEX, ENGLAND.

Dear Friend,

I am sorry to say the book list is not quite ready yet. We will send it to you as soon as we can - also German versions of the Provisional Agenda and the letter.

Looking forward to meeting you and your friends at Château Charbonnières,

With best wishes,

*Marjatta Bryan*  
Marjatta Bryan

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Anschreib. 5.63  
Vorlauf. To/engl.  
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Empf. of (wie Liv)/dtch.*

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*Aret ✓  
Winkler ✓*

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ED 718-17-138

9.5.63

WRI



WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

STUDIENKONFERENZ

über das Thema

GEWALTLOSIGKEIT UND SOZIALÖKONOMISCHER WANDEL

CHATEAU DE CHARBONNIERES

par Authon-du-Perche (Eure-et-Loir), Frankreich

Summer 1963

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

Je mehr wir uns mit Abrüstungs- und Friedensfragen beschäftigen, desto mehr kommt es uns zum Bewusstsein, wie tief die den Spannungen und der Unruhe zugrundeliegenden Ursachen doch in der Gesellschaft verwurzelt sind. Während Furcht und Spannung hervorgerufen durch die Entwicklung von massenvernichtenden Waffen immer mehr anwachsen, leiden Millionen an Unternahrung oder verhungern. Wir sind daher gezwungen, all diese Gesichtspunkte in die Ausarbeitung eines Friedensprogrammes einzubeziehen.

Wir brauchen nicht zu betonen, dass der Abrüstung grundlegende Bedeutung zukommt. Überall in der Welt stellen die Friedensbewegungen diesen Gesichtspunkt in den Vordergrund, und es ist ermutigend für uns, festzustellen, dass die meisten einsehen, dass internationale Zusammenarbeit ein wichtiger Faktor ist. Wir sind aber gewiss, dass Abrüstung allein das Kriegsproblem nicht lösen kann. Da sind auch noch andere Faktoren. So fragen wir uns u.a.: Was für Auswirkungen auf unser politisches, militärisches und soziales Leben würden sich ergeben? Ist es unter Beibehaltung der augenblicklich geltenden sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Werte überhaupt möglich, eine friedliche Welt zu schaffen, oder müssen wir erst einmal an eine Neugestaltung der Gesellschaftsordnung ansetzen? Und wie steht es mit der Verteidigungsfrage?

In der Friedensbewegung sind Viele der Ansicht, dass eine Neugestaltung des sozialen Verhaltens nur möglich ist, wenn das Bestreben nach Abrüstung und die Idee einer neuen Gesellschaftsordnung begrifflich zusammengefasst werden, und zwar auf der Basis der Anwendung der Gewaltlosigkeit als Mittel zur Änderung der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Struktur.

Es mag oft den Anschein haben, dass eine ideale Gesellschaft in weiter Ferne liegt. Wenn es uns mit einem andauernden Frieden aber wirklich ernst ist, dann müssen wir diesem Ziel weiter entgegenstreben, und zwar mit grösserer Einsicht und verstärkter Energie.

ED 718-17-139

PRAKTISCHE EINZELHEITEN

DATUM: vom 24 August 1963 (Abendbrot) bis zum 31. August 1963 (Frühstück)

ORT: Die Konferenz findet in dem schönen Château de Charbonnières statt, von dem aus der herrliche Dom von Chartres, das Loirtal, Chateaudun und Vendome leicht erreicht werden können. Ein Ausflug nach interessanten Ortschaften wird organisiert. Château de Charbonnières ist für Familien besonders geeignet, da für Beaufsichtigung und Unterhaltung der Kinder gesorgt ist.

UNTERKUNFT: Die Unterkunft beschränkt sich auf 65 Personen. Nichtmitglieder des W.R.I. sind ebenfalls willkommen.

SPRACHEN: Französisch, englisch, deutsch.

KOSTEN: von 15 - 18 NF (DM 12,- - 15,-) pro Tag zuzüglich 22 NF (DM 18,-) Konferenzgebühr für jeden Teilnehmer. Kinder von 2-7 Jahren 9 NF (DM 7,50) v. 7-14 Jahren NF 13 (DM 10,50) unter 2 Jahren 4 NF (DM 3,20).

Erstklassige französische Küche!

Eine Liste über Lesematerial, das Programm und sonstige Papiere folgen. Die Tiefgründigkeit der zu bearbeitenden Gegenstände erfordert es, dass man sich vor der Konferenz gründlich damit befasst.

BUCHUNG: Mit Rücksicht auf die beschränkte Anzahl der zur Verfügung stehenden. Plätze empfehlen wir sofortige Anforderung der Anmeldeformulare bei der W.R.I. Zentrale. Bestätigung der Buchung erfolgt nach Eingang des ausgefüllten Anmeldeformulars und des Konferenzbeitrages von NF.22 (DM 18,-) Eine Rückerstattung dieses Betrages kann nicht erfolgen

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
ENGLAND.

"WAR RESISTANCE"

Vierteljährliches Organ des War Resisters'  
International, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield,  
Middlesex, England

Preis jährlich DM 2,80

ERKLÄRUNG

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

ED 718-17-140

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephone: LABurnum 3977

Telegraphic Address:  
NOFRONTIER ENFIELD

88 Park Avenue  
Enfield  
Middlesex  
ENGLAND

May, 1963

Dear Friend,

Enclosed herewith you will find the Provisional Agenda for our Study Conference and a list of suggested reading material. The list should provide the background material for a study of the fundamental questions involved in the theme of the Conference.

Roughly speaking the Agenda is divided into four sections:

- a) analytical study of the present economic, social, political and military situation
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- c) non-violence at work. Study of case-histories of some experiments being carried out in different parts of the world
- d) future course of action by the peace movement on local and international levels. Role of W.R.I., World Peace Brigade, Confederation for Peace and Disarmament, ILCOP, etc.

We are requesting several friends to write background papers. As and when ready, they will be sent to you.

We hope you will come to the Conference fully prepared, so that the discussions become instructive and useful. The Conference should be regarded a success only if the participants go back to their homes afterwards with new ideas and hopes for finding non-violent solutions to local and international problems.

With best wishes,  
Yours sincerely,

*Devi Prasad*  
Devi Prasad  
Secretary

Provisional Agenda

W.R.I. STUDY CONFERENCE

on

NON-VIOLENCE AND SOCIO -ECONOMIC CHANGE

at Château de Charbonnières

par Authon-du-Perche (Eure-et-Loir), FRANCE

24th - 31st August, 1963

SATURDAY, 24TH AUGUST

Arrival of delegates.

Evening session: Welcome, introductions, notices about arrangements, etc.

SUNDAY, 25TH AUGUST

Morning session: Towards New Social Order.

An analysis of present values and structure of society. Possibilities of new social, economic and political relations.

Afternoon session: Present Political and Economic Situation; Capitalism, Parliamentary System, European Economic Community, etc.

Evening session: Military Trends and the Cold War. Their Effects on Political, Social and Economic Situations.

MONDAY, 26TH AUGUST

Morning session: Continuation of the previous two topics.

Afternoon session: Social and Political Prerequisites and the Results of Unilateral Disarmament. Speaker: April Carter

Evening Session: Socio-Economic Change and Peace in Africa.

TUESDAY, 27TH AUGUST

Morning, afternoon and evening sessions: Non-violent direct action. a) Historical background b) Non-violent direct action as an instrument for bringing about social, economic and political changes; its dynamics  
Speaker: Gene Sharp

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WEDNESDAY, 28TH AUGUST

Morning session: Non-Violent Defence; Social and Economic Prerequisites of Non-Violent Defence. Speaker: Theodor Ebert

Afternoon and evening: Excursion

THURSDAY, 29TH AUGUST

Morning, afternoon and evening sessions: Social and Economic Development and Peace. Case histories of Danilo Dolci's work in Sicily, Bhoodan movement in India, Yugoslavian experiment of decentralisation. Speakers: Eyvind Hytten and others. - Factory for Peace. -

FRIDAY, 30TH AUGUST

Morning and afternoon session: Immediate Next Steps on Local and International Levels; long-term programme of action by organisations like W.R.I., World Peace Brigade, Confederation for Peace and Disarmament, ILCOP, etc.

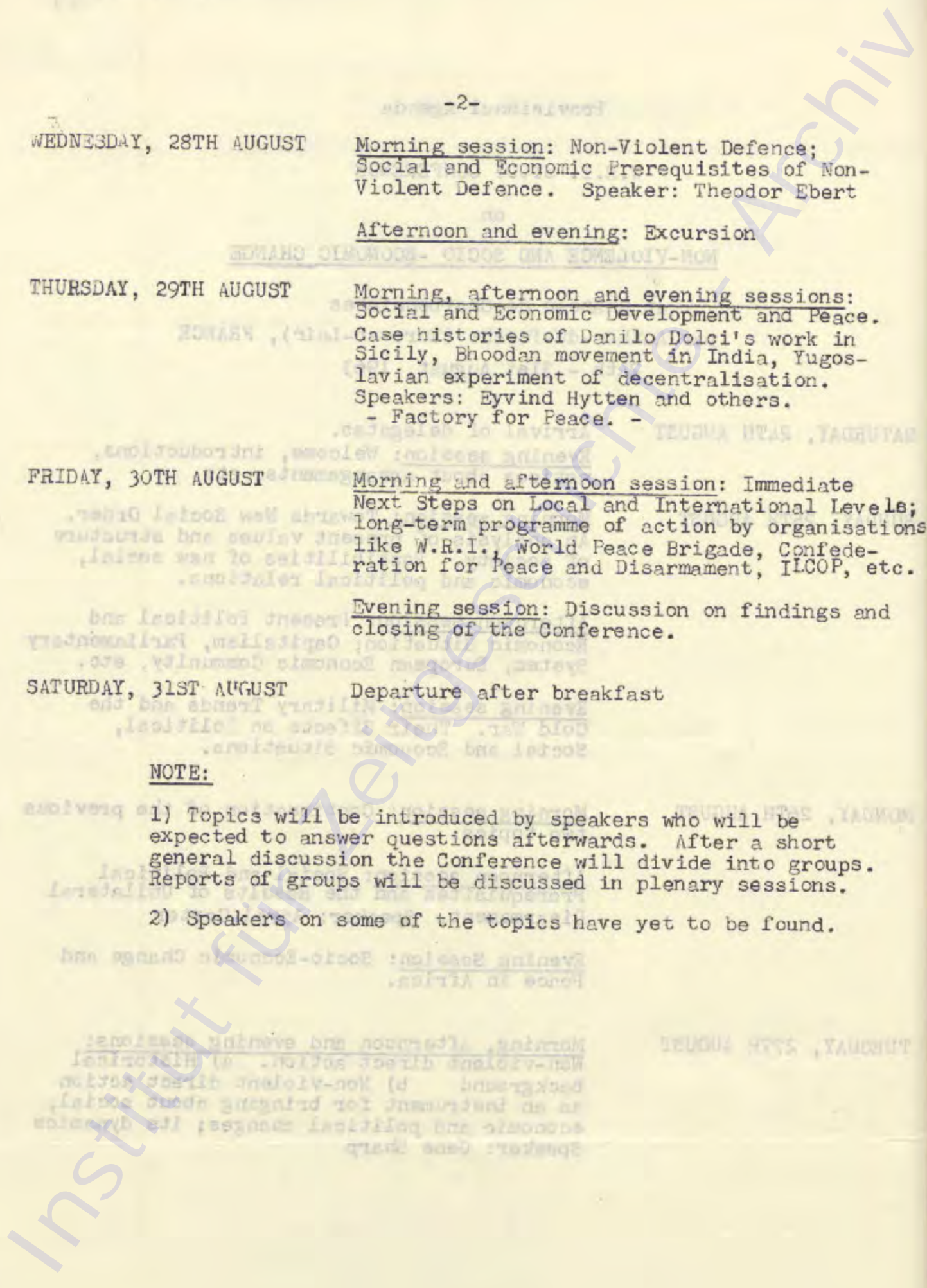
Evening session: Discussion on findings and closing of the Conference.

SATURDAY, 31ST AUGUST

Departure after breakfast

NOTE:

- 1) Topics will be introduced by speakers who will be expected to answer questions afterwards. After a short general discussion the Conference will divide into groups. Reports of groups will be discussed in plenary sessions.
- 2) Speakers on some of the topics have yet to be found.



ED 718-17-142

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  
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STUDIENKONFERENZ

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

GEWALTLOSIGKEIT UND SOZIALOKONOMISCHER WANDEL

von Sonnabend abend, den 24. August bis Sonnabend morgen, den 31. August  
in

CHATEAU DE CHARBONNIERES  
par Authon-du-Perche (Eure-et-Loir), Frankreich

ANMELDUNGSFORMULAR

718-17-143

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Zu welcher Friedensorganisation gehören Sie? \_\_\_\_\_

Welches Gebiet der Friedensarbeit interessiert Sie besonders?  
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Beabsichtigen Sie, der ganzen Konferenz beizuwohnen? JA/NEIN

Wenn Sie nicht an der ganzen Konferenz teilnehmen können, kreuzen Sie bitte die Tage an, an denen Sie zugegen sein werden:

Sonnabend abend  S.  M.  D.  M.  Do.  F.  Sonnab.   
morgen

SPRACHEN:

Welche Sprachen beherrschen Sie? Engl.  Franz.  Deutsch

Falls Sie keine dieser Sprachen beherrschen, geben Sie bitte die von Ihnen beherrschte Sprache an, in die für Sie übersetzt werden soll  
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(a) Reden in der Vollversammlung zu übersetzen, vom \_\_\_\_\_ ins \_\_\_\_\_  
(b) Übersetzungen in Diskussionsgruppen zu übernehmen,  
vom \_\_\_\_\_ ins \_\_\_\_\_  
(c) die Übersetzung von Konferenzdokumenten zu übernehmen,  
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ALLGEMEINES:

Wünschen Sie (a) vegetarische Mahlzeiten  
(b) Unterkunft für Kinder, wieviel und in welchem Alter? \_\_\_\_\_  
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KOSTEN:

Für Erwachsene: DM 12 - 15 pro Tag zuzüglich DM 18 Konferenzgebühr für jeden Teilnehmer (wird nicht zurückerstattet). Kinder zahlen ermässigte Preise.

(a) Anbei die Konferenzgebühr von DM 18 oder der entsprechende Gegenwert  
(b) Die Buchungsgebühr ist an den Finanzagenten des W.R.I. in Deutschland überwiesen worden.

Der Restbetrag ist bei Ankunft, spätestens Dienstag mittag, den 27. August zahlbar.

Bitte schicken Sie dieses Formular ausgefüllt an:

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, ENGLAND

ED 218-17-144

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

7.10.63

Study Conference

on

NON-VIOLENCE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE

held at Château Charbonnières, Authon-du-Perche, France,  
24th August - 31st August, 1963

C O N F E R E N C E    R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Peace movements all over the world have been working ceaselessly on different levels to achieve lasting peace. Though they have not yet got nearer to their final goal, their work has made it clear that people everywhere DO want peace and that their urge for peace cannot be neglected by those who rule over nations and seem to be directing the fate of the world.

Another issue which peacemakers face today is whether peace can come with disarmament or will also require some radical basic changes in social and economic relations in society. The W.R.I. Study Conference met to discuss this issue and to find out how non-violence can be applied to bringing about political, social and economic changes, so that permanent peace can be achieved. It tried to examine the present political and military trends in Europe and went into the questions of changes necessary in today's political structure, civil rights and the liberty of conscience. It also examined some experiments on community development, based on people's initiatives, and decentralisation, and tried to draw out principles which could be applied in other situations, especially in developing community spirit in both rural and urban areas. Special recommendations were made for peace work in connection with Africa.

The subject - Non-Violence and Socio-Economic Change - is vast. The problem of dealing with it adequately at this stage of the development of pacifist attitudes is equally vast. It should be of no surprise, therefore, that the resolutions passed at the final session of the Conference do not deal in depth with the subject of the Conference. They are rather confined to what organisations and their members can do, and it is still the doing that occupies our minds.

The following resolutions were passed:-

1. The W.R.I. should be conscious of the impact it is making on less radical peace organisations and should try to introduce them to the techniques and philosophy of non-violence.
2. Peace movements must search for the means of starting new groups in countries where none exist, for example in Africa and South America.
3. Peace movements should try to exchange workers between their movements to discover each other's problems and ideas.
4. Local and national groups and sections should look into the possibility of offering volunteers to undertake international organisational work for the peace movement. It is desirable that twinned local groups in different countries be established, so that they can exchange their experiences and take common, co-operative action. English, German and French pacifists in particular should try to find ways for such common action.
5. Provision should be made for small groups of people, drawn from different countries, to come together with some regularity for continuous discussion on particular problems. A correspondence organ should be produced and circulated to the members of these groups and other interested persons.
6. The W.R.I. should try to make the aims and objectives of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace more widely known.
7. National peace movements should provide an international information service on a much wider scale than previously. Demonstrations and direct action projects should be announced as early as possible. Comments, evaluations and assessments of such actions may prove valuable to peace movements in other countries.
8. It is necessary that further study be made of the connection between the philosophy of non-violence and the techniques of community development and fundamental education, both in highly industrialised societies and in developing countries.
9. Peace movements should encourage the spreading of ideas of non-violence more widely, and especially to Communist countries, and work for the establishment of contacts through exchange visits, work camps, etc. In view of the increasing isolation of the Peoples Republic of China, it should be a special concern of peace movements to make contacts with her. They should intensify the campaign for her admission to the U.N.

10. Peace movements should try to find more effective ways of spreading their message to the armed forces and encouraging the development of discussion groups on the problems of peace within the army.
11. Recognising the need for the liberty of conscience, peace movements should draw attention to prisoners of conscience, urging their release by demonstrations, letters, telegrams, etc. The work of organisations like Amnesty International (1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London E.C. 4.) should be made more widely known.
12. Peace movements feel extremely concerned about the developing restrictions on liberty in Germany. They must also work for the recognition of the Communist Party in the Federal German Republic and for the establishment of independent peace organisations in the German Democratic Republic. Every effort should be made for the rejection of the Emergency Bill now before the Parliament in the German Federal Republic.
13. With the detente between the two great powers following the partial test ban treaty, efforts should be made for disengagement in Europe and pressure be brought by peace movements on their governments for unilateral disengagement. Peace movements welcome the steps taken by several African countries towards denuclearisation.
14. French people should be encouraged to sign the test ban treaty. The collection of signatures could provide the starting point for a broad peace initiative in France. Peace movements should organise demonstrations outside French Embassies in their own countries to oppose French tests. The intention of the two Indian Peace Marchers, E.P. Menon and Satish Kumar, to organise a demonstration in Paris is welcomed. So is also the suggestion to send an international convoy to the Reggane testing site in the Sahara. It is also suggested that African student organisations in Europe should be approached for co-operation in protesting against the forthcoming Sahara tests. The possibility of an "Everyman" type action, when the testing site is moved to the Pacific, should be explored.
15. Peace movements are anxious to maximise the international impact of the Easter marches and demonstrations in the forthcoming year and should consider a special concentration of international forces in one country, like France or Italy, where the movement may make a real break-through. It is suggested that a mass march to NATO Headquarters be organised.
16. Peace movements, particularly the World Peace Brigade, should watch and study developments in crisis spots all over the world and choose some of them to concentrate upon.

17. Knowledge of chemical and bacteriological warfare is as important as that of nuclear war. It is therefore necessary that comprehensive study of the subject be made. The W.R.I. is urged to publish a document on bacteriological and chemical warfare as soon as possible.

18. Comprehensive bibliographies of pacifist literature of all languages must be made available as soon as possible.

### Role of Peace Movement in Africa

With the exception of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, the decolonialisation of Africa is almost complete. In certain respects the independent states of Africa are emerging as a major force for peace in the world, and we welcome the resolutions of the Addis Abbaba Conference for disarmament, neutralism and an African nuclear-free zone. We also see the growth all over Africa of a massive campaign against illiteracy, sickness and poverty without which progress and social change are impossible.

On the other hand we are aware of certain serious developments which either hold up the development of the African countries or even threaten the outbreak of violence and civil war.

In every African state, for reasons of prestige for the most part, armies have been introduced. The soldiers are regularly paid, regularly fed and highly organised, thus creating one of the few stable structures in the country. Their function is not one of defence but one of supporting the power élite which forms the government. If the government cannot gain the allegiance of the military on the military's terms, it will not be long before the military takes over. Militarism in Africa is increasing daily. Armies and secret police are amongst the main forces resisting political opposition and social change.

Like in other countries, there is little real democracy in Africa. The colonial tradition of government by a small number of highly paid bureaucrats has been continued after independence. The privileged class of civil servants is often totally unconcerned about the development of their country. What is more serious is that, whilst functionaries crowd the towns, the human skills needed to introduce economic and social progress amongst the rural communities, which make 80% of the total population, are sadly lacking. Most of those who have the opportunity through education to escape from ignorance and poverty, prefer to join the civil service in the towns.

There are few intermediary social groupings between the

government and the people. In industrialised countries it has been the independent organisations, such as political movements, trade unions and churches which provided the main vehicles of combatting injustice and tyranny and for social change. In countries where so many are illiterate, where misery and ignorance rule the lives of the people, the creation of such independent social action groups can provide the individual peasant and his community the opportunity to shape their own destinies through co-operative effort. An alternative to the power élite can be built up, conscious perhaps of the possibilities of non-violent action by the ordinary people of these countries.

We must remember that as long as these nations are economically dependent on richer nations, they cannot be said to be independent. The end of colonialism has not even brought about the end of the economic exploitation of underdeveloped countries. Year by year the gap between the standards of living of rich industrialised nations and poor, under-developed nations increases. In a way we see a class-struggle blown up on to a world scale, with the privileged "haves" increasing their wealth at the expense of the under-privileged "have-nots". With the danger of nuclear war, this problem is the greatest challenge to our generation.

The world peace movement must not concern itself only with opposition to the growth of militarism. Whilst fighting injustice, ignorance and poverty, it must work for basic changes in social and political relationships in society by:-

1. Educating the people in order to help them to help themselves;
2. Encouraging the development of autonomous groups for social action and reconciliation;
3. Involving the intellectuals of each country in the problems of their people;
4. Introducing to the people the non-violent alternatives to group conflict.

In practical terms we must:-

1. Encourage large numbers of qualified people, in a voluntary or professional capacity, to go out and answer the tremendous needs for community development in Africa. These technicians must search for ways of creating social revolution by integrating the techniques of fundamental education with the philosophy of non-violence.

2. Encourage the formation of an organisation within UNESCO to launch a World Volunteer Peace Corps. Such a Peace Corps would replace the many national peace corps now being formed. This supra-national organisation will send qualified people from any country in the whole world as individual workers for the United Nations.
3. Consciously making contact with students from under-developed countries and introducing them to concepts of non-violence and the possibilities of helping the development of their nation.
4. Education of the public in our own countries in the problems of Africa. Attempts to involve the public in the solution of some of these problems:-
  - a) By supporting colonial liberation movements;
  - b) Organising industrial and consumer actions against racial discrimination;
  - c) Bringing pressure on our governments for the reduction of expenditure on armaments and the increase of economic aid to the "tiers monde".
  - d) Supporting voluntary organisations that are training and sending qualified technicians to Africa. It will be helpful if W.R.I. could prepare a list of organisations doing this work and send it to its Sections.
5. Support the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain and elsewhere, and the African nationalist movements in South Africa and the Portuguese colonies, in campaigns against the sale of arms to South Africa, for the implementation of the U.N. resolution on trade sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, for the boycott by individuals of South African goods and by sportsmen, writers, musicians, actors, etc., of activity in South Africa while apartheid exists.

For example the Danish dockworkers, in response to a campaign initiated by youth and pacifist groups, have decided not to unload any goods of S. African origin. Limited success has also been achieved in this area in Norway and Sweden. Danish experience serves to stress that it is important, when making a direct approach to dockworkers, to indicate practical ways in which strike funds will be augmented, and that it must be stressed repeatedly that the desire for this direct action comes from the African people themselves. Although it is true that the interests of the African workers are adversely affected by such strike action, nevertheless the interests of the white minority oppressing the Africans are hit to a far greater extent. The African people therefore regard their sufferings as part of the price they must pay to win their freedom.

6. Encourage and support trade unionists in every country, as in Denmark, to refuse to load or handle both arms for export to S. Africa and Portugal; also goods imported from S. Africa. This should be done, if possible, through ICFTU and the WFTU.
7. Training centres should be started somewhere in Southern Africa for refugees from Bechuanaland.

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Note for the participants of the Conference:

The Conference had authorised the W.R.I. Secretariat to revise, re-arrange and put the recommendations in a presentable form. When doing so, some recommendations dealing with practical details were left out, for instance publishing important papers from the W.R.I. Conferences and organising a round tour for nationalist leaders of Portuguese Guinea.

7. 10. 63

Study Conference

on

NON-VIOLENCE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE

held at Château Charbonnières, Authon-du-Perche, France,  
24th August - 31st August, 1963

- A report by Devi Prasad

The W.R.I. Study Conference on Non-Violence and Socio-Economic Change was held at Château Charbonnières. W.R.I. Study Conferences are by tradition open to non-members of the W.R.I. The response to the Conference was very good right from the beginning. Altogether 67 people from 15 different countries attended. 29 of them were not members of the W.R.I. and many of them were unfamiliar with its work. All the continents with the exception of South America were represented. The agenda, a short list of suggested reading material and six background papers were distributed in advance. These papers covered most of the topics for discussion at the Conference.

Château Charbonnières is situated in very beautiful surroundings in the Loire Valley. Being far from main roads and big towns it was an ideal place for such a Conference and provided few distractions. The Château is run by a well-known French pacifist, Henry Schultz, and his family.

The Conference started on the evening of 24th August with introductions and an explanation of the purpose of the Conference. Henry Schultz kindly chaired this session. Due to the fact that Gene Sharp and one or two other speakers were not able to come, it was necessary to modify the Agenda. The Steering Committee made some changes accordingly. Democratic procedure was adopted in running the Conference. For each session there was a new Chairman. Groups - four in number - nominated their own Chairmen and Rapporteurs. In a way the Conference was also useful as training in conference organisation. This had its advantages and disadvantages. While on the one hand it gave a chance to many participants to take responsibility, on the other hand there was confusion in one or two sessions. On the whole I personally felt it was a commendable experiment.

J. Allen Skinner began by giving an outline of what he thought could be a new social order based on non-violence. He said it will have to be a kind of anarchist society. This provided background for further discussions. Giuliano Rendi analysed in great detail military trends in Europe and suggested that it is essential to build up a strong anti-militarist movement. Peter Cadogan and Dimitrios Roussopoulos spoke on non-violent direct action. Peter Cadogan gave an historical background of the non-violent movement and said that non-violent direct action cannot be defined, as dogmas only can be defined. He recommended that direct action and civil disobedience should be practised on the international level. Dimitrios pleaded for much more analytical study of the political situation of today and for thorough preparation before every action. He thought that developments like the Test Ban Treaty have made it necessary for the movement to give up direct action for the time being. Energies should, instead, be devoted to further study and building up the strength of the movement.

April Carter spoke on social and political prerequisites of unilateral disarmament. After treating the question in great detail, she asked the groups to discuss whether nation-states could disarm completely; what are the obstacles and how they could be overcome and whether disarmament can be achieved within the existing framework. If peace movements were to engage themselves in social problems, would this give them more support?

Speaking on socio-economic change and peace in Africa, Pierre Martin gave a picture of the present situation in Africa, emphasising that, while the continent was united by anti-colonialism, a sentimental sense of African unity and consciousness of underdevelopment, it was subject to great sociological tensions. Personal aid should be sent to African villages; missionaries for peace should try to spread a message of non-violence. He explained the kind of work he is doing in Senegal and asked for support in his work. He pleaded that nationalist leaders in Portuguese Guinea, with whom he is in close touch, should be supported and helped in developing non-violent techniques for their national movements.

John Papworth spoke of the harm Western industrialisation and centralisation can bring to Africa and how machines have enslaved man.

Theodor Ebert gave his theory of non-violent defence and expressed the need for further research, urging the formation of a group to go more fully into the question of non-violent defence.

Eyvind Hytten from Sicily explained the philosophy on which the work of Danilo Dolci's centre is based. He stressed that non-violence should be applied to methods of development work which should lead to greater social equality and individual participation.

Davorin Kostanjsek of Yugoslavia described the social pattern of his country. I was very sorry that he participated in the discussions for one day only. This was quite unexpected because I had asked the Yugoslavian League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples to send a representative who could stay all through the Conference. I did not expect the League would send someone resident in Paris to deliver the speech. Eyvind Hytten also stayed with us one day only, but he had informed us that he could not stay longer. Due to this and also perhaps due to the unpreparedness on the part of many participants, these two discussions did not prove as useful as I had expected, though I am sure there were many things we could have learnt from them.

The Drafting Committee had collected suggestions made by all the discussion groups during the Conference. These were discussed, modified and passed at the last session.

On Wednesday there was an excursion to see some of the Chateaux in the Loire Valley. Pierre Martin and Henri Schultz had very kindly arranged this. A musical evening was arranged for Friday, when Joyce Cadogan gave a piano recital.

Unfortunately translation into French could not be organised as efficiently as necessary. I want to confess this was my fault. I failed to get much response from French movements in sending representatives. I was extremely grateful to Albert Ratz of Pacifist Union of France and Pierre Martin for their most valuable help.

The purpose of the Conference was to discuss the rôle of non-violence in bringing about social and economic change and its relevance to the international peace movement. At every stage of Conference preparations this purpose was clearly explained both to speakers and participants in letters and circulars. The agenda was also planned on this very basis. Its first part, for instance, dealt with the study of the actual situation, political, military, etc., the second dealt with the theory and practice of non-violent direct action with a set of case histories of community development work, such as Danilo Dolci's work and decentralisation in Jugoslavia. (Bhoodan movement and Factory for Peace were discussed in groups only). It was evident, however, that discussions could not always be kept to the point. I feel that the Conference did not fulfil the specific purpose for which it was planned and very often went off the track.

The main reason, I think, is that "Non-Violence and Socio-Economic Change" is a very vast subject and the peace movement is not yet ready to go into the subject fully. There may be individuals who can apply their minds to the theory and practice of the subject at the same time, but when it comes to a group discussing it, the tendency often is to discuss what to do. This was the case at Charbonnières. Discussions were in no time shifted to actual projects. This is evident from the resolutions of the Conference. There is not much connection between the theme of the Conference and the resolutions passed.

There was too great a variation in the opinions and approaches among the participants. It might have been better perhaps if the Conference had been smaller and made up of selected individuals for this particular theme. The agenda, too, was perhaps too heavy, though I feel that a selected group would have treated it in a different way. It was made comprehensive purposely and I presume it was this comprehensiveness that attracted so much response. The Conference has undoubtedly been a source of encouragement to many of those participants who were newly initiated into the movement. On the whole the value of such Conferences cannot be denied. A conscious effort has to be made to create an international community of thinkers and non-violent actionists which would break through the obstacles created by national barriers in building up a world-approach. At the last W.R.I. Conference and some other international conferences it was felt that this is actually happening. At the Charbonnières Conference there was a feeling that we were beginning to succeed in this and that the International Movement could now begin to form policies and programme without being continuously inhibited by narrow nationalism, without losing the sight of local issues.

A fuller document, giving extracts from speeches, recommendations from the Conference and post-conference comments from the participants will be issued at a later stage.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

Document 3Background PaperWAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL11th Triennial Conference

to be held at Solborg Ungdomsskole, Stavanger, Norway,  
from 26th July - 31st July, 1963

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 PACIFISM IN AFRICA

- John Papworth

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Where a reasonable prospect of success in achieving their aims has existed, the African political leaders have adhered to non-violent courses. In this way many African countries such as Nigeria, Tanganyika and Ghana have achieved independence by means which may be described as pacifist. This does not mean that the leaders of these countries are pacifists; on the contrary, nearly all of them would have been prepared to resort to violence to achieve their ends if they had felt convinced that other avenues to doing so were closed. The nature of the independence struggle of countries such as Egypt and Algeria is witness to this and, indeed, I can think of only one African leader who would be prepared to give up his position rather than countenance policies of violence - that is Kenneth Kaunda of N. Rhodesia. In an interview for "Peace News" earlier this year he was asked "If it should happen that your own party decided that some kind of violent resistance were necessary, would you feel able to remain leader of the party?". And he replied, "Obviously that would be my end as a political leader because I would disagree with that sort of thing." Chief Luthuli of South Africa may well be another but I am not sufficiently acquainted with his views to judge.

To-day the freedom struggle in the remaining areas of the continent which are under minority rule is dominated by a readiness to resort to violence and an outlook which assumes violence to be inevitable. Nobody making personal contact with refugees from the Portuguese Colonies, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa or South West Africa can fail to be impressed with the extreme scepticism with which they view any non-violent approach to solving their problems.

In this respect the experience of the World Peace Brigade Centre in Dar es Salaam has been doubly unfortunate. It will be recalled that the Centre was established early in 1962 with the object of organising a 'Peace March' to N. Rhodesia from Tanganyika. Six or seven volunteers gathered there, but when, after a week or so, it became evident that the March was being delayed and even (as in the event it was) abandoned, most of them dispersed.

So far so good. The initiative for the March and the Centre had come from Africans, and when it was clear that the African leaders had changed their minds about the former, the way was open to concentrate on the latter.

In fact nothing further happened and, although one or two very useful projects outside the purview of the embryo training

centre were undertaken by the volunteers who remained, the Centre itself made no headway. At the end of 1962, after the Tanganyika Government had given the W.P.B. notice to quit the rent-free premises it had occupied for twelve months, a move was made to much larger premises which were rented with funds provided by pacifist sources in the U.S.A. After a month or so in the new premises the project was abandoned and the Centre closed down on the grounds that the Africans themselves did not want it.

It may be thought unfortunate that the Centre had not been so conducted that the local people would have come to value it more highly, but, in any event, it is important that the lessons of this failure be clearly drawn, if pacifists wish to affect the course of events in Africa in any way, and if the errors themselves are not to be repeated.

(1) Any project undertaken should have objectives which are clearly defined. The lack of clear objectives was the basic cause of the Dar es Salaam failure. A 'training centre', for example, can mean almost anything or nothing, and a training centre in non-violence organised by one group of nationals for another is merely hare-brained insolence. The retort I received from a Tanganyikan that I should start such training centres in Europe, since that is the home of most of the violence that afflicts us, was all but unanswerable.

(2) Programmes of activity should be drawn up before embarking on a project. This not only helps to reveal possible snags but does much to indicate the qualities required in those selected to lead. Neither London, Delhi, New York or any other centre appears to have given any detailed consideration to the programme of the training centre. Who was going to train who in what, and how? It would be easy to blame the volunteers on the spot for the failure that ensued, but the overall blame must attach to the bodies which authorised their activities without seeking to define them in detail.

(3) Volunteers in a project must work as a team on a democratic basis. Since most of the money for the Dar project came from one country, there was a tendency to regard the business of joint decision-making and joint consultation with members of the team from other countries as superfluous. The ensuing failure was not, however, regarded as a responsibility of the donor country so much as of the World Peace Brigade as a whole.

(4) Participants must expect as a matter of course to share the standard of life of the people among whom they have chosen to work.

(5) A shared programme of work with the local population on a daily basis must be regarded as a basic minimum objective. This is not only an essential step for making effective contact, but also a sure means of making the programme's objectives known and gaining local support for them. Apart from a weekly discussion on current affairs held at the Dar Centre for a limited number of refugees, there was no contact (if one excludes casual social contacts) with the local population at all.

The double misfortune arising from a failure to act on these principles rests in the adverse effect it has had on the prospects

of the really promising idea the Brigade incorporates, and in the reputation for bumbling and ineffective do-goodism it has acquired in Africa. It must be realised in this latter respect that Dar es Salaam is an important refugee and political centre having strong links with other parts of the continent.

What is the next step to be? It is possible that the rôle of a body of people prepared at short notice to undertake emergency action in the cause of peace is based on a misconception. Such actions as are taken, especially when they are taken in isolation, are apt to be misunderstood or even, as in the case of the Indo-Chinese Border Friendship March, to be greeted with suspicion, hostility and even abuse. Hence there seems to be a strong case for an international body whose members, by a continuous programme of voluntary service and propaganda, are able to demonstrate the ability of people everywhere to work together for peaceful objectives, and from whose ranks teams can be drawn for specific emergency action in times of crisis.

This background of, what could well be, solid practical achievement would give any future emergency action taken an authority which at present is conspicuously lacking. All too often the average newspaper reader is apt to regard peace marches, boat trips to Leningrad and so forth as rather a lark and to miss altogether the relevance of such actions to the war danger.

There are already a large number of voluntary bodies doing aid and welfare work in different parts of Africa and for a number of reasons I hope that pacifist activities in Africa will not seek to emulate them. We live in societies which seek the aggrandizement of the individual rather than his fulfilment in creative living, and it seems to me that efforts to emulate the conditions which promote this aggrandizement (and murder men's inborn aspiration for peace) are not matters of any positive concern to pacifists except insofar as they desire to change them.

Most committed pacifists are by now, surely, aware that the war danger arises from the way society is organised to exploit nature rather than to work in harmony with it. Since man himself is part of nature it follows that he himself is at once the agent and a major victim of this exploitation and the consequential destruction of his environmental harmony.

There is now a substantial body of literature from parts of early religious writings through authors such as Thoreau, Gandhi, Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Ruskin and William Morris down to authors of our time such as Lewis Mumford, Leopold Kohr and others which makes the point that pacifism is a way of life - socially no less than individually. Their chief lesson, I take it, is that however much (and however many!) individuals desire peace, if the social order of which they are part is geared to a sustained assault on their environment, the interests created by this assault, territorial sovereignty, a high standard of consumption, foreign trade, the balance of payments and so on and so on, will lead men to identify themselves with these interests and fight over them.

In brief - the nature of modern society makes war inevitable.

There is thus, it seems to me, a need for pacifist evangelism

in Africa based on the practice of hard commonsense communitarianism, based on a readiness to work in harmony and respect with and for nature and, it follows as a matter of course, man. In the villages, despite the depredations of colonialism and the curious ideas about progress entertained by many modern African leaders, the spirit of small-scale community life is still very strong. It would be the business of pacifist field workers, as I see it, to encourage progress and modernism in every way possible by means which ensure that the sovereignty, integrity and vitality of village community life is strengthened. In the Western world, in the name of progress, this has been largely destroyed. It should be no part of the pacifist task to participate in 'aid' programmes in Africa which serve to repeat the same tragedy and confront Africans, as it surely will unless adequate contrary measures are taken such as I am here suggesting, with the same dilemma of power politics as prevails in the West.

How is this to be done?

An international seminar on pacifist community development should be in continuous session to brief and, if necessary, instruct volunteers on the distinct nature of their task, and of the work being done elsewhere in the same field (especially in India).

The volunteers themselves should expect to make their own way to a work locality and to receive the minimum assistance from external sources in doing their work.

The nature of the work to be done is so incredibly diverse as to forbid any attempt to describe it in outline. We want more education in Africa, yes of course, but it must be, when pacifists are doing the job, education for life, not for Western orientated forces of death. Economics must be sane, non-violent community economics, not the mass megapolitan economics of the West. Farm training must mean husbandry, not short-term exploitation of soil and stock. Health training must be in terms of the need to consume fresh organically grown local produce as a commonsense basis for natural physical well-being.

It is not possible in a short paper to do more than allude to these matters somewhat sketchily. But one activity now being pursued in community centres in India and Africa is worthy of special note since it epitomises the kind of approach pacifists must adopt. It was, I believe, a missionary doctor in Africa who first worked out the idea of harnessing the gasses given off by sewage and virtually any kind of decaying vegetation, filtering them and afterwards using them for heating, cooking and lighting. The idea has been taken up in a number of community centres in India, and in one place at least the gas is being used to generate electricity. Despite a great deal of enthusiasm there are a number of obstacles to the application of this principle on anything but a small scale and even then there are a number of shortcomings to be overcome. But the principle of improving the quality of life from local resources without making people increasingly dependent on a remote centre of government, which makes them more independent, is surely one pacifists should seek to extend.

How is this work to be financed?

It would appear necessary to establish an international trust fund for this purpose and with a suitable body of sponsors it should be possible to make a start. The Dolci principle of doing something first and then seeking support should be widely applied and in this way bodies such as OXFAM and others might be induced to give assistance.

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We must face the sad fact that there is probably very little indeed that pacifists can do now to avert a violent conflict in South Africa, and probably also in some of the bordering territories. The most we can now seek to do is to mitigate the racial hatred that is developing and point the way to the peaceful and constructive paths that can be followed. In doing this we should not lose sight of the fact that the racialism that has developed in the Republic is only one aspect of the situation. At present it is the most important, but underlying it is the highly centralised exploitative nature of the state of a kind not greatly different from those in the West. Inevitably the struggle is turning not on what kind of community shall exist but simply on who shall control the system which already prevails. This system, if such it may be called, is really a highly specialised form of minority anarchism, breeds its own compulsions, as the rulers of independent Africa are beginning, some of them uneasily, to be aware. It is this which gives added urgency to the socially constructive aspects of pacifism in Africa no less than elsewhere.

May, 1963

This paper is submitted for the discussion on  
Pacifism in Africa and India.

- Also background paper for W.R.I. Study Conference  
in France -

Issued by:  
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88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England.

Background paper

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Study Conference

to be held at Château de Charbonnières, par Authon-du-Perche,  
(Eure-et-Loir), France, - 24th August - 31st August, 1963

TO SAY "PEACE" IS TO SAY "LIVING IN THE BEST POSSIBLE WAY"

-Danilo Dolci

If some ten years ago it was still possible to discuss whether or not it was necessary or possible for human relations to be based on non-violence, today the argument from love and educational experience has received a final sanction from the invention of atomic weapons. Today it doesn't make sense for an educated person to discuss the inevitability of war. The problem has been finally set aside; the morality of non-violence has now been, I should say, experimentally, proved in the sight of all. The choice has been reduced to this simple proposition: either we outlaw the bomb (and with it the old ethic which allowed one to seek one's ends, publicly or privately, by means of violence) or we destroy human life itself.

New model ideals, different from and complementary to each other, are growing up all over the world, and within the enormous matrix of old types of behaviour a new morality is growing up, nourished certainly by old beliefs and by experience. As the level of cultural and moral demands in the world is being raised, the right of force and of the "vendetta" is diminishing and the authority of rhetoric and the heroic in its violent, partisan sense is crumbling. Now is the time, therefore, to clarify the basic hypotheses, above all on the basis of new experiences, to experiment and verify, and, finally, to find a new cultural-moral-political synthesis.

Meanwhile, since the old morality has been put out of court by the existence of atomic weapons, the following problems arise: how may we obtain justice with peace? What are those non-violent techniques which can resolve the conflicts which arise?

Certainly there are many people who have not yet thought about these problems, while many others are not in a position to know the harm that atomic weapons represent, or simply do not know of their existence.

Nearly always, when one asks the man in the street what he thinks, after a moment's thought he says "No" to atomic weapons. It is essential, therefore, to make the inattentive, those with closed minds, the deaf - to make them hear and realise. We should oblige everyone to express himself in the way most suited to him and to his opportunities and to declare his "No" and to make his own suggestions - person by person, group by group, nation by nation. Because while, on the other hand, it is necessary for the representatives of the people to interpret the implicit desire of man to survive, on the other hand it is essential for these same people to express themselves, press their opinions, make demands, so that the bloody follies of the past shall be rendered impossible in the future. In all countries of the world the people should discuss all decisions affecting international relations, thus securing an effective participation and consent of the mass of the people.

The main difficulty in eliminating armaments is found in the measure of our inability to substitute some other equally strong or stronger and more efficient means of defence than that of being armed. I do not believe there can be truly effective action for

peace except to the degree that there are people who believe from personal experience in the necessity of struggling, of co-operating, and of living according to the principles and practice of non-violence.

It is urgent and indispensable that the people should understand the danger and take part in protests in the most active possible way against the lunatic possibilities which threaten the existence of all of us. However, even more important than such protests is that people should know and prepare not only checks and obstacles but also ways and means for the construction of lasting peace. One should remember the advice of Gandhi - "there is always a risk that once the consciousness of disaster and the feelings of disgust have been dissipated the world will return to violence with renewed zeal" - and the fact that more and more easily will bombs be able to be made privately.

Action stemming from the people themselves is therefore essential - and this is truly and deeply revolutionary. The people must take part in some local action, however small, so long as it has precise aims and is well planned. In this way they may learn how great are the possibilities of common action: and in this there is much which bears directly on the possibilities for peace. It is of fundamental importance that every individual, group and nation, working together at every level, should state and understand their problems: what it is they want and what the effective solutions are. One should therefore encourage the making of organic, open and non-violent plans, by the people themselves wherever possible, which will thus cause the growth of research into the ideas for local action, which in turn will become regional plans and slowly develop into bigger, more enveloping ones.

There can never be true peace while hunger, poverty, ignorance, exploitation, unemployment, colonialism and institutional restrictions on life itself are still to be found in the world. We should not allow ourselves to be lulled by superficial moments of calm or by the mildness of certain peoples, traditionally humiliated, without hope. Armed violence is not the only kind of violence: one should remember that privileged conservatives try in every possible way to "maintain order", above all ensuring that they are strong in arms and armies, but appealing to the principles of law and civil rights in doing so.

In so far as a person, group or nation is under-developed and has not yet reached the best of which it is capable and finds it hard to fulfil its creative possibilities, so conflicts are bound to occur; only when such potentialities as exist in each person, group or nation are realised do they arrive at the necessary level of serenity to understand the way and possibilities of peace. It is therefore fundamental to discover, study, keep in mind and value the particular experience and contribution that each can make so that a new world culture, morality, political system and a new life can take for nourishment that which is authentic and is offered by the various cultures.

How can people be sure that they themselves determine the issues of war and peace when, as yet, they do not feel, and indeed are not, masters of their own small today or of their immediate tomorrow? Vast numbers still believe themselves impotent in the face of fundamental problems, not having the necessary experience to understand that development and improvement are possible if men are determined to have them. All actions through which men can experience the possibilities of their own creative development, according to their own true individual, group and collective interests, as a result of assuming choice and responsibility, are therefore the essential seminaries for training the leaders necessary for a world which aims at a sane way of human development. To condition human life by external means is dangerous if at the same time there is no strong leavening action at the social level.

It is not enough to rely on the goodwill of those at the top - politicians, religious and cultural leaders. By themselves they do not know and they cannot succeed. He who has the greatest burden of responsibility, even when working and striking in the best possible way so that everyone may possess essential values, is in danger of thinking that he knows what in fact he does not know, and of seeing as uniform things which are not at all uniform. He is also in danger of constantly repeating his own point of view and propositions without listening to others, always thinking the other side wrong, imagining that others, plotting all manner of subterfuges and mean acts, do not mean well and cannot be sincere, and discounts the fact that for his own part he is bound to advance with violence (and to increase it) to save truth, justice and peace itself. Is this then the key to peace? And yet in just this, so primitive morally, consists the greatest part of political action at the summit of the major powers.

Thus a great educational effort is required by means of which humanity may recognise itself, may be cured and renew itself. A long-standing illness to be cured needs deep, fundamental treatment. The greatest impediment to war, and the only real one, is in the final analysis determined by the point of maturity which the men who do not want war have reached. And this maturity, this self-education, is not produced evidently by making or by listening to speeches, but in fact by making plans, by seeking answers, by living together, working together in the field and by becoming aware together. Very often working in depth, not just for immediate results, happens also to be the safest and surest way. To disarm means to accelerate and improve development; but this is also reversible.

Certainly there are only too many irrational elements and situations of power, tension and explosive force. For this very reason one needs such a strong and organic life of non-violence - implacably strong when necessary - to prevent violence from exploding at all levels. To search for a solution to these problems, having said NO to war and violence as instruments for resolving them, means, in fact, to search for and discover the techniques of non-violence. In order not to risk wasting one's effort in some vague attempt at propaganda one must have one's feet firmly on the ground in the struggle, while one's vision may reach far ahead. One must form centres for open development from the grass roots which will deepen, widen and multiply as time goes on - like new cells tending to link together in new tissue.

To resign oneself to doing or letting others do what one is not profoundly convinced of, and not to seek coherence at the highest level of one's carefully examined conscience is to fail to lead a true life. We are easily satisfied with a certain point of development of our own as individuals, as groups or as nations, but in communication we grow. The misunderstandings which may occur in one day if well faced, may give opportunities for growing richer in the days which follow. If on the one hand it seems to me an abstract moralism to say: "It's enough that we are pure: the problem will solve itself," on the other hand to suppose that one can resolve the problem by some improvised external formula savours of the ancient world, superstitious, magical, child-like: it denotes an insensitivity to the proportions of the problem, of the disease. Effective agreements, effective co-ordination, can exist only among effective personalities: of individuals, groups, regions, nations.

Must we really wait until everyone has understood the issues before we can eliminate war and atomic weapons? If it is true, that there are things which are imperative, and are indispensable conditions, such as, in the first place, the non-massacre of people, then these things must be accepted by those who have the responsibility of power. Since humanity stands above the nation, it is ever more necessary to actuate every form of co-ordinating international authority. It is necessary to continually improve the function and the authority of both international and super-national organisms.

Every atom must be sane, organic. In each atom love, truth, the best possible development - that is peace - should be reconquered; nothing can be definitely acquired or discounted. In this field as in others, pretences, tricks and selfish acts cannot be expected to produce sincerity, loyalty and co-operation; just as lentils do not grow from potatoes. Tuberculosis and leprosy do no good in themselves even when life is so strong as to resist in spite of illness and blunders, making use of whatever remains on the positive side, destroying and absorbing the germs of death, of chaos and of nothingness, or neutralising them as with the pearl.

What, then? What are the concrete proposals? It is best to make concrete indications without going into too many details and also without making too many generalisations which may lead to vague abstractions.

Here are some of the raw problems which, with so many other people, I believe should be studied carefully and worked out through general discussions as well as in talks with men of learning and with specialists and at the international level:

1) Those meeting-points and decisions on which agreement has been reached at the international level should be underlined and given wide circulation throughout the world. It seems to me that the idea, proposed in various quarters, of making a universal charter for the use of atomic energy solely for peaceful purposes is timely. One should also reconsider the various propositions for disarmament and the possible new points of agreement.

2) Let all scientists, all universities still directly concerned with the making of atomic bombs or in any way with the technology of destruction - let them bring their collaboration to a halt. And let all those who co-operate in those fields as workers and technicians, and produce instruments of death, strike, put up a mass front for the change-over of their industry to saner ends. This applies to America as much as to the USSR, to England and France, or to any country at all where such actions may be necessary.

3) If one waits for another to make the first step, no one will do anything. We must break down the vicious circle. As has already been proposed many times, wisely and authoritatively, every state ought to take a substantial and increasing percentage of the capital and taxes dedicated each year to the armed forces and use the funds to develop life where the need is greatest, where poverty, famine, violence, disease and ignorance are at their worst.

Can one expect governments to act according to the type of force and personnel at their disposal? Can one expect governments, which should represent citizens with the most diverse interpretations of life, to take on total unilateral disarmament by themselves, decisions involving the possible sacrifice of entire communities of which only a part are in agreement? To what point can one impose certain sacrifices on others? Certainly already converted individuals and voluntary groups can, by their sacrifice, by their action and pressure, work in hope of "a new heaven and a new earth". Let expert teams be trained for the development of life, and let the proportion of this investment be steadily increased. This method is already accepted even by those who with a full sense of responsibility object to disarmament on the ground that people are not yet educated to it, and that complete disarmament can come only when the people are ready.

4) Let the procedure for abolishing missile bases and present stocks of atomic war material be decided as soon as possible, or better, let them be turned wherever possible to sane use.

5) Let ever greater areas be totally disarmed among the major powers.

6) All over the world let the validity of the position of the conscientious objector be recognised legally and as soon as possible. He should be allowed to undertake a civilian task, even a difficult and dangerous one, as an alternative to military service.

7) Let there be exchanges and meetings of ever greater frequency between areas of advanced scientific and industrial development and those which are rich or poor in quite other ways, and between areas with different interpretations of life and different social structures: among different peoples so that they may face their consciences, among the diverse organisations for peace aiming at the foundation of one world organisation, and so on until there are co-operation and communication channels at every level.

The most sacred word among men at one time was "communion"; the most sacred words today could be "democratic planning", if by this is meant the attempt to reach agreement up to a world scale for the development of life in the best possible way. There are models existing today which, even if not perfect, can already indicate on a large scale how this is possible, forming a close dialogue, a continual exchange between centre and base, between base and people.

To say "peace" is the same as to say "living in the best possible way" - that is, to be aware of being, and in fact to be, joint creators of life as well as we possibly can. Human life will acquire value and true peace just to the degree that we can succeed in making of every person a joint creator.

From PEACE NEWS, Sept. 21st, 1962 and  
Sept. 28th, 1962

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Background paper

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Study Conference

at Château de Charbonnières, par Authon-du-Perche,  
(Eure-et-Loir), France, 24th - 31st August, 1963

## POLITICS OF PEOPLES' AUTHORITY

or

## DEMOCRATIC VALUES

-Dada Dharmadhikari

(In today's socialist or democratic patterns neither socialism nor democracy prospers. They all invariably and ultimately end in centralisation of power - authority of a party or a few individuals. It seems there is something inherently wrong with the whole political structure which does not allow development of real democratic values in society. Politics has to be completely revolutionised if human relations are to be based on democracy. What will be the new form of politics? According to Sarvodaya thought it will be LOK-NITI (LOK - people; NITI - code of conduct), a pattern of behaviour by the people, a code of conduct based and operated on democratic values. Main characteristics of LOK-NITI, in contrast to those of politics of today, are as follows:-

It develops the sense of personal responsibility and self-discipline in people instead of vesting all power and responsibility in "representatives". It decentralises power instead of making Governments all-powerful. It develops voluntary spirit in people instead of compulsion. In LOK-NITI individuals will take care of others' interests while fulfilling their own obligations.

Dada Dharmadhikari is a profound exponent of Sarvodaya thought. He has widely expounded the idea of LOK-NITI; unfortunately most of his writings are in Hindi or Marathi. The following has been taken from his foreword to Vinoba Bhave's book "Democratic Values" which appeared in English translation some time ago. To derive most benefit it is necessary to keep in mind its Indian background while reading the following.)

The Life-Principle

People often ask whether all central administration and authority can ever be dispensed with. The question is not immediately relevant. Even today all legislation is passed on the assumption that the vast majority of citizens will respect the law and that only a very small proportion are likely to break it. Jails are, therefore, provided only for the few. If the majority of the people had to be sent to prison, the laws would cease to serve their purpose. Even in jails, moreover, there is less emphasis now than formerly on harsh and authoritarian discipline. More and more reforms are being introduced so

as to provide greater scope for an ordered way of living, administered, so far as possible, by the prisoners themselves. This has great significance, in as much as it implies that the general trend of our social policies is towards freedom rather than towards authoritarianism.

True freedom connotes self-discipline or self-control, which is the only true discipline. It is this self-mastery which is the life-principle of real democratic conduct.

Laws are made in the light of the type of conduct which we consider it desirable and good to establish among the people. It is incumbent upon every citizen to help strengthen public opinion in favour of such laws. If any section of the public fails to perform this duty, the consequence will be that penalties must be invoked as a means of enforcing the law. The more frequent are the occasions for this exercise of penal force in getting the law obeyed, the more seriously is democratic authority jeopardised and the freedom of the citizen circumscribed. The use of force undermines respect for those ideals and standards of democratic conduct which we wish to inculcate.

### Social Morality

It is the task of devotees of democratic values - not that of government authority alone - to create and maintain a robust and vigorous public opinion in favour of social morality.

Genuine public opinion is not a matter of numbers. Right and wrong cannot be decided by majority vote. If, for instance, 95% of the population of a particular area are "touchable" and only 5% "untouchable", would it follow that the view of the 95% represents genuine public opinion? Suppose, on the other hand, that a government of a majority of the untouchables were to wreak vengeance on the touchable minority by denying it all civic rights, could that be regarded as a real index of public opinion? Let us suppose a third case - a crowd of whites in South Africa or America set out in a frenzy of anger to beat up a negro. Is that mob fury to be dignified with the name of pious public indignation? For democratic values these questions are fundamental; they are matters of life and death.

That government and administration can be said to be just and good in which freedom is assured to the weak, the powerless, the sick and the disabled, in which there is guarantee for their welfare and their convenience. Mob convulsions and social upheavals are not expressions of public opinion; still less are they expressions of democratic values.

### Touchstone of democracy

The touchstone of lok-tantra, of a really democratic system, is that every citizen shall be free and every minority secure. Under such a dispensation the will of the majority is not imposed upon the minority by the threat of the sword or the sheer brute strength of the vote.

What then are the sanctions behind this system of government? The only final guarantee of the freedom of minorities is the good will and good conduct of the majority. Their standards of justice and good faith constitute the plinth and foundation of the temple of democracy. Force and threat of punishment are detrimental to the development of democratic values. They render the citizen colour-blind to all the higher values of life. If any spirit of bargaining, any tendency to invoke legal sanctions, enters into the mutual relationships of two citizens, it destroys all mutual trust and sense of fellowship between them. It is only when personal relationships

between two individuals are strained that recourse is had to the law and the sanctions of the authority are invoked.

It is the primary aim of every social reformer to get rid of the elements of bargaining and legalism that have provoked the bane of human relationships. No one wants legalism to enter into his relationships with his mother or father, his son or his wife.

What Vinoba says is just this: that the conduct of citizens towards one another should be rooted in a sense of kinship, in a spirit of belonging, reciprocity and fellowship. Whatever elements of legalism are to be found in their dealings today should be steadily reduced until they finally disappear. This is what is meant by a government-free society, and this freedom from external restraint or compulsive administration is in essence the natural state of human affairs. Legalism steps in when a conflict of interests arises. The real way to get rid of it is, therefore, to eliminate those factors which make for a conflict of interests between individuals and between groups. The fewer the occasions when the interests of two citizens conflict, the less will be the need for the intervention of law. Society is freed from exploitation when relationships are no longer motivated by bargaining but by a sense of kinship. Society is freed from government when the spirit of human fellowship, rather than that of constitutional and legal relationships, controls social life.

#### Question of Ownership

The question which may pertinently be asked is not: "Will a day come when society can be organised without any external government?" The real question rather is: "In which direction are we facing? Does every citizen who believes in freedom and democracy sincerely desire and endeavour to see the element of bargaining and legalism reduced to a minimum in his dealings with his fellow-citizens?" If so, we are making for democratic values. The principle that there should be no competition for wealth between citizens has now been universally accepted. Everyone who stands for a radical change in the present social order has begun to talk about vesting wealth, property and ownership in the State, the nation or society. There are also some who plead for the abolition of private capital and property and the exaltation of the principle of non-possessiveness and trusteeship. All agree in their desire to put an end to all competition and rivalry between individuals in the economic field. A man who is engaged in acquiring and preserving property even for the sake of charity and service feels called upon to be constantly on the lookout for favourable opportunities for increasing his 'public property'. His energies and thoughts are directed towards that end. This is the profit motive, masquerading as public interest. Similarly, a man whose honest intention is to win and keep power for the promotion of public welfare and social good, must always be on the lookout for whatever circumstances will conduce to the success of his own bid for power. He will constantly have to strive not only to capture but to retain power as the most potent instrument of social service.

#### Decentralisation of Power

The root idea of democratic organisation is that the representation of the people should be as simple, practical and direct as possible. But the politician is in the very nature of things obliged to give priority to his own success and that of his party; the consideration of the proper representation of the people is secondary. This is a serious flaw in the present "democratic" system of struggle for power. Every candidate strives with all his heart and every party strives with all its might to get into the saddle. In a genuinely democratic order this would at best be a secondary consideration. The rivalry for power is the bane of democracy. Is the passion for

power any less a bar to human fellowship than the craving for possession? If economic competition is against man's best interests, the competition for power, even within a democratic frame work, is also injurious to public welfare. If the concentration of wealth and ownership in the hands of a mere handful of men is inimical to social prosperity, the concentration of political and legal power in the hands of a few is even more detrimental to the freedom of the common man.

Self-discipline and Self-control

One thing more. Where there is real freedom and democracy, that is, where there is genuine self-discipline and self-control, as well as a conscientious considerateness for the need and comfort of others, the cleavage between the secular and the sacred no longer exists. What is secular will also be sacred, for the secular itself will necessarily be the right and just. When public affairs are illumined by basically sound ethical principles, democratic values will emerge in all their brilliance and splendour. The sanction of a truly democratic system consists in certain generally recognised standards of conduct which cannot be abrogated by any party in power, by any voluntary association of citizens, or even by the unanimous vote of popular assembly.

One Step Further

All progressive people throughout the world have recognised that two things are needful to the full dignity of the individual. First, that no priest should intervene between the devotee and the deity; second, that no middleman should stand between the producer of goods and their consumer. All our movements of religious and economic revolutions have been based on these two principles. We now have to go one step further and see that the same principle which we have accepted for our spiritual and commercial transactions is also accepted in the political field of democratic authority and public administration. The number of administrators and representatives must be reduced to a minimum. That would be direct democracy and the practical expression of the people's sovereignty. Otherwise, we will have a system of representative government in which the individual citizen ceases to be significant.

In order to advance in the direction of genuine democracy we need clearly demarcated and defined areas of social activity within which the family spirit can express itself. This family spirit can best be fostered in communities of modest dimensions where the people can share intimately one another's weal and woe.

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Institut...

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88 Park Avenue  
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ED 718-17-158

10th July, 1963

12.7.63

Dear Friend,

I am sure you will be happy to know that 55 people have already applied to attend our Study Conference at Château de Charbonnières - many of them experienced peace workers. This means that we can look forward to discussions on high level. Hence it is all the more necessary that all participants come well prepared to the Conference. I hope you all will make use of the suggestions for reading material and also of the background papers you will receive from us.

Travel instructions: Take the train from Montparnasse station, Paris, for BROU, via Chartres. BROU is on the line Chartres-Courtalain-Saumur-Niort, 128 km. from Paris and 19 km. from Charbonnières. You can also get to Charbonnières by way of Nogent-le-Rotrou by changing to a bus to Authon du Perche.

Summer Time Table of Paris - Brou  
(Montparnasse station)

|      |          |      |       |       |       |       |       |
|------|----------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|      | Montp.   | 7,20 | 9,22  | 10,52 | 14,55 | 18,00 | 19,19 |
| arr. | Chartres | 8,20 | 10,23 | 11,56 | 15,55 | 19,05 | 20,14 |
| dep. | Chartres | 8,35 |       | 12,00 | 16,05 | 19,25 | 20,26 |
|      | Brou     | 9,17 |       | 12,35 | 16,37 | 20,08 | 20,57 |

For all these trains change at CHARTRES.

☆☆☆

We hope that all participants will arrive at the Château before 19,30 on August 24th. It seems to us that the best train will be the one leaving Paris at 14,55 and arriving at BROU at 16,37. As there is no public transport from Brou to Château de Charbonnières, PLEASE LET M. HENRI SCHULTZ, THE MANAGER OF THE CHATEAU, KNOW THE TIME OF YOUR ARRIVAL AT BROU, so that he can make arrangements for a van to come to meet you. (Participants have to pay for the petrol used). The address to write is:-

Château de Charbonnières,  
par Authon-du-Perche,  
(Eure-et-Loir), (Tel. 66 A Authon-du-Perche)


What to bring: Conference documents, agenda, soap, towel.

Chance to extend your stay in France: The Annual Conference of ACTION CIVIQUE NON VIOLENTE will be taking place at Lyon from 5th - 8th September and the Secretary of A.C.N.V. has invited our Conference participants to attend it - if they can. You are all also welcome to visit the COMMUNAUTE DE L'ARCHE in Bollène, south of Lyon. This community is an experiment in the Christian-Gandhian way of living under the guidance of Lanzo del Vasto.

If you are interested in the Lyon Conference and/or visiting the community, please write to Marie Faugeron, the Secretary of A.C.N.V. at 106, r. Sadi-Carnot, Vanves (Seine), FRANCE.

Looking forward to meeting you all at Château de Charbonnières,

Yours sincerely,



Devi Prasad  
Secretary

Enclosed: 3 background papers for the Conference

Eine Liste mit Vorschlägen für zu studierendes Lesematerial

ED 718-17-159

UNO-BERICHT - WIRTSCHAFTLICHE UND SOZIALE FOLGEN DER  
 ABRÜSTUNG, Verlag Die Friedensrundschau, Hamburg 13,  
 Bornstrasse 6, 10 Pfennig

Gene Sharp

AUF ANDEREN WEGEN, Hans-Konrad & Helga Tempel und Heinz  
 Duwe, 207 Ahrensburg/Holstein, Manhagener Allee 33

Thoreau

WIDERSTAND GEGEN DIE REGIERUNG, H.K. & Helga Tempel  
 und Heinz Duwe, 207 Ahrensburg/Holstein, Manhagener  
 Allee 33

Elisabeth Rotten

SIEGE OHNE WAFFEN, 1959, 32 Seiten, DM 1, Göttingen:  
 Wissen und Verantwortung

Ralph Hegnauer

WEHRHAFT DURCH GEWALTLOSES VERHALTEN?, Pazifistische  
 Bücherstube, Zürich, Gartenstrasse 7, 1960, 103 Seiten,  
 Preis 3:30

DIE GEWALTFREIE ZIVILARMEE - STIMME DER JUNGEN  
 GENERATION, 1962, Manfred Ebert, 7 Stuttgart -W,  
 Johannestrasse 67, DM 1

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
STUDY CONFERENCE 1964

NON-VIOLENT SOLUTION OF CONFLICT

with special reference to

GERMANY AND BERLIN

27. 6. 64

at Offenbach/Main, Germany  
from 9th - 15th August, 1964

During recent years points of tension and hotbeds of Cold War have greatly increased in number. Every now and then they threaten the world with major crises. From among them divided Germany and Berlin remain of central importance and great anxiety to the peace movements, particularly in Europe. Efforts to solve this problem have been continuously made by different bodies.

What can peace movements, national and international, draw from these experiences and what can they do in practical terms towards the solution of German and Berlin questions?

## A G E N D A

- Sunday, 9th August
- morning      Opening, messages, introductions
- afternoon    The world immersed in Cold War - a short review  
Speaker: to be announced
- Monday, 10th August
- morning and afternoon    Germany after the Second World War  
Speaker: Dr. Arno Klönne
- Tuesday, 11th August
- morning      Forces working for lessening of tension and efforts to solve the German problem ; forces preventing solution  
Speaker: Egon Becker
- afternoon    Disarmament and lessening of tension in Central Europe  
Speaker: Heiner Halberstadt
- Wednesday, 12th August
- Excursion to Heidelberg
- Thursday, 13th August
- morning      Social and political Significance of national and international organisations in disarmament and lessening of tension, with special reference to Central Europe  
Speaker: Herbert Stubenrauch

afternoon Policies of German peace movements  
Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft  
 Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner  
 Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
 Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner  
 Versöhnungsbund  
 Speakers: Representatives of the above organisations

Friday, 14th August

Possibilities and limitations of non-violent solution of conflict  
 Speakers: to be announced

Saturday, 15th August  
 morning and afternoon

Summary and Conference Statement

: : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : :

PRACTICAL DETAILS

Postal address: Naturfreundehaus auf der  
 Rosenhöhe,  
 Jugendgästehaus,  
 605 Offenbach/Main,  
 Am Waldschwimmbad 30, Germany  
 Tel. 8 24 51

How to get there: First to Offenbach Main Station. From there bus No. 3 in the direction of Buchrainweiher up to Loos-stop. Walk 10 minutes through sign-posted gardens.

Car owners: First to Offenbach and continuing to drive in the same direction, 300 meters after the first houses on the right turn into road between gardens and follow signposts.

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Cost: £7 for food and lodging and £1 Conference Fee. Camping facilities available. Reduced prices for children under 12. Excursion extra.

Booking: Fill in application form (available from W.R.I.) and send in your booking fee.

Assisting with arrangements in Germany:

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605 Offenbach am Main,  
Waldstrasse 99, Germany Tel. 883764

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield,  
Middlesex, England Tel. LAB 3977

## DIE GEWALTLOSE LÖSUNG DES KONFLIKTS

MIT BESONDERER REFERENZ AUF DEUTSCHLAND UND DAS BERLIN-PROBLEM

in

Naturfreundehaus auf der Rosenhöhe, Offenbach/Main, Deutschland,

vom 9. - 15. August 1964

ANMELDUNGSFORMULAR

ED 718-17-162

Name (in grossen Druckbuchstaben) \_\_\_\_\_

Adresse (in grossen Druckbuchstaben) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Zu welcher Friedensorganisation gehören Sie? \_\_\_\_\_

Welches Gebiet der Friedensarbeit interessiert Sie besonders?  
\_\_\_\_\_

Beabsichtigen Sie, der ganzen Konferenz beizuwohnen? JA/NEIN

Wenn Sie nicht an der ganzen Konferenz teilnehmen können, kreuzen Sie bitte die Tage an, an denen Sie zugegen sein werden:

S.  M.  D.  M.  Do.  F.  Sonnab. SPRACHEN:Welche Sprachen beherrschen Sie? Engl.  Franz.  Deutsch Falls Sie keine dieser Sprachen beherrschen, geben Sie bitte die von Ihnen beherrschte Sprache an:  
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Sind Sie bereit,

(a) Reden in der Vollversammlung zu übersetzen, vom \_\_\_\_\_ ins \_\_\_\_\_

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vom \_\_\_\_\_ ins \_\_\_\_\_(c) die Übersetzung von Konferenzdokumenten  
vom \_\_\_\_\_ ins \_\_\_\_\_ALLGEMEINES:

Wünschen Sie (a) vegetarische Mahlzeiten

(b) Unterkunft für Kinder, wieviel und in welchem Alter? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_KOSTEN:

Für Erwachsene: DM 10 pro Tag, zuzüglich DM 10 Konferenzgebühr für jeden Teilnehmer (wird nicht zurückerstattet). Kinder zahlen ermässigte Preise.

(a) Anbei die Konferenzgebühr von DM 10 oder der entsprechende Gegenwert

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DIE GEWALTLOSE LÖSUNG DES KONFLIKTS

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ANMELDUNGSFORMULAR

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\_\_\_\_\_

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S.  M.  D.  M.  Do.  F.  Sonnab.

SPRACHEN:

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9. 7. 64

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

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Social and political Significance of national and international organisations in disarmament and lessening of tension, with special reference to Central Europe  
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Middlesex, England Tel. LAB 3977

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

1. 8. 64

Study Conference

NON-VIOLENT SOLUTION OF CONFLICT  
with special reference to  
GERMANY AND BERLIN

at Offenbach/Main, Germany, from 9th - 15th August, 1964

NON-VIOLENCE: DOCTRINE OR TECHNIQUE?

- Theodor Ebert

I.

In March 1964 a collection of articles was published in London under the title "Civilian Defence" in which Adam Roberts, Jerome Frank, Arne Maess and Gene Sharp discussed the possibilities of meeting invasion or coup d'état by non-violent resistance. Adam Roberts in his introductory contribution states, "All the authors of the articles in this booklet consider that non-violent action should be judged not in terms of a doctrine, which one may accept or reject, but as a technique, the potentialities of which in particular situations demand the most rigorous and careful study."

If, as in the case of the above authors, an enquiry into the fundamental principles of non-violent resistance was intended to convert others to a particular course of action, it would surely be advisable to proceed entirely from the point of view of those to whom the statement is addressed and either abandon the doctrine altogether as a traditional encumbrance or, if it is thought to be useful for the purpose of training leaders, to foster it in private and, in the first instance, to offer the technique regardless of its historic development. If indignant adherents to the doctrine should denounce this method as "cheap salesmanship", as has been done in the case of "Civilian Defence", such an accusation would merely speak for the chances of the success of the procedure.

It should be the task of science, even at the risk of shocking public opinion and making "creative misunderstandings" more difficult, to reveal the doctrinal background of such a technique, i.e. to explain the ideas of the leaders of non-violent resistance campaigns who, in deference to the outside world, pretended to be mere technicians of non-violent action or who, at best, called themselves "Practical idealists" with the accent on "practical".

Even a cursory glance at the spread of non-violent techniques during the last five decades reveals the importance of doctrine and idealist impulses and shows that non-violent action is inseparable from its chief protagonist Mohandas K. Gandhi, even though at the present time in Europe such a separation may be advisable for propaganda purposes. (1)

When Gandhi's ideas began to circulate in Europe and America, their acceptance was confined to pacifists and was not limited to mere strategy but embraced his whole doctrine, which was regarded as the gospel of a Far-Eastern Messiah (2) for the doomed Occident. In 1922 Romain Rolland, in the first popular biography of Gandhi, ex-

plained his analysis of the European situation. His arguments are typical of the way in which Gandhi's "message to the world" was taken up between the two wars. They will therefore be quoted extensively.

"A gale of violence sweeps the world. The storm which destroyed the harvest of our civilisation did not come unexpectedly. Centuries of ruthless national pride, egged on by an idolatrous ideology of revolution and spread by the blind aping of the democracies... inevitably led to these confused battles, in which the resources of the Occident are swept away. One nation strangles another in the name of identical principles which hide identical interests and identical murderous instincts. They all - nations, fascists, communists, peoples and oppressed classes - claim the right to violence which they regard as the supreme right, but try to deny it to others. Only half a century ago violence suppressed justice. Today it is much worse: violence is justice. It has destroyed justice. There is no sanctuary, no hope in this world which collapses..."

"Insidious pacifists bleat feebly and one senses their lack of determination. They speak of a faith which they are not sure they possess. Who shall convince them of that faith? And how, in a world which denies it? In the only way any faith can be proved, by deeds!"

That is the message to the world, as Gandhi calls it, the message of India: "We must sacrifice ourselves!"

'Our struggle', says Gandhi, 'aims at friendship with the whole world... Non-violence has appeared among men and will remain with them. It is the herald of world peace...'

"The politicians of violence (revolutionary and reactionary) scorn that faith. I adhere to it. I see it mocked and persecuted in Europe. In my own country we are only a handful. Are we even a handful? But even if I alone had the faith, what does it matter? It is characteristic of that faith that it does not deny the hostility in the world but sees it and yet believes. That is still better! For the faith is conflict. And our non-violence is the hardest conflict. The way of peace is not the way of weakness. We are much less enemies of violence than of weakness. What has no strength, has no value: either the good or bad. Far rather all the bad than the good without strength or savour. The whining pacifism is fatal to peace; it is cowardice and lack of faith. Those who cannot believe or who are afraid should withdraw! The way of peace is self-sacrifice." (3)

Although Romain Rolland in his biography of Gandhi described the Khilafat campaign of non-co-operation and civil disobedience in 1920 and 1921, Gandhi was not regarded as the creator of a new technique of fighting which could replace armed conflict, but immediately as a harbinger of world peace, the prophet of non-violence. The new "faith" was felt to be a shot in the arm for European pacifism, which was expected to make a special effort to serve peace by self-sacrificing action and to become the so-called "active pacifism". The last consequence should be the willingness to refuse military service for reasons of conscience. (4). This interpretation was not affected by the publication of Gandhi's leading articles in Young India (5).

During the period between the two world wars any conception of non-violence remained largely bound to the ideal. Discussion ranged around the essence of violence and non-violence. People believed in non-violence as in the law of human kind, as others, though a popular interpretation of Darwin's theories, believed in violence as a fundamental necessity in the fight for survival. Apart from a few exceptions, it seems that pacifist opposition to the popular conception of Darwin, as held by the fascists, prevented the acceptance of the militant component in Gandhi's teaching.

The most important exceptions are Richard D. Gregg (6) and Krishnala Shridharani (7) who in their close proximity to Gandhi had learnt to understand the power of non-violent action and its militant character. Unlike "active pacifists" whose arch-enemy was war as such and whose method was appeasement, they learnt from Gandhi to demand preparations for non-violent resistance on the part of the state as an alternative to military preparations against external threats and internal anti-democratic revolution. Gandhi said, "Non-violence does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant." (8) But even Gregg and Shidharani confined their demands to general indications. They did not discuss actual details and made no attempts of their own to organise non-violent resistance.

Although European and American adherents to non-violence realised that Gandhi was not only a prophet but also a legally trained leader of the masses, well versed in party organisation, they were prepared to listen only to the prophetic message. For all that Alfred Koblner stated in the introduction to "Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit, Handbuch des aktiven Pazifismus" ("Violence and Non-violence. A Guide to Active Pacifism") that through Gandhi's action the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount had been translated from a "reverie to a living faith" (9), but there was not one among the believers in non-violence willing to transfer the relevant techniques to Europe or America.

The unarmed resistance against the Kapp-Putsch in 1920 and the passive resistance against the French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 were influenced by trade union experience with strikes and there is no evidence of any knowledge of Gandhi's teaching of experience. The reason for this may lie in the fact that in spite of newspaper reports about the Khilafat campaign in 1920/21, a deeper insight into Gandhi's ideas did not begin until 1923.

But even in the resistance to fascism, non-violence based on fundamental principles played no part. Gandhi's appeal to the Jews, Czechs and Poles (10) to offer non-violent resistance had no effect because Gandhi did not really understand the difference between British colonial rule and a totalitarian dictatorship. (11). Even Gandhi, faced with fascism, became a doctrinaire. He merely affirmed his faith in the power of non-violence, but in contrast to his attitude in South Africa and India, made no further proposals for action. In correspondence with Europeans who knew German national-socialism by experience, he discussed the image of mankind which corresponds to a belief in non-violence, but not the immediate practical actions which spring from such a belief. "What concerns me in the letter of my Dutch friend is not so much his characterisation of Nazism as his belief that non-violent action may have no effect on Hitler or the Germans whom he has turned into so many robots. Non-violent action, if it is adequate, must influence Hitler and easily the duped Germans. No man can be turned into a permanent machine. Immediately the dead

weight of authority is lifted from his head, he begins to function normally." (12)

Judging by post-war experiences with former Nazis, Gandhi may not have been altogether wrong in his judgment of people under totalitarian rule, but in making these anthropological pronouncements, unusual enough in the midst of war propaganda, he neglected to study and analyse the essential character of Nazi rule. The weak points at which nonviolent action might have been applied with some hope of success could only have been recognised on the basis of such a study.

Articles which Gandhi wrote in October 1938 to recommend non-violent resistance to the Czechs are still important documents, if only because they provide evidence that Gandhi did not believe in a permanent success for the policy of appeasement, but, in contrast to his European pacifist disciples, only in a policy of strength and independent national defence. He explained clearly that by national defence he meant non-violent defence, though he did not define the term in detail. "Czechoslovakia has a lesson for me and all of us in India. The Czechs could not have done anything else when they found themselves deserted by their two powerful allies. And yet I have the hardihood to say that if they had known the use of non-violence as a weapon for the defence of national honour, they would have faced the whole might of Germany with that of Italy thrown in. They would have spared England and France the humiliation of suing for peace which was no peace." (13)

## II.

While up to the Second World War Gandhi was accepted only by pacifists, who in any event already rejected military violence on principle and for whom he served as a confirmation rather than a practical guide, that situation significantly changed after the end of the Second World War. The most important dates in this connection are 15th August, 1947, the day India achieved independence, and 6th August, 1945, the day the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.

India separated from Great Britain by mutual agreement. It began its life as an independent country without an economic crisis and as an astonishingly viable free democracy. India and the world at large regarded this fact as a triumph for Gandhi's non-violent methods in the struggle for liberation. Since nothing is more successful than success, even non-Indian pragmatists, who would hardly have been interested in Gandhi's doctrine as such, now began to ask themselves whether these methods might not be used in their own countries and for their own political ends.

The first non-pacifist politician to resort to Gandhi's methods was Kwame Nkrumah. His Conventions Peoples Party achieved independence for Ghana in a non-violent struggle which lasted from the autumn of 1949 to 6th March 1957. Nkrumah called his method "positive action" and demanded that while the campaign was in progress "Gandhi's principle of absolute non-violence should be observed". (14). "At first I could not imagine", he writes in his autobiography, "how Gandhi's philosophy of non-violent resistance could have any prospect of success. It appeared to me to be an extremely feeble method, lacking any hope of success. The solution of the colonial problem as I saw it then was to be found in armed rebellion. But, I asked myself, how is it possible to carry out a successful revolution without arms and without ammunition? Having studied for months Gandhi's technique and closely observed its success, I came to the conclusion that perhaps it could offer a solution to the colonial problem provided that a strong political organisation was behind it." (15)

In 1952 a nonviolent resistance campaign organised by the African National Congress drew the attention of the world to the policy of apartheid practised by the government of South Africa. Leo Kuper, sociologist at the University of Natal and chairman of the Liberal Party, describes the astonishment occasioned by the use of Gandhi's methods by non-Indians in South Africa. "Passive resistance is usually regarded as compatible with Indian philosophy, an expression of Indian asceticism and quietism. Among South African whites, at any rate, it is thought to be in the nature of the Indian that he should resist passively. The 1946 campaign, almost entirely Indian, did not disturb settled convictions. When the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress united in sponsoring the 1952 campaign and Africans, Indians and Coloureds responded, there was confusion. A non-white united front challenged the stereotyped patterns of South African thought, based on assumptions of mutual antagonism and fundamental differences among Africans, Indians and Coloureds." (16)

The Nobel Peace Prize of 1960 was awarded to Albert John Luthuli, the leader of this nonviolent resistance campaign. When he received the Prize in Oslo, he interpreted it as an appreciation of the fact that this method of resistance had been adhered to under the most difficult circumstances. "Through all this cruel treatment in the name of law and order, our people, with a few exceptions, have remained non-violent. If to-day this Peace Award is given to South Africa through a black man, it is not because we in South Africa have won our fight for peace and brotherhood. Far from it. Perhaps we stand farther from victory than any other people in Africa. But nothing which we have suffered at the hands of the government has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance." (17)

Adherents to the doctrine of non-violence also managed after the Second World War to transfer the Indian technique to conflicts within their own countries and to lead resistance campaigns.

Since the bus boycott of Montgomery, Alabama, in 1956/57, Gandhi's methods have found a place in the nonviolent actions of American Negroes in their struggle for equality. This is largely due to the Gandhi disciple and prominent Negro leader, Martin Luther King. He also knew how to employ the doctrine as an aid in his fight. He strengthened the morale of the Negroes when he explained to them, "To become instruments of a great idea is a privilege that history gives only occasionally ... It may even be possible for the Negro, through adherence to nonviolence, so to challenge the nations of the world, that they will seriously seek an alternative to war and destruction. In a day when Sputniks and Explorers dash through outer space and guided ballistic missiles are carving highways of death through the stratosphere, nobody can win a war. To-day the choice is no longer between violence and non-violence. It is either non-violence or non-existence. The Negro may be God's appeal to this age - an age drifting rapidly to its doom. The eternal appeal takes the form of a warning: 'All who take the sword will perish by the sword'." (18)

Since King not only asked the Negroes not to ride in a bus but also based his boycott campaign on the doctrine on nonviolence, he gave expression to the great anti-military longing in a world which found itself in the grip of the strategy of the nuclear deterrent. This was largely the reason why this nonviolent campaign, which compared with other events in the world was an infinitesimal incident, was supported by an incredible amount of publicity as well as financial contributions not only from every State in the United States but from many other parts of the world.

A similar situation arose in 1963 when in the nonviolent battle of Birmingham, Alabama, Martin Luther King sent the Negroes out of the church and into the street to face police dogs and water hoses, and Bayard Rustin, secretary of the War Resisters' League and one of the best American experts in Gandhi's resistance methods, organised the "March on Washington".

### III.

The importance of 6th August, 1945, for the further development of the doctrine and technique of non-violence, was indicated by Martin Luther King's interpretation of the rôle played by nonviolence in the American race conflict, a purely internal conflict unconnected with the military strategy of the United States. The unimaginable enormity of the destruction caused by nuclear weapons compelled traditional pacifism to abandon its notoriously ineffective proclamations and to take action. British pacifists led the way.

In 1949 the British Section of the W.R.I. (Peace Pledge Union) set up a Nonviolence Commission. Under the chairmanship of Roy Walker, author of a biography of Gandhi and an account of the Norwegian nonviolent resistance against Quisling (19), the Commission, in addition to discussing traditional questions of "doctrine", investigated "the aims and methods of a nonviolent foreign policy for Britain, with some indication of suitable individual or small group demonstrations practicable in present circumstances." (20) These beginnings led via "Operation Gandhi" and the "Direct Action Committee" through endless discussions and through British prisons to the Committee of 100. (21) In 1961, Bertrand Russell and the Rev. Michael Scott, by their appeal "Act or Perish", moved thousands to undertake civil disobedience (22). With mass sit-downs in the traffic centres of London and attempts at nonviolent invasions of rocket bases the Committee of 100 went beyond the Easter Marches of CND, however important those had been from a propaganda point of view, into the field of nonviolent mass struggle, which compelled public attention and, under favourable circumstances, could force a government not to go too far in its duel on the brink of the nuclear abyss. (23)

After the Second World War pacifism not only found its way to action, it also found its way to new questions about theory and to a new understanding of itself. The weekly newspaper Peace News, originally the organ of the Peace Pledge Union and, therefore, to be regarded as orthodox, served as a pioneer. Among the members of the rejuvenated editorial staff of this international paper published in London, the sociologist Gene Sharp, the economist April Carter and the historian Adam Roberts, in particular, devoted their articles on the theme of nonviolence no longer to the belief in nonviolence but to the "technique of nonviolent action". The fact that Sharp had studied Max Weber's differentiation between the ethics of conviction and of responsibility, and recognised in nonviolent action a course which did justice to both, contributed significantly to this change of attitude. (24)

In her pamphlet on "Direct Action", which ran to several editions, April Carter, who joined the Direct Action Committee in 1958 at the age of 19 and became its organisational leader, explained her modern, decidedly pragmatic understanding of non-violence (25). Its pragmatic character was heightened by the fact that she, for the first time, attempted a synthesis between the thought and experiences of Gandhi and his non-Indian disciples on the one hand and the theories and experiences of resistance action by the trade union movement on the other.

But it was Gene Sharp who achieved the actual revolution. So far as his experience and conception were concerned, he still had his roots in the Christian pacifism of the Quakers, as some phases of his life show. In 1953 he was sentenced to two years imprisonment for civil disobedience against conscription; released after nine months, among other jobs, he acted as secretary to the leading American pacifist, A.J. Muste, until in 1958 he accepted the post of deputy-editor of Peace News. He consistently progressed in his thinking from his thesis "Nonviolence - A Sociological Study" (26) at the State University of Ohio, his studies of Gandhi and nonviolence in New York and at Oslo University (27) to a point where he no longer asked merely how wars could be avoided but pointed out, in a critique of traditional pacifism, that there occur cases in which battle would have to be joined. His criticisms were directed against the pet idea of pacifists that all conflicts could be solved (28) by knowledge of the causes, by increased understanding of the opponent, by negotiations and compromise, and that final pacification could best be achieved through world government (29). He regarded Gandhi not so much as the prophet of world peace as the creator of a new form of moral and democratic power politics (30). Sharp did not engage in "peace research" (31) but "conflict research"; he sought an "alternative to war". He named, as the main task of pacifists, the development of nonviolent forms of action which could be used even against totalitarian régimes. (32).

On the basis of this new investigation, Gandhi's teaching on nonviolence was seen afresh in the context of his nonviolent campaigns and no longer dissociated from them as a peace philosophy for a world inhabited by vegetarians. The popular conception of Darwinism had been discredited with the military defeat of the fascist régimes, and pacifists like Sharp were not able to devote themselves to the conflict of ideas as a typical form of existence. They could venture to see conflict not only as a destructive element but also as productive of creative forces. Martin Luther King shocked his colleagues, eight Christian and Jewish theologians, who had appealed to him in the spirit of pacifist tradition to practise moderation and patience, with his reply from the prison of Birmingham, Alabama. "Nonviolent direct action aims at creating a crisis and such a dreadful state of permanent tension that the population of a city which has continuously refused to negotiate is forced to face facts. The whole point of such action is to dramatise the situation in such a way that it can no longer be ignored. As I have said, it is part of the aim of non-violent resistance to create tension. That may sound shocking to you. But I admit that I am not afraid of the word tension. I have always been opposed to tension produced by violence and have said so in my sermons. But there is a kind of constructive, nonviolent tension which is essential if anything is to grow. As Socrates thought it necessary to produce mental tension in order that man should break his slavish dependence on myths and half-truths and rise to the realm of creative analysis and objective values, so must we recognise the necessity of creating tension in human society through nonviolent action and thus help men to rise from the dark depths of prejudice and race hatred to the bright heights of brotherhood and mutual understanding." (33)

To sum up this attempt to evaluate the latest stage in the discussion on the doctrine of nonviolence and its forms of action, war or conflict is no longer condemned in principle, but nonviolent action postulated as the only form of "waging war" compatible with human dignity. The claim or the hope that this method will eventually become universally applicable is unmistakable, but the present demand is no longer for a belief in the doctrine but for research into the techniques of the struggle.

- (1) In "Civilian Defence" only A. Roberts and J. Frank mention the name of Gandhi. A. Naess and G. Sharp avoid any mention of the name, despite the fact that their understanding of nonviolent resistance is very specifically founded on earlier studies of the ethics of Gandhi and the techniques of his resistance campaigns. A. Naess and J. Galtung, Gandhis politiske etikk, Oslo 1955.  
G. Sharp, Gandhi wields the Weapon of Moral Power, Ahmedabad, 1960
- (2) See introduction by John Haynes Holmes to the Anthology, Mahatma Gandhi, Jung-Indien, p. XVIII-XIX
- (3) Mahatma Gandhi, Zurich, 1923, pp 141-146
- (4) F. Kobler and B. de Ligt, Über die Taktik des aktiven Pazifismus, in Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit (editor F.Kobler) pp.346-358
- (5) Mahatma Gandhi, Jung-Indien, Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1919-1922 Auswahl von Romain Rolland und Madeleine Rolland, Zurich, Rotapfel-Verlag, 1924
- (6) The Power of Nonviolence, New York: Fellowship Publications, 1935
- (7) War Without Violence. A Study of Gandhi's Method and its Accomplishments, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939
- (8) The Doctrine of the Sword, Young-India, 11th August, 1920. Satyagraha, p.134
- (9) Introduction by the Editor, p.12
- (10) See a large number of articles written in 1939-1940 in the Anthology Non-Violence in Peace and War, I, 1938-1940
- (11) Martin Buber, Brief an Gandhi, Jerusalem, 24th February, 1939, in Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Buber, Juden, Palästina und Araber (correspondence edited by Hans Lamm), Munich, Ner-Tamid-Verlag, 1961, pp 12-14
- (12) Nazism in Its Nakedness, Harijan, August 18th, 1940, in Nonviolence in Peace and War, I, p.339
- (13) Logical Consequence, Harijan, 8th October, 1938, in Nonviolence in Peace and War, I, p.159
- (14) Ghana. An Autobiography (quotation from the chapter 'Positive Action'.)
- (15) L.c. (the quotation comes from Nkrumah's foreword)
- (16) Passive Resistance in South Africa, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957, p.9
- (17) The Road to Oslo ... and Beyond, published by African National Congress, London (1962), p.12
- (18) Martin Luther King, Stride Toward Freedom, London: Victor Gollancz 1959, p.214
- (19) A People Who Loved Peace. The Norwegian Struggle against Nazism. London: Victor Gollancz, 1946

- (20) Quoted in A Century of Total War, (Hugh Brock), London: Peace News Pamphlet (1961), p.22
- (21) George Clark, Second Wind. The Story of the Campaign and the Committee of 100, London: Workshop Publications, 1963, p.6
- (22) Bertrand Russell, On Civil Disobedience (Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Midlands Region Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on 15th March, (1961) London: YCND Pamphlet (1961)
- (23) Christopher Driver, The Uprising of the Sitdowners, The Observer, 29th March, 1964
- (24) Ethics and Responsibility in Politics. A Critique of the Present Adequacy of Max Weber's Classification of Ethical Systems, MS, Institute for Social Research, Oslo (1959), p.16
- (25) Direct Action, London: Peace News Pamphlet, 1962
- (26) Non-Violence: A Sociological Study, MS, Ohio State University, 1951
- (27) The Meanings of Non-Violence: A Typology, The Journal of Conflict Resolution, III, I, Chicago, March 1961, pp.41-66
- (28) Creative Conflict in Politics, London: Housmans, 1962, p.8 (Reprint from The New Era, January 1962)
- (29) Beyond World Government, Peace News, 28th February, 1964
- (30) Gandhi wields the Weapon of Moral Power. Three Case Histories, Ahmedabad: Navijivan 1960
- (31) See Kenneth E. Boulding, The Peace Research Movement in the U.S., in T.Dunn (editor). Alternative to War and Violence. London: James Clark, 1963, pp.40-51
- (32) Facing Totalitarianism without War, in T. Dunn (editor), Alternative to War and Violence, pp.135-148
- (33) Open Letter of 16th March, 1963, Liberation, New York, June 1963

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NON-VIOLENT SOLUTION OF CONFLICT  
with special reference to  
GERMANY AND BERLIN

at Offenbach/Main, Germany, from 9th - 15th August, 1964

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF BERLIN AND GERMANY

- Dr. Fritz Katz

(Member of the V.K. Council)

The Plan for the Solution of the German Question devised by the  
Social Democratic Party (SPD)

For the military relaxation in Europe the SPD suggests:

1. The creation of a zone of relaxation which, in the first instance, should comprise both parts of Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary
2. Within the zone of relaxation agreement on the limitation of armaments in regard to national troops and a progressive and comparable reduction of foreign NATO and Warsaw Pact troops. National armies to have no nuclear weapons and existing nuclear armaments of foreign troops not to be increased. Finally the zone of relaxation to be free from nuclear weapons through the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops.
3. Any relevant agreements to be safeguarded from the beginning by inspections on the ground and from the air.
4. A collective security agreement to safeguard the inviolability of the countries within the zone of relaxation.
5. This security system presupposes the withdrawal of countries within the zone of relaxation from NATO and the Warsaw Pact and demands suitable military contributions to safeguard the security system.
6. Maintenance of existing legal status and military security of Berlin until the German question can be finally solved.

The political and economic reunification of Germany to be achieved  
in three stages:

1st Stage: The political unification to begin with the formation of an all-German conference at which both countries are represented on a footing of equality. The conference to set up an all-German court to safeguard uniformity of interpretation in regard to human rights and basic liberties.

The economic reunification also to begin with the formation of institutions on which both countries would be equally represented. Existing trade restrictions to be abolished and inter-zonal trade expanded. An all-German investment fund and a bank for an inner-German balance of payments to be created.

2nd Stage: The political unification to be continued by the election of all-German parliamentary council, half of which would be elected in each part of Germany. The council would pass all-German laws in regard to transport (railways, roads, canals, post and telegraph) and to increase national production. The economic unification to be accelerated through the development of an all-German market.

3rd Stage: The legislative powers of the all-German council to be extended to the drafting of all-German laws in regard to taxation, currency, customs and excise and socio-political adaptation.

The all-German council also to be responsible for the preparation of elections for a constituent national assembly. Berlin to be the seat of every all-German institution.

### Reunification

When the all-German constitution has come into force, free and secret elections to be held for an all-German parliament which would then form an all-German government.

### Plan for the Solution of the German Question devised by Wilhelm Keller (formerly chairman of VK)

#### UN Status for Germany

1. The supreme jurisdiction and executive powers in both parts of Germany to be transferred to the United Nations. Germany would thus become a world state and its citizens be world citizens.
2. Both parts of Germany to withdraw respectively from NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Their national troops to be put under the command of UN and transformed into UN police forces or replaced by other UN troops.
3. The existing political systems in both parts of Germany to remain until agreement can be reached about cultural, economic, financial and administrative co-operation and all-German elections for an all-German constitution and government.
4. Such agreements presuppose, in the first instance, an increasing liberalisation of inner-German frontier and travel arrangements.
5. The foreign policies of both German governments to be restricted to cultural and trade relations, development aid and support for UN policy.
6. The transformation of both parts of Germany into a world state to be the first step towards further similar transformations, particularly in Europe. In this way the resettlement of displaced persons could be made possible.

Suggestions made by the German Peace Society (Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft) for a Solution of the Berlin Problem

1. In regard to foreign policy (The whole of Berlin to be "mundialised")  
Replacement of the four-power status by UN status for the whole of Berlin - UN police forces from neutral countries to join the People's Police in East Berlin and the police squads in West Berlin - A neutral UN chief of police - Demilitarisation of the whole of Berlin - UN passports for all citizens of Berlin - Unrestricted travel to and from the whole of Berlin - Formation of a peace office as an organ of arbitration and also to organise peace services for under-developed countries and the training of civilian defence forces - Complete or partial transfer of UN headquarters to Berlin
2. In regard to cultural policies (Self-administration of cultural life)  
Formation of an independent council of culture - Autonomy of Berlin universities - Formation of an international peace academy
3. In regard to home policies (Equal rights for all citizens of Berlin)  
Unrestricted travel within the whole of Berlin - Withdrawal of all East and West German authorities and central offices down to one contact office each for the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic - Formation of an all-Berlin parliamentary council with equal representation from both parts to draft a constitution for the UN city of Berlin - Subsequently free and secret elections for an all-Berlin parliament
4. In regard to economic policies (Friendly co-operation)  
Self-administration by an independent economic council consisting of representatives of the consumers, traders and producers - Creation of a Berlin currency, the purchasing power of which would be safeguarded by the necessary monetary arrangements - Measures for the prevention of private and state monopolies.

The Attitude of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation to the German Problem

The Council of the IFOF has stressed the following points as being essential for the peaceful solution of the German question:

1. Transformation of the whole of Berlin into a free city under international control or, at a later date, the development of Berlin into the centre of a neutralised federation of the German states.
2. Speedy recognition by the Western Powers of East Germany and the Oder-Neisse Line as Germany's eastern frontier.
3. Simultaneous withdrawal of the Federal Republic from NATO and of the German Democratic Republic from the Warsaw Pact.
4. Disarmament by stages of both parts of Germany, beginning with a joint renunciation of nuclear weapons and all other means of mass destruction.
5. Creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe to be followed by complete de-militarisation.

6. Preparations for a German federation by direct negotiations between both parts of Germany; clarification of the rôle of Berlin within such a federation by negotiations with Berlin.
7. A peace treaty between the German federation and the former victorious allies.
8. A promise from all countries involved to work for world disarmament.

Plan for Confederation devised by the "German Council"

SUGGESTIONS for a state treaty between the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic:

Section I. Mutual recognition of the two parts of Germany and the formation of a "German Confederation" - East Berlin to be regarded as part of the G.D.R., West Berlin as part of the G.F.R.  
Acceptance of the Covenant of Human Rights to be obligatory in both parts of the Confederation.

Section II The Organs of the Confederation: 1. General Secretariat  
2. Technical Committees for foreign policy, military security, interior policies, economic and monetary problems, transport and post  
3. Arbitration - all these bodies and committees to be based on equal representation and to have their seat in the former Reichstag building in Berlin, the site of which would be under the jurisdiction of the confederation and outside the political struggle.

Section III Foreign Policies: Both G.F.R. and G.D.R. to be entitled to conclude international agreements in respect of their own territories, provided that they do not violate the confederation agreement - any projected agreements to be submitted in advance to the foreign policy committee of the confederation so as to give opportunity to the other partner to join - Diplomatic representations abroad to be suitably adjusted so as to constitute uniform "Embassies of the German Confederation".

Military Security: Foreign troops to be asked to withdraw - Withdrawal from NATO and the Warsaw Pact - No military agreements by either partner without consent of the other - Mutual renunciation of violence - No military personnel to be stationed within a zone of 50 km on both sides of the mutual frontier. - The G.F.R. to be entitled to maintain limited frontier security and police forces in West Berlin - shooting at the mutual frontier to be forbidden.

Interior Policies: Mutual legal and administrative co-operation (except in the case of political offences) - No attempts to entice people to leave one part of the confederation and settle in the other - Furtherance of family reunification - No prosecutions for "escapes" in the past - Free utilisation of inherited moneys deposited in either part of the confederation - Conclusion of a cultural treaty - All-German sport teams.

Economy and Currency: Long-term trade agreements - Currency agreement - Mutual aid to further development of the economy.

Transport and Post: Unrestricted travel and trade -  
Joint frontier controls - Local telephone calls between West  
and East Berlin.

Section IV. Five years after the conclusion of the state treaty,  
the formation of an all-German council commissioned to draft a  
constitution within four years - The minority to be entitled to  
submit a different constitution - Referendum on both suggestions.

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at Offenbach/Main, Germany, from 9th - 15th August, 1964

B E R L I N

CONCLUDING REPORT  
VANCOUVER - BERLIN PEACE WALK

- Hans Sinn

"The Berlin Hilton (hotel) is an outstanding example of the pleasures of freedom. Its seven acre estate is ideally placed for everything you'll want to do and see in this magnificent outpost of the West."

"In the unique Roof-Garden Restaurant you'll dine to perfection, dance to your heart's content with the fascinating contrast of East and West Berlin spread out below you... and it can cost as little as \$7.50 a day single, \$12.50 double."

(Advertisement in "Time" magazine,  
February 1964)

On a February day, at about 2 p.m., we stood on the platform erected for visitors to gaze across the Wall at the Brandenburg Gate and at the people on the other side who were similarly gazing at us. There it was - the Wall, the barbed wire, the armed guards and the lumps of people on both sides which can only clearly discern each other through field glasses. Unlike most other Sunday visitors at the Brandenburg Gate we did not have any field glasses and could not see the faces on the other side. Yet we did see the Wall clearly enough. So we stood there in the cold February wind for about twenty or thirty minutes looking at it and waiting. Nothing happened. We looked at each other, shook our heads, shrugged our shoulders, climbed down the grandstand and started on our way back down the 17 Juni Strasse. The Wall had left us without feeling - no great inner uprising, no soul shaking urge to tear it down, no overwhelming feeling of love, hate or pity for the people on either side. Nothing.

After speaking to and meeting people in both East and West Berlin our first impression has not changed much. If anything, we are still impressed by the lack of interest the West Berliner has in what is going on in his city.

The "fascinating contrast between East and West" does not only express itself in the outward appearance of the two parts of the city but also in a 1:4 currency exchange difference between the East

and the West mark. The discrepancy is used, from the housewife who found shopping cheaper in the East to the student who wants to supplement his small budget to the worker who works in one half of the city and spends his earnings with four times the buying power in the other half. In short, not only Mr. Hilton, but millions of ordinary Berlin citizens have exploited the differences between East and West to their own advantage. Today they are indignant at the existence of the Wall which has put a stop to much of this. They are also indignant because the Wall has put a stop to the refugee stream which came on the heels of the "economic miracle."

### Berlin the monument

Together with growing understanding between the former Victory Powers, Berlin has lost its importance as a focal point of the Cold War. Today Berlin is not much more than a monument to a very tumultuous period of the past. How could a whole city become petrified?

The West German official position runs as follows: Nothing must be done in and around Berlin that is not related directly to German reunification. Travel between the two parts cannot be allowed at the risk of recognising de jure East Germany, which holds 1.7 million people in its half of Berlin. Recognition would mean the permanent division of Germany for the following reasons: East Germany is not an independent state. It is an arm of the Communist world revolution and a Russian satellite. It is not supported by its own citizens which it can only control by force and violence. We want free elections there first. We don't want a Russian province as our neighbour.

The East German government adopts this position; West Berlin is on our territory 110 miles from the actual border between East and West Germany. West Germany lost the right to the territory of West Berlin and its 2.2 million citizens when it agreed to the establishment of a separate West German state consisting of the three Western occupation zones in 1949. It unilaterally broke the ties with what is today East Germany in 1948 by issuing a separate currency. While embarking on its economic miracle it left the Russian occupation zone to fend for itself. Berlin was meant to be the administrative centre for a united Germany under the Potsdam Agreement of 1945. When West Germany broke this contract in co-operation with the three Western Powers, it lost all rights to Berlin. We are tolerating West Berlin because we must. We consider West Berlin as a potential threat to the existence of our state as long as West Germany does not recognise us. Until such time as it does we will and must take protective measures against the influences of West Berlin on our citizens.

Here the matter rests. The situation appears tolerable and if the people do feel it intolerable to be subjected by the restrictions imposed in and around the city, they certainly are not showing any signs.

Nevertheless, it is a curious situation, borne out by the fact that so many people go to Berlin to take a look at it. One of the most curious things about this addition to the wonders of the world is that nobody built it, nobody did it and nobody is responsible!

The West Germans see the division of Berlin as part of the division of Germany for which not they but the Victorious Allies are

responsible. We, they say, cannot change anything lest it be inter-  
protected by the Victory Powers that we have accepted the responsibility  
for what they did so that they can themselves feel relieved of it.  
They must figure out the reunification of Germany and Berlin amongst  
themselves. Our contribution will be that we suffer the inconven-  
iences as long as necessary.

The inconveniences in West Germany are not so great that people  
and especially the politicians couldn't suffer them indefinitely.  
The Victory Powers appear to be similarly prepared for a long wait.  
For the people in East Germany and the divided families of Berlin  
the wait is not quite as convenient or pleasant. The Berliners would  
no doubt like to see their relatives now and not after the children  
have grown up, or not at all because they themselves have died over  
the reunification.

So there has been an attempt at an interim solution by the Ber-  
lin Senate on the one hand and the East German government on the  
other. This was during Christmas 1963 when over one million West  
Berliners went to see their East Berlin relatives. Unfortunately  
this cannot be repeated because Bonn felt that the stationing of East  
German officials on West Berlin territory for the purpose of issuing  
travel permits came too close to recognition. The Berlin Senate did  
not quite agree but, after Mayor Brandt had been called to Bonn, he  
saw the light. Berlin is receiving 4 billion marks annually direct-  
ly and indirectly from Bonn. Policy for Berlin is therefore made in  
Bonn although the people of Berlin have no representation there.  
Nevertheless, the ultimate authority for West Berlin lies with the  
occupation powers or "protecting powers" (Schutzmächte), as they are  
called. The USA authorities felt during the Christmas arrangements  
that it was a matter for the Germans to decide for themselves. The  
French did not entirely agree with the arrangement and the British  
were for it and felt that it would bear repetition.

The Berlin population, although looking forward to renewed visits  
with relatives, appears unsure of its ground. There were no demon-  
strations in support of the policy of the Senate but rather a meek  
acceptance of the Bonn NO. That is, when Mayor Brandt was called to  
Bonn, the Berlin population failed to give him the necessary backing.  
So today the West Berliner, still not able to see his relatives, rests  
assured that he is not responsible for this state of affairs. On the  
contrary, he remains inactive for the greater glory of a Germany to  
be reunified sometime in the future.

The Bonn policy based on a display of abject political help-  
lessness regarding the division of Berlin and Germany has in the past  
met with considerable success. Even today it takes a cruel heart  
not to sympathise with such great and noble suffering. When the USA  
in the past said that they would put in a good word for the West  
Germans in negotiations with Soviet Union, they undoubtedly meant it.  
When they said that they would come to no agreement with the Soviet  
Union which would not simultaneously settle the German question, they  
meant it also. This was all the easier as there was, for many years,  
an identity of interests between the USA and West Germany: to put  
Western Europe back on its feet and to prevent a possible Communist  
take-over. Both these vital aims of USA policy have been met and  
West Germany has become the greatest beneficiary of this success.  
The three Western Allies are not only guaranteeing the security of  
West Germany but also of West Berlin to which, in all fairness, West  
Germany has no claim by any stretch of the imagination. But Bonn

wants more - it wants East Germany and it wants the territories east of the Oder Neisse which Hitler's Germany lost after 1945. To this end it hitched its star to one brief Western notion after 1945: the "liberation" of Eastern Europe. For this dream West Germany rearmed. And while it dreamed and rearmed, it missed every opportunity to come to a peaceful arrangement with the Soviet Union. In the meantime all those areas where a peaceful compromise could have been worked out, have been permanently lost by the passage of time. Bonn's reliance on the enmity between the Soviet Union and the USA for the re-establishment of Germany to the borders of 1937 has proved itself to be a calculation that went wrong. It has been waiting and preparing patiently for a war that did not come. What is more, the USA was not able to wring from the Soviet Union concessions for Germany in return for peace.

In essence there is nothing wrong in today's Germany and Berlin that the Germans could not put right themselves. There are indeed a minority of Germans who are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the mixture of self-pity and belligerence which has passed for the German post-war policy so far. There are people who understand that a continuation of this policy is not only politically disadvantageous but downright dangerous.

#### Two German States in Competition

For the time being the development of the two German states is most likely to take place within the present context of their policy toward each other.

Both German states are of economic significance and are using their economic strength to pursue their respective ends. Chancellor Erhard\* recently stated, "We are even willing to make greater material sacrifices in order to enable the people on the other side to lead a freer life." Well, it is not very likely that the Soviet Union is going to sell East Germany to West Germany.

In the meantime West Germany is using its considerable economic weight to enforce its policy of non-recognition and has so far succeeded in making its Western trading partners respect its political wishes. This includes the developing nations receiving West German economic aid.

East Germany in turn is trying to find and hold friends in a similar manner. In Ceylon it was able to outbid West Germany and there are a number of other examples where it is gaining ground. Its aid to foreign students is considerable, for example.

There is no reason why West Germany should not be able to keep the battle going for quite a while, although with an increasing economic burden. There is little evidence that the USA, France or Britain will recognise East Germany in the near future. Yet these states will undoubtedly shift the financial burden of their military engagement in Central Europe on West Germany. How sensitive financial considerations are even in prosperous West Germany is demonstrated by the cut of its direct Berlin aid by 135 million marks in 1964.

By this time it is an open question whether the West Germans really believe that they will achieve their proclaimed political aims through the pursuit of their present policy or if they are aware that they are playing an official farce with which all other

Western countries are officially playing along.

Internationally the trend is toward plural societies and the break up of power blocs. In the East there is a definite trend toward national communism. In the West the war-weakened nations have regained sufficient strength to strike out individually on their own. The Soviet Union and the USA are heading for military disengagement in Central Europe while the old and young nations of Asia, Africa and South America are demanding more of their attention. Europe has entered the post-war area where the major powers are striving for a permanent settlement in their own best interests. The withdrawal of USA and USSR troops from that area is only a matter of time. It is now fast becoming a relevant question what a disengaged Europe might look like.

This question is all the more relevant because the members of the EEC are beginning to develop doubts themselves if the Europe they envisaged is actually materialising. It is economically difficult enough to hold the EEC together but politically definitely impossible. Any political concept that treats Western Europe as though it were the centre of the world is bound to require major readjustments. West Germany is pleading for political unity in the EEC at a time when German T.V. and press are discussing the EEC for the first time as an untenable, onesided Western alliance. EEC spokesmen admit that the situation is grave but state that the difficulties must be surmounted because a failure of West German policy for total integration into Western Europe and the Atlantic Alliance is unthinkable. Thus the old policy is continued regardless.

The same can be said about East Germany where the trend toward liberalisation and national independence, which is evident in other socialist countries, is hardly gaining any ground. East Germany is more dependent on the Soviet Union than Poland, the CSSR or Hungary. Its political leader Walter Ulbricht is definitely unpopular and would not last another week without Moscow's backing. Walter Ulbricht was trained during the Second World War in the Soviet Union and came with the advancing Russian troops into Germany. 19 years of leadership have not been sufficient for Herr Ulbricht to establish that he and his government are acting in the interest of East Germany rather than the Soviet Union. Whether this is the fault of the East Germans who do not want to understand what is good for them or the fault of a communist policy which does not know what is good for the people, it is hard to ascertain. It is probably a mixture of both.

The situation in Central Europe is approaching a delicate balance where the old has not quite disappeared and the new not quite arrived. While the Soviet Union and the Western Powers are working for a relaxation of tension and the development of new policies, the Cold War between the two Germanies goes on undiminished. Yet even here the edges are wearing thin. The West German fear that the tension between the USA and the Soviet Union may relax without a re-negotiation of the terms under which Germany surrendered in 1945 is coming true. While many Western countries are beginning to come to relatively good terms with the Soviet Union, West German - Soviet relations have reached a low. West Germany may, and probably will, also try for an improvement. This would mark the actual beginning of a new phase in German post-war politics.

The general improvement of USA-Soviet relations not only marks the point where West Germany has to face the fact that it will not be able to undo the consequences of the Second World War but where it must fear for that which it has built since 1945. Without the

aid of the Western Allies, West Germany will not be able to continue the Cold War with the Soviet Union for very long without running into serious difficulties. For the first time since the end of the Second World War it must consider a policy of retreat. Although it could theoretically carry on the cold war with East Germany, any improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and West Germany - if it does come - will express itself most likely on a popular level between the citizens of West and East Germany, in spite of continued official hostility.

In this context one could realistically expect a renewal of the agreement for visits between the citizens of East and West Berlin. A continuation of such a trend could well lead to the creation of an all German travel agency and other all German agencies for culture, sport, trade, science, even possibly for disarmament. These agencies could, and probably would, have their seat in West Berlin. While they grow, Berlin will at the same time re-gain significance as a centre for all German affairs. The time is foreseeable when these agencies could grow into ministries and when Berlin would once again be the centre of German administration. In short, there is today the shadow of a development which in the final analysis could lead to some form of German re-unification. Yet there is no indication that such development would at any time find the wholehearted support of either the East or the West German government. Like all governments, they are extremely jealous of their authority. Even East Germany will, to begin with, only take those steps which will stabilise its rule. It is as little interested in a united, peaceful Germany at the cost of its own authority as the West German government. Both German governments would consciously keep any all German agencies that may develop as weak as possible and use them to further their own parochial ends. In essence the East German government is as afraid of any development outside its own control in Central Europe as the West German government. Consequently, anything that will lead to an improvement in the Central European situation and may in the end lead to a form of German re-unification will only come into being through a long, tough struggle likely to drag on for decades. This is the best we dare to hope for.

#### West Germany Militarily between the USSR and USA

While West Germany must today, against its wishes, consider measures that will improve relations within Germany, it pursues at the same time a policy of re-armament. The latest step is the multi-lateral nuclear sea force. West German insensitivity to Russian anxiety regarding German nuclear ambitions is astonishing. Obviously the Soviet Union does not fear West Germany's militarism directly, but it does fear a combination of German political design in combination with Western nuclear force, as for example during the Adenauer-Dulles period. The prospect of the ascent to power of the political right in West Germany or the USA, however remote, is a constant source of Russia's suspicion towards the Germans. The multi-lateral nuclear force, seemingly meant by the USA to quell the childish German demand for participation in the nuclear game, is in Russian eyes the old pan-German spirit at work, preparing to unleash the combined Western forces against Slavic countries. Russian fears may be totally unfounded, but nobody will be able to convince the Russians of it in the face of a growing West German army. And nobody seems to be capable of explaining to the Germans, who think they have broken with their past, that the Russians are deathly serious in their apprehensions. Here exists a complete and fundamental misunderstanding between the Soviet Union and West Germany.

And as long as it is there, there is a chance that Russia will, at the slightest provocation and at the wrong time, go to war with West Germany. The terms Soviet Union and Russia are mixed here intentionally because the situation of today started to develop long before the Soviet Union came into being and is in itself a mixture of old and new fears and ambitions. A war between West Germany and the Soviet Union is possible, although not very likely.

There are a number of preconditions for such a war which arise out of the modern setting, amongst them, that it must be possible to single out one nation and to conduct a localised nuclear war. To this end West Germany is greatly contributing by continuing to place a lone hand in the diminishing Cold War. The Soviet Union is following suit: while increasing its trade relations with other NATO countries it has for the first time not renewed its contracts with West Germany, no doubt in reply to the partly successful pipeline embargo against the USSR. The singling out process is further helped along by the current re-definition of group interests in terms of nations rather than military, political and economic blocs or classes. The possibility of a localised nuclear war increases further in proportion to the nuclear powers' growing conviction that nuclear war on their home territory would mean mutual destruction and to their resolve to confine any military dispute to the area where it starts.

This means for West Germany that the nuclear umbrella under which it has conducted its dispute with the Soviet Union so far has disappeared. It cannot realistically assume that a conflict precipitated in Central Europe would automatically lead to a nuclear exchange and the mutual destruction of the great nuclear powers, leaving the centre of the conflict relatively unscathed. On the contrary West Germany must assume that the major powers are by this time not only agreed but also militarily capable of letting a war that starts in Germany stay there. In this context the problem with its military alliances for Germany is not that its partners may not live up to their obligations but that they will meet them - on German soil. This goes for East Germany as a member of the Warsaw Pact as much as for West Germany in NATO.

These are some background considerations to the German position in the thaw of the Cold War between East and West. How weighty they are, time will tell. That the Soviet Union did not renew its trade contract with West Germany did come as a shock to West German politicians. It is possible that they may take the hint that the German situation is changing, if not internally, at least in the world, and that they must adjust German foreign policy accordingly. The necessary steps are obvious and have been proposed to a point of becoming dreary: no multilateral nuclear force, a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, the removal of all obstacles to a settlement of the Berlin problem and the military disengagement in Central Europe.

A Monument and Something More

In spite of its petrified character Berlin is something more than a lifeless monument. It is the only place in the world where in an area of 342 square miles Communism and Capitalism are living side by side and where anyone interested can partake in the East-West dialogue. He can cross the border at the various check points in the city in anything between 15 minutes and 2 hours by showing his passport. The Wall is not solid, except for the Berliners, who

are only permitted to cross it on very urgent business and with special permits. The relatively easy access to both East and West Berlin has been and probably still is being made use of for the conduct of a large variety of negative and mutually destructive activities - apart from the economic exploitation first mentioned. Yet there appears little reason why the little freedom that still exists should be used only for the exchange of spies and hate propaganda. The situation of Berlin lends itself just as well to constructive and mutually beneficial work. There are in fact a number of organisations, predominantly religious, which through their international representatives in Berlin are carrying on reconciliation work and manage to remain in good contact with developments in the socialist countries. There are also a number of Germans who have the courage to fraternize with the "enemy" of both sides. This work is not offsetting the negative aspect of the whole scene nor has it a chance of becoming popular in the near future - if ever. A member of the West Berlin Senate sketched it for us as follows: the Social Democratic majority of the Berlin Senate is 10:1 against any unilateral attempt to give West Berlin a more positive character. The best the city can hope for is to attract sufficient industry in order to be able to survive without subsidies from Bonn. Its population will sink and level off at 1,5 million (the number of people the city without a hinterland could support) by 1974. Yet regardless of what the German majority plans or fails to plan for Berlin, it is a place where reconciliation work relevant to Europe and the world can be done. It is a place for talks, meetings, social research and an exchange of ideas with representatives from East and West alike. Maybe such friendly exchanges will be an indirect contribution toward a trend not yet visible in Berlin. Maybe in time work with the population of Berlin itself will be possible. For the time being at least the West Berliner has staked his life on the presence of Western guns, tanks and troops against the background of the entire Western nuclear arsenal, while his relatives in the other half of the city are "protected" by a wall, barbed wire and armed guards.

Recommendation - The Prerequisites for an International Peace Centre in Berlin

An International Peace Centre (or bureau) in Berlin is desirable and possible. The centre should come under the auspices of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace and be established as part of a network of international offices in similar strategic positions.

This presupposes that there is an international peace strategy (which does not exist). Instead we have a large number of local and national organisations, each planning and working within the context of their own region or country. There have been sporadic and successful attempts to break out of regional activities and national thinking by planning and acting in international terms. This has consciously or unconsciously contributed to the beginnings of a peace international through which local peace groups can arrive at agreed upon international projects and execute them jointly over thousands of miles.

This process is marked by the creation of the I.C.D.P. in January 1963. Since that date there has been the skeleton of a peace international. By strengthening this skeleton the local groups will in time be capable of exerting their influence at various places the world over, without moving to the scene. Even those who go from San Francisco to Moscow, Quebec to Cuba, Delhi to Washington, London

to Athens or Vancouver to Berlin cannot move around the world demonstrating for the rest of their lives, nor do such efforts bear repetition beyond a certain point. Also it is neither advisable nor practicable to go on having international conferences without direct local participation. These efforts can only be preludes to a world-wide peace international.

Through the I.C.D.P. it would be possible to establish a permanent international consultative and planning conference consisting of national representatives. The I.C.D.P. in turn could have a network of international bureaus at strategic locations the world over. In reality there exists at the moment an International Council of 15 national representatives who meet once a year. A representation at strategic locations does not exist at all.

The permanent consultative and planning conference (to be visualised in terms of a miniature UNO) should not prove impossible to realise financially. The national representatives would at the same time constitute the I.C.D.P. staff, which instead of recruiting local talents would use international workers.

To establish I.C.D.P. representatives in strategic international locations such as Moscow, Cyprus, South Africa, Cuba, the Congo, Viet-Nam, Berlin, etc., will be more difficult and costly. The financial support for these foreign offices will be in direct proportion to the hospitality, or the lack of it, of the region decided upon.

Summing up: As part of a collective effort to realise a peace international, an International Centre in Berlin would be both desirable and possible. Any less ambitious planning would be a waste of time and energy. Instead it would be better to channel any existing interest through the UNO or through the international representation of the denominations such as Quakers, Mennonites and Baptists.

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GERMANY - THE ANATOMY OF MISDIRECTED DEVELOPMENT

- Egon Becker

1. Germany's recent history - a story of missed opportunities

As the outcome of the second world war there developed in the territory of the former German Reich two new states, that is the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Their social and economic structures, the political convictions of the population, the democratic and authoritarian forces can be understood only when placed against the background of a past history essentially different from that of other industrial countries in Europe.

In Germany a powerful historical movement for independence was non-existent. There was no civil revolution to eliminate the feudal rule and an antiquated medieval division into classes. In contrast to England and France, for example, where civil movements for independence formed the political platform for the construction of a modern industrial society with capitalist production methods, the industrialisation in Germany took place within the framework of a semi-feudal system. Even the integration of a large number of small feudal states in a modern national state failed to burst the feudal-authoritarian frame.

The historic experience of the German movements for independence in the nineteenth century proved to be a miserable failure rather than the successful revolution it was in England and France. Any awareness of a possible change in the political and social conditions by unanimous action pined away as it had no opportunity to grow from concrete experience.

From the combination of capitalist production and authoritarian control there grew a peculiar political attitude: authoritarian-national thinking, confidence in the solution of social inconsistencies by the state, class consciousness and class conceit became the dominating attitude of the German middle classes.

Along with modern industrial capitalism there developed outside the ordered middle-class world a social group, namely the industrial working class and its modern labour movement. Its social demands were soon sharply opposed to the established order - such demands

being defensible in a democratically organised society. The labour movement thus took up the fight against the middle classes for democratic reforms, for a constitutional state, for universal suffrage, for parliamentary democracy and for the realisation of human rights. Capitalist, property-owning middle classes, monarchist nobility, anti-democratic bodies of officers and authoritarian civil service had since long formed a united front against the labour movement and the critical liberal intelligentsia.

Individual social and political reforms were obtained with great effort and reformation of the political system occurred at unimportant points only. Thus, the fruitless struggle against an overpowerful order and the little success obtained in social reform came to be the historic experience of the labour movement. Its theoretical and organisational unity was thus lost. A radical wing oriented along the theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels urged for democratic and socialist structural reforms, a reformist-pragmatic wing conceived as the aim of its movement the step-by-step reform combined with the partial integration of the labour movement in the middle-class state and its social system.

## 2. The victory of Hitler fascism - a result of German inconsistency

At the beginning of and during the first world war it was the political radical wing which supported radical pacifism. It rejected war as imperialist acquisition policy. The reformers (the majority of the Socialist Party) unfortunately allowed themselves to be rushed into the whirl of national enthusiasm. In Parliament they agreed to war credits, thus sanctioning indirectly the war policy of those who wielded political and economic power. Thus, the labour movement which in those days was the sole democratic power of social importance in Germany did not offer any serious resistance to the war policy of the Government under the Emperor William II.

The war was lost. In 1918 the disappointed, starving population performed something like a "middle-class democratic revolution" under the leadership of revolutionary workers and soldiers against the middle-classes and the reactionary bodies of officers. The emperor fled to Holland and a Republic governed by Parliament was proclaimed. The radical wing urged for a continuation of the revolution with the aim of obtaining socialist reforms of the economic structure. The reformists, however, not prepared for this, urged for "consolidation of the democracy". The revolution merely changed political shape and a real revolution failed to come about. The new order was based on mortal conflict.

The radical left-wing forces separated themselves from the reformist majority of the Socialist Party and formed a new party, that is the Communist Party of Germany (KPD). This party was, however, soon controlled by the bureaucratically contaminated Soviet Union. Its leading theorists were either murdered by reactionary gangs or were excluded from the shaping of politics by their own party bureaucracy. The KPD's policy was soon determined not so much by German necessities as by the demands of the foreign policy of the Soviets.

The labour movement was split, paralysed and partially incapable of action. There developed at the same time among German employers an increasing concentration of property and power. The German industrial potential and most of the publishing agencies were controlled by a few concerns and monopolies. The heads of administration of law and Government continued to be represented by the old con-

servative or even reactionary Civil Service. In the "Reichswehr" (the army of the Republic) generals and officers commanded in the spirit of the old order. They regarded parliamentarism and the modest beginnings of democratisation in public life with contempt. The "three pillars of power" in a modern industrial state: power over industrial production and the means of forming an opinion, political administration and police had survived the storm of the revolution. The "ancien régime" continued to hold the bastions of power.

Parliament and the governments formed by political parties, in constantly changing coalitions, generally merely concealed the rule of those who were really in control, that is the heads of industry, administration and army. No conception of the Government could be realised against the will of these people. The democratic parties, and particularly the Socialist Party, struggled desperately to maintain a parliamentary democracy capable of functioning, but this would continue to be a labour of Sisuphos if the economic administration, administration of law and army were not democratised at the same time. Parliament generally succumbed in the conflict between the formal control by Parliament and the real social power.

German-monopolised capitalism recovered comparatively quickly from the consequences of the first world war - with the aid of foreign capital. It reached in the second half of the twenties a phase of relatively stable economy. This had, however, been gained at the expense of substantial reliance on export and property markets. During the world economic crisis at the end of the twenties the whole system suddenly faced collapse. It was particularly the lower middle classes, that is to say, the small tradesmen, labourers, peasants, parts of the Civil Service and employees who lost their livelihood. Mass unemployment prevailed among the working classes. Under the pressure of the discontented the Unions demanded more or less radical structural reforms.

Intimidated by the economic catastrophes the uprooted lower middle classes and the "riff-raff" proletariat together constituted the social reserve from which the followers of the fascist movement of Adolf Hitler drew its recruits. The Hitler movement succeeded in organising the desperate lower middle classes by nebulous social ideas, enticement to perverse racial prejudices ("it is all the fault of the Jews") and fanatical anti-communism.

Those in control of the industrial concerns perceived in Hitler and his anti-racial, social-romantic, anti-socialist movement the only possible means of safeguarding their power. They financed the movement and placed the means of publication, such as press and film, at its disposal. Hitler's rise was substantially secure, since he had, moreover, natural followers in the leaders of the army and in the authoritarian administration.

It was only the labour movement which was capable of offering serious resistance: the KPD, under Stalinist leadership and control, fell in with the requirements of Soviet Union's foreign policy. During the decisive years its policy was determined by the rivalry of the Socialist Party rather than by the necessity of fighting fascism. The paralysis of the German labour movement was intensified by the SPD's attempts to hold up the approaching catastrophe by reform work in Parliament. However, the politically relevant decisions had long since been taken in other places. Thus, German fascism was able to win control with the assistance of big capital

and with anti-democratic, anti-socialist, anti-intellectual and anti-Jewish phrases.

The beginnings of subsequent occurrences, such as the murder of millions, the rapacious raids on unsuspecting countries, the perversion of everything that had once made Germany the "country of poets and philosophers", existed already in the years before 1933; the horrible issue of the inconsistencies of the political and cultural past of Germany. And remember: millions of Germans condoned the Nazi outrage and supported Hitler in the materialisation of his abstruse ideas.

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CONSIDERATIONS ON A NON-VIOLENT SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN PROBLEM

- Gerhard Bassarak

(of Evangelische Akademie, Berlin, G.D.R. and International  
Secretary of Christian Peace Conference, Prague)

The German Democratic Republic, when considering this problem, starts from the status quo. It did not cause the division of Germany. The decisive casual events occurred on each occasion in the West: first, the currency reform, introduced in the three Western Occupied Zones - the present Federal Republic - on June 20th, 1948, whilst the Soviet Occupied Zone introduced a currency reform considerably later: second, the work of the Parliamentary Council, which led to the proclamation of the Occupation Statute and the subsequent founding of the Federal Republic on May 23rd, 1949 which was then followed on 7th October 1949 by the proclamation of the German Democratic Republic: third, the NATO agreement, which was followed by the Warsaw Pact. The German Democratic Republic emphasises the fact that it has consistently carried out the decisions of the Potsdam Agreement with regard to demilitarisation and the denazification of people in public life; in the West this has remained open or questionable.

Thus, since October 1949, two German States exist on the territory which at the end of World War II was designated as Occupied. Since the Potsdam Agreement, a part of the former German areas east of the Oder-Neisse line has been under Polish or Soviet administration. The Germans in these areas have either emigrated or, if they remained, opted for Poland or the Soviet Union, as the case may be. Polish or Soviet nationals have poured into these areas and now populate them.

Any solution to the German question must not be allowed to endanger peace in Europe and the world but must rather strengthen it. In this respect the pretensions of the Federal Republic must, however, be considered a threat to peace. The Federal Republic is the only European State which posits territorial claims, the G.D.R. has renounced all such claims. The existence of the G.D.R. is an objective guarantee of peace in Europe, which Federal troops on the East frontier would not be. The Federal Republic considers itself, in an imperialistic sense as the representative of all Germans, including those who live in the G.D.R. Although according to the Potsdam Agreement, the final settlement of the Eastern frontier is dependent on a Peace Treaty, the Bonn Government on the one hand does everything to prevent the conclusion of a Peace Treaty, thus keeping open the claim to the former boundaries, and on the other hand, continually asserts this demand, if not in official government declarations, in constantly repeated declarations made by the so-called "Association of Expellees", with which some Federal ministers express themselves in agreement.

In both German states very different social structures have been developed. In the G.D.R. a socialist society is being built. Its most important economic acts have been the nationalisation of the chemical industries, heavy industry, large landed properties and the collectivisation of agriculture. In connection with social reform laws, tremendous efforts have been made in the field of social insurance and in the development of schools and further education. Public life has been swept clean of fascism and clericalism. Many former National-Socialists have fled to the West. The G.D.R. recognises the actual existence of two German States and a special territory of West Berlin with its own Government, currency and social order, and makes efforts to negotiate between the two States in order to lessen tension, by means of commerce, to normalise relations by means of cultural exchange and by means of political talks to discuss and test out the possibilities of confederation.

The Federal Government, basing itself on the Hallstein doctrine, does not recognise the existence of the G.D.R. It claims that West Berlin belongs to the Federal Republic although the three West Occupying Powers are continually stressing the special status of the city. The Federal Republic bases its attitude on the formal democratic principle of free elections (through which Hitler came to power in Germany).

In recent years the G.D.R. has repeatedly offered the Federal Republic concrete and detailed proposals as a basis for negotiation. They have not been acknowledged. The greatest concession made hitherto was contained in a letter from Ulbricht in January 1964. He proposed to Chancellor Erhard negotiations on the renunciation of the possession of atomic weapons and went so far as to make such an agreement independent of the question of the recognition of the G.D.R. by the Federal Government. In view of the agreement over passes made between the G.D.R. and the Senate of West Berlin and its successful result, the visit of millions of West Berliners to the capital of the G.D.R., Ulbricht's proposal made a great impression in the G.D.R. The rebuff of the Federal Government has been looked on as incomprehensible and showing a lack of goodwill.

As far as my knowledge goes, the Federal Government has no detailed plan for a solution of the German question. There are, it is true, propagandist declarations, based on the demand for free elections, i.e. which demand the liquidation of the social order of the G.D.R. The G.D.R. has however laid down certain proposals.

The task for the future could consist of the following:

1. The Occupying Powers, in particular the two Great Powers, should continue to create a favourable climate for negotiation and urge the Governments of both States to make use of them for the resumption of negotiations between the governments of both German States.
2. Both sides should offer their concrete suggestions for a solution of the German question, to which modifications could be worked out in negotiations
3. Starting from the status quo, the German problem could be solved in the general European context, i.e. against the background of a Central European zone free of atomic weapons which could become by stages a de-militarised zone. After the cold war is suspended and given up, the chances of setting off a hot war should be eliminated. To this end would belong the renunciation by both German States of

atomic arms for their forces and in the case of the Federal Republic, the renunciation of participation in a multilateral atomic force.

The Warsaw pact makes provision for the withdrawal of the G.D.R. in the event of negotiations between the two German States with a positive outcome; unfortunately the NATO does not offer a similar solution to the Federal Republic. Nevertheless, in the case of the Great Powers achieving anything on world-political questions, this question should also be capable of solution, perhaps against the background of a non-aggression pact to be concluded between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Such a non-aggression pact has frequently been suggested by the Warsaw Pact States but up to now has always been rejected by NATO.

The fear that the German problem could bring about another war in Central Europe is not very great here. It has been much greater at other times in the past. At the moment the political climate is very calm. It would be useful if discussions and solutions could take place between the two States and West Berlin so that personal travel could take place without risk or hindrance across the borders and thus facilitate the visiting of relations. Political solutions of the German problem should be aimed at which take into account the human element. The best thing would be for politics to act as the servant of humanity, but at the least a balance should be struck between political and human aims and hopes.

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## THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IN THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

- Theodor Michaltscheff

In the Federal Republic the efforts to secure and maintain peace have undergone several phases. Activities were directed against the proposed European Defence Community, against amendments to the Basic Law, the introduction of conscription, the limitations of basic freedoms, the provision of nuclear armaments for the Federal Army, etc. At present the struggle is concerned mainly with the projected multilateral nuclear force and the emergency laws.

Briefly, the different phases were concerned with the rearmament policy of the Federal Government. The struggle was provoked by the government and carried on by the opposition. During the different phases different bodies have kept up the fight for peace.

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In the first three years after the Second World War the entire German nation was in the grip of a deep longing for peace, not because it had suddenly become pacifist but because it was thoroughly disgusted with war and national-socialism. Public opinion polls carried out in 1947, 1948 and 1949 showed that 96 percent of those questioned would have nothing to do with war, war service and rearmament.

Three instances may serve to illustrate the attitude of influential bodies during that time.

On 18th/19th October, 1945, the Evangelical Church accepted the Stuttgart Confession, in which it accused itself of not having confessed more courageously, prayed more faithfully, believed more steadfastly and loved more ardently.

On 10th February, 1945, Professor Carlo Schmidt stated on behalf of the Social Democratic Party, "We wish to state categorically that in Germany we do not want to wage any more war and, therefore, we do not want to involve ourselves in any preparations which would make war possible either in the political or the economic sense. We will not tolerate any form of clandestine armed forces."

On 30th December, 1946, Dr. Adenauer stated on behalf of the Christian Democratic Union, "We agree to complete disarmament, to the destruction of our war industry and to supervision in both respects for a long time to come. Indeed, I will go further and say

that I believe that the majority of the German people would agree to their country being neutralised like Switzerland."

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But as soon as 1949 there were some indications of a change of mind as a result of the conflict between the former allies and the development of two hostile blocs. When the quarrels between East and West increased, Dr. Adenauer, in December 1949, offered 12 German divisions to the Americans for the defence of the West, and his offer was gratefully accepted by America and Great Britain.

There was strong reaction to this change of policy. Dr. Gustav Heinemann, Adenauer's Minister of the Interior, ostentatiously resigned and Erich Ollenhauer on December 16th, 1949, stated in the Bundestag on behalf of the Social Democratic Party, "The parliamentary Social Democratic Party refuses even to consider German rearmament." The SPD party conference in Hamburg from May 21-25, 1950, endorsed the attitude of the parliamentary party and stated, "The SPD opposes rearmament and the introduction of conscription."

Regardless of these reactions, the Federal Government continued with its policy of rearmament. The Federal Republic was subsequently accepted into the European Defence Community and, when that failed, into NATO.

The outbreak of the Korean War on July 25th, 1950 favoured this development, as also did Cardinal Frings in a sermon preached on the occasion of the Catholic Congress in Bonn on 23rd July, 1950, when he expressed the opinion that the State had not only a right but a duty to restore the divine order by force of arms and that an absolute conscientious objection was incompatible with Christian teaching. This sermon caused a complete change in the attitude of the Catholic Church.

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As the drive towards rearmament increased, so did the opposition to it. In the Bundestag it was represented by the SPD, and the extra-parliamentary opposition was led by trade unions and a large number of organisations and groups.

This extra-parliamentary opposition reached its first peak on 29th January, 1955, with the "St. Pauls Church Action", invitations to which had gone out from the chairman of the SPD, Erich Ollenhauer, and the vice-chairman of the Trade Union Congress, Georg Reuter, among others.

The assembly passed the famous "German Manifesto" which contains the following passage:

"In our deep anxiety about German reunification, we are convinced that the hour has come to call upon our people and government to offer determined resistance against the growing danger of a final division of our people ... At this hour every voice which is free to speak must be raised in the loudest warning against such a development ...".

The St. Pauls Church Action found a favourable echo throughout the German nation. Committees to further the aims of the Action were formed everywhere and organised protest rallies, demonstrations, silent protest marches and leaflet distributions. Only the Federal Government and the parties of the coalition rejected the warning and scorned the Action as the "voice of the street".

☆

Three months later - on 5th May, 1955 - the NATO Pact was ratified by the Federal Government. SPD and Trade Unions promptly dropped the St. Pauls Church Action which soon fizzled out.

On 6th March, 1956, the Basic Law was amended for the second time and with the connivance of the SPD to allow the rearmament of the Federal Republic. Only 20 SPD members voted against the amendment.

Once the amendment of the Basic Law had been passed, the rest was a foregone conclusion.

The Army Act was passed on 7th July, 1956.

The first 1,000 volunteers were incorporated into the army on 2nd January, 1957.

The first recruits were drafted on 1st April, 1957, and to-day the Federal Army has a strength of 420,000 men. It will soon have reached the aim of 500,000.

The most shameful fact is that the SPD, which ten years earlier solemnly stated, "We shall never send our sons to the barracks", now urges young socialists not to refuse military service but to join the army in order to "exercise a beneficial influence on the attitude of the Federal Army".

☆

After the Federal Republic had joined NATO it became more and more obvious that the Federal Government was seeking to secure nuclear weapons. On 12th April, 1957, 18 nuclear scientists stated at Göttingen: "We believe that a small country like the Federal Republic can best protect itself and secure peace by voluntarily renouncing nuclear weapons of any kind. In any event, none of the undersigned is prepared to participate in the production, testing or use of nuclear weapons in any shape or form."

This courageous pronouncement on the part of renowned nuclear scientists fired the imagination of the German people and, in particular, of university students. Eleven months later, on 10th March, 1958, the committee "Fight Against Atomic Death" was founded. Its appeal to the German people ended with the following words: "We appeal to the Bundestag and the Federal Government to refuse to participate in the nuclear armaments race and to support every effort for the creation of an atom-free zone in Europe as a contribution to the lessening of political tension. We will not rest while atomic bombs threaten our people."

The movement "Fight Against Atomic Death" was again led by the SPD and the Trade Union Congress who fully supported its actions.

Great protest rallies and protest marches took place throughout the Federal Republic. In Hamburg alone about 160,000 people took part in a demonstration. In Mannheim 50,000 attended, in Hannover 40,000, in Bielefeld 25,000, in Stuttgart 20,000, etc.

The government reacted to these demonstrations with a resolution passed in the Bundestag on 25th March, 1958, which approved of nuclear arms for the Federal Army without mentioning the words "atomic weapons". It spoke of the most modern weapons, comparable to those owned by the potential enemy, so that the Federal Republic might contribute to the maintenance of peace.

Soon after the resolution had been passed, SPD and Trade Unions abandoned the "Fight Against Atomic Death" movement which eventually collapsed.

To-day the SPD supports the proposed multilateral nuclear force on the grounds that it constitutes the only alternative to a German national nuclear force. The SPD is never at a loss to find good reasons for a bad cause.

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Not only SPD and Trade Unions abandoned the fight against German rearmament but also the churches and some youth organisations, not to mention press and radio.

The Catholic Church stands wholeheartedly behind rearmament. The Evangelical Church, though a little more diffident, provides chaplains for the army and does nothing to counteract the military orientation of the Federal Republic.

So far as youth organisations are concerned, hardly any of them approve of conscientious objection. The Catholic Youth unconditionally supports conscription and has made a considerable contribution to the shaping of military service. The Evangelical Youth does nothing against it. Socialist Youth, once the sworn enemy of conscription, now regards military service as the citizen's duty. Only the youth sections of the Friends of Nature and of the Trade Unions occasionally protest against conscription and support any of their members who refuse military service.

After the SPD and Trade Unions had betrayed the cause of opposition to rearmament, conscription and nuclear weapons for the Federal Army, the struggle against these evils has been continued by four extra-parliamentary methods:

1. Collective initiatives
2. Individual initiatives
3. The dependent opposition
4. Independent peace organisations

To prevent any misunderstanding, it should be stated that the above forces did not wait to take action until the failure of the great opposition. They had been at work before that, partly co-operating with the opposition, partly working alongside it and partly against it.

Nor is the failure of the great opposition a total one, since within the SPD, Trade Union Congress, the Churches and the youth organisations

there exists a certain amount of opposition which did not accept the change of policy and continues to fight internally. The failure was not due to the members but to the leadership of the great opposition, but as the leadership determines the policies of these bodies, it can be said that the great opposition failed.

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### Collective Initiatives

The collective initiatives within the nation do not proceed from permanent organisations. They arise when the need is felt and disappear with the emergency. The main elements of the collective initiatives are the following:

The "Emergency Union for the Peace of Europe" founded in 1951 by Dr. Gustav Heinemann and Helene Wessel for the purpose of preventing the remilitarisation of Germany and for the maintenance of peace in Europe. It found much support from the people, but its founders wished to enter the Bundestag in order to work more effectively. They, therefore, transformed it from a very loose organisation into a political party under the name of "All-German People's Party".

The "Third Front", the "Third Way" and the "Free Centre" aimed at creating a third force between East and West but did not succeed.

The different "Committees for a National Referendum" which emerged all over the Federal Republic in 1950/51 were more successful, but they were soon banned by the government. They re-emerged under other names and continued their work. The "Central Committee Against Remilitarisation", the "Working Party for German Reconciliation and a Just Peace Treaty", the "Union of Action Against a General Treaty and Remilitarisation" and the "German Rally" all belonged to that group.

Collective Initiatives of another type were the "St. Pauls Church Action", the movement "Fight Against Atomic Death", which have already been mentioned, as well as the initiative of the 18 nuclear scientists of Göttingen.

Equally noteworthy was the initiative known as "936 Doctors of Hamburg" of March 1958 and also the "Doctors of Bremen" of February 1962.

In 1958, 97 well-known German scientists, authors, artists and teachers protested against the stationing of nuclear weapons on German territory.

On 13th May, 1958, 103 university professors called upon the Christian Churches to raise their voices against nuclear weapons.

The most active of all the collective movements are the "Church Brotherhoods", which can rightly be called the conscience of the Evangelical Church. The so-called "Left Radicals" are their counterpart in the Catholic Church who display as much courage and energy as their brothers in the Evangelical Church.

☆

### Individual Initiatives

In addition to collective initiatives there have been a great many individual initiatives in the Federal Republic trying to alter the

fatal policy of remilitarisation pursued by the Federal Government.

Some people might object on the grounds that the opposition of individual persons does not count because its effect must be limited in space and time. However, historical experience refutes such a view. A single individual who knows precisely what he wants and how to get it may, under certain circumstances, be more successful than thousands, or even millions, who are not clear in their own minds on what to do and how to do it. Gandhi's work may serve as an example.

To mention only a few of these individual initiatives: The author Wolfgang Borchert, who brought the whole of the young post-war generation under his spell: Church President Martin Niemöller, who regards the fight against rearmament and war as his Christian duty: Dr. Gustav Heinemann, who resigned from his post as minister of the interior because Adenauer offered 12 German divisions to the Americans: Helene Wessel, who together with Gustav Heinemann, founded the "Emergency Union for the Peace of Europe": Dr. Nikolas Koch and Paul Debes who, in the summer of 1953, undertook a march of reconciliation from Hamburg via Bonn to Berlin and back, which lasted 106 days: the professors Otto Hahn, Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker, Max Born and Walter Gerlach, who belonged to the 18 men of Göttingen but also developed much individual initiative on their own: Professor Albert Schweitzer, Professor Heinrich Vogel, Professor Helmut Collwitzer, each of whom in his own way tried to awaken the sleeping conscience of the German: Professor Fritz Baade, one of the famous 20 SPD members of the Bundestag who voted against the amendment to the Basic Law on 6th March, 1956: Professor Albert Einstein, who called for conscientious objection to military service and utterly condemned war: the left-wing Catholic Professor Johannes Ude, Professor Franz Rauhut, Professor Eugen Kogon, Gerd Hirschauer and Christa Thomas, who fight an unrelenting battle against remilitarisation: the authors Erich Kästner, Robert Jungk, Stefan Andres, the actor Viktor de Kowa, theatre director Hilpert, artist Otto Pankok, etc. etc. These are all persons whose voice is heard and whose individual initiative does not remain without an echo.

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### The Dependent Opposition

The dependent opposition consists mainly of two organisations: the "Union of the Victims of Nazism" (VVN) and the "West German Peace Committee" (WPK) and two parties, the "Union of Germans (BdD) and the "German Peace Union" (DFU).

The dependent opposition is said to be communist inspired and directed and financed from the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Whether this is true or not is of no consequence so far as this article is concerned. It is, however, important to note that their criticisms are one-sided. In other words, they criticise mercilessly the evil in the West but remain silent about the evil in the East.

This does not alter fundamentally the contents of their criticism. In spite of being one-sided, it is generally justified, but their criticism is not creditable because of its one-sidedness.

The Union of the Victims of Nazism was founded immediately after the war to organise the victims of Nazism and their families and to restore to them the rights of which they had been deprived by the

Nazis. It also aimed at the abolition of the spirit of Nazism, which at that time was also the policy not only of the occupying powers but of the Federal Government.

Since many inmates of the concentration camps were in fact communists, it is not surprising that the VVN from its inception had many communist members. What is surprising is the fact

1. that the VVN is blamed for this and
2. that the VVN is to be prosecuted for being "communist infiltrated".

The West German Peace Committee is the West German section of the World Council of Peace founded on 5th May, 1949, at the Bonn town hall, initially under the name of "Committee of Fighters for Peace".

The emergence of the WFK coincided with Dr. Adenauer's first attempt at remilitarisation, which gave it the opportunity of opposing rearmament as strongly as possible. Its slogan was "Down with the General Treaty and the European Defence Community!" When on 23rd March, 1958, the Bundestag accepted the principle of atomic weapons for the Federal Army against the votes of the SPD, the slogan was changed to "Down with atomic armament for the Federal Army!"

The W.F.K. demands:

- Peaceful coexistence
- Agreement between the Federal Republic and the GDR
- A peace treaty for the whole of Germany
- An atom-free zone in Central Europe
- The withdrawal of the Federal Republic from NATO and of the GDR from the Warsaw Pact
- The recognition of the Oder-Neisse Line
- The restoration of diplomatic relations with all countries in the Eastern bloc
- Total controlled disarmament
- World Peace

On account of these activities the WGPC was prosecuted and on 8th April, 1960, the members of its executive were given short prison sentences. They have since been released under an amnesty, but the sentences were not to the credit of German justice.



The Union of Germans (BdD) was founded on 10th May, 1953, as a political party standing for unity, peace and freedom. It tried to prevent the rearmament of the Federal Republic, to restore German unity, to pave the way for friendly relations with the East and to secure world peace. The BdD also fought energetically against the reintroduction of conscription and the equipment of the Federal Army with atomic weapons. Its influence, however, is very small.



Far more active and influential than the BdD is the German Peace Union (DFU) which was founded on 17th December, 1960, in Stuttgart and stands for peace, security and the reunification of Germany.

It is, therefore, opposed to the stationing of atomic weapons in the Federal Republic and to the equipment of the Federal Army with nuclear weapons. It demands the military neutralisation of the divided Germany, negotiations between the two German states, and, as a first step towards general disarmament, a nuclear-free zone in Europe where armaments would be kept at a relatively low level. In the last parliamentary elections the DFU was unable to beat the 5 percent clause and to send members to the Bundestag.

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### The Independent Peace Organisations

Among the most active and uncompromising fighters for peace in the Federal Republic are the independent peace organisations. Unlike the collective and individual initiatives which appear on the scene only in an emergency, the peace organisations are constantly at work opposing evil, encouraging and protecting good.

The following are the chief independent peace organisations:

|  |       |
|--|-------|
| Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner            | IDK   |
| Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer              | VK    |
| Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft                    | DFG   |
| Internationaler Versöhnungsbund                  | IVB   |
| World Organisation of Mothers of All Nations     | WOMAN |
| International Women's League for Peace & Freedom | IFFF  |
| West German Women's Peace Movement               | WFFB  |
| Internationaler Zivildienst                      | IZD   |
| Easter March Movement                            | OM    |

and the umbrella organisation of  
Standing Joint Committee of German Peace Organisations ADF

☆

Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner was founded in the summer of 1921 as a section of the newly established world organisation of war resisters. The I.d.K. has no official association with any political party or religious denomination. It stands for non-violence and for human rights and is opposed to war of any kind; its members refuse military service and seek peaceful solutions to all conflicts. Every member of the I.d.K. has to sign the following declaration: "War is a crime against humanity. I am, therefore, determined not to support war either directly or indirectly and to work for the removal of all causes of war."

The IdK works actively for the recognition of the right of conscientious objection, has opposed the rearmament of the Federal Republic from the beginning, as well as the equipment of the Federal Army with nuclear weapons, and all military war preparations. More recently the IdK has been active in the fight against the emergency laws, the multilateral nuclear force and for an atom-free zone in Europe. It has organised innumerable demonstrations, vigils, marches, etc., and published leaflets and booklets.

☆

Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer was founded on 4th May, 1958, when some sections of the IdK merged with the Group of War Resisters. In 1959 it was affiliated to the WRI as its second German Section.

The fundamental principles of the IdK and the VK are identical.

In particular, the VK has the following special tasks:

To unite all men who refuse military service on grounds of conscience: to work for the removal of all causes of war: to work for the recognition, maintenance and development of the right of conscientious objection: to support conscientious objectors, particularly those who face difficulties as a result of their refusal. The VK fights actively against the military policy of the Federal Republic.

☆

Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft is the oldest peace organisation in the German-speaking area. It was founded in 1892 by Berth von Suttner and Alfred F. Fried and reached the zenith of its activities in the 1920s.

Unlike the IdK and the VK, the DFG was not originally interested in conscientious objection. "We are not prepared to incite conscripts to a refusal of their duty", declared a statement of the years 1900-1910. The DFG accepted conscientious objection only in 1960. On 21st December, 1961, it was affiliated to the WRI as its third German Section.

☆

Internationaler Versöhnungsbund was founded in the summer of 1921 at Bilthoven. It has no association with any political party, but it has a religious basis. Christian love is its guiding principle and the IVB consequently opposes war and war service and works for a peaceful solution of all conflicts.

☆

Weltorganisation der Mütter aller Nationen (World Organisation of Mothers of All Nations) was founded in 1946 by the American journalist Dorothy Thomson. She knew and hated war because of her personal experience and wanted to do everything in her power to prevent fresh wars. Because she had no confidence in the political wisdom of men, she appealed to the women and mothers of all nations regardless of race, religion or political creeds.

WOMAN has since become a world-wide organisation. The German Section was founded in 1949. It works for peace and the reunification of Germany and opposes war and violence. It stands for respect for the individual person, human dignity and the right of self-determination for all peoples. WOMAN has worked very actively against the emergency laws and, in particular the proposed conscription of women into the Federal Army.

IdK, VK, IVB and WOMAN co-operate in the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände (Standing Joint Committee of German Peace Organisations) for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of the constituent organisations, issuing joint statements and organising joint protests and other activities.

☆

Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit (International Women's League for Peace and Freedom), one of the oldest women's peace organisations, was founded in the midst of strife and upheaval on 1st May 1915, at The Hague. Internationally it is the most active and influential, but its work in the Federal Republic leaves much to be desired.

☆

Westdeutschen Frauenfriedensbewegung (West German Women's Peace Movement) is an entirely different proposition. Founded on 14th October, 1951, it is very active. It has repeatedly succeeded in rallying large numbers of women for action against rearmament, nuclear weapons, civil defence, emergency laws and for peace. On 27th February, 1955 it was proscribed in the Rhineland-Palatinate, but on 1st April, 1960 the higher Land court lifted the ban and acquitted the Movement of all the charges made against it by the Land government.

☆

Internationale Zivildienst (International Voluntary Service) is not a peace movement in the strict meaning of the word. Nevertheless, it is an excellent ally in the fight for peace, firstly because it brings together people of different nations to co-operate in an emergency; and secondly because it strives to establish an alternative service for conscientious objectors. Clause 2 (c) of its constitution states, "International Voluntary Service aims at the creation of a new spirit among peoples through mutual and co-operative aid across the frontiers and barriers made by men, so that even the thought of war will become impossible." IVS furthers this spirit not only in words but with deeds.

☆

Of all movements for disarmament and peace which exist in the Federal Republic, the Ostermarsch - Kampagne für Abrüstung (Easter March Movement - Campaign for Disarmament) has found the greatest support from the German people in general and German youth in particular. This is obvious from the way the movement has developed. The first march from Hamburg to Bergen-Hohne started with 200 participants, about 1,000 taking part in the final demonstration; the second march consisted of 12 individual marches with about 7,500 participants and 20,000 at the final rally; the third march in 1962 consisted of 20 individual marches with a total of 50,000 participants, including the final rally; the fourth march in 1963 had 30,000 participants (final rally, 80,000), and the fifth in 1964 consisted of 16 individual marches with a total of 65,000 participants (final rally, 100,000). Compared with the first march participation has thus increased a hundredfold.

Encouragement for the Easter March Movement has increased similarly. In 1960 it was very small; in 1964 the appeal of the Easter March Movement was signed by 1,100 ministers of religion of all denominations, 450 trade unionists, 400 professors and teachers, 400 authors and artists, almost 300 jurists and solicitors and 50 town councillors.

The Easter March Movement stands for a relaxation zone in Central Europe free of all nuclear weapons and with reduced armaments: for a ban on nuclear tests: a ban on the use of nuclear weapons in war. It also wants Germany to be a bridge between East and West.

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Conclusions

To sum up, in the first years after the war the German people wanted nothing to do with rearmament and war. This attitude was supported and fostered by the occupying powers.

When in 1948/49 the former allies fell out and Dr. Adenauer offered 12 divisions to the Americans, resistance began against Adenauer's policy of rearmament and was led by the SPD, the trade unions and several smaller opposition groups.

After the failure of SPD, trades unions, churches, press and radio to maintain the opposition, it was left to smaller extra-parliamentary bodies to continue the fight against rearmament, conscription, nuclear weapons for the Federal Army, emergency laws, civil defence, the conscription of women, etc.

The struggle is also supported by oppositional elements within the bodies which once formed the great opposition and later betrayed the cause.

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LÖSUNGSVORSCHLÄGE ZUR BERLIN- UND DEUTSCHLANDFRAGE

Von Dr. Fritz Katz - Bundesvorstandsmitglied des VK -

DEUTSCHLANDPLAN DER SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHEN PARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS (SPD)

Zur militärischen Entspannung in Europa schlägt die SPD vor:

1. Schaffung einer Entspannungszone, die zunächst beide Teile Deutschlands, Polen, die Tschechoslowakei und Ungarn umfaßt.
2. Innerhalb dieser Entspannungszone werden Rüstungsbeschränkungen der nationalen Truppen und fortlaufend gleichwertige Verminderungen der Fremdstuppen der NATO und des Warschauer Paktes vereinbart. Die nationalen Truppen besitzen keine Kernwaffen. Die Kernwaffen der Fremdstuppen werden nicht verstärkt. Am Schluß ist die Entspannungszone durch völligen Abzug der fremdstuppen frei von Kernwaffen.
3. Die zu treffenden Vereinbarungen müssen von Anfang an durch Boden- und Luftkontrollen gesichert werden.
4. Ein kollektives Sicherheitsabkommen sichert die Unverletzbarkeit der Staaten in der Entspannungszone.
5. Dieses Sicherheitssystem bedingt das Ausscheiden der Staaten in der Entspannungszone aus der NATO und dem Warschauer Pakt und erfordert angemessene militärische Beiträge derselben zur Gewährleistung dieses Sicherheitssystems.
6. Beibehaltung des gegenwärtigen Rechtsstatus und der militärischen Sicherung Berlins bis zur Regelung der deutschen Frage.

Die politische und wirtschaftliche Zusammenführung Deutschlands erfolgt in drei Stufen:

1. Stufe: Die politische Zusammenführung beginnt mit der Bildung einer paritätisch zusammengesetzten gesamtdeutschen Konferenz, bestehend aus Beauftragten der beiden deutschen Regierungen. Diese Konferenz setzt zur Wahrung der Einheitlichkeit in der Auelegung der Menschenrechte und Grundfreiheiten ein gesamtdeutsches Gericht ein.

Die wirtschaftliche Zusammenführung beginnt ebenfalls mit der Bildung paritätisch besetzter Institutionen. Bestehende Handelsbeschränkungen müssen wegfallen, der Interzonenhandel ist auszuweiten. Ein gesamtdeutscher Investitionsfonds und eine Bank für innerdeutschen Zahlungsausgleich werden gebildet.

2. Stufe: Die politische Zusammenführung wird fortgesetzt durch die Wahl eines Gesamtdeutschen Parlamentarischen Rates, der je zur Hälfte in beiden Teilen Deutschlands gewählt wird. Er beschließt gesamtdeutsche Gesetze für das Verkehrswesen (Eisenbahn, Straßenverkehr, Binnenschifffahrt, Post und Fernmeldewesen) und zur Förderung

der volkswirtschaftlichen Erzeugung. Die wirtschaftliche Zusammenführung wird durch die Entwicklung eines gesamtdeutschen Marktes beschleunigt.

3. Stufe: Die gesetzgeberische Zuständigkeit des Gesamtdeutschen Parlamentarischen Rates wird ausgedehnt auf die Vorbereitung von gesamtdeutschen Gesetzen zum Steuersystem, Finanzausgleich, zur Zollunion, zur Währungsunion und zur sozialpolitischen Anpassung. Ferner gehört dazu auch die Ausschreibung der Wahl zu einer Verfassungsgebenden Nationalversammlung. Berlin ist Sitz aller gesamtdeutschen Institutionen.

Die Wiedervereinigung:

Nach dem Inkrafttreten der gesamtdeutschen Verfassung werden allgemeine, freie und geheime Wahlen zum Gesamtdeutschen Parlament abgehalten. Aus ihm geht die Gesamtdeutsche Regierung hervor.

DEUTSCHLANDPLAN VON WILHELM KELLER (ehemaliger Vorsitzender des VK)  
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UN-Status für Deutschland

- I. Die oberste Gerichtsbarkeit und die oberste Exekutivgewalt in beiden Teilen Deutschlands wird den Vereinten Nationen übertragen. Damit wird die Mundialisierung Deutschlands eingeleitet. Seine Bürger werden Weltbürger.  
  
Beide Teile Deutschlands scheiden aus der NATO bzw. dem Warschauer Pakt aus. Ihre nationalen Truppen werden der UNO unterstellt und in UN-Polizeitruppen umgewandelt bzw. von anderen UN-Truppen abgelöst.
- II. Die politischen Systeme in beiden Teilen Deutschlands bleiben so lange bestehen, bis es zu Vereinbarungen über kulturelle, wirtschaftliche, finanz- und verwaltungstechnische Zusammenarbeit, sowie gesamtdeutsche Wahlen zur Schaffung einer gesamtdeutschen Verfassung und Regierung gekommen ist.
- III. Zu solchen Vereinbarungen gehört an erster Stelle eine zunehmende Liberalisierung des innerdeutschen Grenz- und Reiseverkehrs.
- IV. Die Außenpolitik der beiden Teilregierungen konzentriert sich auf Kultur- und Handelsbeziehungen, Entwicklungshilfe und Unterstützung der UN-Politik.
- V. Die Mundialisierung der beiden Teile Deutschlands sollte der erste Schritt zu einer weiteren Mundialisierung, vor allem in Europa, sein. Auf diesem Wege könnte auch die Rückwanderung Heimatvertriebener ermöglicht werden.

THESEN DER DEUTSCHEN FRIEDENSGESELLSCHAFT ZUR BERLINFRAGE  
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- I. Außenpolitisch (Mundialisierung von Gesamt-Berlin):  
Ersetzung des Viermächte-Statuts durch ein UN-Statut für Gesamt-Berlin - UN-Polizei aus neutralen europäischen Ländern ergänzt durch Volkspolizei in Ost-Berlin und Bereitschaftspolizei in West-Berlin - neutraler UN-Polizeigeneral - Entmilitarisierung Gesamt-Berlins - UN-Paß für die Berliner Bevölkerung - freier Verkehr von und nach Gesamt-Berlin - Einrichtung eines Friedens-

antes als Schlichtungsorgan, sowie zur Vermittlung von Friedensdiensten für Entwicklungsländer und zur Ausbildung in gewaltfreier Verteidigung - vollständige oder teilweise Verlegung des UN-Sitzes nach Berlin.

## II. Kulturpolitisch (Selbstverwaltung des geistigen Lebens):

Bildung eines unabhängigen Kulturrates - Autonomie der Berliner Universitäten - Schaffung einer internationalen Friedensakademie.

## III. Innenpolitisch (gleiches Recht für alle Berliner):

Freizügigkeit innerhalb Gesamtberlins - Abzug aller ost- und westdeutschen Regierungsstellen und Zentralbehörden bis auf je eine Kontaktstelle der BRD und DR - Bildung eines paritätisch zusammengesetzten Gesamt-Berliner Parlamentarischen Rates zur Ausarbeitung einer Verfassung für die UN-Stadt Berlin - danach freie und geheime Wahlen für ein Gesamt-Berliner Parlament.

## IV. Wirtschaftspolitisch (brüderliches Zusammenwirken):

Selbstverwaltung durch unabhängigen Wirtschaftsrat aus Konsumenten, Händlern und Produzenten - Schaffung einer Berlin-Mark mit einer durch monetäre Politik gesicherten Kaufkraft - Maßnahmen zur Unterbindung von privaten und staatlichen Monopolismus in der Wirtschaft.

## STELLUNGNAHME DES INTERNATIONALEN VERSÖHNUUNGSBUNDES ZUR DEUTSCHLANDFRAGE

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Zur friedlichen Lösung der Deutschlandfrage wies der Rat der IFOR auf folgende Punkte hin:

1. Umwandlung Gesamt-Berlins in eine freie Stadt unter internationaler Aufsicht oder erst spätere Erhebung Berlins zum Mittelpunkt einer neutralisierten Föderation der deutschen Teilstaaten.
2. Baldige Anerkennung der DDR und der Oder-Neiße-Linie als Deutschlands Ostgrenze seitens der Westmächte.
3. Gleichzeitiger Austritt der BRD aus der NATO und der DDR aus dem Warschauer Pakt.
4. Stufenweise Abrüstung beider Teile Deutschlands, die mit dem gemeinsamen Verzicht auf alle Kernwaffen und alle anderen Massenvernichtungswaffen beginnt.
5. Schaffung einer atomwaffenfreien Zone in Mitteleuropa mit nachfolgender völliger Entmilitarisierung.
6. Vorbereitung einer deutschen Föderation durch direkte Verhandlungen zwischen beiden Teilen Deutschlands; Klärung der Rolle Berlins innerhalb dieser Föderation durch Verhandlung mit Berlin.
7. Friedensvertrag zwischen der deutschen Föderation und den ehemaligen Siegerstaaten.
8. Verpflichtung aller beteiligten Staaten zum Einsatz für eine weltumfassende Abrüstung.

KONFÖDERATIONSPLAN DES "DEUTSCHLANDRAT"ES  
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Vorschlag eines Staatsvertrages zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD) und der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (DDR):

Abschnitt I

Gegenseitige Anerkennung und Errichtung einer "Konföderation Deutschland" - zum Gebiet der DDR gehört Ost-Berlin, zum Gebiet der BRD West-Berlin - Anerkennung der Allgemeinen Erklärung der Menschenrechte als bindendes innerstaatliches Recht.

Abschnitt II

Organe der Konföderation: 1. Generalsekretariat; 2. technische Ausschüsse für außenpolitische Fragen, militärische Sicherheit, innere Fragen, Wirtschafts- und Währungsfragen, Verkehr und Postwesen; 3. Schiedsgericht - paritätische Besetzung aller dieser Organe bzw. Ausschüsse - Sitz derselben im früheren Reichstagsgebäude in Berlin, dessen Gelände unmittelbar der Konföderation unterstellt und entpolitisiert wird.

Abschnitt III

Außenpolitik: BRD und DDR können jeweils für ihr Gebiet völkerrechtliche Verträge abschließen, sofern sie nicht mit dem Konföderationsvertrag im Widerspruch stehen - die beabsichtigten Verträge werden vorher dem außenpolitischen Ausschuß der Konföderation bekanntgegeben, damit der andere Partner gegebenenfalls beitreten kann - die diplomatischen Vertretungen im Ausland werden so ergänzt, daß sie einheitlichen Charakter als "Botschaften der Konföderation Deutschland" erhalten.

Militärische Sicherheit: Ersuchen um Abzug der Fremdstuppen - Kündigung der Zugehörigkeit zur NATO und zum Warschauer Pakt - keine Militärabkommen ohne Zustimmung des anderen Vertragspartners - gegenseitiger Gewaltverzicht - kein Militär innerhalb einer 50 km-Zone beiderseits der gemeinsamen Staatsgrenze - die BRD darf in West-Berlin Grenzschutz- und Polizeikräfte in beschränkter Zahl unterhalten - kein Schießbefehl an der gemeinsamen Grenze.

Innere Fragen: Gegenseitige Rechts- und Amtshilfe (ausgenommen politische Straftaten) - keine Abwerbung - Ermöglichung der Familienzusammenführung - keine Strafverfolgung wegen früher begangener "Republikflucht" - freie Nutzung von ererbtem Vermögen, das im anderen Partnerstaat belegen ist - Abschluß eines Kulturabkommens - gesamtdeutsche Sportmannschaften.

Wirtschaft und Währung: Langfristige Handelsverträge - Währungsabkommen - gegenseitige Hilfe zur Entwicklung der Wirtschaft.

Verkehrs- und Postwesen: Freier Reise- und Warenverkehr - gemeinsame Grenzkontrollen - Ortsgespräche zwischen West- und Ost-Berlin.

Abschnitt IV

Fünf Jahre nach Vertragsabschluß Bildung eines gesamtdeutschen Rates, der innerhalb von 4 Jahren einen Verfassungsentwurf auszuarbeiten hat - eine Minderheit kann einen abweichenden Verfassungsentwurf vorlegen - über beide erfolgt eine Volksabstimmung.

Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
in der War Resisters' International e.V.

22.9.64

War Resisters' International e.V.  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield/Middx.Engl.

Teilnehmer- und Referentenliste der WRI-Studienkonferenz vom  
9. - 15.8.64 in Offenbach/Main - Deutschland -

|                                  |                          |                                 |             |   |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|---|
| Devi Prasad                      | 88 Park Avenue           | Enfield/Middx.                  | England     | A |
| Dieter Kramer                    | Bergwiesenweg 3          | 355 Marburg                     | Deutschl.   | T |
| Helga Weber                      | Waldstr.99/ VK           | 605 Offenbach                   | Deutschl.   | T |
| Haidi Wendelt                    | Birkenlohrstr.53         | 605 Offenbach                   | Deutschl.   | T |
| Peter Cadogan                    | 5 Acton Way              | Cambridge                       | England     | A |
| Giuliano Rendi                   | Viale Regina Marghr.15   | Roma                            | Itelian     | A |
| Irm de Onderza                   | Lammstr. 16              | 75 Karlsruhe                    | Deutschl.   | A |
| Helmut Hertling                  | Wulfendorferweg 77       | 2 Hamburg-Volked.               | Deutschl.   | A |
| Wolfgang Zucht                   | verl.Grahnstr./Lehmweg12 | 3 Hannover-Vahrenw.             | Deutschl.   | A |
| Stephen Thompson                 | 260, Hornchurch Rd.      | Hornchurch/Essex                | England     | A |
| Ted + Betty Orr                  | 95 Elm Park Avenue       | Hornchurch/Essex                | England     | A |
| David Mattheus                   | 76 Whalebone Grove       | Chadwell Heath<br>Romford/Essex | England     | A |
| Ole Henriksen                    | Weit                     | Warten                          | Dänemark    | T |
| Elisabeth Waih                   | Robertusstr.7            | 6 Frankfurt                     | Deutschland |   |
| Inge Oskærsson                   | 47 Compayne Gardens      | London NW 6                     | England     | A |
| Erich Wendt                      | Postfach 5               | 5481 Bodendorf                  | Deutschl.   | A |
| Wolfgang O. Metzger              | Austr. 3                 | 7118 Künzelsaus                 | Deutschl.   | A |
| Herbert Stubenrauch              | Ludwigstr.29             | 56 Wuppertal-Elberf.            | Deutschl.   | A |
| Brain & Judith Dawes             | Schlüterstr.48/IV        | 1 Berlin 12                     | Deutschl.   | A |
| Dietmar Garbe                    | Nehrungsberg 12          | 63 Gießen                       | Deutschl.   | A |
| Fr.Wilh.Schmidt                  | Bahnhofstr. 27           | 3001 Anderten                   | Deutschl.   | A |
| Edward P. Gottlieb<br>and Marian | 94-11 60 th Avenue       | Elmhurst 73 NY                  | USA         | A |
| Helm.Michael Vogel               | Floßmannstr.30 a         | 8 München-Pasing                | Deutschl.   | T |
| Klaus Vack                       | Lohrweg 15               | 605 Offenbach                   | Deutschl.   | A |
| Egon Becker                      | Eschersh.Ldstr.572       | 6 Frankfurt                     | Deutschl.   | A |
| Gerhard Grüning                  | Amöneburger Str.48       | 6 Frankfurt                     | Deutschl.   | T |
| Theodor Ebert                    | Johannesstr. 67          | 7 Stuttgart-W.                  | Deutschl.   | T |
| Günter Fritz                     | Bebelstr. 106            | 7 Stuttgart-W.                  | Deutschl.   | T |
| Dr.Gerb.Schmidt                  | Haus-Nr. 462             | 4801 Großdornberg               | Deutschl.   | T |

T = teilweise

A = alle Tage

24.10.64

War Resisters' International e.V.  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield/Middx, England

Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
in der War Resisters' International e.V.

Arbeitspapier zur URI-Studienkonferenz vom 9. - 15.8.1964 in Offen-  
bach (Deutschland)

Bericht über den Friedensmarsch Vancouver-Berlin

von Hans Sinn

"Das Hotel Hilton in Berlin ist ein hervorragendes Beispiel für die Annehmlichkeiten der Freiheit. Das 300 er große Gelände ist ideal gelegen für alle Ihre Vorhaben und Besichtigungen auf diesem prächtigen Vorposten der westlichen Welt."

"In dem einzigartigen Dachgarten-Restaurant werden Sie vorzüglich essen, nach Herzenslust tanzen und den faszinierenden Kontrast zwischen Ost- und West-Berlin erleben, der sich zu Ihren Füßen ausbreitet --- und es braucht nicht mehr als 7,50 Dollar pro Tag bzw. 12,50 Dollar für 2 Tage zu kosten."

(Annonce im Magazin "Time", Februar 64)

An einem Februartag gegen 14 Uhr standen wir auf der für Besucher erbauten Plattform, von wo sie über die Mauer hinweg auf das Brandenburger Tor und die Leute auf der anderen Seite starren können, die ebenso zu uns herüberstarrten. Da war es also - die Mauer, der Stacheldraht, die bewaffneten Wachtposten und die Menschengruppen auf beiden Seiten, die sich nur mit Ferngläsern gegenseitig klar unterscheiden können. Im Gegensatz zu den meisten anderen Sonntagsbesuchern hatten wir keine Ferngläser bei uns und konnten die Gesichter auf der anderen Seite nicht sehen. Aber die Mauer sahen wir klar genug. So standen wir im kalten Februarwind, etwa 20 bis 30 Minuten lang da, schauten und warteten. Nichts geschah. Wir blickten uns an, schüttelten den Kopf, zuckten die Achseln, kletterten von der Tribüne herab und begannen unseren Rückweg über die Straße des 17. Juni. Die Mauer hatte uns kalt gelassen - keine große innere Auflehnung, kein seelenerlöschender Drang, sie niederzureißen, kein überwältigendes Gefühl von Liebe, Haß oder Mitleid für das Volk auf beiden Seiten. Nichts von alledem.

Nachdem wir Menschen in Ost- und West-Berlin begegnet sind und mit ihnen gesprochen haben, hat sich an unserem ersten Eindruck nicht viel geändert. Wenn überhaupt, so stehen wir noch immer unter dem Eindruck mangelnden Interesses der West-Berliner an dem, was in ihrer Stadt vorgeht.

Der "faszinierende Kontrast zwischen Ost und West" drückt sich nicht nur in der äußeren Erscheinung beider Stadtteile aus, sondern auch in der Differenz von 1 : 4 des Wechselkurses zwischen West- und Ost-Mark. Dieser Unterschied wurde ausgenutzt von der Hausfrau, die im Osten billiger einkaufen konnte, von dem Studenten, der seinen schma-

len Monatswechsel aufbessern wollte, von dem Arbeiter, der in der einen Hälfte der Stadt arbeitete und seinen Lohn mit vierfacher Kaufkraft in der anderen Hälfte ausgab. Kurz gesagt, nicht nur Mr. Hilton, sondern Millionen gewöhnlicher Berliner Bürger haben die Unterschiede zwischen Ost und West zu ihrem eigenen Vorteil ausgenutzt. Heute sind sie über das Bestehen der Mauer entrüstet, die das unterbunden hat. Sie sind auch entrüstet, weil die Mauer den Flüchtlingsstrom gestoppt hat, der dem "Wirtschaftswunder" auf dem Fuße folgte.

Das Denkmal Berlin

Im Zuge wachsender Verständigung zwischen den früheren Siegermächten hat Berlin seine Bedeutung als Brennpunkt des Kalten Krieges verloren. Heute ist Berlin nicht viel mehr als ein Erinnerungsmal an eine sehr stürmische Periode der Vergangenheit. Wie konnte eine ganze Stadt zu einer Versteinerung werden?

Der offizielle westdeutsche Standpunkt lautet folgendermaßen: In und um Berlin darf nichts geschehen, was nicht direkt mit der Wiedervereinigung zu tun hat. Reiseverkehr zwischen beiden Teilen kann nicht zugestanden werden, wenn damit das Risiko einer de jure-Anerkennung Ostdeutschlands verbunden ist; dadurch werden 1,7 Millionen Berliner in ihrer Stadthälfte festgehalten. Anerkennung würde die dauernde Teilung Deutschlands aus folgendem Grunde bedeuten: Ostdeutschland ist kein unabhängiger Staat. Es ist ein Handlanger der kommunistischen Weltrevolution und ein russischer Satellit. Es wird nicht von seinen eigenen Bürgern unterstützt, die nur mit Zwang und Gewalt unter Kontrolle gehalten werden können. Zuerst müssen dort freie Wahlen stattfinden. Man will keine russische Provinz zum Nachbarn haben.

Die ostdeutsche Regierung nimmt folgenden Standpunkt ein: West-Berlin liegt innerhalb unseres Gebietes 200 km von der eigentlichen Grenze zwischen Ost- und Westdeutschland entfernt. Westdeutschland verlor sein Anrecht auf das West-Berliner Gebiet und seine 2,2 Millionen Einwohner, als es 1949 der Errichtung eines geschnittenen Westdeutschland, bestehend aus den drei westlichen Besatzungszonen, zustimmte. Es zerschmitt 1948 einseitig die Bande mit dem, was heute Ostdeutschland ist, indem es eine eigene Währung herausbrachte. Während es auf das Wirtschaftswunder zusteuerte, überließ es der russischen Besatzungszone, für sich selbst zu sorgen. Berlin war nach dem Potsdamer Abkommen von 1945 als Verwaltungszentrum für ein vereintes Deutschland gedacht. Als Westdeutschland diese Vereinbarung im Zusammenwirken mit den drei westlichen Besatzungsmächten brach, verlor es alle Rechte auf Berlin. Wir tolerieren Berlin, weil wir müssen. Wir betrachten West-Berlin als eine potentielle Existenzbedrohung unseres Staates, solange Westdeutschland uns nicht anerkennt. Bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, wo das geschieht, müssen und werden wir Maßnahmen zum Schutz unserer Bürger vor den Einflüssen West-Berlins ergreifen.

Hierbei bleibt es. Die Lage erscheint erträglich, und wenn die Menschen es tatsächlich als unerträglich empfinden, daß sie in und im Umkreis der Stadt Beschränkungen unterworfen sind, so tragen sie es bestimmt nicht zur Schau.

Immerhin ist es eine merkwürdige Tatsache, daß so viele Leute nach Berlin kommen, um sich die Sache anzusehen. Eine der seltsamsten

Angelegenheiten bei diesem zusätzlichen Weltwunder besteht darin, daß niemand es geschaffen, niemand es getan hat und niemand dafür verantwortlich ist!

Die Westdeutschen betrachten die Spaltung Berlins als einen Teil der Spaltung Deutschlands, wofür nicht sie, sondern die Siegermächte verantwortlich sind. Wir, so sagen sie, können nichts ändern aus Besorgnis, daß dies von den Siegermächten dahin ausgelegt wird, wir hätten die Verantwortung für das übernommen, was sie getan haben, so daß sie sich dieser Verantwortung entziehen fühlen können. Sie müssen die Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands und Berlins unter sich selbst ausmachen. Unser Beitrag besteht darin, daß wir die Unannehmlichkeiten so lange wie notwendig aushalten.

Die Unannehmlichkeiten in Westdeutschland sind nicht so bedeutend, daß die Leute, und insbesondere die Politiker, sie nicht bis in alle Ewigkeit aushalten könnten. Die Siegermächte scheinen ähnlich auf eine lange Wartezeit eingestellt zu sein. Für die Menschen in Ostdeutschland und die getrennten Familien in Berlin ist die Wartezeit nicht ganz so angenehm und vergnüglich. Die Berliner würden zweifellos ihre Verwandten lieber jetzt sehen und nicht erst, wenn die Kinder groß geworden sind, oder vielleicht überhaupt nicht, weil sie vor der Wiedervereinigung gestorben sind.

Daher ist ein Versuch zu einer Zwischenlösung vom Berliner Senat einerseits und von der ostdeutschen Regierung andererseits gemacht worden. Das war Weihnachten 1963, als über eine Million West-Berliner ihre Ost-Berliner Verwandten besuchten. Leider kann dies nicht wiederholt werden, weil Bonn meint, daß der Aufenthalt ostdeutscher Beamter auf West-Berliner Gebiet zur Ausgabe von Passierscheinen einer Anerkennung zu nahe käme. Der Berliner Senat war damit nicht ganz einverstanden, aber nachdem Oberbürgermeister Brandt nach Bonn beordert war, ging ihm ein Licht auf. Berlin erhält jährlich 4 Milliarden DM direkt oder indirekt von Bonn. Daher wird die Berliner Politik in Bonn gemacht, obwohl die Berliner Bevölkerung dort keine Vertretung hat. Nichtsdestoweniger liegt letzten Endes die Amtsgewalt für Berlin bei den Besatzungsmächten oder Schutzmächten, wie man sagt. Die Amtsträger der USA meinten während des Weihnachtsabkommens, daß es Sache der Deutschen sei, selbst zu entscheiden. Die Franzosen waren nicht ganz mit den Dispositionen einverstanden und die Engländer waren dafür und meinten, daß es zu einer Wiederholung kommen würde.

Obwohl die Berliner Bevölkerung sich auf neuerliche Verwandtenbesuche freut, erscheint sie im Grunde ihrer Sache nicht sicher. Es gab keine Demonstrationen zugunsten der Politik des Senats, sondern eher eine demütige Hinnahme des Bonner Nein. Tatsache ist, daß die Berliner Bevölkerung, als Oberbürgermeister Brandt nach Bonn bestellt wurde, ihm nicht den nötigen Rückhalt gab. So redet sich der West-Berliner, der zwar immer noch nicht seine Verwandten besuchen kann, ein, daß er selbst jedenfalls für diesen Stand der Dinge nicht verantwortlich ist. Er bleibt im Gegenteil untätig zum höheren Runne Deutschlands, das irgendwann in der Zukunft wiedervereinigt wird.

Die Bonner Politik, die sich auf die Zurschaustellung einer schädigen politischen Hilflosigkeit hinsichtlich der Spaltung Berlins und Deutschlands gründet, hat in der Vergangenheit beträchtlichen Erfolg gehabt. Selbst heute noch sieht es nach Hartherzigkeit aus, wenn man mit solch großem und edlem Leiden nicht sympatisiert. Wenn die USA in der Vergangenheit sagte, sie würden ein gutes Wort für die Westdeutschen

bei Verhandlungen mit der Sowjetunion einlegen, so hatten sie das zweifellos auch im Sinn. Wenn sie erklärten, daß sie keine Vereinbarungen mit der Sowjetunion treffen würden, durch die nicht zugleich die deutsche Frage gelöst würde, dann meinten sie das ebenfalls genau so. Dies war umso leichter möglich, weil all die Jahre eine Gemeinsamkeit der Interessen zwischen den USA und Westdeutschland bestand: Westeuropa wieder auf die Beine zu helfen und seine mögliche Vereinnahmung durch den Kommunismus zu verhindern. Diesen beiden lebenswichtigen Zielen der USA-Politik ist man nahe gekommen, und Westdeutschland ist der größte Nutznießer dieses Erfolges geworden. Die drei westlichen Verbündeten garantieren nicht nur die Sicherheit Westdeutschlands, sondern auch die West-Berline, auf das Westdeutschland bei allem, was recht ist, keinerlei Anspruch besitzt, auch wenn man die Phantasie noch so sehr anstrengt. Aber Bonn will mehr - es will Ostdeutschland und es will die Gebiete östlich der Oder-Neiße-Linie, die Hitler-Deutschland nach 1945 verloren hat. Zu diesem Zweck bezog es seinen Leitstern aus einer kurzlebigen westlichen Pa-rolle nach 1945: der "Befreiung" Osteuropas. Diesen Traum zuliebe rüstete Westdeutschland auf. Und während es träumte und wiederauf-rüstete, verpaßte es alle Gelegenheiten, zu einer friedlichen Ver-ständigung mit der Sowjetunion zu kommen. Unterdessen sind alle jene Bereiche, wo ein friedlicher Vergleich erarbeitet werden konn-te, im Laufe der Zeit mehr und mehr verloren gegangen. Bonns Verlaß auf die Feindschaft zwischen der SU und den USA als Mittel zur Wie-dorherstellung Deutschlands in den Grenzen von 1937 hat sich als falsche Kalkulation erwiesen. Man hat sich auf einen Krieg eingest-ellt und vorbereitet, der nicht gekommen ist. Mehr noch: Die USA werden nicht instande, der Sowjetunion Konzessionen für Deutschland als Gegenleistung für den Frieden abzurufen.

Im Grunde gibt es nichts Verkehrtes im heutigen Deutschland und Ber-lin, das die Deutschen nicht selbst zurechtrücken könnten. Und es gibt eine deutsche Minderheit, die immer unzufriedener mit diesem Gemisch von Selbstbenitleidung und Kriegslüsterheit wird, das bis-her in der deutschen Nachkriegs-Politik zutage getreten ist. Es gibt Menschen, die begreifen, daß eine Fortsetzung dieser Politik nicht nur politisch unvorteilhaft, sondern geradezu gefährlich ist.

Zwei deutsche Staaten in Konkurrenz

Gegenwärtig vollzieht sich die Entwicklung der beiden deutschen Staaten höchstwahrscheinlich im Rahmen der Politik, die sie gegen-einander betreiben.

Beide deutschen Staaten sind wirtschaftlich bedeutsam und nutzen ihre wirtschaftliche Stärke für ihre jeweiligen Ziele aus. Kanzler Erhard erklärte kürzlich: "Wir sind gewillt, größere materielle Opfer zu bringen, um den Menschen auf der anderen Seite zu ermöglichen, ein freieres Leben zu führen." Nun, es ist nicht sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Sowjetunion bereit ist, Ostdeutschland an Westdeutschland zu verkaufen.

Unterdessen benutzt Westdeutschland sein beträchtliches wirtschaft-liches Gewicht, um seine Politik der Nichtanerkennung zu forcieren, und hat insoweit damit Erfolg gehabt, daß seine westlichen Handels-partner zur Respektierung seiner politischen Wünsche veranlaßt werden. Hierin eingeschlossen sind die Entwicklungsländer, die westdeutsche Entwicklungshilfe erhalten.

Ostdeutschland wiederum versucht in ähnlicher Weise, Freunde zu gewinnen und zu behalten. In Deylon war es imstande, Westdeutschland zu überbieten, und es gibt eine Anzahl weiterer Beispiele, wo es an Boden gewinnt. Seine Unterstützung ausländischer Studenten z.B. ist beträchtlich.

Es besteht kein Grund dafür, daß Westdeutschland nicht in der Lage wäre, den Kampf eine ganze Weile durchzuhalten, wenn auch mit zunehmenden wirtschaftlichen Lasten. Es besteht kaum Aussicht, daß die USA, Frankreich oder England Ostdeutschland in naher Zukunft anerkennen. Aber diese Staaten werden zweifellos die finanzielle Last ihrer militärischen Beteiligung in Mitteleuropa auf Westdeutschland abwälzen. Wie störempfindlich das Finanzgefüge sogar im prosperierenden Westdeutschland ist, zeigte sich an der Kürzung der direkten Berlinhilfe für 1964 um 135 Millionen Mark.

Zur Zeit ist es eine offene Frage, ob die Westdeutschen tatsächlich glauben, daß sie ihre erklärten politischen Ziele durch weitere Verfolgung ihrer gegenwärtigen Politik erreichen werden, oder ob sie sich dessen bewußt sind, daß sie eine offizielle Farce vorführen, bei der alle anderen westlichen Länder offiziell mitspielen.

Die internationale Entwicklung geht in Richtung auf pluralistische Gesellschaften und Auflösung der Machtblöcke. Im Osten besteht eine deutliche Tendenz zum nationalen Kommunismus. Im Westen haben die durch den Krieg geschwächten Nationen genügend Stärke wiedergewonnen, um nun auf eigene Faust zu planen. Die Sowjetunion und die USA streben auf ein militärisches Disengagement in Mitteleuropa los, während die alten und jungen Nationen in Asien, Afrika und Südamerika ihr Interesse stärker beanspruchen. Europa ist in die Nachkriegsperiode eingetreten, wo die größeren Mächte im ureigensten Interesse eine Dauerlösung anstreben. Die Zurückziehung der amerikanischen und sowjetischen Truppen aus diesem Bereich ist nur noch eine Frage der Zeit. Es wird nun bald eine Frage von Bedeutung, wie ein ungebundenes Europa aussehen könnte.

Diese Frage ist uns bedeutsamer, weil bei den Mitgliedern der Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft (EWG) Zweifel aufkommen, ob das Europa, das sie im Auge hatten, tatsächlich im Werden ist. Es ist wirtschaftlich schon schwierig genug, die EWG zusammenzuhalten, aber politisch ist es einfach unmöglich. Jedes politische Rezept, das Westeuropa so begreift, als ob es der Mittelpunkt der Welt wäre, erfordert notwendigerweise größere Berücksichtigungen. Westdeutschland tritt in dem Moment für politische Einheit in der EWG ein, wo sein Fernsehen und seine Presse erstmalig über die EWG als ein unhaltbares und einseitiges westliches Bündnis diskutieren. Die Sprecher der EWG geben zu, daß die Lage ernst ist, aber sie stellen fest, daß die Schwierigkeiten überwunden werden müssen, weil ein Fehlschlag der westdeutschen Politik der vollständigen Integration Westeuropas und des atlantischen Bündnisses undenkbar sei. So wird also die alte Politik unbekümmert fortgesetzt.

Dasselbe kann über Ostdeutschland gesagt werden, wo die Tendenz zur Liberalisierung und nationalen Unabhängigkeit, die in anderen sozialistischen Ländern offensichtlich besteht, kaum irgendwo an Boden gewinnt. Ostdeutschland ist abhängiger von der Sowjetunion als Polen, die Tschechoslowakei oder Ungarn. Sein politischer Führer Walter Ulbricht ist ausgesprochen unbeliebt und würde ohne die Unterstützung Moskaus nicht eine Woche am Ruder bleiben. Walter Ulbricht

wurde während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in der Sowjetunion geschult und kam mit den vorrückenden russischen Truppen nach Deutschland. 19 Jahre Führerschaft haben für Herrn Ulbricht nicht genügt, dahin zu gelangen, daß er und seine Regierung im Interesse Ostdeutschlands anstatt im Interesse der Sowjetunion handeln. Ob das der Fehler der Ostdeutschen ist, die nicht verstehen wollen, was gut für sie ist, oder der Fehler einer kommunistischen Politik, die nicht weiß, was für das Volk gut ist, das ist schwer auszumachen. Wahrscheinlich gilt beides.

Die Lage in Mitteleuropa nähert sich einem heiklen Schwebezustand, wo das Alte noch nicht ganz verschwunden und das Neue noch nicht ganz da ist. Während so die Sowjetunion und die Westmächte auf ein Nachlassen der Spannungen und die Entwicklung einer neuen Politik hinarbeiten, geht der Kalte Krieg zwischen den beiden Deutschlands unvermindert weiter. Doch selbst hier beginnen die Schneidanten sich abzunutzen. Die Westdeutschen fürchten, daß die Spannung zwischen den USA und der Sowjetunion nachlassen könnte, ohne daß es wirklich zu einer Neuverhandlung der Bedingungen kommt, unter denen Deutschland 1945 kapitulierte. Während viele westliche Länder allmählich zu relativ guten Beziehungen zur Sowjetunion kommen, haben die westdeutsch-sowjetischen Beziehungen ein Tief erreicht. Westdeutschland könnte und will wahrscheinlich sich auch um eine Verbesserung bemühen. Das würde den nunmehrigen Beginn einer neuen Phase der deutschen Nachkriegs-Politik anzeigen.

Die allgemeine Besserung der amerikanisch-sowjetischen Beziehungen bezeichnete nicht allein den Punkt, wo Westdeutschland der Tatsache ins Gesicht sehen muß, daß es nicht imstande ist, die Folgen des Zweiten Weltkrieges ungeschehen zu machen, sondern wo es um das begangen muß, was es seit 1945 aufgebaut hat. Ohne die Hilfe der westlichen Verbündeten wird Westdeutschland nicht imstande sein, den Kalten Krieg mit der Sowjetunion noch sehr lange fortzusetzen, ohne in ernstliche Schwierigkeiten zu geraten. Zum ersten Mal seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges muß es eine Rückzugspolitik erwägen. Obwohl es theoretisch den Kalten Krieg mit Ostdeutschland weiter betreiben könnte, so wird doch jede Besserung in den Beziehungen zwischen der Sowjetunion und Westdeutschland - falls sie eintritt - wahrscheinlich ihren Ausdruck im menschlichen Bereich zwischen den Bürgern West- und Ostdeutschlands finden trotz fortgesetzter offizieller Feindseligkeit.

In diesem Zusammenhang wäre es realistisch, ein erneutes Abkommen über Besuche zwischen Ost- und West-Berlinern zu erwarten. Die Fortsetzung einer solchen Entwicklung könnte sehr wohl zur Schaffung einer gesamtdeutschen Reise-Agentur und anderer gesamtdeutscher Ausschüsse für Kultur, Sport, Handel, Wissenschaft, vielleicht sogar für Abrüstung führen. Diese Ausschüsse könnten und würden wahrscheinlich ihren Sitz in Berlin haben. Während sie sich entwickeln, würde Berlin gleichzeitig aufs neue an Bedeutung als Mittelpunkt gesamtdeutscher Angelegenheiten gewinnen. Es ist vorauszusehen, daß diese Ausschüsse sich im Laufe der Zeit zu Ministerien entwickeln könnten und Berlin demnächst wieder das Zentrum der deutschen Verwaltung sein würde. Kurz gesagt zeichnen sich heute die schattenhaften Umrisse einer Entwicklung ab, die in letzter Konsequenz zu irgendeiner Form deutscher Wiedervereinigung führen könnte. Doch es besteht keinerlei Anzeichen dafür, daß eine solche Entwicklung jemals die eheliche Unterstützung sowohl der ost- wie der westdeutschen Regierung finden würde. Wie alle Regierungen sind sie äußerst eifersüchtig auf ihre Autorität. Auch Ostdeutschland wird, um damit den Anfang zu machen, nur solche Schritte unternehmen, die seine Herrschaft festigen. Es ist abanso-

wenig an einem geeinten, friedlichen Deutschland auf Kosten seiner eigenen Autorität interessiert wie die westdeutsche Regierung. Beide deutschen Regierungen würden nur zu jedem gesamtdeutschen Ausschluß, der sich entwickeln könnte, so schwach wie möglich halten und ihn dazu benutzen, ihre eigenen engstirnigen Ziele zu fördern. Im Grunde genommen schreckt die ostdeutsche Regierung vor jeder mitteleuropäischen Entwicklung außerhalb ihrer Kontrolle ebenso zurück wie die westdeutsche Regierung. Infolgedessen wird alles, was zu einer Besserung der mitteleuropäischen Situation führt und schließlich auf eine deutsche Wiedervereinigung hinauslaufen könnte, nur durch einen langen zähen Kampf zustandekommen, der sich wahrscheinlich jahrzehntelang hinschleppen wird. Das ist das Beste, was wir zu hoffen wagen.

#### Westdeutschland militärisch zwischen der Sowjetunion und den USA

Während Westdeutschland heute, entgegen seinen Wünschen, Maßnahmen zur Verbesserung der Beziehungen innerhalb Deutschlands erwägen muß, setzt es gleichzeitig eine Politik der Wiederaufrüstung fort. Die westdeutsche Taubheit gegenüber russischen Besorgnissen hinsichtlich deutscher atomarer Ambitionen ist erstaunlich. Offensichtlich fürchtet die Sowjetunion westdeutschen Militarismus nicht direkt, aber sie fürchtet eine Kombination deutscher politischer Absichten mit westlicher Atomkraft, wie z.B. während der Adenauer-Dulles-Periode. Die auch nur entfernte Aussicht auf den Aufstieg der politischen Rechte in Westdeutschland oder in den USA zur Macht ist eine ständige Quelle für Rußlands Argwohn gegenüber den Deutschen. Die multilaterale Atomkraft, die von den USA anscheinend als Mittel gedacht ist, um die kindische deutsche Forderung nach Teilhaberschaft an nuklearem Spiel zum Schweigen zu bringen, ist in russischen Augen eine Auswirkung des alten Pangermanismus, der darauf ausgeht, die gesammelten westlichen Kräfte gegen slawische Länder zu entfesseln. Die russischen Befürchtungen mögen gänzlich unbegründet sein, aber niemand wird die Russen davon überzeugen können angesichts der wachsenden westdeutschen Streitkraft. Und niemand scheint befähigt zu sein, den Deutschen, welche meinen, mit ihrer Vergangenheit getrocknet zu haben, klar zu machen, daß es den Russen mit ihren Besorgnissen bitter ernst zumute ist. Hier besteht ein völliges und grundsätzliches Mißverständnis zwischen der Sowjetunion und Westdeutschland. Und so lange, wie dem so ist, besteht eine Möglichkeit, daß Rußland bei der geringsten Provokation und zur unrichtigen Zeit einen Krieg mit Westdeutschland beginnt. Die Worte Sowjetunion und Rußland sind hier ansichtlich vermischt, weil die heutige Situation ihren Ursprung nahm, lange bevor die Sowjetunion entstand, und so sich ein Gemisch alter und neuer Befürchtungen und Bestrebungen ist. Ein Krieg zwischen Westdeutschland und der Sowjetunion ist möglich, wenn auch nicht sehr wahrscheinlich.

Es gibt eine Anzahl von Vorbedingungen für einen solchen Krieg, die sich aus dem modernen Kräfteaspekt ergeben; dazu gehört, daß es möglich sein muß, eine Nation aus dem Zusammenhang herauszulösen und dort einen örtlich begrenzten Atomkrieg zu führen. Zu einem solchen Endeavour steuert Westdeutschland kräftig bei, indem es auf eigene Faust den abflauenden kalten Krieg weiter betreibt. Die Sowjetunion macht mit: Während sie ihren Handel mit anderen NATO-Ländern verstopft, hat sie für ihre erste ihre Verträge mit Westdeutschland nicht abgebrochen, zweifellos als Antwort auf das teilweise erfolgreiche Röhrenberg gegen die Sowjetunion. Der Herauslösungsprozeß wird weiterhin gefördert durch die ständige Auffassung der Begriffsbestimmungen von Gruppeninteressen im Sinne von Nationen anstatt im Sinne

militärischer, politischer und wirtschaftlicher Blöcke und Klassen. Die Möglichkeit eines örtlich begrenzten Atomkrieges wächst ferner im Verhältnis zu der zunehmenden Überzeugung der Atommächte, daß ein Atomkrieg in ihrem Heimatgebiet gegenseitige Vernichtung bedeutet, und zu ihrer Entschlossenheit, jede militärische Auseinandersetzung auf das Gebiet zu beschränken, wo sie beginnt.

Das bedeutet für Westdeutschland, daß der Atomschirm, unter dem es bisher die Auseinandersetzung mit der Sowjetunion geführt hat, verschwunden ist. Es kann in Wirklichkeit nicht annehmen, daß ein in Mitteleuropa hereinbrechender Konflikt automatisch zu einem Atomschlag-austausch der Atomgroßmächte und ihrer gegenseitigen Vernichtung führen würde, wobei dann der Brennpunkt des Konflikts relativ unversehrt bliebe. Im Gegenteil: Westdeutschland muß annehmen, daß die Atomgroßmächte inzwischen nicht nur darin einig, sondern militärisch auch dazu fähig sind, einen Krieg, der in Deutschland beginnt, auch dort zu belassen. In diesem Zusammenhang liegt das Problem beschlossen, das sich für Deutschland aus seinen militärischen Bündnissen ergibt, nicht darin, daß seine Partner etwa nicht zu ihren Verpflichtungen stehen könnten, sondern darin, daß sie ihnen nachkommen werden - und zwar auf deutschem Boden. Das gilt für Ostdeutschland als Mitglied des Warschaupaktes ebensowohl wie für Westdeutschland in der NATO.

Es gibt einige grundsätzliche Erwägungen über die deutsche Position im Tauwetter des Kalten Krieges zwischen Ost und West. Welches Gewicht die besitzen, wird die Zeit lehren. Daß die Sowjetunion ihren Handelsvertrag mit Westdeutschland nicht erneuert hat, wirkte wie ein Schock auf westdeutsche Politiker. Möglicherweise könnten sie den Wink verstehen, daß die deutsche Situation sich ändert, wenn nicht intern, dann wenigstens in der Welt, und daß sie die deutsche Außenpolitik entsprechend anpassen müssen. Die nötigen Schritte liegen auf der Hand und sind so oft vorgeschlagen, daß es nachgerade öder wird: Keine multilaterale Atommacht, eine kernwaffenfreie Zone in Mitteleuropa, die Beseitigung aller Hindernisse für eine Lösung des Berlin-Problems und das militärische Auseinanderrücken in Mitteleuropa.

#### Ein Denkmal und noch etwas mehr

Trotz seines versteinerten Charakters ist Berlin etwas mehr als ein lebloses Erinnerungsmal. Es ist der einzige Platz auf der Welt, wo in einem Gebiet von einigen Quadratkilometern Kommunismus und Kapitalismus Seite an Seite leben und wo jeder Interessierte am Ost-West-Gespräch teilnehmen kann. Er kann die Grenze an den verschiedenen Kontrollpunkten in der Stadt innerhalb einer Zeitspanne von 15 Minuten bis zu 2 Stunden überschreiten, wobei er seinen Paß vorweist. Die Mauer ist nicht undurchlässig, ausgenommen für die Berliner, die sie nur in ganz dringenden Notfällen und mit besonderer Genehmigung passieren dürfen. Der relativ leichte Zugang sowohl nach Ost- als nach West-Berlin wurde und wird wahrscheinlich immer noch ausgenutzt für die Durchführung einer sehr mannigfaltigen negativen und wechselseitig abträglichen Tätigkeit - abgesehen von der eingangs erwähnten wirtschaftlichen Ausbeutung. Doch es erscheint wenig begründet, wärum das bißchen noch bestehender Freiheit nur zu wechselseitiger Spionage und Haßpropaganda benutzt werden sollte. Die Lega Berlins eignet sich ebensowohl für konstruktive und gegenseitigen Nutzen bringende Arbeit. Es gibt in der Tat einige Organisationen, vorwiegend religiöser Art, die durch ihre internationalen Vertreter in Berlin Versöhnungsarbeit leisten und es fertig bringen, in gutem Kontakt mit mancher Entwicklung in den sozialistischen Ländern zu bleiben. Es gibt auch eine Anzahl von Deutschen, die den Mut auf-

bringen, sich mit dem "Feind" auf beiden Seiten zu verbrüdern. Diese Arbeit gleicht den negativen Aspekt der ganzen Szenerie nicht aus und hat keine Chance, in naher Zukunft - oder überhaupt - populär zu werden. Ein Mitglied des West-Berliner Senats deutete uns folgendes an: Die sozialdemokratische Mehrheit im Berliner Senat ist mit 18 : 1 gegen jeden einseitigen Versuch, West-Berlin einen positiven Charakter zu verleihen. Das Beste, worauf die Stadt hoffen kann, liegt in der Heranziehung hinreichender Industrien, um ohne Subventionen von Bonn bestehen zu können. Die Bevölkerung wird abnehmen und bis 1974 auf 1,5 Millionen heruntergehen (das ist die Bevölkerungszahl, welche die Stadt ohne Hinterland ernähren kann). Doch ungeachtet dessen, was die deutsche Mehrheit für Berlin plant oder zu planen unterläßt, ist hier der Ort, wo ein für Europa und die Welt bedeutsames Versöhnungswerk getan werden kann. Es ist ein Ort für Gespräche, Begabungen, soziale Forschung und Ideenaustausch mit Vertretern aus Ost und ebenso aus West. Vielleicht wird ein solcher Freundschaftlicher Austausch ein indirekter Beitrag zu einer Entwicklung sein, die bislang in Berlin noch nicht sichtbar ist. Vielleicht wird im Laufe der Zeit eine Zusammenarbeit mit der Berliner Bevölkerung selbst möglich sein. Gegenwärtig allerdings hat der West-Berliner sein Loben auf die Anwesenheit westlicher Gelehrte, Tanks und Truppen vor dem Hintergrund des gesamten westlichen Atomwaffenarsenals gerichtet, während seine Verwandten in der anderen Hälfte der Stadt durch eine Mauer, Stacheldraht und bewaffnete Wachtposten "geschützt" werden.

#### Empfehlung - Voraussetzungen für ein internationales Friedenszentrum in Berlin schaffen.

Ein internationales Friedenszentrum (oder -büro) in Berlin ist wünschenswert und möglich. Das Zentrum sollte der Internationalen Konföderation für Abrüstung und Frieden (I.C.D.P.) unterstellt und Teil eines Netzwerks von internationalen Büros in ähnlicher strategischer Lage werden.

Dies setzt eine internationale Friedensstrategie voraus (die es nicht gibt). Statt dessen haben wir eine große Anzahl örtlicher und nationaler Organisationen, von denen jede im Verband ihres eigenen Gebietes oder Landes plant und wirkt. Es hat vereinzelte und erfolgreiche Versuche gegeben, aus der Enge regionaler Betätigung und nationaler Dankweise auszubrechen und unter internationalen Bedingungen zu planen und zu arbeiten. Dies hat bewußt oder unbewußt zu den Anfängen einer Friedensinternationale beigetragen, durch die örtliche Friedensgruppen zu Abmachungen über internationale Vorhaben gelangen und sie mit vereinter Kräften über Tausende von Kilometern hinweg durchführen können.

Bezeichnend für diese Entwicklung ist die Schaffung der I.C.D.P. im Januar 1963. Seither gibt es ein Gerippe für eine Friedensinternationale. Durch Verstärkung dieses Gerüstes werden die örtlichen Gruppen im Laufe der Zeit imstande sein, ihren Einfluß an verschiedenen Orten überall in der Welt auszuüben, ohne sich zum Ort der Handlung biegen zu müssen. Selbst diejenigen, die von San Francisco nach Moskau, von Quebec nach Kuba, von Delhi nach Washington, von London nach Athen oder von Vancouver nach Berlin pilgern, können nicht für den Rest ihres Lebens demonstrierend die Erde umrunden; auch vertreiben solche Bemühungen über einen gewissen Punkt hinaus keine Wiederholung. Zudem ist es weder ratsam noch tunlich, weiterhin internationale Konferenzen ohne direkte örtliche Teilnahme zu veranstalten. Die nationale Konferenzen ohne direkte örtliche Teilnahme können nur Vorläufer einer weltweiten Friedensinternationale sein.

Durch die I.C.D.P. würde es möglich sein, eine ständige internationale beratende und planende Konferenz einzurichten, die sich aus nationalen Vertretern zusammensetzt. Die I.C.D.P. wiederum könnte über ein Netzwerk von internationalen Büros an strategischen Punkten in aller Welt verfügen. Tatsächlich besteht zur Zeit ein Internationaler Rat von 15 nationalen Vertretern, die einmal im Jahr zusammenkommen. Eine Vertretung an strategischen Punkten gibt es überhaupt nicht.

Die Verwirklichung einer ständigen beratenden und planenden Konferenz (die nach Art einer Miniatur-UNO ins Auge zu fassen ist) sollte sich nicht aus finanziellen Gründen als unmöglich erweisen. Die nationalen Vertreter würden gleichzeitig den Stab der I.C.D.P. bilden, der anstelle örtlicher Talente internationale Kräfte einsetzen würde.

Vertreter der I.C.D.P. an strategischen internationalen Punkten wie Moskau, Zypern, Südafrika, Kuba, Kongo, Vietnam, Berlin usw. einzusetzen, würde schwieriger und kostspieliger sein. Die finanzielle Unterhaltung dieser Außenbüros würde in direktem Verhältnis zu der Gastfreundschaft, oder ihrem Fehlen, an der Stelle stehen, für die man sich entschieden hat.

Zusammengefaßt: Als Teil einer kollektiven Anstrengung, eine Friedensinternationale zu verwirklichen, wäre ein Internationales Zentrum in Berlin wünschenswert und möglich. Jede weniger anspruchsvolle Planung wäre Zeit- und Kraftverschwendung. Dann wäre es schon besser, bereits vorhandenen Interessen einen Weg über die UNO oder über die internationalen Vertretungen beispielsweise der Quäker, Mennoniten und Baptisten zu öffnen.

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Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
in der War Resisters International e.V.

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24.10.64

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ZUR FRAGE DER GEWALTLOSEN LÖSUNG DES DEUTSCHLANDPROBLEMS

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von Gerhard Bassarak - Ost-Berlin -

Die Deutsche Demokratische Republik geht vom status quo aus. Die Teilung Deutschlands ist nicht von ihr veranlaßt. Die entscheidenden Vorgänge sind jeweils im Westen geschehen, erstens die Währungsreform, die am 20. Juni 1948 in den damaligen drei westlichen Besatzungszonen - der jetzigen Bundesrepublik - vorgenommen wurde, während die sowjetische Besatzungszone den Währungsunterschied erst erheblich später vollzog; zweitens die Arbeit des Parlamentarischen Rates, die zur Proklamation des Grundgesetzes und damit zur Gründung der Bundesrepublik am 23. Mai 1949 führte, der die Proklamation der DDR am 7. Oktober 1949 folgte; drittens die NATO-Verträge, denen der Abschluß des Warschauer Paktes folgte. Die DDR betont, die Beschlüsse des Potsdamer Abkommens im Blick auf Entmilitarisierung und Entnazifizierung des öffentlichen Lebens konsequent durchgeführt zu haben, während das im Westen fragwürdig oder offen blieb.

So existieren seit Oktober 1949 zwei deutsche Staatsgebilde auf dem Territorium, das als Besatzungsgebiet am Ende des II. Weltkrieges bestand, Ein Teil ehemals deutschen Gebietes östlich der Oder und Neiße befinden sich nach dem Potsdamer Abkommen unter polnischer bzw. sowjetischer Verwaltung. Die Deutschen sind aus diesem Raum inzwischen ausgewandert oder haben - soweit sie dort blieben - für Polen oder die Sowjetunion optiert. Polnische bzw. sowjetische Bürger sind in großer Zahl in die Gebiete eingeströmt und bevölkern sie nun.

Die Lösung der deutschen Frage darf den Frieden in Europa und in der Welt nicht gefährden. Sie muß vielmehr so geschehen, daß sie ihn zugleich festigt. Als friedensgefährdend gelten hier die Forderungen der Bundesrepublik. Sie ist heute der einzige Staat in Europa, der territoriale Forderungen stellt, während die DDR auf alle solche Ansprüche verzichtet hat. Die Existenz der DDR ist heute eine objektive Friedensgarantie in Europa (was Bundeswehrtruppen an der Oder nicht wären!). Die Bundesrepublik versteht sich (in einem imperialistischen Sinn) als Repräsentantin aller Deutschen, auch derer, die in der DDR wohnen. Obwohl die endgültige Festlegung der Grenzen im Osten nach dem Potsdamer Abkommen von einem Friedensvertrag abhängig ist, tut man von Seiten der Regierung in Bonn einseitig alles, um den Abschluß eines Friedensvertrages zu verhindern, d.h. den Anspruch über die derzeitigen Grenzen hinaus offenzuhalten - und andererseits diesen Anspruch, wenn auch nicht in regierungsamtlichen, so doch in ständig wiederholten Erklärungen der sogenannten Vertriebenenverbände immer erneut anzumelden, in die Bundesminister einstimmen. In beiden deutschen Staaten haben sich sehr verschiedene gesellschaftliche Strukturen entwickelt. In der DDR wird eine sozialistische Gesellschaftsordnung aufgebaut. Ihre ökonomisch entscheidenden Akte waren die Vergesellschaftung der Grundstoffindustrie, der Großindustrie, des Großgrundbesitzes und die Kollektivierung der Landwirtschaft. Im Blick auf die Sozialisierung und die Kollektivierung der Gesellschaft sind gewaltige Anstrengungen gemacht worden, so was das Versicherungswesen und die Förderung des Schul- und Studienbetriebes angeht. Die Trennung von Staat und Kirche ist durchgeführt. Das öffentliche Leben ist entfaschisiert und entklerikalisiert. Viele ehemalige Nationalsozialisten sind in den Westen geflüchtet. Die DDR erkennt die

faktische Existenz zweier deutscher Staaten und eines besonderen Territoriums West-Berlin mit eigener Verwaltung, eigener Währung und eigener Gesellschaftsordnung an und ist bestrebt, zu Verhandlungen zwischen diesen Gebilden zu kommen, um auf dem Wege des Handelns Spannungen abzubauen, um auf dem Wege des Kulturaustausches Beziehungen zu normalisieren und um auf dem Wege politischer Absprachen die Möglichkeiten einer Konföderation zu erörtern und zu erproben.

Die Bundesregierung, von der Hallstein-Doktrin ausgehend, erkennt die Existenz der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik nicht an. Sie erhebt den Anspruch, daß West-Berlin zur Bundesrepublik gehört, obwohl die drei westlichen Besatzungsmächte ihrerseits den Sonderstatus dieser Stadt immer wieder unterstreichen. Sie geht von dem formaldemokratischen Prinzip freier Wahlen aus (durch die seinerzeit Hitler in Deutschland an die Macht kam).

Die Regierung der DDR hat im Laufe der Jahre der Bundesrepublik wiederholt Angebote zu Verhandlungen mit konkreten und detaillierten Vorschlägen gemacht. Sie wurden nicht zur Kenntnis genommen. Das bisher weiteste Entgegenkommen von Seiten der Regierung der DDR enthielt ein Brief des Staatsratsvorsitzenden Walter Ulbricht vom Januar 1964, in dem er schlug dem Bundeskanzler Ludwig Erhard Verhandlungen über den Verzicht auf den Besitz atomarer Waffen vor und ging so weit, einen Vertrag nicht auf den Besitz atomarer Waffen vor und ging so weit, einen Vertrag nicht auf den Frage der Anerkennung der Regierung der DDR durch die Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland abhängig zu machen. Nach der Passierscheinregelung zwischen der Regierung der DDR und dem Senat von West-Berlin und ihrem Erfolg, dem Millionen-Besuch von West-Berlinern in der Hauptstadt der DDR, hat der Vorschlag Walter Ulbrichts in der DDR einen großen Eindruck hinterlassen. Die Ablehnung durch die Bundesregierung ist als unverständlich und als Mangel an gutem Willen betrachtet worden.

Soweit uns bekannt, gibt es kein detailliertes Programm der Bundesregierung für die Lösung der deutschen Frage. Es gibt lediglich propagandistische Deklarationen, die von der Forderung nach freien Wahlen ausgehen, d.h. die Liquidierung der Gesellschaftsordnung der DDR verlangen. Von Seiten der DDR sind Vorschläge unterbreitet worden. Die Aufgabe für die Zukunft könnte darin bestehen, daß

1. die Besatzungsmächte, vor allen Dingen die beiden großen Mächte, weiterhin ein günstiges Verhandlungsklima schaffen und den Regierungen beider deutscher Staaten nahelegen, es für die Aufnahme von Verhandlungen zwischen den Regierungen beider deutscher Staaten zu nutzen;
2. von beiden Seiten konkrete Vorschläge für die Lösung der deutschen Frage gemacht werden, um in entsprechenden Verhandlungen Modifikationen auszuhandeln;
3. vom status quo ausgehend das Deutschlandproblem im gesamt-europäischen Zusammenhang zu lösen wäre, d.h. auf dem Hintergrund einer in Mitteleuropa zu schaffenden atomwaffenfreien Zone, die sukzessive eine entmilitarisierte Zone werden könnte. Nachdem der Kalte Krieg eingestellt und abgebaut wird, sollte man die Chancen, einen heißen Krieg zu entfachen, beseitigen. Dazu gehört auch der Verzicht beider deutscher Staaten auf atomare Ausrüstung ihrer Streitkräfte bzw. der Verzicht der Bundesregierung auf die Beteiligung an einer multilateralen Atomstreitmacht.

Der Warschauer Pakt sieht für den Fall von positiven Verhandlungen zwischen beiden deutschen Staaten eine Entlassung der DDR aus dem Pakt vor. Eine

Ähnliche Lösung im Blick auf die Bundesrepublik sieht die NATO leider nicht vor. Trotzdem müßten sich bei Einigung über wltpolitische Fragen zwischen den Großmächten, die gute Fortschritte machen, auch diese Fragen lösen lassen. Vielleicht auf dem Hintergrund eines zunächst abzuschließenden Nichtangriffspaktes zwischen dem Warschauer Pakt und der NATO. Ein solcher Nichtangriffspakt ist von den Staaten des Warschauer Paktes bereits mehrfach angeboten worden, aber von der NATO bisher immer zurückgewiesen worden.

Die Befürchtung, daß es in Mitteleuropa um das Deutschlandproblem zu einem neuen Krieg kommen könnte, ist hier nicht überaus groß. Sie war in vergangenen Zeiten schon größer. Im Augenblick ist das politische Klima sehr ruhig. Man wäre daran interessiert, daß es zu Absprachen und Lösungen zwischen beiden Staaten und West-Berlin käme, damit auch der Personenverkehr ungefährdet und ungehindert über die Grenzen hinweg in Gang kommen könnte und damit Verwandtschaftsbesuche besser als bisher stattfinden könnten. Es wären politische Lösungen des Deutschlandproblems anzustreben, die auch den humanitären Gesichtspunkt in Rechnung stellten; am besten so, daß die Politik der Humanitas zu dienen hätte, mindestens aber so, daß ein Gleichgewicht zwischen politischen und menschlichen Ansprüchen und Hoffnungen erreicht würde.

Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
in der Uar Roisters International e.V.

Referat, gehalten auf der WRI-Studienkonferenz vom 9.-15.8.1964  
in Offenbach (Deutschland) von Egon Decker. 24.10.64

DIE KRÄFTE FÜR ENTSPANNUNG UND BEMÜHUNGEN ZUR LÖSUNG DES  
DEUTSCHLANDPROBLEMS - UND JENE KRÄFTE, WELCHE EINE LÖSUNG  
VERRINDERN.

I Garantie des Status quo ist Grundlage jeglicher Politik  
in Mitteleuropa.

In Deutschland berühren sich die beiden Machtblöcke unmittelbar.  
Der Ost-West-Konflikt, der Kalte Krieg - oder wie wir jene eigen-  
tümliche Form der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Staatengruppen mit  
unterschiedlicher Gesellschaftsordnung nennen wollen - hat auf  
dem Gebiet des ehemaligen Deutschen Reiches eine besondere Form  
angenommen :

Es liegt eine spezifisch-deutsche Karrikatur weltpolitischer  
Zustände vor. Allgemeine, weltweite Tendenzen und deutsche Be-  
sonderheiten durchdringen sich - so ein kaum zu durchschau-  
endes Bild produzierend. Der Ost-West-Konflikt, national ge-  
tönt, kulminiert zur "deutschen Frage".

Um "Kräfte zur Lösung des Deutschlandproblems" erkennen zu können  
ist zunächst eine Verständigung darüber notwendig, was unter einer  
Lösung des Deutschlandproblems zu verstehen wäre.  
Bestimmen wir das Problem zunächst negativ :

Eine "Wiedervereinigung" bei der die heutige DDR mittels ei-  
ner formal-demokratischen "Freien-gesamtdeutschen Wahl" an  
die Bundesrepublik angegliedert würde ist keine Lösung des  
deutschen Problems.

Eine friedliche - oder unter militärischem Druck - vollzogene  
"Vereinigung" von DDR und BRD unter kommunistischer Vorzei-  
chen ist ebensowenig eine Lösung.

Vorgreifend möchte ich folgende These aufstellen:

Es gibt in absehbarer Zeit keine "Lösung des Deutschlandpro-  
blems", welche eine Wiedervereinigung der beiden Teile des  
ehemaligen deutschen Reiches in irgendeiner Form beinhaltet.  
"Wiedervereinigung" ist genau so wahrscheinlich - oder un-  
wahrscheinlich - wie das Ende des Kalten Krieges und eine  
Entwicklung der Welt zu gesellschaftlichen Zuständen jenseits  
von Kapitalismus und kommunistischer Lesart von Sozialismus.

Beide Teile Deutschlands haben sich nach dem Zusammenbruch des  
Hitlerregimes in höchst unterschiedlicher Weise entwickelt. Im  
Arbeitspapier "Deutschland - zur Anatomie einer Fehlentwicklung"  
ist hierüber einiges gesagt. Das Ergebnis der Entwicklung:

- \* Zwei Staatsgebilde mit unterschiedlicher Gesellschaftsordnung;
- \* Gewalttätige Reduktion der gegenseitigen Beziehungen auf ein  
Minimum;

- \* Produktion von Haß und Fehlvorstellungen über die andere Seite;
- \* zwei Armeen mit modernster Bewaffnung - in die Militärapparate verschiedener Blöcke integriert.

Sowohl die Bundesrepublik, als auch die DDR, sind für die Blöcke, denen sie angehören von kaum zu ersetzender Bedeutung geworden.

- \* Die militärische Stärke der NATO in Westeuropa beruht weitgehend auf der Militärmacht der Bundesrepublik;
- \* In der Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft spielt die BRD die führende Rolle und übernimmt einen Großteil der als "Entwicklungshilfe" getarnten Kapitalexpansion des Westens nach Asien und Afrika;
- \* Für die Sowjetunion ist die DDR vorgeschobener Verteidigungs- posten und Aufmarschfeld für ein evtl. militärisches Eingreifen in Mitteleuropa;
- \* Die Wirtschaft der DDR hat eine kaum zu ersetzende Funktion in den überstaatlichen Planungen des Comcon;
- \* Ein "Entlassen" der DDR aus dem Ostblock und eine - wie immer getarnte - Wiedervereinigung wäre ein gewaltiger ideologischer Rückschlag für die Sowjetunion. Das ganze Gefüge des Ostblocks geriete an seiner Westgrenze in ernste Gefahren.

Die politische Integration auf beiden Seiten bewirkt, daß der Spiel - raum, der für Annäherung an den anderen Teil des Landes bleibt, immer kleiner geworden ist - und noch kleiner wird.

Zugleich fehlt beiden Seiten die Möglichkeit machtpolitisch eine Änderung durchzusetzen. Beide Blöcke sind militärtechnisch in der Lage sich gegenseitig zu vernichten. Im "Gleichgewicht des Schreckens" ist nur noch der Kompromiß - oder die Bewahrung des Status quo möglich. Keine Seite ist mehr in der Lage, der anderen ihren Willen aufzuzwingen.

Daß der Status quo bewahrt wird, ist beim vorhandenen Kräfte-  
gleichgewicht beider Seiten die Voraussetzung unter der Ver-  
handlungen zwischen Ost und West allein aussichtsvoll und  
Entspannungsmaßnahmen möglich sind.

Die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik ist unter diesem Gesichtspunkt illusionär und objektiv gefährlich - weil sie von falschen Voraus- setzungen ausgeht. Ein Axiom dieser Außenpolitik behauptet, daß die Spaltung Deutschlands zu den Ursachen des Ost-West-Konfliktes ge- hört - also überwunden werden muß, bevor es zu einer "echten" Ent- spannung kommt.

Die Bundesregierung fordert daher ständig: jeder Entspannungsschritt müsse von Fortschritten bei der "Regelung der deutschen Frage" be- gleitet sein.

Da die Bundesregierung unter "Regelung der deutschen Frage" Wiedervereinigung durch "Selbstbestimmung des ganzen deutschen Volkes" versteht, blockiert sie durch ihre Forderung nach "wahrer Entspannung" jede Entspannung überhaupt.

II Wiedervereinigung durch Kalten Krieg ?

Die bis jetzt praktizierte Politik der Bundesregierung gegenüber der DDR hat zum Ziel

- \* eine Konsolidierung der SED-Herrschaft in der DDR zu verhindern;
- \* die DDR international zu isolieren - diplomatische und Handelsbeziehungen mit 3. Ländern zu verhindern;
- \* die Regierung der DDR moralisch zu diskreditieren - durch entsprechende Propaganda und "psychologische Kriegsführung" den in der bundesrepublikanischen Öffentlichkeit vorhandenen irrationalen Antikommunismus ständig zu reproduzieren;
- \* Kontakte zu offiziellen und halboffiziellen Stellen der DDR zu unterbinden.

Natürlich ist das Kalte-Kriegs-Politik. Aber Schimpfen und Konzipieren von noch so gut gemeinten "Lösungsvorschlägen" ist solange gesellschaftlich irrelevant, wie die Grundlagen und Konsequenzen jener Politik nicht durchscheit sind. Die Politik der Bundesregierung gegenüber der DDR wird übrigens in ihren Grundzügen auch von der Führung der parlamentarischen Opposition gestützt. Die Deutschlandpolitik der Bundesregierung beruht auf einer Gesamtkonzeption und auf bestimmten Vorstellungen über die Gesellschaftsstruktur und über Entwicklungstendenzen im Ostblock. Die Bundesregierung glaubt, durch ihre Politik bestimmte Tendenzen fördern zu können; Wunschvorstellungen sind bei ihr zur Voraussetzung von Politik geworden:

- 1) Die Vorstellung, daß das kommunistische System in nicht zu ferner Zeit zusammenbrechen wird; "Festigkeit", Geduld, Kompromißlosigkeit und Verhindern einer inneren Konsolidierung der DDR sind dann logische Folgerungen für die eigene Politik ...
- 2) Die Hoffnung, die Regierung der Sowjetunion könnte zur Einsicht gebracht werden, daß der unter ihrem Einfluß stehende Teil Deutschlands sich nicht zu einem lebensfähigen Staat machen läßt, bestimmt andere Methoden der bonner Außenpolitik, Methoden, mit denen man versucht, den Sowjets den "Bracken Deutschland" so unverdaulich wie möglich zu machen.
- 3) Wenn auch meist unausgesprochen - glaubt man, daß sich die Verhältnisse in der DDR so weit verschlechtern werden, daß sich die Sowjets gezwungen sehen, Ulbricht abzulösen und von einer anderen Gruppe eine neue Politik einleiten zu lassen.

Die Voraussetzungen sind reine Wünsche - von der geschichtlichen Entwicklung längst ad absurdum geführt. Die Politik des Westens hat, wie sich zeigen läßt - sogar dazu geführt, daß besonders in der DDR, Entstellungen der Ulbricht-Gruppe durch stalinisierende Tendenzen und die Ablösung der Ulbricht-Gruppe durch liberale SED-Politiker verhindert wurden.

III Wandlungen im Ostblock - Tendenzen und Grenzen

Um mögliche Lösungen zu erkennen, um jene gesellschaftlichen Kräfte zu fördern zu können, welche realisierbare Lösungen anstreben, muß wenigstens in Stichworten - einiges über die gewandelte innere Situation des Ostblocks und besonders der DDR gesagt werden.

- 1) Der Ostblock ist kein monolithischer Block mehr; es ist zu einer weitgehenden nationalen und ideologischen Differenzierung gekommen. Der Aufbau neuer Gesellschaftsbeziehungen kann so besser den Bedingungen der verschiedenen Länder angepaßt werden.
- 2) Durch den proklamierten ökonomischen Wettbewerb mit dem Westen ergab sich die Notwendigkeit, die Produktion und Verteilung nach rationalen ökonomischen Gesichtspunkten zu organisieren - was nur bei Lockerung der ideologischen Erstarrung möglich war.
- 3) In fast allen Gesellschaftsbereichen geriet die dogmatische Parteiherrschaft in Widerspruch zur notwendigen Entwicklung. In immer stärkerem Maße werden daher Partei-Bürokraten durch fachlich gut gebildete junge Spezialisten abgelöst - so die Parteiherrschaft durch rationale Leistung ersetzend.
- 4) Die überwiegende Mehrzahl der Bevölkerung akzeptiert die Grundlage der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung. Selbst jene Gruppierungen und Einzelpersonen, welche in Opposition stehen - und deren noch recht vorsichtige Opposition Aussicht hat, gesellschaftlich relevant zu werden - opponieren und kritisieren von radikalen sozialistischen Vorstellungen ausgehend.
- 5) Bis auf wenige Ausnahmen ist die Bevölkerung zum sachbezogenen Arrangement mit der herrschenden kommunistischen Partei bereit, weil nur dadurch eine Besserung der allgemeinen und persönlichen Situation möglich ist.
- 6) Das gesellschaftliche Modell des Westens wird nicht mehr als erstrebenswertes Ziel angesehen. Die Lösung der Weltprobleme sieht man weitgehend in einem "dritten Weg" - etwa mit der Formel "Sozialismus für den Westen und Demokratie im Osten" skizziert.

In der DDR ninken jene Prozesse hinter der allgemeinen Entwicklung im Ostblock einher - bedingt durch die besondere Grenzlage und den Einflüssen aus der Bundesrepublik

- 1) Die DDR ist ein künstliches Staatsgebilde, dessen Rechtsgrundlage und Existenzberechtigung vom Westen ständig in Frage gestellt wird.
- 2) "Nationale Politik" - welche in den übrigen Ostblockstaaten die Stellung der herrschenden kommunistischen Parteien stärkt - ihnen Rückhalt bei der Bevölkerung schafft - würde in der DDR die führende Stellung der SED untergraben.
- 3) Die Vergleichsmaßstäbe zur Bewertung gesellschaftlichen Fortschritts werden nicht den übrigen Ostblockstaaten, sondern der Bundesrepublik entnommen.

Bei solchen Vergleichen muß die DDR schlecht abschneiden

- + ihre wirtschaftliche Basis ist wesentlich schwächer, als die der Bundesrepublik;
- + zu einer Zeit, in der die BRD schon amerikanische Wirtschaftshilfe erhielt, war die DDR-Wirtschaft noch durch Reparationszahlungen belastet;
- + Politik und Wirtschaft in der DDR wurden jahrelang mit stalinistischen Methoden geführt - ideologische und nicht rationale Motive dominierten;

- die Träger des "sozialistischen Aufbaus", sind qualitativ und quantitativ ungenügend - mangelnde Qualifikation der Führungskräfte zeigt sich besonders in den obersten Spitzen.

IV Voraussetzungen einer Liberalisierung in der DDR

Demokratisierung und Liberalisierung - oder was das Gleiche bedeutet: Entstalinisierung - sind in der DDR nur in einem Klima der Entspannung möglich. An der Nahtstelle des Kalten Krieges lassen sich innenpolitische Lockerungen nur so lange erweitern - oder auch nur bewahren - wie sich der Kalte Krieg nicht verschärft.

Die radikale Trennung von Westdeutschland, das unterschiedliche Lebenshaltungsniveau und die schwache Stellung der Regierung gegenüber der Bevölkerung hemmen jegliche normale Entwicklung in der DDR - zwingt die SED immer wieder zu rabiaten Maßnahmen.

Die Voraussetzung für eine Liberalisierung und Demokratisierung in der DDR ist - thesehaft formuliert - :

Die Führung darf nicht mehr fürchten - und die Bevölkerung darf nicht mehr hoffen - daß sich an der Tatsache der kommunistischen Herrschaft etwas ändern wird.

Das bedeutet, daß die DDR außenpolitisch auf moskauer Kurs bleibt und innenpolitisch die gesellschaftlich führende Rolle der SED unangestastet ist.

V Wege zur "Lösung der deutschen Frage"

Kurz gesagt: Liberalisierung der DDR verlangt innere Stabilisierung - daraus ergeben sich einige Folgerungen für eine sachgerechte Politik in Mitteleuropa:

Es ist politisch falsch, die Regierung der DDR zu schwächen. Die von der Bundesregierung - mit erhobenem Zeigefinger - als nationale Katastrophe apostrophierte "Aufwertung des Zonenregimes" ist eine politische Notwendigkeit. Die teilweise rabiate Politik ist Ausdruck von Schwäche und mangelndem Selbstvertrauen der Regierenden der DDR.

Die Bundesrepublik - mit ihrem Überlegenen Wirtschaftspotential - müßte ökonomische Hilfestellung bei der inneren Stabilisierung der DDR leisten - wodurch die Notwendigkeit der Abriegelung und Abschirmung gegen den Westen überwunden werden könnte.

Jede vernünftige Politik muß davon ausgehen, daß der gesellschaftliche Prozeß, wie er im Osten Europas stattgefunden hat, nicht mehr rückgängig zu machen ist - vom Westen kann aber ein entscheidender Beitrag zur Humanisierung und Demokratisierung geleistet werden. Diese Entwicklung wird sich aber nicht gegen, sondern nur durch die SED und entsprechende andere Organisationen vollziehen. Voraussetzung ist allerdings die Ablösung der stalinistischen Führungsgeschicht - was aber solange unwahrscheinlich ist, wie das Regime unter außenpolitischem Druck steht.

Eine Normalisierung im Innern der DDR wird stark gefördert durch Kommunikation zwischen Ost- und Westdeutschland. Vielfältige Kontakte auf allen Ebenen, Informationsaustausch, Gespräche, Diskussionen

Archiv

usf. korrigieren die gegenseitigen Fehlvorstellungen und beseitigen eine der wesentlichsten Ursachen von Haß und Mißtrauen. In der Bundesrepublik würde dadurch dem emotionalen Antikommunismus die Grundlage entzogen und so auch hier der Weg für eine reale Demokratisierung freigemacht.

Eine schrittweise faktische und diplomatische Anerkennung der Regierung der DDR und deren Souveränität ist unter solchen Voraussetzungen fast eine Selbstverständlichkeit.

Eine letzte These:

"Lösung der deutschen Frage" ist identisch mit Entspannung und Reduzierung der Rüstung in Mitteleuropa.

#### VI Kräfte, welche zur Lösung der deutschen Frage beitragen

Nach Kräften war gefragt, welche zur Lösung der deutschen Frage beitragen - und nach Kräften, welche Lösungen verhindern - war gefragt. Jetzt läßt sich hierüber einiges sagen:

- 1) Jene gesellschaftlichen Gruppen in Ost- und Westdeutschland, deren politische und gesellschaftliche Macht auf ihrer Schlüsselrolle im Kalten Krieg beruht, versuchen mit allen Mitteln Entspannungsmaßnahmen zu sabotieren.
- 2) In der DDR ist das vor allem die stalinistische Führungsschicht und der parasitäre Teil des Parteiapparates. Solange die DDR unter ideologischem und politischem Druck der Bundesregierung steht, ist die Sowjetunion\* die durch Walter Ulbricht repräsentierte Gruppe zu stützen. \*) interessiert,
- 3) In der Bundesregierung sind all jene Kräfte Feinde von Entspannung und von Versachlichung der gegenseitigen Beziehungen, welche den militanten Antikommunismus zur ideologischen Rechtfertigung ihrer eigenen gesellschaftlichen Position benötigen.

Schon unter solchen allgemeinen Gesichtspunkten zeigt es sich:

Wenn Entspannung und Abrüstung in Mitteleuropa erreicht werden sollen, dann ist vor allen Dingen in der Bundesrepublik eine massive Aufklärung und ein scharfer innenpolitischer Kampf zu führen.

Die Politik fast aller Parteien und sozialer Gruppierungen ist widerspruchsvoll - Elemente, welche einer Entspannung förderlich sind, stehen unverbunden neben hemmenden. Es bedarf subtiler Einzelanalysen, um hier ein objektives Bild zu gewinnen.

Wie kompliziert die Situation ist, zeigt sich schon daran, daß man auf der einen Seite im Unternehmertum Kräfte findet, welche aus reinen Profitinteressen an einer Normalisierung der Beziehungen zur DDR interessiert sind - auf der anderen Seite selbst bei den Friedensorganisationen Tendenzen zu finden sind, welche objektiv eine Unterstützung für die Vorstellungen der Kalten Krieger bedeuten, obwohl sie subjektiv das Gegenteil bewirken wollen; als Beispiel für die von einigen unserer Freunde propagierte gewaltfreie Verteidigung gegen eine kommunistische Invasion erwähnt. Abgesehen von den unrealistischen Voraussetzungen dieser Konzeption, bestätigt man damit indirekt, daß es notwendig ist, sich vor den bösen Kommunisten in

echt zu nehmen, daß jene eine Eroberung des Westens planen - ideologisch leistet man so seinen Beitrag zur Reproduktion des Antikommunismus und damit gegen die notwendigen Voraussetzungen einer Entspannung.

Ich möchte es mit diesen - noch wenig konkretisierten - Anmerkungen vorläufig beenden lassen. Wir werden im Laufe der Diskussionen auf dieser Arbeitstagung noch genügend Gelegenheit haben, an konkreten Modellen zu analysieren, welche Tendenzen gefördert - und welche bekämpft werden müssen.

Das ist mühsamer als die Rezeption pauschaler Vorstellungen, verlangt Nachdenken und viel soziologische Reflexion. Die Gefahr, die widerspruchsvolle Wirklichkeit ins Prokrustesbett ideologischer Klischeevorstellung zu zwängen, ist dabei allerdings geringer.

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bach (Deutschland)

## CHRONOLOGISCHE DARSTELLUNG DER DEUTSCHEN SPALTUNG

von Dr. Gerhard Schmidt - Bundesvorstandsmitglied der DFG

### I. Vorwort

Seit Beginn der Neuzeit ist die deutsche Geschichte voll von Spannungen und Spaltungen. Diese Tendenzen gehen auf mehrere Ursachen zurück.

Mitteleuropa und vor allem Deutschland ist gegliedert in 3 auseinanderstrebende Raumelemente (Rhein, Donau und Norddeutsche Tiefebene mit parallelen Strömen Weser, Elbe, Oder Weichsel). Die Deutsche Bundesrepublik (DBR) ist im wesentlichen ein Rheinstaat und lehnt sich in soweit an das geschichtliche Vorbild des Rheinbundes unter Napoleon an. Die Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR) hingegen muß als Rumpfstaat in der Gegend der parallelen Ströme angesehen werden (geschichtlicher Vorgänger = Preußen). Bayern und Österreich schließlich sind die Reste einer früheren deutschen Staatenbildung im Donaauraum.

Die Deutschen waren ursprünglich keine homogene Nation, sondern eine Reichsgemeinschaft von 4 Germanenstämmen (Sachsen, Franken, Alemannen und Bayern), die sich schon früh unter äußerem Druck (infolge Mittel-lage) zu einer Art Föderation zusammenschlossen. Die einzelnen deutschen Stämme waren ursprünglich so viel oder so wenig miteinander verbunden wie die nordgermanischen Stämme der Schweden, Norweger und Dänen, die in Gegensatz zu den Deutschen in einem weniger gefährdeten Gebiet leben und daher jeweils eine staatliche Sonderexistenz herausbildeten.

Schließlich wurde die Entwicklung Deutschlands noch von 3 Kulturgrenzen beeinflusst, nämlich dem römischen Limes (Nieder- und Mittelrhein, Frankfurt, Regensburg, Donaulinie), der alten Slawengrenze (Elbe-linie, Saale, Böhmer Wald; etwa 800 - 1100 n. Chr.) und der neuen Slawengrenze (Oder; etwa 1450).

Es gibt kaum ein Land auf unserem Planeten, das eine solche Vielfalt an Grundelementen aufzuweisen hat wie Deutschland. Daraus wird ver-ständlich, daß Deutschland in seiner Blütezeit aus einem Reichsver-band mit mannigfachen föderativen Formen bestand. Ein zentralistischer Einheitsstaat ist auf deutschem Boden raum-, geschichts- und kultur-widrig. In neuerer Zeit sind 2 Versuche einer einheitsstaatlichen Bildung nationalistisch entartet und schließlich kläglich gescheitert (das II. Reich in seiner militanten wilhelminischen Epoche 1890 - 1918; das militant und rassistisch entartete III. Reich 1933 - 1945).

Seit Beginn der Neuzeit (1492) ist Deutschland, das Land der geographischen (Gebirgszüge und Flüsse verschiedener Richtungen) und kulturellen Polari-täten, der Nährboden für fast alle Geistesströmungen von Rang, wie Re-formation, Gegenreformation, Aufklärung, Idealismus, Marxismus, National-sozialismus mit rassistischem Exzess und Anthroposophie. Im politischen Bereich ist während dieser Zeit ein Abspaltungs- und Verselbständi-gungsprozeß der abgespalteten Glieder im Gange, wobei uns heute vor allem die von deutschen Politikern maßgebend mitgeförderte Abspaltung des ostdeutschen Rumpfstaaes vom westdeutschen Reststaat bewegt.

II. Geschichte der deutschen Spaltung(en) bis 1945

- 10.1517 Martin LUTHER schlägt seine 95 Thesen an die Schloßkirche zu Wittenberg an. Da die katholische Kirche trotz unhaltbarer Zustände die von Luther empfohlenen und längst fälligen Reformen nicht durchführen will, wird Luther zum Vater einer Rom-unabhängigen Reformation - Anfang der deutschen Glaubens-Spaltung.
- 1648 Im Frieden zu Münster und Osnabrück werden die Schweiz und Holland (bis dahin Mitglieder des deutschen Reichsverbandes) selbständig. Damit kommen Quelle und Mündung des Rheines in den Besitz reichsunabhängiger Länder. Holland begründet vor und nach seiner Abspaltung vom Reich eine bewundernswerte See- und Handelsmacht mit Niederlassungen bis nach Inselindien (heute Indonesien) und Südamerika. Die Schweiz gar entwickelte mit der eidgenössischen Konföderation eines der besten politischen Systeme der Erde, in dem 4 Sprachengruppen in gegenseitiger Duldung friedlich miteinander leben. Beide Länder haben trotz ihrer Kleinheit der Menschheit sehr viel gegeben, so daß ihre Abspaltung vom Deutschen Reich von höherer Warte aus als sinnvoll zu bezeichnen ist.
- 1866 Im deutschen Bruderkrieg zwischen Österreich und Preußen wird die österreichische Lösung einer lockeren großdeutsch-mitteleuropäischen Föderation unter Einbeziehung ungarischer und westslawischer Volksgruppen zurückgewiesen. Statt dessen wird das großpreußische II. Reich (Gründung 1871) geschaffen, das bis 1914 zu einem militanten Einheitsstaat auswuchs und die Nachbarstaaten mehr und mehr beunruhigte. Der Bruderkrieg selbst führte zur Zerschlagung des 1815 gebildeten Deutschen Bundes (= lockere Föderation deutscher Staaten incl. Luxemburg, Österreich, Böhmen, aber ohne West- und Ostpreußen) und zur (durch Österreich, Böhmen, aber ohne West- und Ostpreußen) erzwungenen Abspaltung der Deutschen Böhmens und Österreichs aus dem 1871 gebildeten deutschen Bundesstaat.
- 1917 Bedeutendes Schicksalsjahr für Deutschland und Mitteleuropa. Europa war kriegsmüde. Die USA hatten noch nicht in die Kriegshandlungen eingegriffen. Der Papst intervenierte bei den kriegsführenden Mächten zugunsten eines baldigen Friedensschlusses. Österreich und Frankreich erklärten dazu ihre Bereitschaft, letzteres unter der Bedingung, das Elsaß-Lothringen zurückgegeben würde. Leider kam der damals noch mögliche Verständigungsfrieden nicht zustande, da die Militaristen des deutschen Generalstabs den 1. Weltkrieg noch gewinnen wollten, u.a. mit der Einschleusung Lenins von der Schweiz nach Russland und der dadurch veranlaßten Bolschewisierung des Russischen Reiches.
- 1919 Im Diktatfrieden von VERSAILLES und ST. GERMAIN setzten sich auf Seiten der Siegermächte maßlose Gewaltpolitiker von Schlage eines Clemenceau durch. Abgesehen von den deutschen Gebietsabtretungen und der Zerschlagung Österreich-Ungarns wurden wirtschaftliche Reparationen gefordert, die über die Kraft Deutschlands gingen. Mit der Nichteinhaltung der WILSONschen Versprechungen und den Maßnahmen des Diktatfriedens von Versailles wurden die Voraussetzungen zum 2. Weltkrieg geschaffen. In Deutschland selbst begünstigte das Tolledodiktat von Versailles das Aufkommen rechteradikaler Elemente. Mit dem polnischen Korridor wurde schließlich ein Streitobjekt geschaffen, das nach einem Wort des französischen Marschalls FOCH zum nächsten Weltkrieg führen mußte.
- 1921 Den Deutschösterreichern wird von Frankreich der Anschluß an das demokratische Deutsche Reich verboten und damit das von den Siegermächten zwecks Zerschlagung der Donau-Monarchie so lautstark propagierte (politische) Selbstbestimmungsrecht vorenthalten. Nach einer Wahlenanalyse des deutschen pazifistischen Historikers Prof. Dr. Ulrich NOACK hätten die Stimmen der Deutschösterreicher 1925 die Präsidentenwahl HINDENBURGS verhindert und damit 1933 die Machtergreifung HITLERs in Frage gestellt.

1929 - 33 Weltwirtschaftskrise aufgrund der Unfähigkeit der Wirtschaftspolitiker und der maßlosen Reparationsforderungen der Siegermächte. In Deutschland gab es 1932 insgesamt 7 Millionen Arbeitslose, zusammen mit den Angehörigen ca. 20 Millionen Menschen oder rund 30% der deutschen Bevölkerung. Ein großer Teil der Wähler wurde in dieser Lage zu Hitler getrieben, der den Deutschen Arbeit und Brot versprach.

30.1.1933 Hitlers Machtergreifung, begünstigt durch Diktatfrieden von Versailles, Anschlußverbot Deutsch-Osterreichs und Weltwirtschaftskrise.

1.9.1939 Beginn des 2. Weltkriegs um das Streitobjekt Danzig und Polnischer Korridor; Angriffskrieg Hitlers, der damit den tieferen Grund für die Spaltung Deutschlands gelegt hat.

21.6.1941 Angriffskrieg Hitlers gegen die UdSSR; Anfang vom Ende des III. Rdches.

1./11.2.45 Konferenz von JALTA (Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin) beschließt, Deutschland in 4 Besatzungszonen aufzuteilen.

8. 5. 1945 Bedingungslose Kapitulation Deutschlands mit Absetzung der deutschen Zentralregierung Dönitz. Spaltungstendenzen wurden dadurch erheblich gefördert.

III. Geschichte der Spaltung Deutschlands seit 1945  
1. Von der Kapitulation bis zur Wiederaufrüstung

Juni 1945 Aufteilung der russischen Besatzungszone ohne Abstimmung mit den übrigen Alliierten in einen polnisch/russischen annektierten Teil (Ostpreußen, Hinterpommern, Ostbrandenburg und Schlesien) und in einen besetzten Teil (heutige DDR). Damit wurde der östliche Teil der von Rußland besetzten deutschen Gebiete der Mitbestimmung der westlichen Alliierten entzogen. In der noch verbliebenen Sowjetischen Besatzungszone hatten die West-Alliierten zunächst noch ein begrenztes Mitbestimmungsrecht, da die UdSSR ebenfalls noch ihre Hand im deutschen Spiel behalten wollte und ihrerseits in den Westzonen eine begrenzte Mitbestimmung ausüben konnte. Wären die USA zum Irrtum der Russen im Juni 1945 nicht aus Sachsen und Thüringen abgezogen, hätte die UdSSR den annektierten Teil wohl auf Kosten Polens kleiner gehalten.

17.7./8.2.1945 Auf der Potsdamer Konferenz wird die Aufteilung der russisch besetzten Gebiete (s.oben) von den Angelsachsen hingenommen und der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa zugestimmt. Über die endgültige deutsche Ostgrenze sollte freilich erst im Friedensvertrag mit Deutschland entschieden werden (der bis heute noch aussteht). Der Plan einer Zerstückelung Deutschlands wurde von Großbritannien aufgegeben, zuvor schon von Rußland und später auch von den USA. Die Einrichtung zentraler Fachbehörden wurde beschlossen, jedoch zunächst noch keine Zentral-Regierung. Insbesondere sollte Deutschland eine wirtschaftliche Einheit bilden, dessen Industrie jedoch beschränkt und kontrolliert werden mußte.

Aug. 1945 Die Einrichtung zentraler Verwaltungsorgane scheitert am Widerspruch Frankreichs im Kontrollrat. Da Frankreich von der Potsdamer Konferenz ausgeschlossen war, fühlte sich DE GAULLE an die Beschlüsse dieser Konferenz nicht gebunden.

1946 Einrichtung Volkseigener Betriebe in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Anfang der Verstaatlichung der Wirtschaft in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone (= SBZ).

3./24.4.1947 Die Konferenz zu MOSKAU ergibt keine Einigung über die Grenzen Deutschlands und über die Art und Menge der Reparationen (Die UdSSR fordert z.B. 10 Mrd. \$ an Reparationen, die sie inzwischen um ein Mehrfaches aus der DDR herausgeholt hat.).

- 5./7.6.47 Interzonen-Konferenz der Ministerpräsidenten der deutschen Länder in München zwecks Beratung, wie die wirtschaftliche Not beseitigt werden kann. Die Konferenz scheitert, da die Ministerpräsidenten der SBZ beantragen, zuerst die Frage der politischen Einheit zu besprechen. Die Westzonen-Vertreter lehnen dies ab.
- 23.2./6.3. 1948 Sechsmächte-Konferenz in London (USA, GB, FR und BENELUX) empfiehlt die wirtschaftliche Eingliederung Westdeutschlands in West-Europa und die Einberufung einer verfassungsgebenden Nationalversammlung für West-Deutschland.
- 21.6.1948 Wirtschaftliche Spaltung Deutschlands durch westdeutsche Währungsreform (DM-West und EM-Ost). Die militärische Aufteilung Deutschlands wird dadurch noch wirtschaftlich verschärft.
8. 4. 1949 Durch das Abkommen der West-Alliierten von Washington tritt an die Stelle der Militärregierung eine Hohe Alliierte Kommission und ein Besatzungs-Status (Inkrafttreten am 21.9.1949).
- 8.5.1949 Verabschiedung des westdeutschen Grundgesetzes (Verfassung) durch den Parlamentarischen Rat, der am 1. 9. 1948 erstmalig zusammengetreten war. Die Präambel dieser Verfassung enthält ein Wiedervereinigungsverbot.
23. 5.1949 Gründung der DDR in Bonn.
- 23.5./20.6. 1949 Die Tagung von 6 Außenministern in Paris ergibt keine Einigung über die Wiederherstellung der deutschen Einheit.
- 7.10.1949 Der deutsche Volksrat der SBZ erklärt sich zur provisorischen Volkskammer und proklamiert die DDR (Entwurf der Verfassung wurde schon am 19.3.1949 angenommen.).
- 10.10.1949 Auch in der DDR tritt an die Stelle der Militär-Verwaltung eine Kontroll-Kommission.
- 3.2.1950 Gründung einer Nationalen Front in der DDR, die die Politik der Westmächte und der BR bekämpfen soll.
- Mai 1950 Aufstellung kasernierter Volkspolizei in der DDR (zunächst 50.000 Mann).
- 6.7.1950 Anerkennung der "Oder-Weiß-Friedensgrenze" durch die DDR. Damit hat die Regierung der DDR die einer lokalen de facto Gewalt gesetzten Grenze überschritten und zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß sie als de jure Regierung gelten will.
- 12./23.9. 1950 Die Außenminister der Westmächte erklären auf ihrer Konferenz zu New York, daß sie nur die westdeutsche Bundesregierung als deutsche Regierung anerkennen.
- 18./19.12. 1950 Der Atlantikrat beschließt die Aufstellung einer europäischen Armee mit westdeutscher Beteiligung. Zuvor hatte der westdeutsche Kanzler ADENAUER den West-Alliierten in einem Memorandum die Wiederaufrüstung Westdeutschlands angeboten. Sein Innenminister Dr. Dr. HEINEMANN trat daraufhin zurück, da die Wiederaufrüstung zu einer Spaltung Deutschlands führen müßte.
- 15.2.1951 Aufstellung eines Bundesgrenzschutzes (Pendant zur Volkspolizei).
- 18.4.1951 Unterzeichnung des SCHUMANN-Plans und Gründung der Westeuropäischen Montan-Union; Übergabe der Leitung von Kohle und Stahl der 6 westeuropäischen Länder (BR, FR, Italien und Benelux) an eine Hohe Behörde mit Sitz Luxemburg. Damit hat auch die BR die Grenzen einer lokalen de facto Gewalt überschritten.
- 10./14.9. 1951 Die Außenminister der Westmächte vereinbaren, das Besatzungsstatut aufzuheben, wenn die BR der Europäischen Verteidigungs-Gemeinschaft (EVG) beitrifft; Unterzeichnung des EVG-Vertrages am 27.5.1952.

- 27.9.1951 Parlament und Regierung der DDR fordern freie Wahlen in ganz Deutschland unter internationaler Kontrolle, was die DDR ablehnt (= Wiedervereinigungs-Forderung zu unrealistischen und daher politisch nicht ernst zu nehmenden Bedingungen).
- März 1952 Wiedervereinigung zu relativ günstigen Bedingungen nach russischer Note vom 10.3.1952 an separatistischen Kräften Deutschlands und Sturheit der West-Alliierten gescheitert. Eine Einigung konnte schließlich nur deshalb nicht erzielt werden, weil die Meinungen hinsichtlich Zeitpunkt und Kontrolle der gesamtdeutschen Wahlen auseinandergingen. Die DDR hatte mit dem Osten freie Wahlen unter gesamtdeutscher Kontrolle, die DDR mit dem Westen freie Wahlen unter internationaler Kontrolle gefordert.
- 26.5.1952 Die DDR errichtet eine 5km-Sperrzone längs der Zonengrenze (= Grenze zwischen DDR und BRD).
- 23.5.1952 Die West-Alliierten und die DDR unterzeichnen den sog. Generalvertrag (sieht Souveränität für die DDR vor).
- 27.5.1952 Die Außenminister der 6 westeuropäischen Länder (BRD, FR, I und Benelux) unterzeichnen den EWG-Vertrag der jedoch wegen Ablehnung durch die französische Nationalversammlung am 23.10.1954 nicht realisiert wird.
- 9./12.7. 1952 Umwandlung der DDR in eine Volksrepublik; Beschluß über Aufstellung eigener Streitkräfte (Volksarmee).
- 17.6.1953 Volksaufstand in der DDR wird durch Eingreifen der russischen Besatzungsmacht niedergeschlagen. Deutschfreundliche Kräfte der russischen Regierung, die in Bezug auf die DDR die Entwicklung zur Volksrepublik rückgängig machen wollten, werden dadurch tragischerweise zurückgedrängt.
- 25.1./18.2. 1954 Siegermächte erzielen auf der Berliner Konferenz erneut keine Einigung in der Deutschlandfrage (Edenplan und Molotowplan unterscheiden sich hinsichtlich der Frage der gesamtdeutschen Wahlen).
- 25.3.1954 Die UdSSR verleiht der DDR die Souveränität. Hohe Kommission bleibt vorläufig bestehen; volle Souveränität am 17. - 20.9.1955.
- 23.10.1954 Unterzeichnung der Pariser Verträge (Inkrafttreten am 5.5.1955).
  - a) Deutschlandvertrag (DDR soll souverän werden, Fragen, die Gesamtdeutschland betreffen, bleiben den Besatzungsmächten vorbehalten).
  - b) Truppenvertrag (westl. Truppen dienen der gemeinsamen Verteidigung und nicht mehr der Besetzung der DDR).
  - c) DDR tritt der Westeuropäischen Union (WEU) bei.
  - d) Die DDR wird in die NATO aufgenommen.
- 17./23. 7. 1955 Die Confer Giefelkonferenz bringt wieder keine Einigung in der Deutschlandfrage. Der russische Staatschef BULGANIN erklärt die Wiedervereinigung für unmöglich, da die DDR nunmehr zur NATO gehöre.
- 26.7.1955 KHRUSCHTSCHOW erklärt in Ost-Berlin, daß die Wiedervereinigung nur möglich sei, wenn die soziellen Errungenschaften der DDR beibehalten werden (Wiedervereinigung zu unrealistischen Bedingungen, wenn damit die Bolschewisierung Westdeutschlands gemeint sein sollte).
- 17./20.9. 1955 KROTBWOHL handelt in Moskau die volle Souveränität der DDR an. Die UdSSR erklärt, daß die Wiedervereinigung jetzt eine Angelegenheit der beiden deutschen Staaten sei.

2. Von der militärischen Aufrüstung bis zur Gegenwart

- 20.9.1955 Verfassungsänderung der DDR, die die Aufstellung militärischer Streitkräfte vorsieht.
- 1.1.1956 Beginn des Aufbaues der Bundeswehr (BRD) mit der Einberufung der ersten 1.000 Soldaten.

- 18.1.1956 Bildung der Nationalen Volksarmee (DDR).
- 19.3.1956 Verfassungsänderung der DDR, die die Aufstellung milit. Streitkräfte ermöglicht (Art. 12 und 17a GG).
- 7.7.1956 Das westdeutsche Parlament (Bundestag) beschließt den allgemeinen Wehrzwang für Männer zwischen 18 bis 45 Jahren.
- 17.8.1956 Das westdeutsche Bundesverfassungsgericht erklärt die Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD) für verfassungswidrig. Die KPD wird daraufhin verboten.
- 26.3.1957 Unterzeichnung der Verträge über den Gemeinsamen Markt und Euratom zwecks Bildung einer Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft (EWG) aus den Staaten DDR, FR, I und Benelux. Die Zölle zwischen den 6 Vertragsstaaten sollen innerhalb von 12 Jahren abgebaut werden (Ratifizierung durch die DDR am 5. 7. 1957). Beschluß hierzu wurde auf der Konferenz zu Messina am 4.6. 1955 gefaßt.
1. 4.1957 Die ersten 10.000 Wehrpflichtigen des Jahrgangs 1937 werden zur Bundeswehr eingezogen.
- 29.7.1957 Die Außenminister von USA, GB, FR und DDR erklären, die Teilung Deutschlands sei eine Gefahr für den Frieden Europas, schlagen aber erneut den unrealistischen Weg der freien Wahlen vor.
- 3.10.1957 Rapacki erläutert seinen Plan vor der UNO, wonach die mitteleuropäischen Länder Polen, CSR, DDR und BRD auf die Herstellung und Lagerung von Atomwaffen verzichten sollen. Die Regierung der DDR lehnt als einzige dieser 4 Länder den Rapacki-Plan ab, der einen wesentlichen Schritt zum Abbau der deutschen Spaltung bedeuten würde.
- 12.12.1957 Die DDR erläßt ein Paßgesetz, das die Ausreise ohne behördliche Genehmigung unter Strafe stellt.
- 27.11.1958 Im sog. Berlin-Ultimatum (s. unten) wird erwähnt, daß die Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands nur noch über die Bildung einer Konföderation, nicht aber mehr durch freie Wahlen zu erreichen sei.
- 1958 Starker Ausbau der DDR-Ostsee-Häfen ROSTOCK und WISMAR als Konkurrenzhäfen gegen HAMBURG.  
Einschränkung der Ausreise- und Einreisegenehmigungen zwischen der DDR und BRD durch die DDR-Behörden. Der Reiseverkehr zwischen beiden Teilen Deutschlands geht dadurch um 75% zurück.
- 1.1.1959 Senkung der Zölle zwischen den Partnerstaaten der EWG um 10%, erster Schritt zum völligen Abbau der Zollschranken zwischen FR, BRD, I und Benelux, der bis 1971 vollzogen sein soll. Im Ende dieser Entwicklung wird die BRD in ein klein-europäisches katholisches Westeuropa integriert sein. Bei gleichzeitiger Integration der DDR in die östliche Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft des COMECON wird eine Wiedervereinigung von BRD und DDR aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen kaum noch möglich sein.
- 11.5.-20.6., 30.7.-4.8.1959 Außenminister-Konferenz der 4 Siegermächte in Genf diskutiert die deutsche Wiedervereinigung mit Beobachtern aus BRD und DDR an Katzenbachs. Bonn drängt die West-Alliierten, auf illusionären Deutschlandforderungen zu beharren (z.B. Bündnisfreiheit des wiedervereinigten Deutschlands), so daß die 4 Siegermächte zu Geheimverhandlungen übergehen müssen. Die Konferenz wird schließlich ohne Ergebnis auf unbestimmte Zeit vertagt.
- 26.6.1959 ULBRICHT spricht auf einer Versammlung in DRESDEN offen gegen die Konzeption des 3. Weges aus (Dritter Weg = Angleichung beider Gesellschaftssysteme durch Synthese aus den Vorzügen beider Systeme). Die Realisierung des 3. Weges würde jedoch eine erstrangige politische Leistung des Deutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert sein, die nicht nur den Weltfrieden sichern sondern notwendigerweise auch zu einem Zusammenwachsen der beiden Teile Deutschlands führen würde.

- 22.9.1959 Außenminister HEETER läßt erkennen, daß die USA nicht mehr auf eine Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands oder eine sonstige politische und militärische Änderung in Mitteleuropa drängen, sondern den status quo fixieren wollen.
- Sept. 1959 Die DDR versieht die bis dahin gemeinsame deutsche Flagge mit dem Emblemen der Besatzungsmacht (Hammer, Zirkel und Ährankranz). Von der DBR wird diese Flagge als "Spalterflagge" bezeichnet.
- Mai 1960 Die am 15.1.1960 begommene Kollektivierung der Landwirtschaft in der DDR wird mit dem Aufgehen des letzten privaten Bauernhofes in einer Landwirtschaftlichen Produktivgenossenschaft (LPG) abgeschlossen.
- 15.9.1960 Die Pässe der DBR werden von der DDR nicht mehr als Ausweise West-Berliner Bürger anerkannt, eine Maßnahme, der sich kurze Zeit später auch die UdSSR, Polen und die CSR anschließen. Die West-Berliner müssen seither bei ihrer Durchreise nach der DBR besondere West-Berliner Personalausweise vorzeigen.
- Sept. 1961 Einführung des allgemeinen Wehrzangs in der DDR, nachdem der Fluchtweg West-Berlin ab 13. August 1961 zugemauert war.
- 2.7.1963 Chruschtschow erklärt in Ost-Berlin, der beste Weg zur Lösung der Deutschlandfrage wäre die Beseitigung des Kapitalismus in West-Deutschland und die Schaffung eines einheitlichen deutschen Staates auf sozialistischer Grundlage.

IV. Die Spaltung der deutschen Hauptstadt

- 5.6.1945 Berlin wird in 4 Sektoren unterteilt und einer gemeinsamen Verwaltung unterstellt. Die Kommandantur der 4 Oberbefehlshaber der alliierten Truppen nimmt ihren Sitz in Berlin. Für ihr Mitspracherecht in der deutschen Hauptstadt geben die Angelsachsen Thüringen, den westlichen Teil Sachsens, Sachsen-Anhalts und Teile von Mecklenburg an die russische Besatzungsmacht.
- 11. 2.1948 Die Liberaldemokratische Partei (LDP) der SBZ schließt den Berliner Landesverband aus. Am gleichen Tag trennt sich der Berliner Landesverband der CDU von der CDU der SBZ.
- 20.3.1948 Marschall SOKOLOWSKI (UdSSR) verläßt den Alliierten Kontrollrat in Berlin aus Protest gegen die Londoner Empfehlungen der Westmächte (v. 23. 2. - 6. 3. 1948; s. oben). Der Kontrollrat wird dadurch arbeitsunfähig und tritt nicht mehr zusammen.
- 16.6.1948 In der alliierten Kommandantur kommt es bei Verhandlungen über die Arbeitsverhältnisse in Berlin zu einem Konflikt. Am 1.7.1948 stellt die russische Delegation ihre Mitarbeit ein, womit die Viermächteverwaltung Berlins nicht mehr arbeitsfähig ist.
- 25.6.1948 Die westdeutsche Währung (DM-West) wird auch in West-Berlin eingeführt. Hierdurch wird Berlin wirtschaftlich gespalten. Die UdSSR errichtet dagegen eine totale Blockade der Zufahrtswege nach West-Berlin, und zwar zu Lande und zu Wasser. Die Westmächte wehren die Blockade durch Bildung der Luftbrücke ab (Aufhebung der Blockade am 12.5.1949).
- 6.9.1948 Die Abgeordneten des Gesamt-Berliner Parlaments verlegen ihren Sitz in die West-Sektoren, da kommunistische Demonstranten ihre Arbeit behindern.
- 30.11.1948 In Ost-Berlin wird ein eigenes Gemeinde-Parlament (= Magistrat) gebildet. Friedrich Ebert, der Sohn des 1. demokratischen Reichspräsidenten von 1919, wird Oberbürgermeister von Ost-Berlin. Damit ist auch die politische Spaltung Berlins vollzogen.
- 5.12.1948 Die Abgeordneten des West-Berliner Gemeinde-Parlaments wählen Ernst Reuter (SPD) zum Oberbürgermeister von West-Berlin.

- 1948 Im Zuge der wirtschaftlichen und politischen Spaltung Berlins verlangen Studenten der in Ost-Berlin gelegenen HUMBOLDT-Universität die Gründung einer Universität in West-Berlin, um sich der kommunistischen Beeinflussung zu entziehen. Die Freie Universität (FU) wird in Berlin mit amerikanischer Hilfe errichtet.
- 14. 5. 1949 Besatzungs-Status für West-Berlin; sieht vorläufig noch keine Angliederung West-Berlins an die DDR vor.
- 4.8. 1950 Beschluß einer neuen West-Berliner Verfassung, da die Gesamt-Berliner Verfassung durch die Spaltung der Stadt außer Kraft getreten war.
- 5.5. 1955 West-Berlin erhält ein neues Besatzungs-Statut, das die Rechte der Alliierten einschränkt.
- 27.11. 1958 Die UdSSR kündigt den Viermächte-Status Berlin. West-Berlin soll freie Stadt werden. Falls in Verhandlungen keine Einigung mit den Westmächten erzielt werden kann, wird die Kontrolle der Zufahrtswege nach einem halben Jahr der DDR übergeben (diese Drohung ist bis heute nicht realisiert worden).
- 14.12. 1958 Die Westmächte erklären sich zu Verhandlungen über Berlin bereit, verlangen aber, daß am Viermächte-Statut bis zur Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands nicht gerückt werden darf.
- 1958 Für den Schiffsverkehr zwischen der DDR und West-Berlin führt die DDR einen Kanalsoll ein, der 3,-- DM/Tonne beträgt.
- Mai/Aug. 59 Auf der Genfer Konferenz schlägt Außenminister HERTER die Wiedervereinigung von Ost- und West-Berlin vor. Dieser Vorschlag wird vor allem von der DDR verworfen, die sonst hätte ihren Regierungssitz aus Ost-Berlin verlegen müssen.
- Nov. 1959 Adenauer und de Gaulle arbeiten darauf hin, bis zur Bundestagswahl 1961 nicht in ernsthafte Berlin-Verhandlungen mit den Russen zu geraten.
- 8.9. 1960 Bürger der DDR müssen bei Besuchen Ost-Berlins eine besondere Aufenthaltsgenehmigung einholen.
- 7.10. 1960 Beim Hissen der "Spalterflagge" auf dem DDR-eigenen Reichsbahngelände in West-Berlin kommt es zu Zwischenfällen.
- 13.8. 1961 An der Sektorengrenze Berlins wird eine Mauer errichtet, um die Flucht nach West-Deutschland einzudämmen. Beim Anhalten dieser Flucht hätte die ostdeutsche Wirtschaft Bankrott gemacht. Außerdem wäre Ost-Deutschland schließlich zu einer menschenleeren Zone geworden, die am Ende von Russen, Polen oder Tschechen besiedelt worden wäre. Mit der Mauer wurde die letzte Lücke in der schroffen Scheidelinie zwischen Ost und West geschlossen. Die Mauer steht seitdem als Mahnmal deutschen Versagens und als Symbol für die Unfähigkeit der Politiker, den Ost-West-Gegensatz durch Beschreiten des 3. Weges auszugleichen.
- Sept. 1961 Ost-Berlin wird für die Bürger West-Berlins gesperrt. Schwilien und Verwandtschaften werden dadurch brutal auseinandergerissen.
- 21.6. 1963 Die DDR errichtet eine 100m-Kontrollzone hinter der Mauer, die nur noch mit Sonderausweisen betreten werden darf.
- April/Mai 64 Eine Wiederholung des weihnachtlichen Passierscheinabkommens wird von den Anhängern der HALLSTEIN-Doktrin für Ostern und Pfingsten verhindert. Bonn befürchtete, daß im Ausland ein solches Abkommen als de facto-Anerkennung der DDR ausgelegt werden könnte. Diese kleinlichen Bedenken waren jedoch fehl am Platze, nachdem das weihnachtliche Passierschein-Abkommen zu einer Invasion von 1 Million West-Berlinern nach Ost-Berlin und der größten gesamtdeutschen Begegnung seit Kriegsende geführt hatte.

## V. Schluswort

Die heute im Vordergrund der Diskussion stehende deutsche Spaltung ist nur der Schlußstein eines nahezu 100jährigen Prozesses, der zur Zerschlagung und Spaltung von Deutschland und Mitteleuropa als politischer und leider auch geistiger Kraft geführt hat. In der in diesen Tagen angelaufenen Aufsatzserie "Mitteleuropa - Entscheidungsfeld des 20. Jahrhunderts" enthält die deutsche pazifistische Historikerin Renate RIEMECK, daß diese Ereignisse von im Geheimen wirkenden Kreisen der englisch-sprechenden Welt langfristig geplant und mittels der beiden Weltkriege konsequent verwirklicht wurden.

Die vorerwähnten Geheimgesellschaften planten die Ausbreitung des angelsächsischen way of life, insbesondere des Primates der Wirtschaft und der Methoden des Experimentierens und des Pragmatismus über den ganzen Erdball hin. Sie sahen auch sehr früh schon das Aufsteigen der jungen slawischen Völker voraus, die rechtzeitig in den way of life eingeeignet werden sollten. Dies schien ihnen jedoch nur realisierbar zu sein, wenn die europäische Mitte als Brücke zwischen Ost und West funktionsunfähig gemacht würde. In den Jahren 1888 und 1890 wurden von den geheimen Zirkeln Landkarten Europas entworfen, auf denen die Deutschen bereits in die engen Grenzen Europas entworfen, auf denen sie heute leben. Der heutige europäische Ostblock ist auf dieser Karte ebenfalls schon als sog. "Slawen-Konföderation" vorweggenommen. Auf der Karte von 1890 steht über dem Raum Rußland gar das Wort "Miste = Staaten für sozialistische Experimente".

Niemals hätten diese Pläne verwirklicht werden können, wenn nicht ab 1866 und noch deutlicher ab 1890 mitteleuropäische Politiker unbewußt an ihrer Verwirklichung mitgeholfen hätten. So führt die Zerschlagung des deutschen Bundes (1866) zu einem für deutsche Verhältnisse geschichtswidrigen nationalen Einheitsstaat nach westlichem Muster. Hinzu kam die zunehmende Vorliebe für Militär und militante Formen in dem von Bismarck geschaffenen II. deutschen Reich, was zu einer weitgehenden geistigen Trübung und Verdummung der verantwortlichen Politiker führte. 7 Jahrzehnte nach Goethes Tod glaubten die verantwortlichen Staatsmänner Deutschlands auf die Aktivierung geistiger Kräfte verzichten zu können und verließen sich in zunehmendem Maße auf die schimmernde Wehr, mit der sie die ganze Welt herausforderten; unter Hitler entartete der deutsche Militarismus ins rassistische Kriminelle und lud dem deutschen Volk eine schwere Bürde von Schuld und Sühne auf. Aus der jüngeren Geschichte kann für die deutsche Nation als politisches Lebensgesetz entnommen werden, daß Militär und Militarismus für Deutschland ein tödliches Gift sind. Wer die deutsche Nation verderben will, der rüste sie militärisch auf!

Das Ziel der geheimen Zirkel vom Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts ist heute nahezu erreicht. Österreich-Ungarn und Deutschland sind zerschlagen. Die beiden Teile Deutschlands sind in Blöcke hineingetrieben und damit funktionsunfähig gemacht. Im europäischen Ostblock beginnt sich unter CERUSCHTSCHOW der materialistische Wirtschafts-Pragmatismus mehr und mehr durchzusetzen. Die Scheidelinie zwischen Ost und West läuft messerscharf durch Deutschland und die deutsche Hauptstadt, eine ständige Bedrohung für den Weltfrieden darstellend, die im Atomzeitalter für die Menschheit tödlich werden kann. Es ist daher erforderlich, die beiden Weltmächte durch Realisierung von Disengagementplänen in Mitteleuropa wieder auseinanderzurücken. Die deutsche Spaltung muß also auf irgendeine Weise wieder aufgehoben werden, und zwar mit friedenskonformen Methoden. Wie könnte das geschehen?

Die nationalistische Entartung in einem nationalen Einheitsstaat ist eine tiefere Ursache des nationalen Notstandes der Deutschen. Es kann daher bei der Lösung der Deutschlandfrage nicht darum gehen, wieder einen nationalen Einheitsstaat zu errichten wie in den Jahren 1870 bis 1945. Auch mit

der sturen Forderung nach Realisierung des (politischen) Selbstbestimmungsrechtes wird kein Fortschritt zu erzielen sein, war doch die Wilsonsche These von der (politischen) Selbstbestimmung die geistige Giftspritze, mit der die nationalen Leidenschaften erst recht entfacht und nationale Minderheiten unterdrückt wurden bis in unsere Gegenwart (siehe Zypern). Der Raumgliederung Deutschlands sowie der besseren Tradition des I. Deutschen Reiches entsprechend müßte das sich wiedervereinigende Deutschland aus einer vielgliedrigen politischen und funktionalen (nach Kultur, Politik und Wirtschaft) Föderation bestehen. Die deutsche Spaltung läßt sich daher weitaus eher mittels einer Konföderation überwinden als mit der Wiedererrichtung eines nationalen Einheitsstaates.

Als Volk der Mitte zwischen Ost und West obliegt es den Deutschen, als Vermittler und Ausgleichspol zu wirken. Nur wenn die deutschen Politiker sich bewußt in diese Mittlerraufgabe einordnen, werden weitere wesentliche Schritte zur Beseitigung der deutschen Spaltung getan werden können. Da die tiefere Ursache der Gegensätzlichkeit zwischen Ost und West in der unterschiedlichen Gestaltung der sozialen Verhältnisse beruht, besteht die Mission des Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert vor allem darin, einen geistigen Beitrag für eine soziale Neuordnung zu leisten zum Zwecke einer Synthese und Harmonisierung des Ost-West-Gegensatzes auf höherer Ebene. Es gibt somit keine wichtigere Aufgabe als die geistige Vorbereitung und politische Durchsetzung des 3. Weges.

Die Lösung der Deutschlandfrage erfordert weniger politisch-militärische als geistig-soziale Voraussetzungen. In den besten Tagen des deutschen Idealismus haben sich die deutschen Dichter und Denker als Angehörige der deutschen Kulturnation gefühlt, darüber hinaus aber auch als Glied der Menschheit. Weltbürger, oder nach Goethe "weltmännisch" zu sein, galt als großer Vorzug. In unserer Zeit, in der die Nationen als Glieder einer Menschheit zusammenwachsen, wäre es die Aufgabe der Deutschen, hier mit beispielhaften Maßnahmen voranzugehen. Mit die wichtigste Maßnahme wäre, die von deutschen Pazifisten und angelsächsischen Politikern empfohlen und von der UdSSR gebilligte Verlegung der UNO in die deutsche Hauptstadt, die damit auch zugleich Metropole der derzeitigen Organisation der Menschheit würde. Die Realisierung dieses Projektes hängt freilich nicht von den Deutschen alleine ab. Doch können die Deutschen heute schon beginnen, auf der Frontstadt West-Berlin ein internationales Kultur- und Friedenszentrum zu machen. Schon eine solche kleine Friedensoase könnte einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Entspannung und zur Überwindung der deutschen Spaltung leisten.

Wie immer man auch die Ursachen der deutschen Spaltung sehen mag, ihre Überwindung kann niemals mit militärischen, sondern allein mit politischen Maßnahmen erreicht werden, die an geistig-sozialen Leitbildern orientiert sind. Nur eine friedenskonforme Politik ohne Gewalt wird den gefährlichen Krisenherd beseitigen können, der als Ergebnis von 2 Weltkriegen und einer Politik voll Schuld und Irrtum in Mitteleuropa besteht. Gewaltlose Aktionen, etwa in der Form von Sitzstreiks und Märschen allein werden nicht ausreichen, den unheilvollen Knoten zu entwirren. Sie sind jedoch sehr nützlich, wenn sie, wie heute die Ostermärsche, als Methode einer friedenskonformen politischen Strategie eingesetzt werden.

Bielefeld, 30. Juli 1964

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Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
in der War Resisters' International e.V.

Arbeitspapier zur WRI-Studienkonferenz vom 9.-15.8.1964 in Offenbach  
(Deutschland)

24.10.64

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VORSCHLÄGE FÜR EINE INTERNATIONALE KAMPAGNE IN EUROPA - EINSEITIGE  
INITIATIVEN FÜR ATOMWAFFENFREIE UND MILITÄRISCH VERDÜNNTE ZONEN

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vorgelegt von April Carter

Begrenzung der Schrift

Ehe ich zu den Einzelheiten des vorgeschlagenen Programms komme, möchte ich die Grenzen dieser Schrift hervorheben. Sie ist als eine Diskussionsgrundlage gedacht und nicht als fertiger Plan. Außerdem ist sie von Standpunkt eines in Britannien lebenden geschrieben und die dadurch entstandene Neigung bedarf der Berichtigung durch Leute aus anderen europäischen Ländern. Besonders jene, die unmittelbar von dem Programm betroffen sind, müssen die ganze Idee von ihrem Standpunkt erforschen. Zum Beispiel ist es mir klar, daß sehr viel Arbeit von deutschen Gruppen geleistet worden ist über die besten Wege, sich mit der Lösung des Deutschland-Problems zu beschäftigen. Dies dürfte die Anregungen für Deutschland in dieser Schrift verändern und wird sie sicherlich erweitern.

Zweitens schreibe ich vom Standpunkt eines in der britischen atomaren-Abrüstungsbewegung und in bestimmten Kreisen dieser Bewegung Verwurzelten. Daher habe ich gewisse Vorwahnungen und einen Wortschatz, den andere nicht teilen mögen, da Verhaltensweisen und Bezeichnungen sich von Land zu Land unterscheiden, besonders bei Schlüsselworten wie "Unilateralismus" (einseitige Abrüstung). Obwohl ich mich bemüht habe, meine Annahmen zu erläutern und Kurzschrift oder gruppeneigene Redewendungen zu vermeiden, könnten sich trotzdem Zweideutigkeiten und Übertreibungen, die ich nicht beabsichtigt habe, eingeschlichen haben. Falls dem so ist, hoffe ich, daß sie versuchen werden, meine Worte zu überschreiten, um an die dahinterliegende Bedeutung zu gelangen.

Drittens möchte ich betonen, daß diese Gedanken, die aus der Diskussion mit einer Anzahl von Leuten hervorgegangen sind, auf Neigungen und Ideen aufgebaut sind, die schon in der internationalen Friedensbewegung existieren.

Dies, so hoffe ich, ist ihre Stärke. Z.B. hat die schwedische CND eine Konferenz für eine atomwaffenfreie Zone in Skandinavien einberufen, die im März in Stockholm stattfindet. Eine internationale Direkt-Aktion-Konferenz in Paris im November 1963 brachte Gedanken hervor, die hier einbezogen sind. Dasselbe gilt für die Studienkonferenz der WRI im letzten Sommer. Die britische CND hat schon die Idee der begrenzten Schritte zum Frieden erforscht (steps toward peace), obgleich in einem etwas anderen Zusammenhang. Diese Bewegung zur internationalen Zusammenarbeit wird schon betont. Ein neues Programm sollte daher aus den schon existierenden Programmen und Aktionsplänen herauswachsen und diese einbeziehen.

Diese Konferenz ist das Ergebnis eines sich schrittweise entwickelnden internationalen Bewußtseins und sie ist ein Versuch, die internationale Friedensbewegung Wirklichkeit zu machen. Aber um dies zu tun, benötigen wir mehr als guten Willen, Verständnis für die gegenseitigen Probleme, persönliche Kontakte, Konferenzen oder eine Organisation - obgleich dies sehr wichtige Voraussetzungen sind.

Wir brauchen zuerst und überhaupt eine Ausrichtung, welche die klaren politischen Ziele festlegt und ein Programm, das diese Ausrichtung in einen Aktionsplan übersetzt.

Viele nationale Bewegungen scheinen im Augenblick ohne einen klaren Richtungssinn zu sein - besonders die älteren Bewegungen, in denen der erstmalige Schwung der Kampagne verlorengegangen ist. Ein Weg, um das Bewußtsein des Lebenszwecke wiederzubeleben und neue Hilfsmittel zu mobilisieren, könnte eine internationale Kampagne sein, die jede Bewegung in einen totalen Zusammenhang setzt. Im letzten Jahr scheinen die internationalen Aktionen am meisten Wert gehabt zu haben - die internationale Zusammenarbeit mit der griechischen Bewegung, der Versuch einer britischen Vertretung (Kontingent) sich mit den deutschen Ostermärschen zusammenzutun. Die Hauptrolle der Ostermärsche heute ist die Verkörperung der Existenz einer internationalen Kampagne.

Aber bisher hat es nur internationale Zusammenarbeit bei isolierten Projekten gegeben. Der verhältnismäßige Erfolg dieser Projekte deutet an, daß es ein gewaltiges Potential in langwährenden internationalen Aktionen gibt, die sich auf international übereingekommene Ziele ausrichten. Ein internationales Programm könnte größeren politischen Realismus den nationalen Zielen geben, einen klareren Richtungssinn in der Ausführung von Einzelprojekten und eine breite Zuneigung bei vielen Leuten hervorrufen, die sich der Notwendigkeit bewußt sind, die rein nationalen Grenzen und Zielsetzungen zu überschreiten. Darüber hinaus, vereinigte Aktionen von einer internationalen Bewegung könnten eine politische Wirksamkeit haben, die unsere einzelnen Bewegungen nicht herbeiführen können, weil sie zu schwach sind.

Voraussetzungen für ein internationales Programm

Ein internationales Programm muß bestimmte Voraussetzungen erfüllen:

1. Es muß radikal genug sein, um sich unmißverständlich von den konventionellen strategischen und politischen Vorschlägen zu unterscheiden, damit sich die Gruppen dafür einsetzen können und um dem Sinn für Realismus gerecht zu werden, der die Grundlage der pazifistischen und Abrüstungsbewegungen gewesen ist.
2. Auf der anderen Seite muß es realistisch genug sein, um einen Kontakt herzustellen mit dem existierenden militärischen und politischen Zusammenhang unserer Aktionen, um sinnvoll für die weniger radikalen Zweige der internationalen Bewegung zu sein und um Leute anzuziehen, die sich ganz außerhalb unserer gegenwärtigen Kampagnen befinden.
3. Es darf keinen Rückzug vor dem Ziel der unbedingten Abrüstung für jene Bewegungen bedeuten, die die Richtung der einseitigen Aktion eingeschlagen haben.
4. Aber es muß eine Serie von mehr begrenzten Zielen vorsehen, für die man sich für unmittelbaren Erfolg einsetzen kann.
5. Es muß die Abrüstungsbewegungen in jedem Land einbeziehen.
6. Es muß gleichfalls Raum für Bewegungen lassen, damit sie ihre eigenen zweckdienlichen nationalen Zielsetzungen verfolgen können.
7. Es muß Voraussetzungen treffen für alle Flügel der Friedensbewegung, für jene, die sich der konstitutionellen Aktion verpflichtet fühlen haben, jene, die sich der politischen Aktion verpflichtet fühlen und für jene, die sich der direkten Aktion angenommen haben.

8. Es sollte die Bedingungen für eine ernsthafte Debatte schaffen über die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen in einem abgerüsteten Europa.

In meinem Versuch, diesen Vorbedingungen gerecht zu werden, habe ich versucht, mit den Gedanken für atomwaffenfreie und militärisch verdünnte Zonen zu beginnen, die in den offiziellen Abrüstungsdiskussionen zu Hause sind und diese Gedanken in eine Grundlage für eine Kampagne einer internationalen Bewegung zu verwandeln. Ausschlaggebend für ein radikales Programm von fortschreitender (progressive) Schaffung atomwaffenfreier und militärisch verdünnter Zonen ist das Konzept der einseitigen Initiativen. Ein anderes Hauptziel eines solchen Programmes würde die Kontaktaufnahme mit Leuten aus Osteuropa sein um von beiden Seiten für unbedingte Schritte zu atomwaffenfreien und militärisch verdünnten Zonen Druck auszuüben. Das dritte Hauptprinzip eines solchen Programms ist die Notwendigkeit, Einzelne aktiv einzubeziehen in eine Kampagne auf einer ganzen Anzahl von Ebenen, daher müssen die Umrisse des Programms klar und kühn sein, obwohl Aspekte davon sehr eingehender und komplizierter Ausarbeitung bedürfen werden.

### Organisation

Jedes internationale Programm muß Worte auf einem Stück Papier bleiben, wenn es nicht in Aktion übersetzt wird durch eine angemessene Organisation und umgewandelt wird in Wirklichkeit durch die wesentlichen Mitglieder des internationalen Körpers. Ins Einzelne gehende Entscheidung über die Organisation müssen von den bestehenden Körpern ausgearbeitet werden. Aber um dem vorgeschlagenen folgenden Programm Substanz zu geben, möchte ich drei grundlegende Anregungen für die Organisation machen:

1. Ein derartiges Programm sollte nicht von einer Handvoll Persönlichkeiten in der internationalen Friedensbewegung auf dem Papier ausgearbeitet werden und dann als vollendete Tatsache präsentiert werden. Um eine funktionierende Kampagne und eine enthusiastische Beteiligung zu erreichen, sollte es eine intensive Diskussion und Rücksprache von sagen wir zwei bis drei Monaten mit allen Gruppen und auf allen Ebenen der Friedensbewegung geben. Eine endgültige Richtlinie sollte dann auf der Grundlage eines zusammengefaßten Bildes der Anregungen, Einwände, organisatorischen Berücksichtigungen usw. ausgearbeitet werden. Ideell sollte eine Gruppe von 20 Leuten beauftragt werden, diese Beratschlagung zu unternehmen und ein Gesamtbild einer internationalen Leitungskommission vorzulegen.
2. Ein derartiges Programm sollte ein internationales Büro in jedem Land einführen - diese internationale Gruppe soll mit den nationalen Bewegungen arbeiten, aber engen Kontakt mit dem, was in anderen Ländern geschieht, aufrechterhalten. Dieses internationale Büro ist sehr wichtig, um den internationalen Aspekt zur Wirklichkeit zu machen.
3. Ein solches Programm wird einer Gruppe von wirklich talentierten Vollbeschäftigten bedürfen. Ein internationales Programm bietet die Möglichkeit, eine Anzahl von Studenten, die die Universität verlassen, anzuziehen und ihnen ein oder zwei Jahre Erfahrungen in der internationalen Friedensbewegung zu geben. Falls ein internationales Programm übernommen werden sollte, würde es möglich sein, Studenten zu rekrutieren, die in diesem Sommer die Universität verlassen - sagen wir je vier von einem Dutzend europäischer Länder - und sie für einen oder mehr Monate für ein Seminar zusammenzubringen über die Theorien und Methoden

der Abrüstungsbewegungen, Organisationstechniken, politischer etc. Hintergründe der Länder in Ost- und Westeuropa usw. Die nord-amerikanischen Bewegungen haben den europäischen Gruppen sehr viel zu lehren über die Vorbereitung von Leuten für die Arbeit der Friedensbewegungen und über die Geldmittelbeschaffung. Obwohl die Gesamtkosten für bis zu 50 Arbeiter für ein Jahr sehr hoch sein würden, ist dieser Vorschlag durchaus durchführbar, wenn in jedem Land lokale Gruppen sich verpflichten würden, einen Friedensarbeiter für ein Jahr zu unterhalten.

Das Programm

Das vorgeschlagene Programm kann in fünf Stadien zur völligen Abrüstung in Europa umrissen werden:

1. Atomwaffenfreie Zone in Mitteleuropa, Deutschland umgebend, aber noch nicht einschließend.
2. Militärische Absetzung in der Zentralzone, Ausweitung der atomwaffenfreien Zone auf Deutschland.
3. Ausweitung der atomwaffenfreien Zone auf das restliche Europa.
4. Abzug aller US- und Sowjettruppen von Europa und vollständige Auflösung von Nato und Warschauer Pakt.
5. Vollständige Abrüstung und Lösung des Deutschlandproblems im Zusammenhang mit einer politischen und wirtschaftlichen Organisation des abgerüsteten Europas.

Wie schon betont, diese Stadien werden als Grundlage betrachtet für eine Kampagne, die jedes Land im Westen darauf drängt, einseitige Initiativen zu ergreifen, um sich der nuklearen Stützpunkte zu entledigen, die Produktion der Raketen einzustellen, mit der Verringerung konventioneller Streitkräfte zu beginnen etc. Es wird gleichfalls als eine Grundlage betrachtet, die Bewohner Osteuropas zu ermutigen, ihre eigenen Regierungen zu veranlassen, damit zu antworten, daß sie ohne Vorbedingungen ein Teil ihrer Rüstung oder Truppen aufgeben. Aber die Grundlage von Unilateralismus (Einseitigkeit, Vorleistung) ist, daß eine Seite bereit ist, den ersten Schritt zu tun, ohne Rücksicht auf das, was die andere Seite tun könnte. Ehe beide Seiten eine echte Bereitschaft haben zur Abrüstung und gewisse Risiken eingehen für die Abrüstung, hat es keinen Wert, auf Verhandlungen zu drängen, aber die Vorleistung von einer Seite könnte beide Bevölkerungen und Regierungen dazu anregen, gleichfalls mit der Abrüstung zu beginnen.

Es wird vorgeschlagen, sich für Europa zu konzentrieren, weil:

1. dies das Hauptgebiet des Kalten Krieges und eines, wo sich die USA und die UdSSR am unmittelbarsten gegenüberstehen, ist
2. die Mehrzahl der starken Friedensbewegungen sich in Europa befindet und sich am wirklichkeitsnahesten mit den europäischen Problemen befassen kann
3. es am hoffnungsvollsten erscheint, die Abrüstung der USA und der UdSSR auf dem Wege über eine Abrüstung und militärische Absetzung in Europa zu verwirklichen - da beide und die europäischen Länder selbst politische Gründe haben für die Unterstützung derartiger Lösungen, besonders in Deutschland.
4. Fortschritt in der europäischen Abrüstung ist sehr gut der unmittelbarste, nützlichste Schritt, um zur Ausweitung der atomwaffenfreien Zone und Abrüstung in anderen Ländern der Welt zu ermutigen und gleichfalls zur Freimachung von Hilfsmitteln zur schöpferischen Lösung des Problems von Armut und Wirtschaftsentwicklung in der "Dritten Welt".

Das Schlüsselproblem in Europa ist Deutschland und verschiedene Pläne über atomwaffenfreie Zonen und militärische Absetzung hatten Deutschland als Hauptgegenstand. Jedoch, gerade wegen seiner zentralen Lage im Kalten Krieg, der Konzentration der Nato-Streitkräfte in Westdeutschland und der Sowjettruppen in Ost-Deutschland, der Kompliziertheiten der Wiedervereinigung und die echte Furcht in Ost- und Westeuropa vor einem wiedervereinigten Deutschland, ist Deutschland der schwerste Platz für einen Anfang. Von unserem Standpunkt gibt es das zusätzliche Problem, daß die westdeutsche Bewegung geschwächt und begrenzt ist durch die schweren objektiven Umstände, unter welchen sie zu arbeiten hat. Das Ziel dieses Programmes ist mit Ländern anzufangen, wo es eine starke politische Initiative gibt, um die militärische Abrüstung zu unterstützen, z. B. Polen und die Länder, die weniger dem Kalten Krieg verbunden sind, z. B. Dänemark und Ländern, wo es potentiell starke Friedensbewegungen gibt, z. B. Italien. Jeglicher Fortschritt zur atomwaffenfreien Zone oder militärischer Abrüstung um Deutschland herum würde die Bewegung innerhalb Deutschlands stärken und würde einen Druck ausüben auf beide deutschen Regierungen, damit sie schöpferischer (positiver) auf die Abrüstungsvorschläge antworten.

Es ist gleichfalls das Ziel des Programmes, die politische Lösung in Deutschland mit Abrüstung und militärischer Abrüstung in Zusammenhang zu setzen. Es ist nur in diesem Zusammenhang, daß eine politische Einigung nur von den Deutschen selbst gemacht werden kann, anstatt in der Form eines Aushandelns zwischen den Großmächten. Es ist gleichfalls nur in diesem Zusammenhang, daß ein befriedigender demokratischer Lösungsweg erreicht werden kann, und daß das restliche Europa sich ein wiedervereinigtes Deutschland vorstellen kann, ohne zu erschrecken. Endlich, wenn eine politische Lösung stattfindet innerhalb eines abgerüsteten und militärisch abgesetzten Europas, dann kann eine deutsche Lösung gleichfalls im Zusammenhang mit einer politischen und wirtschaftlichen Organisation Europas gesehen werden.

Ein anderes Schlüsselproblem in Europa ist die Entwicklung einer französischen Atomstreitmacht. Wiederum, dieses Mal in Frankreich, greift dieses Programm die Abrüstung indirekt an, indem es den europäischen Zusammenhang verändert, in dem die force de frappe existiert.

Dieses bedeutet keinesfalls weder im Falle Deutschland noch Frankreich, daß keine Aktionen von den Friedensbewegungen unternommen werden sollten. Im Gegenteil, unbedingter Bestandteil dieses Programmes ist ein starker Druck von deutschen und französischen Gruppen für nationale Abrüstung. Sowie auch internationale Zusammenarbeit, indem gemeinsame Aktionen gegen Raketenstützpunkte, Atomversuche usw., unternommen werden, die die deutschen und französischen Bewegungen als hilfreich betrachten. Aber dieses Programm zielt auf eine Erleichterung in Frankreich und Deutschland hin, dadurch, daß in anderen, weniger schwierigen Ländern, Fortschritte gemacht werden.

Drittens ist es wichtig, daß über der Betonung der Studien zur Abrüstung in Mitteleuropa, nicht die Möglichkeiten eigener Aktion in Griechenland, Spanien und Portugal Übergang werden. In all diesen Ländern ist die Möglichkeit gegeben, die Oppositionsbewegungen, die eine freie, demokratische Gesellschaft erstreben, mit den Bewegungen zu verbinden, die auf Neutralität im Kalten Krieg zielen und der Atomrüstung Widerstand leisten. In einem gewissen Grade ist dies in Griechenland geschehen, wobei wir gleichfalls den Wert internationaler Aktion gesehen haben. Sehr lose Kontakte sind mit Oppositionsgruppen in Spanien und Portugal geknüpft worden.

Aber es sind bisher keine zusammenhängenden <sup>von</sup> Anstrengungen gemacht worden, um eine Grundlage für gemeinsame Aktionen in Sachen der zivilen Freiheiten (civil liberties) und Abrüstung zu finden. Jedoch ist es von größter Wichtigkeit, daß die Regierungen, die Franco und Salazar ablösen, der Abrüstung und militärischen Absetzung freundlich gegenüberstehen sollten. Darüber hinaus stehen die Friedensbewegungen für Menschenrechte und Freiheit in Europa genauso wie für Abrüstung, da der Fortschritt zu beiden unlösbar verbunden ist in allen Teilen Europas. Eine internationale Bewegung ist in einer besonders starken Position, die Gebiete der in den verschiedenen Ländern erlaubten unabhängigen Aktionen zu vergrößern.

Daher habe ich in der in Einzelheiten gehenden Aufzählung eines Aktionsprogramms alle europäischen Länder in eine positive, politisch-sinnvolle Kampagne einzufügen gesucht und mich nicht ausschließlich auf Mitteleuropa konzentriert.

Die in Einzelheiten gehenden Umrisse sind wie folgt:

- 1a. Kampagne für einseitige Initiativen zur Schaffung einer atomwaffenfreien Zone in Mitteleuropa ausschließlich Deutschland z.B. in:
- Nato: Italien, Holland, Belgien, Luxemburg, Dänemark, Norwegen, Island (da dieses in eine atomwaffenfreie Zone der skandinavischen Länder hineinpaßt).
  - Warschauer Pakt: Polen, CSSR, Ungarn (einschließlich ostpreussische und karpatische Stützpunkte).
  - Neutrale Länder: Schweden, Finnland, Schweiz, Österreich, Jugoslawien.

Diese Kampagne würde sich von Land zu Land den gegebenen Umständen anpassen, aber sie sieht vor, daß die Proteste gegen Atomstützpunkte Versuche einschließen, die Produktion jeglicher Art von Atomwaffen und Raketen zu verhindern und Widerstand zu leisten gegen die Bewaffnung von Truppen mit Honest John und anderen taktischen Atomwaffen oder Raketen, die Atomköpfe tragen können. (In Dänemark gibt es nur im Augenblick Honest John Einheiten mit hochexplosiven Sprengköpfen). Zusätzlich würde die Kampagne natürlich einen Druck auf die Regierungen einschließen, sich an Vorschläge nach Art des Unden-Plans zu halten und für gemeinsame Übereinkünfte zwischen Ost- und westeuropäische Länder zur Formation von atomwaffenfreien Zonen.

- b. Die deutsche Bewegung setzt sich für Maßnahmen zur Abrüstung und für die politische Freiheit ein, z.B. die Beendigung der Zwangsrekrutierung in Ost- und Westdeutschland, Freilassung der politischen Häftlinge in Ost und West, Vorantreibung einer Idee für eine Lösung der deutschen Frage nach Abrüstung und militärischer Absetzung.
- c. Die britische Bewegung setzt sich für die Abschaffung der unabhängigen Abschreckung ein und für Maßnahmen, dies zu verwirklichen, z.B. Einstellung der Produktion von TSR 2, Polaris-U-Boote, H-Bomber, totale Auflösung von Aldermaston, Schließung der V-Bomber-Stützpunkte (die angenommene Verpflichtung der Labour Party, die 'unabhängige Abschreckung aufzugeben', sollte hier als Hebel helfen).
- d. Die französische Bewegung arbeitet für die Einstellung weiterer französischer Atomversuche und für die Unterzeichnung des Vertrages für die Einstellung von Versuchsexplosionen.

- 2a. Kampagne für Länder, die eine atomwaffenfreie Zone in Mitteleuropa geschaffen haben: weitere Fortsetzung der Abrüstung durch eine prozentuale Verringerung der konventionellen Streitkräfte und für die Nato und die Warschauer Pakt-Länder, die Schaffung einer militärisch verdünnten Zone durch das Verlassen der Bündnisse. (Da verschiedene der jetzigen Neutralen wie Schweden, Schweiz und Jugoslawien viel größere konventionelle Streitkräfte haben als viele der Nato und Warschauer Pakt-Länder, erscheint es vernünftig, auf eine prozentual höhere Verringerung in diesen Ländern zu drängen, z.B. sagen wir 25 % gegenüber 10 % von anderen Ländern, die gleichfalls militärische Bündnisse verlassen.)
- b. Die deutsche Bewegung muß auf eine Ausdehnung der atomwaffenfreien Zone auf Deutschland hinarbeiten. Dieses bedeutet die Entfernung aller Atomstützpunkte und taktischer Atomwaffen von Ost- und Westdeutschland, keine Produktion irgendwelcher Atomwaffen, Bombar und Raketen. Es würde nicht die Abschaffung der konventionell bewaffneten ausländischen Streitkräfte bedeuten.
- ii. Jedoch, falls die Schaffung einer atomwaffenfreien Zone die freiwillige Zusage zu Inspektionsgruppen der UNO einschließt (wie ich annehme), könnte man zu diesem Zeitpunkt auf diplomatische immune UN-Vertretungen in Bonn und Ost-Berlin drängen. Die Gegenwart der UN in Berlin würde die DDR in die Lage versetzen, die Mauer abzureißen - falls die Mauer nicht schon gefallen ist - durch die Entspannung, die in der Annahme einer atomwaffenfreien Zone und in der Ausweitung der militärischen Absetzung in Ländern um Deutschland herum enthalten ist.
- iii. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt sollten die US-, französischen- und britischen Bewegungen ihre Regierung drängen, Streitkräfte einseitig von Berlin abzuziehen und der Sowjetregierung einseitige Aktionen aufdrängen.
- iv. Gleichfalls zu diesem Zeitpunkt, wird angeregt, könnte die deutsche Bewegung auf eine 10 %ige Verringerung der konventionellen Streitkräfte in Ost- und Westdeutschland drängen.
- c. Die britische CND und Komitee der Hundert drängen auf eine Ausweitung der atomwaffenfreien Zone auch nach Britannien, indem sie für die Entfernung der noch verbleibenden Polaris und H-Bomber-Stützpunkte arbeiten, ferner für einen Produktionsstopp aller taktischen Atomraketen und Anti-Raketen-Raketen. Sie drängen auf die Auflösung aller existierenden Atomlager unter UN-Rufsicht.
- d. Die französische Bewegung muß auf den Verzicht der Force de frappe und den Produktionsstopp aller Atomwaffen und Trägersysteme drängen.
- ii. Die französische Bewegung und alle anderen Bewegungen sollen gleichfalls natürlich allen Versuchen Widerstand leisten, Atomstützpunkte und taktische Atomwaffen von den atomwaffenfreien und militärisch verdünnten Zonen oder Deutschland nach Frankreich zu verlegen.
- e. Andauernde Unterstützungen der Bewegungen in Griechenland, Spanien und Portugal einschließlich einen starken Widerstand gegen Atomstützpunkte und irgendeines atomarischen Aufbaus in diesen Ländern.

- ii. Druck für weitere Maßnahmen gegen Franko und Salazar Regierungen, falls sie noch an der Macht sein sollten, für die Befreiung politischer Häftlinge, Abhalten freier Wahlen etc.
- 3a. Ausweitung der atomwaffenfreien Zone auf ganz Europa; Frankreich, Griechenland, Bulgarien, Rumänien, Spanien und Portugal.
  - b. Abzug britischer und französischer Truppen von Westdeutschland und 10 von 20 Sowjet-Divisionen aus Ostdeutschland.
  - c. Fortschreitende prozentuale Verringerung der konventionellen Streitkräfte aller mitteleuropäischen Länder, einschließlich West- und Ostdeutschland und Britannien (das unter 3a.) die britische Rheinarmee auflösen würde).
- 4a. Abzug aller US- und Sowjettruppen aus Europa, einschließlich Deutschland.
  - b. Verringerung aller US- und Sowjettruppen in Mitteleuropa, einschließlich Deutschland auf einen Minimalstand und eine Art Gleichstand.
  - c. Verringerung der konventionellen Streitkräfte in Frankreich, Spanien, Portugal, Griechenland, Bulgarien und Rumänien. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt, wenn nicht schon vorher, sollten Nato und Warschauer Pakt völlig aufgelöst sein.
- 5a. Totale Abrüstung in Europa ist zukünftigen Übereinkommen über die Art der "Verteidigung" ausgesetzt (europäische Polizeimecht, Guerillakrieg, gewaltfreie Verteidigung etc.)
  - b. politische Lösung der deutschen Frage im Zusammenhang mit europäischen Organisationen.

In diesem Programm wird vorausgesetzt, und sollte hier betont werden, daß die Bewegung zu jeder Zeit, sich dem Aufbau von konventionellen Kräften widersetzt sowie der Entwicklung von neuen Raketen, Bombern usw. oder der Verlegung von Stützpunkten von einem zum anderen Land. Daher würden sie sich offensichtlich allen Vorschlägen für eine multilaterale Atomstreitmacht widersetzen; unter Stadion 1 und 2 würden sie sich jeden Versuches widersetzen, die Streitkräfte in Deutschland seitens der USA und UdSSR erhöhen oder von Frankreich oder Britannien; sie würden sich der Verlegung von Atomwaffen aus atomwaffenfreien Zonen in andere Länder widersetzen.

Kommentare zu diesem Umriss

Dieser Umriss wirft eine Anzahl Fragen auf, die weiterer Untersuchung bedürfen. Sie sind: Berlin, Probleme der Inspektion und Kontrolle, Haltung zu Verhandlungen über atomwaffenfreie Zonen und militärischer Absetzung nach mehr traditionellen Linien, wie weit Vorleistungen gehen, Zeiteinteilung des Programms, wenn überhaupt, und "Starrheit der Stadien". Ich möchte diese Frage kurz erforschen, ehe ich dazu übergehe, besondere Anregungen für Aktionen der verschiedenen Flügel der Bewegung zu machen.

Berlin: Es wird in dieser Denkschrift vorgeschlagen, das Berlin-Problem im Zusammenhang mit einer versuchten Ausdehnung einer atomwaffenfreien Zone auf Deutschland zu lösen. Damit begründen wir unsere Arbeit auf der Annahme, daß genauso, wie sich das ganze Deutschlandproblem im Zusammenhang mit einer Abrüstung und militärischer Absetzung in den Ländern um Deutschland herum leichter lösen lassen würde, so wird auch das Berlin-Problem natürlicher

gelöst werden können, als Teil eines Abrüstungsplanes für Gesamtdeutschland, da die Schwierigkeiten in Berlin ihre direkte Ursache in der militärischen Teilung Deutschlands haben. Es wird gleichfalls angenommen, daß es leichter sein wird, die UN-Gegenwart in Berlin zu erreichen, als einen Teil einer UN-Gesamtverantwortung für die Abrüstungskontrolle in Deutschland und Mitteleuropa. Jedoch gibt es auch starke Argumente für einen Versuch, die besonders explosive Situation in Berlin schon im ersten Stadium des Programms zu lösen; indem alle ausländischen Einheiten entfernt und durch UN-Einheiten ersetzt werden. Die Gegenwart der UN in Berlin könnte einen dämpfenden Einfluß auf die ost- und westdeutschen Regierungen ausüben und die Ausdehnung der zivilen Freiheiten fördern - Freilassung der politischen Häftlinge, Bewegungsfreiheit zwischen den beiden deutschen Staaten usw.

Die Aufnahme von UN-Einheiten in Ost- und Westberlin würde nicht nur zur Entfernung der Mauer führen, sondern könnte auch ein willkommener Grund sein, sie verschwinden zu lassen. Es gibt die zusätzliche Berücksichtigung, daß, falls die Schritte für eine militärische Absetzung in Berlin Auswirkungen auf beide deutschen Regierungen zeigen sollten oder zu größeren politischen Veränderungen führen sollten, dann die UN-Gegenwart einen sehr großen Einfluß auf die Verhinderung von militärischen Interventionen der anderen deutschen Regierung haben könnten oder auf die von anderen Ländern in Ost und West.

Daher nehme ich an, daß jegliche Entscheidung über wie und wann der Versuch, das Berlin-Problem zu lösen, gemacht wird, hauptsächlich von der Entscheidung der Bewegung in Deutschland abhängen muß, die wissen, welche Maßnahmen für sie hilfreich oder hinderlich sein werden, in ihrem Streben nach deutscher Abrüstung und größerer politischer Freiheit.

Inspektion und Abrüstungskontrolle: Jedes Land, das einseitige Schritte zur Abrüstung unternimmt, ist selbstverständlich nicht verpflichtet, irgendeine Form der Inspektion oder Kontrolle zu akzeptieren. Doch genauso offensichtlich würde es sich der Kenntnisnahme seiner Schritte versichern wollen, daß es abrüstet und die UN wäre laubte, sich davon zu überzeugen, indem es anderen Ländern erlaube, sich davon zu überzeugen, daß es abrüstet und die UN wäre die beste Körperschaft, um diese Untersuchungen zu unternehmen. Es ist dabei vorgeschlagen worden, daß als wichtiger Bestandteil ihrer Kampagne für bedingungslose Schritte zur Abrüstung, die Bewegungen darauf drängen sollten, UN-Kommissionen zu schaffen, die Zugang zu allen militärischen Plätzen und Plänen haben sollten.

Es gibt eine zweite Form der Inspektion der Abrüstungsmaßnahmen, besonders geeignet für die Friedensbewegungen. Das ist die Inspektion durch die Bevölkerung selbst. Dieser Gedanke ist von Seymour Melman vorgetragen worden. Er schlägt vor, es rechtlich allen Bürgern zur Auflage zu machen, Brüche der Abrüstung der UN-Kommission zu melden. Die UN-Kommissionen sollten diplomatische Immunität genießen und somit die Möglichkeit, den Einzelnen zu schützen, wenn es nötig ist. Deutsche Friedensfreunde haben Melman's Vorschläge weiter ausgearbeitet und gezeigt, wie sie im einzelnen operieren könnten. Dieser Gedanke könnte in einer radikalen Form weiterentwickelt werden, um die Preisgebung gegenwärtiger militärischer Vorbereitung zu rechtfertigen und im Allgemeinen, um auf größere parlamentarische Kontrolle und mehr Pressefreiheit für die Reportagen von "offiziellen Geheimnissen" und öffentliche Diskussion zu drängen. Es ist ebenfalls der Erwägung wert, daß die Bevölkerung in den Ländern, die selbstständig Schritte zur Abrüstung unternehmen, formell ihre eigenen internationalen Gruppen organisieren, um die Arbeit der offiziellen UN-Gruppen zu unterstützen.

Schwieriger ist die Frage der Kontrolle über die Abrüstung. Mir scheint, hier gibt es zwei Kontrollarten, für die Friedensbewegungen ständig eintreten könnten. Beide ergeben sich natürlich aus den zwei vorgeschlagenen Inspektionsformen. Wenn die UN-Inspektionsgruppen entdeckten, daß ein Land der Abrüstung wie versprochen nicht nachkommt, kann sie diese Tatsache veröffentlichen und Formen diplomatischen Drucks ausüben; als letztes Mittel könnten sie verschiedene Arten von wirtschaftlichen Zwangsmaßnahmen vorschlagen. Wenn die Friedensbewegungen entdecken, daß ihre Regierungen nicht abrüsten, können sie ebenfalls diese Tatsache veröffentlichen und dann Protestmethoden in ihrer ganzen Reichweite einsetzen mit Industriaktionen und zivilem Ungehorsam als letztes Druckmittel. Wenn Länder einseitig abrüsten oder in nicht formellen Übereinkommen, dann sind die Friedensbewegungen in einer besseren Lage zu handeln als die UN-Gruppen, aber nachdem ein Land UN-Inspektionen angenommen hat, hat es sich verschiedenen Formen des Drucks durch die UN und anderer Länder geöffnet.

Im Falle der militärischen Absetzung ist das Problem der Durchsetzung des Abzuges fremder Truppen und die Verhinderung ihrer Rückkehr noch größer. Hier wiederum können die Abrüstungsbewegungen nur gleichbleibenden diplomatischen und wirtschaftlichen Druck von anderen Regierungen vorschlagen und Widerstand durch die Bevölkerung der sich widersetzenen Regierung und der von den militärisch abgesetzten Ländern. In diesem Zusammenhang wird es sehr wichtig, alle möglichen Widerstandsmethoden zu erforschen, ohne Krieg. Keine Friedensbewegungen kann "Garantien" von abgerüsteten oder abgesetzten Zonen unterstützen durch die Wasserstoffbomben der Großmächte oder damit einig gehen, daß die Verletzung solcher Zonen durch irgendeine Seite eine Kriegsursache wäre.

Einstellung zu Verhandlungen: Eines der Probleme mit den Abrüstungsverhandlungen zwischen den USA und der UdSSR ist die Tatsache, daß letzten Endes jedes Übereinkommen mit militärischer Macht gedeckt ist. Es gibt auch andere, noch unmittelbarere Probleme bezüglich Verhandlungen, besonders über solche in Mitteleuropa. Die Verhandlungen finden statt im Rahmen internationaler Machtpolitik und militärischer Erwägungen und Hoffnungen auf politischen Gewinn, erweisen sich unabweislich als dominierend. Dies ist besonders wahr, wenn es sich nicht um einen einfachen Schritt, wie ein Versuchsstopp-Abkommen, sondern um eine komplizierte Sache, wie militärische Absetzung handelt. Es besteht offensichtlich die Gefahr, daß ein militärischer Absetzungsvortrag danach trachten würde, die Punkte äußerster Spannung zu beseitigen, aber sonst den Kalten Krieg einzufrieren und die militärischen und politischen Positionen auf beiden Seiten zu konsolidieren. Genauso ein wichtiger Schritt, wie die Schaffung einer atomwaffenfreien Zone, könnte zu einer Verstärkung der konventionellen Truppen und der Verlegung von Atomstützpunkten und Truppen von einem Gebiet in das andere führen. Bewegungen, die den Kalten Krieg rationalisieren und stabilisieren, könnten auf lange Sicht gefährlicher sein als die jetzige Situation. Wir haben schon gesehen, wie das Abkommen über die Einstellung der Kernwaffenversuche eine Stimmung der Sicherheit hervorgerufen und den Schwung der Abrüstungsbewegung vermindert hat.

Aus diesem Grunde versucht dieses Programm, Berlin und sogar die atomwaffenfreien Zonen in einem Gesamtbild zu sehen mit dem Endziel der totalen Abrüstung fest im Auge, sodaß übergroße Betonung nicht auf zeitweilige Maßnahmen gelegt wird, die sich nur mit einem Teil des Problems befassen. Es legt also Gewicht auf Vorleistung und Kontakte zwischen ost- und westeuropäischen Ländern auf allen

Ebenen außerhalb der Verhandlungen der Großmächte. Es zielt ebenfalls darauf ab, jedes vorgeschlagene Stadium zur Abrüstung zu einem wirklich bedeutungsvollen Schritt zu machen.

Aber wir müssen gleichfalls eine klare Einstellung zu jeglichen Verhandlungen zwischen den Großmächten, Übermilitärische Absetzung usw. haben. Besonders, da durch das Drängen der Friedensbewegungen Regierungen zu Verhandlungen bewegt werden können und das wäre schon ein Zeichen des Erfolgs. Es scheint mir, daß Bewegungen ernsthaft Verhandlungen unterstützen sollten, aber sich ebenfalls allen Maßnahmen widersetzen sollten, die offensichtlich einer Seite Vorteile zu verschaffen trachten oder, die nicht ernsthaft zu einer Abrüstung in Europa beitragen würden, z.B. sollten wir uns Versuchen widersetzen, ein wiedervereinigtes Deutschland zu schaffen, dem es frei steht, der Nato beizutreten oder das schwer bewaffnet bleiben würde. Wir sollten uns Versuchen widersetzen, die konventionellen Streitkräfte als Ersatz für Atomwaffen zu verstärken. Dieses könnte teilweise durch ein internationales Büro getan werden, das die Fragen auf Abrüstungs- und militärischen Absatzkonferenzen publiziert, die verschiedenen vorher vorgeschlagenen Vorschläge zusammenfaßt und auf die Probleme in den von beiden Seiten auf der Konferenz vorgetragenen Vorschlägen hinweist und dann versucht, von den neutralen Ländern für seine eigenen Vorschläge Unterstützung zu erhalten. Teilweise sollten die Bewegungen durch öffentliche Demonstration klarmachen, mit welchen Maßnahmen sie nicht einverstanden sind und wenn notwendig aktiv bekämpfen würden. Sie sollten gleichzeitig den Druck für einseitige Initiativen aufrechterhalten oder sogar verstärken, dadurch die Regierung in eine radikalere Richtung zu bewegen versuchen und den Bewegungen nicht erlauben, sich in einem ungerächtfertigten Optimismus gehenzulassen.

Wie einseitig?: Einseitige Initiative ist eine ungenaue Phrase, die eine große Anzahl möglicher Aktionen umfaßt. Einseitige Schritte zur Abrüstung sind nur dann von Wert, wenn sie die ausgesprochenen ersten Schritte in einem Gesamtprogramm sind - einseitige Einschnitte in den Rüstungssetz oder Rückzug von Stützpunkten aus reinen strategischen oder wirtschaftlichen Gründen könnten wünschenswert sein, leisten aber keinen wirklichen Beitrag zur Verminderung internationaler Spannungen und gehen keine Stoßkraft zur beiderseitigen Abrüstung. Aber alle einseitigen Schritte, die darauf abzielen, zu wirklicher Abrüstung zu ermutigen, sind hilfreich und sollten zur weiteren Übernahme des Prinzips der einseitigen Aktion ermutigen.

In diesem Programm ist es vorgesehen, daß die internationalen Bewegungen in höchstmöglichem Maße auf einseitige Aktionen drängen werden. Offensichtlich würde es eine Eingebung für andere Abrüstungsbewegungen sein, wenn eine Nation eine einseitige Abrüstung unternehmen würde und es würde helfen, auf andere Regierungen Druck auszuüben. Aber es gibt sehr ernsthaft Hindernisse auf dem Weg zur totalen einseitigen Abrüstung und jedes Land, das eine derartige Richtung verfolgen würde, wäre wahrscheinlich starken internationalen Widerständen seitens der an der Rüstung interessierten Kräfte ausgesetzt und wirtschaftlichen Zwangsmaßnahmen. Daher ist die Betonung in diesem internationalen Programm darauf gerichtet, daß mehrere Länder in Ost und West Schritte zur Abrüstung und mehr oder weniger gleichzeitig unternehmen. Dies bedeutet, daß jedes Land dazu angeregt wird, einseitige Initiativen bis zur Vollendung des ersten Stadiums zu unternehmen (oder später des zweiten etc.) und daß diese Vorleistungen als Hebel benutzt werden sollten, um andere Länder zu gleichen Schritten zu bewegen. Innerhalb jeden Stadiums würde es eine Anzahl bestimmter festgelegter Schritte geben, die

in sich selbst zu Gegenständen einseitiger Initiativen gemacht werden könnten.

Zusammenfassend, die Rolle der internationalen Bewegung sollte es sein, zu versuchen, für alle betroffenen Länder die ersten, zweiten usw. Stadien zu erreichen. Aber die nationalen Bewegungen sollten frei sein in diesem Zusammenhang, für weitere einseitige Abrüstung bei ihren eigenen Regierungen zu wirken und dies, in der Tat, würde die Ziele der internationalen Kampagne fördern. Um die einseitige Initiative zu festigen, sollten Länder in Ost- und West dazu angehalten werden, gemeinsame Übereinkünfte einzugehen über das nächste Abrüstungsstadium. Aber die Abrüstung sollte nicht bedingt sein dadurch, daß die andere Seite das Abkommen ehrt.

Zeitplanung der Stadien: Die fünf umrissenen Stadien sollen ein Bild davon geben, wie wir die Abrüstung in Europa verwirklicht sehen möchten und mit welchem Grad der Wahrscheinlichkeit wir einen Fortschritt erwarten dürfen. Aber da es unmöglich ist, zukünftige Entwicklung vorzusehen, ist es unwehrscheinlich, daß irgendein Abrüstungsprogramm sich genau an seine eigenen Pläne halten würde, noch ist es realistisch, die genaue Zeitplanung für jedes Stadium festzulegen. Auch können wir die genauen Einzelheiten der zukünftigen Stadien jetzt nicht wahrheitsgetreu umreißen. Ich habe daher die entfernteren Stadien nur in ihren Umrissen angedeutet. Ich möchte vorschlagen, daß, falls eine internationale Kampagne eingeleitet wird, es anfangs für einen zweijährsabschnitt geschehen soll, in dessen Verlauf wir darauf abzielen sollten, das erste Stadium erreicht und das zweite eingeleitet zu haben. Am Ende dieses Abschnitts sollten der bisherige Fortschritt, die ganze Richtlinie, die Methoden und die Organisation einer eingehenden Untersuchung unterzogen werden.

Die Rolle der nicht-europäischen Bewegungen: Dieses Programm hat sich auf die Abrüstung in Europa und auf Aktionen der europäischen Bewegungen konzentriert. Es bezieht ebenfalls Aktionen in den USA und der UdSSR ein, aber berührt nicht internationale Abrüstung in diesen Ländern. Es wird erhofft, daß sich die Bewegungen in Nordamerika, Australien, Neuseeland und in den afrikanischen, asiatischen und südamerikanischen Ländern direkt mit diesen assoziieren werden - indem sie an den internationalen Demonstrationen teilnehmen, durch die UN, Konferenzen der Spezialisten etc. - und indirekt, indem sie sich für atomwaffenfreie Zonen, Neutralität und Abrüstung in ihren eigenen regionalen Gebieten einsetzen, z.B. würden die Auflösung der Cento, Seato und Anzus Bündnisse, die Neutralität Kanadas, die Schaffung einer atomwaffenfreien Zone in Afrika, dem mittleren Osten und Südamerika alles wichtige Schritte zur Abrüstung und der Beendigung des Kalten Krieges sein und würden der Entmilitarisierung Europas behilflich sein. Aber ich habe nicht versucht, ein in die Einzelheiten gehendes Programm für diese Länder in dieser Schrift vorzuschlagen.

In die Einzelheiten gehende Vorschläge für Aktionen von internationaler Größenordnung

Konstitutionelle Aktionen von CND-Bewegungen:

a. Ostern: Es wird nicht möglich sein, bis Ende März 1964 eine großangelegte Kampagne einzuleiten. Ein Schritt in Richtung des vorgeschlagenen Programms könnte jedoch getan werden, durch ein Übereinkommen auf eine Politik der Opposition gegen die Nato und den Warschauer Pakt und einem völlig abgerüsteten Europa.

Dies kann durch angebrachte Schlagworte und Flugblätter auf allen Osterdemonstrationen bezeugt werden. Falls Friedenskomitees in Osteuropa Ostermärsche organisieren, könnte man sich auf den Austausch von Kontingenten einigen unter der Voraussetzung, daß:

- i. gewisse grundlegende Schlagworte von westlichen Abordnungen in Osteuropa getragen werden und Friedenskomitee-Gruppen in Westeuropa eine entsprechende Freizügigkeit genießen;
- ii. Freiheit, seine eigenen Flugblätter auf beiden Seiten zu verteilen;
- b. iii. zumindest ein Sprecher erlaubt auf einem Treffen auf beiden Seiten internationale Märsche nach Paris und Warschau; das Programm könnte durch eine Demonstration eingeleitet werden, die von Anfang an klar macht:
  - i. Widerstand gegen Rüstung in Ost und West;
  - ii. das Ziel der völligen Auflösung von Nato und Warschauer Pakt;
  - iii. eine Kampagne von Aktionen zur Erreichung von ersten Schritten zu einer atomwaffenfreien Zone in Mitteleuropa proklamiert und Unterstützung dafür sucht.

Diese Märsche könnten zwischen Juli und August, in der Höhe der Feriensaison organisiert werden und vielleicht ihren Höhepunkt am Hiroshimetag erreichen. Die Beteiligten könnten auf Paris zusammenlaufen von sagen wir Norditalien über die Schweiz, Holland, über Belgien, den Ruhrgebiet und England. Größere Kontingente könnten in den letzten zwei oder drei Tagen mit verschiedenen Märschen nach Paris hineinmarschieren. Ähnliche Märsche, die in Warschau zusammenlaufen, könnten von Norditalien, Österreich und der CSSR ihren Anfang nehmen; ein skandinavisches Kontingent, das sich in Südschweden trifft, könnte per Schiff nach Danzig übersetzen. Es würde wichtig sein, Vertreter von so vielen Ländern Europas wie möglich auf den Märschen zu haben. Eine Einigung über Schlagworte und Flugblätter und Schriften sollte im voraus erzielt werden.

Es ist natürlich möglich, daß entweder die französische oder polnische Regierung oder Regierungen anderer Länder an der Route, den Beteiligten den Zutritt verwehren werden. In diesem Falle wird vorgeschlagen, die Länder mit internationalen Gruppen zu betreten zu versuchen. Wenn z.B. Frankreich den Eintritt verwehrt, sollten Gruppen nichtsdestoweniger die Grenzen von Belgien und Italien überqueren und eine Gruppe sollte vielleicht versuchen, den Hafen von England aus anzulaufen (wie die San Francisco - Moskau-Marschierer es taten). Wenn der Eintritt an dauernd verwehrt wird, für die kleinen Vortrupps, dann könnten sich die Leute anstatt in Paris an der Grenze zu zwei- oder dreitägigen Massendemonstrationen und Mahnwachen zusammenfinden. Sie könnten ebenfalls für 24 Stunden fasten. Ähnlich, falls der Zutritt nach Polen verwehrt werden sollte, könnte versucht werden, von Österreich über die CSSR und von Jugoslawien über Ungarn und die CSSR Einlaß zu finden und von Schweden zur See. Massen-Mahnwachen könnten an den nächsten Punkten zur polnischen Grenze abgehalten werden, falls der Zutritt noch immer verweigert wird. Im Falle von englischen und schwedischen Abordnungen könnten die Demonstranten in englischen resp - schwedischen Häfen abgehalten werden. Man sollte ebenfalls Proteste an der französischen und ostdeutschen Grenz in Betracht ziehen durch deutsche Kontingente, falls beide Länder den Zutritt verwehren sollten. Da das Programm aber darauf abzielt, in seinem ersten Stadium eine atomwaffenfreie Zone um Deutschland herum zu schaffen, würde dieser Vorschlag einer sorgsam Prüfung bedürfen.

Falls der Zutritt von Frankreich, aber nicht von Polen verweigert werden sollte, oder umgekehrt, dann sollten die Beteiligten ihre Pläne ausführen vor den Hauptquartieren der Nato und des Warschauer Pakts. Aber sie sollten gleichfalls längere Anstrengungen machen, die verbotenen Länder zu betreten.

Falls viele Länder in Ost und West den internationalen Gruppen den Zutritt verwehren, dann sollten kleine Gruppen die Märsche wie geplant auszuführen versuchen, aber die Hauptdemonstrationen könnten auf die Hauptstädte und Hauptindustriestädte in jedem Land verlegt werden.

- c. Im Anschluß an die internationalen Märsche könnte es ein Programm für "Fahrende Arbeitsgruppen" geben (caravan workshops), die, wenn möglich, in Ost- und Westeuropa in den Ländern arbeiten, die eine atomwaffenfreie Zone zu schaffen suchen. Diese fahrenden Arbeitsgruppen könnten die örtlichen Gruppen zu Aktionen anregen, indem sie gemeinsam öffentliche Treffen, Flugblattverteilungen, Fabrikorttreffen vornehmen und Gewerkschaftszweige, Frauen, Jugend, Kirchenversammlungen ansprechen. Als Mittelpunkt seiner Aktivität könnte der fahrende Arbeitstrupp versuchen, Unterschriften zu sammeln für eine atomwaffenfreie Zone, Erklärung in jedem Land. Die fahrende Arbeitsgruppe sollte international sein.
- d. Zur Förderung von Ost-West-Kontakten sollten die Gruppen in den westlichen Ländern ihre Stadträte oder entsprechenden örtlichen Autoritäten dazu bewegen, offizielle Stadt zu Stadt Verbindungen mit Städten in Polen, Ungarn und der CSSR aufzunehmen. Spezialisierte Gruppen in diesen Städten wie Gewerkschaften, Frauenvereinigungen usw. könnten ebenfalls direkten Kontakt mit ähnlichen Gruppen in den osteuropäischen Städten aufnehmen.
- e. Organisation und Koordinierung von massiven Protesten vor französischen Botschaften zur Beendigung der Atomversuche.
- f. Beeinflussung von Parlamenten (lobby) zur Einstellung von Waffenlieferungen an Spanien und Portugal.

Gewaltlose Aktionen von "Direkt-Aktion"-Gruppen:

- a. Organisation von internationalen Demonstrationen bei Atomstützpunkten in den vorgeschlagenen atomwaffenfreien Zonen, z.B. beim Polaris-Stützpunkt in Italien. Diese Demonstrationen können Sitzstreiks, Versuche zum gewaltlosen Eintritt in die Stützpunkte usw. einschließen.
- b. Koordinierung industrieller Aktionen
  - i. von Hafenarbeitern, die Verweigerung der Ladung von Atomwaffen, Raketen etc.
  - ii. von Ingenieuren usw. die Verweigerung der Produktion von Bomben und Raketen.
- c. Koordinierte industrielle Aktionen zur Verhinderung von Waffenlieferungen an Spanien und Portugal und vielleicht die Organisation von Demonstrationen zur Hinderung solcher Ladungen.
- d. Organisation von internationalen Protestgruppen gegen französische Atomversuche, entweder in der Sahara oder im Pazifik.
- e. Ermutigung zur Diskussion der Abrüstungsziele zwischen Truppen, besonders solchen Truppen, die außerhalb ihres eigenen Landes stationiert sind und Veröffentlichung der Ziele des Programms.
- f. Veröffentlichung existierender militärischer Einrichtungen, Waffenprogramme usw. in jedem Land und die Präsentation dieses als einen notwendigen Schritt zur öffentlichen Inspektion und Abrüstungskontrolle.

Internationale politische Aktion

Wie schon vorgeschlagen, sollte die Friedensbewegung ihre eigenen diplomatischen Missionen auf allen Abrüstungsverhandlungen haben, um die Vorschläge zu publizieren und zu kritisieren und zur Beeinflussung der Abgeordneten. Es könnte möglich sein, dies mit existierenden Freunde (Quäker) Projekten in Genf und New York zu kombinieren.

Die Friedensbewegungen sollten möglichst auch bei Nato und Weu Konferenzen zugegen sein, um zu veröffentlichen und zu kommentieren.

Drittens sollten sie bei Sitzungen des Europarates, OECD, EEC und wenn möglich, COMECON, um auf die Notwendigkeit von der Diskussion der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Organisation eines abgerüsteten Europas hinzuweisen, zugegen sein.

Es gibt ebenfalls Platz für internationale Demonstrationen bei Abrüstungskonferenzen oder Nato und WEU Treffen in der Form von Pickets, Märschen, Hungerstreiks, um auf die Dringlichkeit der Abrüstung hinzuweisen.

Entwicklung politischer und wirtschaftlicher Richtlinien und Probleme der Verteidigung in militärisch abgesetzten Zonen und einem abgerüsteten Europa.

Die Entwicklung von alternativ Richtlinien kann von allen Zweigen der Bewegung unternommen werden und kann ebenfalls Experten und Gruppen völlig außerhalb der Friedensbewegung einbeziehen.

Zum Beispiel:

- a. Friedensforschungsgruppen könnten eine Konferenz der Wirtschaftler aller Länder in West- und Osteuropa einberufen, um zu untersuchen:
  - i. die Auswirkungen der Schaffung einer atomwaffenfreien und militärisch abgesetzten Zone auf die EEC, EFTA und COMECON.
  - ii. ob es wünschenswert oder notwendig ist, daß in einem abgerüsteten Europa alle Länder in einem gemeinsamen Markt oder Freihandelsgebiet angehören, wenn nicht, welches sind die wirtschaftlich angemessensten Gruppierungen in Europa und was die besten Formen der Organisation?
  - iii. wie läßt sich die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung in den ärmsten europäischen Gebieten in Ost und West beschleunigen?
- b. Eine nachfolgende Konferenz von Wirtschaftsexperten könnte dann mit Wirtschaftlern von den afrikanischen und asiatischen Ländern abgehalten werden, um zu erforschen, wie die Veränderungen in der europäischen wirtschaftlichen Zusammensetzung die Entwicklung dieser Wirtschaften fördern könnte.
- c. Andererseits könnten die gewaltlosen Aktionsgruppen eine Konferenz einberufen, um Methoden zu erörtern, für die Inangriffnahme der Arbeitslosigkeit und wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung (wie Danilo in Sizilien, Fabrik für den Frieden in Britannien) und die Bedeutung dieser Art von Initiativen für die Wirtschaft eines abgerüsteten Europas zu erforschen.
- d. Direkte Aktionsgruppen können sich gleichfalls mit einzelnen afrikanischen und asiatischen Ländern treffen, um zu erforschen, wie sie direkt kooperative Unternehmen wie Bhoodan Bewegung usw. unterstützen können.
- e. CND Gruppen könnten, vereint mit der UN und Weltregierungsvereinigungen die Möglichkeiten und Probleme erforschen für Förderung oder Konföderation von Vereinigten Staaten von Europa.

- f. Antinatosozialistische Parteien (wie die Sozialistischen Volksparteien in Norwegen und Dänemark) könnten sich ähnlich mit osteuropäischen kommunistischen Parteien treffen, um zukünftige Formen der politischen Zusammenarbeit und ihre Auswirkung auf internationale politische und wirtschaftliche Organisationen.
- g. Die Internationale Konföderation könnte eine Konferenz über "militärische Absetzung" einberufen und militärische Strategen und Regierungsvortreter einladen sowie auch Vertreter von allen Flügeln der Friedensbewegung, besonders von Mitteleuropa einschließlich osteuropäischer Friedenskomitees, um die Idee einer atomwaffenfreien Zone und militärischer Absetzung auf allen Ebenen zu untersuchen.  
Es könnte politisch vorteilhaft sein, diese in London, kurz nach dem Regierungseintritt der Labour Party zu tun, um Druck auf die neue Regierung auszuüben, damit sie zur Tat schreitet, um das versprochene Programm der militärischen Absetzung zu verwirklichen. Jedoch sollte solch eine Konferenz nicht die erste Aktion sein im internationalen Programm und sollte wahrscheinlich bald nach dem Zeitpunkt kommen, an dem das ganze Programm durch die Märsche auf Paris und Warschau in seinen totalen Zusammenhang gesetzt wurde.
- h. Befürworter der gewaltlosen Verteidigung könnten eine internationale Konferenz organisieren, um ihre Möglichkeiten zu erforschen als eine Verteidigungspolitik für die militärisch abgesetzten Zonen und für ein abgerüstetes Europa und sehen, wie weit sie mit einer Guerilla-Kriegführung und anderen Formen des Volkewiderstandes in Einklang gebracht werden könnte.
- i. Friedensforschungsbewegungen könnten Studenten Stipendien anbieten für Arbeit an den politischen und wirtschaftlichen Verwicklungen der Abrüstung in Europa. Alternativen (wenn überhaupt) zur Verteidigung etc.
- j. Studentenbewegungen könnten internationale Seminare unter dieser Thematik organisieren.

Rolle der funktionellen Bewegung - Gewerkschaften, Studenten, Kirchengruppen, professionelle Gruppen, Frauenorganisationen etc.

Alle diese Bewegungen haben besondere Gelegenheiten zur Herstellung von internationalen Kontakten mit ihren Gegenstücken in West- und Osteuropa, bei der Organisation von Arbeitslagern, Besuchen, gemeinsamen Demonstrationen. Sie können ebenfalls die Zusammenarbeit auf anderen Gebieten wie Abrüstung erforschen, die aber Bezug haben auf eine friedliche Gesellschaft - Arbeitsmethoden, Lehrmethoden, Flüchtlingshilfe, Stadtplanung, Krankenhäuser, Kinderheime usw. Alle von diesen geben gleichfalls eine Basis für Konferenzen, Besuche, Expertenaustausch, Schulbesuch in anderen Ländern etc.

Die Rolle der nationalen Bewegungen

Bei der Umreifung der möglichen Aktivitäten habe ich besondere Betonung auf internationale Demonstrationen und Konferenzen oder nationale Aktionen, die ein Teil einer vorbedacht koordinierten Kampagne sind, gelegt. Es gibt auch eine Anzahl rein nationaler Ziele z.B. Beendigung der Zwangsrekrutierung in Deutschland, Abschaffung der unabhängigen britischen Abschreckung, die ein unmittelbarer Teil des Gesamtprogramms sind.

Aber zusätzlich gibt es mehr speziell nationale Probleme oder Entwicklungen, über die die Bewegungen zur Aktion schreiten möchten.

Es wird beinahe mit Gewißheit irgendeine Form der nationalen Kampagne zusätzlich zu einer internationalen geben, besonders vielleicht auf den Gebieten der Wahlen und politischer Aktion. Wie schon angedeutet, werden einige nationale Bewegungen auf radikalere Ziele drängen als die internationale Bewegung. Ich glaube, es ist möglich und wünschenswert, auf zwei Ebenen zu arbeiten, einer internationalen Ebene durch ein internationales Büro und einer nationalen Ebene durch die internationale Kampagne. Diese beiden Ebenen müssen miteinander arbeiten, um wirksame internationale Zusammenarbeit zu sichern und um die Wirkung der nationalen Bewegungen auf ein Höchstmaß zu bringen. Eine Form des Unterschiedes sollte so existieren, wie zwischen den örtlichen und nationalen Kampagnen-Gruppen. Die Existenz eines wahrhaften Grades nationaler und örtlicher Autonomie ist unbedingt notwendig, um das Wachstum einer zentralisierten und undemokratischen internationalen Organisation zu verhindern.

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Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
in der War Resisters' International e.V.

Referat, gehalten auf der WRI-Studienkonferenz vom 9.-15.8.1964  
in Offenbach (Deutschland) von Dieter Kramer.

## ABRÜSTUNG UND ENTSPANNUNG IN MITTELEUROPA

### 0 Einleitung

Durch die Entwicklung des Ost-West-Verhältnisses nach 1945 war festgelegt worden, daß eine Wiedervereinigung, die auch nur die Gefahr der Machterweiterung eines der beiden Blöcke mit sich gebracht hätte, vom anderen nicht geduldet werden würde. Die Politik der Stärke wurde nur ein schwacher, dazu lebensgefährlicher Ersatz für eine konstruktive Wiedervereinigungspolitik.

Mit dem NATO-Eintritt der Bundesrepublik und ihrem Ausbau als stärkste kontinentalwesteuropäische Militärmacht spitzte sich die europäische Situation gleichzeitig gefährlich zu: die eigenmächtigen Forderungen der Bundesrepublik nach Erweiterung ihres Herrschaftsgebietes auf das deutsche Reich in den Grenzen von 1937 wurden vollintegriert in die Dulles'sche Konzeption der Politik des "roll back" des Kommunismus. Wenn auch die amerikanische Außenpolitik der fünfziger Jahre jene "roll-back"-Konzeption nur verbal vertrat und de facto bei einer energischeren "containment"-Politik blieb (wie der deutsche Politologe Waldemar Besson in seiner Studie "Von Roosevelt bis Kennedy" Ffm. 1964 (Fischer 8) überzeugend nachgewiesen hat), so trat in dieser Zeit in Mitteleuropa durch die dynamische Entwicklung der Bundesrepublik doch eine gefährliche Lage ein.

Denn hier war - nur noch mit China zu vergleichen - wenigstens für das deutsche Bewußtsein der status quo, an dem festzuhalten "containment"-Politik bedeutete, noch nicht festgelegt: Die "Befreiung" der DDR konnte man als innerdeutsche Angelegenheit auffassen (wie sie ja von der sich allerdings wesentlich weniger Dynamik leisten können DDR-Seite durch den Slogan "Deutsche an einen Tisch" auch aufgefaßt wurde). Eine solche innerdeutsche, vorerst nur bis zur Oder-Nahe-Grenze reichende Flurbereinigung hätte jedoch, gleich von welcher Seite ausgehend, wegen der damit verbundenen Kräfteverschiebung automatisch den nicht erst seit der Interkontinentalrakete tödlichen Konflikt der Großmächte zur Folge gehabt. Nicht verwunderlich daher daß auch Bestrebungen zur Entschärfung der internationalen Lage von nun an vornehmlich in Mitteleuropa einsetzten.

Der Spielraum der westlichen Politik bei den Verhandlungen über die deutsche Frage wurde durch die Beibehaltung der westlichen Forderung nach nahezu bedingungsloser Aufgabe des Gebietes der DDR durch die Sowjets von vornherein stark eingeschränkt. Die amerikanische Politik, speziell Verteidigungspolitik, glaubte von ihrer europäischen Basis keinen Fußbreit aufgeben zu können, während die SU durch ihr tiefes Hinterland mehr Spielraum hatte, andererseits aber aus eigenem Sicherheitsinteresse einer amerikanischen Machtausweitung in Mitteleuropa bis zur Oder-Nahe-Grenze nicht zustimmen konnte.

1 Mitteleuropäische Entspannung unter partieller, vorläufiger Ausschaltung der Deutschlandfrage.

Die kompromißlose westliche Wiedervereinigungspolitik hätte erreicht, daß diskutabile Vorschläge für eine mitteleuropäische Entspannung nach 1956 nicht mehr von der Deutschlandfrage ausgingen, sondern diese erst in zweiter Linie betrafen: Statt Entspannungspolitik durch Wiedervereinigung hieß es nun Wiedervereinigung durch Entspannung.

1.1 Rapacki-Plan

Einen energischen Vorstoß, wohl auf der Linie der mindestens militärischen Neutralisierung bzw. Ausschaltung Gesamtdeutschlands, aber durch das Zugeständnis eines weit über die Oder-Neisse-Linie hinaus nach Osten reichenden atomwaffenfreien bzw. sogar noch stärker rüstungswerdünnten Gebietes für den Westen schmackhafter gemacht, stellte der Vorschlag des polnischen Außenministers Rapacki von 1957 dar.

Entstanden zu einem Zeitpunkt, da die atomare Bewaffnung der Bundeswehr unmittelbar bevorzustehen schien, kann er zu seinen Vorläufern die auf eine Neutralisierung Deutschlands hinauslaufenden Vorschläge zählen, erhält jedoch als völlig neues Element die Einbeziehung Polens und der CSSR.

Die sogenannte "erste Fassung", vorggetragen als Initiativ-Vorschlag von der Vollversammlung der Vereinten Nationen am 2.10.57 sieht in ihrer Substanz folgendermaßen aus: "Im Interesse der Sicherheit Polens und einer Entspannung in Europa und nach Konsultation der anderen Partner des Warschauer Vertrages erklärt die Regierung der Volksrepublik Polen: Falls die beiden deutschen Staaten Übereinkommen, ein Verbot der Herstellung und Lagerung von Kernwaffen auf ihren Territorien in Kraft zu setzen, ist die Volksrepublik Polen bereit, ein solches Verbot gleichzeitig auch in ihrem Gebiet einzuführen." (Atomwaffenfreie Zone in Europa. Berlin 1958; Kleine Dokumentensammlung, hrsg.v.K. Bittel S. 43; vgl. Siegler a.a.O. S. 349)

Dadurch, daß die Tschechoslowakei sich sofort der Erklärung anschließt, erweitert sich der Kreis der unmittelbar interessierten Staaten.

Das polnische Memorandum, zum Rapacki-Plan, das den vier Großmächten am 14. Februar 1958 übergeben wurde, präzisiert diese Vorschläge.

In diesem Memorandum taucht bereits der Gedanke auf, daß die Bildung der atomwaffenfreien Zone günstiger Ausgangspunkt für eine weitere Beschränkung auch der konventionellen Bewaffnung und der stationierten Truppen sein kann. Diese Erweiterung taucht in einer späteren Modifikation, der sogenannten zweiten Fassung, noch deutlicher auf.

Die neue Version wurde am 4.11.1958 von Rapacki in einer Pressekonferenz vorgelegt (vgl. Siegler S. 260-262); sie bildet auch noch die Grundlage des am 28. März 1962 im Hauptausschuß der Vereinten Nationen vorgelegten Planes.

Durch die Aufnahme des Vorschlages der Verminderung auch konventioneller Rüstung in diesem Gebiet kommt diese 2. Version westlichen Einwänden entgegen, die eine Störung des militärischen Gleichgewichts befürchteten, wenn der Westen auf die wegen seiner geringeren konventionellen Stärke für die Verteidigung Westeuropas notwendigen A-Waffen verzichtet.

Der Plan sieht eine Verwirklichung in zwei Etappen vor; in der ersten sollen die atomaren Waffen der Armeen der einbezogenen Länder und der auf ihrem Gebiet stationierten Besatzungstruppen eingefroren und kontrolliert, in der zweiten die atomare Bewaffnung völlig beseitigt und die konventionellen Truppen in zu vereinbarem Maße reduziert werden.

Dieser Plan wurde, im wesentlichen unverändert, im März 1962 wieder aufgegriffen und der Genfer Abrüstungskonferenz vorgelegt (vgl. Blätter f. dt. u. int. Politik VII/1962 S. 394 ff; VIII/1963 S. 157 ff.)

Seine Verwirklichung sollte nach polnischen Vorstellungen die mitteleuropäische Lage entspannen und ein günstigeres Klima für weitgehende Abrüstungs- und Entspannungsvereinbarungen schaffen.

J.M. Mackintosh analysiert in seiner Studie über Außenpolitik (Strategy and Tactics of Soviet Foreign Policy, London, Oxford Univ. Press 1962; auch in dt.) die Motive für die Unterstützung des Rapacki-Planes durch die Sowjetunion. Zwar muß er zugeben, daß vieles dafür spricht, daß der Plan polnischer Initiative entspringt (a.a.O. S. 208 Fn. 1); mindestens seine Rezeption durch die sowjetische Politik sieht er jedoch bestimmt von derjenigen Zielsetzung, die der sowjetischen Außenpolitik besonders seit 1957 eigen ist: von dem Ziel "of weakening the military and political position of the United States and her chief allies on the European Continent" (a.a.O. S. 203). Wobei er dieses Ziel jedoch bestimmt sieht durch die Drohung, die die Errichtung der vorgeschobenen atomaren Basen der Vereinigten Staaten in Westeuropa für die Sowjets bedeutet. Sie betrachten diese Position - darauf weist Mackintosh hin - als "bridgehead", der, zusammen mit den anderen amerikanischen Brückenköpfen in Asien, die Sowjetunion unmittelbar militärisch bedroht (vgl. S. 204). Zu sagen, die Sowjets wollten mit atomwaffenfreier und rüstungsverdünnter Zone die NATO schwächen, ist daher bereits eine einseitige Interpretation: genausogut läßt sich sagen, sie wolle damit einer sie bedrohenden weiteren Stärkung der NATO auf diesem Territorium entgegenwirken. Denn die Entscheidung über die Ausrüstung der europäischen NATO-Truppen mit Atomwaffen und Mittelstreckenraketen (Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles IRBM) ist bekanntlich erst auf den NATO-Ratstagungen vom Mai 1957 in Bonn und Dezember 1957 in Paris gefallen war (vgl. Mack. S. 205). Es bedarf keines militärstrategischen Exkurses, um nachzuweisen, daß die Sowjets dies logisch als Bedrohung empfinden konnten, ebenso die Polen. Andererseits darf natürlich nicht vergessen werden, daß die USA glaubten eine Verteidigung Westeuropas (und zumal eine Vorwärtsverteidigung) sei ohne Atomwaffen in der Bundesrepublik unmöglich.

Zweite Gruppe von Motiven, die Mackintosh den Sowjets bei ihrer Unterstützung des Rapacki-Planes unterstellt, sind folgende: "... if the Rapacki zone covered Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the two parts of Germany, Western Germany would be quite in defensible against a conventional attack by the Soviet Army, or against Subversion involving para-military forces." (a.a.O. S. 208).

Mit dem ersten Teil des Argumentes wird in der Tat ein scheinbar entscheidender Mangel des Rapacki-Planes getroffen: Es fehlen Vorschläge für eine Garantie der Unverletzbarkeit dieser atomwaffenfreien Zone. Zwar sollen die Atommächte sich verpflichten, keine Kernwaffen gegen das Territorium der Zone anzuwenden (vgl. S. 98); die Sowjetunion erklärt sich am 19.2.1958 bereit, "die Gebiete einer atomwaffenfreien Zone aus-

der Einsatzsphäre von Atom-, Wasserstoff- und Raketenwaffen als "ausgeschaltet zu betrachten" unter der Voraussetzung, daß die übrigen Atomkräfte das gleiche tun (Atomwaffenfreie Zone S. 100) - aber gerade damit würde das Gebiet ja noch mehr unverteidigbar für die Vereinigten Staaten. Und die militärische Unverletzbarkeit der Zone ist damit noch nicht gesichert. Dazu ist zu bemerken: Zum ersten ist, da laut Rapacki-Plan die betroffenen Staaten wenigstens vorerst noch nicht aus ihren Militärbündnissen austreten sollen, der militärische Angriff auf eines der Länder für den Bündnispartner immer noch Kriegsgrund; Selbst wenn es stimmen würde, daß Westdeutschland in einem solchen Falle ohne Atomwaffen nicht zu halten wäre, muß man sagen: es mit atomaren Waffen zu halten, scheint für die Existenz des deutschen Volkes noch gefährlicher zu sein, als eine sowjetische Invasion. Unmöglich gemacht wird also nur für Mitteleuropa der begrenzte atomare Konflikt; das aber ist eine Lebensfrage für dieses Gebiet.

Daß ein beiderseitiger Truppenrückzug auch militärisch durchaus nicht undiskutabel ist, beweist Generalleutnant C.O. Eddleman, nicht Oberkommandierende der US-Streitkräfte in Europa, der am 7. Mai 1959 in Bonn erklärte, "der Westen würde militärisch durch einen Rückzug der NATO-Streitkräfte in das Gebiet westlich des Rheines nicht geschwächt werden, wenn andererseits die sowjetischen Truppen einen ähnlichen Rückzug vollzögen..." (AdG 7699 A). Das auf diese Äußerung prompt folgende Pentagon-Dementi weist zwar auf die erheblichen praktischen Nachteile hin, muß aber zugeben: "Strategisch würde ein solcher Rückzug nicht so gewichtig sein" (a.a.O.).

Vor allem aber muß eingewandt werden, daß Rapacki von Anfang an die Lösung als Teillösung betrachtete, die eine atomwaffenfreie Zone nur als Teillösung betrachtete, die dazu beitragen soll, ein "wirkungsvolles System der kollektiven Sicherheit an Stelle der gegenwärtigen Spaltung in Europa" zu schaffen (vgl. Atomwaffenfreie Zone .. S.43). Darin wäre dann auch diese Frage gelöst.

Der zweite Teil des Mackintosh'schen Arguments wies auf die Gefahr einer Bedrohung Westdeutschlands von innen her durch "subversion" hin. Wie wenig das für die gegenwärtige innere Situation der Bundesrepublik eine reale Gefahr darstellt, weiß jeder. Viel eher ist zu befürchten, daß die der Zone angehörenden Ostblockstaaten besonders nach Abzug russischer Truppen in der 2. Phase in innere Unruhen geraten. Und stärker ernst zu nehmende Einwände von westlicher Seite weisen auf die Gefahren hin, die durch neue revolutionäre Situationen in den Ostblockstaaten für den Weltfrieden entstehen könnten.

Diese Argumente spielten bei der Begründung der westlichen Ablehnung eine große Rolle. Die Bundesrepublik war der einzige der vorgesehenen Staaten, der nicht seine Zustimmung gegeben hatte; die Haltung der Bundesregierung deckte sich dabei mit den Interessen der amerikanischen Verteidigungspolitik.

Die westliche Reaktion auf die Vorschläge Rapackis war bekanntlich keineswegs einhellig ablehnend. Doch trotz teilweise sehr positiver Reaktion, die sich u.a. auch in neuen Vorschlägen auf Grundlage des Rapacki-Planes äußerte, setzten sich die Gegner durch, und es kam zu keiner ernsthaften Diskussion mit den Sowjets über den Vorschlag. Das bedeutete eine Fortsetzung der starren NATO-Politik, die mit einer Ideologie des "roll-back" ausgestattet, wegen der realen Machtverhältnisse auf einem unfruchtbareren "containment" beharren mußte und sich damit jeder Möglich-

keit begab, eine elastischere, mit anderen Mitteln als der militärischen Drohung und das primitiven Sendungsbewußtseins arbeitenden Politik zu praktizieren.

## 1.2 George F. Kennan's Vorstellungen

Ein weiterer, effektvoller Angriff auf die starre NATO-Politik wurde von innen heraus geführt: Der amerikanische Princeton-Professor und Mitentwickler der "containment"-Politik der ersten Jahre des Ost-West-Konfliktes hat im November 1957 - also fast gleichzeitig mit den Rapacki'schen Vorschlägen in einigen Vorträgen im BBC London die amerikanische Außenpolitik einer Analyse unterzogen und Vorschläge zu ihrer Änderung gemacht.

(George F. Kennan: Russland, der Westen und die Atomwaffe (The Reith Lectures). Frankfurt Ullstein TB.-Verlag 1958; vgl. auch die wichtigsten Passagen bei Siegler W+S S. 169-172).

Ausgehend von der Tatsache, daß eine Lösung der mitteleuropäischen Frage ohne Zugeständnisse an das Sicherheitsbedürfnis der Sowjets nicht zu lösen ist und deshalb einem zukünftigen Gesamtdeutschland "gewisse Einschränkungen bei der Gestaltung seiner künftigen militärischen Stellung in Europa" (a.a.O. S. 58/59) auferlegt werden müssen, stellt er die Frage, ob der Westen unbedingt militärisch benachteiligt würde, wenn beide Seiten ihre Truppen aus dem Herzen Europas zurückziehen, und verneint sie. "... wir überdem Herzen Europas zurückschätzen die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß die Russen Westeuropa zu überrennen suchen;" Deshalb kann er vorschlagen, "... die Streitkräfte der großen Kernwaffenmächte geographisch auseinanderzuhalten, sie als unmittelbar mitbestimmende Faktoren bei der Entwicklung der politischen Verhältnisse auf dem Kontinent auszuschalten und die kontinentalen Völker dahin zu bringen, daß sie mehr Verantwortung für die Verteidigung ihres Erdteiles übernehmen als bisher." (a.a.O. S. 79).

Von Sicherheitsverträgen zur Garantie dieser Atomwaffenfreien Zone hält er nicht viel; dennoch hat er keinesfalls vor, den Sowjets Mitteleuropa kampflos zu überlassen. Er entwickelt viel mehr eine neue Strategie, die es den Europäern erlauben soll, ihr Land selbst zu verteidigen, ohne in einen atomaren Krieg verwickelt zu werden. Sie soll so beschaffen sein, daß man den Sowjets klar machen kann: "Hört mal, ihr könnt uns wahrscheinlich überrennen, wenn ihr so unklug seid, es zu versuchen, eber ihr werdet nicht viel davon haben. Wir haben dafür gesorgt, daß ihr nicht einen einzigen Kommunisten oder sonst eine Menschenseele findet, die euch eure politischen Geschäfte besorgt; ihr werdet drauf kommen, daß keine inneren Ansätze für eine Marionettenregierung vorhanden sind - im Gegenteil; ihr werdet vor der organisierten Feindschaft eines ganzen Volkes stehen; ihr werdet bei uns keine Freude erleben; ihr werdet für jeden Tag unter uns bitter bezahlen müssen und bei uns keine Aussichten für die politische Zukunft sehen." (a.a.O. S. 82/83).

Um das zu gewährleisten, schlägt er milizähnliche Verbände vor, die sich weniger auf eine ohnehin, auch nach der NATO-Strategie unmögliche Grenzverteidigung einlassen, sondern auch "den Kern einer zivilistischen Widerstandsbewegung in jedem Gebiet" darstellen (vgl. a.a.O. S. 81). Das setzt voraus, daß die Verhältnisse des Staates so beschaffen sind, daß sie dem Bürger Wert sind, auch so verteidigt zu werden, setzt eine starke Identifikation des Bürgers mit seinem Staat und der Gesellschaftsordnung voraus.

Eine solche Konzeption wird - und darauf weist auch Kennan besonders hin - wesentlich stärker der eigentlichen sowjetischen Herausforderung gerecht. Denn schon lange - wenn je überhaupt - sind die Sowjets nicht mehr darauf aus, andere Staaten militärisch zu überrennen.

Kennans Vorschläge wurden - wie könnte es anders sein - von der maßgeblichen westlichen Außenpolitik abgelehnt, trotz weiterer partieller Zustimmung. Die Argumentation deckt sich im wesentlichen mit der gegen den Rapacki-Plan.

Vom Rapacki-Plan unterscheiden sich George F. Kennan's Vorschläge also grundsätzlich dadurch, daß sie voll integriert sind in eine dynamische Politik der SU bzw. dem Kommunismus gegenüber, deren Dynamik jedoch nicht auf militärischem Gebiet liegt (wie bei der NATO-Politik), sondern auf politisch-sozialem, und damit eine adäquate Antwort auf die "sowjetische Herausforderung" darstellt.

### 1.3 Zusammenfassung

Es hat wenig Sinn, im folgenden noch die vielen offiziellen, halb-offiziellen und privaten Vorschläge zu analysieren, die im Anschluß an und in Verwandtschaft zu Rapacki's u. Kennan's Vorschlägen diskutiert wurden.

Wichtig scheint nur, festzuhalten, daß die Erkenntnis, daß die mitteleuropäische Situation nicht ohne Einführen neuer Faktoren zu lösen ist, in der zweiten Hälfte der fünfziger Jahre zu einer Reihe von Vorschlägen zur militärischen Neutralisierung Mitteleuropas geführt haben. Diese Vorschläge bedeuteten dadurch, daß Territorien der Ostblock-Satellitenstaaten einbezogen wurden, von Seiten der Sowjets ein Zugeständnis an die Sicherheitsbedürfnisse der Vereinigten Staaten bzw. Westeuropas; für die Westmächte waren solche Vorschläge auch militärstrategisch nicht völlig unannehmbar. Vor allem aber hätte eine solche Regelung eine der sowjetischen bzw. kommunistischen Herausforderung ange messenere Strategie in Europa bedeutet, indem sie die Kräfte für eine innere soziale Aufrüstung der europäischen Staaten und der Entwicklungsländer freigesetzt hätte; eine gleiche Entwicklung in den Ostblockstaaten hätte die dort mindestens seit 1956 vorhandenen Tendenzen zur "Liberalisierung" ungemein gefördert und auf längere Sicht auch die momentanen in diesen Ländern schon Truppen aus revolutionären Situationen in diesen Ländern erwachsenden Gefahren beseitigt. Durch Schaffung eines geeigneteren Klimas zur Lösung der deutschen Frage und schließlich Schaffung eines Friedensvertrages wäre der wesentliche Konfliktsstoff in Mitteleuropa beseitigt worden. Weiterreichende Konzeptionen eines vereinigten Europas mit Einschluß der osteuropäischen Staaten endlich wären ebenfalls ermöglicht worden.

Seit Vorlage des ersten Rapacki-Planes hat sich jedoch in der weltpolitischen Situation einiges verändert. Ein Teil dieser Wandlungen ist mit dem Namen des amerikanischen Präsidenten Kennedy verknüpft.

## 2 Wandlungen seit der Regierung Kennedy

### 2.1 Kennedy's Vorstellungen zur mitteleuropäischen Politik

Die Kennedy-Regierung genößt in Deutschland auch in der Abrüstungsbewegung großes Ansehen, hatte man doch in der amerikanischen Präsidentschaft scheinbar einen Verbündeten gegen die Politik der Bundesregierung, wenigstens partiell, besonders in ihrem Streben

nach eigenen Atomwaffen, gefunden, und zeigte doch mindestens das Atomteststopp-Abkommen, daß die Erkenntnis des atomaren Patt sich auf die Politik auszuwirken begann. An dieser partiellen Interessenübereinstimmung änderte sich nichts, daß sowohl das Atomteststoppabkommen als auch die Abkehr von der unmittelbaren Weitergabe von Atomwaffen Hand in Hand mit einer wesentlich wohl wirtschaftlich motivierten Forcierung der konventionellen Rüstung ging.

Plänen für atomwaffenfreie Zonen stand Kennedy ursprünglich positiv gegenüber: Auf der Suche nach "neuen Anfängen", die er mit der ihm eigenen "schöpferischen Phantasie" unternahm, schloß er die Bildung von solchen Zonen in den Katalog möglicher Lösungen ein (vgl. J.F.Kennedy: Der Weg zum Frieden. München:Droemer Knaur 1964 S. 42).

Noch am 7. März 1962 vertrat er die Auffassung, man müsse die Frage von kernwaffenfreien Zonen prüfen, Vorschläge abwarten, und dann Stellung nehmen. Seine "Frage, ob es angesichts der Tatsache, daß heute Raketen eine Bombe über eine Entfernung von 8000 km tragen könnten, wirklich viel ausmache, wenn solche Bomben in einem bestimmten Gebiet nicht stationiert würden" (AdG 9722 c) zeigt, daß jenes Argument, Westeuropa sei nicht ohne dort stationierte Atomwaffen zu verteidigen, keine große Rolle mehr spielt.

Unternehmungen wie das Manöver "Big Lift" im Herbst 1963, der Abzug der Mittelstreckenraketen aus der Türkei und Italien deuteten in der Folgezeit darauf hin, daß man eine militärische Konzeption zu entwickeln begann, die eine unmittelbare Anwesenheit amerikanischer Truppen und Atomwaffen mindestens partiell überflüssig machte.

Aber in einem am 9. Dez. 1959 von John Fischer von "Harper's Magazine" gegebenen Interview (Kennedy: Der Weg .. a.a.O. S. 247 - 273) konkret auf Disengagement in Deutschland angesprochen, ist er ablehnend. "... ich glaube heute nicht mehr, daß ein Disengagement eine vernünftige Alternative zu unserer jetzigen Politik in Deutschland darstellt." (S. 259 a.a.O.); vor zwei oder drei Jahren habe er mehr reale Chancen dafür gesehen.

Folgendes sind seine Hauptargumente dagegen: "Mag es selbst dann, wenn unsere Truppen abgezogen würden, noch Unwahrscheinlich sein, daß sie (=die Sowjetrussen) einen offenen Angriff auf Westeuropa begännen, so bleibt doch die Tatsache, daß die Westeuropäer nicht mehr das gleiche Vertrauen zu uns hätten und haben könnten, wie wenn unsere Truppen von einem solchen Angriff mitbetroffen würden. Deshalb gäbe es, wenn wir von dort abgezogen wären, in Westeuropa wohl eine größere Bereitschaft zur Neutralität..." (A.a.O. S. 258). Gefragt, ob man sich denn nicht wenigstens aus Deutschland zurückziehen könne, meint er: "Unsere Stellung in Westdeutschland ist stets abhängig von den Gefühlen des deutschen Volkes. Was würden die Menschen in Westdeutschland über unseren Rückzug aus ihrem Land denken? .. So würde unser Rückzug zu einem Anwachsen des Neutralismus führen." Etwas wichtiges wird hier deutlich: Ständen bei der Ablehnung des Rapacki-Planes durch die USA noch Überlegungen, die eigene Sicherheit, verbunden mit der westeuropäischen, betreffend im Vordergrund, so zeigt die Argumentation dieses Interviews, daß es Rücksichtnahme auf die eigenen Forderungen und Stimmungen der Verbündeten waren, die der Kennedy'schen Politik die Hand banden, -8-

es also nicht militärische Rücksicht war, sondern das Streben, die Selbständigkeitsbestrebungen der europäischen Verbündeten zu bremsen, die ernsthafte Diskussion über Disengagement in Mitteleuropa unmöglich machten. So interessant, begrüßenswert und positiv zu bewerten auch Kennedys andere Versuche, neue Wege zu beschreiten, gewesen sind, so war doch auf dem mitteleuropäischen Feld nicht viel neues, positives zu erwarten - nicht unbedingt durch Kennedys Schuld. Seine Bemühungen waren hier vielmehr davon in Anspruch genommen, das vom inneren Zerfall bedrohte nordatlantische Bündnis wieder zu kitteln. Dem sollte vor allem die multilaterale Atomflotte, MLF, dienen.

Die MLF war zwar ein Projekt, das die unmittelbare Weitergabe von auf dem Land stationierten Mittelstreckenrakten (IRBM.s) an die Verbündeten bremsen sollte, aber andererseits durch eine noch festere Integration bei der Errichtung der Atomflotte die Einbeziehung der Bundesrepublik in die atomare NATO-Strategie noch verstärken sollte und damit neue Hindernisse für eine langfristige friedliche Mitteleuropa-Regelung schaffte. Durch die in Erwägung gezogene Umwandlung der einstimmigen Verfügungsgewalt (die ein Veto-Recht für jeden Beteiligten bedeutete) in eine Verfügungsgewalt mit Mehrheitsentscheidung (wie sie mit am stärksten von Verteidigungsminister v. Hoesel gefordert wurde) hätten die Europäer auch ohne die USA eigene Verfügungsgewalt über Atomwaffen bekommen.

2.2 Einfluß der Nominierung Goldwaters auf die europäische Politik

Daß die MLF noch nicht verwirklicht wurde und die Bundesrepublik außer den USA fast nur noch der einzige Staat ist, der sie ernsthaft befürwortet, hängt mit den Wandlungen, die sich in der europäischen Politik, bereits lange vor Kennedy angelegt, aber besonders parallel (nicht kausal abhängig) mit seiner neuen Politik immer stärker durchsetzen, zusammen.

Konnte es bisher so scheinen, als seien die Widersprüche gegen den - ökonomisch und militärisch zweifellos berechtigten Führungsanspruch der USA auf europäischer, besonders französischer Seite vorwiegend nationalpolitisch-machtpolitisch orientiert, so wird mindestens seit der Nominierung Goldwaters als republikanischer Präsidentschaftskandidat etwas anderes deutlich:

Der Führungsanspruch der USA war nur solange berechtigt, wie diese auch die Interessen der europäischen Staaten vertraten; diese auch die Interessen der europäischen Staaten vertraten; diese auch die Interessen der europäischen Staaten vertraten. Die Differenzen mit der BRD z.B. ergaben sich wesentlich daraus, daß bezweifelt wurde, ob diese Interessen (die natürlich nicht die der Europäer, sondern der europäischen Regierungen sind) mit genügender Schärfe vertreten würden. Durch die Nominierung Goldwaters wurde in der deutschen Öffentlichkeit, besonders der publizistischen, plötzlich deutlich, daß die angeblichen Interessen der Europäer im Kampf gegen den Kommunismus von den USA auch zu intensiv vertreten werden könnten. Schon früher war der gleiche Konflikt bereits den Engländern bewußt geworden, etwas später auch den Franzosen (bei letzteren äußerte sich das besonders in den eigenen Initiativen de Gaulles in der China- u. Vietnam-Frage.). Ich sagte in der deutschen publizistischen Öffentlichkeit besonders wurde dieser potentielle Konflikt deutlich. Nicht oder weniger in deutschen Regierungskreisen. Der Hinweis des ehemaligen Bundeskanzlers Adenauer in seiner jüngsten Pressekonferenz, die deutsche Presse solle sich nicht so stark um Goldwater kümmern, das sei innere Angelegenheit

der USA, zeigt mindestens, daß ihm die durch Goldwater drohenden Gefahren noch nicht deutlich geworden sind, daß ihm also die Interessenkongruenz auch eines Goldwater-regierten USA mit der Deutschlands noch gewährleistet zu sein scheint (wahrscheinlich sogar besser als unter Kennedy). Im Übrigen jedoch sind durch die Tatsache der Nominierung Goldwaters und die damit gegebene Gefahr eines Rechtsrutsches in den USA (die vorher bezeichnungsweise kaum je gesehen wurde) die Selbständigkeitsbestrebungen der Europäer stark gefördert worden und in eine neue Phase getreten. Die für die breite Öffentlichkeit völlig neue Argumentation, daß es gefährlich sei, nicht nur in der Bewahrung vor dem Kommunismus (als negative Seite), sondern auch in der (für uns viel wichtigeren) Frage der Erhaltung des Friedens (als positive Seite) sein Vertrauen völlig auf die USA zu setzen, ist möglich geworden. So werden in dieser weltpolitischen Konstellation die Bemühungen der Europäer um Handlungsfreiheit Auftrieb erhalten und es gälte für eine Abrüstungskampagne, hier mitzubestimmen zu versuchen.

### 2.3 De Gaulles Politik

Spricht man von europäischen Selbständigkeitsbestrebungen, so denkt man zunächst an de Gaulles Politik einer eigenen französischen Atommacht.

De Gaulle argumentiert beim Aufbau seiner eigenen Atommacht folgendermaßen: "Frankreich muß so gerüstet sein, daß kein Staat auf den Gedanken kommen kann, unser Land ohne Gefahr für seine eigene Existenz zerstören zu können" (Rundfunkansprache vom 5.2.1962 - Inf. Bl. d. frz. Botschaft 298 S. p. 12). Zwei Interpretationen der Frage, von wem diese Zerstörung der Existenz des Gegners ausgehen soll, sind möglich: Einmal vom Angegriffenen, von Frankreich selbst. Zum anderen aber von der durch die französischen Atomwaffen bei beibehaltener NATO-Integration (daß diese beibehalten werden soll, wird von Frankreich oft genug betont) ausgelöste atomare "escalation", die den Seniorpartner USA zwingen würde, die eigenen Atomwaffen für den von Frankreich ausgelösten atomaren Krieg einzusetzen.

Die erste Möglichkeit, die der Vernichtung des Gegners mit völlig eigenen Mitteln, hängt ab von der Größe des atomaren Potentials und der zur Verfügung stehenden Beförderungsmittel. Hier hat zuletzt Jules Moch (Non à la force de frappe. Paris: R. Laffont 1963?; vgl. Rez. v. H. Aboesch in Bl. f. d. dt. u. int. Politik VIII/1963 S. 662 - 664) nachgewiesen, wie unreal es ist, zu glauben, Frankreich sei aus eigenen Kräften in der Lage, eine vollgültige Weltgeltungsmacht aufzubauen. "Der französische Rückstand hinter den großen Atommächten ist so groß, daß er nicht mehr einzuholen ist." (Aboesch a.a.O.)

Walter Lippmann hat schon recht, wenn er meint: "Genau gesagt, will Frankreich keine unabhängige französische nukleare Streitmacht, sondern einen unabhängigen Zünder für die amerikanische Atommacht." (W. Lippmann: Zweimal Europa. Konkret 2/64 S. 15)

Es erweist sich, daß eine eigene französische gleichwie auch europäische Atomstreitmacht keine vollwertige Abschreckungsmacht darstellt, sondern nur in Verbindung mit dem Potential der Vereinigten Staaten die Handlungsfreiheit der Europäer, und zwar nur in Richtung auf Krieg hin, verstärkt. Die daraus sich ergebenden Gefahren, die besonders aus einer engen politischen deutsch-



An diesen Punkt erreichen die Interessen der Rüstungsgegner auch diejenigen der Arbeiterbewegung, speziell ihrer Organisationen, deren Selbstbehauptungswille denn zu einem positiven Faktor im Kampf um Abrüstung wird. Um in diesem Kampf die Basis in der notwendigen Breite zu erhalten und um antikommunistische Ressentiments zu paralysieren, sollte die Möglichkeit einer "gewaltfreien Verteidigung gegen den Kommunismus" offen gelassen werden.

Diese Strategie würde also kurz gefaßt, folgendes bedeuten: beim Widerstand gegen die europäischen Selbstständigkeitsbestrebungen, Unterstützung und Propagierung der Bemühungen um ein besseres Verhältnis zu den Ostblockstaaten, Kampf gegen jede Ausbreitung atomarer Waffen und der Verfügungsgewalt über sie (besonders mit Blick auf Deutschland); unter Appell an die demokratischen und sozialen Interessen der Arbeiterbewegung, mit dieser zusammen Kampf um Abschaffung der eigenen europäischen Atombewaffnung.

Eine Politik, die eine eigene, starke militärische, auch atomare Abschreckungsmacht erstrebt, muß damit rechnen, daß wegen der für diese Politik notwendigen Konsumeinschränkungen, für die breiten Massen diese die Identifikation mit ihrem Staat, ihrer Gesellschaft aufgeben: eine solche Politik muß dann bereit sein, die Werte, zu deren Verteidigung sie angeblich angetreten ist, die Freiheit und Würde des Menschen, aufzugeben, und enthüllt dann ihr wahres Gesicht. Daß man dazu bereit ist, zeigen die von der deutschen Bundesregierung vorbereiteten Notstandsgesetze, zeigen die antidemokratischen Tendenzen der de Gaulleschen Innenpolitik - beides eine logische, notwendige Folge von Rüstungspolitik. Der Kampf für Abrüstung und Entspannung ist daher gleichzeitig ein politischer Kampf für Aufrechterhaltung und Verwirklichung der Demokratie.

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

Arbeitspapier zur WRI-Studienkonferenz vom 9.-15.8.64 in Offenbach  
(Deutschland)

24.10.64

## LÖSUNGSVORSCHLÄGE ZUR BERLIN- UND DEUTSCHLANDFRAGE

von Dr. Fritz Katz - Bundesvorstandsmitglied des VK -

### DEUTSCHLANDPLAN DER SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHEN PARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS (SPD)

Zur militärischen Entspannung in Europa schlägt die SPD vor:

1. Schaffung einer Entspannungszone, die zunächst beide Teile Deutschlands, Polen, die Tschechoslowakei und Ungarn umfaßt.
2. Innerhalb dieser Entspannungszone werden Rüstungsbeschränkungen der nationalen Truppen und fortlaufend gleichwertige Verminderungen der Fremdstuppen der NATO und des Warschauer Paktes vereinbart. Die nationalen Truppen besitzen keine Kernwaffen. Die Kernwaffen der Fremdstuppen werden nicht verstärkt. Am Schluß ist die Entspannungszone durch völligen Abzug der Fremdstuppen frei von Kernwaffen.
3. Die zu treffenden Vereinbarungen müssen von Anfang an durch Boden- und Luftkontrollen gesichert werden.
4. Ein kollektives Sicherheitsabkommen sichert die Unverletzbarkeit der Staaten in der Entspannungszone.
5. Dieses Sicherheitssystem bedingt das Ausscheiden der Staaten in der Entspannungszone aus der NATO und dem Warschauer Pakt und erfordert angemessene militärische Beiträge derselben zur Gewährleistung dieses Sicherheitssystems.
6. Beibehaltung des gegenwärtigen Rechtsstatus und der militärischen Sicherung Berlins bis zur Regelung der deutschen Frage.

Die politische und wirtschaftliche Zusammenführung Deutschlands erfolgt in drei Stufen:

1. Stufe: Die politische Zusammenführung beginnt mit der Bildung einer paritätisch zusammengesetzten gesamtdeutschen Konferenz, bestehend aus Beauftragten der beiden deutschen Regierungen. Diese Konferenz setzt zur Wahrung der Einheitlichkeit in der Auslegung der Menschenrechte und Grundfreiheiten ein gesamtdeutsches Gericht ein.  
Die wirtschaftliche Zusammenführung beginnt ebenfalls mit der Bildung paritätisch besetzter Institutionen. Bestehende Handelsbeschränkungen müssen wegfallen, der Interzonenhandel ist auszuweiten. Ein gesamtdeutscher Investitionsfonds und eine Bank für innerdeutschen Zahlungsausgleich werden gebildet.
2. Stufe: Die politische Zusammenführung wird fortgesetzt durch die Wahl eines Gesamtdeutschen Parlamentarischen Rates, der je zur Hälfte in beiden Teilen Deutschlands gewählt wird. Er beschließt geteilt in beiden Teilen Deutschlands Gesetze für das Verkehrswesen (Eisenbahn, Straßenverkehr, Binnenschifffahrt, Post und Fernmeldewesen) und zur Förderung

der volkswirtschaftlichen Erzeugung. Die wirtschaftliche Zusammenführung wird durch die Entwicklung eines gesamtdeutschen Marktes beschleunigt.

3. Stufe: Die gesetzgeberische Zuständigkeit des Gesamtdeutschen Parlamentarischen Rates wird ausgedehnt auf die Vorbereitung von gesamtdeutschen Gesetzen zum Steuersystem, Finanzausgleich, zur Zollunion, zur Währungsunion und zur sozialpolitischen Anpassung. Ferner gehört dazu auch die Ausschreibung der Wahl zu einer Verfassungsgebenden Nationalversammlung. Berlin ist Sitz aller gesamtdeutschen Institutionen.

Die Wiedervereinigung:

Nach dem Inkrafttreten der gesamtdeutschen Verfassung werden allgemeine, freie und geheime Wahlen zum Gesamtdeutschen Parlament abgehalten. Aus ihm geht die Gesamtdeutsche Regierung hervor.

DEUTSCHLANDPLAN VON WILHELM KELLER (ehemaliger Vorsitzender des VK)  
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UN-Status für Deutschland

- I. Die oberste Gerichtsbarkeit und die oberste Exekutivgewalt in beiden Teilen Deutschlands wird den Vereinten Nationen übertragen. Damit wird die Mundialisierung Deutschlands eingeleitet. Seine Bürger werden Weltbürger.  
Beide Teile Deutschlands scheiden aus der NATO bzw. dem Warschauer Pakt aus. Ihre nationalen Truppen werden der UNO unterstellt und in UN-Polizeitruppen umgewandelt bzw. von anderen UN-Truppen abgelöst.
- II. Die politischen Systeme in beiden Teilen Deutschlands bleiben so lange bestehen, bis es zu Vereinbarungen über kulturelle, wirtschaftliche, finanz- und verwaltungstechnische Zusammenarbeit, sowie gesamtdeutsche Wahlen zur Schaffung einer gesamtdeutschen Verfassung und Regierung gekommen ist.
- III. Zu solchen Vereinbarungen gehört an erster Stelle eine zunehmende Liberalisierung des innerdeutschen Grenz- und Reiseverkehrs.
- IV. Die Außenpolitik der beiden Teilregierungen konzentriert sich auf Kultur- und Handelsbeziehungen, Entwicklungshilfe und Unterstützung der UN-Politik.
- V. Die Mundialisierung der beiden Teile Deutschlands sollte der erste Schritt zu einer weiteren Mundialisierung, vor allem in Europa, sein. Auf diesem Wege könnte auch die Rückwanderung Heimatvertriebener ermöglicht werden.

THESEN DER DEUTSCHEN FRIEDENSGESELLSCHAFT ZUR BERLINFRAGE  
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- I. Außenpolitisch (Mundialisierung von Gesamt-Berlin):  
Ersetzung des Viermächte-Statuts durch ein UN-Statut für Gesamt-Berlin - UN-Polizei aus neutralen europäischen Ländern ergänzt durch Volkspolizei in Ost-Berlin und Bereitschaftspolizei in West-Berlin - neutraler UN-Polizeigeneral - Entmilitarisierung Gesamt-Berlins - UN-Paß für die Berliner Bevölkerung - freier Verkehr von und nach Gesamt-Berlin - Einrichtung eines Friedens-

antes als Schlichtungsorgan, sowie zur Vermittlung von Friedensdiensten für Entwicklungsländer und zur Ausbildung in gewaltfreier Verteidigung - vollständige oder teilweise Verlegung des UN-Sitzes nach Berlin.

II. Kulturpolitisch (Selbstverwaltung des geistigen Lebens):

Bildung eines unabhängigen Kulturrates - Autonomie der Berliner Universitäten - Schaffung einer internationalen Friedensakademie.

III. Innenpolitisch (gleiches Recht für alle Berliner):

Freizügigkeit innerhalb Gesamtberlins - Abzug aller ost- und westdeutschen Regierungsstellen und Zentralbehörden bis auf je eine Kontaktstelle der BRD und DR - Bildung eines paritätisch zusammengesetzten Gesamt-Berliner Parlamentarischen Rates zur Ausarbeitung einer Verfassung für die UN-Stadt Berlin - danach freie und geheime Wahlen für ein Gesamt-Berliner Parlament.

IV. Wirtschaftspolitisch (brüderliches Zusammenwirken):

Selbstverwaltung durch unabhängigen Wirtschaftsrat aus Konsumenten, Händlern und Produzenten - Schaffung einer Berlin-Mark mit einer durch monetäre Politik gesicherten Kaufkraft - Maßnahmen zur Unterbindung von privaten und staatlichen Monopolismus in der Wirtschaft.

STELLUNGNAHME DES INTERNATIONALEN VERSÖHNUNGSBUNDES ZUR DEUTSCHLANDFRAGE

Zur friedlichen Lösung der Deutschlandfrage wies der Rat der IFor auf folgende Punkte hin:

1. Umwandlung Gesamt-Berlins in eine freie Stadt unter internationaler Aufsicht oder erst spätere Erhebung Berlins zum Mittelpunkt einer neutralisierten Föderation der deutschen Teilstaaten.
2. Baldige Anerkennung der DDR und der Oder-Neiße-Linie als Deutschlands Ostgrenze seitens der Westmächte.
3. Gleichzeitiger Austritt der BRD aus der NATO und der DDR aus dem Warschauer Pakt.
4. Stufenweise Abrüstung beider Teile Deutschlands, die mit dem gemeinsamen Verzicht auf alle Kernwaffen und alle anderen Massenvernichtungswaffen beginnt.
5. Schaffung einer atomwaffenfreien Zone in Mitteleuropa mit nachfolgender völliger Entmilitarisierung.
6. Vorbereitung einer deutschen Föderation durch direkte Verhandlungen zwischen beiden Teilen Deutschlands; Klärung der Rolle Berlins innerhalb dieser Föderation durch Verhandlung mit Berlin.
7. Friedensvertrag zwischen der deutschen Föderation und den ehemaligen Siegerstaaten.
8. Verpflichtung aller beteiligten Staaten zum Einsatz für eine weltumfassende Abrüstung.

KONFÖDERATIONSPLAN DES "DEUTSCHLANDRAT"ES

Vorschlag eines Staatsvertrages zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD) und der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (DDR):

Abschnitt I

Gegenseitige Anerkennung und Errichtung einer "Konföderation Deutschland" - zum Gebiet der DDR gehört Ost-Berlin, zum Gebiet der BRD West-Berlin - Anerkennung der Allgemeinen Erklärung der Menschenrechte als bindendes innerstaatliches Recht.

Abschnitt II

Organe der Konföderation: 1. Generalsekretariat; 2. technische Ausschüsse für außenpolitische Fragen, militärische Sicherheit, innere Fragen, Wirtschafts- und Währungsfragen, Verkehr und Postwesen; 3. Schiedsgericht - peritatische Besetzung aller dieser Organe bzw. Ausschüsse - Sitz darsel ben im früheren Reichstagsgebäude in Berlin, dessen Gelände unmittelbar der Konföderation unterstellt und entpolitisiert wird.

Abschnitt III

Außenpolitik: BRD und DDR können jeweils für ihr Gebiet völkerrechtliche Verträge abschließen, sofern sie nicht mit dem Konföderationsvertrag im Widerspruch stehen - die beabsichtigten Verträge werden vorher dem außenpolitischen Ausschuß der Konföderation bekanntgegeben, damit der andere Partner gegebenenfalls beitreten kann - die diplomatischen Vertretungen im Ausland werden so ergänzt, daß sie einheitlichen Charakter als "Botschaften der Konföderation Deutschland" erhalten.

Militärische Sicherheit: Ersuchen um Abzug der Fremdstuppen - Kündigung der Zugehörigkeit zur NATO und zum Warschauer Pakt - keine Militärabkommen ohne Zustimmung des anderen Vertragspartners - gegenseitiger Gewaltverzicht - kein Militär innerhalb einer 50 km-Zone beiderseits der gemeinsamen Staatsgrenze - die BRD darf in West-Berlin Grenzschutz- und Polizeikräfte in beschränkter Zahl unterhalten - kein Schießbefehl an der gemeinsamen Grenze.

Innere Fragen: Gegenseitige Rechts- und Amtshilfe (ausgenommen politische Straftaten) - keine Abwerbung - Ermöglichung der Familienzusammenführung - keine Strafverfolgung wegen früher begangener "Republikflucht" - freie Nutzung von ererbtem Vermögen, das im anderen Partnerstaat belegen ist - Abschluß eines Kulturabkommens - gesamtdeutsche Sportmannschaften.

Wirtschaft und Währung: Langfristige Handelsverträge - Währungsabkommen - gegenseitige Hilfe zur Entwicklung der Wirtschaft.

Verkehrs- und Postwesen: Freier Reise- und Warenverkehr - gemeinsame Grenzkontrollen - Ortsgespräche zwischen West- und Ost-Berlin.

Abschnitt IV

Fünf Jahre nach Vertragsabschluß Bildung eines gesamtdeutschen Rates, der innerhalb von 4 Jahren einen Verfassungsentwurf auszuarbeiten hat - eine Minderheit kann einen abweichenden Verfassungsentwurf vorlegen - über beide erfolgt eine Volksabstimmung.

Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
in der War Resisters' International e.V.

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GEWALTFREIHEIT: DOKTRIN ODER KAMPFTECHNIK ?

(Ein Abriss der Wirkungsgeschichte Gandhis außerhalb Indiens von  
1923 - 1964)

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I Im März 1964 erschien in London eine Aufsatzsammlung mit dem Titel "Zivile Verteidigung" (Civilian Defence), in der Adam Roberts, Jerome Frank, Arne Naess und Gene Sharp die Möglichkeiten untersuchten, einer feindlichen Invasion oder einem Staatsstreich mit unbewaffnetem Widerstand zu begegnen. Adam Roberts erklärte in dem einleitenden Beitrag: "Es gibt eine Doktrin der Gewaltfreiheit. Diese kann man annehmen oder verwerfen. Alle Autoren dieser Broschüre sind jedoch der Ansicht, daß man die gewaltfreie Aktion nicht nach ihrem doktrinären Hintergrund, sondern nach ihrer Verwendbarkeit als Aktionstechnik in bestimmten Situationen beurteilen sollte, und daß man sich fragen sollte, ob diese Technik nicht strengste und sorgfältigste Untersuchung verdient."

Wenn man wie diese Autoren die Absicht hat, seine Mitbürger für einen bestimmten politischen Kurs zu gewinnen, mag es zweckmäßig sein, sich vollkommen auf die Adressaten einzustellen, die Doktrin entweder als traditionellen Ballast abzuwerfen oder falls man sie zur Ausbildung von Führungskräften noch für nützlich hält, sie in Klausur zu pflegen, und zunächst einmal die Kampftechnik unabhängig von ihrem historischen Gewachsensein zu offerieren. Wenn dies von aufgebrauchten Doktrinären als "billiger Verkaufstrick" bezeichnet würde, wie es gegenüber den Autoren von "Zivile Verteidigung" geschah, spräche das nur für die Erfolgchancen dieses Vorgehens.

Die Aufgabe der Wissenschaft muß es jedoch sein, selbst wenn dies ihre Arbeit im populären Verständnis anstößig machen und "schöpferische Mißverständnisse" erschweren sollte, auch den doktrinären Hintergrund dieser Kampftechnik, d.h. das Selbstverständnis der führenden Kräfte der gewaltlosen Widerstandskampagne zu erschließen, die sich in Anpassung an ihre Umwelt als bloße Techniker der gewaltlosen Aktion gegeben haben mochten oder die sich allenfalls "praktische Idealisten" - mit dem Akzent auf praktisch - genannt hatten.

Schon dem nur streifenden Blick über die Verbreitung der gewaltlosen Kampftechnik in den letzten fünf Jahrzehnten zeigt sich, wie wichtig die Doktrin und der idealistische Impuls war, und wie wenig die gewaltfreie Aktion von ihrem Hauptprotagonisten Mohandas K. Gandhi zu trennen ist, auch wenn sich dies heute in Europa aus propagandistischen Rücksichten empfehlen mag. (1)

Am Beginn der Gandhi-Rezeption in Europa und Amerika war auch nicht die unmittelbare Übernahme seiner Kampftechnik gestanden, sondern bei den Pazifisten, auf die sich diese Rezeption beschränkte, das Aufgreifen seiner Doktrin, in der man die Heilsbotschaft eines fernöstlichen Messias (2) für das dem Untergang geweihte Abendland sah. Im Jahre 1922 gab Romein Rolland in der ersten weitverbreiteten Gandhi-Biographie seine Analyse der Lage Europas. Seine Ausführungen sind bezeichnend dafür, wie Gandhis "Botschaft an die Welt" zwischen den Weltkriegen aufgenommen wurde. Sie soll darum hier ausführlich zitiert werden:

"Der Sturm der Gewalt fegt über die Welt. Das Gewitter, das die Ernten unserer Zivilisation zerschlagen, hatte nichts Unerwartetes. Ein Jahrhundert brutalen Nationalstolzes, aufgestachelt durch die abgöttische Ideologie der Revolution und verbreitet durch die blinde Nachahmungssucht der Demokratien - ... mußten unausweichlich zu diesen verurteilten Kämpfen führen, in denen die Reichtümer des Abendlandes verschwinden ... Ein Volk erwürgt das andere im Namen der gleichen Prinzipien, die die gleichen Interessen verhüllen u. die gleichen Kain-Instinkte. Alle - Nationen, Faschisten, Bolschewisten, Volk und unterdrückte Klassen - beanspruchen für sich das Recht der Gewalt, in dem sie das Recht erblicken, und wollen es dem anderen vorenthalten. Vor einem halben Jahrhundert noch unterdrückte die Gewalt das Recht. Heute ist es viel schlimmer: die Gewalt ist das Recht. Sie hat das Recht zerschlagen, keine Zuflucht, keine Hoffnung mehr in dieser alten Welt, die zusammenstürzt. ...

Abgeschmackte Pazifisten blöken matt und schmachend, und man fühlt, wie unschlüssig sie sind. Sie sprachen von einem Glauben, von dem sie nicht sicher sind, daß sie ihn haben. Wer wird ihnen diesen Glauben beweisen. Und wie - inmitten einer Welt, die ihn vereint - ? Wie man eben einen Glauben beweist. Durch die Tat!

Das ist die Botschaft an die Welt, wie Gandhi sie nennt, die Botschaft Indiens: "Wir müssen uns aufopfern!" ...

"Unser Kampf", so erklärt Gandhi, "hat Freundschaft mit der ganzen Welt zum Ziel ... Die Non-Violenz ist unter den Menschen erschienen und wird unter ihnen bleiben. Sie ist die Verkünderin des Weltfriedens." ...





So sind heute seine Artikel aus dem Oktober 1930 mit der Empfehlung des gewaltlosen Widerstandes an die Tschechen nur noch deswegen wichtige Quellen, weil sie zeigen, daß Gandhi an keinen dauerhaften Erfolg der "appeasement"-Politik, sondern im Unterschied zu seinen pazifistischen europäischen Anhängern nur an eine Politik der Stärke und der selbständigen nationalen Verteidigung glaubte, wobei er unter letzterer, wie er es damals deutlich aussprach, eine gewaltlose, allerdings nicht näher beschriebene Form der Verteidigung verstand: "Die Tschechoslowakei hat mir und uns in Indien eine Lektion zu erteilen. Die Tschechen haben nichts anderes tun können, nachdem sie sich von ihren beiden mächtigen Verbündeten verlassen sahen. Und doch wage ich die Dummheit, wenn die Tschechen den gewaltlosen Widerstand als Mittel zur Verteidigung der nationalen Ehre anzuwenden geduldet hätten, wäre es ihnen möglich gewesen, der geballten Macht Deutschlands und Italiens zu begegnen. Sie hätten es England und Frankreich erspart, dortzig um einen Frieden nachzusuchen, der gar kein Frieden ist." (11)

11 Während bis zum zweiten Weltkrieg eine Gandhi-Revolution fast nur bei den Pazifisten festzustellen war, also bei Leuten, die von vornherein die militärische Gewaltentwendung grundsätzlich ablehnten und für die er mehr eine Besätigung, denn ein praktischer Wegweiser war, trat nach dem Schluß des Zweiten Weltkriegs ein Wandel ein. Als die beiden entscheidenden Daten kamen der 15. August 1947, der Tag der Unabhängigkeit Indiens, und der 6. August 1945, der Tag des Abwurfs der ersten Atombombe auf Hiroshima, angesehen werden.

Indien hatte sich in gutem Einvernehmen von England gelöst. Eine wirtschaftliche Krise und mit einer erstaunlich funktionierenden freiheitlichen Demokratie hatte es seinen Weg als selbständiger Staat begonnen. Indien und die Welt sahen darin einen Erfolg von Gandhis gewaltlosen Methoden des Freiheitskampfes. Und da nach einem englischen Sprichwort nichts soviel Erfolg hat wie der Erfolg selbst, prüften nun auch die nichtindischen Pragmatiker, die sich auch in ihren Ländern für ihre politischen Ziele einsetzen ließen.

Als erster nichtpazifistischer Politiker griff Mahatma Nehru im Herbst 1949 Gandhis Kampfethode auf und die "Congress People's Party" erkämpfte mit ihr die Unabhängigkeit Ghanas. Nehru nannte seine Kampfethode "positive Aktion" (positive action) und betonte, daß man sich während der Kampagne an Gandhi's "Mahatma" (der ohne Gewaltlosigkeit zu halten habe) (12)

"Zunächst konnte ich mir keineswegs vorstellen, daß" schreibt er in seiner Autobiographie, "daß Gandhis Philosophie des gewaltlosen Widerstandes irgendeine Aussicht auf Erfolg haben sollte. Sie schien mir ein äußerst schwaches Mittel, das jede Hoffnung auf Erfolg abzusprenken war. Die Lösung des Kolonialproblems, so wie ich es damals sah, lag in der unerschütterten Erhebung, aber wie ich es möglich, so fragte ich mich damals, eine erfolgreiche Revolution durchzuführen ohne Waffen und ohne Mordtaten? Nachdem ich Gandhis Technik minutiös studiert und ihre Erfolge genau beobachtet hatte, kam ich doch zu der Einsicht, daß es eine möglicherweise eine Lösung des Kolonialproblems, sofern eine starke politische Organisation als Stützpunkt und Basis." (13)

Im Jahre 1952 lenkte eine gewaltlose Widerstandskampagne der "Afrikanischen Nationalen Kongreß-Partei" (African National Congress) und der "Südafrikanischen Indischen Kongreß-Partei" (South African Indian Congress) die Aufmerksamkeit der Welt auf die Apartheid-Politik der Regierung der Südafrikanischen Union. Leo Kuper, Soziologe an der Universität Natal und Vorsitzender der "Liberalen Partei" (Liberal Party), beschreibt die Überraschung, die die Anwendung von Gandhis Methoden durch Nicht-Indier in Südafrika auslöste: "Der passive Widerstand wurde gewöhnlich als Ausdruck der indischen Philosophie, des indischen Asketismus und Quietismus verstanden. Unter den Weißen Südafrikas war man jedenfalls der Ansicht, daß der Indier seiner Natur nach auf passive Weise Widerstand leisten würde. Die Kampagne von 1946, eine nahezu ausschließlich indische Angelegenheit, erschütterte diese feste Überzeugung nicht. Als jedoch die Afrikanische Nationalkongreß-Partei und die Südafrikanische Indische Kongreß-Partei sich vereinigten in der Förderung der Kampagnen von 1952, und Afrikaner, Indier und Mischlinge dem Ruf folgten, entstand Verwirrung." (16)

Der Friedenspreis des Jahres 1960 wurde Albert John Luthuli, dem Führer dieser gewaltlosen Widerstandskampagne verliehen. Als er diesen Preis in Delo entgegennahm, interpretierte er ihn als Anerkennung für das Festhalten an dieser Kampfmethodik unter schwierigsten Bedingungen: "Während dieser grausamen Behandlung im Nativestadt sind unser Volk mit wenigen Ausnahmen von Gesetz und Ordnung, ist unser Volk mit wenigen Ausnahmen gewaltlos geblieben. Wenn heute einem Schwarzen für Südafrika der Friedenspreis verliehen wird, so geschieht dies nicht, weil wir unseren Kampf für Frieden und Brüderlichkeit unter Menschen gewonnen haben. Wir sind dem Sieg vielleicht ferner als jedes andere Volk Afrikas. Aber was wir auch immer unter den Maßnahmen der Regierung gelitten haben, nichts konnte uns von unserem einmal gewählten Weg disziplinierten Widerstandes abbringen." (17)

Auch Anhänger der Doktrin der Gewaltlosigkeit verstanden es nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg die indische Kampftechnik auf Aufgabengebiete ihrer Heimatländer zu übertragen und die Führung von Widerstandskampagnen zu übernehmen.

Seit dem Busprotest von Montgomery (Alabama, USA) in den Jahren 1956/57 setzte sich Gandhis Methode der gewaltlosen Aktion auch im Bürgerrechtskampf der amerikanischen Neger durch, worin vor allem auch ein Verdienst des Gandhi-Kenners und prominenten Negerführers Martin Luther King gesehen werden darf. King verstand es auch, die Doktrin als seinen Kampf förderndes Element einzusetzen. Er steigerte die Kampfmoral der Neger, indem er ihnen klar machte: Er steigerte die Kampfmoral der Neger, indem er ihnen klar machte: "Instrument einer großen Idee zu werden, ist ein Vorrecht, das die Geschichte nur selten vergibt ... Es ist sogar möglich, daß der Neger durch sein Eintreten für die Gewaltlosigkeit die Nationen der Welt so überzeugend herausfordert, daß sie in ihr allen Ernstes eine Alternative zu Krieg und Zerstörung suchen werden. In einer Zeit, in der "Sputniks" und "Explorers" durch den Weltraum stoßen und ferngesteuerte Raketen ihre Todesbahnen durch die Stratosphäre ziehen, kann niemand mehr einen Krieg gewinnen. Da heute die Existenz der Menschheit in ihrer Gesamtheit bedroht ist, werden wir nicht einmal mehr die Wahl zwischen Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit. In der Gewaltlosigkeit der Neger mag Gottes Appell an dieses Zeitalter zum Ausdruck kommen - ein Zeitalter, das sich

mit unheimlicher Geschwindigkeit auf seine letzte Stunde zubewegt. Der ewige Appell hat die Form einer Warnung angenommen: "Alle, die zum Schwert greifen, werden durch das Schwert umkommen." (18)

Indem King nicht nur dazu aufforderte, nicht mehr Bus zu fahren, sondern sich in seiner Boykott-Kampagne auf die Doktrin der Gewaltfreiheit berief, sprach er in einer Welt, die sich in der Zange der nuklearen Abschreckungsstrategie sah, die große antimilitärische Sehnsucht an. Dies trug wesentlich dazu bei, daß diese gewaltlose Kampagne, die im Vergleich zu anderen Geschehnissen auf der Welt ein einziges Unternehmen war, eine phantastisch anmutende Publizität, und, was für die Aktion genau so wichtig, bedeutende Geldependen nicht nur aus allen Bundesstaaten der USA, sondern auch aus vielen Teilen der Welt erhielt.

Dieser Vorgang wiederholte sich im Jahre 1963, als Martin King in der gewaltlosen Schlacht von Birmingham die Neger gegen Wasserwerfer und Schäferhunde aus den Kirchen auf die Straße schickte (19), und Bayard Rustin, der Sekretär des Kriegsdienstverweigererverbandes ('War Resister' League) und einer der besten amerikanischen Kennner von Gandhis Widerstandsmethoden, den "Marsch auf Washington" organisierte. (20)

Welch wichtige Rolle der 6. August 1945 neben der indischen Unabhängigkeitserklärung für die Weiterentwicklung der Doktrin und Technik der gewaltfreien Aktion gespielt hat, klang schon in der Interpretation an, die Martin Luther King der Rolle der Gewaltfreiheit im amerikanischen Rassenkonflikt gab, einem rein innenpolitischen Konflikt, der an sich mit der Militärstrategie der Vereinigten Staaten nichts zu tun hat. Es war die menschliche Vorstellungskraft beinahe übersteigende Vernichtswirkung nukleärer Waffen, die den traditionellen Pazifismus von der notorischen Erfolglosigkeit seiner Proklamationen weg zur Aktion trieb. Schrittmacher wurden die englischen Pazifisten.

1949 setzte der englische Kriegsdienstverweigererverband (Peace Pledge Union) eine "Studienkommission für Gewaltlosigkeit" (Non-Violence Commission) ein. Unter Roy Walker, dem Autor einer Gandhi-Biographie und einer Darstellung des norwegischen gewaltlosen Widerstands gegen das Quisling-Regime (21), suchte diese Kommission, neben der Erörterung der traditionellen "Glaubens"-Frage, auch nach den "Zielen und Methoden einer gewaltlosen Außenpolitik Englands, und besonders nach geeigneten Demonstrationsformen, die von Individuen oder kleinen Gruppen unter den gegenwärtigen Bedingungen angewandt werden können." (22) Von diesen Anfängen führten seit dem Dezember 1951 über "Operation Gandhi" (23) und das "Komitee für direkte Aktionen" (Direct Action Committee, DAC) durch endlose Diskussionen und die englischen Gefängnisse der "Komitee der 100" (Committee of 100) (24). Bertrand Russell und Rev. Michael Scott gelang es im Jahre 1961 mit ihrem Aufruf "Handle oder stirb" (Act or Perish!), Tausende zu bewegen, zusammen mit ihnen "zivilen Ungehorsam" zu leisten. (25) Mit seinen Massensitzstreiks (sit-downs) in den Verkehrszentren Londons und den Versuchen von gewaltlosen Invasionen in Raketenbasen gelang es dem "Komitee der 100" als erster pazifistischer Organisation über die propagandistische, aber doch nur proklamatorischen Ostermärsche der "Kampagne für nukleare Abrüstung" (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, CND) hinaus, eine gewaltlose Kampfform des Masseneinsatzes zu entwickeln, mit der

nicht nur die Aufmerksamkeit der Öffentlichkeit erzwungen, sondern unter günstigen Umständen auch eine Regierung gezwungen werden konnte, sich bei dem Duell am Abgrund des Atomkriegs nicht allzuweit vorzuwagen. (26)

III Der Pazifismus fand nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg nicht nur zur Aktion, er fand auch in der Theorie zu neuen Fragestellungen und zu einem neuen Selbstverständnis. Wegweisend wurde die nach ihrer Herkunft aus der englischen Kriegsdienstverweigererorganisation "Peace Pledge Union" orthodox zu nennende Wochenzeitung "Peace News". Im verjüngten Redaktionstab dieser in London erscheinenden internationalen pazifistischen Zeitung legten besonders der Soziologe Gene Sharp, die Volkswirtin April Carter und der Historiker Adam Roberts in Artikeln und Untersuchungen zum Thema Gewaltlosigkeit den Nachdruck nicht mehr auf den "Glauben" an die Gewaltlosigkeit, sondern auf die "Technik der gewaltlosen Aktion". Daß Sharp sich mit Max Webers Unterscheidung von Gesinnungs- und Verantwortungsethik auseinandergesetzt und in der gewaltlosen Aktion ein beiden gerecht werdendes Verhalten gesehen hatte, war eine wichtige geistige Voraussetzung dafür. (27)

Mit einer mehrfach aufgelegten Broschüre über die "direkte Aktion" gab April Carter, die 1958 mit 19 Jahren dem "Komitee für direkte Aktionen" beigetreten und seine organisatorische Leiterin geworden war, ihr modernes, ausgesprochen pragmatisches Verständnis der Gewaltlosigkeit. (28) Dieser pragmatische Zug wurde noch dadurch verstärkt, daß sie zum ersten Mal eine Synthese des gesamten Gedanken- und Erfahrungsgutes Gandhis und seiner außerindischen Lehrlinge einerseits und der Widerstandstheorien und Erfahrungen der Gewerkschaftsbewegung andererseits versuchte.

Die eigentliche Umwälzung aber brachte Gene Sharp. Erlebnis- und erkenntnistächtig wurzelte er noch im christlichen Pazifismus der Quäker, was einige Stationen seines Lebenslaufes zeigen. 1953 war er wegen zivilen Ungehorsams gegen das Wehrpflichtgesetz zu zwei Jahren Gefängnis verurteilt worden; nach neun Monaten entlassen, war er bis zur Annahme einer Stelle als stellvertretender Herausgeber von "Peace News" im Jahre 1958 u.a. Sekretär des führenden amerikanischen Pazifisten A.J. Muste. Aber konsequent in seinem Denken von seiner Magister-Dissertation "Gewaltlosigkeit - eine soziologische Studie" (29) an der Ohio-Staats-Universität über seine Forschungen über Gandhi und die Gewaltlosigkeit in New York und an der Universität Oslo (30) fortschreitend, fragte er nicht mehr allein, wie man Kriege verhindern könne, sondern wies den traditionellen Pazifismus in seiner Kritik darauf hin, daß es Fälle geben würde, in denen gekämpft werden müsse. Seine Kritik galt den Lieblingsvorstellungen der Pazifisten, daß alle Konflikte allein durch Kenntnis der Ursachen des Konfliktes, durch vermehrtes Verständnis des Gegners, durch Verhandlungen und Kompromiß zu lösen seien (31) und daß die endgültige Befriedigung am zweckmäßigsten durch eine Weltregierung geleistet werden könne. (32) Er sah in Gandhi weniger den Propheten des Weltfriedens als den Schöpfer einer neuen Art moralischer und demokratischer Machtpolitik. (33) Sharp trieb nicht "Friedensforschung" (34), sondern "Konfliktforschung"; er suchte nach einem "Ersatz für den Krieg". Als Hauptaufgabe der Pazifisten bezeichnete er es, gewaltlose Aktionsformen zu entwickeln, mit denen auch totalitären Regimen begegnet werden könne. (35)

Aufgrund dieser neuen Fragestellungen wurde Gandhis Lehre von der Gewaltlosigkeit auch neu im Zusammenhang mit dem Verlauf seiner gewaltlosen Kampagnen gesehen, und nicht mehr losgelöst von ihnen als Friedensphilosophie einer von Vegetariern bewohnten Welt. Mit dem militärischen Untergang der faschistischen Regime war auch der Populärdarwinismus in allgemeinen Mißkredit geraten, und mit dem Verschwinden dieser Frontstellung konnten auch Pazifisten wie Sharp sich dem Ideenkonflikt als typisch menschlicher Existenzform zuwenden. Man konnte es wegen, im Konflikt nicht nur die auf Zerstörung drängenden, sondern auch die erwachenden schöpferischen Kräfte zu sehen. Martin Luther King schockierte seine Amtskollegen, acht christliche und jüdische Theologen, die ihn im Sinne der pazifistischen Tradition aufgerufen hatten, Mäßigung und Geduld zu üben, mit seiner Antwortbrief aus dem Gefängnis von Birmingham: "Durch die gewaltlose direkte Aktion soll eine Krise geschaffen und eine solche furchtbare Dauerspannung erzeugt werden, daß die Bevölkerung einer Stadt, die sich fortgesetzt geweigert hat, zu verhandeln, gezwungen ist, den Tatsachen ins Auge zu sehen. Sinn und Ziel einer solchen Aktion ist es eben, die Tatsachen so zu dramatisieren, daß sie nicht länger ignoriert werden können. Es gehört, wie gesagt, zur Aufgabe dessen, der gewaltlosen Widerstand leistet, Spannung zu erzeugen. Das mag Ihnen schockierend klingen. Ich muß Ihnen aber gestehen, daß ich mich vor dem Wort Spannung nicht fürchten. Ich bin stets gegen eine gewaltsame hervorgerufene Spannung eingegangen und habe mich in meinen Predigten dagegen gewandt. Doch es gibt eine Art von konstruktiver, gewaltloser Spannung, die, wenn etwas wachsen soll, einfach notwendig ist. So wie Sokrates es für nötig hielt, eine Spannung im Geist hervorzurufen, damit sich der Mensch aus der knechtischen Abhängigkeit von Mythen und Halbwahrheiten in das freie Reich der schöpferischen Analyse und objektiven Bestimmung der Werte erheben könne, so müssen auch wir die Notwendigkeit erkennen, durch die gewaltlose Aktion in der menschlichen Gesellschaft die Spannung zu schaffen, die den Menschen hilft, sich aus den düsteren Tiefen des Vorurteils und des Rassenhasses in die lichten Höhen der Brüderlichkeit und des gegenseitigen Verstehens zu erheben." (36)

Um einen Versuch zu machen, den jüngsten Stand der Auseinandersetzung mit der Doktrin der Gewaltlosigkeit und ihren Aktionsformen zu erfassen: Der "Krieg", bzw. der Konflikt wird nicht mehr grundsätzlich verworfen, sondern nur die gewaltlose Aktion als einzig menschenwürdige Form "Krieg zu führen" konstatiert. Der Anspruch oder die Hoffnung auf eine schließliche universelle Anwendbarkeit dieser Methode ist zwar unverkennbar, aber es ist nicht mehr der Glaube an die Doktrin, was nachdrücklich gefordert wird, sondern die Erforschung der Kampftechnik.

Anhang

- (1) In "Civilian Defence" erwähnen nur A. Roberts und J. Frank den Namen Gandhis. A. Naess und E. Sharp vermeiden dies, wenn auch gerade ihr Verständnis des gewaltfreien Widerstandes auf frühere intensive Studien der Ethik Gandhis und der Technik seiner Widerstandskampagnen zurückgeht: A. Naess u. J. Galtung, Gandhis politiske Etikk, Oslo 1955; G. Sharp, Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power, Ahmedabad 1960
- (2) s. Einleitung von John Haynes Holmes zu der Aufsatzsammlung: Mahatma Gandhi, Jung Indien, S. XVIII-XIX
- (3) Mahatma Gandhi, Zürich 1923, S. 141-146
- (4) s. F. Kobler und B. de Ligt, Über die Taktik des aktiven Pazifismus, in: F. Kobler (Hrsg.), Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit, S. 346 - 358
- (5) Mahatma Gandhi, Jung Indien. Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1919 bis 1922. Auswahl von Romain Rolland und Madeleine Rolland, Zürich, Rotapfel-Verlag, 1924
- (6) The Power of Nonviolence, New York: Fellowship Publications 1935
- (7) War without Violence. A Study of Gandhi's Method and its Accomplishments, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939
- (8) Die Lehre von Schwert, "Young India" 11.8.1920 - in: Jung, Indien, Hrsg. R. Rolland, S. 137
- (9) Geleitwort des Herausgebers, S. 12
- (10) s. eine größere Zahl von Artikeln aus den Jahren in der Aufsatzsammlung: Non Violence in Peace and War, I, 1938-1940
- (11) Martin Buber, Brief an Gandhi, Jerusalem 24.2.1939 - in: Mahatma Gandhi und Martin Buber, Juden, Palästina und Araber, (Briefwechsel hrsg. v. Hans Lamm), München: Ner-Tamid-Verlag, 1961, S. 12 - 14
- (12) Nazis in its Nakedness, "Harijan" 18.8.1940, - in: Non-Violence in Peace and War, I, S. 339
- (13) Logical Consequence, "Harijan" 8.10.1938, in: Peace and War, I, S. 159
- (14) K. Nkrumah, Schwarze Fanfare, List-Taschenbuch Nr. 121, München 1958, S. 113
- (15) Schwarze Fanfare, S. 8

- (16) Passive Resistance in South Africa, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2 1960, S. 9
- (17) The Road to Delo ... and beyond!, Broschüre hreg.v. African National Congress, London o.J. (1962), S. 12
- (18) M.L.King, Freiheit, Aufbruch der Negro Nordamerikas, Bericht über den Busstreik in Montgomery, Kassel 1964 (engl.: Stride toward Freedom), S. 182 - 183
- (19) Rassenkonflikt (Titelgeschichte: Martin Luther King), "Der Spiegel", 22.5.1963, S. 60-69
- (20) The March on Washington (Titelgeschichte), "Newsweek", S.13-17
- (21) A People Who Loved Peace. The Norwegian Struggle Against nazism, London: Victor Collanz, 1946
- (22) zit. in: Hug Brock, A Century of Total War, London: Peace News Pamphlet, o.J. (1961), S. 22
- (23) s.H.Brock, a.o. o., S. 24-31
- (24) s.George Clark, Second Wind. The Story of the Campaign and the Committee of 100, London: Workshop Publications, 1963, S.6
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## DEUTSCHLAND - ZUR ANATOMIE EINER FEHLENTWICKLUNG

von Egon Becker - Bundesvorstandsmitglied des VK -

### I Deutschlands jüngste Geschichte - Geschichte verpaßter Gelu- genheiten

Als Folge des zweiten Weltkrieges entstanden auf dem Territorium des ehemaligen Deutschen Reiches zwei neue Staaten: die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD) und die Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR). Ihre soziale und ökonomische Struktur, das politische Bewußtsein der Bevölkerung, die demokratischen und autoritären Kräfte sind nur vor dem Hintergrund einer Vorgangenhait zu verstehen, welche sich wesentlich von der anderer europäischer Industriestaaten unterscheidet.

In Deutschland gab es keine geschichtsmächtige bürgerliche Freiheitsbewegung. Die Herrschaft des Feudalismus, die antiquierte mittelalterliche Ständeordnung, wurde nicht durch eine bürgerliche Revolution aufgehoben. Im Gegensatz zu etwa England und Frankreich, wo durch bürgerliche Freiheitsbewegungen die politischen und geistigen Grundlagen zum Aufbau einer modernen Industriegesellschaft mit kapitalistischer Produktionsweise gelegt wurden, vollzog sich in Deutschland die Industrialisierung im Rahmen einer halb-feudalen Staatsordnung. Selbst die Integration der Unzahl feudaler Kleinstaaten zu einem modernen Nationalstaat sprengte nicht den feudal-autoritären Rahmen.

Die historische Erfahrung deutscher Freiheitsbewegungen im 19. Jahrhundert war nicht die erfolgreiche Revolution - wie in England oder Frankreich - sondern das klägliche Scheitern. Das Bewußtsein, daß sich politische und soziale Verhältnisse durch solidarische Aktionen verändern lassen, konnte sich nicht aus konkreter Erfahrung entwickeln - es verkümmerte.

Durch die Verbindung von kapitalistischer Produktionsweise und autoritärer Herrschaft bildete sich im Deutschland des vergangenen Jahrhunderts eine besondere politische Bewußtseinshaltung: obrigkeitlich - staatliches Denken, Vertrauen auf staatliche Lösungen gesellschaftlicher Widersprüche, Kastengeist und Standesdünkel wurden zur herrschenden Haltung des deutschen Bürgertums.

Zusammen mit dem modernen Industriekapitalismus entstand eine Gesellschaftsgruppe außerhalb der geordneten bürgerlichen Welt: die Industriearbeiterschaft - mit ihr die moderne Arbeiterbewegung. Ihre sozialen Forderungen gerieten bald in scharfen Gegensatz zur etablierten Ordnung - sie waren nur in einer demokratisch organisierten Gesellschaft zu vertreten. Die Arbeiterbewegung nahm so den Kampf um demokratische Reformen, um Rechtsstaatlichkeit, allgemeines Wahlrecht, parlamentarische Demokratie und realisierte

Menschenrechte gegen das Bürgertum auf. Längst hatten kapitalistisches Besitzbürgertum, monarchistischer Adel, antidemokratisches Offizierskorps und autoritäre Beamtenschaft eine Einheitsfront gegen Arbeiterbewegung und kritisch-liberale Intelligenz gebildet.

Mühsam wurden einzelne soziale und politische Reformen durchgesetzt, an unbedeutenden Stellen das politische System reformiert. So wurde der vorgelobte Kampf gegen eine übermächtige Ordnung und der kleine Erfolg der Sozialreform zur historischen Erfahrung der Arbeiterbewegung. Hierüber ging ihre theoretische und organisatorische Einheit verloren. Ein radikaler - an den Theorien von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels orientierter Flügel - drängte auf demokratische und sozialistische Strukturreformen, ein reformistisch-pragmatischer Flügel sah in der schrittweisen Reform, verbunden mit der teilweisen Integration der Arbeiterbewegung in den bürgerlichen Staat und sein soziales Ordnungsgefüge, das Ziel der Bewegung.

## II Der Sieg des Hitlerfaschismus - Konsequenz deutscher Inkongruenz

Der politisch radikale Flügel vertrat zu Beginn und während des 1. Weltkrieges einen radikalen Pazifismus. Er lehnte den Krieg als imperialistische Eroberungspolitik ab. Die Reformisten (die Mehrheit der Sozialdemokratischen Partei!) ließen sich leider mit in den Teufel der nationalen Begeisterung reißen: sie stimmten im Parlament den Kriegskrediten zu und sanktionierten damit indirekt die Kriegspolitik der politisch und ökonomisch Mächtigen. So leistete die Arbeiterbewegung - die einzige gesellschaftlich bedeutsame demokratische Kraft im damaligen Deutschland - keinen ernsthaften Widerstand gegen die Kriegspolitik der von Kaiser Wilhelm II. geleiteten Regierung.

Der Krieg ging verloren. Die enttäuschte und ausgehungerte Bevölkerung vollzog 1918 unter Führung revolutionärer Arbeiter und Soldaten so etwas wie eine "bürgerlich-demokratische Revolution" - gegen das Bürgertum und das reaktionäre Offizierskorps. Der Kaiser flüchtete nach Holland und eine parlamentarisch regierte Republik wurde ausgerufen. Der radikale Flügel drängte auf eine Weiterführung der Revolution zu sozialistischen Strukturreformen der Wirtschaft. Die Reformisten waren jedoch dazu nicht bereit, betrieben einen "Ausbau der Demokratie". Die Revolution änderte lediglich die politische Form, die Sozialrevolution blieb aus. Damit war der tödliche Widerspruch Grundlage der neuen Ordnung geworden.

Die radikalen linken Kräfte trennten sich von der reformistischen Mehrheit der Sozialdemokratie und formierten eine neue Partei: die Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD). Diese Partei geriet jedoch bald unter die Kontrolle der bürokratisch entarteten Sowjetunion. Ihre führenden Theoretiker wurden entweder von reaktionären Mörderbanden umgebracht - oder von der eigenen Parteibürokratie von der Gestaltung der Politik ausgeschaltet. Die Politik der KPD wurde binnen kurzen weniger von deutschen Notwendigkeiten, als von den Forderungen der sowjetischen Außenpolitik bestimmt.

Die Arbeiterbewegung war gespalten, gelähmt und partiell-handlungsunfähig. Innerhalb des deutschen Unternehmertums vollzog sich zur gleichen Zeit eine immer stärkere Eigentums- und Machtkonzentration. Wenige Konzerne und monopolisierte Unternehmensgruppen beherrschten das deutsche Industriepotential und kontrollierten die meisten

Publikationsorgane. Die Spitzen der Justiz und Verwaltung waren weiterhin von der alten konservativen oder gar reaktionären Beamtenschaft besetzt. In der "Reichswehr" (der Armee der Republik) kommandierten Generäle und Offiziere im Geiste der alten Ordnung. Der Parlamentarismus und die bescheidenen Ansätze zur Demokratisierung des öffentlichen Lebens fanden bei ihnen nur Verachtung. Die "3 Säulen der Macht" in einem modernen Industriestaat: Verfügungsgewalt über die industrielle Produktion und die Mittel zur Meinungsbildung, politische Administration, Armee und Polizei - sie hatten den Sturm der Revolution überstanden. Das "ancien regime" hatte die Bastionen der Macht weiter in Besitz.

Das Parlament und die von den politischen Parteien, in ständig wechselnden Koalitionen, gebildeten Regierungen drapierten zumist nur die Herrschaft der eigentlich Herrschenden: der Spitzen von Wirtschaft, Verwaltung und Armee. Gegen deren Willen ließ sich keine Vorstellung der Regierung realisieren. Die demokratischen Parteien - besonders die Sozialdemokratie - führten einen verzweifelten Kampf, um die parlamentarische Demokratie funktionsfähig zu halten; doch ohne gleichzeitig die Wirtschaft, Verwaltung, Justiz und Armee zu demokratisieren, blieb das eine Sisyphos-Arbeit: im Konflikt zwischen formaler Parlamentsherrschaft und realer gesellschaftlicher Macht unterlag in den meisten Fällen das Parlament.

Von den Folgen des 1. Weltkrieges erholte sich der deutsche monopolisierte Kapitalismus - mit Hilfe ausländischen Kapitals - verhältnismäßig rasch. In der zweiten Hälfte der zwanziger Jahre erreichte er eine Phase relativer ökonomischer Stabilität. Allerdings war dies durch eine starke Abhängigkeit vom internationalen Export- und Kapitalmarkt erkaufte; in der Weltwirtschaftskrise am Ende der zwanziger Jahre stand plötzlich das ganze System vor dem Zusammenbruch. Besonders das Kleinbürgertum, also kleine Gewerbetreibende, Handwerker, Bauern, Teile der Beamtens- und Angestelltenschaft verloren ihre Existenz. Ihnen drohte der soziale Abstieg in ein proletarisches Dasein. Bei der Arbeiterschaft herrschte Massenarbeitslosigkeit. Ihre Organisationen forderten unter dem Druck der Unzufriedenheit mehr oder weniger radikale Strukturereformen.

Verängstigt durch die ökonomische Katastrophe, bildete das entwurzelte Kleinbürgertum zusammen mit Teilen des "Lumpenproletariats" das soziale Reservoir, aus dem sich die Anhängerschaft von Adolf Hitlers faschistischer Bewegung rekrutierte. Durch nebulöse soziale Vorstellungen, Aufputschen perverter Ressenvorurteile ("die Juden sind an allem schuld") und einem blindwütigen Antikommunismus gelang es der Hitler-Bewegung, das verzweifelte Kleinbürgertum zu organisieren.

Die Mächtigen der Industriekonzerne sahen in Hitler und seiner antirationalen, sozialromantischen und anti-sozialistischen Bewegung den einzigen Ausweg zur Sicherung ihrer Herrschaft. Sie finanzierten die "Bewegung", stellten die Publikationsmittel Presse und Film in deren Dienst. Hitlers Aufstieg war fast gesichert, da er zudem in der Armeeführung und der autoritär denkenden Verwaltung eine natürliche Anhängerschaft besaß.

Ernsthaften Widerstand konnte nur die Arbeiterbewegung leisten. Aber: die KPD agierte unter stalinistischer Führung und Kontrolle für die außenpolitischen Bedürfnisse der Sowjetunion. Ihre Politik war in den entscheidenden Jahren stärker von der Konkurrenz

zur Sozialdemokratie als von der Notwendigkeit des Kampfes gegen den Faschismus bestimmt. Die SPD vervielfachte die Lähmung der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung durch ihre Versuche, die nahende Katastrophe durch parlamentarische Reformarbeit aufzuhalten. Doch die politisch relevanten Entscheidungen wurden längst an anderen Stellen getroffen. So konnte der deutsche Faschismus mit Unterstützung des Großkapitals und mit antidemokratischen, anti-sozialistischen, anti-intellektuellen und anti-jüdischen Phrasen die Macht erobern.

Was danach geschah, das millionenfache Morden, die räuberischen Überfälle auf überraschte Länder, der Perversion all dessen, das einmal dazu führte, Deutschland "das Land der Dichter und Denker" zu nennen, es war im Ansatz bereits in den Jahren vor 1933 vorhanden; eine schauderhafte Konsequenz der Inkonsistenz deutscher politischer und kultureller Vergangenheit. Und vergessen wir nicht: Millionen deutscher Menschen billigten die nazistischen Greuel, halfen mit, Hitlers abstruse Ideen zur Wirklichkeit werden zu lassen.

III Die Entwicklung im Nachkriegsdeutschland - oder: die ausgebliebene Erneuerung.

Der deutsche Faschismus wurde nicht aus eigener Kraft der Deutschen beseitigt, sondern von außen, durch die alliierten Streitkräfte niedergeworfen. Deutschland wurde in einen östlichen und einen westlichen Einflußbereich aufgeteilt. Die politische und geistige Führungsschicht der Arbeiterbewegung und der liberalen Intelligenz war zerschlagen, in den Konzentrationslagern und Zuchthäusern ermordet, auf den Schlacht-Feldern ganz Europas verblutet. Das Land lag materiell und geistig in Trümmern. Demokratisches Bewußtsein war nur noch unartikuliert und spärlich vorhanden.

Doch Viele hielten die Zeit für gekommen, endlich eine "neue, bessere Gesellschaft" aufzubauen. Quer durch alle neu- oder wiedergegründeten Parteien und politische Organisationen ging der Gedanke, daß Strukturveränderungen von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft notwendig sind, um die Wurzeln des Faschismus zu beseitigen. Damals war es Allgemeinplatz politischen Denkens, daß die kapitalistische Profitwirtschaft die Demokratie vor 1933 funktionsunfähig gemacht hatte. Eine ganze Reihe von "Umgestaltungsprogrammen" wurden entworfen: die Vergesellschaftung der Produktion, Arbeiterselbstverwaltung, Planwirtschaft, demokratische Kontrolle der Publikationsmittel waren als unabdingbare Voraussetzungen einer krisenfesten, humanen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Demokratie erkannt.

Die Programme blieben jedoch zumeist Programme. Durch die Notwendigkeit des gemeinsamen Kampfes gegen Hitler-Deutschland war die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kapitalismus und Kommunismus für eine Zeit vertagt worden. Nach der erfolgreichen Niederwerfung des Nazi-Faschismus brach dann der Konflikt mit aller Heftigkeit aus. Deutschland befand sich plötzlich im Zentrum einer globalen Auseinandersetzung zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und der Sowjetunion - den führenden Mächten der beiden konkurrierenden Ordnungssysteme. Kapitalismus und Kommunismus begannen ihre Einflußbereiche gegeneinander abzusichern. Jede Seite war dabei bemüht, die diskreditierten alten Machtträger auszuschalten und die Gesellschaft nach ihrem Vorbild zu organisieren.

Im Osten Deutschlands versuchte die Sowjetunion durch stalinistisch-bürokratische Praktiken eine "Volksdemokratie" nach sowjetischem Muster zu errichten. Ohne die besonderen Verhältnisse Deutschlands

zu beachten, schuf man dort auf dem Verwaltungswege die Grundlagen für eine "neue Gesellschaft". Obwohl in der späteren DDR viele Forderungen der alten demokratisch-sozialistischen Bewegung "erfüllt" wurden (d.h. durch Verwaltungsakte sanktioniert!), mißlang der Aufbau einer demokratischen und sozialistischen Gesellschaft. Die bürokratisch-diktatorische Praxis der (durch Zwangsfusion von SPD und KPD entstandenen) "Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED) ließ die Masse der Arbeiterschaft ohne gesellschaftlichen Einfluß, kam dem schon traditionellen Untertanengeist entgegen, unterdrückte alle ihr nicht genehme politische Aktivität. Es zeigte sich bald: Sozialismus und Demokratie lassen sich nicht bürokratisch "verwirklichen", sondern nur durch aktiven Einsatz der Bevölkerung erkämpfen. Das fehlende sozialistische Massenbewußtsein versuchten die Regierenden durch massive Propaganda und permanente Agitation zu "erzeugen" - doch sie erzeugten zumeist nur Unbehagen oder bestenfalls unreflektiertes Nachplappern von zu Phrasen verdinglichten sozialistischen Gedanken.

In den 3 Westzonen nahm die politische und soziale Entwicklung einen anderen Verlauf. Die Politik der Alliierten schränkte die Handlungsfreiheit der antifaschistischen Kräfte und der demokratischen Gruppierungen weitgehend ein. Es war eine Illusion zu glauben, die Militärbehörden als Repräsentanten der bürgerlich-kapitalistischen Demokratien des Westens würden bei der Gestaltung eines demokratisch-sozialistischen Deutschlands mithelfen. Die Politik der Westmächte war darauf ausgerichtet, Deutschland so schnell wie möglich zu einem "Bollwerk gegen den Kommunismus" auszubauen. Der offizielle Antifaschismus der Alliierten, die Versuche zu "entnazifizieren", das naive re-education-program, die Auflösung der großen Kartelle und marktbeherrschenden Monopole ließen bei vielen Deutschen die illusionäre Hoffnung aufkommen, die Regierungen der USA, Großbritanniens und Frankreichs würden den Deutschen zu der sozialen Ordnung verhelfen, welche sie im eigenen Lande mit allen Mitteln zu verhindern suchten.

Die "Entnazifizierung" personifizierte die Schuld an den Verbrechen des 3. Reiches; sie richtete sich nur gegen belastete Personen, nicht aber gegen die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse, welche die Grundlagen des Faschismus bildeten. Es wurde nicht daran gedacht, die aus der privaten Verfügungsgewalt über die Produktionsmittel der Gesellschaft resultierende, unkontrollierte Macht des Unternehmertums zu brechen.

Obwohl überall in den Westzonen die Forderung nach einer sozialistisch getönten Demokratie erhoben wurde, konnte nichts darüber hinwegtäuschen, daß diese Forderung nur von einer bewußten Minderheit vertreten wurde, daß keine starke Bewegung der Massen bereit war, sie durchzusetzen. Eine umgestaltende Praxis der westdeutschen Arbeiterbewegung blieb aus; die historische Erfahrung der Niederlage vor dem Faschismus war noch zu frisch; als die Militärbehörden Einspruch erhoben, machte sich die Resignation breit, wo es gegolten hätte, real zu verändern.

Gegen den Widerstand der Militärbehörden begann die deutsche Arbeiterschaft jedoch schon gleich nach dem Zusammenbruch des Hitlerregimes die industrielle Produktion aufzunehmen. Dabei bleiben die Regimes die industrielle Produktion aufzunehmen. Dabei bleiben die Überkommenen Besitzverhältnisse unangetastet. Der anfängliche Widerstand der Alliierten schlug bald in Unterstützung um: die Westmächte konnten auf das industrielle Potential - besonders des Ruhr-

gebietes - nicht verzichten. Die kurz nach Kriegsende begonnenen Demontagen von Industrieanlagen wurden gestoppt. Eine rasche wirtschaftliche Aufwärtsentwicklung sollte die Grundlage für eine stabile Demokratie bilden. Radikalen Entwicklungen versuchte man durch eine verfassungsmäßig garantierte starke Machtposition der vom Parlament gewählten Regierung vorzubeugen. Massive Dollarhilfen - im Rahmen des european-reconstruction-program, die Errichtung modernster Produktionsstätten, der Verzicht der Gewerkschaften auf angemessene Lohnforderungen, das Fehlen von Rüstungskosten, der Verzicht der Siegermächte auf sofortige Reparationszahlungen - sie bildeten die Grundlagen des später als "Wirtschaftswunder" bezeichneten Wiederaufstiegs des westdeutschen Kapitalismus.

#### IV Wirtschaftswunder und Antikommunismus - Grundlagen der neuen Ordnung

So wurden die Ansätze zu einer Neuordnung ganz Deutschlands in dem mit aller Heftigkeit tobenden kalten Krieg zerstört. Die weitere Entwicklung des Landes vollzog sich nach einem westlichen und einem östlichen Modell - wodurch alle schematischen Vorstellungen von "Wiedervereinigung" durch die reale gesellschaftliche Entwicklung ad absurdum geführt wurden. Es gibt seitdem zwei deutsche Staaten, zwischen denen weniger Gemeinsamkeiten bestehen als zwischen etwa Australien und Frankreich.

Aus den 3 Westzonen entstand die Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Verhinderung der sozialistischen Neugestaltung ließ - zusammen mit der rasch steigenden Produktivität der westdeutschen Wirtschaft und dem sich ständig verbessernden Lebensstandard - die Ursachen und Schuldigen an der deutschen Katastrophe bald in Vergessenheit geraten. Mit Eifer wurde "politische Demokratisierung" betrieben. Parteien konkurrierten um die Staatsmacht, freie und geheime Wahlen wurden abgehalten, es herrschte weitgehende Rede- und Pressefreiheit - alle formalen Attribute einer bürgerlich-parlamentarischen Demokratie waren vorhanden. Gleichzeitig konsolidierte sich der westdeutsche Kapitalismus immer mehr. Seine ökonomische Macht vervielfachte sich gegenüber der Zeit vor 1933. Durch die europäischen Zusammenschlüsse: EWG, Montan-Union, EURATOM usw. wurden neue Absatzmärkte erschlossen. Westdeutschland war wenige Jahre nach dem Krieg zur zweitstärksten Industriemacht des Westens aufgerückt und übernahm einen ständig wachsenden Anteil des Exportgeschäftes auf den internationalen Märkten.

Die Löhne stiegen wesentlich langsamer an als die Produktivität; jedoch garantierte die Konjunktur auch der Arbeiterschaft einen Lebensstandard wie nie zuvor. Stimuliert durch die hohen Exportgewinne vollzog sich in der Industrie eine Selbstfinanzierung der Unternehmen - verbunden mit immer bedeutender werdender Monopolbildung. Dadurch häufte sich, in einem nach Kriegsende noch unvorstellbarem Maße, gesellschaftliche Macht bei wenigen Finanzgruppen an.

Seit 1949 wird die Bundesrepublik durch eine Regierung unter Führung der Christlich-Demokratischen-Union verwaltet. Diese Partei führte eine Innen-, Außen- und Wirtschaftspolitik, wie sie den Interessen des deutschen Unternehmertums entsprach. Gleichzeitig verstand sie es, den Schein demokratischer Selbstbestimmung des Wahlvolkes zu wahren. Die Mitwirkung der Sozialdemokraten beschränkte

sich auf die Verwaltung der Kommunen und einiger Länder - doch hier war ihnen durch die Gesetzgebung und Finanzpolitik der Bundesregierung wenig Raum für eigene politische Entscheidungen gegeben.

Kennzeichnend für die Struktur der westdeutschen Demokratie ist die Verlagerung der politischen Macht und Entscheidungsbefugnis vom Parlament zur politischen Administration und von den Partei-Mitgliedern und Wählern zu den institutionalisierten Partei-Apparaten. Begünstigt durch eine raffinierte Gesetzgebung, stiegen ehemals führende Nazis bald wieder in führende Positionen auf - und wurden zu Schlüsselfiguren in Wirtschaft, Verwaltung und Justiz; die Restauration alter Machtstrukturen vollzog sich so unter der Oberfläche eines demokratisch regierten Landes.

Aus der sowjetisch besetzten Zone Deutschlands entstand die Deutsche Demokratische Republik. Hier wurde eine neue Gesellschaftsordnung entwickelt, welche aus einer komplizierten Mischung begrüßenswerter Neuerungen und Perversionen sozialistischer Vorstellungen besteht.

Die alten Säulen der Macht: privater Besitz an Produktionsmitteln, ständisch-autoritärer Justiz- und Verwaltungsapparat und antidemokratische Armeeführung wurden zerschlagen. An ihre Stelle trat jedoch nicht eine demokratische Selbstbestimmung der arbeitenden Bevölkerung, sondern die bürokratische Herrschaft einer Partei.

Durch Verwaltungsanordnungen und plakathafte Propaganda versuchte man "den Sozialismus zu verwirklichen"; da die herrschende Funktionärsschicht der Bevölkerung kein ernstzunehmendes Mitspracherecht bei der Gestaltung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens gewährte, traten Schwierigkeiten über Schwierigkeiten bei der Realisierung der SED-Kopien sowjetischer Pläne auf. Politischer Druck, Meinungsterror und sture Verwaltungsakte sollten die Übereinstimmung von herrschender Politik und politischem Bewußtsein der Bevölkerung erzwingen. Hiermit steigerte man aber die Unlust und das Desinteresses, besonders der Arbeiterschaft und der Intelligenz-Schichten, immer mehr. Dazu kam noch die sehr ungünstige wirtschaftliche Ausgangsposition der DDR: während die Westzonen bereits Dollerhilfen erhielten, zahlte die Sowjetzone noch Reparationskosten; dem, verglichen mit der Bundesrepublik, kleinen ostdeutschen Staat, fehlten die natürlichen Rohstoff- und Energiequellen usw., Erfolg: der Lebensstandard der Bevölkerung hinkte um Jahre hinter dem der westdeutschen Bevölkerung einher. Das alles führte zu einer ständigen Abwanderung - vor allem junger, gut ausgebildeter Menschen - aus der DDR in die Bundesrepublik, wodurch die Schwächung der Wirtschaftskraft potenziert wurde.

Die Praxis der SED in der DDR zwang die westdeutsche Arbeiterbewegung zur Distanzierung. Die Furcht vor einer "Bolschewisierung" Gesamtdeutschlands nährte gleichzeitig einen militanten Antikommunismus, der von seinen Nutznießern mit allen erdenklichen Mitteln angeheizt wurde. In diesem politischen Klima vollzog sich eine immer stärkere Angleichung der politischen Parteien der Bundesrepublik - wodurch der Prozeß der Restauration alter Machtstrukturen beschleunigt wurde. - Reale politische Entscheidungen wurden weitgehend vom Unternehmertum - via Parlaments-Lobby und "fachlicher Beratung" - und von der sich immer mehr verselbständigenden Verwaltungsbürokratie getroffen.

Der Antikommunismus avancierte zur offiziellen Ideologie der Bundesrepublik. Unter Verzicht auf rationale und intelligente Kritik an den gesellschaftlichen Zuständen und Fehlentwicklungen in der DDR mobilisiert/er Emotionen - so gelingt es leicht, jegliche Gesellschaftskritik zu diskreditieren und dadurch die Machtverhältnisse in der eigenen Gesellschaftsordnung zu verschleiern.

Bei genauerer Analyse zeigt es sich, daß der Antikommunismus im heutigen politischen Leben eine ähnliche Funktion erfüllt wie der Judenhaß im 3. Reich. Seine Methoden sind nur subtiler und gestattet, den demokratischen Schein aufrecht zu erhalten. Im gleichen Maße, wie es gelang, die "nationalen Interessen" ideologisch mit denen der bürgerlichen Industriegesellschaft zu identifizieren, konnte jegliche Kritik an den herrschenden Zuständen als "kommunistisch" diffamiert werden. Damit bekam die herrschende Gruppe ein Mittel in die Hand, um legal (?) und (fast) ohne physische Gewalt, Opposition als Opposition zu liquidieren - oder auch: oppositionelle Gruppen und Parteien zu zwingen, geistige und politische Positionen der Herrschenden zu übernehmen. An der Geschichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei ließe sich diese These leicht verifizieren .

Im Zuge der wachsenden Zufriedenheit mit den materiellen Verhältnissen führten die extremen Methoden des Anti-Kommunismus zu einer extremen Ent-Politisierung der Bevölkerung. Da sich politischer Erfolg, bei der Struktur der Bundesrepublik, nur als Wählerfolg auszuweisen vermag, näherten sich auch die Organisationen der Arbeiterbewegung allmählich den herrschenden politischen Positionen. Die zur Demokratisierung notwendigen gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen gerieten aus dem theoretischen und praktischen Bewußtsein - wurden nicht nur noch von isolierten Gruppen sozialistischer Intellektueller und einflußlosen Teilen der SPD und einzelner Gewerkschaften vertreten. Da die antikommunistische Ideologie nur an die schlechten Traditionen der faschistischen Propaganda anzuknüpfen brauchte, war es ehemaligen Nazis einfach gemacht, wieder in führende Stellungen der Politik und Publizistik zu gelangen: Antikommunismus genügte den meisten als Legitimation für demokratische Haltung.

Durch den Wiederaufbau einer starken Armee wurden die Tendenzen zur langsamen Umwandlung der Bundesrepublik in ein autoritäres, geistig gleichgeschaltetes Staatsgebilde gewaltig gefördert. Die schleichende Restauration der alten Machtstrukturen findet hier ihre Krönung. Im antikommunistischen Klima der Bundesrepublik, welches durch die unglückliche Politik der Regierenden der DDR und die westdeutsche Presse ständig reproduziert wird, gelang es in der Mitte der fünfziger Jahre nicht, die Bewegung gegen die Remilitarisierung der Bundesrepublik zu einer breiten, politisch wirksamen Volksbewegung gegen den Militarismus zu transformieren. Pazifistische und antimilitaristische Organisationen gerieten bald nach der "Gründung" der Bundeswehr in die Isolation.

Die Armeeführung gab sich nach außen loyal-demokratisch und baute gleichzeitig eine autoritär geführte, mit modernsten Waffen ausgerüstete Wehrmacht auf. Durch ein formales Bekenntnis zur parlamentarischen Demokratie und ein fanatisches zum Anti-Kommunismus erreichten auch die ehemaligen Hitler-Generäle ihre Wiederverwendung. Die Bundeswehr bildet heute einen der undemokratischsten, autoritärsten (und damit politisch gefährlichsten) Teile der bundesrepublikanischen Gesellschaft.

V Wie wird es weitergehen - in den beiden Deutschlands?

Es ist kein hoffnungsvolles Bild, was die Betrachtung deutscher Zustände ergibt. Wie sind Änderungen möglich? Wo sind die Kräfte, um die Zustände zu ändern? Auch beim Blick über die Grenze, in die DDR, wird einem nicht wohl; wie wird es dort weitergehen?

In der Bundesrepublik zeigt sich überdeutlich, daß der Kampf für eine friedliche Welt, für Abrüstung und Entspannung, für demokratische Selbstgestaltung der Gesellschaft, wesentlich als innenpolitischer Kampf gegen jene gesellschaftlichen Zustände zu führen ist, welche all diesen Hoffnungen entgegenstehen. Die Gegenkräfte müssen klar erkannt werden, der Zustand der Gesellschaft genau analysiert, die Zusammenhänge zwischen politischer Alltags-Praxis und gesellschaftlichen Strömungen gehören durchleuchtet, das politische Allgemeinbewußtsein - seine ideologische Funktion und gesellschaftliche Vermittlung - müssen berücksichtigt werden.

Die großen Parteien und Organisationen der Bundesrepublik sind weitgehend ins herrschende System eingepaßt, durch die Teilnahme an der Macht korumpiert. Ihre Opposition geht - falls die Überhaupt geübt wird - gegen unangenehme Symptome, nicht gegen die eigentlichen Ursachen. Von hier sind kaum Änderungen zu erwarten.

Doch außerhalb der großen Parteien kristallisiert sich eine andere Form gesellschaftlicher Opposition: Aus intellektueller Kritik an der grassierenden kulturellen Verflachung und der Verdinglichung des Menschen im profit- und konsumorientierten System; aus humanem Protest gegen die anti-vernünftige, menschenverachtende Politik der atomaren Erpressungsversuche; aus Unbehagen an der politischen Gleichschaltung und der Entartung der Parteien zu Verwaltungsorganen; aus dem Vergleich zwischen der Realität der fortschreitenden Aushöhlung der Verfassung und der demokratisch drepierten Phraseologie der Herrschenden.

Jene latente Opposition überspringt die Grenzen traditioneller Weltanschauungen; sie äußert sich in den intellektuellen Sendungen der Nachtstudios der Rundfunkstationen; artikuliert sich in einer Reihe Zeitschriften und Zeitungen; findet ihren Niederschlag in den Debatten und Beschlüssen von Jugendkongressen. Sie hat sich eine erste - allerdings noch bescheidene - Aktionsform in den Ostermärschen der Atomwaffengegner, der Kampagne für Abrüstung, geschaffen.

Gesellschaftlich mitbestimmend kann sie jedoch erst dann werden, wenn die internationalen Tendenzen zur Abrüstung und Entspannung so stark geworden sind, daß deren Konfrontation mit den deutschen Zuständen das deutsche Allgemeinbewußtsein zu erheben vermag.

Institut für...

Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
in der War Resisters International e.V.

Stichworte zu dem Referat für die WRI-Studienkonferenz vom  
9. - 15. 8. 1964 in Offenbach (Deutschland) von Gerhard Grüning

24.10.64

DEUTSCHLAND NACH DEM II. WELTKRIEG

Vorwort

Gefühlsgeladenes Thema; Ich will nur Tatsachen geben; Aber schon  
die Auswahl ist schwierig.

Vier Hauptteile:

1. Einleitung, Errichtung des Kontrollrates, Potsdam
2. Durchführung der Potsdamer Beschlüsse, Beginn des kalten Krieges;
3. Währungsreform, Berlin-Blockade, Errichtung der Bundesrepublik  
(Abgrenzung der Blöcke) und Konsolidierung, vor allem: Aufrüstung  
beider Teile Deutschlands;
4. Wiedervereinigungsversuche 1950 - 52, vom 17.6.1953 - 13.8.1961,  
die Lage heute.

1. Teil

1.1 Einleitung:

Nur ein paar Worte über Ergebnisse des Krieges und Beschlüsse der  
Alliierten während des Krieges:

Der 2. Weltkrieg forderte wahrscheinlich über 51 Mill. Menschenleben,  
davon etwa 36 1/2 Mill. in Europa. (U.a. kamen um: etwa 7 Mill. Deut-  
sche und Volksdeutsche und 1 1/3 Mill. Österreicher; USA 1/4 Mill.;  
Großbritannien 1/3 Mill.; Frankreich 3/4 Mill.; Sowjetunion 20,6 Mill.  
Menschen; Polen 4 1/2 Mill.; Jugoslawien 1,7 Mill. Tote)  
Deutschland war militärisch völlig geschlagen und musste bedingungs-  
los kapitulieren; eine Dolchstoßlegende war nicht mehr glaubhaft.  
Auch die Kriegsschuldfrage war klar. Die Not war ungeheuer groß; es  
gab keinen Widerstand gegen die Besetzung (Wehrwolf).

Die Alliierten hatten (8.1.1943) in Casablanca geklärt, daß die Atlantic  
Charta (14.8.1941) nicht für Deutschland (und Japan) gilt: Bedingungs-  
lose Unterwerfung.

In Taheran (Nov./Dez. 1943) wurde über die Teilung Deutschlands (USA  
dafür); keine Einigung erzielt. Nur die Abtretung Nord-Ostpreussens an  
die Sowjetunion und die Grenzen Polens (Curzon-Linie, Oder-Neisse-Li-  
nie) wurden festgelegt.

In Yalta (Febr. 1945) wurde die Errichtung eines Kontrollrates in Ber-  
lin beschlossen. Über Teilung Deutschlands (diesmal Stalin dafür) kei-  
ne Einigung; Teilungsausschuss (jetzt Stalin gegen Teilung) ohne Ergeb-  
nis.

1.2. Errichtung des Kontrollrates:

Am 8./9.5.1945 kapitulierte Deutschland; am 22.5. wurde die "Regierung"  
Dönitz verhaftet. Frankreich war (in Yalta beschlossen) zur 4. Besat-  
zungsmacht aufgerückt.

Am 5.6.1945 erließen 4 Siegermächte eine Erklärung: Kontrollrat der 4  
Generäle errichtet.

Deutschland wurde nun in 8 Zonen verwaltet:

1. Gebiet Kellingrad (13.200 qkm; Teil der RSFSR der SU)
2. Gebiet unter polnischer Verwaltung (100.651 qkm; 6 Woiwod.)
3. sowjetische Besatzungszone (SBZ; 107.410 qkm)
4. amerikanische Besatzungszone (ABZ; 107.400 qkm mit Bremen)

5. britische Besatzungszone (BBZ; 97.700 qkm)
6. französische Besatzungszone (FBZ; 40.200 qkm)
7. Seargebiet (2.567 qkm; Abtrennung von FBZ am 22.12.1946 beendet)
8. Berlin (West - 481 qkm, Ost - 399 qkm) unter Vier-Mächte-Verwaltung.

Gleichzeitig zogen sich die west-alliierten Truppen auf die Zonengrenze zurück und begannen die Vertreibungen der Deutschen aus den polnisch verwalteten und anderen Gebieten (z.B. Böhmen). Stettin war ohne Konsultation des Westens polnisch geworden.

1.3. Die Potsdamer Konferenz (17.7. bis 2.8.1945; ohne Frankreich) beschloss:  
die Entmilitarisierung und Entnazifizierung Deutschlands; Besatzungstruppen sollten nicht mit Deutschen fraternisieren;  
die Zulassung von demokratischen Parteien und politischer Selbstverwaltung;  
die Errichtung von 5 zentralen deutschen Verwaltungsabteilungen (Finanz, Transport, Verkehr, Aussenhandel, Industrie) unter dem Kontrollrat;  
die Entflechtung und Enteignung der Monopol-Industrie, Demontage der Rüstungs-Industrie; die Industrie sollte 50-55 % der von 1938 betragen;  
Reparationen in Höhe von 20 Milliarden RM (Die Sowjetunion sollte 1.) aus ihrer BZ entschädigt werden, 2.) aus West-Deutschland 10 % der Reparationen kostenlos und weitere 15 % für Gegenlieferungen erhalten.  
Frankreich erkannte manches an (z.B. die Oder-Neisse-Linie), anderes nicht (z.B. zentrale deutsche Verwaltungsstellen).

## 2. Teil

2.1. Durchführung der Potsdamer Beschlüsse:

Allgemein: In den Zonen unterschiedlich. Entnazifizierung: Nürnberger Prozesse psychologisch wirkungslos (Not; - nur Sieger Richter, nur Besiegte angeklagt).

In der SBZ oft sehr harte Strafen aufgrund unkontrollierter Denunziationen;

in der FBZ von der Einstellung zu Frankreich und den französischen Parteien (örtlich unterschiedlich) abhängig;

in der ABZ/BBZ von "Persilschein"-Handel abhängig; in ABZ begünstigen gleichmacherische Strafen Geschäftsleute und Reiche.

Parteien: Zuerst in der SBZ zugelassen, Herbst 1945 auch im Westen.

KPD von Ulbricht-Leuten (30.4. aus Moskau eingeflogen) beherrscht.

SPD von Grotewohl (Mit Sowjets auskommen!) einerseits und Schumacher (gegen alle Besatzungsmächte; national!) andererseits gegründet. Ab Dezember

1945 erfolgt Druck "von unten" auf Grotewohl; Schumacher empfiehlt (Fe-

bruar 1946) Selbst-Auflösung der SBZ-SPD. Neumann setzt in Berlin Urab-

stimmung durch: 82 % der Mitglieder gegen Fusion mit KPD, 12 1/2 % da-

für.

April 1946 Fusion von SPD und KPD in der SBZ zur SED (in Berlin gibt es

SPD und SED, im Westen SPD und KPD)

CDU von Hermes/Berlin und Kloster Walberberg sozial konzipiert. Noch im

Februar 1947 fordert das Ahlener Programm Vergesellschaftung von Indu-

striezweigen. Aber da hat sich Adenauer schon durchgesetzt. In der SBZ

wird im Dez. 1947 Nuschke (russophil) als Nachfolger von Kaiser und Lem-

mer eingesetzt.

Liberele Parteien entwickeln sich zur LDPD (SBZ) und FDP (Westen). Im

Westen entstehen auch lokale Parteien (BP, NLP u.a.)

Gemeinde- und Landtags-Wahlen bringen in der SBZ ein Übergewicht der SED

(Sept. 1946: 57 %; Okt. 1946: 47 1/2 %), in den drei West - Zonen ein,

durch kleine Parteien und FDP verstärktes, Übergewicht der CDU (37,6 %;

SPD: 35 %)

2.2. Beginn des Kalten Krieges:

Die Außenminister-Rats-Tagungen der vier Besatzungsmächte führen zunächst noch zu Friedensverträgen mit Finnland, Italien, Ungarn, Rumänien, Bulgarien (Mai 1946 beschlossen, Febr. 1947 unterschrieben), aber zu keiner Einigung über Deutschland.

Churchill spricht am 5.3.1946 vom Eisernen Vorhang, am 16.9. über Einigung Europas und deutsch-französische Aussöhnung.

Am 25.5.1946 werden die Reparations-Lieferungen aus Westdeutschland an die Sowjetunion eingestellt. (Beginn des Kalten Krieges) Die Erklärung des Kalten Krieges wird den Deutschen am 6.9.1946 mitgeteilt: Byrnes-Runde in Stuttgart.

Am 1.1.1947 wird die Bi-Zone errichtet (beschlossen am 2.12.1946), am (29.5.) 25.6. der Wirtschaftsrat; im Juli 1947 wird der Bi-Zone 100 % der deutschen Industrie-Kapazität von 1936 zugestanden.

Am 14.6.1947 wird die Wirtschaftskommission der SBZ eingerichtet.

Der Marshall-Plan läuft 1947 an (Marshall's Rede am 5.6.) ohne CSR.

Am 5.6. beginnt und endet auch die Konferenz aller deutschen Ministerpräsidenten (ohne Saar), der letzte Einigungsversuch. Ende 1947 bildet die SED einen Volkskongress, der vergeblich eine Delegation an die vier Außenminister nach London schickt.

Februar/März 1948 brechen in Telengana/Indien, Birma, Malaya, Indonesien kommunistische Aufstände los: Nord-Korea und CSR werden Volksdemokratien (in Finnland scheitert der Versuch); Jugoslawien soll unterworfen werden (Brief vom 27.3.). In der SBZ entsteht ein Deutscher Volksrat, im April werden Nationaldemokratische und Bauern-Partei gegründet.

Im Westen beschließt die Sechs-Mächte-Konferenz in London (mit BeNeLux), daß Westdeutschland aufgebaut werden soll; die OEEC wird (16.4.) gegründet, mit der Bi-Zone als Mitglied; der bi-zonale Wirtschaftsrat wird umgebildet und wählt CDU-Direktoren. Am 17.3.1948 wird der Brüsseler Pakt gegründet.

Die Sowjets wollen über die Brüsseler Beschlüsse orientiert werden; als das nicht geschieht, wird am 20.3.1948 die Kontrollratsitzung vertagt. (Bis heute noch nicht fortgesetzt.)

3. Teil

3.1. Die Entstehung zweier deutscher Staaten:

Die zweite Sechs-Mächte-Konferenz in London beschloß (20.4.-2.6.) zwar noch Ruhrkontrolle und ein Sicherheitsamt, aber bereits die Errichtung der Bundesrepublik und als Voraussetzung dazu (geheim) die Währungsreform.

Sie wird in der Bi-Zone und der FBZ am 18.6. verkündet und am 20.6. durchgeführt. Sachwert- und besonders Aktien-Besitzer werden begünstigt, Rentner und besonders Sparer geschädigt, aber sie ist wirksam. Am 23./24.6. folgt improvisiert die Währungsreform der SBZ.

3.2. In Berlin gelten vom 24.6.1948 - 19.3.1949 West- und Ost-Währung.

Am 24.6. beginnt die Berliner Blockade, die auch eine lokale Vorgeschichte hat.

Das Wahlergebnis von Oktober 1946 (SPD 48,7%; CDU 22,2% SED 19,8% LDP 9,3%) führte zur Wahl Ostrowskis/SPD zum Oberbürgermeister. Er erwies sich als zu sowjetfreundlich und wurde im April von SPD, CDU, LDP (104 von 130 Abgeordneten) durch Ernst Reuter (Gen.Sekr. der KPD bis 1922) ersetzt. Da die Sowjets Reuter nicht bestätigten, amtierte Luise Schröder als Oberbürgermeister.

Im Frühjahr 1948 kam es zu weiteren Spannungen: Am 18.3. organisierte Reuter eine 1/2-Millionen-Kundgebung, um die West-Alliierten "fest ans Herz zu drücken, damit sie nicht fortlaufen"; im April spaltete sich die Universität, im Mai der Gewerkschaftsbund. Am 16.6. verließen die

Sowjets die bisher letzte Sitzung der Alliierten Kommandantur für Berlin; die Luftsicherheitszentrale u.a. besteht noch.  
 Die Blockade (24.6.48 bis 12.5.49) wurde sofort durch die Luftbrücke beantwortet: In 10 1/2 Monaten 200.000 Flüge mit 1.440.000 t Lebensmittel, Kohle und Waren (auch ein Elektrizitätswerk).  
 Die Spaltung Berlins geht weiter: 30.11.1948 wird Ebert zum Oberbürgermeister (Ost) ernannt, am 5.12. Reuter zum Oberbürgermeister (West) gewählt. Ab 20.3. gilt in West-Berlin nur noch West-DM, am 14.5.49 erhält West-Berlin ein Besatzungstatut.  
 Inzwischen wird (ab 29.6.1948) die SED eine "Partei neuen Typs" (Kader-Partei nach sowjetischem Vorbild).

3.3. In Deutschland außerhalb Berlins werden in dieser Zeit zwei Staaten vorbereitet: Am 1.9.1948 konstituiert sich der Parlamentarische Rat, billigt am 8.5.1949 das Grundgesetz (vorher Krise um Föderalismus), das Ende Mai 1949 verkündet wird.  
 15./16.5. Wahlen (Einheitsliste) in SBZ - 14.8. Bundestagswahlen in der Trizone (1.1.1949 FBZ an Bi-Zone angegliedert).

29/30.5. Verfassung der DDR angenommen  
 7.9. Bundestag konstituiert - 7.10. Volkskammer  
 12.9. Heuss Bundespräsident - 11.10. Pieck DDR-Präsident  
 15.9. Adenauer Kanzler - 12.10. Grotewohl Minister-Präsident.  
 Dabei wurde Ost-Berlin Teil der DDR (die völkerrechtlich nur vom Ost-Block, von Jugoslawien und der Provinz Sansibar anerkannt wird). West-Berlin wurde nach deutschem Recht ein Land der Bundesrepublik, sitzt im Bundesrat und entsendet (nicht direkt gewählte) Abgeordnete in den Bundestag; nach alliierterem Recht bleibt es (Teil des) Besatzungsgebiet(s) Berlin, das von (3 für) 4 Besatzungsmächten gemeinsam verwaltet wird: Daraus hat es in der Bundesrepublik kein Stimmrecht und muß alle Bundesgesetze als eigene Gesetze nochmals beschließen. (Artikel 87 der Bundesverfassung vom 29.8.1950 hebt Artikel 1 teilweise auf.) Es zahlt Steuern und erhält finanzielle Bundeshilfe.  
 Das Petersberger Abkommen (24.11.1949) erlaubte der Bundesrepublik, dem Europa-Rat beizutreten (31.3.1950), konsularische Beziehungen zum Ausland aufzunehmen, beendete die Demontagen usw. und verpflichtete die Bundesrepublik, die Neubildung von deutschen Streitkräften zu verhindern. Die Hohen Kommissare blieben zunächst.  
 In der DDR blieb auch eine Kontrollkommission der Sowjets; mit den Ost-Blockländern konnte die DDR aber bereits diplomatische Beziehungen aufnehmen. Am 6.7.1950 erkannte die DDR die Oder-Neisse-Linie an.

3.4. Aufrüstung:  
 Am 25.6.1950 begann der Korea-Krieg (bis 10.7.1951/27.7.1953), am 26.11.1950 griff die Volksrepublik China (seit 1.10.1949 vorhanden) in ihn ein.  
 In der DDR wurde die DGP (Deutsche Grenzpolizei, 1946 gebildet) und KVP (Kasernierte Volkspolizei, Juli 1948 gebildet), die der Hauptverwaltung für Schulung unterstanden hatte, im Februar 1950 der Hauptverwaltung für Ausbildung unterstellt; Artillerie, Panzer und Nachrichtentruppen kamen hinzu. Im August 1951 wurde die KVP in 24 Regimenter ("VoPo-Dienststellen") umgegliedert. Im Juli 1952 kamen Luft- und See-Polizei hinzu (24.1.1956 Umbenennung in Nationale Volksarmee; 24.1.1962 allgemeine Wehrpflicht ohne Möglichkeit der Kriegsdienstverweigerung.)  
 Die Bundesrepublik entwickelte ihre Rüstung später (Pressefreiheit; Misstrauen in Frankreich, Holland usw.) und schneller. 1948 stellten die Länder Bereitschaftspolizei auf (kaserniert; Sept. 1952 zusammen 9.000 Mann), am 15.2.1951 kam der Bundesgrenzschutz dazu (September 1952 10.000 Mann; KVP damals 100.000 Mann).  
 Die drei West-Außenminister diskutierten in New York 12./18.9.1950 über die westdeutsche Aufrüstung; Adenauer schwenkte sofort um (Reden 24.5. und 17.8.1950 entgegengesetzt) und Bundesinnenminister Heinemann trat

am 9.10.1950 zurück. Seit 26.10.1950 (Rade Plavens) wird über eine europäische Armee mit deutschen Soldaten öffentlich geredet. Die Bundesrepublik zieht aus dieser Diskussion Vorteile: am 6.3.1951 werden alle Industrie-Beschränkungen aufgehoben und (nach Anerkennung von 14,3 Milliarden deutscher Reichsschulden) das Besatzungsstatut verbessert; am 9.7.1951 erklären Großbritannien und Frankreich den Krieg für beendet, am 18.10.1951 die USA. Der EVG-Vertrag (vom 26.5.1952), gekoppelt mit dem General-Vertrag (vom 27.5.1952; gibt der Bundesrepublik Souveränität), wird am 6.12.1952 vom Bundestag angenommen, am 31.8.1954 von Frankreich abgelehnt. Am 23.10.34 werden bereits als Ersatz die Pariser Verträge unterzeichnet, die am 5.5.1955 in Kraft treten; am 12.11.1955 die ersten Bundeswehr-Soldaten. (Auf Kriegsdienstverweigerung, Ersatzdienst usw. brauche ich ja hier nicht einzugehen.) Am 9.5.1955 trat die Bundesrepublik der am 4.4.49 gegründeten NATO bei. Darauf wird am 14.5.1955 der Warschauer Pakt unterzeichnet. Die SPD hat diese Entwicklung bekämpft bis hin zur Paulskirchenversammlung am 29.1.1955; vor den vollendeten Tatsachen kapitulierte sie mit Rücksicht auf die Wählermehrheit. Die ganze Rüstung geschah noch im Geiste der Stalin-Zeit (auch in der DDR); A-Bombe (1945, 1949) und H-Bombe (1952, 1953) hatte man nicht vollgeübt.

#### 4. Teil

4.1. Versuche, die Aufrüstung durch Vereinigung Deutschlands zu verhindern:

1. Noch vor Korea (26.5.1950) schlägt der Westen (Anregung der Bundesregierung 22.3.1950) Stalin freie gesamtdeutsche Wahlen vor; - Stalin antwortet nicht. Das wiederholt sich im September 1950.
2. Am 30.11.1950 (Volksrepublik China hat in Korea eingegriffen) schlägt Grotowohl brieflich einen paritätischen gesamtdeutschen konstituierenden Rat vor. Die Bundesregierung antwortet am 15.1.1951, erst müssten freie Wahlen stattfinden.
3. Im Herbst 1951 schlägt der Westen freie Wahlen unter UNO-Aufsicht vor. Der Osten lehnt ab (Einnischung...); die UNO-Kommission berichtet am 30.4.1952, Ulbricht mache ihre Aufgabe unerfüllbar.
4. Am 10.3.1952 schlägt die Sowjetunion vor, einen deutschen Friedensvertrag vorzubereiten; Deutschlands Grenzen und Bündnisfreiheit müssten vorher festgelegt werden. Der Westen verlangt am 25.3. erst freie Wahlen. Am 9.4.1952 stimmt Stalin freien Wahlen zu (unter 4-Mächte- statt UNO-Aufsicht), verlangt aber Bündnisfreiheit Deutschlands. Der Westen lehnt am 13.5. Festlegung der Bündnisfreiheit ab. Am 25.5./10.7. und 23.8./23.9. Briefwechsel um Art der Überwachung der Wahl und Bündnisfreiheit.
5. Am 15.7.1953 schlägt der Westen eine 4-Mächte-Konferenz vor, die am 25.1. - 18.2.1954 in Berlin stattfindet und scheitert. 1. verlangt der Westen die Reihenfolge: Freie Wahlen- Bildung einer deutschen Regierung- Friedensvertrag, die Sowjetunion die umgekehrte; 2. geht es um Bündnisfreiheit Deutschlands.

Die Sowjetunion will die DDR nicht ohne Gegenleistung abtreten (freie Wahlen als erstes hätte diese Folge), der Westen will für die Neutralisierung der DDR nicht die Neutralisierung der viel größeren Bundesrepublik geben, von der man eine große, gute Armee erhofft.

4.2. Vom Aufstand des 17.6. bis zur Berliner Mauer:

Am 26.5.1952 (EVG-Unterzeichnung!) errichtet die DDR eine Sperrzone an der Zonengrenze; am 5.3.1953 stirbt Stalin und Ulbrichts Stellung ist bedroht. Dennoch erhöht er die Normen (d.h. verringert die Löhne) am

28.5.1953. Dagegen demonstrieren am 16.6. zuerst 80, dann 10.000 ostberliner Arbeiter. Radio Rias (Westberlin, US-amerik.) verbreitet das und am 17.6. rebellieren die Arbeiter an etwa 200 Orten der DDR. (Im Bereich der Louna-Werke bilden sich Arbeiterräte nach jugoslawischem Vorbild, die die Macht übernehmen und auf die Russen hoffen.) Es gibt beiderseits Hunderte Tote, die Sowjetarmee schlägt den Aufstand nieder. Am 6.9.1953 erhält die CDU im Bundestag die absolute Mehrheit. Die Sowjets scheuen eine Neutralisierung Deutschlands stärker als vor dem 17.6.1953.

Am 25.1.1955 erklärt die Sowjetunion den Kriegszustand mit Deutschland für beendet. Zwei-Staaten-Theorie: 9.-13.9.1955 ist Adenauer in Moskau, am 20.9.1955 wird die DDR "souverän". Was möglich gewesen wäre, zeigt der österreichische Staatsvertrag vom 15.5.1955.

Der "Geist von Genf" (Juli 1955) und Enttalinisierung (Februar 1956) sowie Polen und Ungarn (Herbst 1956) ändern für Deutschland nichts. Aber die Konferenz von Bandung (April 1955) rückt die Volksrepublik China ins Licht; Chruschtschow wird härter:

10./14.11.1958 schlägt er die "Freie Stadt West-Berlin" vor; seitdem gilt für ihn die Drei-Staaten-Theorie. Die Genfer Außenminister-Konferenz (Mai 1959) über die Wiedervereinigung Berlins bleibt ohne Ergebnis, die Pariser Gipfalkonferenz (Mai 1960) scheitert an den U-2-Flügen und/oder der Volksrepublik China.

Schon lange legt der Ostblock Wert auf die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung; Ulbricht kam nicht recht mit, weil zu viel junge und hochqualifizierte Arbeitskräfte flohen (Nur vom 19.1949 bis 13.8.1961 flohen 2.564.689 Menschen aus der DDR, in die DDR weniger als 1/2 Million). Darum baute er am 13.8.1961 die Berliner Mauer. Trotz aller Proteste war man im Westen vielfach erleichtert; Der Ostblock wollte also nicht angreifen. Seitdem flohen nur noch etwa 20.000 Menschen; 104 wurden dabei von Volkspolizisten erschossen. Am 21.6.1963 wurden die Bestimmungen verschärft.

4.3. Seit dem 13.8.1961 gab es nur geringe Schwankungen. Den ergebnislosen Spannungen um den Luftkorridor nach Berlin (Februar 1962) stehen Entspannungen nach der Cuba-Krise, durch Wirtschaftsverträtungen der Bundesrepublik in den Volksdemokratien und die Passierschein-Gespräche entgegen. Strauss' Sturz und Adenauers Rücktritt brachten auch winzige Erleichterungen.

Ob eine Wiedervereinigung je kommt, ist fraglich: Holland, Belgien, Schweiz, vor allem Österreich zeigen, daß Staatsgrenzen Grenzen von Nationen erschaffen können. Für den Weltfrieden ist die Spaltung Deutschlands seit Oktober 1962 weniger gefährlich.

Ihre Überwindung scheint nur von der Weltpolitik her möglich, in der vier Machtgruppen entscheiden: 1. USA und NATO, 2. Sowjetunion und westlicher Ostblock, 3. Volksrepublik China und 4. UNO, Neutrale und Mehrzahl der Entwicklungsländer. Die vierte Gruppe ist am ersten an einer Wiedervereinigung (und Neutralisierung!) Deutschlands interessiert. Sie könnte von der Verwirklichung des Eden- oder Rapacki-Planes und/oder Keller-Planes ausgehen.

Institut für  
Politik und  
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Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
in der War Resisters' International e.V.

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Offenbach (Deutschland)

24.10.64

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Die Situation des Friedenskampfes in der Bundesrepublik

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von Dr. Th. Michaltscheff - Generalsekretär der Internationale  
der Kriegsdienstgegner (IdK) -

Der Kampf für die Erhaltung und Sicherung des Friedens in der Bundesrepublik hat seit Kriegsende verschiedene Phasen durchgemacht. Die konkreten Formen, die er dabei annahm, sind: der Kampf gegen die EWG-Verträge, gegen die Grundgesetzänderungen, die Einführung der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht, die Einschränkung der Grundrechte, die atomare Bewaffnung der Bundeswehr usw. Heute richtet sich der Kampf vorwiegend gegen die multilaterale Atommacht und die Notstandsgesetzgebung.

Faßt man den Kampf der einzelnen Phasen in einem Satz zusammen, so lautet dieser Satz: Kampf gegen die Remilitarisierungspolitik der Bundesregierung. Dieser Kampf wurde durch die militärischen Maßnahmen der Regierung herausgefordert und von der Opposition ausgefochten.

Träger dieser Opposition und somit des Friedenskampfes waren in den verschiedenen Phasen verschiedene Kreise.

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In den ersten drei Jahren nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg war das ganze deutsche Volk von einer tiefen Friedenssehnsucht erfaßt und zwar nicht, weil es plötzlich pazifistisch geworden war, sondern weil es die Nase voll von Krieg und Nationalsozialismus hatte. Umfragen, die in den Jahren 1947, 1948 und 1949 stattfanden, zeigten, daß bis 96 % der Befragten von Krieg, Kriegsdienst und Aufrüstung nichts wissen wollten.

Drei Beispiele mögen die Haltung maßgebender Kreise des deutschen Volkes veranschaulichen.

Am 18./19. Oktober 1945 verabschiedete die evangelische Kirche das Stuttgarter Schuldbekennnis, in dem sie sich anklagte, daß sie nicht mutiger bekannt, nicht treuer gebetet, nicht fester geglaubt und nicht brennender geliebt hat.

Am 10. Februar 1945 erklärte Prof. Carlo Schmid im Namen der SPD:

"In einem wollen wir kategorisch sein. Wir wollen in Deutschland keinen Krieg mehr führen, und wir wollen darum keine Vorbereitungen treffen, die das Kriegführen ermöglichen können, weder im politischen noch im wirtschaftlichen Sinne. Wir werden keine schwarze Reichswehr und keine Kampfvorbände mehr dulden."

Am 30. Dezember 1945 erklärte Dr. Adenauer namens der CDU:

"Wir sind damit einverstanden, daß wir völlig abgerüstet werden, daß unsere Kriegsindustrie zerstört wird, daß wir nach beiden Seiten hin einer langen Kontrolle unterworfen sind. Ja, ich will noch weitergehen: ich glaube, daß die Mehrheit des deutschen Volkes einverstanden wäre, wenn wir wie die Schweiz völkerrechtlich neutralisiert würden."

Eine Wendung im deutschen Volk zeichnete sich 1949 ab, als Folge der Entzweiung der ehemaligen Kriegsalliierten und der Entstehung von zwei feindlichen Machtblöcken. Als der Gegensatz zwischen Ost und West immer schärfere Formen annahm, bot Dr. Adenauer im Dezember 1949 den Amerikanern 12 deutsche Divisionen zur Verteidigung des Westens an, was von den Vereinigten Staaten und Großbritannien dankbar angenommen wurde.

Die Reaktion auf dieses Angebot war sehr sauer. Adenauers Innenminister, Dr. Gustav Heinemann, legte demonstrativ sein Amt nieder und Erich Ollenhauer erklärte am 16.12.1949 namens der SPD im Bundestag: "Die sozialdemokratische Fraktion lehnt es ab, eine deutsche Wiederaufrüstung auch nur in Erwägung zu ziehen. Der SPD-Parteitag vom 21.-25. Mai 1950 in Hamburg billigte die Haltung der Fraktion und erklärte: "Die SPD lehnt eine Wiederaufrüstung und die Einführung einer militärischen Dienstpflicht ab."

Unbekümmert um diese Reaktionen setzte jedoch die Bundesregierung ihre Wiederaufrüstungspolitik fort. Die Bundesrepublik wurde daraufhin erst in die Europäische Verteidigungsgemeinschaft (EVG) und als diese scheiterte, in die Nato aufgenommen.

Diese Entwicklung wurde besonders begünstigt durch den Ausbruch des Koreakrieges am 25. Juli 1950 und durch eine Predigt von Kardinal Frings anlässlich des Katholikentages in Bonn am 23. Juli 1950, in der er den Standpunkt vertrat, daß der Staat nicht allein das Recht, sondern auch die Pflicht habe, die gestörte Gottesordnung mit Waffengewalt wiederherzustellen und daß eine absolute Kriegsdienstverweigerung unvereinbar mit christlichem Denken sei. Diese Predigt hatte eine totale Schwenkung der Katholischen Kirche zur Folge.

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Parallel zu dieser Entwicklung ging aber auch die parlamentarische Opposition gegen die Wiederaufrüstung: im Bundestag durch die SPD sowie die außerparlamentarische Opposition im Volke, die von den Gewerkschaften und einer großen Anzahl von Organisationen und Gruppen gegen die Wiederaufrüstung geleitet wurde.

Die außerparlamentarische Opposition erreichte am 29. Januar 1955 ihren ersten Höhepunkt in der Paulskirchen-Aktion, zu der u.a. der SPD-Vorsitzende Erich Ollenhauer und der stellvertretende DGB-Vorsitzende Georg Reuter einladen hatten. Die Kundgebung verabschiedete das denkwürdige "Deutsche Manifest", in dem es u.a. heißt:

"Aus ernster Sorge um die Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands sind wir überzeugt, daß jetzt die Stunde gekommen ist, Volk und Regierung in feierlicher Form zu entschlossenem Widerstand gegen die sich immer stärker abzeichnenden Tendenzen einer endgültigen Zerreißung unseres Volkes aufzurufen ..... In dieser Stunde muß jede Stimme, die sich frei erheben darf, zu einem unüberhörbaren Warnruf vor dieser Entwicklung werden ..."

Die Paulskirchen-Aktion fand großen Anklang bei weiten Kreisen des deutschen Volkes. Überall wurden Ausschüsse zur Förderung der Aktion gebildet, die Protestkundgebungen, Demonstrationen, Schweigemärsche, Flugblattverteilungen veranstalteten. Nur die Bundesregierung und die Koalitionsparteien wollten nichts von diesem Warnruf wissen und taten ihn verächtlich als die "Stimme der Straße" ab.

Drei Monate später - am 5. Mai 1955 - erfolgte die Ratifizierung des Nato-Vertrages durch den Bundestag und der Eintritt der Bundesrepublik in die Nato. Daraufhin ließen SPD und DCB die Paulskirchen-Aktion fallen und sie verlief bald im Sande.

Am 6. März 1956 fand die zweite Grundgesetzänderung mit Zustimmung der SPD statt, die der Wiederaufrüstung der Bundesrepublik Tür und Tor öffnete. Nur 20 SPD-Abgeordnete stimmten dagegen.

Nach dieser Grundgesetzänderung folgte das Weitere mit fast zwangsläufiger Notwendigkeit.

Am 7. Juli 1956 wurde das Wehrpflichtgesetz verabschiedet.

Am 2. Januar 1957 wurden die ersten 1000 Freiwilligen eingezogen.

Am 1. April 1957 folgte die Einberufung der ersten Wehrpflichtigen, und heute zählt die Bundeswehr bereits 420 000 Mann. Das Soll von 500 000 Mann wird bald erfüllt werden.

Und was am beschämendsten ist, ist, daß die SPD, die zehn Jahre zuvor feierlich erklärt hatte: "Wir wollen unsere Söhne niemals in die Kasernen schicken", nunmehr die sozialistische Jugend aufforderte, den Kriegsdienst nicht zu verweigern, sondern in die Kasernen zu gehen, um die Ausrichtung der Bundeswehr günstig zu beeinflussen.

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Als nach dem Beitritt der Bundesrepublik in die Nato immer offenkundiger wurde, daß die Bundesregierung die atomare Ausrüstung der Bundeswehr anstrebt, traten am 12. April 1957 die 18 Göttinger Atomforscher auf den Plan und erklärten:

"Für ein kleines Land wie die Bundesrepublik glauben wir, daß es sich heute noch am besten schützt und den Weltfrieden noch am ehesten fördert, wenn es ausdrücklich und freiwillig auf den Besitz von Atomwaffen jeder Art verzichtet. Jedenfalls wäre keiner der Unterzeichneten bereit, sich an der Herstellung, der Erprobung oder dem Einsatz von Atomwaffen in irgendeiner Weise zu beteiligen."

Diese mutige Erklärung der Atomforscher zündete die Phantasie (Imagination) des deutschen Volkes, vor allem der deutschen (akademischen) Jugend. Elf Monate später, am 10.3.1958, entstand der Ausschuß "Kampf dem Atomtod", dessen Aufruf an das deutsche Volk mit folgenden Worten schloß:

"Wir fordern Bundestag und Bundesregierung auf, den Rüstungswettlauf mit atomaren Waffen nicht mitzumachen, sondern als Beitrag zur Entspannung alle Bemühungen um eine atomwaffenfreie Zone in Europa zu unterstützen."

Wir rufen das gesamte deutsche Volk ohne Unterschied des Standes, der Konfession oder Partei auf, sich einer lebensbedrohenden Rüstungspolitik zu widersetzen und statt dessen eine Politik der friedlichen Entwicklung zu fördern. Wir werden nicht Ruhe geben, solange die Atombombe unser Volk bedroht."

Führend in der Aktion "Kampf dem Atomtod" waren neben der geistigen Elite des deutschen Volkes wieder die SPD und der DCB, die die Aktion voll unterstützten.

Große Protestkundgebungen und Schweigemärsche fanden im ganzen Bundesgebiet statt. Allein in Hamburg fand eine Protestdemonstration statt, an der sich rund 160 000 Menschen beteiligten. In Mannheim waren es 50 000, in Hannover 40 000, in Bielefeld 25 000, in Stuttgart 20 000 usw.

Diese Demonstrationen und Proteste konterte die Regierung am 25. März 1958 mit einer EntschlieÙung des Bundestages, die die atomare Bewaffnung der Bundeswehr billigte, ohne das Wort Atomwaffen zu erwähnen. Darin war die Rede nur von modernsten Waffen, die denen des möglichen Gegners ebenbürtig sind, damit die Bundesrepublik ihren Beitrag zur Sicherung des Friedens leisten könne.

Bald nach dieser EntschlieÙung stellten SPD und DGB den Kampf gegen die atomare Rüstung ein und lieÙen die Aktion "Kampf dem Atomtod" im Stich, was allmählich zu ihrem Zusammenbruch führte.

Heute tritt die SPD für die multilaterale Atommacht ein mit der Begründung, daÙ sie die einzige Alternative zu einer nationalen deutschen Atommacht sei. Die SPD ist nie verlegen um gute Gründe für eine schlechte Sache.

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Im Kampf gegen die Wiederaufrüstung versagten aber nicht nur allein SPD und DGB, sondern auch die Kirchen und zum Teil auch die Jugendorganisationen, von Presse und Rundfunk ganz zu schweigen.

Die Katholische Kirche ist mit Leib und Seele bei der Wiederaufrüstung. Die Evangelische Kirche ist zwar etwas zurückhaltender, aber auch sie stellt Militärseniorsorgern zur Verfügung und tut nichts, um die militärische Ausrichtung der Bundesrepublik zu unterbinden.

Was die Jugendorganisationen anbetrifft, so tritt kaum eine mehr für die Kriegsdienstverweigerung ein. Die Katholische Jugend bekennt sich vorbehaltlos zur allgemeinen Wehrpflicht und hat entscheidend zur Gestaltung des Wehrdienstes beigetragen. Die Evangelische Jugend tut nichts dagegen. Die sozialistische Jugend, die einst der erbittertste Feind der Wehrpflicht war, betrachtet ihn heute als staatsbürgerliche Pflicht. Nur die Naturfreundejugend und die Gewerkschaftsjugend wenden sich ab und zu gegen die allgemeine Wehrpflicht und unterstützen ihre Mitglieder, die den Wehrdienst verweigern.

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Nach dem Versagen der großen parlamentarischen (SPD) und außerparlamentarischen (DGB) Opposition im Kampf gegen Aufrüstung, allgemeine Wehrpflicht und atomare Bewaffnung der Bundeswehr wird der Kampf gegen diese Übel von vier außerparlamentarischen Kreisen geführt:

1. von kollektiven Initiativen
2. von individuellen Initiativen
3. von der abhängigen Opposition
4. von den unabhängigen Friedensorganisationen.

Um Mißverständnissen von vornherein vorzubeugen, muß gleich bemerkt werden, daÙ die genannten Kreise nicht erst nach dem Versagen der großen Opposition in Aktion getreten sind. Sie waren schon früher am Werk, und sie arbeiteten teils zusammen, teils neben und teils gegen die große Opposition.

Auch ist das Versagen der großen Opposition insofern nicht total, als es sowohl in der SPD als auch im DGB, den Kirchen und den Jugendorganisationen oppositionelle Kräfte besonders bei der Jugend

gibt, die sich mit der Wabdlung ihrer Organisationen nicht abgefunden haben und den Kampf intern weiterföhren. Versagt hat sozusagen nicht die Mitgliedschaft, sondern die Föhierung der großen Opposition. Da aber die Föhierung die Politik der großen Opposition bestimmt, so kann man von einem Versagen dieser Opposition sprechen.

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### Kollektive Initiativen

Die kollektiven Initiativen aus dem Volk sind keine ständigen Verbände. Sie entstehen, wenn Not am Mann ist und verschwinden, wenn die Not verschwunden oder behoben ist. Zu den wichtigsten kollektiven Initiativen gehören:

Die "Notgemeinschaft für den Frieden Europas", die 1951 von Dr. Gustav Heinemann und Frau Helene Wessel ins Leben gerufen wurde und die zum Zweck hatte, die Remilitarisierung Deutschlands zu durchkreuzen und den Frieden Europas zu retten. Die Notgemeinschaft fand zwar großen Zuspruch im Volke, ihre Gründer wollten aber in den Bundestag kommen, um wirksamere Arbeit leisten zu können, und wandelten die lose Bewegung in eine Partei um, die den Namen "Gesamtdeutsche Volkspartei" erhielt.

Die "Dritte Front", der "Dritte Weg" und die "Freie Mitte" hatten zum Zweck, eine dritte Kraft zwischen Ost und West zu schaffen, sie kamen aber nicht zum Zuge.

Mehr Erfolg hatten dagegen die verschiedenen "Ausschüsse für Volksbefragung", die 1950/51 überall in der Bundesrepublik entstanden, aber bald verboten wurden. Sie entstanden jedoch unter einem anderen Namen wieder und setzten die Arbeit fort. Dazu gehören der "Hauptausschuß gegen Remilitarisierung", der "Arbeitskreis für deutsche Verständigung und einen gerechten Friedensvertrag", die "Gemeinschaft zur Tat gegen Generalvertrag und Remilitarisierung", die "Deutsche Sammlung" usw.

Kollektive Initiativen ganz anderer Art waren die "Paulskirchen-Aktion" und die Aktion "Kampf dem Atontod", von denen bereits die Rede war. Dazu gehört auch die Initiative der "Achtzehn Göttinger Atomforscher".

Sehr beachtenswert war auch die Initiative der "936 Hamburger Ärzte" vom März 1958 und die der "Bremer Ärzte" vom Februar 1962.

Gegen die Stationierung von Atomwaffen auf bundesdeutschem Gebiet wandten sich 1958 auch 97 namhafte deutsche Wissenschaftler, Schriftsteller, Künstler und Pädagogen.

Am 13.5.1958 richteten 103 Universitäts- und Hochschulprofessoren einen Appell an die christlichen Kirchen und ersuchten sie, ihre Stimme gegen den nuklearen Wahnsinn zu erheben.

Von allen kollektiven Initiativen sind jedoch am rührigsten die "Kirchlichen Bruderschaften", die man mit Recht als das wache Gewissen der evangelischen Kirche bezeichnen kann. Ihr Gegenstück in der katholischen Kirche sind die sogenannten "Linksradikalen", die ebenso viel Bekennermut und Tatkraft an den Tag legen wie ihre Brüder in der evangelischen Kirche.

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### Individuelle Initiativen

Neben den kollektiven Initiativen hat es in der Bundesrepublik eine große Anzahl individueller Initiativen gegeben, die darauf abzielten, eine Wendung in der verhängnisvollen Remilitarisierungspolitik der Bundesregierung herbeizuführen.

Man wird vielleicht einwenden, daß die Opposition eines Einzelnen nicht zählt, da ihre Wirkung räumlich und zeitlich begrenzt ist. Eine solche Behauptung widerspricht jedoch der geschichtlichen Erfahrung. Ein Einzelner, der genau weiß, was er will und wie er das Gewollte erreichen kann, kann unter Umständen viel mehr erreichen als Tausende und sogar Millionen, die sich weder über das Was noch das Wie ihres Tuns im klaren sind. Gandhi möge als Schulbeispiel dienen.

Aus der großen Anzahl individueller Initiativen seien nur einige erwähnt: Der Schriftsteller Wolfgang Borchert, der die ganze junge Nachkriegsgeneration in seinen Bann tat, Kirchenpräsident Martin Niemöller, der seinen Kampf gegen Aufrüstung und Krieg als seine unumstößliche christliche Pflicht betrachtet, Dr. Gustav Heinemann, der 1950 sein Amt als Innenminister demonstrativ niederlegte, weil Dr. Adenauer den Amerikanern 12 deutsche Divisionen angeboten hatte, Frau Helene Wessel, die zusammen mit Dr. Heinemann die "Notgemeinschaft für den Frieden Europas" gründete, Dr. Nikolaus Koch und Paul Debes, die im Sommer 1953 einen Verhandlungsgang von Hamburg über Bonn nach Berlin und nach Hamburg zurück durchführten, der 106 Tage dauerte; die Professoren Otto Hahn, Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker, Max Born und Walter Gerlach, die zu den 18 Göttinger gehören, die aber auch individuelle Initiativen großen Stils entwickelt haben. Prof. Albert Schweitzer, Prof. Heinrich Vogel, Prof. Helmut Gollwitzer, die jeder in seiner Art am trägen Gewissen des deutschen Volkes rütteln. Prof. Fritz Baade, der zu den ruhmreichsten 20 SPD-Abgeordneten gehört, die die Grundgesetzänderung vom 6. März 1956 ablehnten. Prof. Albert Einstein, der zur Kriegsdienstverweigerung aufrief und den Krieg in Grund und Boden verdammt. Die Linkskatholiken Prof. Ude, Prof. Franz Rauhut, Prof. Eugen Kogon, Gerd Hirschauer und Christa Thomas, die einen erbitterten Kampf gegen die Remilitarisierung führen, die Schriftsteller Erich Kästner, Robert Jungk, Stefan Andres, der Schpieler Viktor de Kowa, der Intendant Hilpert, der Maler Otto Pankok, usw. usw. Das sind alles Menschen, deren Stimme Gehör findet und deren individuelle Initiative nicht lautlos verhallt.

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### Die abhängige Opposition

Zur abhängigen Opposition gehören in der Hauptsache zwei Vereinigungen: die "Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes - VVN" und das "Westdeutsche Friedenskomitee - WFK", sowie zwei Parteien: der "Bund der Deutschen - BdD" und die "Deutsche Friedens-Union - DFU".

Der abhängigen Opposition wird nachgesagt, daß sie kommunistisch ausgerichtet sei und von der DDR dirigiert und finanziert werde. Ob das stimmt oder nicht, ist für diese Darstellung ohne Belang. Was von Belang ist, ist, daß ihre Kritik einseitig ausgerichtet ist. Das heißt, sie übt schonungslose Kritik am Bösen im Westen und übergeht mit Schweigen das Böse im Osten.

Das ändert im Grunde zwar nichts am Inhalt ihrer Kritik als solcher, Sie trifft trotz ihrer einseitigen Ausrichtung im wesentlichen zu. Sie macht sich aber durch ihre Einseitigkeit ungläubwürdig.

Die Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes entstand unmittelbar nach Beendigung des zweiten Weltkrieges und hatte zum Zweck, die Opfer des Naziregimes und deren Angehörige in einer Interessengemeinschaft zusammenzufassen, um ihre Rechte wiederherzustellen, die ihnen die Nazis genommen hatten. Ferner hatte sie zum Ziel, Nazigeist und Nazitendenzen mit Stumpf und Stiel auszurotten, was ja demäs die erklärte Politik nicht allein der Besatzungsbehörden sondern auch der Bundesregierung war.

Da nun ein großer Teil der Insassen der Konzentrationslager Kommunisten waren, ist es selbstverständlich, daß die VVN von Anfang an von Kommunisten durchsetzt war. Was unverständlich ist, ist,

1. daß man dies der VVN verübelt, und
2. daß man der VVN wegen ihrer "kommunistischen Unterwanderung" den Prozess machen will.

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Das Westdeutsche Friedenskomitee ist die deutsche Sektion des Weltfriedensrates und wurde am 5. Mai 1949 im Rathaus zu Bonn gegründet. Anfangs hieß es "Komitee der Kämpfer für den Frieden".

Die Entstehung, des WFK fid zusammen mit den ersten Remilitarisierungsbestrebungen von Bundeskanzler Adenauer und das gab ihm die Veranlassung, den Kampf dagegen aufzunehmen, den er mit aller Schärfe führte. Seine Parole hieß erst: "Nieder mit dem Generalvertrag und der EVG" und dann, als der Bundestag am 23.3.1958 gegen die Stimmen der SPD die atomare Bewaffnung der Bundeswehr beschloss, lautete seine Parole: "Nieder mit der atomaren Ausrüstung der Bundeswehr!"

Das WFK stellte folgende Forderungen auf:

Friedliche Koexistenz,  
Einigung zwischen der Bundesrepublik und der DDR,  
Friedensvertrag mit ganz Deutschland,  
Atomwaffenfreie Zone in Mitteleuropa,  
Austritt der BR aus der Nato und der DDR aus dem Warschauer Pakt,  
Anerkennung der Oder-Neiße-Linie,  
Herstellung diplomatischer Beziehungen zu allen Ostblockstaaten,  
totale und kontrollierte Abrüstung,  
Weltfrieden.

Für diese Tätigkeit wurde dem WFK der Prozeß gemacht, der am 8. April 1960 mit der Verurteilung des Geschäftsführenden Vorstandes endete. Die Gefängnisstrafen waren zwar mild und sie fielen unter die Amnestie, - sie gereichten aber nicht der deutschen Justiz zur Ehre.

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Der Bund der Deutschen - BdD wurde am 10. Mai 1953 als politische Partei für Einheit, Frieden und Freiheit gegründet. Der BdD hatte sich zum Ziel gesetzt, die Wiederaufrüstung der BR zu verhindern, die Einheit Deutschlands wiederherzustellen, die Freundschaft mit dem Osten in die Wege zu leiten und den Weltfrieden zu sichern. Der BdD hat sich energisch auch gegen die Einführung der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht und gegen die atomare Ausrüstung der Bundeswehr eingesetzt. Sein Einfluß ist aber im allgemeinen gering.

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Viel aktiver und einflußreicher als der BdD ist wohl die Deutsche Friedens-Union - DFU, die am 17. Dezember 1960 in Stuttgart gegründet wurde und die sich zu Frieden, Sicherheit und Wiedervereinigung bekennt. Sie lehnt daher die Lagerung von Atomwaffen in der Bundesrepublik und die atomare Ausrüstung der Bundeswehr ab und fordert die militärische Neutralisierung des gespaltenen Deutschland, Verhandlungen zwischen den beiden deutschen Teilstaaten und die Schaffung einer kernwaffenfreien, militärisch verdünnten Zone in Europa als ersten Schritt zur allgemeinen Abrüstung. Aber auch der DFU ist es bei den Bundestagswahlen nicht gelungen, die 5%-Klausel zu überwinden und in den Bundestag zu kommen.

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### Die unabhängigen Friedensorganisationen

Zu den aktivsten und konsequentesten Trägern des Friedenskampfes in der Bundesrepublik gehören die unabhängigen Friedensorganisationen. Im Gegensatz jedoch zu den kollektiven und individuellen Initiativen, die fast nur dann auf den Plan treten, wenn Not am Mann ist, sind die Friedensorganisationen ihrer Natur nach fast ständig in Aktion. Sie müssen unentwegt das Böse abwehren und das Gute fördern und schützen.

Maßgeblich unter den unabhängigen Friedensorganisationen sind:

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Die Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner              | - IdK -   |
| Der Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer                | - VK -    |
| Die Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft                      | - DFG -   |
| Der Internationale Versöhnungsbund                     | - IVB -   |
| Die Weltorganisation der Mütter aller Nationen         | - WOMAN - |
| Die Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit | - IFFF -  |
| Die Westdeutsche Frauen-Friedensbewegung               | - WFFB -  |
| Der Internationale Zivildienst                         | - IZO -   |
| Die Ostermarsch-Bewegung                               | - OM -    |
| Hinzu kommt als Dachorganisation die                   |           |
| Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände         | - ADF -   |

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Die Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner - IdK entstand im Sommer 1921 als Zweigstelle der neugegründeten Weltorganisation der Kriegsdienstverweigerer - "War Resisters' International". Die IdK ist an keine Partei oder Konfession gebunden. Sie bekennt sich zur Gewaltlosigkeit, steht auf dem Boden der allgemeinen Menschenrechte, lehnt den Krieg in jeder Form ab, verweigert den Kriegsdienst und trachtet nach friedlicher Lösung aller Streitfragen. Wer der IdK beitreten will, muß folgende Grundsetzerklärung unterschreiben: "Der Krieg ist ein Verbrechen an der Menschheit. Ich bin daher entschlossen, keine Art von Krieg, weder direkt oder indirekt, zu unterstützen und an der Beseitigung aller Kriegsursachen mitzuarbeiten".

Die IdK hat sich aktiv für die Anerkennung des Rechtes auf Kriegsdienstverweigerung eingesetzt, hat von Anfang an die Wiederausrüstung der Bundesrepublik, die Grundgesetzänderung, die Einführung der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht, die atomare Bewaffnung der Bundeswehr und alle militärischen Maßnahmen bekämpft. Jetzt richtet sich der Kampf der IdK gegen die Notstandsgesetze, gegen die multilaterale Atomwacht und für eine atomwaffenfreie Zone in Europa. Sie hat unzählige Kundgebungen, Demonstrationen, Mahnwachen, Schweigemärsche usw. veranstaltet und Aufklärungsschriften herausgebracht.

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Der Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer - VK entstand am 4. Mai 1958 aus dem Zusammenschluß von einem Teil der IdK mit der Gruppe der Wehrdienstverweigerer. Im Jahre 1959 wurde er in die WRI als zweite deutsche Sektion aufgenommen.

Die weltanschauliche Grundlage von IdK und VK ist die gleiche. Der VK hat insbesondere folgende Aufgaben zu erfüllen:

Alle Menschen zu sammeln, die den Dienst am Kriege, insbesondere den Wehrdienst, aus Gewissensgründen verweigern; an der Beseitigung der Kriegsursachen mitzuarbeiten; sich für die Anerkennung, Erhaltung und Ausgestaltung des Rechtes auf Kriegsdienstverweigerung aus Gewissensgründen einzusetzen; den Kriegsdienstverweigerern aus Gewissensgründen alle mögliche Hilfe zuteil werden zu lassen, insbesondere dann, wenn ihnen durch die Verweigerung Nachteile entstehen.

Auch der VK kämpft energisch gegen die militärischen Maßnahmen der Bundesregierung.

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Die Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft - DFG ist die älteste Friedensorganisation im deutschsprachigen Gebiet. Sie wurde 1892 von Bertha von Suttner und Alfred H. Fried gegründet. Den Höhepunkt ihrer Entfaltung und Aktivität erreichte sie in den Zwanziger Jahren.

Im Gegensatz zu IdK und VK war die DFG anfangs nicht an der Kriegsdienstverweigerung interessiert. "Wir wollen nicht die von der Regierung ausgehenden Rekruten zur Verweigerung ihrer Dienstpflicht veranlassen", hieß es in einem Aufruf aus den Jahren 1900 - 1910. Zur Kriegsdienstverweigerung bekannte sich die DFG erst 1960. Daraufhin wurde sie am 21.12.1961 als dritte deutsche Sektion in die WRI aufgenommen.

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Der Internationale Versöhnungsbund - IVB wurde im Sommer 1921 in Balthoven gegründet. Er ist zwar ebenfalls an keine Partei gebunden, er ist aber religiös ausgerichtet. Seine weltanschauliche Grundlage ist die christliche Nächstenliebe. Aus dieser Grundhaltung heraus lehnt der IVB jeden Krieg und Kriegsdienst ab und setzt sich für die friedliche Lösung aller Streitfragen ein.

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Die Weltorganisation der Mütter aller Nationen - WOMAN wurde 1946 von der amerikanischen Journalistin Dorothy Thomson ins Leben gerufen. Sie kannte und haßte den Krieg aus eigener Erfahrung und wollte ihr Bestes tun, um den Ausbruch neuer Kriege zu verhindern. Und da sie zu der politischen Weisheit der Männer kein Vertrauen hatte, wandte sie sich an die Frauen und Mütter aller Nationen, ohne Unterschied von Rasse, Religion und politischer Anschauung.

Die WOMAN hat sich inzwischen über die ganze Erde verbreitet. Die deutsche Sektion entstand 1949. Sie tritt für Frieden und die Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands ein, lehnt Krieg und Gewalt ab und fordert die Achtung vor der Person, der Menschenwürde und dem Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker. Sehr energisch setzt sich die WOMAN auch gegen die Notstandsgesetze ein und insbesondere gegen die Dienstverpflichtung der Frau im Rahmen der Bundeswehr.

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IdK, VK, DFG, IVB und WOMAN bilden zusammen die Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände - ADF, die zum Zweck hat, die Arbeit der einzelnen Verbände zu koordinieren und gemeinsame Erklärungen, Proteste und Aktionen in die Wege zu leiten.

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Eine der ältesten Frauenfriedensorganisationen ist die Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit - IFFF, die mitten im Trubel des ersten Weltkrieges ( am 1. Mai 1915) in Den Haag entstand. International ist sie sehr aktiv und angesehen, in der Bundesrepublik läßt aber ihre Aktivität viel zu wünschen übrig.

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Ganz anders verhält es sich mit der Westdeutschen Frauenfriedensbewegung - WFFB, die am 14. Oktober 1951 ins Leben gerufen wurde und die sehr aktiv ist. Sie bringt es immer wieder fertig, große Mengen von Frauen auf die Beine zu bringen und sie in den Kampf gegen Aufrüstung, atomare Bewaffnung, Luftschutz, Notstandsgesetzgebung und für den Frieden einzusetzen. Die WFFB wurde am 27.2.1955 in Rheinland-Pfalz verboten. Das Oberlandesgericht von Rheinland-Pfalz gab aber am 1. April 1960 das Verbot auf und sprach die WFFB frei von allen Vorwürfen der Landesregierung.

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Der Internationale Zivildienst - IZD ist keine Friedensorganisation im eigentlichen Sinne. Dennoch ist er ein vorzüglicher Träger des Friedenskampfes, erstens, weil er Menschen verschiedener Nationen zur Hilfeleistung in Not zusammenbringt und zweitens, weil er einen Ersatz für den Kriegsdienst schaffen will. In der Satzung des IZD heißt es unter Punkt 2c:

"Der Internationale Zivildienst will über die von Menschenhand geschaffenen Grenzen und Schranken hinweg durch gegenseitige und gemeinsame Hilfe einen neuen Geist unter den Völkern fördern, der schon den Gedanken, einen Krieg zu führen, unmöglich macht."

Diesen Geist will jedoch der IZD nicht mit Worten, sondern mit Taten fördern.

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Der Ostermarsch - Kampagne für Abrüstung - OM

Von allen Bewegungen für Abrüstung und Frieden in der Bundesrepublik ist wohl die Ostermarsch-Bewegung diejenige, die den größten Zuspruch beim deutschen Volk im allgemeinen und bei der deutschen Jugend im besonderen gefunden hat. Das ist schon an der Entwicklung des Ostermarsches zu ersehen. Der erste Marsch von Hamburg nach Bergen-Hohne begann mit etwa 200 Teilnehmern, die sich bei der Schlußkundgebung auf 1000 erhöhten; der zweite bestand aus 12 Märschen mit rund 7.500 Teilnehmern (Schlußkundgebungen 20 000); der dritte 1962 aus 20 Sternmärschen mit einer Gesamtzahl von 50 000 Teilnehmern einschließlich Schlußkundgebungen; der vierte 1963, mit 30 000 Marschteilnehmern (Schlußkundgebungen 80 000) und der fünfte, 1964 bestand aus 16 Märschen mit 65 000 Teilnehmern (Schlußkundgebung 100 000). Vergleicht man die Zahl des ersten Marsches - 1000 - mit der des fünften - 100 000 - so ergibt sich eine 100fache Steigerung.

Ähnlich verhält es sich auch mit der Resonanz der Ostermarschbewegung. 1960 war sie sehr gering, 1964 wurde der Aufruf des DM von 1100 Geistlichen aller Konfessionen, 450 Gewerkschaftlern und Betriebsräten, 400 Professoren und Pädagogen, 400 Schriftstellern und Künstlern, annähernd 300 Juristen und Rechtsanwälten sowie 50 Stadtverordneten unterzeichnet.

Der DM tritt ein: für eine atomwaffenfreie und militärisch verdünnte Entspannungszone in Mitteleuropa, für Beendigung der Atombombenversuche, für Verbot der Verwendung von nuklearen Waffen im Krieg usw. Auch fordert er, daß Deutschland Brücke zwischen Ost und West wird.

### Fazit

Zusammenfassend läßt sich folgendes feststellen: In den ersten Jahren nach dem Krieg wollte das ganze deutsche Volk nichts von Wiederaufrüstung und Krieg wissen. Diese Haltung wurde auch von den Besatzungsbehörden unterstützt und gefördert.

Als dann 1948/49 die ehemaligen Kriegsalliierten sich verknechteten und Dr. Adenauer den Amerikanern 12 Divisionen anbot, fing der Widerstand gegen die Remilitarisierungsvorhaben Dr. Adenauers an, der von SPD und DGB sowie von verschiedenen kleineren oppositionellen Gruppen geführt wurde.

Nach dem Versagen von SPD, DGB, Kirchen, Presse und Rundfunk blieb es der kleineren außerparlamentarischen Opposition vorbehalten, den Kampf gegen Aufrüstung, allgemeine Wehrpflicht, atomare Bewaffnung der Bundeswehr, sowie Notstandsgesetze, Zivildienst, Dienstverpflichtung der Frauen usw. zu führen.

Unterstützt wird dieser Kampf auch durch die oppositionellen Kräfte innerhalb der großen Opposition, die so kläglich versagt hat.