

ED 718-27-1

Band 27: Materialien anderer Friedensorganisationen

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

Institut für Zeitgeschichte ARCHIV	
Akz. 7842190	Best. ED 718
Rep. Braun	Kot.

27

CONTINUING COMMITTEE:

# International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace

(in preparation)

5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London, N.1

March 7, 1963

Peace Information Bulletin

Please reply to

Bulletin Editor

5 Caledonian Road

London, N.1

Tel: TERMINUS 4473-8

Cables: BOWPA, LONDON, N.1

- Chairman: Kenneth Lee (Britain)
- Frank Boaten (Ghana)
- Dr. Andreas Buro (Germany)
- Professor Aldo Capitini (Italy)
- Abbe Paul Carrotte (Belgium)
- Canca L. John Collins (European Federation)
- Siddharaj Dhadha (India)
- Anthony Greenwood, M.P. (Britain)
- Alfred Hassler (USA)
- Homer Jack (USA)
- Daniel Elwyn Jones (Britain)
- Steffen Larsen (Denmark)
- Sean McBride (Ireland)
- Dimitri Koussopoulos (Canada)
- Josa Smole (Yugoslavia)
- Tony Smythe (Britain)
- Bertil Svalinstrom (Sweden)
- Mrs. Sybil Oldfield (New Zealand)
- Travelling co-ordinator:  
F. C. Hummus (Canada)

Dear Friend:

At the Oxford Conference of Non-Aligned Peace Organizations, held on January 4th through 7th, 1963, by the European Federation Against Nuclear Arms, it was decided to establish a Continuing Committee to organize the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace.

Membership of the Continuing Committee was chosen with regard to fair geographical representation, and to ensure adequate representation of all tendencies in peace and anti-nuclear activity.

The Continuing Committee is empowered to carry out the decisions of the Oxford Conference; to establish a Confederation; to make preparations for the eventual work of the Confederation; to prepare a further conference in 1964.

✓  
✓  
Enclosed are the documents of the Oxford Conference, accepted as basic papers of the International Confederation; a registration form for application to affiliate with the International Confederation; a questionnaire form for information needed by the Peace Information Bulletin (see Report of Commission IV), a bi-monthly publication of the International Confederation produced in cooperation with the International Liason Committee of Organizations for Peace (ILCOP).

On the basis of these documents, noting especially the section of "Aims and Principles" entitled 'Basic Objectives and terms of reference', we are inviting your organization to apply for affiliation.

The following subscriptions were recommended for organizations affiliating to the Confederation:

- Basic subscription: £75/year
- Large organizations: £125/year
- Small organizations: £60/year
- Youth or student organizations: £25/year
- International organizations, two or more of whose member organizations are individually affiliated: £5/year

Because the Continuing Committee requires financial assistance in its work to establish the Confederation, organizations are asked to forward one-fourth (1/4th) of their yearly subscription with their application for affiliation. This amount will be applied to the organization's total subscription, upon approval of the application for affiliation. It will be returned should the application not be granted. The Continuing Committee will consider requests for reduction in the amount of the yearly subscription in cases where the amount recommended presents a financial hardship to the organization in question.

When twenty-five organizations have affiliated to the International Confederation the Continuing Committee is empowered to declare the Confederation in being, subject to the approval of the 1964 conference.

We hope that your executive committee will consider this invitation to affiliate and will act affirmatively.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth Lee, Chairman

## REGISTRATION INFORMATION FORM

for the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace

---

Name of Organization:

---

Address:

---

Regional Affiliation (if any)

---

International Affiliation (if any)

---

Approximate number of contributors/members/ chapters:

---

Nature of organization (in own words):

(Include brief description of strategy, primary policy direction, usual emphasis of action taken)

---

Regular publications of Organization (Name, frequency, purpose):

---

Please include copies of:

1. Current policy statement
2. Other statements issued in the name of the organization during 1962, 1963.
3. List of board members and sponsors of the organization.

Please include a description of the actions undertaken in line with the Basic Objectives and terms of reference outlined in the Statement of Aims and Principles (enclosed).

(Actions include: demonstrations; statements to the press; other forms of public activity.)

ED 718-27-4

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM FOR PEACE INFORMATION BULLETIN

Title of organization: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone number: \_\_\_\_\_

International Affiliation (if any): \_\_\_\_\_

Regional Affiliation (if any) \_\_\_\_\_

Executive Officer: \_\_\_\_\_

Regular Publications:

1. Title:

Frequency of Appearance:  
Annual Subscription rate:  
Name of Editor:  
Address (if other than above):

2. Title:

Frequency of Appearance:  
Annual Subscription rates:  
Name of Editor:  
Address (if other than above):

Person in your organization who will regularly send information to the Bulletin (include address if different from above): \_\_\_\_\_

Activities planned by your organization for next three months: \_\_\_\_\_

(Use additional paper if necessary)

-----  
SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The Bulletin will be printed on airmail weight paper. The Oxford Conference recommended that it be circulated to all leaders of organizations, chairman of all branches, editors of publications. One copy will go free to each affiliated organization in the proposed Confederation. A small charge will be made for additional copies.

How many copies will you need? \_\_\_\_\_

This form must be returned as soon as possible to Hugh Brock, Bulletin Editor, INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross, London N 1, England.

-----  
\*\* An exchange of publications is also requested. To keep information flowing to the Bulletin, please put the address of the editor (above) on your publications list. \*\*

January 4th to 7th, 1963.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
CONFEDERATION.

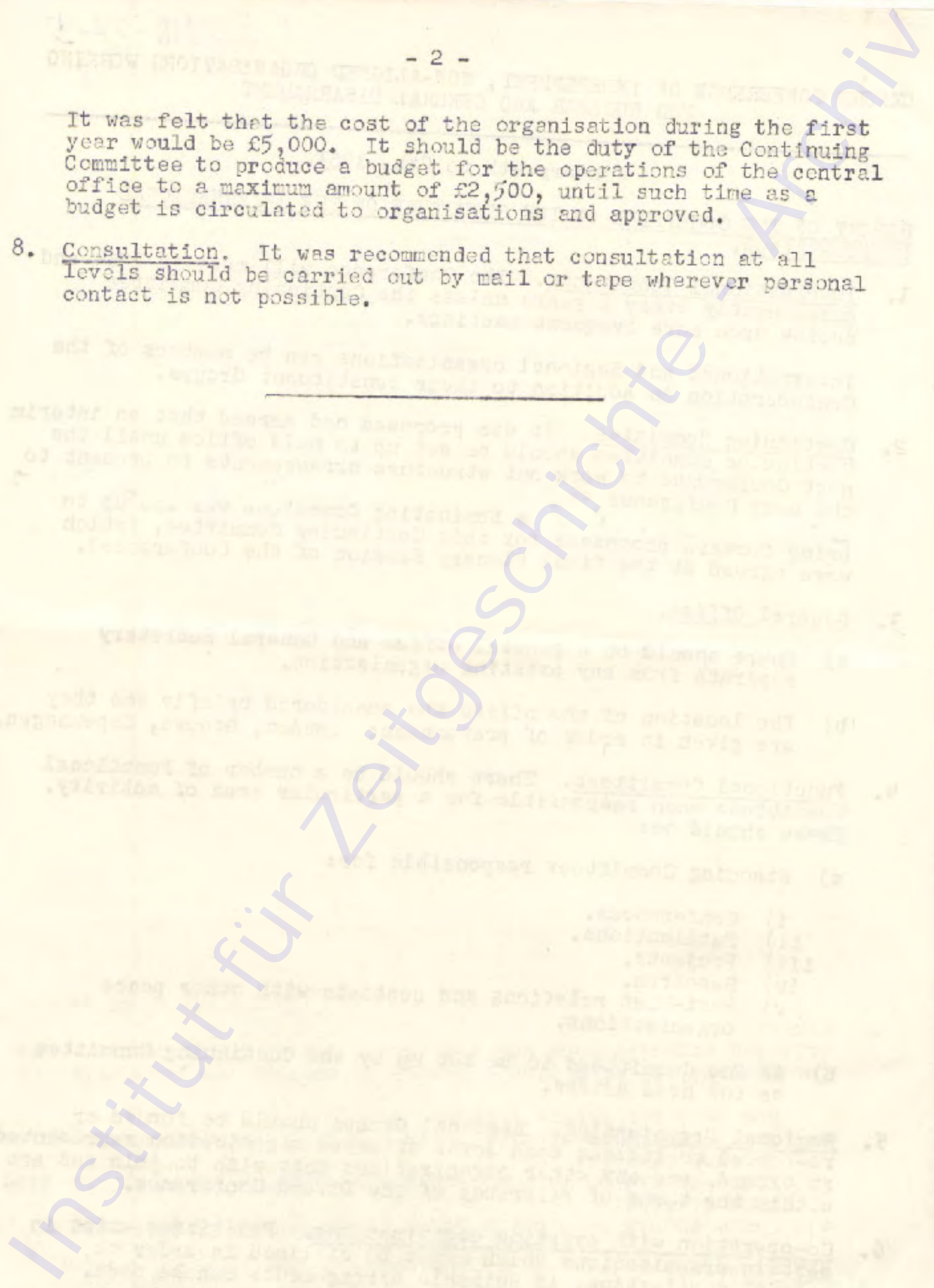
1. International Conference. The Conference will meet in 1964 and subsequently every 2 years unless the Continuing Committee decide upon more frequent meetings.  
  
International and Regional organisations can be members of the Confederation in addition to their constituent Groups.
2. Continuing Committee. It was proposed and agreed that an interim Continuing Committee should be set up to hold office until the next Conference to work out structure arrangements to present to the next Conference. A Nominating Committee was set up to bring forward proposals for this Continuing Committee, (which were agreed at the final Plenary Session of the Conference).
3. General Office.
  - a) There should be a general office and General Secretary separate from any existing organisation.
  - b) The location of the office was considered briefly and they are given in order of preference: London, Geneva, Copenhagen.
4. Functional Committees. There should be a number of Functional Committees each responsible for a particular area of activity. These should be:
  - a) Standing Committees responsible for:
    - i) Conferences.
    - ii) Publications.
    - iii) Projects.
    - iv) Research.
    - v) East-West relations and contacts with other peace organisations.
  - b) Ad Hoc Committees to be set up by the Continuing Committee as the need arises.
5. Regional Organisation. Regional Groups should be formed or re-formed to include each level of peace organisation represented at Oxford, and any other organisations that wish to join and are within the terms of reference of the Oxford Conference.
6. Co-operation with existing organisations. Facilities exist in certain organisations which might be utilised in order to prevent duplication, if suitable arrangements can be made.
7. Finance. The following methods should be used to finance the organisation:
  - a) There should be a basic group or organisation membership subscription;
  - b) There should be an additional subscription based on the size of each organisation;
  - c) There should be special rates for International organisations, not on a per capita basis.

The possibility of a single appeal to members and supporters of existing organisations was considered but no final decision was taken.

It was felt that the cost of the organisation during the first year would be £5,000. It should be the duty of the Continuing Committee to produce a budget for the operations of the central office to a maximum amount of £2,500, until such time as a budget is circulated to organisations and approved.

8. Consultation. It was recommended that consultation at all levels should be carried out by mail or tape wherever personal contact is not possible.

*[Faint, mostly illegible text from the reverse side of the page is visible through the paper. The text appears to be a list of recommendations or a report, with some words like 'consultation', 'budget', and 'organisations' being discernible.]*



OXFORD CONFERENCE OF INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED ORGANISATIONS WORKING FOR NUCLEAR AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT

January 4th to 7th, 1963.

REPORT FROM THE COMMITTEE ON CO-ORDINATION OF ACTIVITIES

1. The Committee understood that the International Confederation would play two major roles:
  - a) To provide channels for communicating information on activities planned by constituent bodies, to other constituent bodies;
  - b) To initiate activity in certain specified cases such as Easter marches, to prevent crises or to intervene urgently at times of crisis.
2. Channel of Communication.
  - a) Constituent organisations would plan activities and communicate this information to the General Office. It would then be passed on to all constituent bodies, but each body will be free to decide for itself whether it wishes to organise a similar activity.
  - b) Due to his knowledge of the peace movement, the Secretary may be aware of situations which may enable him to make suggestions to various constituent bodies.
  - c) Information on projects undertaken by certain groupings, such as Direct Action Groups, should be circulated to all constituent bodies by the General Office.
  - d) Constituent bodies and Functional Committees should be able to contact each other direct, but should send a copy of such letters to the General Secretary.
3. The Confederation shall have power to promote and co-ordinate projects initiated by constituent bodies.
4. The General Secretary should be an ex-officio member of all Functional Committees.
5. The General Office should be kept informed of the activities of the Functional Committees.

G.F. HUNNIUS - Chairman  
 ALEC LEAVER - Secretary

OXFORD CONFERENCE OF INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED  
ORGANISATIONS WORKING FOR NUCLEAR AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT

January 4/7, 1963

Report of the sub-committee considering: (I) THE STIMULATION OF  
NEW INDEPENDENT ORGANISATIONS CONCERNED WITH DISARMAMENT IN  
COUNTRIES WHERE AT PRESENT THEY DO NOT EXIST.

The sub-committee felt that the approach to stimulation of non-aligned peace movements varied according to the political and economic situations of the countries concerned (e.g. aligned to east or west; newly independent; colonial, etc.) but that nevertheless there were several basic factors common to all. These included:

- (1) The importance of vocational contacts (teachers, students, religious workers, etc.) in stimulating new movements.
- (2) The importance of sending large delegations with a clearly articulated non-aligned position on disarmament to all conferences (especially East-West conferences) and including Esperanto, religious, student and others.
- (3) The importance of co-ordinated projects (such as Easter marches) in new countries in order to stimulate new movements.
- (4) The key role of panels of correspondents as a means of making and maintaining contacts, both between individuals and organisations and in centrally compiling a register of addresses. Also that channels for the distribution of literature in countries where no independent peace movement exists, should be found.
- (5) The importance of work on the student front; in universities, etc. to form the nuclei of new peace movements.

With specific reference to the newly independent and uncommitted countries, it was felt:-

- (1) that where spontaneous peace movements have not arisen, government initiated peace movements should be encouraged to develop into popular and independent movements able to disagree with their governments.
- (2) That student seminars for Afro-Asian students, for which facilities were offered in London by the WRI delegate, and in other centres sponsored by the Confederation, be held.
- (3) That universities in Africa and Asia be encouraged to set up centres for peace research which it was hoped, would stimulate interest in peace activities at student and eventually at national level.
- (4) That conferences for junior diplomats of newly independent states should be held as near as possible to the centres of each region.
- (5) The Confederation should co-operate and use facilities offered by peace organisations who are already engaged in activities enumerated in paragraphs 1-4 above.

- (6) It was suggested that a conference of delegates from uncommitted nations should take place in Dublin under the auspices of the Irish CND. The committee recommends this for consideration as a further means of educating and co-ordinating individual peace-workers. Facilities for this conference have already been offered.

The Committee observed that in colonial and newly-independent countries the peace movements were unlikely to gain ground unless related to the struggle for independence.

Every effort should be made to reach individuals in countries where freedom of dissent is non-existent or limited.

Envoys to new areas, attempting to stimulate peace movements should be carefully chosen according to conditions existing there. Also, movements should be created even in countries where at present the government is pursuing an uncommitted peace policy.

Wherever possible, the Regional organisations of the Confederation should be employed in furthering the above recommendations, assisted by the resources of the national movements and the Confederation itself.

FRANK BOATEN - Chairman  
NIGEL YOUNG - Secretary

ED718-27-8

OXFORD CONFERENCE OF INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED  
ORGANISATIONS WORKING FOR NUCLEAR AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT

January 4/7, 1963

---

Report of the sub-committee (II) considering: THE PROMOTION OF  
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AIMING AT THE REDUCTION OF TENSIONS  
BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

Introduction:

Whilst not wishing to minimise the real differences of concept and practice which divide the world, we believe that one of the chief aims of this new Confederation must be to develop relationships between the existing ideological, political and military blocs, countering the Cold War, and emphasising attempts to solve the problem of the threat of nuclear war. The Confederation should take the initiative in being a channel for contacts between the two power blocs and the non-aligned world. It is hoped that these contacts will result in useful joint projects and functional co-operation.

Means of Implimentation.

1. (a) publicising among the members of the peace organisations and the general public the many existing fruitful exchanges,  
(b) encouraging the development of relevant activities, e.g. work camps, seminars, cultural and scientific exchanges.  
(c) informing member organisations of existing official and unofficial exchanges so that they can make maximum use of all such contacts.
2. International conferences can play an important part in securing the objectives of the Confederation and are most helpful when directed to discussing specific issues.
  - (a) whilst there is a function for large international gatherings, face to face contact in smaller groups and conferences may be more profitable at this stage.
  - (b) we recommend that at future Confederation conferences and at conferences of our own member organisations, observers normally be invited from aligned and non-aligned peace organisations on a reciprocal basis whenever possible.
  - (c) we recognise the usefulness of the First London Conference of September 1961, which, at a time of crisis, issued a joint policy statement signed by leaders of peace organisations from East, West and non-aligned countries and therefore, we recommend the appointment of a Special Preparatory Committee to summon a second such conference of approximately 100 delegates, with the World Peace Council and other organisations in such a way as to ensure balanced representation. We suggest that a carefully prepared specific agenda with items contributed by all sides would help the work of the Conference.
  - (d) we urge the Confederation and/or its constituent organisations to promote small bilateral or multilateral conferences and consultations in order to (i) promote consultations of people who would not otherwise be able to meet (e.g. Americans and Chinese); (ii) to frame statements of common policy; and (iii) to decide on common action.

Examples of specific problems which might fruitfully be dealt with in this way are: (i) world tension points such as Cuba and Berlin; (ii) ways of combatting and diminishing Cold War propaganda; (iii) technical problems causing an impasse in current disarmament negotiations.

Dr. HOMER JACK - Chairman  
SUZY BENGHIAT - Secretary

Institute für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

OXFORD CONFERENCE OF INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED  
ORGANISATIONS WORKING FOR NUCLEAR AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT

January 4/7, 1963

---

Report of the sub-committee (III) considering: COMMON OR CO-ORDINATED REPRESENTATION AT WORLD CONFERENCES, UNO, ETC., AND CO-ORDINATION OF WORK AND CONTACT WITH THE UNITED NATIONS IN NEW-YORK AND GENEVA AND WITH GOVERNMENTS.

UNO is the place where the peace movements of the world involved in this Confederation, have a very important part to play.

1. The main political programme of the Confederation should be directed to UNO.
2. Organisation at UNO - The sub-committee is not certain whether it would be desirable for the Confederation to apply for consultative status, as this might possibly jeopardise the position of certain member bodies who already have such. This proposal therefore requires careful enquiry and examination. A method of making approaches could be through a functional committee composed of members who already have consultative status.
3. Geneva Disarmament Conference - Delegations should be properly informed and prior preparations adequately made. This would require some method of dissemination of information on the proceedings at Geneva. Action should be worked out by individual groups in co-operative arrangement. We believe this is urgent and immediate and should be organised so that it brings recurring pressure on the Conference.
4. It would be valuable to have joint East-West approaches to Disarmament Negotiations at Geneva.
5. Attention should be directed to the following proposals for co-ordinated action:
  - (a) The General Assembly Resolution on a non-nuclear zone in Africa, particularly in view of the French nuclear programme requiring test sites in Algeria.
  - (b) The need for a non-nuclear zone to be established in all UN Trust territories.
  - (c) Prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons.
  - (d) International Co-operation Year 1965
  - (e) UN Treaties bearing on peace, in particular, the Genocide Article of the Declaration of Human Rights.

Although it is outside the terms of reference of this committee, we feel that in our report we should stress the fact that the actions recommended above can only be carried out fruitfully after the basic principles of our association have been established.

KENNETH LEE {  
Dr. WOLF { Chairmen

ALAN SHUTTLEWORTH - Secretary

OXFORD CONFERENCE OF INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED  
ORGANISATIONS WORKING FOR NUCLEAR AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT

January 4/7, 1963

Report of the sub-committee (IV) considering EXCHANGE OF IDEAS,  
LITERATURE AND PROPAGANDA.

1. It was agreed that the Confederation should not attempt at this stage to set up a major international journal. However, a centrally edited abstract bulletin to appear occasionally and to be sent to peace leaders, delegates at this conference, and editors of peace publications was recommended. The following things should be included in the bulletin:

- (a) A list of existing peace newspapers and periodicals, with a short note about each.
- (b) A list of different peace organisations and the services they perform.
- (c) A list of important articles appearing in other publications concerning the peace movement, with a short résumé of the contents of each article.
- (d) A list of major peace action projects.
- (e) Information about decisions and activity of the Confederation.
- (f) A want-ad page, where individual members of the Confederation may ask for information and enlightenment from other members on specific points.
- (g) Important international reports and documents
- (h) Propaganda material.

2. An essential requirement for such a bulletin is a person who can give full time for its editing. He would also be responsible for publicising in the bulletin, and circulating as required, papers on the peace movement which are submitted for consideration to the bulletin's readers.

3. It was agreed that the Bulletin should be bi-lingual but the decision as to which languages should be used was left to the Continuing Committee.

4. It was also emphasised that the peace leadership in all countries should make a special effort to subscribe to various peace periodicals from other countries. Peace movement leaders should make a major effort to keep rank-and-file members in contact with international peace movement news.

ROBERT GILMORE - Chairman  
ADAM ROBERTS - Secretary

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND AIMS FOR THE PROPOSED  
INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

PREAMBLE

ED718-27-44

The International Conference for Co-operation and Co-ordination of the movements against atomic armaments and for general and complete disarmament brought together at Oxford representatives of non-aligned movements and organisations throughout the world, joined in the common struggle for peace. Co-operation between these organisations has grown rapidly during the past few years. The danger of nuclear catastrophe has made it imperative that these organisations should form an International Confederation, which would respect the differences of method and emphasis and preserve their freedom of action, but help to develop popular action on an international scale.

The elimination of nuclear weapons, the policies based upon their use, the growth of military structures and of armaments, is mankind's most urgent task. All human endeavour presupposes the continuation of life. But apart from the danger to survival itself, human dignity and the development of social, technical and civilising processes are jeopardised by the preparation for war. Co-existence of different ideologies is possible in a civilised society, but the co-existence of human beings and nuclear weapons is not. Not only do these weapons generate the tensions which may at any moment explode into thermonuclear war, they also threaten fundamental human rights.

Every human being has a responsibility to act according to conscience to safeguard himself and others. This should take precedence over any demands of governments which compel him to destroy life.

Without prejudice to the Charter rights of the United Nations to enforce its mandate, we believe that political problems can no longer be solved by resort to war. Although statesmen now admit that a general nuclear war is tantamount to annihilation, they continue policies which threaten to make it inevitable. Thus nations arm for a conflict which they admit they cannot win.

The organisations within the new Confederation contend that fundamental new thinking on the problem of war is necessary, and that new forces and new methods must be interposed in the world situation, so that economic resources now used in the arms race may be diverted to the building of an international community based upon the active co-operation of all people in a disarmed world. Disarmament will mean fundamental social, economic and political change.

Therefore the creation of an international organisation, including pacifists and anti-nuclear movements, responds to an historic necessity. In the two societies that appear radically and mortally opposed a common problem must now be faced. The military structures in both societies constitute one of the principal foundations of the state. The Confederation intends to promote a constructive and dynamic effort to eliminate the real causes of war, and the institutions and structures of the state adapted to this function. For example, scientific progress cannot be halted at the door of armies, as long as these exist: on the contrary, even new atomic research for peaceful uses is greatly influenced by the military. Human progress in any area

of the world requires the progressive abandonment of vast military expenditure and the use of these resources for the fight against misery and hunger, for welfare and the realisation of an increasingly just society.

Some of the organisations at Oxford were primarily concerned with nuclear disarmament. Others held to the pacifist position against all weapons. Some adopt the methods of persuasion and political action. Others adopt the method of non-violent action. The Confederation respects these differences. But its component organisations are united in the determination to stimulate popular action, with the support of youth, labour, church, civic and other organisations, against the threat of war. The basis for this co-operation on an international scale is now established.

#### BASIC OBJECTIVES AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

Member organisations of the Confederation should work for:

- (1) A permanent test ban treaty.
- (2) General and complete disarmament of all nations.
- (3) The non-military solution of all conflicts.
- (4) The strengthening of the work of the United Nations and its existing Agencies, both in promoting disarmament and in increasing its responsibility for inspection and in determining the direction of economic aid and the encouragement of the growth of a world community based on world law.
- (5) The creation of zones of nuclear and conventional disengagement and demilitarisation.
- (6) The progressive elimination of nuclear bases by the great powers, internally and on foreign soil.
- (7) An active and developing co-operation between all peoples.

As a first step they should actively oppose:

- (1) The testing, manufacture, stock-piling and use of nuclear weapons by every country, including their own.
- (2) All nuclear bases, including the use of their own territory for this purpose.
- (3) All countries' membership of all nuclear alliances.
- (4) The spread of nuclear weapons to any new powers or blocs.

They must also provide evidence by consistent deeds and stated policies that they stand for these objectives.

The closer co-ordination of the non-aligned peace movements within the Confederation will strengthen existing organisations by their mutual active, material and intellectual support. It will promote the development of new centres in countries where, at present, they do not exist. It will enable these movements to confer and, when deemed appropriate, to co-operate as a united body, with other peace movements. It will give, generally, to organisations, to peace workers and groups, the feeling of strength and hope which will greatly enhance their desire for action and their effectiveness to bring pressure to bear on governments, and to force them to take the greatest possible account of their aims and actions.

#### PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The Confederation resolves to co-ordinate internationally the activities of member organisations in pursuit of these objectives and such others as are added from time to time.

It seeks to encourage direct democratic initiatives and action of the people as a new dynamism for influencing national and international policies, and as a means of asserting the popular will on these and other issues.

---

ED718-27-13

CONTINUING COMMITTEE:

# International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace

(in preparation)

5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London, N.1

**Peace Information Bulletin**

Please reply to

**Bulletin Editor**

**5 Caledonian Road**

**London, N.1**

Tel: TERmieux 4473-5

Cable: HOWPA, LONDON, N.1

(28.3.63)

Chairman: Kenneth Lee (Britain)

Frank Bouten (Ghana)

Dr. Andreas Buro (Germany)

Professor Aldo Capitini (Italy)

Abbe Paul Carrette (Belgium)

Canon L. John Collins  
(European Federation)

Siddharaj Dhadha (India)

Anthony Greenwood, M.P. (Britain)

Alfred Hassler (USA)

Homer Jack (USA)

Daniel Elwyn Jones (Britain)

Steffan Larsen (Denmark)

Sann McBride (Ireland)

Dimitri Roussopoulos (Canada)

Jose Smole (Yugoslavia)

Tony Smythe (Britain)

Bertil Svahnstrom (Sweden)

Mrs. Sybil Oldfield (New Zealand)

Travelling co-ordinator:

F. C. Hunnius (Canada)

We have pleasure in enclosing a copy of the new Peace Information Bulletin, published bi-monthly by ILCOP for the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace. If you wish to receive future issues, will you kindly complete and return the subscription form below.

We should also welcome news of your organisation's activities, publications etc. to include in the Bulletin; material for the next issue (June 1963) should reach the Bulletin Editor by May 1.

Member organisations of ILCOP or of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace will be given a free subscription to the Bulletin. If you have not already had details of affiliation, these may be obtained from Mrs. Anne Stadler at the above address.

PEACE INFORMATION BULLETIN

5 Caledonian Rd., N.1.

Annual subscription 12s.

NAME OF ORGANISATION .....

ADDRESS .....

No. of Copies ..... Amount enclosed .....

ED 718-27-14

PEACE INFORMATION BULLETIN,  
International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace,  
5 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

April 8, 1963.

25.5.63 G  
27.5.

Dear Friend,

You will by now have received No. 1 of the Peace Information Bulletin, which we hope is proving useful to your organisation. We give below an outline for the next issue, to appear on June 1, 1963, and we invite you to send us material under these headings, together with any other material or suggestions which would help us in preparing the Bulletin, by May 1.

PROPOSED CONTENTS OF JUNE NUMBER

1. Revision of Directories of Organisations and Associated Periodicals. These are to be amended in accordance with details received since printing the last issue.
2. Guide to Peace Films. We are compiling a complete list of films available, which are suitable for use in group meetings and for peace education purposes.
3. Literature Section. This will contain a bibliography of books, pamphlets and articles on one of the following subjects: i) unilateral initiatives; ii) the Sino-Indian conflict; iii) non-alignment; iv) Cuba. Also, pamphlets produced in connection with study-groups, outlining reading programmes, which would assist other organisations in planning similar study-groups.
4. Peace Action Projects. News of June and July activities, and of proposals for demonstrations on Hiroshima Day, August 6.
5. Full particulars of Conferences and Seminars.

If, because of the pressure of your present duties, you are not able to undertake the additional burden of supplying us regularly with news, we suggest that you appoint someone in your organisation to act as our correspondent, with whom we can communicate directly.

REMINDER. Please complete and return the Peace Information Bulletin questionnaire if you have not already done so.

NOTE. Further copies of Bulletin No. 1 can be purchased from the above address, single copies 2/-d., annual subscription 12/-d., bulk supplies 16/-d. per dozen plus carriage.

Yours sincerely,

HUGH BROCK,  
Editor.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND AIMS FOR THE PROPOSED  
INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

26.8.63 7ide

ED718-27-15

PREAMBLE

The International Conference for Co-operation and Co-ordination of the movements against atomic armaments and for general and complete disarmament brought together at Oxford representatives of non-aligned movements and organisations throughout the world, joined in the common struggle for peace. Co-operation between these organisations has grown rapidly during the past few years. The danger of nuclear catastrophe has made it imperative that these organisations should form an International Confederation, which would respect the differences of method and emphasis and preserve their freedom of action, but help to develop popular action on an international scale.

The elimination of nuclear weapons, the policies based upon their use, the growth of military structures and of armaments, is mankind's most urgent task. All human endeavour presupposes the continuation of life. But apart from the danger to survival itself, human dignity and the development of social, technical and civilising processes are jeopardised by the preparation for war. Co-existence of different ideologies is possible in a civilised society, but the co-existence of human beings and nuclear weapons is not. Not only do these weapons generate the tensions which may at any moment explode into thermonuclear war, they also threaten fundamental human rights.

Every human being has a responsibility to act according to conscience to safeguard himself and others. This should take precedence over any demands of governments which compel him to destroy life.

Without prejudice to the Charter rights of the United Nations to enforce its mandate, we believe that political problems can no longer be solved by resort to war. Although statesmen now admit that a general nuclear war is tantamount to annihilation, they continue policies which threaten to make it inevitable. Thus nations arm for a conflict which they admit they cannot win.

The organisations within the new Confederation contend that fundamental new thinking on the problem of war is necessary, and that new forces and new methods must be interposed in the world situation, so that economic resources now used in the arms race may be diverted to the building of an international community based upon the active co-operation of all people in a disarmed world. Disarmament will mean fundamental social, economic and political change.

Therefore the creation of an international organisation, including pacifists and anti-nuclear movements, responds to an historic necessity. In the two societies that appear radically and mortally opposed a common problem must now be faced. The military structures in both societies constitute one of the principal foundations of the state. The Confederation intends to promote a constructive and dynamic effort to eliminate the real causes of war, and the institutions and structures of the state adapted to this function. For example, scientific progress cannot be halted at the door of armies, as long as these exist: on the contrary, even new atomic research for peaceful uses is greatly influenced by the military. Human progress in any area

/cont.....

of the world requires the progressive abandonment of vast military expenditure and the use of these resources for the fight against misery and hunger, for welfare and the realisation of an increasingly just society.

Some of the organisations at Oxford were primarily concerned with nuclear disarmament. Others held to the pacifist position against all weapons. Some adopt the methods of persuasion and political action. Others adopt the method of non-violent action. The Confederation respects these differences. But its component organisations are united in the determination to stimulate popular action, with the support of youth, labour, church, civic and other organisations, against the threat of war. The basis for this co-operation on an international scale is now established.

#### BASIC OBJECTIVES AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

Member organisations of the Confederation should work for:

- (1) A permanent test ban treaty.
- (2) General and complete disarmament of all nations.
- (3) The non-military solution of all conflicts.
- (4) The strengthening of the work of the United Nations and its existing Agencies, both in promoting disarmament and in increasing its responsibility for inspection and in determining the direction of economic aid and the encouragement of the growth of a world community based on world law.
- (5) The creation of zones of nuclear and conventional disengagement and demilitarisation.
- (6) The progressive elimination of nuclear bases by the great powers, internally and on foreign soil.
- (7) An active and developing co-operation between all peoples.

As a first step they should actively oppose:

- (1) The testing, manufacture, stock-piling and use of nuclear weapons by every country, including their own.
- (2) All nuclear bases, including the use of their own territory for this purpose.
- (3) All countries' membership of all nuclear alliances.
- (4) The spread of nuclear weapons to any new powers or blocs.

They must also provide evidence by consistent deeds and stated policies that they stand for these objectives.

The closer co-ordination of the non-aligned peace movements within the Confederation will strengthen existing organisations by their mutual active, material and intellectual support. It will promote the development of new centres in countries where, at present, they do not exist. It will enable these movements to confer and, when deemed appropriate, to co-operate as a united body, with other peace movements. It will give, generally, to organisations, to peace workers and groups, the feeling of strength and hope which will greatly enhance their desire for action and their effectiveness to bring pressure to bear on governments, and to force them to take the greatest possible account of their aims and actions.

#### PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The Confederation resolves to co-ordinate internationally the activities of member organisations in pursuit of these objectives and such others as are added from time to time.

It seeks to encourage direct democratic initiatives and action of the people as a new dynamism for influencing national and international policies, and as a means of asserting the popular will on these and other issues.

---

Minutes of the Meeting of the Continuing Committee held August 20-23,  
1963 at de Pietersberg, Oosterbeek, Netherlands

20.8.63

24.10.63 V.

MEMBERS ATTENDING:

ED 718-27-17

Tuesday afternoon, August 20 (decided to begin one day early, as some members had to leave early)

Kenneth Lee (Chairman), Abbe Paul Carrette, Andrea Gaggero, Alfred Hassler, Sean MacBride, Giuliano Rendi, Dimitri Roussopoulos, Joze Smole, Bertil Svahnstrom; Hugh Brock, Peggy Duff, Anne Stadler.

Regrets received in writing: Siddharaj Dhadra, Anthony Greenwood, Homer Jack, Heinz Kloppenburg, Steffen Larsen.

Wednesday, August 21

Additional members to above: Andreas Buro, Dan Elwyn Jones, Gerry Hunnius, Tony Smythe.

Observers: Barbara Bick (WSP), Valerie Hunnius. Staff: Emma Weighill.

Tuesday, August 22

Additional member: Frank Boaten. Messages received: Homer Jack

Observers: Peter Cadogan (Committee of 100, Britain), G.A. de Bock (Stichting Anti Atombom Actie, Netherlands), Gail Paradise (Student Peace Union, USA).

Friday, August 23 Joze Smole not present. Meeting closed at noon.

Evening session authorised by Continuing Committee chaired by Gerry Hunnius to discuss matters arising from Continuing Committee meeting.

51. Matters relating to the Continuing Committee:

Sean MacBride called to the attention of the Committee a letter purporting to be written by Canon Collins which appeared in the August issue of "Minority of One" published in the United States. The letter was read to the Continuing Committee and the question was raised as to whether the allegations made in it were correct. The relevant section is quoted:

"a. At the express wish to my two colleagues in the joint presidency of the European Federation, I agreed to leave my name on the Continuing Committee for the time being. I ought to add that I have not so far been invited to attend the meetings which have been held in London of what is called the Administrative Section of the Continuing Committee, although I had understood that this administrative committee was supposed to be made up of those members of the Continuing Committee who were available in London. I do not wish to suggest that there is anything sinister in this, but only to emphasize the fact that I have not so far had any part of the work of the Continuing Committee and cannot therefore be responsible for any decision which may have been made.

London, England, L. John Collins"

Anne Stadler reports as follows: the allegations in the letter are not correct. All communications, announcements of meetings, agenda and relevant memoranda were sent to all members of the Continuing Committee appointed at Oxford approximately one month before the meetings of the Administrative Committee. (Because of the confusion about Continuing Committee membership arising at the Oxford Conference, Dr. Heinz Kloppenburg did not get the mailings which preceded the first two meetings, but this was rectified and clarification appears in Minute 35 of the May 31 meeting of the Administrative

Committee). On two occasions letters were received from Canon Collins stating that he was unable to attend a particular meeting of the Administrative Committee due to his other duties, prior to the meetings in question.

Minute. The Continuing Committee agrees that Anne Stadler should write a letter to Canon Collins documenting the situation; asking him to write a letter of retraction to "Minority of One"; with a copy to the Chairman and to "Minority of One". The Committee concurred with Joze Smole's expression of regret that Canon Collins did not take part in their work.

52. Report on Affiliations. The attached list of organisations invited to attend the Oxford Conference who have applied for membership of the Confederation was presented.

Minute. The Continuing Committee welcomes these applications and accepts these organisations as affiliates.

53. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONFEDERATION:

Minute. In view of the fact that 25 organisations have now affiliated to the Confederation, the Continuing Committee now declares the Confederation established with formal ratification awaiting the January conference. The Continuing Committee directs that all affiliated organisations should receive its minutes, reports and memoranda.

54. Press announcement.

Minute. The Continuing Committee agrees that a simple announcement to the news services should be made, and agrees that Kenneth Lee, Peggy Duff, and Sean MacBride should make the statement, at the end of the Continuing Committee meeting.

55. JANUARY CONFERENCE OF THE CONFEDERATION:

a) Length of conference:

Minute: It was agreed that the conference should last five days, three days of which would be a separate Working Conference devoted to the formation of the organisation; the last two days to be an Inaugural Congress.

- b) Agenda: A subcommittee consisting of Sean MacBride, Peggy Duff, Al Hassler, Andrea Gaggero, Andreas Burc and Dimitri Roussopoulos was appointed to draft an agenda for the January Conference and the Inaugural Congress.

Minute. The Committee approves the recommendations of the subcommittee (attached), noting that it is absolutely essential to adhere to a sense of discipline in order to deal with all of the items proposed for the Working Conference. The Committee also notes particularly that it is vitally important that the image emerging from the Inaugural Congress create a vision of the opportunities for the world peace movement; that it be constructive and positive, and congratulates the subcommittee on an impressive report.

- c) Location: Several locations were considered, among them Frankfurt, Rome, Accra, Stockholm, Switzerland, as suggested by the Administrative Committee.

Minute. The Committee encourages further exploration of the possibilities; but directs that a firm decision be made by the Administrative Committee by September 30.

d) Working Conference representation:

Minute The Continuing Committee agrees that participation in the Working Conference shall be limited to affiliated organisations of the Confederation and approves the Minute of the Administrative Committee (28, section 4, March 30) defining the process of dealing

with applications received between this meeting and the time of the conference.

Minute. the following basis of representation was accepted:  
3 delegates each from international organisations and national coalitions;  
2 delegates from each large organisation;  
1 delegate from each small organisation.

The credentials committee will deal with questions raised.

Minute. Members of the Continuing Committee will automatically be voting delegates.

e) Working conference voting:

Minute. The Continuing Committee agrees that voting will be on the basis of one delegate-one vote, prepared in writing if a proxy vote is necessary. The method of consensus will be adopted. No major decision will be taken if 1/4 of the delegates object on a called vote.

f) Request for assistance:

Minute: The Continuing Committee requests that North American organisations and particularly the Turn Toward Peace Liaison Committee consider how they could be of assistance to the Confederation in dealing with the problem of staffing for the organisation of the annual conference and the Inaugural Congress.

Minute. The Continuing Committee also expresses its hope that national organisations will take the initiative to assist with translating documents into their own languages, and will so inform the office.

56. CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERATION:

A subcommittee: Al Hassler, Sean MacBride, Peggy Duff, was appointed to bring recommendations to the Continuing Committee. The following items were agreed, following the report of the subcommittee:

Minute. That the principles of the constitution be very simple; and that a lawyer be asked to assist in its preparation. The following officers and elective bodies were agreed on:

President

Vice Presidents

Trustees in whom funds would be vested

Council, with a representation of all tendencies and geographical considerations.

Meetings: the Council would meet a minimum of four times between conferences. Business would be carried on by a standing committee chosen by the council, under the mandate of the council.

Minute. The Continuing Committee directs the Administrative Committee to make arrangements for the drafting of a constitution, following the principles and decisions outlined above; and to circulate the draft prior to the January Working Conference for comments of all organisations. The Continuing Committee also recommends that additional comments and suggestions from its members be submitted directly to the drafting committee in the near future.

57. FINANCE: Budget and Fundraising:

a) Financial statement: accepted as circulated.

b) Budget proposed by Administrative Committee till end of December: accepted as circulated.

c) 1964 budget: A budget of £5,500 was adopted. It was agreed to guarantee the salary of a Secretary (and if possible two administrative staff) and one typist for six months.

Points of agreement:

i) any figure included in the budget to be adjusted according to local

- ii) conditions and needs.  
Budget will include a lump sum for salaries to be adjusted according to requirements of person(s) hired.
- iii) The budget adopted is the one drawn up in connection with the proposed merger, with references to IPB deleted.

- d) Subscription rates: a subcommittee consisting of Dan Elwyn Jones, Dimitri Roussopoulos and Tony Smytho was appointed to examine subscription rates.

Minute. The Committee accepts the report of the subcommittee (attached) and urges that very serious attention be given to implementing it.

- e) Alternative methods of fundraising by organisations:

The above subcommittee also discussed ways in which organisations could raise funds in addition to subscriptions. (See report).

Minute. Up to the point of calling the Confederation into being,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of annual subscription is owing from all Oxford Conference participants. A full year's subscription will be due from member organisations from September 1, and they will be asked to pay half of this by January 1, 1964.

- f) Fundraising apart from membership:

A subcommittee (Sean MacBride, Al Hassler, Peggy Duff) was asked to bring a proposal for the creation of an international fund to which the Confederation could apply for money.

Minute. The Committee accepts the report of the subcommittee noting:

- i) the money raised for the fund would be made available for the Confederation and for Peace Research;
- ii) that the international fund would be independent of the Confederation with prestigious figures for sponsors, trustees;
- iii) that the timing of the creation of this fund might be related in some way to International Cooperation Year;
- iv) caution raised that the subcommittee bear in mind that we wish to assist the development of a Fund which will enable all tendencies to develop.

The Committee directs the subcommittee to draft a proposal for the January Working Conference; and suggests that discussions take place in the meantime with key people in America, Britain and Europe.

Appointment of Treasurer: Peggy Duff was appointed Treasurer.

Minute. The Committee strongly urges the Treasurer to take an active part in promoting funding efforts; consulting with organisations; and in overseeing the agreed-upon projects.

## 58. LOCATION OF OFFICE

A subcommittee (Gerry Hunnius, Andreas Buro and Giuliano Rendi) was appointed to examine the sites available on the basis of the following principles, present an interim report, and bring recommendations to January Working Conference, enlarging their committee by the addition of two persons appointed at the Conference to present the final report to the conference. The principles governing choice of site were;

- i) the office must be near active groups;
- ii) it must be easily accessible for travelling persons;
- iii) it should be removed from Anglo-Saxon domination;
- iv) it should not be subject to restrictive national difficulties arising out of the country's position in the Cold War.

Frankfurt and London were considered, and the subcommittee was able to make no decision between them.

Minute. The Continuing Committee accepts this interim report, and directs that further discussions be carried out, with recommendations

being sent to the office, so that Gerry Hunnius can prepare a short discussion of this for the Working Conference.

59. RELATIONSHIP WITH INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU (ILCOP):

It was realised at the meetings on Tuesday that IPB (ILCOP) was not willing to consider merging the two organisations, at this time. A subcommittee consisting of Kenneth Lee, Gerry Hunnius, Anne Stadler, Dan Elwyn Jones and Tony Smythe was authorised to enter into discussions with IPB on the basis of the report attached.

Minute. The Committee accepts the report, suggests that subcommittee meet with IPB subcommittee to work out the details.

Minute. Counter proposal made by IPB (also attached) will be referred to the Administrative Committee.

Minute. Since a commission consisting of three IPB and three Confederation persons will meet at the January Working Conference (as per the agreement noted in the IPB counter proposal), the Continuing Committee directs and urges affiliated organisations to give serious consideration to the future relationship between the two organisations, efforts be made to discover IPB's work and proposed plans, and comments be transmitted to the Administrative Committee for the guidance of the Commission members.

60. CONFEDERATION DEVELOPMENT IN REGIONS:

Minute. The following principles were agreed as a basis for regional development:

- a) that regional groupings should be created for the purpose of furthering the work of the Confederation;
- b) that they should be open to all member organisations of the Confederation;
- c) that policies followed by regional groupings must be consistent with Confederation policies;
- d) that regional councils should develop working relationships between all member organisations in their region.

A European subcommittee was established to consider the development of the European region.

Minute. The Continuing Committee accepts the report of this subcommittee (attached) and adds the following minute directed to the European Federation against Nuclear Arms:

"We recommend and ask that the officers and members of the European Federation against Nuclear Arms note the establishment of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace at Oosterbeek in August 1963; recognise the new situation produced by this decision, by inviting to their next meeting in London, September 15/16 1963, representatives of all organisations in Europe affiliated to the Confederation or invited to the Oxford Conference in order to reconstitute the Federation as a regional group within the Confederation.

Should it be impossible to make this transformation, it is clear that members of the European Federation that are also members of the Confederation may have to leave the European Federation and set up their own European regional structure".

61. TASKS OF CONFEDERATION AND SPECIFIC PROJECTS:

- a) Italian proposal for cooperation concerning a nuclear-free zone in the Balkan area.

Minute. The Continuing Committee receives the idea with sympathy, and will consider specifically what it can do at the time of presentation after a series of meetings outlined by the Italians. Agreed that in principle we exist to exchange ideas and facilitate cooperation on specific projects.

- b) American proposal for an East-West Conference (attached).

Minute. The Committee welcomes this kind of initiative and

encourages the Americans to proceed with their conference, bringing specific proposals before the January Conference.

- c) Minute. In future, only in cases where demonstrations or actions are being done in the name of the Confederation shall sanction by the Confederation be necessary. We approve and will assist any projects developed on the initiative of the member organisations, unless we disagree violently.
- d) Minute. The Continuing Committee directs that all specific proposals for projects be referred to Anne Stadler in the USA, that she correlate those, prepare a comprehensive summary, including all suggestions in an appendix, and that this be circulated to all organisations as the basic paper for the Working Conference on the "Work of the Confederation: activities and projects"; that announcement of this be made, noting that October 31 is the deadline for proposals to be in Anne Stadler's hands.  
(Address proposals to: 18339 - 47th Place N.E., Seattle 55, Washington, with a carbon copy to the Confederation Office).

## 62. CLOSING STATEMENTS:

Minute: The Continuing Committee expresses great gratitude to Kenneth Lee and wishes to convey its appreciation to the Friends' Peace Committee for managing to release him for Confederation work. It hopes that Kenneth Lee's services to the Confederation will continue unabated. (A wooden gavel was presented to the chairman. Applause).

Minute. The Continuing Committee expresses its warm thanks to Anne Stadler for the work she has done. (A piggy bank and a medal were given to the secretary. Applause).

Minute. The Continuing Committee asks that its chairman convey thanks to the IPB for the conference accommodation and the opportunity to have discussions together.

Statement from the secretary: Anne Stadler expresses her grateful thanks for the sentiment of the Committee and their gifts to her. She also extended to each member and organisation a warm invitation to visit the Pacific Northwest United States; and expressed her high hope for the successful development of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace.

Closing statement from the Chairman: The Chairman expressed his thanks to the Committee and pointed out that he was greatly heartened by the tremendous sense of participation and responsibility demonstrated at this meeting. This kind of spirit and concern must continue if the Confederation is to develop into a significant force for world peace.

Submitted by the Secretary,  
Anne Stadler.

REPORT ON AFFILIATIONS

24. 10. 63 V.

Approved by Continuing Committee, 22.8.63

Acora Assembly Secretariat

International Fellowship of Reconciliation

War Resisters International

Victorian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Australia

Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Canada

Komiteen for Oplysning om Atomfaren, Denmark

Action Civique Non-Violente, France

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände, Germany

Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengeegner, Germany

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Great Britain

Colleges and Universities CND, Great Britain

Committee of 100, Great Britain

Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Great Britain

Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, India

Consulta Italiana per la Pace,

Comite 1963 voor de Vrede, Netherlands

Stichting Anti-Atombom Actie, Netherlands

Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Sweden

Fellowship of Reconciliation, U.S.A.

National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, U.S.A.

Society for Social Responsibility in Science, U.S.A.

Student Peace Union, U.S.A.

War Resisters' League, U.S.A.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, U.S.A.

Anti-Nuclear Section of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence  
and Equality of Peoples.

JANUARY CONFERENCE AGENDA.

The January Conference will be divided into two separate meetings:

- A. The first, a working conference with participants being delegates from affiliated organisations, will be held for three days, on January 9, 10 and 11. The following agenda is approved:
1. Election of Conference Chairman
  2. Election of two Vice-Chairmen
  3. Election of Secretary
  4. Election of Credentials Committee: five people
  5. Election of Standing Orders Committee: eight people plus Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen as ex officio members (empowered to appoint Nominating Committee)
  6. Approval of Nominating Committee
  7. Adoption of Agenda
  8. Report of Continuing Committee by Kenneth Lee (circulate full report with two page summary attached, which will be read)
  9. Presentation of draft Constitution and explanations.
  10. Discussion on the Draft Constitution
  11. Appointment of Constitutional Committee
  12. Programme of work for Confederation (Report of Commission on Activities and Projects)
  13. Discussion
  14. Appointment of Committee to examine Report
  15. Financial Report - Statement by Treasurer Budget proposal and requirements
  16. Discussion
  17. Appointment of Financial Commission
  18. Report of Constitutional Sub-Committee
  19. Adoption
  20. Report of Activities and Projects Committee
  21. Adoption
  22. Report of Finance Commission
  23. Adoption
  24. Proposals of Nominations Committee for Council and Officers
  25. Election of Officers and Council
  26. Any other business
- 
- B. An Inaugural Congress, lasting two days, January 12 and 13. The following agenda was approved:
- First Day
1. Brief Report by President on Foundation of the Confederation
  2. Key Speech by A.J. Muste
  3. Discussion
- Evening: Greetings from Guests

Second Day

1. Report on Activity to be undertaken by Confederation and affiliated members
2. Discussion
3. Closing Address by President

SUGGESTED LIST OF ORGANISATIONS TO BE INVITED

1. World Council of Peace
2. Pugwash Conference
3. World Council of Churches
4. International Peace Bureau
5. UNO - U Thant
6. UNESCO
7. Vatican: Cardinal Suenens
8. Archbishop Roberts  
Pere la Pira
9. Prague Christian Peace Conference
10. International Association of War Veterans
11. Service Civil International
12. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
13. Women's International Strike for Peace

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

Continuing Committee  
Office: 5 Caledonian Rd., London N. 1,  
Brunswick 7219

24.10.69 V

LOCATION OF OFFICE Discussion

If the confederation and ILCOP are merged, two suggestions have been put forward for consideration: (1) that there be two offices, the central office in Geneva, and the office of the co-ordinating secretary in London, (2) that both secretaries operate from the same office which would then be in Geneva. The following points were listed by members of the Administrative Committee to help the Continuing Committee reach a decision on this matter:

For one office, in Geneva:

1. The two Secretaries should work together as a team; this will be encouraged if they share an office.
2. The development of mutual confidence between the established and newer peace organizations would be made more likely.
3. There would be less chance of the highly developed peace movement of the U.K. overweighing the development of the Confederation.
4. It is possible that the existence of two offices would institutionalise a division between the activists and ILCOP members, and thus hamper the growth of a truly merged international.
5. The new organization will need to develop its own sources of information and strength, and not depend on the contacts of "Peace News", CND, and WRI. In Geneva, it would be forced to do this, and its independent status and address would assist.
6. The regional development of Confederation work in England would be encouraged and would be more likely to develop.
7. A broadly based executive is more likely to function.
8. The secretaries would be more independent of any single group in the Confederation.
9. Two offices would be confusing for people who want to communicate with the Confederation. Information might often be sent to the wrong office.
10. Geneva is more easily accessible from the point of view of the continental organizations.

For two offices, one in London, one in Geneva:

1. The coordinating secretary needs the stimulation of active people in the peace movement. In Geneva, fewer people or organizations exist or are easily available. Therefore, he would be isolated from day to day contact with active peace workers.
2. The coordinating secretary would more readily ensure active participation from people who were formerly on the Administrative Committee.
3. The Confederation, particularly the Bulletin Editor, needs information from sources like "Peace News" CND, WRI, particularly during the first few years until the new organization has established its identity in the international sphere. It is more likely that such assistance will continue if one office is in London.
4. North American and Asian representatives more frequently pass through London than Geneva, making casual contacts more likely, and enabling them to participate more frequently in Council meetings.



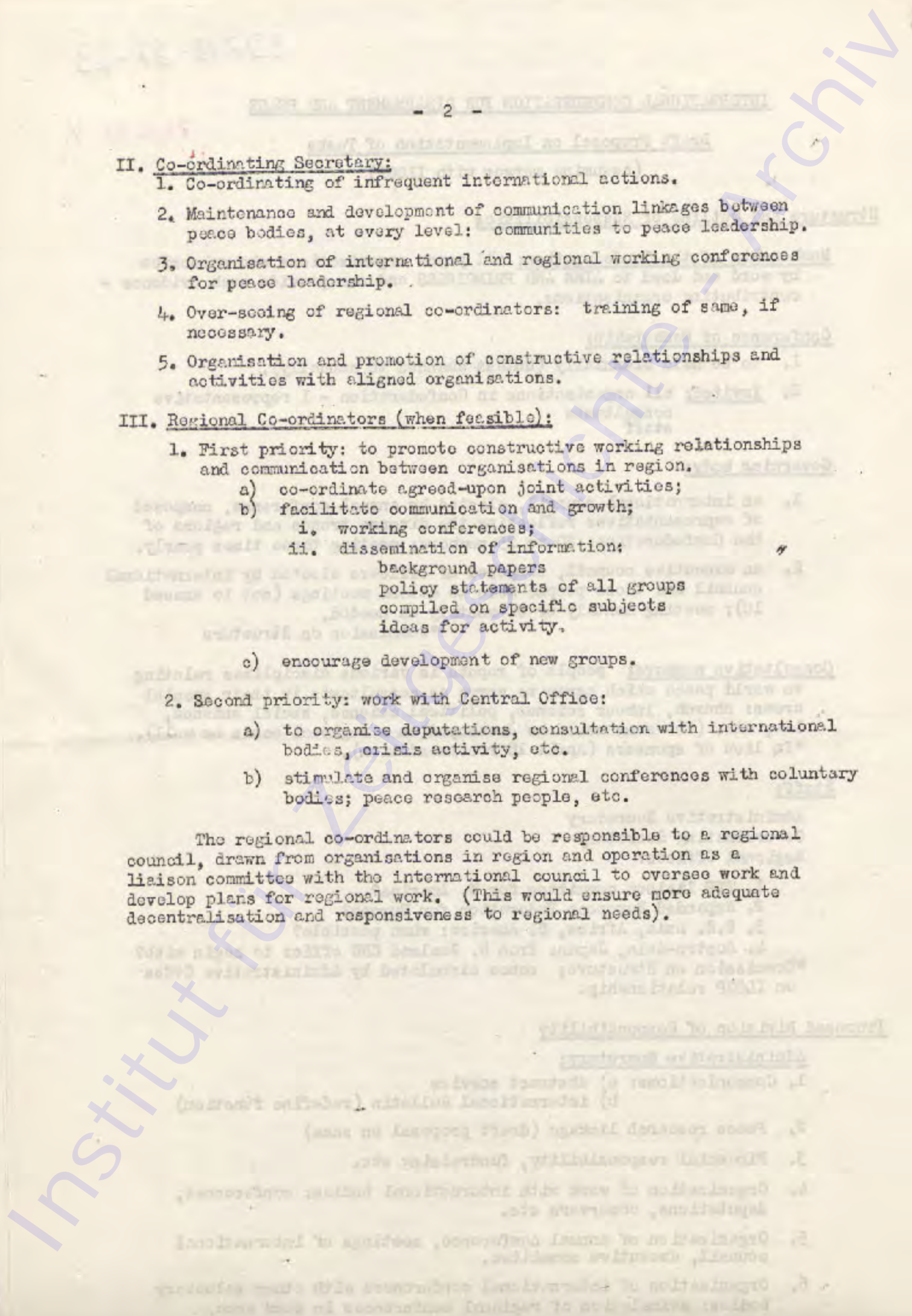
II. Co-ordinating Secretary:

1. Co-ordinating of infrequent international actions.
2. Maintenance and development of communication linkages between peace bodies, at every level: communities to peace leadership.
3. Organisation of international and regional working conferences for peace leadership.
4. Over-seeing of regional co-ordinators: training of same, if necessary.
5. Organisation and promotion of constructive relationships and activities with aligned organisations.

III. Regional Co-ordinators (when feasible):

1. First priority: to promote constructive working relationships and communication between organisations in region.
  - a) co-ordinate agreed-upon joint activities;
  - b) facilitate communication and growth;
    - i. working conferences;
    - ii. dissemination of information:
      - background papers
      - policy statements of all groups
      - compiled on specific subjects
      - ideas for activity.
  - c) encourage development of new groups.
2. Second priority: work with Central Office:
  - a) to organise deputations, consultation with international bodies, crisis activity, etc.
  - b) stimulate and organise regional conferences with coluntary bodies; peace research people, etc.

The regional co-ordinators could be responsible to a regional council, drawn from organisations in region and operation as a liaison committee with the international council to oversee work and develop plans for regional work. (This would ensure more adequate decentralisation and responsiveness to regional needs).



# International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace

(in preparation)

5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London, N.1  
Brunswick 7219

Peace Information Bulletin

Please reply to

Bulletin Editor

5 Caledonian Road

London, N.1

Tel. TRAMING 4473-5

Cables HOWPA, LONDON, N.1

ED718-27-24

London, December 2, 1963

10.12.63 V.

- Chairman: Kenneth Lee (Britain)
- Frank Boatett (Ghana)
- Dr. Andreas Baro (Germany)
- Abbe Paul Carrette (Belgium)
- Canon L. John Collins (European Federation)
- Siddharaj Dhadde (India)
- Andrea Gaspero (Italy)
- Anthony Greenwood, M.P. (Britain)
- Alfred Hassler (USA)
- Homer Jack (USA)
- Heinz Kloppenberg (Germany)
- Daniel Elwyn Jones (Britain)
- Steffen Larsen (Denmark)
- Sean McBride (Ireland)
- Ghislano Rendi (Italy)
- Dimitri Roussopoulos (Canada)
- Jose Smole (Yugoslavia)
- Tony Smythe (Britain)
- Beril Svahnstrom (Sweden)
- Mrs. Sybil Oldfield (New Zealand)
- Travelling co-ordinator:  
F. C. Hunnius (Canada)

Dear Friends:

In January 1963, at Oxford University, the independent and non-aligned peace organizations from all over the world met to place the foundations of the INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE. The Oxford Conference elected a Continuing Committee to bring this International into being and to organize a inaugural congress early in 1964.

In August 1963, at Oosterbeek, Netherlands, the Continuing Committee, brought the INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE into being by accepting as member organizations the Accra Assembly (Ghana), International Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters' International, Victoria Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (Australia), Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (Canada), Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (Canada), Komiteen for Oplysning om Atomfares (Denmark), Action Civique Nonviolente (France), Mouvement Contre L'Armement Atomique (France), Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände (Germany), Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner (Germany), Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (Great Britain), Colleges and Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (Great Britain), Youth Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament (Great Britain), Committee of 100 (Great Britain), Friends' Peace Committee (Great Britain), Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh (India), Consulta per la Pace (Italy), Comité 1963 voor de Vrede (Netherlands), Stichting Anti-Atoombomb Actie (Netherlands), Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (New Zealand), Kampanjen mot Atomvapen (Sweden), Fellowship of Reconciliation (USA), National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (USA), Student Peace Union (USA), War Resisters' League (USA), Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples, (Anti-Nuclear Section).

We take great pleasure in inviting your organization to the International Inaugural Congress of the INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE to be held in Tyringe, Sweden from January 12 to 13, 1964.

We enclose a) Conference Location Information, b) application form, and c) a copy of the PEACE INFORMATION BULLETIN.

Yours sincerely:  
Dimitrios Roussopoulos,  
Conference Secretary

P.S. If your organization is unable to attend we would welcome a message to the Congress, if possible before January 3, 1964.

H/1 x PIB # 1/4 65

ED 718-27-25

INAUGURAL CONGRESS

CONFERENCE LOCATION INFORMATION

The International Inaugural Congress of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace will be held in Tyringe, Sweden, on January 12 and 13, 1964.

In Tyringe (population 3,500) the conference will be held in the KUREOTHELL, which has all the modern comforts including central heating, excellent restaurant, and bar.

There will be a registration fee for each delegate of \$1 (\$3) for the entire conference. Delegates will be expected to pay their own travel and board. Full board costs \$2.10s. (\$7.50) per day, although efforts are being made to lower this price.

Tyringe lies between Helsingborg (43 n/67 km) and Håsløholm (73n/12km) on the main road and railway line. It is approx. 82n/130 km from Copenhagen, 330n/530km. from Stockholm, and 55 n/88km from Malmö.

HOW TO GET TO TYRINGE

BY AIR - to Copenhagen, then by local train, changing at Helsingborg.

Time-table

<u>Depart Copenhagen</u>	<u>Arrive Tyringe</u>
10.22	14.11
15.22	18.57
18.22	22.46
19.22	23.29

BY TRAIN - From Western European countries, including Great Britain (via Harwich-Hook of Holland Day Boat Service): to Copenhagen, then by local train, changing at Helsingborg. (Time-table as above)

- From Eastern European countries: to Malmö, then by local train, changing at Håsløholm.

Time-table

<u>Depart Malmö</u>	<u>Arrive Tyringe</u>
7.25	8.59
8.24	11.23
9.55	12.10
13.45	15.31
16.43	18.24
18.50	21.16

BY ROAD - via Helsingborg or Malmö.

GENERAL APPLICATION FORM:  
(please mail in no later than December 23, 1963)

NAME: .....

ORGANIZATION: .....

POSITION: .....

OFFICE ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE: .....

.....

HOME ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE: .....

WORKING LANGUAGES: .....

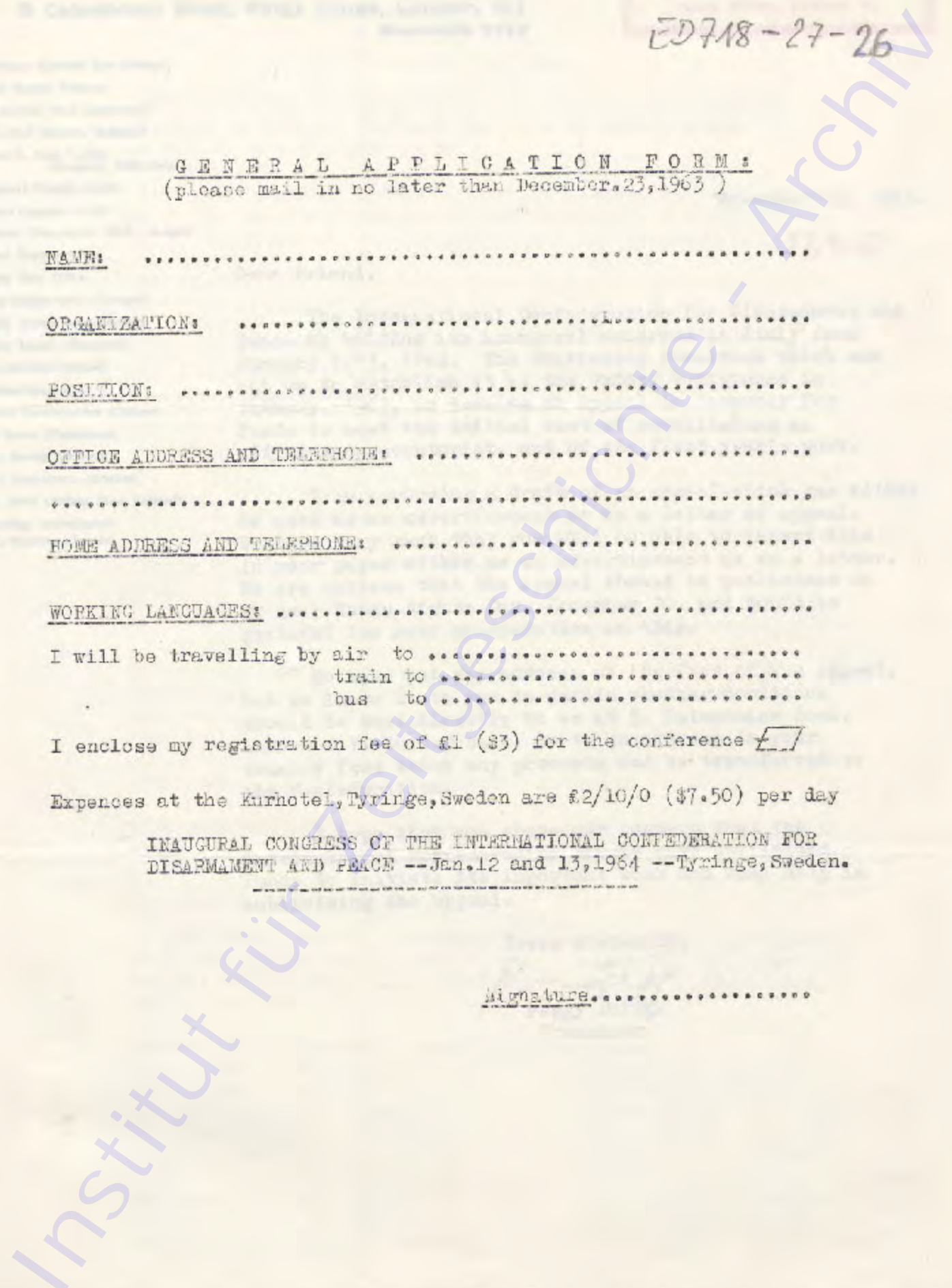
I will be travelling by air to .....  
train to .....  
bus to .....

I enclose my registration fee of £1 (\$3) for the conference

Expences at the Kurhotel, Tyringe, Sweden are £2/10/0 (\$7.50) per day

INAUGURAL CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR  
DISARMAMENT AND PEACE --Jan.12 and 13,1964 --Tyringe, Sweden.

Signature.....



EJ 718 - 27 - 27

CONTINUING COMMITTEE:

**Peace Information Bulletin**  
 Please reply to  
**Bulletin Editor**  
**5 Caledonian Road**  
**London, N.1**  
 Tel: TERMINUS 4473-5  
 Cable: HOWPA, LONDON, N.1

# International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace

*(in preparation)*

**5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London, N.1**  
**Brunswick 7219**

- Chairman: Kenneth Lee (Britain)*
- Frank Boaten (Ghana)*
- Dr. Andreas Buro (Germany)*
- Abbe Paul Carrette (Belgium)*
- Canon L. John Collins (European Federation)*
- Siddharaj Dhadha (India)*
- Andrea Gaggero (Italy)*
- Anthony Greenwood, M.P. (Britain)*
- Alfred Hassler (USA)*
- Homer Jack (USA)*
- Heinz Kloppenborg, (Germany)*
- Daniel Elwyn Jones (Britain)*
- Steffen Larsen (Denmark)*
- Sean McBride (Ireland)*
- Giuliano Rendi (Italy)*
- Dimitri Roussopoulos (Canada)*
- Jose Stokic (Yugoslavia)*
- Tony Smythe (Britain)*
- Bertil Svahnstrom (Sweden)*
- Mrs. Sybil Oldfield (New Zealand)*
- Travelling co-ordinator:*
- F. C. Hannus (Canada)*

November 22, 1963.

27. 11. 63

Dear Friend,

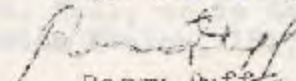
The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace is holding its inaugural congress in Italy from January 9/13, 1964. The Continuing Committee which was set up to establish it at the Oxford Conference in January, 1963, is issuing an appeal in December for funds to meet the initial cost of establishing an office and secretariat, and of the first year's work.

I am enclosing a draft of an appeal which can either be used as an advertisement or as a letter of appeal. We hope very much that you will be able to insert this in your paper either as an advertisement or as a letter. We are anxious that the appeal should be publicised on or near Human Rights Day, December 10, and would be grateful for your co-operation on this.

We have put our address at the foot of the Appeal, but we leave it to you to decide whether donations should be sent directly to us at 5, Caledonian Road, London N.1, to our bank, or to an address in your country from which any proceeds can be transferred to the Confederation.

I hope that you share our concern that the International Confederation should have sufficient funds to initiate its important work and will help in publicising the appeal.

Yours sincerely,

  
 Peggy Duff  
 Treasurer.

Institute for Human Rights - Archive

AN INTERNATIONAL APPEAL

"That all the men  
in all the lands  
shall live out their lives  
in freedom from fear"  
(Atlantic Charter)

Delegates from 41 Peace Movements all over the world, meeting in Oxford, England, in January 1963, agreed to establish an International.

The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, which is the first result of their labours, will be formally inaugurated at a Congress in Italy, January 9/13, 1964.

One of the main aims of the Confederation is to ensure that every Government implements Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person." Its first need is sympathy and support from people and organisations working for Peace.

Its most urgent need is funds. Many people in the Peace Movements are already giving service to the Confederation. The organisations affiliating to it are giving wholehearted support, but they depend on voluntary subscription for their work and their resources are limited. Hence this international appeal, to be published and circulated all over the world, on or near to Human Rights Day.

An office and secretariat have to be set up. The essential work of co-ordination and co-operation, already begun, has to be extended; conferences wait to be promoted; information, literature and ideas to be circulated; research to be encouraged and financed; new movements to be established. The Confederation must be built as a strong power for peace. America will spend 52,690 million dollars this year on arms and defence; Russia 13,858 million roubles; Britain £1,827 millions. All the Confederation asks for is £2,000.

Show your sympathy and support by sending a donation now to ensure that the voices for Peace, together in unison, become so strong that governments have to get out of the way.

Contributions should be sent to :

The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace,  
at 5, Caledonian Road, London, N.I., or to the Confederation  
Account at Barclays Bank, Euston Branch, 161, Euston Road,  
London, N.W.I.

Kenneth Lee (Chairman, Continuing Committee)	Homer Jack (USA)
Peggy Duff (Treasurer)	Heinz Kloppenberg (Germany)
Frank Boaten (Ghana)	Daniel Elwyn Jones (Britain)
Dr. Andreas Buro (Germany)	Sean McBride (Ireland)
Abbé Paul Carrette (Belgium)	Giuliano Rendi (Italy)
Canon L. John Collins (European Federation)	Dimitri Roussopoulos (Canada)
Siddharaj Dhadda (India)	Jose Smole (Yugoslavia)
Andrea Gaggero (Italy)	Tony Smythe (Britain)
Anthony Greenwood, MP. (Britain)	Bertil Svahnstrom (Sweden)
Alfred Hassler (USA)	

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

12.1.64

INAUGURAL CONGRESS - January 12 & 13, 1964

1.3.64 VK-BV

List of participants

- ALMEIDA, Anidido Antonio Mendes da, (Accra Assembly), 2 Paulo Cesar de Andrade 70, Apto 304, Laranjeiras, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- ARGNANI, Romano (Consulta Italiana della Pace), Via Redipuglia n. 30, Ravenna, Italy.
- Dr. BACSKAI, (World Peace Council), Möllwaldeplatz 4, Vienna 4, Austria.
- BESKOW, Inga (WILPF, Sweden), Saltholmsg. 37, Gothenburg, Sweden.
- BOATEN, Francis Edmund (Accra Assembly), Accra Assanbly Secretariat, P.O. Box 1627, Accra, Ghana.
- BOULTON, David (CND, Britain), "Little Oaks", Hockley Lane, Elstead, Godalming, Surrey, England.
- BOURDET, Claude; (Mouvement contre l'Armement Atomique), 47 avenue d'Alena, Paris, France.
- BROCK, Hugh (Peace News), 79 Lordship Park, London N.16, England.
- BURO, Andreas (Kampagne für Abrüstung - Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner) Andreas-Vöst-str. 5, München 55, Germany.
- BÖWING, Werner (Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Friedensverbände, WRI), 565 Solingen, Hackeläuerstr. 136, Germany.
- CARRETTE, Abbé Paul (Belgian For, WRI, CNVA), Loverval, 8 rond-point du Chéniat, Belgium.
- COLLINS, Canon L. John, (European Federation against Nuclear Arms and CND, Britain), 2 Amen Court, London E.C.4, England.
- COWLEY, Chris (Committee of 100), 38 Pembridge Villas, London W.11, England.
- CRAFT, Michael (CND, Britain), 1 Elers Road, W. Ealing, London W.13, England.
- DAHL, Hans, (Norwegian CND), Borgen v. 39, Asker, Norway.
- DELF, George, (National Peace Council), 7 Montagu Square, London W.1, England.
- DIEHL, Walter, (World Peace Council), 6689 Merchweiler/Saar, Germany.
- DIRANI, Ennio (Consulta della Pace), Via Sicilia 5, Ravenna, Italy.
- DUFF, Peggy (CND, Britain), 11 Albert Street, London N.W.1, England.
- EASTMAN, Rev. E. Philip, (International Fellowship of Reconciliation), "The Grange", 3 Hendon Avenue, Finchley, London N.3, England.
- FRITH, Norman, (Friends Peace Committee), 109 Warren Road, Wanstead, London E.11, England.
- GAGGERO, Andrea (Consulta della Pace), Via Nomentana 429 Rome, Italy.
- GERIN, Jacques (Co-ordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students), P.O.B. 36, Leiden, Netherlands.
- GLEBITSCH, Nils Petter (Folkereising mot Krig, WRI), Øvre Skogvei 12, Oslo, Norway.
- GOTT, Richard, (Independent Nuclear Disarmament Election Committee), 49 Warrington Crescent, London W.9, England.
- GRAZIANI, Guido (Consulta della Pace), Via Nomentana 429, Rome, Italy.

- GULDBERG, Sven (International Peace Bureau), Skaldevägen 11, Bromma, Stockholm, Sweden.
- HAMILTON, Ian, (World-Citizens), Rotsanda-Torg 1, Rotebro, Sweden.
- HANSEN, Uffe, (Dansk Fredskomiteé), Ubbstrup Kalundborg, Denmark.
- HANSEN, Villum (Komiteen for Oplysning om Atomfaren), Strandvaenget 15, Copenhagen Ø, Denmark.
- HASSLER, Alfred (FoR), Box 271, Nynck, New York, USA.
- HERTZ, Ulrich (Swedish Peace Council), Feintlåsvägen 44, Sollentuna, Sweden.
- HOGLUND, Annalena )  
" Bangt ) (Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Sweden), St. Södergatan 56 B, Lund, Sweden.
- HOLMGÅRD, Ellen, (Danish WILPF), Ved Vallhöj 6, Copenhagen Brh, Denmark.
- JACK, Homer (National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, SANE), 17 East 45th St., New York, N.Y., USA.
- JAKOBSSON, Stiv, (Svenska Världsfredsmissionen), Västerleden 34 B, Uppsala 10, Sweden.
- JASPERS, Gerold, (Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Friedensverbände/ Versöhnungsbund), Friedenstr. 8, Germany.
- JENKINS, Robin, (Campaign Caravan Workshops), 36 Manor Drive, Leeds 6, England.
- JONASSEN, Niels, (Aldrig mere Krig), Højsgårds Alle 75, Hellerup, Denmark.
- JONES, Dan Elwyn (Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), 1 Gray's Inn Square, London W.C.1, England.
- JUNGNER, Gunilla, (Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Sweden), Hospitalsg. 3, Lund, Sweden.
- JONES, Mervyn (CND, Britain), 9 Hardy Road, London S.E.3, England.
- KUHLMANN, Mira v. (WDFB), Linprunstr. 56, München 2, Germany.
- LARSSON, Gösta, (Svenska Fred -och Skiljedomsereningen), Bågvägen 22, Bromma, Sweden.
- LEE, Kenneth (Friends Peace Committee, National Peace Council), The Grange, Kennington, Ashford, Kent.
- LUND, Mrs. Bente, (WISP of Norway), Sørkedalsvei 135, Oslo 3, Norway.
- MARSH, Elisabeth R., (Peace & Social Order Committee), RD 170, Bardsburg, Penna., USA.
- MATHIESEN, Niels, (International Peace Bureau), rue de Zürich 41, Geneva, Switzerland.
- MENCARAGLIA, Luciano (Consulta Italiana della Pace), Piazza Montecitorio 115, Rome, Italy.
- MEYERS, Ruth (Womens International Strike for Peace), 3 The Tulips, Roslyn, New York, USA.
- MOHR, Marie Lous (Norges Fredsråd), Skensgd. 36 B A III, Oslo, Norway.
- MOLT, Fredrik ) (Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Sweden), Dag Hammarskjöldsv.,  
" Marie ) 4 E 121, Lund, Sweden.
- MORRIS, Stuart, (Peace Pledge Union), 60 Long Lane, London N.3.
- MUNCHOW, Johs. S. (WRI), Berners vange 13, Hvidovre, Denmark.
- DE ONDARZA, Irmgard, (Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Friedensverbände, IDK, DFG), 75 Karlsruhe, Lammstr. 16, Germany.

- OREDSSON, Alf, (Kampanjen mot Atonvapen), Skea gåro, Hässleholm, Sweden.
- PAPE, Arthur (Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), 329 Bloor Street W., Toronto 5, Canada.
- PARADISE, Gail, (Student Peace Union), 6029 University Avenue, Chicago 31, Illinois, USA.
- PONTARA, Giuliano, (Movimento Nonviolento per la Pace), Studenterna Tempus, Beckenbergsavägen 13, Bromma, Sweden.
- REGNELL, Dr. Hans, (World Association of World Federalists), Tornaplatzen 2, Lund, Sweden.
- REUTZ-GJERMØE, Mrs. Johanne, (WILPF), Neslie 17, Nesbru, Norway.
- REYNOLDS, Earle, (Hiroshima Institute of Peace Science), Central P.O., Box 99, Hiroshima, Japan.
- ROBERTS, Archbishop, (Amnesty International), 114 Mount Street, London W.1, Great Britain.
- ROUSSOPOULOS, Dimitriós, (Canadian CND and CUCND), office: 3510 rue Ste. Famille, Montréal 18; 5940 Monkland Ave., Montréal 28, P.Q. Canada.
- RUSTIN, Bayard (War Resisters League), 340, W. 28th street, apt 9 J, New York City, L., N.Y. USA.
- SANDQUIST, Mrs. (WILPF) Slottshatan 33a, Jököping, Sweden.
- SMOLE, Jože, (Section for Peace and Disarmament of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples), Urtecca blok b 2, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia.
- SMYTHE, Tony (WRI), Lansbury House, 88 Park Av., Endfield, Middx, England.
- STEADMAN, Michael, World Student League (IUS), Invalidovnan 577, Karlin, Prague, Czechoslovakia.
- STRID, Arne, (Lund CND) Råbygatan 4, Lund.
- SVANTESSON, Gunnar, (Swedish Peace Committee), Lund, Sweden. Dag Hammarskjölds väg 1 D, Lund.
- SVARD, Krister, (Swedish CND), Ö. Wallg 57, Lund Sweden.
- SVANSTRÖM, Bertil (CND), Box 51 38, Stockholm 5, Sweden.
- SWEET, Colin, (British Peace Committee), 152 Turney Rd., London S.E. 21.
- SWENBLOW, Amy, (Women International Strike for Peace), 9 Ridge Drive East, Great Neck, New York, USA.
- VORHAUS, Mrs. Hetty, (Women Against War), 25 Elworthy Rd., London, N.W.3.
- VOSHININ, Nikolai, (World Federation of Democratic Youth), 34 Benzur Utea, VI Budapest, Hungary.
- VON WEST-HELEN, Graf Carl, (DFU President), Dahlmannstrasse 11, Bonn, Germany.
- WOLF, Ernest, (ILCOP - IPB), 8 Elisabethenstrasse, Basle, Switzerland.
- WIRMARK, Bo, (Swedish FOR), Krongatan 4 A, Uppsala, Sweden.
- ZEPHEN, Mrs., (WILPF), Rungsted Kyst, Denmark.
- BUCHBINDER, Heinrich, (Schweizerische Bewegung gegen die atomare Aufrüstung), Reginastr. 12, Zürich 2/38, Switzerland.
- ANDERSSON, John, (World Citizens), Hamnergatan 3, Ranlösabrunn, Sweden.
- EL FASI, Mohammed (Acara Assembly), 12 rue Louis Châtelain, Rabat, Morocco.

ED 718-27-31

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

The Grange,  
3, Hendon Avenue,  
London, N.3

March 23rd, 1964 21. 4. 64 (H.V.)

The enclosed issue of our Peace Information Bulletin is meant to be used as a basic pamphlet of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace. Please order as many copies as you can usefully use or distribute.

The costs are as follows:

1-49 copies, 1s each	(15 cents)	<u>DM</u> -,60
50 -99 copies, 9d each	(10 cents)	-,45
100 copies upwards, 6d each	(7 cents)	-,30

Please enclose payment with your order.

The French edition should be available some time in April. Please indicate how many English/French copies you require.

If you have already placed your order please ignore this.

The Executive of the ICDP has decided to agree to the request from Peace News to include one issue of their newspaper with each Bulletin. (This applies to the present issue of the Bulletin only). Since Peace News has given us considerable help in producing this Bulletin, the Executive felt that it was only proper to accept their request. We therefore ask you to cooperate with us and distribute Peace News along with our Bulletin.

37 ~~26~~ x = DM 22,20 22,20  
 50 x = 22,50  
 66 x = 29,70  
 100 x = 30,-

Gerry Hunnius,  
General Secretary

Horst Maurer  
 6 Frankfurt, ~~H.~~ Schwankheim  
 Burgstr. 47.  
 Germany. Hm Rubeskin 43 E

BD 748-27-32

price one shilling

# Confederation for peace

Peace Information Bulletin Vol 2 No 1 April 1964

Issued by the International Confederation  
for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP)

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

In January 1964 something happened at Tyringe in Sweden. The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace was born. As with all well planned births, it took place in a spirit of joy, of friendship and of peace. The spirit of Tyringe embraced the world; all humanity was and is our business.

The grim realities of nuclear weapons have brought all men and governments face to face with a choice of paths. One leads to mutual destruction, the other to mutual fellowship. All want to take the second path but are held back, not by lack of means but by ingrained habits, by lack of trust, by lack of imagination, by lack of determination.

The task of the peace movement now is to create the climate of peace and to help overcome these obstacles. Peace organisations can no longer work effectively alone. A co-operative effort is needed. The Confederation exists to co-ordinate the work of independent peace organisations to make them conscious of other similar groups around the world.

The basis of the Confederation is peace in the context of human rights. What this means is spelled out in the following pages — and there is much in this bulletin of importance to workers and thinkers for peace.

When you have read it we hope you will consider whether your organisation should add its strength as a full member or as an associate member of the Confederation.

**Kenneth Lee, President,  
International Confederation  
for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP)**

# STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND AIMS

## PREAMBLE

The international conference for co-operation and co-ordination of the movements against atomic armaments and for general and complete disarmament brought together at Oxford representatives of non-aligned movements and organisations throughout the world, joined in the common struggle for peace. Co-operation between these organisations has grown rapidly during the past few years. The danger of nuclear catastrophe has made it imperative that these organisations should form an international confederation which would respect the differences of method and emphasis and preserve their freedom of action, but help to develop popular action on an international scale.

The elimination of nuclear weapons, the policies based upon their use, the growth of military structures and of armaments, is mankind's most urgent task. All human endeavour presupposes the continuation of life. But apart from the danger to survival itself, human dignity and the development of social, technical and civilising processes are jeopardised by the preparation for war. Co-existence of different ideologies is possible in a civilised society, but the co-existence of human beings and nuclear weapons is not. Not only do these weapons generate the tensions which may at any moment explode into thermonuclear war, they also threaten fundamental human rights.

Every human being has a responsibility to act according to conscience to safeguard himself and others. This should take precedence over any demands of governments which compel him to destroy life.

Without prejudice to the Charter rights of the United Nations to enforce its mandate, we believe that political problems can no longer be solved by resort to war. Although statesmen now admit that a general nuclear war is tantamount to annihilation, they continue policies which threaten to make it inevitable. Thus nations arm for a conflict which they admit they cannot win.

The organisations within the new confederation contend that fundamental new thinking on the problem of war is necessary, and that new forces and new methods must be interposed in the world situation, so that economic resources now used in the arms race may be diverted to the building of an international community based upon the active co-operation of all people in a disarmed world. Disarmament will mean fundamental social, economic and political change.

Therefore the creation of an international organisation, including pacifists and anti-nuclear movements, responds to a historic necessity. In the two societies that appear radically and mortally opposed, a common problem must now be faced. The military structures in both societies constitute one of the principal foundations of the state. The confederation intends to promote a constructive and dynamic effort to eliminate the real causes of war, and the institutions and structures of the state adapted to this function. For example, scientific progress cannot be halted at the door of armies, as long as these exist: on the contrary, even new atomic research for peaceful uses is greatly influenced by the military. Human progress in any area of the world requires the progressive abandonment of vast military expenditure and the use of these resources for the fight against misery and hunger, for welfare and the realisation of an increasingly just society.

Some of the organisations at Oxford were primarily concerned with nuclear disarmament. Others held to the pacifist position against all weapons. Some adopt the methods of persuasion and political action. Others adopt the method of non-violent action. The confederation respects these differences. But its component organisations are united in the determination to stimulate popular action, with the support of youth, labour, church, civic and other organisations, against the threat of war. The basis for this co-operation on an international scale is now established.

## BASIC OBJECTIVES AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

Member organisations of the confederation should work for:

- (1) A permanent test-ban treaty.
- (2) General and complete disarmament of all nations.
- (3) The non-military solution of all conflicts.
- (4) The strengthening of the work of the United Nations and its existing agencies, both in promoting disarmament and in increasing its responsibility for inspection and in determining the direction of economic aid and the encouragement of the growth of a world community based on world law.
- (5) The creation of zones of nuclear and conventional disengagement and demilitarisation.
- (6) The progressive elimination of nuclear bases by the great powers, internally and on foreign soil.
- (7) An active and developing co-operation between all peoples.

As a first step they should actively oppose:

- (1) The testing, manufacture, stock-piling and use of nuclear weapons by every country, including their own.
- (2) All nuclear bases, including the use of their own territory for this purpose.
- (3) All countries' membership of all nuclear alliances.
- (4) The spread of nuclear weapons to any new powers or blocs.

They must also provide evidence by consistent deeds and stated policies that they stand for these objectives.

The closer co-ordination of the non-aligned peace movements within the confederation will strengthen existing organisations by their mutual active, material and intellectual support. It will promote the development of new centres in countries where, at present, they do not exist. It will enable these movements to confer and, when deemed appropriate, to co-operate as a united body, with other peace movements. It will give, generally, to organisations, to peace workers and groups, the feeling of strength and hope which will greatly enhance their desire for action and their effectiveness to bring pressure to bear on governments, and to force them to take the greatest possible account of their aims and actions.

## PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The confederation resolves to co-ordinate internationally the activities of member organisations in pursuit of these objectives and such others as are added from time to time.

It seeks to encourage direct democratic initiatives and action of the people as a new dynamism for influencing national and international policies, and as a means of asserting the popular will on these and other issues.

# CONSTITUTION

## 1. NAME

The name of the association shall be "The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace," hereafter called "The Confederation."

## 2. OBJECTIVES

To promote, as outlined in the statement of principles and aims adopted by the Oxford Conference (which forms part of this constitution), the closest co-operation among all national and international non-governmental organisations dedicated to the achievement of world peace.

## 3. MEMBERSHIP

Membership shall be open only to non-governmental organisations, either national or international, and shall consist of full membership and associate membership.

### (a) Full Membership shall be open to any national or international non-governmental organisation which:

- (i) Is mainly concerned with the promotion of disarmament and peace.
- (ii) Has generally and actively advocated the principles and aims of the confederation, and does not hesitate to oppose the policies of any government, including its own, if they depart from these objectives.
- (iii) Has applied for full membership and whose application has been approved by a two-thirds (2/3) majority of the members of the council or by a two-thirds (2/3) majority vote of conference.

### (b) Associate Membership shall be open to national or international non-governmental organisations which are in general sympathy with the principles and aims of the confederation, and are approved by a two-thirds (2/3) majority vote of the council or conference.

### (c) Termination of Membership. The council may, subject to the overriding jurisdiction of conference, terminate the membership, (whether full or associate) of any organisation, provided that no such decision shall be taken unless a two-third (2/3) majority of the members of the council signify by recorded vote (verbally or in writing), their support for such termination of membership.

## 4. CONFERENCE

### (a) The affairs and policies of the confederation shall be controlled by a conference (herein referred to as "conference") representative of the member organisations, which shall meet at least once in every two years. When in session, the conference shall be the supreme authority of the confederation. The date and place of conference meetings shall be determined by the conference, which shall have power to delegate this function to the council or executive of the confederation.

### (b) The representation at conference of organisations in full membership of the confederation shall be on the following basis:

- |                                   |             |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| (i) International organisations   | 3 delegates |
| (ii) National coalitions          | 3 delegates |
| (iii) Large organisations         | 2 delegates |
| (iv) Small or youth organisations | 1 delegate  |

For the purposes of this sub-article the council shall decide the basis of representation for full membership organisations. Such decisions will be subject to review at conference. Each delegation to conference shall be able to

exercise all the votes to which it is entitled, irrespective of the number of delegates present.

### (c) In addition to the delegates of organisations enjoying full membership, the following will be entitled to speak and vote at conference.

- (i) The outgoing president.
- (ii) Three (3) or more outgoing vice-presidents.

The following will be entitled to attend and speak at conference:

- (i) The outgoing treasurer.
- (ii) The general-secretary for the time being.
- (iii) The members of the outgoing council and executive.

One person cannot exercise votes as both an officer and a delegate.

### (d) Each of the organisations in associate membership of the confederation shall be entitled to send to the conference such numbers of observers as the executive shall decide: such observers shall be entitled to participate in discussions.

### (e) The council or the executive may invite observers to attend conference, or parts thereof, from organisations not in membership of the confederation. Such observers shall not be entitled to vote at conference and may only address conference by leave of the conference chairman.

## 5. OFFICERS

There shall be the following officers of the confederation (herein referred to as "officers"), appointed in the manner provided:

- (i) A president who shall be chairman of the council, and at least three (3) vice-presidents, who shall be elected by conference;
- (ii) A treasurer, who shall be elected by the council;
- (iii) A general secretary, who shall be appointed by the council for such period as may be determined by the council.

## 6. COUNCIL

### (a) Between conferences the governing body of the confederation shall be the council (herein referred to as the "council"), which shall consist of:

- (i) Fifteen (15) persons elected by the conference;
- (ii) The officers;
- (iii) Any other persons, not exceeding five (5) in number, whom the council agrees to co-opt;
- (iv) In addition to the five (5) co-options which the council may normally make, vacancies caused by resignations or death may be filled by co-option by the council.

### (b) The council shall meet at least once in every year at such time and place it may decide.

## 7. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

### (a) Between the meetings of the council, the affairs of the confederation shall be managed by the executive committee.

### (b) The executive committee shall consist of the following members:

- (i) The president, treasurer and the general secretary.
- (ii) A chairman of the executive to be elected by the council.
- (iii) Five (5) members elected by and from the council.

The vice-presidents and all council members shall be entitled to attend meetings of the executive.



The Oxford Conference. Left to right: John Dragounis, the late Gregory Lambrakis (both of the Greek Committee for Peace) and Pat Arrowsmith (Committee of 100, UK).

- (c) The executive committee should meet at least once every three months.
- (d) The executive shall have the power to set up standing sub-committees to deal with any subjects for which it thinks they are needed. On any such sub-committee concerned with finance the treasurer shall be ex-officio a member. The executive committee shall also have power to set up ad hoc sub-committees. The general secretary shall be ex-officio a member of standing and ad hoc sub-committees.

**8. QUORUM AND PROXIES**

The quorum for meetings of the conference, council and executive shall be not less than 50% of those entitled to be present and to vote, provided always that for the purpose of determining the existence of a quorum it shall be permissible, for good and valid reasons certified in writing by the president and general secretary, to allow a member of conference, council or executive to appoint in writing a substitute to represent him and vote on his behalf at a specified meeting, in which case such person may be counted for the purpose of determining the existence of a quorum.

**9. REGIONS**

- (a) There shall be such regional or functional groupings of the confederation as the conference shall approve. Between conferences the council may provisionally institute new regional or functional groupings.
- (b) Where regional or functional councils are formed, the council of the confederation shall define the functions and powers of such regional or functional councils.

**10. SPOKESMEN**

No affiliated organisations, regional council or functional council shall use the name of the confederation in any public action or statement, without having obtained the prior consent of the council, executive or general secretary.

**11. HONORARY PATRONS**

The council may invite persons, who in the opinion of the council have made a valuable contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament, to become honorary patrons of the confederation.

**12. TRUSTEES**

- (a) The property of the confederation shall be vested in four (4) trustees appointed by the

- council, who shall administer such property according to the instructions of the council and executive committee.
- (b) The council shall be responsible for prescribing by written regulations the methods of accounting for all monies received by the trustees and treasurer.
- (c) The council shall appoint auditors who shall audit all books and accounts annually.
- (d) Copies of a summary of the accounts and balance sheet certified by the auditors shall be circulated to all member organisations annually.
- (e) Payment shall be made to the trustees reimbursing them for all proper expenses and professional charges incurred by them, or for work done by them in the administration of the property.

**13. FINANCE**

- (a) The subscriptions payable by members shall be determined by the executive and approved by the council. The rate of subscription need not be the same for all classes of members; but where different classes of subscription are established or amended, these shall be subject to appeal to the next conference.
- (b) If any member fails to pay the appropriate subscription for 26 weeks, membership shall lapse unless the executive on the recommendation of the treasurer decides that membership shall be only suspended. Full members whose membership is suspended shall lose their right to send delegates to conference but shall be entitled to send observers.

**14. INTERPRETATION**

The council shall in case of dispute decide questions of interpretation of this constitution; but any member aggrieved by such a decision of the council shall be entitled to appeal to the conference.

**16. AMENDMENTS**

This constitution (including the statement of principles and aims referred to in Article 2) may be amended by special resolution, by two-thirds (2/3) vote of the conference. Such special resolutions shall be notified to the executive committee at least three months prior to the conference and shall be notified by the executive to each member organisation at least one month before conference.

Archiv

7  
E  
T  
d  
f  
NS  
1

## THE ORIGIN...

Signs of an awakening need for increased international awareness and co-operation amongst all independent peace organisations have become more and more urgently apparent during the last few years. In a consultation at Camp Sunnybrook, at the Accra Assembly, at the Moscow Congress for Disarmament, in Amsterdam, during sessions of the European Federation Against Nuclear Arms, and at the London Conference for Disarmament, slowly and with increasing urgency, the thinking which culminated in the creation of the International Confederation developed.

The conference in Oxford, in January 1963, was a historic occasion. Delegates from 44 peace organisations in 18 countries, covering most of the existing nuclear disarmament and pacifist organisations, which are on record as opposing nuclear weapons and tests in all countries, were assembled to hammer out an international framework which would increase their effectiveness and represent the first step towards internationalising the hitherto fragmented peace movement throughout the world.

The delegates who threaded their way from dormi-

tories to dining-room to meeting-rooms through the heaped-up snow did manage to finish their heavy agenda with the creation of a framework for wider co-operation among the independent peace organisations of the world. In the process they had some rough going, and the meetings left a residue of problems, but the fact remains that there was a consensus of opinion and the machinery was set up for future work together.

The real work of the conference was done in committees, which were commissioned to draft reports on specific issues and problems for the guidance of the continuing committee. Thus, one committee worked on a definition of aims and principles, another on proposals for the administrative and financial structure of the new International, another on the exchange of literature and ideas, another on means of co-ordinating representation at the United Nations and Geneva, another on proposals for promoting East-West conferences and another on the stimulation of new independent peace movements in countries where they do not at present exist.



From the committee studying means of exchanging ideas on literature and propaganda came the recommendation that a centrally-edited *Peace Information Bulletin* be produced, providing relevant information in abstract form, to all member organisations of the International Confederation. The first three issues of the bulletin have been produced in co-operation with the International Peace Bureau.

One committee report suggested that the main political programme of the confederation should be directed to the United Nations, and that the confederation apply for consultative status at the U.N. but warned that this might jeopardise the position of certain member bodies which already have such status in their own right.

On the promotion of international conferences, the relevant committee reported: "Whilst not wishing to minimise the real differences of concept and practice which divide the world, we believe that one of the chief aims of this new confederation must be to develop relationships between the existing ideological and political blocs, countering the cold war and emphasising attempts to solve the problem of the threat of nuclear war."

"The confederation should take the initiative in being a channel for contacts between the two power blocs and the non-aligned world. It is hoped that these contacts will result in useful joint projects and functional co-operation by organisations and individuals from both blocs."

The report emphasised that "whilst there is a function for large international gatherings, face to face contact in smaller groups and conferences may be more profitable at this stage."

The committee on the stimulation of independent peace movements in countries where they do not at present exist emphasised "the importance of the new confederation sending large delegations with a clearly articulated non-aligned position" to every kind of international conference, particularly those with participants from both the West and the East.

Much the most encouraging feature of the conference was the wide measure of sympathy and agreement between the pacifist and direct action movements on the one hand and the more politically orthodox nuclear disarmament organisations on the other. The two wings of the movement have never been far apart, but have also never been quite together. Oxford demonstrated a conviction on both sides that each wing complements the other.

The basic purpose of the Oxford Conference was to create an international co-operative framework within which all peace organisations qualified for membership could work together more effectively toward their common goal of a world at peace. The statement of principles and aims eloquently outlines the policy framework of the ICDP and the conditions for full membership.

The central attitude, common to all participating organisations, of non-alignment simply means that member organisations of the ICDP maintain an independent judgement on the foreign policies of every nation. Policies are judged on their merit, not their origin. The delegates at Oxford did not think that they were especially moral in insisting on this concept of non-alignment; it was rather the desire to make judgements from an impartial ground, to apply the same yardstick to all government policies and to the problems connected with the arms race.

The conference ended with the election of a continuing committee under the chairmanship of



Kenneth Lee. The following were elected: Frank Boatman (Ghana), Andreas Buro (Fed. Rep. of Germany), Abbé Paul Carrette (Belgium), Canon L. John Collins (UK), Siddharaj Dhadda (India), Andrea Gaggero (Italy), Anthony Greenwood (UK), Alfred Hassler (USA), Homer Jack (USA), Heinz Kloppenburg (Fed. Rep. of Germany), Daniel Elwyn Jones (UK), Steffen Larsen (Denmark), Sean MacBride (Ire), Giuliano Rendi (Italy), Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Canada), Joze Smole (Yugoslavia), Tony Smythe (UK), Bertil Svahnstrom (Sweden), Mrs Sybil Oldfield (New Zealand), Gerry Hunnius was appointed as Travelling Co-ordinator, and Anne Stadler and Emma Welghill as secretaries.

The first priority of this committee consisted in:

1. carrying out the decisions of the Oxford Conference;
2. setting up the ICDP as soon as 25 organisations had affiliated;
3. making preparations for the eventual work of the ICDP;
4. preparing for a further conference early in 1964.

An administrative committee, centred in London, was appointed and office facilities were obtained at 5 Caledonian Road. The important but tedious work of administration and organisation had begun.

When the continuing committee met in Oosterhoek, Netherlands, in August 1963, 25 organisations had affiliated and the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace was established, with formal ratification awaiting the January conference of all member organisations.

The peace organisations of the world represented at Oxford had taken an important step to meet the crisis which confronted mankind. While accepting to move with restraint, hoping to build a solid structure slowly, the ICDP represents a ray of hope to all who struggle for peace.

Above: Oxford delegates on their way to a meal

Opposite: Canon Collins (Chairman of CND, UK and one of the 3 presidents of the European Federation Against Nuclear Arms) in discussion with Villum Hansen (Vice-chairman, Komiteet for Oplysning om Atomfaren, Denmark).



Above: Anne Stadler (Turn Toward Peace, USA, and Secretary of the ICDP Continuing Committee) and Donald Keys (SANE, USA).

Right: Heinz Kloppenburg (Secretary German FRG and Vice-president of the ICDP).

Below: Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Canadian CND and Council, ICDP) and Dan Elwyn Jones (YCND, UK, and Council, ICDP).





# The Oxford Conference



Above: Ritchie Calder (Vice-chairman of CND, UK) and Ernest Wolf (President of the International Peace Bureau).  
 Right: Frank Boateng (Ghana, Gen. Sec. of the Accra Assembly and Council member, ICDP).  
 ALL CAPTIONS READ FROM LEFT TO RIGHT



**The Tyringe Conference.** Left: Dan Elwyn Jones and Gail Paradise (National Secretary, Student Peace Union, USA).

Below: Abbé Carrelle (Fellowship of Reconciliation and War Resisters' International, Belgium, and member of the ICDP Continuing Committee), Norman Smith (Chairman of Friends Peace Committee, UK), Mervyn Jones (ICND, UK), David Boulton (Editor of Sanity, UK), Dan Elwyn Jones, Alfred Haaster (Secretary, FOL, USA, and Council member, ICDP), Andreas Bure (Executive Secretary, Kampagne für Abrüstung, Fed. Rep. of Germany, and Council member, ICDP), Hugh Black with back to camera (Editor of Peace News, UK), Robin Jenkins (Campaigner, Campaign Workshops, UK).

Opposite: Dimitrios Kouscopoulos, Bertil Svahnström (Chairman, Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Sweden, and Council member, ICDP), Kenneth Lee (Secretary of Friends Peace Committee, UK, and President of ICDP).

## THE BIRTH...





Tyringe in Sweden is not especially remarkable as a place. It is a typical and pleasant small town in southern Sweden, not far from Lund, the seat of one of the oldest universities in Europe. But on January 11, 1964, Tyringe witnessed a unique event of great importance, when after more than a year of careful preparation a new international organisation was formally begun.

It was not just another birth - this organisation is special in a number of crucial ways and its arrival has been attendant upon various difficulties both practical and political. Was it possible to create a body beyond the reach of the major power blocs? Could one find room financially and administratively amongst the vast array of international peace movements? The answers were yes, the question was - precisely how? Thus the Tyringe Conference sought to discover the practical steps to be taken - constitution, finance, structure, elections - to discuss and agree on a forward programme - to get the whole thing off the pages of notes and memoranda. And having done that, to invite a number of people and organisations that might be interested to come and view. The first part was a working conference; the second, an inauguration.

Some 90 people from 50 organisations (of which 12 were international) and 17 countries came in all to both parts. Those who make it their business to work for peace and disarmament can be grouped - politically, philosophically, socially or tactically, to put it in simplified terms. Not all the organisations present were members of the confederation. But they had all come because of their vital interest.

The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace is a body which seeks to co-ordinate organisations, many of which have sprung up in recent years and all of which stem from the principle of working for peace from a position not aligned with the major power blocs. It was the first time that such diverse groups as pacifists,

unilateralists, multilateralists, religious groups, pressure groups, umbrella movements, information and research bodies, student and youth groups confronted each other within a common framework. This gives the ICDP a great chance - its diversity must be its strength and must never become its weakness.

The conference at Tyringe received many messages and the following extracts are examples:

"... we must start creating the necessary means to an enlightened public opinion without which disarmament is most unlikely. I wish your conference every success." BERTRAND RUSSELL.

"... I am with you in spirit." ALBERT SCHWEITZER.  
 "We hope the congress will make noble efforts in seeking ways of giving full expression to the sacred cause of world peace." CHINESE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE FOR WORLD PEACE.

"... we wish you complete success." INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, PUONA, INDIA.

"... We are entirely in favour of the whole object of the conference." GANDHI PEACE FOUNDATION, INDIA.

"On the occasion of the second meeting of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, I would like to express the deep faith of Brazil in disarmament and my conviction that it presents the only rational alternative for a rational society geared to rational aims and values. I feel that the confederation is entitled to make an outstanding contribution to the cause of peace and international understanding. This confederation of men of wisdom and goodwill shows that an irresistible alliance between governments and world public opinion is in the making and I am confident that such an alliance can defeat war and in the course of time will succeed in doing it." J. A. DE ARAUJO CASTRO, MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF BRAZIL.

Below: Bengt Höglund (Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Sweden) and Robin Jenkins, sitting; Garry Hunnius (General Secretary of ICDP) and Abbé Carrette (standing).

If 1965 is to be the United Nations' Year of International Co-operation perhaps we may be permitted to call 1964 the Year of Co-operation and Development for the international peace movement. The Tyringe Conference of the ICDP certainly gave some inkling of the tremendous potential for peace action in a world-wide synthesis of experience, strength and vision from all sectors of the movement. It was only a beginning, but here, at last, was the recognition that our primary task is to build an international force for peace which can both offer effective resistance and a constructive alternative to power politics. The aim may seem ambitious but in the nuclear age the stakes are high. The ICDP will provide an effective framework for all organisations subscribing to the Oxford statement of principles and aims, that is to say those organisations which are resolutely pursuing the goals of disarmament and peace without reference to national vested interests or the postures of either side in the Cold War. The ICDP will be aligned only by virtue of its overriding loyalty to all humanity. It will extend the peace movement's possible field of contact and influence by inviting the association of sympathetic organisations. It will strive for a gradual evolution towards an international programme of activities which can be endorsed by all its members. The long term objective must be to create a body of opinion, able and willing to intervene directly in world affairs related to the problems of disarmament and peace.

More immediately the ICDP will face a period of construction and consolidation. The secretariat, dependent on the finance and participation of member organisations, will provide a servicing centre with the means of contact, communication and the circulation of information. It can co-ordinate but in the early stages not initiate action - with, however, one important exception. The disarray during the Cuban crisis pin-points the necessity for the executive, with the confidence of the movement, to be free to act in similar situations, possibly through a special commission of representative individuals. For example, teams could be sent to the centre of conflict, the United Nations and direct to the governments involved. In the main, however, international action should be initiated by functional groupings amongst member organisations.

As an encouragement to joint thinking and action, the Tyringe Conference agreed on six "next steps" or immediate political objectives which would be likely to engage general support. "The arms race must be blocked by preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and encouraging disengagement in a world where mutual confidence is growing." The steps referred to opposing the NATO multilateral nuclear force; support for disengagement in Central Europe; the formation of nuclear-free zones; the renunciation of the independent deterrent by Britain and France; an end to the isolation of China, and unilateral initiatives for disengagement by individual states. These represent a minimum basis for agreement while not implying an exclusive preoccupation with conventional solutions brought about by pressures on governments. Such limited measures by themselves and without social change would be unlikely to meet the needs of the human condition in this technologically advanced nuclear era. While using favourable trends in a constantly changing situation, the peace movement's basic function is to pioneer a new and better world. The very diversity of viewpoint and method within the ICDP will permit engagement in many areas. A consensus of opinion will be sought which will not reflect either the most conservative or the most revolutionary approach but some intermediate position which will serve to extend the conservatives to the point of meaningful action and to coax the revolutionaries into the realm of the possible. During the first year the secretariat in London will be mainly concerned with fund-raising; improving

## INTO THE FUTURE...



communications; issuing information including an international agenda of events, a bibliography and abstracts of relevant material; help in co-ordinating actions internationally, like the Easter marches; the production of a quarterly bulletin; and basic information about the ICDP to gain new support. A second phase of activity will include projects such as the promotion of an independent disarmament and research institute; the provision of an international news service; the organisation of conferences for East-West contacts, and of specialists in particular fields, as well as the sponsorship of a World At Peace exhibition and conference in 1965. If it can operate efficiently and depend on widespread cooperation, the centre should help to speed up the process of international decision-making and eradicate much duplication of activity and effort.

The ICDP has a firm policy of co-operation with other concerned organisations and institutions such as the International Peace Bureau, the World Council of Peace and the United Nations and its agencies. In particular there will be a working link with the IPB which in close liaison with the secretariat will undertake such projects as the collection and distribution of relevant peace research results; the gathering of information on organisational problems; the promotion of people-to-people contact during International Co-operation Year and the provision of an international peace information service. The IPB will serve as a contact centre for the 18-nations disarmament talks at Geneva and other similar encounters there. The common concerns of the WCP and the ICDP are many and there will be ample scope for collaboration in the fields of immediate disarmament objectives (e.g. the implementation of proposals akin to the Rapacki Plan), and East-West relations (e.g. the exchange of delegations, study seminars and work camps, etc). Consultative status with the UN and UNESCO will be sought as a means to bring forward specific disarmament proposals and matters related to human rights and civil liberties.

An outline of the future of the ICDP must not be confined to its functioning on the purely administrative level. The convergence of representatives from the entire spectrum of the independent peace movements with their many and often profound differences in method and in principle - survivalists, pacifists, direct actionists, researchers and demonstrators, students and workers of long experience - offers creative possibilities some of which have already begun to be realised. The positive nature of such encounters has been heightened by a tendency to find common ground which flourishes almost uniquely in the international setting. The future of the peace movement is dependent on the ideas and ideals it can stimulate and a review of some of the major topics which emerged during the discussions at Tyringe gives grounds for encouragement.

There was an awareness of the differences between



the apparent situation - a relaxation of tension politically, as symbolised by the partial test-ban treaty, and therefore a general psychological relaxation - and the real situation in which no nation is reducing its military capability and the world is plagued by a series of restricted but bloody conflicts. Nevertheless if coherent policies which are well in advance of events can be developed there are new opportunities in the atmosphere of the detente. An appeal to fear can no longer be effective but the onus is on peace workers to find constructive solutions and set the pace for a peace race which would capture the imagination of an international public.

An international programme aimed at internationally agreed goals could give greater political realism to national policies and restore the sense of direction which is in many cases lacking. It would have an appeal for many people who are aware of the need to transcend national frontiers and objectives, and, through united action, would make the political impact which individual movements are too weak to achieve. The ICDP provides a meeting ground for the discussion and development of many international programmes.

**Easter Marches**

Easter-time has become the occasion for international solidarity and world-wide peace action. The



Top right: Werner Bowling (Deputy Chairman of Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer member of Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände, Germany), Sean McBride (Africa Assembly Continuing Committee and ICDP Council), Arthur Pope (Executive Secretary Canadian CND, Federal Chairman, Combined Universities CND), Philip Eastman (General Secretary, International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Council member and chairman of finance committee, ICDP)

Below right: Andrea Gaggero (Consulta per la Pace, Italy, and Council member, ICDP), Glufano Pontaro (Movimento Nonviolento per la Pace, Italy, and interpreter at Tyringe), Chris Cowley (Committee of 100, UK), Homer Jack (Executive Director, SANP, USA, and Council member of ICDP). Left: Peggy Bull (General Secretary of CND, UK, Treasurer and Council member, ICDP), Tony Smythe (Secretary of War Resisters' International, Council member, ICDP), Andrea Gaggero, Glufano Pontaro, Gerry Hummus.

ICDP will co-ordinate demands to all governments to recognise the event and provide appropriate facilities. Marches will bear ICDP banners and will incorporate a growing number of international themes, e.g. opposition to the spread of nuclear weapons, and support for disengagement. An international collection of money for UNICEF and other aid programmes will give a new significance to the marches. It is not too optimistic to hope that the marches will spread to many more countries each year and that radical demands for disarmament will be carried through and beyond the accepted political divisions and boundaries.

#### Training and Research

New dimensions could be added to peace action with new techniques based on a more analytical approach to the problem. Functional tasks carried out on a national basis require a fair degree of expertise. When engaged, they demand a high degree of technical competence and sophistication. Training schemes are already on the drawing boards in recognition of the need to provide the best technical background for those engaged in international projects. Proposals have also been made for the setting up of a central agency for international group study which would initiate action/research into international tension centres, conciliation in conflict situations, the promotion of peace exhibitions, peace education in schools, and the problems posed by psychological preparations for war.

#### The World at Peace

Robert Jungk echoed a widely held opinion in the ICDP when he said "We should more than before emphasise the feeling of hope for a disarmed, peaceful and prosperous world." The peace movement had not merely to stop war but "invent and describe the world we want". It would need an imaginative vision of the future which compelled respect and support. "If we show the way in which mankind, by abandoning the burden of arms, can humanise technology by giving it a new goal, we will march in the forefront of real progress."

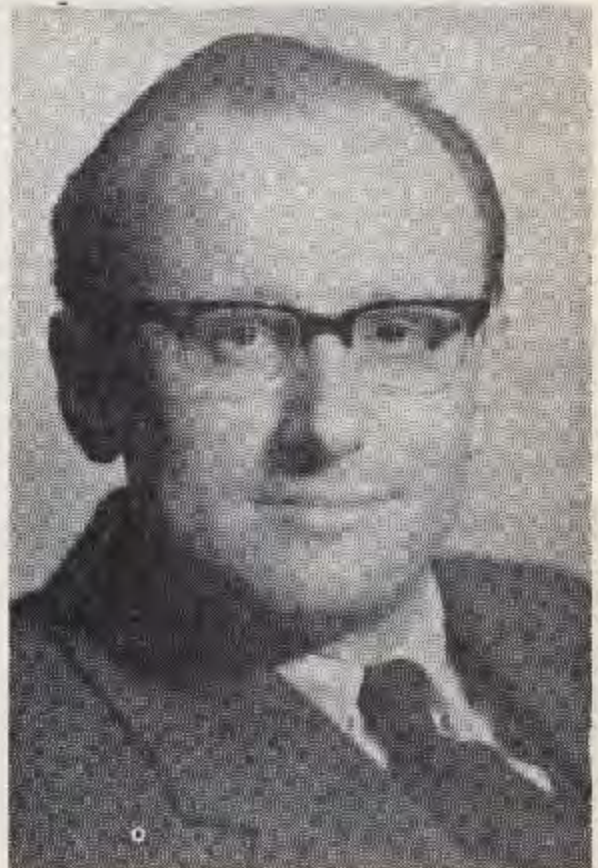
If the ICDP can be said to have produced a dominant theme, it would be the affirmation of a primary loyalty to humanity rather than national or any other sectional interests. In practice this clearly means, in relation to the peace issue, active dissociation from the policies of governments when, as is often the case, they depart from universally accepted standards and an active identification with the needs of the vast majority of men who are suppressed economically or politically.

The world needs change but not only change brought about through pacts and treaties between governments. All men should be encouraged to make changes themselves, to understand "why" and "how". Only thus can the conditions for a real and lasting peace be created. A world-wide mass movement is the means by which the growth of popular awareness can be fostered. The ICDP, as a union of peace organisations, could become the growing point for such a mass movement based on a common loyalty to humanity. The future cannot be predicted but clearly the ICDP has an important and perhaps vital part to play.

Above: Claude Bourdet (Mouvement Contre l'Armement Atomique, France, and Vice-president of ICDP).

Below: Jose Smole (Vice-president of Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples, Vice-president of ICDP).

The top photo on this page and those on pages 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 were taken by John Hopkins.



ED 288-20-39

## YOUR FINANCIAL FUTURE

As a living body depends upon blood, so the life of the confederation will depend upon money. At the present time the property of the confederation is vested in four trustees, appointed by the council. Its finances are administered by the treasurer and finance committee which meets every month and will be glad to send an audited statement of accounts on application. The budget for the financial year, which began on September 1, 1963, totals £5,330 (\$14,930). Naturally the larger part of this sum will be devoted to the remuneration of those who undertake the main responsibilities. For the general secretary and administrative assistant, and one office secretary, the figure of £3,000 is required. For office accommodation, equipment and supplies, £930 is needed.

For the general secretary's travel and the cost of accommodation for meetings of the executive committee, £500; for projects, including the printing of this bulletin, convening conferences and for contingencies, an additional £900 is needed.

To raise this total it is anticipated that £2,120 will be received from the affiliation fees of member-organisations and that the remaining £3,210 will be raised from other sources.

Large organisations contribute £120 (\$360) per annum. Small organisations including youth and student bodies £40 (\$120) per annum. International organisations with two national sections affiliated, £5 (\$15) per annum. In order to give the confederation a good start, all organisations have been

asked to double their contribution in the first year and some have already responded. The council also suggested that organisations should undertake one project of a fund-raising nature each year for the confederation; that regional groups of all organisations should accept responsibility for one item in the budget for 1964 and that member organisations should arrange meetings and contacts for the general secretary for the purposes of fund-raising. Each member of the council of twenty-one persons has been asked to accept responsibility personally to raise a sum during 1964. Already more than one contribution of this kind has been received.

Most of us would be ready to agree that we know somebody who has more money than we have and few would deny that we know someone who is at least as generous as we are. May we therefore ask you most urgently both to send a gift for the work of the confederation now and to ask your wealthier and equally generous friends to do the same! Perhaps you could arrange a party of some kind suitable to your circumstances and your country to raise money for this all-important work to which we are committed. A leaflet with suggestions about fund-raising is available for 6d postage free. We look forward to hearing from you. The general secretary will acknowledge all gifts and ensure that you are kept informed about the development of the confederation and its challenging programme of work. You may regard your gift as an investment in peace and in the future security and happiness of the rising generation.

## ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

"Associate membership shall be open to organisations which are in general sympathy with the principles and aims of the confederation and are approved by a two-thirds majority vote of the council or conference." (Constitution, Article 3 (b).) The principles and aims of the confederation are stated elsewhere. What are the differences between full membership and associate membership of the confederation? Full membership is open to those organisations which satisfy the council that they are mainly concerned with the promotion of disarmament and peace and that they have generally and actively advocated the principles and aims of the confederation and do not hesitate to oppose the policies of any government, including their own, if they depart from these objectives. Like associate members, they must be approved by a two-thirds majority of the members of the council or the conference.

What then is the distinction? Clearly an associate member organisation does not have to be mainly concerned with the promotion of disarmament and peace, nor must it necessarily actively advocate the principles and aims of the confederation, so long as it is in general sympathy with them. Nor does it have to oppose the policies of governments if they depart from these objectives. This leaves the door open for many important bodies to become associate members of the confederation. For example, the World Federation of United Nations Associations, the World Assembly of Youth, the World Federalists, to mention a few international non-governmental organisations. There are many others which have shown during recent years their concern for disarmament and peace and their general sympathy with such basic objectives of the

confederation as "the non-military solution of all conflicts", "the strengthening of the work of the United Nations and its existing agencies, both in promoting disarmament and in increasing its responsibility for inspection and in determining the direction of economic aid and the encouragement of the growth of the world community, based on world law", and "an active and developing co-operation between all peoples."

Large and influential national bodies may also apply for associate membership of the confederation—and we expect they will—organisations such as trade unions, federations and professional associations of all kinds concerned with education, science and culture; churches and bodies representing the great world religions; women's organisations; youth organisations; bodies concerned with the conservation of natural resources and the preservation of life. These and many other associations of like-minded people will increase the chances of their own survival if they give their support to the confederation for disarmament and peace. No thinking person today considers this to be merely of academic interest, nor is it reserved to the few who have time to devote to international conferences or the disposition to criticise those in high places; the concern for disarmament and peace is no less than the universal concern for survival and the need for its effective expression is desperate and urgent. If you agree, then please raise the question of affiliation with those organisations of which you are a member. Associate membership will entitle them to receive publications of the confederation and invitations to conferences and meetings. For further information, please write to the General Secretary of the ICDP.

# MEMBER ORGANISATIONS

## as of January 1964

### INTERNATIONAL

Accra Assembly, P.O. Box 1627, Accra, Ghana.  
 International Fellowship of Reconciliation, 3 Hendon Avenue, London N.3, UK.  
 War Resisters' International, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, UK.

### NATIONAL

#### Australia:

Victorian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Box 577d Elisabeth St, P.O., Melbourne, Victoria.

#### Canada:

Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 329 Bloor Street W, Toronto, Ontario.

Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 55 Harbord St, Toronto 5, Ontario.

#### Denmark:

Komiteen for Oplysning om Atomfaren, Strandvaenget 15, Copenhagen.

#### France:

Action Civique Non-violente, 3 Impasse Chartière, Paris 5.

Mouvement Contre L'Armement Atomique, 54 Blvd Garibaldi, Paris 15.

#### Federal Republic of Germany:

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände, München 19, Hengelerstr. 3/II.

Kampagne für Abrüstung - Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner, München 55, Andreas-Vöst-Str. 5.

#### India:

Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Rajghat, Varanasi-1.

#### Ireland:

Irish Pacifist Movement, 8 Eustace Street, Dublin.

#### Italy:

Comitato per il Disarmo Atomico e Convenzionale dell' Area Europea, Via XXIV, Maggio 7, Rome.  
 Consulta per la Pace, Casella Postale 201, Perugia.

#### Netherlands:

Algemene Nederlandse Vredesactie, Postbus 385, Amsterdam.

Comite 1964 voor de Vrede, Jac. Obrechtplein 3, Amsterdam-Z.

Stichting Anti-Atombom Actie, Brederodestr. 44, Haarlem.

#### New Zealand:

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 7 Wilfrid Street, Christchurch 4.

#### Norway:

Folkereising mot Krig, Kristian Augusts gate 19, Oslo 1.

#### Sweden:

Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Box 5138, Stockholm 5.

#### United Kingdom:

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 2 Carthusian Street, London E.C.1.

Colleges and Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 2 Carthusian Street, London E.C.1.

Committee of 100, 13 Goodwin Street, London N.4.

Campaign Caravan Workshops, 197 Kings Cross Road, London W.C.1.

Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London N.W.1.

Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 2 Carthusian Street, London E.C.1.

#### United States:

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), 17 E.45th St, New York 17, N.Y.

Student Peace Union, 60295 S. University Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.

War Resisters' League, Room 1025, 5 Beekman St, New York 38, N.Y.

#### Yugoslavia:

Section for Disarmament and Peace of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples, Trg Marksa i Engelsa 11, Beograd.

## COUNCIL AND OFFICERS, 1964-65

### President:

\*Kenneth Lee (UK, Friends Peace Committee).

### Vice-Presidents:

\*Claude Bourdet (France, Mouvement contre L'Armement Atomique).

Siddharaj Dhadha (India, Sarva Seva Sangh).

Alfred Hassler (USA, Fellowship of Reconciliation).

Heinz Kloppenburg (Fed. Rep. of Germany, Internationaler Versöhnungsbund).

Joze Smole (Yugoslavia, League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples).

### Treasurer:

\*Peggy Duff (UK, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament).

### General Secretary:

\*F. C. Hunnius (Canada).

### International Council:

Frank Boaten (Ghana, Accra Assembly).

\*Andreas Buro (Fed. Rep. of Germany, Kampagne für Abrüstung — Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner).

Michael Craft (UK, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament).

Peggy Duff.

\*Phillip Eastman (UK, International Fellowship of Reconciliation).

\*Andrea Gaggero (Italy, Consulta per la Pace).

Nils Petter Gleditsch (Norway, Folkereising mot Krig).

Guido Graziani (Italy, Consulta per la Pace).

Homer A. Jack (USA, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy).

Daniel Elwyn Jones (UK, Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament).

Sean MacBride (Eire, Accra Assembly).

Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Canada, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament).

Bayard Rustin (USA, War Resisters' League).

\*Tony Smythe (UK, War Resisters' International).

Bertil Svahnström (Sweden, Kampanjen mot Atomvapen).

\*Members of Executive Committee

Published by the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, The Grange, 3 Hendon Avenue, London N.3, and printed in Great Britain by the Goodwin Press, 115 Fonthill Road, London N.4.

Further copies from the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace at the above address or from Houtmans Bookshop, 5 Galedonian Road, London N.1.

1-49 copies ... 1s each (US: 15 cents)  
 50-99 copies ... 9d each (US: 10 cents)  
 100 upwards ... 8d each (US: 7 cents)

For details of annual subscription write to ICDP office.

# Confederation for peace

Peace Information Bulletin Vol 2 No 1 April 1964

23.3.64 mit Peace News

Issued by the International Confederation  
for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP)

In January 1964 something happened at Tyringe in Sweden. The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace was born. As with all well planned births, it took place in a spirit of joy, of friendship and of peace. The spirit of Tyringe embraced the world; all humanity was and is our business.

The grim realities of nuclear weapons have brought all men and governments face to face with a choice of paths. One leads to mutual destruction, the other to mutual fellowship. All want to take the second path but are held back, not by lack of means but by ingrained habits, by lack of trust, by lack of imagination, by lack of determination.

The task of the peace movement now is to create the climate of peace and to help overcome these obstacles. Peace organisations can no longer work effectively alone. A co-operative effort is needed. The Confederation exists to co-ordinate the work of independent peace organisations to make them conscious of other similar groups around the world.

The basis of the Confederation is peace in the context of human rights. What this means is spelled out in the following pages — and there is much in this bulletin of importance to workers and thinkers for peace.

When you have read it we hope you will consider whether your organisation should add its strength as a full member or as an associate member of the Confederation.

**Kenneth Lee, President,  
International Confederation  
for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP)**

# STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND AIMS

## PREAMBLE

The international conference for co-operation and co-ordination of the movements against atomic armaments and for general and complete disarmament brought together at Oxford representatives of non-aligned movements and organisations throughout the world, joined in the common struggle for peace. Co-operation between these organisations has grown rapidly during the past few years. The danger of nuclear catastrophe has made it imperative that these organisations should form an international confederation which would respect the differences of method and emphasis and preserve their freedom of action, but help to develop popular action on an international scale.

The elimination of nuclear weapons, the policies based upon their use, the growth of military structures and of armaments, is mankind's most urgent task. All human endeavour presupposes the continuation of life. But apart from the danger to survival itself, human dignity and the development of social, technical and civilising processes are jeopardised by the preparation for war. Co-existence of different ideologies is possible in a civilised society, but the co-existence of human beings and nuclear weapons is not. Not only do these weapons generate the tensions which may at any moment explode into thermonuclear war, they also threaten fundamental human rights.

Every human being has a responsibility to act according to conscience to safeguard himself and others. This should take precedence over any demands of governments which compel him to destroy life.

Without prejudice to the Charter rights of the United Nations to enforce its mandate, we believe that political problems can no longer be solved by resort to war. Although statesmen now admit that a general nuclear war is tantamount to annihilation, they continue policies which threaten to make it inevitable. Thus nations arm for a conflict which they admit they cannot win.

The organisations within the new confederation contend that fundamental new thinking on the problem of war is necessary, and that new forces and new methods must be interposed in the world situation, so that economic resources now used in the arms race may be diverted to the building of an international community based upon the active co-operation of all people in a disarmed world. Disarmament will mean fundamental social, economic and political change.

Therefore the creation of an international organisation, including pacifists and anti-nuclear movements, responds to a historic necessity. In the two societies that appear radically and mortally opposed, a common problem must now be faced. The military structures in both societies constitute one of the principal foundations of the state. The confederation intends to promote a constructive and dynamic effort to eliminate the real causes of war, and the institutions and structures of the state adapted to this function. For example, scientific progress cannot be halted at the door of armies, as long as these exist: on the contrary, even new atomic research for peaceful uses is greatly influenced by the military. Human progress in any area of the world requires the progressive abandonment of vast military expenditure and the use of these resources for the fight against misery and hunger, for welfare and the realisation of an increasingly just society.

Some of the organisations at Oxford were primarily concerned with nuclear disarmament. Others held to the pacifist position against all weapons. Some adopt the methods of persuasion and political action. Others adopt the method of non-violent action. The confederation respects these differences. But its component organisations are united in the determination to stimulate popular action, with the support of youth, labour, church, civic and other organisations, against the threat of war. The basis for this co-operation on an international scale is now established.

## BASIC OBJECTIVES AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

Member organisations of the confederation should work for:

- (1) A permanent test-ban treaty.
  - (2) General and complete disarmament of all nations.
  - (3) The non-military solution of all conflicts.
  - (4) The strengthening of the work of the United Nations and its existing agencies, both in promoting disarmament and in increasing its responsibility for inspection and in determining the direction of economic aid and the encouragement of the growth of a world community based on world law.
  - (5) The creation of zones of nuclear and conventional disengagement and demilitarisation.
  - (6) The progressive elimination of nuclear bases by the great powers, internally and on foreign soil.
  - (7) An active and developing co-operation between all peoples.
- As a first step they should actively oppose:
- (1) The testing, manufacture, stock-piling and use of nuclear weapons by every country, including their own.
  - (2) All nuclear bases, including the use of their own territory for this purpose.
  - (3) All countries' membership of all nuclear alliances.
  - (4) The spread of nuclear weapons to any new powers or blocs.

They must also provide evidence by consistent deeds and stated policies that they stand for these objectives.

The closer co-ordination of the non-aligned peace movements within the confederation will strengthen existing organisations by their mutual active, material and intellectual support. It will promote the development of new centres in countries where, at present, they do not exist. It will enable these movements to confer and, when deemed appropriate, to co-operate as a united body, with other peace movements. It will give, generally, to organisations, to peace workers and groups, the feeling of strength and hope which will greatly enhance their desire for action and their effectiveness to bring pressure to bear on governments, and to force them to take the greatest possible account of their aims and actions.

## PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The confederation resolves to co-ordinate internationally the activities of member organisations in pursuit of these objectives and such others as are added from time to time.

It seeks to encourage direct democratic initiatives and action of the people as a new dynamism for influencing national and international policies, and as a means of asserting the popular will on these and other issues.

# CONSTITUTION

## 1. NAME

The name of the association shall be "The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace," hereafter called "The Confederation."

## 2. OBJECTIVES

To promote, as outlined in the statement of principles and aims adopted by the Oxford Conference (which forms part of this constitution), the closest co-operation among all national and international non-governmental organisations dedicated to the achievement of world peace.

## 3. MEMBERSHIP

Membership shall be open only to non-governmental organisations, either national or international, and shall consist of full membership and associate membership.

(a) Full Membership shall be open to any national or international non-governmental organisation which:

- (i) Is mainly concerned with the promotion of disarmament and peace.
- (ii) Has generally and actively advocated the principles and aims of the confederation, and does not hesitate to oppose the policies of any government, including its own, if they depart from these objectives.
- (iii) Has applied for full membership and whose application has been approved by a two-thirds (2/3) majority of the members of the council or by a two-thirds (2/3) majority vote of conference.

(b) Associate Membership shall be open to national or international non-governmental organisations which are in general sympathy with the principles and aims of the confederation, and are approved by a two-thirds (2/3) majority vote of the council or conference.

(c) Termination of Membership. The council may, subject to the overriding jurisdiction of conference, terminate the membership, (whether full or associate) of any organisation, provided that no such decision shall be taken unless a two-third (2/3) majority of the members of the council signify by recorded vote (verbally or in writing), their support for such termination of membership.

## 4. CONFERENCE

(a) The affairs and policies of the confederation shall be controlled by a conference (herein referred to as "conference") representative of the member organisations, which shall meet at least once in every two years. When in session, the conference shall be the supreme authority of the confederation. The date and place of conference meetings shall be determined by the conference, which shall have power to delegate this function to the council or executive of the confederation.

(b) The representation at conference of organisations in full membership of the confederation shall be on the following basis:

- (i) International organisations ... 3 delegates
- (ii) National coalitions ... 3 delegates
- (iii) Large organisations ... 2 delegates
- (iv) Small or youth organisations 1 delegate

For the purposes of this sub-article the council shall decide the basis of representation for full membership organisations. Such decisions will be subject to review at conference.

Each delegation to conference shall be able to

exercise all the votes to which it is entitled, irrespective of the number of delegates present.

(c) In addition to the delegates of organisations enjoying full membership, the following will be entitled to speak and vote at conference.

- (i) The outgoing president.
- (ii) Three (3) or more outgoing vice-presidents.

The following will be entitled to attend and speak at conference:

- (i) The outgoing treasurer.
- (ii) The general-secretary for the time being.
- (iii) The members of the outgoing council and executive.

One person cannot exercise votes as both an officer and a delegate.

(d) Each of the organisations in associate membership of the confederation shall be entitled to send to the conference such numbers of observers as the executive shall decide: such observers shall be entitled to participate in discussions.

(e) The council or the executive may invite observers to attend conference, or parts thereof, from organisations not in membership of the confederation. Such observers shall not be entitled to vote at conference and may only address conference by leave of the conference chairman.

## 5. OFFICERS

There shall be the following officers of the confederation (herein referred to as "officers"), appointed in the manner provided:

- (i) A president who shall be chairman of the council, and at least three (3) vice-presidents, who shall be elected by conference;
- (ii) A treasurer, who shall be elected by the council;
- (iii) A general secretary, who shall be appointed by the council for such period as may be determined by the council.

## 6. COUNCIL

(a) Between conferences the governing body of the confederation shall be the council (herein referred to as the "council"), which shall consist of:

- (i) Fifteen (15) persons elected by the conference;
- (ii) The officers;
- (iii) Any other persons, not exceeding five (5) in number, whom the council agrees to co-opt;
- (iv) In addition to the five (5) co-options which the council may normally make, vacancies caused by resignations or death may be filled by co-option by the council.

(b) The council shall meet at least once in every year at such time and place it may decide.

## 7. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(a) Between the meetings of the council, the affairs of the confederation shall be managed by the executive committee.

(b) The executive committee shall consist of the following members:

- (i) The president, treasurer and the general secretary.
- (ii) A chairman of the executive to be elected by the council.
- (iii) Five (5) members elected by and from the council.

The vice-presidents and all council members shall be entitled to attend meetings of the executive.



The Oxford Conference. Left to right: John Dragounis, the late Gregory Lambrakis (both of the Greek Committee for Peace) and Pat Arrowsmith (Committee of 100, DK).

- (c) The executive committee should meet at least once every three months.
- (d) The executive shall have the power to set up standing sub-committees to deal with any subjects for which it thinks they are needed. On any such sub-committee concerned with finance the treasurer shall be ex-officio a member. The executive committee shall also have power to set up ad hoc sub-committees. The general secretary shall be ex-officio a member of standing and ad hoc sub-committees.

**8. QUORUM AND PROXIES**

The quorum for meetings of the conference, council and executive shall be not less than 50% of those entitled to be present and to vote, provided always that for the purpose of determining the existence of a quorum it shall be permissible, for good and valid reasons certified in writing by the president and general secretary, to allow a member of conference, council or executive to appoint in writing a substitute to represent him and vote on his behalf at a specified meeting, in which case such person may be counted for the purpose of determining the existence of a quorum.

**9. REGIONS**

- (a) There shall be such regional or functional groupings of the confederation as the conference shall approve. Between conferences the council may provisionally institute new regional or functional groupings.
- (b) Where regional or functional councils are formed, the council of the confederation shall define the functions and powers of such regional or functional councils.

**10. SPOKESMEN**

No affiliated organisations, regional council or functional council shall use the name of the confederation in any public action or statement, without having obtained the prior consent of the council, executive or general secretary.

**11. HONORARY PATRONS**

The council may invite persons, who in the opinion of the council have made a valuable contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament, to become honorary patrons of the confederation.

**12. TRUSTEES**

- (a) The property of the confederation shall be vested in four (4) trustees appointed by the

council, who shall administer such property according to the instructions of the council and executive committee.

- (b) The council shall be responsible for prescribing by written regulations the methods of accounting for all monies received by the trustees and treasurer.
- (c) The council shall appoint auditors who shall audit all books and accounts annually.
- (d) Copies of a summary of the accounts and balance sheet certified by the auditors shall be circulated to all member organisations annually.
- (e) Payment shall be made to the trustees reimbursing them for all proper expenses and professional charges incurred by them, or for work done by them in the administration of the property.

**13. FINANCE**

- (a) The subscriptions payable by members shall be determined by the executive and approved by the council. The rate of subscription need not be the same for all classes of members; but where different classes of subscription are established or amended, these shall be subject to appeal to the next conference.
- (b) If any member fails to pay the appropriate subscription for 26 weeks, membership shall lapse unless the executive on the recommendation of the treasurer decides that membership shall be only suspended. Full members whose membership is suspended shall lose their right to send delegates to conference but shall be entitled to send observers.

**14. INTERPRETATION**

The council shall in case of dispute decide questions of interpretation of this constitution; but any member aggrieved by such a decision of the council shall be entitled to appeal to the conference.

**16. AMENDMENTS**

This constitution (including the statement of principles and aims referred to in Article 2) may be amended by special resolution, by two-thirds (2/3) vote of the conference. Such special resolutions shall be notified to the executive committee at least three months prior to the conference and shall be notified by the executive to each member organisation at least one month before conference.

## THE ORIGIN ...

Signs of an awakening need for increased international awareness and co-operation amongst all independent peace organisations have become more and more urgently apparent during the last few years. In a consultation at Camp Sunnybrook, at the Accra Assembly, at the Moscow Congress for Disarmament, in Amsterdam, during sessions of the European Federation Against Nuclear Arms, and at the London Conference for Disarmament, slowly and with increasing urgency, the thinking which culminated in the creation of the International Confederation developed.

The conference in Oxford, in January 1963, was a historic occasion. Delegates from 44 peace organisations in 18 countries, covering most of the existing nuclear disarmament and pacifist organisations, which are on record as opposing nuclear weapons and tests in all countries, were assembled to hammer out an international framework which would increase their effectiveness and represent the first step towards internationalising the hitherto fragmented peace movement throughout the world.

The delegates who threaded their way from dormi-

tories to dining-room to meeting-rooms through the heaped-up snow did manage to finish their heavy agenda with the creation of a framework for wider co-operation among the independent peace organisations of the world. In the process they had some rough going, and the meetings left a residue of problems, but the fact remains that there was a consensus of opinion and the machinery was set up for future work together.

The real work of the conference was done in committees, which were commissioned to draft reports on specific issues and problems for the guidance of the continuing committee. Thus, one committee worked on a definition of aims and principles, another on proposals for the administrative and financial structure of the new International, another on the exchange of literature and ideas, another on means of co-ordinating representation at the United Nations and Geneva, another on proposals for promoting East-West conferences and another on the stimulation of new independent peace movements in countries where they do not at present exist.



From the committee studying means of exchanging ideas on literature and propaganda came the recommendation that a centrally-edited *Peace Information Bulletin* be produced, providing relevant information in abstract form, to all member organisations of the International Confederation. The first three issues of the bulletin have been produced in co-operation with the International Peace Bureau.

One committee report suggested that the main political programme of the confederation should be directed to the United Nations, and that the confederation apply for consultative status at the UN, but warned that this might jeopardise the position of certain member bodies which already have such status in their own right.

On the promotion of international conferences, the relevant committee reported: "Whilst not wishing to minimise the real differences of concept and practice which divide the world, we believe that one of the chief aims of this new confederation must be to develop relationships between the existing ideological and political blocs, countering the cold war and emphasising attempts to solve the problem of the threat of nuclear war."

"The confederation should take the initiative in being a channel for contacts between the two power blocs and the non-aligned world. It is hoped that these contacts will result in useful joint projects and functional co-operation by organisations and individuals from both blocs."

The report emphasised that "whilst there is a function for large international gatherings, face to face contact in smaller groups and conferences may be more profitable at this stage."

The committee on the stimulation of independent peace movements in countries where they do not at present exist emphasised "the importance of the new confederation sending large delegations with a clearly articulated non-aligned position" to every kind of international conference, particularly those with participants from both the West and the East.

Much the most encouraging feature of the conference was the wide measure of sympathy and agreement between the pacifist and direct action movements on the one hand and the more politically orthodox nuclear disarmament organisations on the other. The two wings of the movement have never been far apart, but have also never been quite together. Oxford demonstrated a conviction on both sides that each wing complements the other.

The basic purpose of the Oxford Conference was to create an international co-operative framework within which all peace organisations qualified for membership could work together more effectively toward their common goal of a world at peace. The statement of principles and aims eloquently outlines the policy framework of the ICDP and the conditions for full membership.

The central attitude, common to all participating organisations, of non-alignment simply means that member organisations of the ICDP maintain an independent judgement on the foreign policies of every nation. Policies are judged on their merit, not their origin. The delegates at Oxford did not think that they were especially moral in insisting on this concept of non-alignment; it was rather the desire to make judgements from an impartial ground, to apply the same yardstick to all government policies and to the problems connected with the arms race.

The conference ended with the election of a continuing committee under the chairmanship of



Kenneth Lee. The following were elected: Frank Boaten (Ghana), Andreas Buro (Fed. Rep. of Germany), Abbé Paul Carrette (Belgium), Canon L. John Collins (UK), Siddharaj Dhadda (India), Andrea Gaggero (Italy), Anthony Greenwood (UK), Alfred Hassler (USA), Homer Jack (USA), Heinz Kloppenburg (Fed. Rep. of Germany), Daniel Elwyn Jones (UK), Steffen Larsen (Denmark), Sean MacBride (Ire), Giuliano Rondi (Italy), Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Canada), Jaze Smole (Yugoslavia), Tony Smythe (UK), Bertil Svahnstrom (Sweden), Mrs Sybil Oldfield (New Zealand). Gerry Hunnius was appointed as Travelling Co-ordinator, and Anne Stadler and Emma Weighill as secretaries.

The first priority of this committee consisted in:

1. carrying out the decisions of the Oxford Conference;
2. setting up the ICDP as soon as 25 organisations had affiliated;
3. making preparations for the eventual work of the ICDP;
4. preparing for a further conference early in 1964.

An administrative committee, centred in London, was appointed and office facilities were obtained at 5 Caledonian Road. The important but tedious work of administration and organisation had begun.

When the continuing committee met in Oosterbeek, Netherlands, in August 1963, 25 organisations had affiliated and the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace was established, with formal ratification awaiting the January conference of all member organisations.

The peace organisations of the world represented at Oxford had taken an important step to meet the crisis which confronted mankind. While accepting to move with restraint, hoping to build a solid structure slowly, the ICDP represents a ray of hope to all who struggle for peace.

Above: Oxford delegates on their way to a meal. Opposite: Canon Collins (Chairman of CND, UK, and one of the 3 presidents of the European Federation Against Nuclear Arms) in discussion with Villem Hansen (Vice-chairman, Komiteet for Oplysning om Atomfaren, Denmark).



Above: Anne Stadler (Turn Toward Peace, USA, and Secretary of the ICDP Continuing Committee) and Donald Keys (SANE, USA).

Right: Heinz Kluppenburg (Secretary, German FoR and Vice-president of the ICDP).

Below: Dimitrios Roussepeles (Canadian CND and Council, ICDP) and Dan Elwyn Jones (YCND, UK, and Council, ICDP).





## The Oxford Conference



Above: Ritchie Calder (Vice-chairman of CND, UK) and Ernest Wolf (President of the International Peace Bureau).  
Right: Frank Bouter (Ghana, Gen. Sec. of the Accra Assembly and Council member, ICBP).

ALL CAPTIONS READ FROM LEFT TO RIGHT



The Tyringe Conference. Left: Dan Elwyn Jones and Gail Paradise (National Secretary, Student Peace Union, USA).

Below: Abbé Carrette (Fellowship of Reconciliation and War Resisters' International, Belgium, and member of the ICDP Continuing Committee), Norman Prith (Chairman of Friends Peace Committee, UK), Mervyn Jones (CND, UK), David Houston (Editor of Sanity, UK), Dan Elwyn Jones, Alfred Hassler (Secretary, FoR, USA, and Council member, ICDP), Anders Buro (Executive Secretary, Kampagne for Abridging Fed. Rep. of Germany, and Council member, ICDP), Hugh Brock, with back to camera (Editor of Peace News, UK), Robin Jenkins (Campaign Caravan Workshops, UK).

Opposite: Dimitrios Rousopoulos, Bertil Svahnstrom (Chairman, Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Sweden, and Council member, ICDP), Kenneth Lee (Secretary of Friends Peace Committee, UK, and President of ICDP).

## THE BIRTH ...





Tyringe in Sweden is not especially remarkable as a place. It is a typical and pleasant small town in southern Sweden, not far from Lund, the seat of one of the oldest universities in Europe. But on January 11, 1964, Tyringe witnessed a unique event of great importance, when after more than a year of careful preparation a new international organisation was formally begun.

It was not just another birth - this organisation is special in a number of crucial ways and its arrival has been attendant upon various difficulties both practical and political. Was it possible to create a body beyond the reach of the major power blocs? Could one find room financially and administratively amongst the vast array of international peace movements? The answers were yes, the question was - precisely how? Thus the Tyringe Conference sought to discover the practical steps to be taken - constitution, finance, structure, elections - to discuss and agree on a forward programme - to get the whole thing off the pages of notes and memoranda. And having done that, to invite a number of people and organisations that might be interested to come and view. The first part was a working conference; the second, an inauguration.

Some 90 people from 50 organisations (of which 12 were international) and 17 countries came in all to both parts. Those who make it their business to work for peace and disarmament can be grouped - politically, philosophically, socially or tactically, to put it in simplified terms. Not all the organisations present were members of the confederation. But they had all come because of their vital interest.

The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace is a body which seeks to co-ordinate organisations, many of which have sprung up in recent years and all of which stem from the principle of working for peace from a position not aligned with the major power blocs. It was the first time that such diverse groups as pacifists,

unilateralists, multilateralists, religious groups, pressure groups, umbrella movements, information and research bodies, student and youth groups confronted each other within a common framework. This gives the ICDP a great chance - its diversity must be its strength and must never become its weakness.

The conference at Tyringe received many messages and the following extracts are examples:

"... we must start creating the necessary means to an enlightened public opinion without which disarmament is most unlikely. I wish your conference every success." **BERTRAND RUSSELL**

"... I am with you in spirit." **ALBERT SCHWEITZER**

"We hope the congress will make noble efforts in seeking ways of giving full expression to the sacred cause of world peace." **CHINESE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE FOR WORLD PEACE**

"... we wish you complete success." **INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA, INDIA**

"... We are entirely in favour of the whole object of the conference." **GANDHI PEACE FOUNDATION, INDIA**

"On the occasion of the second meeting of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, I would like to express the deep faith of Brazil in disarmament and my conviction that it presents the only rational alternative for a rational society geared to rational aims and values. I feel that the confederation is entitled to make an outstanding contribution to the cause of peace and international understanding. This confederation of men of wisdom and goodwill shows that an irresistible alliance between governments and world public opinion is in the making and I am confident that such an alliance can defeat war and in the course of time will succeed in doing it." **J. A. DE ARAUJO CASTRO, MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF BRAZIL**

Below: Bengt Höglund (Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Sweden) and Robin Jeskins, sitting; Gerry Hunnius (General Secretary of ICDP) and Abbé Carrette (standing).

## INTO THE FUTURE...



If 1965 is to be the United Nations' Year of International Co-operation perhaps we may be permitted to call 1964 the Year of Co-operation and Development for the international peace movement. The Tyringe Conference of the ICDP certainly gave some inkling of the tremendous potential for peace action in a world-wide synthesis of experience, strength and vision from all sectors of the movement. It was only a beginning, but here, at last, was the recognition that our primary task is to build an international force for peace which can both offer effective resistance and a constructive alternative to power politics. The aim may seem ambitious but in the nuclear age the stakes are high. The ICDP will provide an effective framework for all organisations subscribing to the Oxford statement of principles and aims, that is to say those organisations which are resolutely pursuing the goals of disarmament and peace without reference to national vested interests or the postures of either side in the Cold War. The ICDP will be aligned only by virtue of its overriding loyalty to all humanity. It will extend the peace movement's possible field of contact and influence by inviting the association of sympathetic organisations. It will strive for a gradual evolution towards an international programme of activities which can be endorsed by all its members. The long term objective must be to create a body of opinion, able and willing to intervene directly in world affairs related to the problems of disarmament and peace.

More immediately the ICDP will face a period of construction and consolidation. The secretariat, dependent on the finance and participation of member organisations, will provide a servicing centre with the means of contact, communication and the circulation of information. It can co-ordinate but in the early stages not initiate action - with, however, one important exception. The disarray during the Cuban crisis pin-points the necessity for the executive, with the confidence of the movement, to be free to act in similar situations, possibly through a special commission of representative individuals. For example, teams could be sent to the centre of conflict, the United Nations and direct to the governments involved. In the main, however, international action should be initiated by functional groupings amongst member organisations.

As an encouragement to joint thinking and action, the Tyringe Conference agreed on six "next steps" or immediate political objectives which would be likely to engage general support. "The arms race must be blocked by preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and encouraging disengagement in a world where mutual confidence is growing." The steps referred to opposing the NATO multilateral nuclear force; support for disengagement in Central Europe; the formation of nuclear-free zones; the renunciation of the independent deterrent by Britain and France; an end to the isolation of China, and unilateral initiatives for disengagement by individual states. These represent a minimum basis for agreement while not implying an exclusive preoccupation with conventional solutions brought about by pressures on governments. Such limited measures by themselves and without social change would be unlikely to meet the needs of the human condition in this technologically advanced nuclear era. While using favourable trends in a constantly changing situation, the peace movement's basic function is to pioneer a new and better world. The very diversity of viewpoint and method within the ICDP will permit engagement in many areas. A consensus of opinion will be sought which will not reflect either the most conservative or the most revolutionary approach but some intermediate position which will serve to extend the conservatives to the point of meaningful action and to coax the revolutionaries into the realm of the possible. During the first year the secretariat in London will be mainly concerned with fund-raising; improving

communications; issuing information including an international agenda of events, a bibliography and abstracts of relevant material; help in co-ordinating actions internationally, like the Easter marches; the production of a quarterly bulletin; and basic information about the ICDP to gain new support. A second phase of activity will include projects such as the promotion of an independent disarmament and research institute; the provision of an international news service; the organisation of conferences for East-West contacts, and of specialists in particular fields, as well as the sponsorship of a World At Peace exhibition and conference in 1965. If it can operate efficiently and depend on widespread co-operation, the centre should help to speed up the process of international decision-making and eradicate much duplication of activity and effort.

The ICDP has a firm policy of co-operation with other concerned organisations and institutions such as the International Peace Bureau, the World Council of Peace and the United Nations and its agencies. In particular there will be a working link with the IPB which in close liaison with the secretariat will undertake such projects as the collection and distribution of relevant peace research results; the gathering of information on organisational problems; the promotion of people-to-people contact during International Co-operation Year and the provision of an international peace information service. The IPB will serve as a contact centre for the 18-nations disarmament talks at Geneva and other similar encounters there. The common concerns of the WCP and the ICDP are many and there will be ample scope for collaboration in the fields of immediate disarmament objectives (e.g. the implementation of proposals akin to the Rapacki Plan), and East-West relations (e.g. the exchange of delegations, study seminars and work camps, etc). Consultative status with the UN and UNESCO will be sought as a means to bring forward specific disarmament proposals and matters related to human rights and civil liberties.

An outline of the future of the ICDP must not be confined to its functioning on the purely administrative level. The convergence of representatives from the entire spectrum of the independent peace movements with their many and often profound differences in method and in principle - survivalists, pacifists, direct actionists, researchers and demonstrators, students and workers of long experience - offers creative possibilities some of which have already begun to be realised. The positive nature of such encounters has been heightened by a tendency to find common ground which flourishes almost uniquely in the international setting. The future of the peace movement is dependent on the ideas and ideals it can stimulate and a review of some of the major topics which emerged during the discussions at Tyringe gives grounds for encouragement.

There was an awareness of the differences between



the apparent situation - a relaxation of tension politically, as symbolised by the partial test-ban treaty, and therefore a general psychological relaxation - and the real situation in which no nation is reducing its military capability and the world is plagued by a series of restricted but bloody conflicts. Nevertheless if coherent policies which are well in advance of events can be developed there are new opportunities in the atmosphere of the detente. An appeal to fear can no longer be effective but the onus is on peace workers to find constructive solutions and set the pace for a peace race which would capture the imagination of an international public.

An international programme aimed at internationally agreed goals could give greater political realism to national policies and restore the sense of direction which is in many cases lacking. It would have an appeal for many people who are aware of the need to transcend national frontiers and objectives, and, through united action, would make the political impact which individual movements are too weak to achieve. The ICDP provides a meeting ground for the discussion and development of many international programmes.

#### Easter Marches

Easter-time has become the occasion for international solidarity and world-wide peace action. The



Top right: Werner Böwing (Deputy Chairman of Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer, member of Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände, Germany), Sean McBride (Acera Assembly Continuing Committee and ICDP Council), Arthur Pope (Executive Secretary, Canadian CND, Federal Chairman, Combined Universities CND), Philip Eastman (General Secretary, International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Council member and chairman of finance committee, ICDP).

Below right: Andrea Gaggero (Consulta per la Pace, Italy, and Council member, ICDP), Giuliano Pontaro (Movimento Nonviolenza per la Pace, Italy, and interpreter at Tyringe), Chris Cowley (Committee of 100, UK), Homer Jack (Executive Director, SANE, USA, and Council member of ICDP). Left: Peggy Dow (General Secretary of CND, UK, Treasurer and Council member, ICDP), Tony Smythe (Secretary of War Resisters' International, Council member, ICDP), Andrea Gaggero, Giuliano Pontaro, Gerry Hunnius.

ICDP will co-ordinate demands to all governments to recognise the event and provide appropriate facilities. Marches will bear ICDP banners and will incorporate a growing number of international themes, e.g. opposition to the spread of nuclear weapons, and support for disengagement. An international collection of money for UNICEF and other aid programmes will give a new significance to the marches. It is not too optimistic to hope that the marches will spread to many more countries each year and that radical demands for disarmament will be carried through and beyond the accepted political divisions and boundaries.

#### Training and Research

New dimensions could be added to peace action with new techniques based on a more analytical approach to the problem. Functional tasks carried out on a national basis require a fair degree of expertise. When engaged, they demand a high degree of technical competence and sophistication. Training schemes are already on the drawing boards in recognition of the need to provide the best technical background for those engaged in international projects. Proposals have also been made for the setting up of a central agency for international group study which would initiate action/research into international tension centres, conciliation in conflict situations, the promotion of peace exhibitions, peace education in schools, and the problems posed by psychological preparations for war.

#### The World at Peace

Robert Jungk echoed a widely held opinion in the ICDP when he said "We should more than before emphasise the feeling of hope for a disarmed, peaceful and prosperous world." The peace movement had not merely to stop war but "invent and describe the world we want". It would need an imaginative vision of the future which compelled respect and support. "If we show the way in which mankind, by abandoning the burden of arms, can humanise technology by giving it a new goal, we will march in the forefront of real progress."

If the ICDP can be said to have produced a dominant theme, it would be the affirmation of a primary loyalty to humanity rather than national or any other sectional interests. In practice this clearly means, in relation to the peace issue, active dissociation from the policies of governments when, as is often the case, they depart from universally accepted standards and an active identification with the needs of the vast majority of men who are suppressed economically or politically.

The world needs change but not only change brought about through pacts and treaties between governments. All men should be encouraged to make changes themselves, to understand "why" and "how". Only thus can the conditions for a real and lasting peace be created. A world-wide mass movement is the means by which the growth of popular awareness can be fostered. The ICDP, as a union of peace organisations, could become the growing point for such a mass movement based on a common loyalty to humanity. The future cannot be predicted but clearly the ICDP has an important and perhaps vital part to play.

Above: Claude Bourdet (Mouvement Centre l'Armement Atomique, France, and Vice-president of ICDP).

Below: Josa Smols (Vice-president of Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples, Vice-president of ICDP).

The top photo on this page and those on pages 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 were taken by John Hopkins.



## YOUR FINANCIAL FUTURE

As a living body depends upon blood, so the life of the confederation will depend upon money. At the present time the property of the confederation is vested in four trustees, appointed by the council. Its finances are administered by the treasurer and finance committee which meets every month and will be glad to send an audited statement of accounts on application. The budget for the financial year, which began on September 1, 1963, totals £5,330 (\$14,930). Naturally the larger part of this sum will be devoted to the remuneration of those who undertake the main responsibilities. For the general secretary and administrative assistant, and one office secretary, the figure of £3,000 is required. For office accommodation, equipment and supplies, £930 is needed.

For the general secretary's travel and the cost of accommodation for meetings of the executive committee, £500; for projects, including the printing of this bulletin, convening conferences and for contingencies, an additional £900 is needed.

To raise this total it is anticipated that £2,120 will be received from the affiliation fees of member-organisations and that the remaining £3,210 will be raised from other sources.

Large organisations contribute £120 (\$360) per annum. Small organisations including youth and student bodies £40 (\$120) per annum. International organisations with two national sections affiliated, £5 (\$15) per annum. In order to give the confederation a good start, all organisations have been

asked to double their contribution in the first year and some have already responded. The council also suggested that organisations should undertake one project of a fund-raising nature each year for the confederation; that regional groups of all organisations should accept responsibility for one item in the budget for 1964 and that member organisations should arrange meetings and contacts for the general secretary for the purposes of fund-raising. Each member of the council of twenty-one persons has been asked to accept responsibility personally to raise a sum during 1964. Already more than one contribution of this kind has been received.

Most of us would be ready to agree that we know somebody who has more money than we have and few would deny that we know someone who is at least as generous as we are. May we therefore ask you most urgently both to send a gift for the work of the confederation now and to ask your wealthier and equally generous friends to do the same! Perhaps you could arrange a party of some kind suitable to your circumstances and your country to raise money for this all-important work to which we are committed. A leaflet with suggestions about fund-raising is available for 6d postage free. We look forward to hearing from you. The general secretary will acknowledge all gifts and ensure that you are kept informed about the development of the confederation and its challenging programme of work. You may regard your gift as an investment in peace and in the future security and happiness of the rising generation.

## ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

"Associate membership shall be open to organisations which are in general sympathy with the principles and aims of the confederation and are approved by a two-thirds majority vote of the council or conference." (Constitution, Article 3 (b).) The principles and aims of the confederation are stated elsewhere. What are the differences between full membership and associate membership of the confederation? Full membership is open to those organisations which satisfy the council that they are mainly concerned with the promotion of disarmament and peace and that they have generally and actively advocated the principles and aims of the confederation and do not hesitate to oppose the policies of any government, including their own, if they depart from these objectives. Like associate members, they must be approved by a two-thirds majority of the members of the council or the conference.

What then is the distinction? Clearly an associate member organisation does not have to be mainly concerned with the promotion of disarmament and peace, nor must it necessarily actively advocate the principles and aims of the confederation, so long as it is in general sympathy with them. Nor does it have to oppose the policies of governments if they depart from these objectives. This leaves the door open for many important bodies to become associate members of the confederation. For example, the World Federation of United Nations Associations, the World Assembly of Youth, the World Federalists, to mention a few international non-governmental organisations. There are many others which have shown during recent years their concern for disarmament and peace and their general sympathy with such basic objectives of the

confederation as "the non-military solution of all conflicts", "the strengthening of the work of the United Nations and its existing agencies, both in promoting disarmament and in increasing its responsibility for inspection and in determining the direction of economic aid and the encouragement of the growth of the world community, based on world law", and "an active and developing co-operation between all peoples."

Large and influential national bodies may also apply for associate membership of the confederation—and we expect they will—organisations such as trade unions, federations and professional associations of all kinds concerned with education, science and culture; churches and bodies representing the great world religions; women's organisations; youth organisations; bodies concerned with the conservation of natural resources and the preservation of life. These and many other associations of like-minded people will increase the chances of their own survival if they give their support to the confederation for disarmament and peace. No thinking person today considers this to be merely of academic interest, nor is it reserved to the few who have time to devote to international conferences or the disposition to criticise those in high places; the concern for disarmament and peace is no less than the universal concern for survival and the need for its effective expression is desperate and urgent. If you agree, then please raise the question of affiliation with those organisations of which you are a member. Associate membership will entitle them to receive publications of the confederation and invitations to conferences and meetings. For further information, please write to the General Secretary of the ICDP.

# MEMBER ORGANISATIONS

## as of January 1964

### INTERNATIONAL

Accra Assembly, P.O. Box 1627, Accra, Ghana.  
International Fellowship of Reconciliation, 3 Hendon Avenue, London N.3, UK.

War Resisters' International, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, UK.

### NATIONAL

#### Australia:

Victorian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Box 577d Elisabeth St, P.O., Melbourne, Victoria.

#### Canada:

Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 329 Bloor Street W, Toronto, Ontario.

Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 55 Harbord St, Toronto 5, Ontario.

#### Denmark:

Komitee for Oplysning om Atomfaren, Strandvaenget 15, Copenhagen.

#### France:

Action Civique Non-violente, 3 Impasse Chartiere, Paris 5.

Mouvement Contre L'Armement Atomique, 54 Blvd Garibaldi, Paris 15.

#### Federal Republic of Germany:

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände, München 19, Hengelerstr. 3/II.

Kampagne für Abrüstung - Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner, München 55, Andreas-Vöst-Str. 5.

#### India:

Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Rajghat, Varanasi-1.

#### Ireland:

Irish Pacifist Movement, 6 Eustace Street, Dublin.

#### Italy:

Comitato per il Disarmo Atomico e Convenzionale dell' Area Europea, Via XXIV, Maggio 7, Rome.  
Consulta per la Pace, Casella Postale 201, Perugia.

#### Netherlands:

Algemene Nederlandse Vredesactie, Postbus 385, Amsterdam.

Comite 1964 voor de Vrede, Jac. Obrechtplein 3, Amsterdam-Z.

Stichting Anti-Atombom Actie, Brederodestr. 44, Haarlem.

#### New Zealand:

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 7 Wilfrid Street, Christchurch 4.

#### Norway:

Folkereising mot Krig, Kristian Augusts gate 19, Oslo 1.

#### Sweden:

Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Box 5138, Stockholm 5.

#### United Kingdom:

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 2 Carthusian Street, London E.C.1.

Colleges and Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 2 Carthusian Street, London E.C.1.

Committee of 100, 13 Goodwin Street, London N.4.

Campaign Caravan Workshops, 197 Kings Cross Road, London W.C.1.

Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London N.W.1.

Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 2 Carthusian Street, London E.C.1.

#### United States:

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), 17 E.45th St, New York 17, N.Y.

Student Peace Union, 60295 S. University Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.

War Resisters' League, Room 1025, 5 Beekman St, New York 38, N.Y.

#### Yugoslavia:

Section for Disarmament and Peace of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples, Trg Marksa i Engelsa 11, Beograd.

## COUNCIL AND OFFICERS, 1964-65

### President:

\*Kenneth Lee (UK, Friends Peace Committee).

### Vice-Presidents:

\*Claude Bourdet (France, Mouvement contre L'Armement Atomique).

Siddharaj Dhadha (India, Sarva Seva Sangh).

Alfred Hassler (USA, Fellowship of Reconciliation).

Heinz Kloppenburg (Fed. Rep. of Germany, Internationaler Versöhnungsbund).

Joze Smole (Yugoslavia, League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples).

### Treasurer:

\*Peggy Duff (UK, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament).

### General Secretary:

\*T. C. Hunnius (Canada).

### International Council:

Frank Boaten (Ghana, Accra Assembly).

\*Andreas Buro (Fed. Rep. of Germany, Kampagne für Abrüstung - Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner).

Michael Craft (UK, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament).

Peggy Duff.

\*Philip Eastman (UK, International Fellowship of Reconciliation).

\*Andrea Gaggero (Italy, Consulta per la Pace).

Nils Petter Gleditsch (Norway, Folkereising mot Krig).

Guido Graziani (Italy, Consulta per la Pace).

Homer A. Jack (USA, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy).

Daniel Elwyn Jones (UK, Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament).

Sean MacBride (Ire, Accra Assembly).

Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Canada, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament).

Bayard Rustin (USA, War Resisters' League).

\*Tony Smythe (UK, War Resisters' International).

Bertil Svahnström (Sweden, Kampanjen mot Atomvapen).

\*Members of Executive Committee

Published by the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, The Grange, 3 Hendon Avenue, London N.3, and printed in Great Britain by the Goodwin Press, 135 Fonthill Road, London N.4.

Further copies from the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace at the above address or from Housmans Bookshop, 3 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

1-49 copies . . . . . 1s each (US: 15 cents)

50-99 copies . . . . . 8d each (US: 10 cents)

100 upwards . . . . . 6d each (US: 7 cents)

For details of annual subscription write to ICDP office.

inter-organisational bulletin

I.O.B. nr. 2. April 24th, 1964

28.4.64 Vlg?

PEACE INFORMATION BULLETIN:

The next issue of our quarterly Peace Information Bulletin will contain a section on future activities of our member organisations. We need this information, in the form of a brief report, by May 15th, 1964, at the latest. Please list those of your more important activities which are planned for the period June, 1964 until the end of the year. (e.g. conferences, seminars, demonstrations, training programmes, publication of pamphlets, etc.)

If you know of any relevant conferences in your country (on disarmament, peace, and related subjects) please send us details: Name of conference, subject, sponsor, place, dates.)

AFFILIATIONS:

Please take note of the following error: The 'Algemene Nederlandse Vredesactie', (ANVA) (Postbus 385, Amsterdam) has been listed as a member of the ICDP. ANVA is not a member organisation; we regret this error.

The 'Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer' has applied for membership as from September 1st, 1964. The Comité d'Action Non-Violente pour la Paix (Belgium) has also applied for membership. Several other organisations are presently considering membership in the ICDP (both full and associate). Make use of the application form which you have received and contact potential new members. Remember, the category of Associate members opens the door to a very great number of non-governmental organisations.

ICDP COUNCIL MEETING, June 24-27, 1964

The Administrative Committee will have a one day working session on or about May 13th. We would like to have your suggestions by then on items to be included in the agenda of the June Council meeting.

CYPRUS:

A growing number of individuals and groups are beginning to consider some kind of action in relation to the Cyprus Crisis. If your group is engaged (or planning to engage) in this, please notify us of the details so we can put you in touch with other groups doing the same.

LIBRARY

Our office is not yet receiving all the publications from our member organisations. Please make sure that we are on your mailing list. (Air Mail from North America, Asia and Africa). This is indispensable if we are to fulfil our function effectively.

G.H.

can  
VACK  
20.5  
✓

inter-organisational bulletin

I.O.B. nr.1. April 17th.1964

28. 4. 64 Vlg 2

INTRODUCTION:

This is an introductory issue of the inter-organisational bulletin which we intend to issue at irregular intervals as a memo of communication between the ICDP office, Council members and member organisations. I would like to have your reactions as to the best use of the I.O.B.

NEW MEMBERS:

The ICDP will only be able to fulfill its purpose if all independent peace organisations become familiar with its existence and its purpose, and if all, or most of them join as full members. As Associate members all organisations which generally agree with our aims and principles, e.g. professional, youth, student, women, labour, church, peace research and other groups, are welcome. It is up to you to use the last issue of our Peace Information Bulletin as a tool in approaching new groups in your respective countries. Please order additional copies if you need them. You will shortly receive ten copies of a membership application form for that purpose. You must make the initial contact; the office cannot do this alone. If every one of you brings in one member by June, we will have approximately 100 members. Remember only the Council can admit new members, so we must have the applications by June.

PATRONS (SPONSORS):

Please send your list of desirable sponsors in your country to the office not later than June 1st. During its meeting in June, the Council will discuss prospective sponsors for the ICDP, who must NOT be approached until after a Council decision.

HANKIND 2000:

We have recently met with Danilo Dolci. He wishes to work with us on this project and will be available during our Council meeting in June to discuss details for cooperation on the Hankind 2000 project. (See Exec. Minutes, March 15/16.)

The present time-table is as follows:

1. An initial memo, prepared by Maurice Rickards in cooperation with Robert Jungk and Claude Bourdet will soon be circulated to all Council members and member organisations for their comment. This memo, with a covering letter from ICDP, will be sent to a small number of individuals who may assist actively in this project.
2. At the June Council meeting, this memo will be discussed and, if necessary, be amended. Rickards will also produce a SKELETON DRAFT PROPOSAL for the Hankind 2000 exhibition.
3. All decisions as to sponsorship, membership of the organising committee, time-table, etc. etc. will be made by the Council in June.
4. Jungk will produce a memo in time for the Council meeting outlining how groups and associations outside the peace movement can participate in this project.
5. The Adm. Committee of the ICDP will prepare another memo outlining how peace organisations can participate meaningfully in this project.
6. It is presently envisaged that the final proposal for the entire project be printed in book form at the end of 1964. This book is to be used to solicit support and participation from individuals, organisations, foundations, etc.

OFFICE STAFF:

We urgently need a permanent Admin. Sec. Qualifications: working knowledge of French; knowledge of peace movement; capable to produce Peace Info. Bulletin; responsible person able to work without supervision. ANY SUGGESTIONS??

G.H.

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

The Grange, 3, Hendon Avenue, Finchley, London, N.3.

MINUTES OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, held from  
9.30am to 3 pm, on May 12th, 1964 at ICDP offices, London, N.3

A 6

22.5.64 V.

Presents: Kenneth Lee, Peggy Duff, Philip Eastman, Tony Smythe,  
Gerry Hunnius, Denis Davies.

1. The Minutes of the last Administrative Committee meeting were accepted as read.

2. Training in Non-Violence

Arising from the Minutes the proposal that ICDP should sponsor a training course on non-violence incorporating the offer of Richard Hauser of the Center of Group Studies was discussed. It was agreed that Smythe, Lee and Hunnius were to meet with Richard Hauser to discuss the applicability of his training course to the needs of the ICDP. Kenneth Lee was to make the appointment and the secretary was asked to send the TTP Training manual to Hauser for his observations and comments.

3. Finance

The Chairman of the Finance Committee agreed to send a further letter to those member organisations which had not replied to the letter sent by the Treasurer. Kenneth Lee, Philip Eastman and Peggy Duff reported that they were in the process of contacting several individuals for financial support for the ICDP.

4. Mankind 2000

(a) The secretary was asked to write to Robert Jungk about the article on how voluntary and professional associations can participate in Mankind 2000. This article is required in the ICDP office by June 10th for duplication in time for the Council meeting.

(b) The secretary was asked to write to the organisers of the Peace Periodical Seminar suggesting the inclusion of Mankind 2000 in the agenda.

(c) It was suggested that we should attempt to have Mankind 2000 discussed at the coming meeting of the Heads of State of non-aligned nations. It would be desirable to have this project introduced by a participating non-aligned state. It was agreed that Kenneth Lee write to Jose Smole about this proposal. Tony Smythe is to speak to Devi Prasad about the best way to contact Prime Minister Nehru. It was suggested also to contact Frank Boaten asking him to approach the Ghana Government with this proposal.

(d) ICDP Council members and member organisations will receive a copy

of the 3rd draft before the Council meeting and are asked to prepare the comments in time for the Council meeting.

(e) It was suggested that instead of attempting to put every idea and proposal into the exhibition, new channels ought to be cultivated (seminars, conferences, etc.)

(f) The secretary was asked to prepare a brief document suggesting ways and means by which peace organisations can participate in ManKind 2000.

#### 5. Office Staff

ED 718-27-51

The secretary reported that it was becoming increasingly difficult to carry the present load of work with only one secretary/stenographer. He suggested that we would need a junior clerk to handle routine jobs (mailing, wrapping, stapling, and some copy typing). It was agreed that this should not be put on the agenda of the Council meeting since we had not yet succeeded in raising the funds for the present budget. The suggestion was made by Philip Eastman that it might be feasible to hire a translator (French-English), who would work part-time for the IFOR and part-time for the ICDF. No decision was taken.

#### 6. World Peace Study Mission

The secretary was asked to write to Barbara Reynolds suggesting a meeting on the evening of June 8 or 9th in London between 4 or 5 of the Japanese members of her group and an equal number of ICDF officers in order to discuss the possibility of extending the work of the ICDF in Japan.

#### 7. Disarmament lobbying arrangements in Geneva

The secretary proposed the setting up of necessary machinery for an effective Geneva Lobby. He reported that Niels Mathiesen would consider favourably a request to help in the making of appointments with the various delegations in Geneva for anyone wanting to visit them. Kenneth Lee agreed to write to Duncan Wood in Geneva exploring the possibility of receiving from him the following information which would then be duplicated by the ICDF office and mailed to all member organisations:

- (a) which relevant commission or committee was presently at work in Geneva.
- (b) a list of names of the chief delegates of those nations participating in this commission.
- (c) a time-table, as far as possible, of the topics under discussion.

#### 8. Disarmament lobbying arrangements in New York

It was also suggested that we explore the possibility of ICDF member organisations located in and around New York getting together in order to discuss how the ICDF could set up a similar lobby system in New York. The secretary is to write to Homer Jack, Al Hassler, Bayard Rustin, the IFOR representative at the UN and Bob Cory for that purpose.

#### 9. Administration

The secretary read out a number of letters. Peggy Duff agreed to follow up the letter from the Labour Peace Fellowship and speak to its chairman, Frank Allaun.

#### 10. Agenda for Council Meeting

A draft agenda in outline was agreed to be finalized by the Chairman and secretary on Friday, May 15th. See Appendix 1.

11. Admin. Committee The next Administrative Committee meeting will be on June 2nd, 1964, 4-6pm at Friends House, Euston Road, London, NW.1.

Proposed Agenda for ICDF Council meeting, June 24th -26th -27th, 1964  
in Florence, Italy.

June 24th (Wednesday)

<u>Session I</u> :	(8-10am)	Administration and Finance
<u>Session II</u> :	(10.30 - 12.30pm)	Administration and Finance
<u>Session III</u> :	(3-5 pm)	Administration and Finance
<u>Session IV</u> :	(7-9pm)	Policy

June 25th (Thursday)

<u>Session I</u> :	(8-10 am)	Policy
<u>Session II</u> :	(10.30 -12.30 pm)	Policy
<u>Session III</u> :	(3-5 pm)	Programme
<u>Session IV</u> :	(7-9 pm)	Programme

June 26th (Friday)

<u>Session I</u> :	(8-10 am)	Programme (Mankind 2000)
<u>Session II</u> :	(10.30 - 12.30 pm)	Programme (Mankind 2000)
<u>Session III</u> :	(3- 5pm)	Open

Reception in the evening

Comments

1. The Agenda for the Executive Committee meeting on Saturday, June 27th will be drawn up at the end of the Council meeting.
2. The time-table of the Council Agenda is arranged in such a way as to allow time for sub-committee meetings during the lunch period.

## Detailed Outline of Agenda

### Finance

- Trustees
- Fundraising
- Audited Account up to Sept. 1963
- Account to March 1964
- Current position up to May 31st 1964
- Budget

### Administration

- Appointment of Finance Committee (to sit during lunch of first day. Recommendations to Council or Executive as appropriate).
- Talk by Kenneth Lee on ICDF since Tyringe.
- Patrons
- Associate membership. Proposal for additional clause in constitution. By Sean MacBride.
- Full Membership. Proposal for amendment of constitution. By Homer Jack.

### Programme

- ICDF Information Bulletin and Information Service.
- UN Lobby (Geneva and New York)
- International Cooperation Year.
- Prisoners Day (Dec. 1st.)
- Human Rights Day (Dec. 10th)
- Hiroshima Day (August 16th)
- UN Day (October 24th)
- Mankind 2000 (General discussion and next steps) Talk by Robert Jungk on Mankind 2000. Presentation of proposal by Maurice Rickards.
- ICDF Article Service
- Voluntary Service and the ICDF (Proposal by Coordination Committee for International Voluntary Workcamps (UNESCO).)
- The ICDF and developing countries
- Priorities for the next year.

### Policy

- Talk by Claude Bourdet on The General Political Situation in the World in Relation to the ICDF and its Member Organisations.
- Talk by Homer Jack on Recent Developments in the Geneva Disarmament Negotiations
- The ICDF and the Conference of Non-aligned Heads of State.

# I.C.D.P.

ED 718-27-53

The Orange,  
3, Hendon Avenue,  
Finchley, London, N.3.

## inter-organisational bulletin

I.O.B. n.r.3. May 14th.  
1964.

22.5.64 V.

### NEW MEMBERS

We have received two new applications for ICDP membership:

- (a) Club Fraternelle, a Belgium pacifist youth group, has applied for full membership. The address is: 67 Avenue de Belgique, Anvers, Belgium. Secretary, Francis Lowenthal. Fraternelle issues a newspaper, in French, 'Defense'.
- (b) Campaign for a World Constituent Assembly, has applied for Associate membership. The Campaign is at 46 rue aux Laines, Brussels - 1, Belgium, and its Secretary-General is Maurice Cosyn.

Have you done your part in bringing in a new member?

### FRENCH EDITION

Volunteers of Mouvement Contre l'Armement Atomique have completed the translation of Vol.II. No.1 of the Peace Information Bulletin. We expect to have the French edition printed and in the mail by the middle of June.

### CONFERENCE REPORT

The first volume of the Tyringe Conference Report (in English) is nearing completion and should be ready in early June. The delay has been due to the fact that we have functioned without a permanent secretary for a considerable time.

### REPORTS FROM ORGANISATIONS

We are not receiving reports from member organisations on their future activities and other relevant events in their respective countries. If our Peace Information Bulletin is to become a useful instrument we must receive regular reports from you. Please make arrangements to keep us informed.

### URGENT

We have now established the subscription rate for our Peace Information Bulletin (which will be produced by the offset-litho process).

1 year (4 issues)	\$1.00 (7 shillings)	The rate for India is still to be established.
By Air Mail	\$2.50 (£1.0.0d)	
Single issues	\$0.30 (2 shillings)	

Sorry, no discount on quantity orders.

Please let us know by June 10th at the latest how many copies you want to order (English or French edition). You will then receive this amount on a regular basis. The English edition of the next bulletin will be out by June 20th and the French edition approximately one month later.

inter-organisational bulletin

2.

PEACE PERIODICALS SEMINAR

Sponsored jointly by the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, the International Peace Bureau, and Peace News, and organised by Pax (Norway) and Freden (Sweden), this seminar is for the benefit of editors of peace publications.

Date: August 29th and 30th, 1964. Place: Sørmarka, Oslo, Norway  
The price of the seminar will be approximately 60 Norwegian kroner.

Tentative programme:Saturday, August 29thProduction and distribution

Morning:

New means of periodical production, lay-out, printing, blocks, costs. Exhibition of the world's peace periodicals and a critical examination of same.

Afternoon:

Distribution and promotion. Sales, advertising, how to 'sell' the periodicals' ideas to the public.

Sunday, August 30th

Morning:

Editorial policies. Producing a periodical for the peace organisations or for the public. Contact with the readers. Organisation of the editorial work.

Afternoon:

International cooperation. Possibilities for strengthening cooperation between the peace periodicals. Desirability of cooperation through an international peace periodicals organisation and of annual conferences.

If you wish anyone in your organisation to receive an invitation, please contact the ICDF office immediately.

WRI NEWS SERVICE

We are aware of the fact that the quarterly Peace Information Bulletin does not fulfil the purpose of a news bulletin. We have thus entered into an initial agreement with one of our member organisations, the War Resisters International, who have agreed to utilise additional news items received from the ICDF office for their International News Service. (Twenty-six issues per year for £1. (\$2.80) or, by Air Mail, £2.15 (\$7.70). If you do not yet subscribe to this News Service, send your subscription to the ICDF office and we will forward it to the WRI.

We will investigate the possibility of similar arrangements with other existing newsletters of member organisations until such time when the ICDF can issue its own bulletin more frequently.

Between June 4th and June 27th, and for one week after the Council meeting, I will be visiting member organisations and making new contacts in Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. I will take a one week vacation after the Council meeting and return to the office on July 13th.

G.E.

LD 718-27-55

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

The Grange, 3, Hendon Avenue, Finchley, London, N.3.

MINUTES OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, held from  
4pm -6pm, at Friends House, Euston Road, London, NW.1.

16.6.64

47

am 2.6.64

16.6.64

1. The Minutes of the previous Administrative Committee meeting were accepted as read.
2. The possibility of offering Denis Davies a permanent position as Administrative Secretary was discussed and it was decided that because of his lack of experience in voluntary organisations he would not be suitable for this position.  
  
The General Secretary reported that he was meeting with Yvette Naal on June 3rd for the purpose of discussing the possibility of her employment by the Confederation as Administrative Secretary.
3. The first volume of the Conference Report, in English, had been typed now and Peggy Duff agreed to assist by collating. It was expected that the report (1st volume) would be ready in time for the Council Meeting.
4. The Secretary reported that we had received a further application for Associate Membership from the Sosialistisk Studentforbund of Norway.
5. The Secretary was asked to write to Niels Mathiesen to clarify the apparent duplication of efforts in the field of a Peace Information Service. It was felt by all that we must work together with the IPB and the WRI in this field and not permit any unnecessary duplication.
6. Philip Eastman reported that he had had conversations with several individuals about the possibility of raising the planned French Nuclear Test issue with the International Court of Justice. It was agreed that Kenneth Lee and Philip Eastman approach the New Zealand and Australian High Commissioners on this and report their findings to the ICDP Council meeting in Florence. The Secretary was asked to write to our Australian and New Zealand member organisations asking for their views on the advisability of such action.
7. The Secretary read a letter from Andrea Gaggero about the arrangements of the Council Meeting. The following was decided:

Agenda amendment

Session I	0900 -1045 hrs.	<u>Mealtimes:</u>	
Session II	1115 -1300 "		
Session III	1500 -1700 "	Breakfast	0800-0830 hrs.
Session IV	1730 -1930 "	Lunch	1300-1400 "
		Dinner	2000-2100 "

The ICDP expresses its thanks to the Consulta for their generosity in undertaking to pay the largest part of the expenses of the Council meeting. The ICDP accepts Gaggero's suggestion that a sum of £5 be paid to the Consulta for every Council member participating in the meeting. It was decided that the ICDP will cover this expense. Those Council members who wish to help in covering this expense will be able to make a contribution toward this during the Council meeting.

2.

The Secretary was asked to write to Gaggero and Maria Comberti suggesting that they find one secretary (English/Italian) for the period of the meeting, since it was too costly to bring a staff person down from London. If no volunteers from the Italian peace movement could be found, the ICDP would pay the salary of a secretary for four days.

Peggy Duff agreed to see to it that 100 copies of the French edition of the Bulletin (Vol.II. No.1) would be transported to Florence.

8. The Committee discussed the appointment of Trustees. Philip Eastman reported that two Americans had been proposed. We also have received three suggested Trustees from Belgium. The Secretary was asked to discuss with our German affiliates the possibility of a German Trustee; Kenneth Lee and Philip Eastman were to speak to one or two individuals in Britain. Philip Eastman will report on this at the Council meeting.

9. The Secretary reported that Mrs. Woodward, Secretary of the New Zealand CND had agreed to represent the ICDP at the coming 11th International Student Conference in Christchurch. The ICDP had received an invitation to send an observer to the meeting.

10. It was decided that the date of the planned Garden Party at The Grange is to be changed to September 19th, 1964. Peggy Duff has already spoken to Ruth Craft and was to meet with her again to make the necessary arrangements.

11. The Secretary reported that he had spoken to the Secretary of the National Peace Council about the proposed meeting between members of the Hiroshima Peace Study Mission and representatives of the ICDP. The Secretary of the PNC was to telephone Kenneth Lee about the date, place and time of the meeting.

12. The Secretary reported that he had received two letters of enquiry about the possibility of setting up (or utilizing an existing) lobby mechanism at the UN in New York. Both replies suggested that no new arrangements were necessary and that it would be possible to utilize the resources of the existing set-ups in New York. It was decided to bring up this item at the Council meeting.

13. Peggy Duff reported that she had met with Frank Allaun, Chairman of the Labour Peace Fellowship about the possibility of affiliation to the ICDP. She would speak to Frank Allaun again within the next few days.

14. Kenneth Lee reported that he had obtained a generous donation of £250 for the ICDP.

ED718-27-56 9.1.64

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION  
FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE  
REPORT OF INAUGURAL CONGRESS  
Volume One : Working Sessions

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

ED 718-27-57

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

REPORT OF THE INAUGURAL CONGRESS

held at Tyringe, Sweden

January 9-13, 1964

VOLUME ONE: Working Sessions

	PAGE
I <u>INTRODUCTION</u> .....	3
<u>REPORT OF CHAIRMAN OF CONTINUING COMMITTEE</u> .....	5
II <u>REPORT OF THE PLENARY SESSIONS</u> .....	11
<u>Opening Sessions</u> .....	11
<u>Election of Officers, and Appointment of</u> <u>Commissions and Committees</u> .....	12
<u>Report of Finance Commission and Budget</u> .....	16
<u>Report of the Commission on the Constitution</u> .....	19
<u>Report of the Nominations Committee</u> .....	20
<u>Officers</u> .....	21
<u>Admission of New Members</u> .....	21
<u>Closing Session</u> .....	22
III <u>REPORT OF SUB-COMMISSIONS</u> .....	23
<u>On Conferences</u> .....	23
<u>On Relations with other Organisations</u> .....	27
<u>On Peace Research</u> .....	29
<u>On Expansion of the I. C. D. P.</u> .....	31
<u>On Publications</u> .....	33
<u>On Projects</u> .....	37
... <u>Next Steps to Disarmament</u> .....	38
... <u>Education and Information</u> .....	39
... <u>Easter Marches</u> .....	40
IV <u>APPENDICES</u> .....	46
A <u>Working Conference Document (G. Hunnius)</u> .....	46
B <u>Working Conference Document (A. Stadler)</u> .....	50
C <u>Working Conference Document</u> <u>(K. Lee and D. Roussopoulos)</u> .....	54
D <u>Financial Statement</u> .....	56
E <u>Constitution, Aims and Principles</u> .....	60
F <u>Memorandum of the Consulta per la Pace</u> .....	69
G <u>International Peace Bureau (IPB) -</u> <u>International Confederation for</u> <u>Disarmament and Peace (ICDP) :</u> <u>Report of Joint Sub-Committee</u> .....	71
H <u>Memorandum on International Seminar of</u> <u>Peace Periodicals</u> .....	73
I <u>Report of Informal Discussions between</u> <u>Representatives of the World Council</u> <u>For Peace and the I. C. D. P.</u> .....	75

APPENDICES (cont'd)

PAGE

J	<u>Affiliated Organisations</u> .....	77
K	<u>List of Participants in the Working Sessions</u> .....	79
L	<u>Conference Secretariat</u> .....	83

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

ED 718-27-59

INTRODUCTION  
and  
REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF  
THE CONTINUING COMMITTEE

INTRODUCTION

The report of the Inaugural Congress of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace is being published in two volumes. The working sessions, in which only delegates of member organisations took part, are reported in Volume One. The second volume will contain all the working papers which were specially submitted for the conference, the texts of the three key-note speeches by A.J. Muste, Claude Bourdet and Heinz Kloppenburg, and reports of the committees involving delegates and observers alike.

Everyone who receives this first volume will automatically receive a copy of the second volume as it becomes available. Additional copies can be ordered from the office of the I.C.D.P. for 7/- (\$ 1.00) for each two volume set.

We hope that the conference reports will introduce the work of the Confederation to organisations and groups which may wish to work with us more closely. The working papers of the second volume provide a valuable source of information and inspiration for anyone concerned with the work of peace organisations throughout the world.

Gerry Hunnius  
General Secretary

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONTINUING COMMITTEE  
TO THE WORKING SESSIONS OF THE INAUGURAL CONFERENCE

I should like first of all to say how glad I am to give this report of the first year of working with the Continuing Committee. It has been a pleasant experience and I think we have all enjoyed getting to know one another better, especially the small administrative committee that has met every month, and recently a good deal more frequently, to consider the planning of this conference. We held two meetings of the Continuing Committee immediately after the Oxford Conference. The first thing we had to do was to decide our purposes and the limits of our responsibility and this we did as follows:

- 1) To carry out decisions of the Oxford Conference.
- 2) To set up a Confederation of non-aligned peace organisations.
- 3) To make preparations for the eventual work of the Confederation.
- 4) To prepare a further Conference early in 1964.

I should like at once to say how extremely well prepared were the basic papers at Oxford, especially that on Basic Aims. This still deserves study. It has been circulated very widely so that a great many people have had the opportunity of reading it. It will remain a useful and important background document.

Right from the beginning of our work, we were extraordinarily fortunate to have Ann Stadler's services as secretary. These she gave voluntarily, and without her valuable help it would have been impossible to have done so much, and to have done it at so little cost. In fact she stayed with the organisation giving several days a week and looking after the agendas and the follow-up and production of papers until the Oosterbeek meeting in August. This was the first meeting of the full committee since January.

Although we foresaw that there should be four meetings of the Continuing Committee, for reasons of cost it seemed better to cut these down, and the business did not really warrant it so long as we were keeping everyone informed by circulation of papers and minutes.

We have been aware of a major shortcoming in our work in that all these documents have been in English and it is absolutely imperative that we should produce a version in French at least. We have been taking some steps to have a French translation of the Bulletin, and as you see we have translation equipment here, which we were fortunately able to borrow at a fraction of the cost of purely commercial terms of hire. We shall have to see that in future all our documents are brought out in two languages, but it may be that we shall have to ask one of our French speaking groups to be responsible for the translation and duplication of the French version.

I should also add a word about membership of the Committee. It was not quite clear to us whether Dr. Kloppenburg had accepted membership of the Committee or not at Oxford. After a few weeks, he drew our attention to this, and we checked and found that he had been

elected, and he was then included. We were also not quite sure whether Canon Collins would be able to serve on the Committee and we were very glad that he was able to do so, though the time of our meetings and his own many commitments limited his attendance. He was however kept fully posted like everyone else. I should also report that quite early on Anthony Greenwood indicated his desire to resign, as he could not continue to fulfil his responsibility in addition to some new responsibilities in the political party to which he belongs. He very generously withheld his resignation as we thought it would be unfortunate if he were to resign at so early a period in the life of the committee. We invited Dr. Ernest Wolf to attend our meetings whenever possible, in view of the close association we were hoping for with the International Peace Bureau (IPB), and the co-operation over the Bulletin. Mrs. Sybil Oldfield also had to resign for family reasons. She was our first treasurer, then Tony Smythe, and eventually Peggy Duff became treasurer.

### Membership of the Confederation

It was early decided that membership of the Confederation should be limited to those organisations invited to Oxford. This was logical only because we were set up as a Committee by those organisations, and the matter of the basis of membership, and when we accept or refuse, will have to be decided at this Working Conference.

A suggestion was made that we might have some form of dual membership to allow organisations in sympathy but not strictly peace organisations, to register an affiliation.

One of the first jobs that we had to do was to decide upon our relations with other organisations, how these should be developed in a friendly way, to avoid overlapping and to allow for co-operation whenever suitable. Two international organisations were mostly involved. The first was the IPB, very similar to the Confederation and hoping to cover much of the same ground, as we had foreseen at Oxford. The second was the World Council for Peace (WCP), with whom as you know there was the difficulty that arose at Oxford, and it seemed necessary to try to restore friendly relations so as to make clear that the Confederation did not desire to be antagonistic to the WCP, though it felt that, with IPB, it had a service to perform for independent peace organisations.

The IPB seemed to be our first responsibility, and I had several conversations with Dr. Wolf, and corresponded with him, and later several members of the administrative committee also conferred with him. We had very good reasons to keep in close touch especially because of the responsibility IPB had undertaken with regard to the Bulletin. During the year IPB appointed Niels Mathiesen as its secretary. He took office in August, and IPB decided to continue to produce the Bulletin under their own sole name and to transfer the editorial office and the production to Geneva, from London where it had been produced by Hugh Brock as editor under the direction of a joint IPB/Confederation Committee. A lot of basic work had been done building lists of potential subscribers and sources of information with the available facilities and card indexes that were in Peace News offices. Emma Weighill was appointed to assist with the office work for the Bulletin for IPB, and she and Ann Stadler worked at adjacent desks so that the benefit of their co-operation was available to both IPB and the Confederation. With the transfer of the editorial responsibility after the third issue, Emma Weighill transferred to the service of the Confederation, for whom she has functioned as acting secretary. Rather naturally the Bulletin improved in the later editions, and I think you will agree that considering this was an initial effort

started in a limited time, that the results have been good, though we hope that IPB will continue to make improvements. Nevertheless the fact that the Bulletin is not now jointly produced faces us with a problem of keeping in touch with our own organisations and publicising our own existence and service to the peace movement, and we shall have to see whether we can add a sheet to the IPB Bulletin or whether we shall have to produce some broadsheet of our own. For reasons of cost and general economy and co-operation it would be better if we could find a satisfactory way of working together on this. Just before the meeting of the full committee at Oosterbeek in Holland we had a meeting with Dr. Wolf at Oxford and we thought at that meeting we had found the basis for uniting the two organisations within a reasonable period. However at Oosterbeek it appeared that the IPB organisations had not been fully briefed about this proposal and they decided not to contemplate a united organisation for some time until they had had time to see how we shaped. This put us in the position of having to go forward to form a separate organisation, and we could not then limit ourselves to co-ordinating actions and demonstrations of our member bodies. It became necessary to form this central organisation concerned with the unity and common ground of those peace organisations that do not support a government policy based on nuclear weapons. However, it was decided at Oosterbeek that the two organisations should each appoint three representatives who could discuss together, following this conference, the scale and opportunities for further co-operation. I should add that it would, of course, be of great benefit if we could arrange that the two full time secretaries, of the IPB and of the Confederation, could operate jointly, and that this would save some duplication of effort and waste of funds that will inevitably occur if they work independently. I hope that the fact that IPB boasts of a small capital sum and a resultant income was not thought to be the main reason for our desire for co-operation, useful as this would be.

As regards the WCP, I made a personal approach to Professor Bernal and received an invitation to attend the meeting of the WCP held at Warsaw, which I attended as an observer for three organisations. This confirmed me in my view that there is a real place for the Confederation dealing with the peace bodies over a wide range whose allegiance is not primarily to the WCP. At the same time I would not like it to be thought that this implies any criticism of the deep desire for peace that was evident in the meeting at Warsaw, and we can be thankful that within those organisations there represented, and especially those from that part of the world where such independent organisations as our own do not operate, there exists this strong urge for achieving a political peace.

This leads me directly to the consideration of what we mean by peace, and the philosophy that lies behind the various manifestations of peace witness represented in the Confederation. Some of you may have read a rather inadequate article I wrote on the term non-aligned, a term which gave offence to the WCP because they felt it threw a reflection on their own witness and desire for peace. In it I quoted from several better minds than my own, and related our witness to a common basis in the Declaration of Human Rights, itself associated with the United Nations. It seemed to me that we need to have some framework in which our witness is placed, whether it be the anti-nuclear, the religious or humanitarian pacifist, the non-violent direct action, or the rationalist approach. The call for unilateral action is perhaps best understood in a religious setting which requires an integrity of acting upon what is seen to be right without consideration of the consequences,

or of the immediate consequences. It is not surprising that one of the international organisations that at once supported the Confederation is the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a christian body, of which, A Quaker, the father of one of my best friends, was a founder. It is also not surprising that the CND in the United Kingdom arose out of a movement against nuclear testing that was started by a Quaker. You chose a Quaker to act as chairman of the continuing committee. So you will perhaps forgive me if I refer to the fact that the Quaker witness against all war has continued unbroken for more than 300 years, that it is based upon the conviction born of experience of many Friends of that something of God which exists in every man, a sensitive centre of man's being which can respond to the voice of God, which desires to act according to its own true nature, and to which appeal can be made. Some of you may not feel you share this experience, but you should understand that it is upon this foundation that this long witness against war has been maintained.

However, without this religious or philosophical conviction, there is a case to be made for unilateral action, and the Society produced by everyone waiting for everyone else to act before they can move would certainly be a static one. It is worth noting that recently both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. have acted unilaterally.

I should report that as Chairman of the Continuing Committee I sent a letter to the heads of mission of the U.S., the U.S.S.R., the U.K., and Burma, some weeks before the signing of the Nuclear Test Ban, pointing out that the way was clear for this, that it appeared that all the difficulties could be overcome, that only a lack of common will to sign a treaty now stood in the way, and that our work towards preventing the spread of nuclear weapons was hampered by the absence of a treaty. Only the U.K. sent a reply, which was not a satisfactory one but provided me the opportunity to have an informal talk with a suitable Member of Parliament.

I also sent a letter of sympathy and regret on the death of Gregory Lambrakis.

I have said little about finance. Clearly, we shall have difficulty in raising sufficient for the Confederation to do the minimum of the tasks we shall want to lay on it.

A number of papers have been submitted, and there will be many good suggestions for action. We shall have to set priorities, and the Confederation secretary and executive will have to concentrate on providing vital services to the organisations which they will value highly and not want to lose, and, without being too ambitious, will be important enough to make the Confederation respected and known.

The final work of the Continuing Committee has been to prepare the plans for this Conference. Dimitri Roussopoulos was released by his own organisation, with passage raised by Robert Gilmore of Turn Toward Peace, to act as secretary for the setting up of this Conference. He has also had the help of Emma Weighill, and Valerie Hunnius has helped for several weeks.

It was decided that the primary task of the Confederation is to co-ordinate - not to initiate - the work of the organisations to stir up and educate the public and to bring pressure through this on the Governments, or, to express this more happily, to provide the Governments with the support for appropriate action.

But we cannot seek peace in a vacuum. Peace implies many other things besides the absence of war, though this is a necessary first step. Absence of war requires institutions which prevent war breaking out, which make for peaceful solutions and therefore we are very much committed to the most hopeful world organisation which is the United Nations, and its evolution, to provide those necessary institutions for keeping the peace. This is one part of the positive policy we must support and offer alongside, or underpinning, our very essential negative to nuclear and other weapons. We need such a positive policy because we are apt to be written off for not being constructive enough.

I think we shall find that lusty condemnation alone will collect the people who are always ready to condemn, but who stay with us only for a season and who will help our cause the least even at popular levels.

I hope that one benefit of our organisation will be to help us in the use of modern methods of evaluation -- and feed back -- and research to determine the effect of our propaganda and the best methods of presenting our case.

Not the least important function of the Confederation will be to make us all aware of the widespread support in many countries and all over the world for the elimination of war, and to help the movement in different countries to spread this knowledge among the general public. By this means we shall create a sense of common humanity and prepare people for allegiance to a world order which must come and is coming. The last year has seen significant advances including the Nuclear Test Ban and the Hot Line and the negotiations on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space at the 18th U.N. General Assembly. The Papal Encyclical of Pope John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, has been and will continue to be a major influence in the movement for Peace in the world.

We may not now see the end of the road, and perhaps shall not for some time, but there seem to be signs of movement which give promise for our eventual success. With this hope we should be encouraged to plan boldly and try to increase the momentum in the two years before our next conference. This is, after all, a situation of opportunity such as the peace movement has never before faced. May we be strengthened to seize it as firmly and not let it pass us by.

Kenneth Lee

ED 718-27-64

REPORT OF THE PLENARY SESSIONS

REPORT OF PLENARY SESSION

1. The REPORT of the Chairman of the Continuing Committee was circulated, and introduced by Kenneth Lee.  
For Report see page 5.
2. The REPORT of the Credentials Committee was introduced by Peggy Duff. The list of organisations applying for affiliation was AGREED.
3. The recommendation of the Continuing Committee that organisations attending the Conference be entitled to the number of votes to which their status entitled them, irrespective of the number of delegates present, was moved by the Chairman and AGREED.

LIST OF AFFILIATED ORGANISATIONS,  
THEIR STATUS, AND THE VOTES TO  
WHICH THEY ARE ENTITLED

<u>ORGANISATION</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>NO. OF VOTES</u>
Accra Assembly	International	3
International Fellowship of Reconciliation	International	3
War Resisters International	International	3
<u>Australia</u>		
Victoria CND	Small	1
<u>Great Britain</u>		
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament	Large	2
Colleges and Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament	Youth	1
Committee of 100	Large	2
Campaign Caravan Workshops	Small	1
Friends Peace Committee	Small	1
Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament	Youth	1
<u>Canada</u>		
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament	Large	2
Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament	Youth	1
<u>Denmark</u>		
Komiteen for Oplysning om Atomfaren	Small	1
<u>France</u>		
Action Civique Nonviolent	Small	1
Mouvement contre L'Armement Atomique	Small	1

<u>ORGANISATION</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>NO. OF VOTES</u>
<u>Germany</u>		
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände	National Coalition	3
Kampagne für Abrüstung	Large	2
<u>India</u>		
Sarva Seva Sangh	Undecided	?
<u>Ireland</u>		
Irish Pacifist Movement	Small	1
<u>Italy</u>		
Comitato per il Disarmo Atomico	Small	1
Consulta della Pace	National Coalition	3
<u>Netherlands</u>		
Algemene Nederlandse Vredes Actie *	Small	1
Comite 1964 voor de Vrede	Small	1
Stichting Anti Atoombom Actie	Small	1
<u>New Zealand</u>		
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament	Small	1
<u>Norway</u>		
Folkereising mot Krig	Small	1
<u>Sweden</u>		
Kampanjen mot Atomvapen	Small	1
<u>U.S.A.</u>		
Fellowship of Reconciliation	Large	2
Student Peace Union	Youth	1
National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy	Large	2
War Resisters League	Small	1
<u>Yugoslavia</u>		
Peace and Disarmament Section of the League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples	Large	2

4.

#### ELECTIONS

The following Officers were elected for the Conference:

Chairman: Kenneth Lee  
Vice-Chairmen: Sean MacBride, Joze Smole, Bertil Svahnstrom  
Secretary: Gerry Hunnius

#### Standing Orders Committee

The following were elected:

Claude Bourdet  
 Andreas Buro  
 Guido Graziani  
 Alfred Hassler  
 Homer Jack  
 and the five officers of the Conference

Credentials Committee:

The following were elected:

Peggy Duff  
Tony Smythe

Finance Commission

The following were appointed:

Alfred Hassler (Chairman)  
Peggy Duff  
Guido Graziani  
Bengt Hoglund  
Gerry Hunnius  
Robin Jenkins  
Irmgard de Oudarza  
Gail Paradise  
Dimitri Roussopoulos

Constitution Commission

The following were appointed:

Sean MacBride (Chairman)  
Claude Bourdet  
Werner Böwing  
Andreas Buro  
Chris Cowley  
Michael Craft  
Philip Eastman  
Norman Frith  
Andrea Gaggero  
Nils Petter Gleditsch  
Homer Jack  
Daniel Elwyn Jones  
Mervyn Jones  
Arthur Pape  
Bayard Rustin  
Tony Smythe

\* Algemene Nederlandse Vredes Actie is not a member of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace and has been listed in error.

5. Agenda.  
The Agenda, as revised by the Continuing Committee, was adopted by the Conference.
6. Gregory Lambrakis.  
Homer Jack proposed that a message of sympathy be sent to the widow of Gregory Lambrakis, who attended the Oxford Conference and was killed in Greece in May. This was AGREED and Conference stood in silence in memory of him for one minute.

7. Activities and Projects.  
Anne Stadler's report was considered together with the memorandum from Kenneth Lee and Dimitri Roussopoulos and the paper from Gerry Hunnius.

For Gerry Hunnius' report, see Appendix A, page 46.  
For Anne Stadler's report, see Appendix B, page 50.  
For the report of Kenneth Lee and Dimitri Roussopoulos, see Appendix C, page 54.

8. A general discussion of activities and projects followed in which there was general agreement that the task of the Confederation was to give leadership and authority to the peace movements, but delegates were not agreed whether this should be done only by co-ordination of activities by existing national and international organisations or also by new activities initiated by the Confederation which affiliated organisations could support. A number of proposals put forward by Homer Jack, Sean MacBride, Claude Bourdet, Mervyn Jones, Andrea Gaggero and Philip Eastman were referred to the Sub-Commissions for further discussion.
9. Conference then divided into Sub-Commissions to discuss the various activities proposed:-

Projects:

Homer Jack (Liaison Officer)  
Romano Argnani  
Claude Bourdet  
Hugh Brock  
Andreas Buro  
Chris Cowley  
Michael Craft  
Peggy Duff  
Norman Frith  
Andrea Gaggero  
Robin Jenkins  
Sean MacBride  
Gail Paradise  
Tony Smythe  
Bertil Svahnstrom  
David Swaffer

Publications

Mervyn Jones (Liaison Officer)  
Werner Bowing  
Alfred Hassler  
Dimitrious Roussopoulos  
Bo Wirmark

Conferences:

Philip Eastman (Liaison Officer)  
 Canon L.J. Collins  
 Ennio Dirani  
 Nils Petter Gleditsch  
 Guido Graziani  
 Gerry Hunnius  
 Daniel Elwyn Jones  
 Kenneth Lee  
 Mrs. Irmgard de Ondarza  
 Arthur Pape  
 Dr. Ernest Wolf

Expansion of the I. C. D. P.

Bayard Rustin ( Liaison Officer)  
 Romano Argnani  
 Frank Boaten  
 Werner Bowling  
 Hugh Brock  
 Chris Cowley  
 Michael Craft  
 Peggy Duff  
 Guido Graziani  
 Dimitri Roussopoulos

Relations with Other Organisations

Bertil Svahnstrom (Liaison Officer)  
 Andreas Buro  
 Ennio Dirani  
 Philip Eastman  
 Andrea Gaggero  
 Daniel Elwyn Jones  
 Mervyn Jones  
 Kenneth Lee  
 Mrs. Irmgard de Ondarza  
 Arthur Pape  
 Tony Smythe

Peace Research

Gerry Hunnius (Liaison Officer)  
 Claude Bourdet  
 Norman Frith  
 Nils Petter Gleditsch  
 Bengt Hoglund  
 Robin Jenkins  
 Gail Paradise  
 Bo Wirmark

10. Nominating Committee

A Nominating Committee was proposed by the Standing Orders Committee to bring forward nominations for the Officers and Council of the Confederation.

Nominating Committee:

Andreas Buro (Chairman)  
 Philip Eastman  
 Andrea Gaggero  
 Dimitrios Roussopoulos  
 Bayard Rustin

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Peggy Duff presented the financial statement, which was accepted.  
(for Financial Statement see Appendix D, page 56.)

## REPORT OF FINANCE COMMISSION

Alfred Hassler, Chairman of the Commission, presented a verbal report. He began by making clear that the success or failure of the Confederation would depend on member organisations recognising their responsibility for finance.

Budget. The Budget drawn up before Oosterbeek (for £10,000) envisaged co-operation from IPB. This was revised when it became clear that an amalgamation would not take place. This budget had now been further revised by the Finance Commission. The revised Budget was presented:

<u>BUDGET</u>		£
<u>Salaries</u>		
General Secretary		1,000-1,200
Administrative Secretary		1,000-1,200
Office Secretary		600
<u>Office</u>		
Office supplies and expenses		500
Rent		300
Equipment		130
<u>Travel</u>		
General Secretary's fares and expenses		350
Executive Committee		150
<u>Projects</u>		
Conference Expenses		500
Printing of Bulletin		300
Contingencies		100
		-----
	£	4,930-5,330
		-----

Salaries. The range of salary for General and Administrative Secretaries would allow for adjustment according to the family commitments, etc. of persons employed.

INCOME

On the present scales of contributions, an income of £2,120 was projected from member organisations. Experience so far indicated that the Confederation could not depend on collecting more than 60 - 70% of this total. This left £3,800 to be found from other sources. There were three technical possibilities:

1. to get more member organisations;  
(this would take time and the immediate gap in the budget must be covered).
2. to increase the level of subscriptions.
3. to discover additional new sources of income.

Four proposals were put forward by the Finance Commission.

It was pointed out that an immediate response from the Conference would be necessary if the Confederation was to proceed with its plans.

- a) Each organisation or group of organisations should be asked to engage in at least one project during the year of a fund-raising nature, the proceeds of which would go to the Confederation. Suggested projects were: an appeal, a large meeting or an exhibition.
- b) each officer and member of the council should make himself personally responsible for raising a proportionate share of the deficit during the year. (Approximately £250 per member).
- c) each regional group should take responsibility for a specific item in the budget - such as one staff member, or a smaller item.
- d) the Confederation should appoint a Finance Committee with one member in each region having direct responsibility for continuing contacts with the central office as financial representative of the Confederation in this particular area. His task would be to encourage groups to undertake projects mentioned in (a) or to arrange meetings with potential donors.

In the discussion which followed the following points were raised:

1. that the General Secretary should devote time to money-raising and keep in close touch with representatives in each country or region responsible for finance;
2. that it would be unrealistic to raise the subscription fees as at present only 60 - 70% was being paid in, and as this would deter small organisations from affiliating to the Confederation.
3. that the Confederation should consider selling badges, posters, envelope stickers and other suitable material to member organisations.
4. that some organisations had difficulty in exporting currency but could contribute in other ways, such as helping to finance or providing facilities for conferences.
5. that delegates could not commit their organisations without consultation.

After discussion, it was agreed to accept the four proposals of the Finance Commission for consideration by the Confederation and its Member Organisations.

In addition it was agreed

to ask affiliated organisations during the first two years of the Confederation to do their utmost to pay double the subscription, but not formally to increase the present rates;

to ask individuals and organisations to give pledges to raise specific sums for the Confederation.

A number of pledges were handed in.

Winding up the debate, the Chairman expressed the hope that members would recognise their responsibility to raise money for the Confederation and to send double their subscription during the first two years.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE CONSTITUTION

Sean MacBride presented the report together with the draft Constitution. He put forward a number of amendments and additions which were accepted. The Constitution was then unanimously accepted together with these. (For text of Constitution see Appendix E, page 60.)

The Conference also agreed to recommendations to the Council concerning matters not included in the Constitution:

These were:

1. When an organisation applies for membership to the Confederation all member organisations from the applicant's country should be consulted about the application.
2. Each member of the Council should enjoy the confidence of the member organisation to which he belongs; should the situation arise that a member of Council does not enjoy that confidence, then Council should consider asking him to resign from Council.

Two further enabling resolutions were agreed and signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Conference.

These were:

1. That this first Conference of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace held at Tyringe, Sweden, on January 9 - 11, 1964, hereby adopts and enacts for and as the Constitution of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace the appended document which was considered and adopted article by article on January 10 and 11, 1964.

Dated this 11th day of January 1964

Chairman of the Conference  
(Signed) Kenneth A. Lee

Secretary of the Conference  
(Signed) F. C. Hunnius

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Andreas Buro presented the following recommendations:

President: Kenneth Lee

Vice-Presidents:

Siddharaj Dhadda  
Alfred Hassler  
Heinz Kloppenberg  
Joze Smole

Other Council Members:

Frank Boaten  
Andreas Buro  
Claude Bourdet  
John Collins  
Peggy Duff  
Philip Eastman  
Andrea Gaggero  
Guido Graziani  
Homer Jack  
Daniel Elwyn Jones  
Sean MacBride  
Dimitrios Roussopoulos  
Bayard Rustin  
Tony Smythe  
Bertil Svahnström

Recommendations of the Nominating Committee to the Council:

to elect Peggy Duff as Treasurer

to appoint Gerry Hunnius as General Secretary

to co-opt suitable members from Greece and Norway who could not be proposed by the committee owing to lack of information.

Dr. Buro stressed that in making the recommendations for Vice - Presidents the Committee had tried to give a balanced representation of geographical areas and of tendencies. They hoped that if organisations affiliated, during the next two years, from areas where at present no member organisations existed, the Council would have the power to co-opt to restore the balance of representation.

Canon Collins regretted that, owing to pressure of his many commitments he could not serve on the Council. The Conference greatly regretted his decision and invited him to become the Confederation's first Honorary Sponsor. This Canon Collins accepted.

It was proposed and agreed that Claude Bourdet be made a Vice-President, in addition to the four names recommended.

It was also proposed and agreed that Nils Petter Gleditsch and Michael Craft be elected to the Council in place of Claude Bourdet (elected a Vice-President) and Canon Collins who had declined.

The Conference then agreed the nominations, as below:

<u>President</u>	Kenneth Lee
<u>Vice-Presidents:</u>	Claude Bourdet Siddharaj Dhadda Alfred Hassler Heinz Kloppenburg Joze Smole
<u>Council:</u>	Frank Beaten Andreas Buro Michael Craft Peggy Duff Philip Eastman Andrea Gaggero Nils Petter Gleditsch Guido Graziani Homer Jack Daniel Elwyn Jones Sean MacBride Dimitrios Roussopoulos Bayard Rustin Tony Smythe Bertil Svahnström

#### ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS

The ensuing discussion soon developed into a thorough analysis of the meaning of non-alignment as well as of the implications of accepting the application of the British Peace Committee. A number of the main arguments are summarized below.

1. It was argued that this was not an issue of refusing admission, to an organisation because it was considered to be a communist organisation.
2. It was felt by many delegates that while technically fulfilling the requirements for admission, the British Peace Committee was not truly non-aligned as interpreted by most ICDP members.
3. It should be asked if admitting the applicant would strengthen or weaken the work of the ICDP. The view was expressed that it would in fact weaken the ICDP.
4. It was suggested that admission of the British Peace Committee would be the first step towards an organisational merger of ICDP and the World Council of Peace. This was felt to be undesirable at this time.
5. The successful Italian experience of a national coalition including the Italian Peace Committee was cited as a reason for admission of the British Peace Committee. Many delegates however felt that the Italian experience was not applicable in many other countries, including Britain.
6. It was made clear that co-operation on specific projects with individual Peace Committees and the World Council of Peace was not the subject of the present debate. Such co-operation was agreed upon as far back as Oxford and confirmed again in Tynninge, both as a principle as well as in specific instances.

- 7. It was stressed that we should honestly admit our differences and strive to work together on that basis. We should collaborate whenever possible on specific projects while maintaining our organisational independence.

No vote was taken on the application of the British Peace Committee, but a procedural vote resulted in the matter being tabled until the next conference. (Vote: FCR - 24; AGAINST - 4).

CLOSING SESSION

KENNETH LEE said that he was honoured that the Conference had chosen him as President of the Confederation. At the same time he had to say that the Confederation were placing a large burden on his shoulders and he was not at all sure that he could carry it out. He could only say that he would do his best. As a paid servant of an organisation, he did not yet have authority to accept the office, but would accept provisionally hoping that his organisation would release him. If it should come to the point where he felt he could not go on, he would have to put this to the Council for them to make a decision.

He added that he was very pleased that the Conference had added to the list of vice-presidents. He felt that these were representatives of the Confederation in different parts of the world who would bring strength and wisdom to the organisation. He was only sorry that Canon Collins could not be among them, but his consolation was that Canon Collins lived in London, as he himself did, so that he would be able to keep in contact with Canon Collins and thus bring into the Confederation his counsel and support through association.

He hoped that the Confederation would create such a spirit within itself that the spirit spread beyond its borders. He said that we were all servants of one idea and, he would say, servants of one God, even the non-Christians among us, and in this sense we should keep together and create the thing we want to create. (Applause).

SEAN MACBRIDE paid tribute to the work done by Kenneth Lee since the Oxford Conference for the formation of the Confederation. He also said that the Conference owed a tremendous debt of gratitude to Kenneth Lee for conducting it through its business peacefully and with courtesy. (Applause).

PEGGY DUFF proposed that the Confederation pass a resolution to the Friends Peace Committee thanking them for permitting Kenneth Lee to give so much service to the Confederation and asking them to allow this service to continue.

It was proposed that a message of thanks should also be sent to Anne Stadler for her services during the first months of the Confederation. It was reported that Anne Stadler had sent a cable wishing good luck to the Conference.

The Chairman then declared the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace fully established. (Applause).

ED 718-27-71

REPORT OF SUB-COMMISSIONS

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

REPORT OF SUB-COMMISSION  
ON CONFERENCES

Members:

- Philip Eastman (Chairman and Liaison Officer)
- Canon L. J. Collins
- Ennio Dirani
- Nils Petter Gleditsch
- Guido Graziani
- Gerry Hunnius
- Daniel Elwyn Jones
- Kenneth Lee
- Mrs. Irmgard de Ondarza
- Arthur Pape
- Dr. Ernest Wolf

I. Members of the Commission shared their experiences of thirty conferences. Nine different types were discussed:

1. World Conferences to be arranged by ICDP
2. Regional Conferences
3. Conferences of persons from a common occupation: e.g. teachers, scientists.
4. Conferences organised jointly by two or more organisations.
5. Conferences on specific problems of a political character.
6. Conferences of members of ICDP with other organisations, e.g. United Nations Association.
7. Small study conferences
8. Work Camp and Holiday conferences.
9. Large public or prestige conferences.

II. Discussion of proposals by Dr. Robert Jungk on "The Peace Movements and the Future" included dissenting views. But it was agreed to recommend to the ICDP Working Conference that:

1. to mark U.N. International Co-operation Year 1965, the ICDP Council should appoint a small committee empowered to explore with Dr. Robert Jungk the possibility of -
  - i. A STUDY CONFERENCE of experts on the theme "A World at Peace": and that this be arranged with suitable time for preparation, early in 1965.
  - ii. Subject to securing the necessary funds, a WORLD CONFERENCE on the same general theme should also be arranged at a later date, if possible in the latter half of 1965.
  - iii. Sympathetic consideration should be given to arranging an EXHIBITION on the same general theme in London or elsewhere during September 1965.

The Committee appointed should:

- a) approach the American Friends Service Council concerning the use of the Conference Centre and staff in Clarens, Switzerland, for the Study Conference;

- b) seriously consider inviting the participation of the World Peace Council and the national bodies affiliated to it, in relation to these three projects;
- c) note that to make the World Conference and the Exhibition possible, approaches should be made to UNESCO, Trusts, Foundations, and individuals to raise the necessary funds.
2. The Council should draw the attention of member organisations to the proposals made by the Consulta della Pace for a Regional Conference in the Mediterranean area. (see Memorandum from the Consulta della Pace, Appendix F, page 69)
3. The Council should consider favourably the suggestion of the Consulta della Pace that the Executive should meet in Florence, Italy at an early date.
4. Because of the isolation of China, member organisations should take every opportunity to establish relations with appropriate organisations in the Chinese People's Republic. Recognising the urgency of the world situation, ICDP notes with satisfaction that some member organisations are already doing so, and asks the Secretariat to help as far as possible.
5. Member organisations which experience similar problems in their work (e.g. fund-raising, membership, publicity) should ask the ICDP General Secretary -
- i. to collect information with a view to research and advice concerning these problems;
  - ii. to promote regional or world co-operation by member organisations for their solution;
  - iii. to encourage the preparation of suitable materials (e.g. handbooks);

It is further suggested that the ICDP North American Committee might offer similar services to member organisations and that this kind of mutual service can soon be given in other regions.

cf. Report on Projects (Information and Education) p. 39.

6. Member organisations should provide the Secretariat with information concerning any conferences planned by them, especially those in regions other than Europe and North America, and should engage in regional consultations.
7. The ICDP should recognise the usefulness of small conferences concerned with peace between organisations in East, West and non-aligned countries, as stressed by the recommendation of the Sub-commission on "The Reduction of East/West Tensions" at the Oxford Conference. In such Conferences the organisations of the ICDP should participate on a co-operative basis and the ICDP Executive should give assistance to such co-operation.

Similarly the ICDP Council should consider facilitating the organised co-operation of its members in large conferences where it is possible to open up a free exchange of ideas and where provision is made for recording minority or dissenting points of view.

In this connection, the ICDP Council should note the International Youth and Student Conference for Disarmament and Peace and National Independence from February 26 to March 1, 1964, in Florence, Italy.

**CONCLUSION.**

The Report of the Sub-Commission on Conferences was accepted, as amended in the Plenary Session.

Keith Robins  
Recorder

REPORT OF SUB-COMMISSION ON  
RELATIONS WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

---

Members:

Bertil Svahnstrom (Chairman and Liaison Officer)  
 Andreas Buro  
 Ennio Dirani  
 Philip Eastman  
 Andrea Caggero  
 Daniel Elwyn Jones  
 Mervyn Jones  
 Kenneth Lee  
 Mrs. Irmgard de Cndarza  
 Arthur Pape  
 Tony Smythe

1. RELATIONS WITH WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE AND ITS MEMBER ORGANISATIONS

The Conference Chairman (Kenneth Lee) reported on discussions since the Oxford Conference with officers of the WCP in the U.K. and his visit as a non-voting observer to the WCP meeting in Warsaw. He had suggested development on parallel lines rather than an organisational relationship. The WCP had accepted his invitation to the ICDP Inaugural Congress, 12-13 January, 1964 at Tyringe.

The Sub-Commission noted with satisfaction the resumption of contact between the ICDP and the WCP, and recommended that this contact be extended along the following lines:

- a) that ICDP should continue the policy adopted at Oxford of entering into joint projects and functional cooperation with the WCP, on such matters as the Council and Executive may decide;
  - b) that consideration be given to holding two small conferences, one in Europe and the other in America under the auspices of American member organisations of ICDP, to which representatives of the WCP among other organisations, should be invited with the aim of establishing greater mutual understanding;
  - c) that an ICDP group be appointed for conversations with WCP delegates at the Inaugural Congress, Tyringe, and to report back;
  - d) that discussions be initiated with the WCP concerning joint action in relation to Easter Marches and other specific projects.
- cf. Report of the Sub-Commission on Projects (Easter Marches), page 40.  
 Report on the discussion with the WCP delegates, Appendix I, page 75.

## II. RELATIONS WITH OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

AGREED to ask the Council:

- a) to appoint a group to discuss relations with the International Peace Bureau representatives and to report back; (cf. Appendix C, page 71).
- b) to make appropriate contacts with the Vatican, the World Council of Churches, World Federation of United Nations Associations, World Federalists and Pugwash Conference, in the first instance, and later a larger number of organisations including those engaged in work for peace through constructive programmes, as well as Federations of Trade Unions;
- c) to encourage member organisations to make similar approaches at all levels.

## III. RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONAL PEACE ORGANISATIONS

AGREED that the Council should invite all national peace organisations which meet the requirements of membership of ICDP, after consultation with national member organisations, to apply for membership, and that member organisations should encourage others to join.

## IV. U.N. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION YEAR

1965 would provide opportunities for international non-governmental organisations not only to co-operate but also to work for "A World at Peace" together with ICDP member organisations. Recommended that the ICDP Council should take suitable initiatives in this connection, involving direct contacts on a people-to-people level.

cf. Report of Sub-commission on Conferences, p. 23

### CONCLUSION

The Report of the Sub-commission on Relations with other Organisations as amended by the Plenary Session was accepted.

Paragraphs 1(d) and 2(a) were referred to the Council for immediate action.

David Boulton  
Recorder

REPORT OF SUB-COMMISSION  
ON PEACE RESEARCH

Members:

- Norman Frith (Chairman)
- Gerry Hunnius (Liaison Officer)
- Claude Bourdet
- Nils Petter Gleditsch
- Bengt Höglund
- Robin Jenkins
- Gail Paradise
- Bo Wirmark

The Sub-commission would like to put forward the following:

- I. Whilst we recognise the essential usefulness of Independent National Peace Research Organisations, we recommend that the ICDP should support the proposal for a Peace Research Agency to be set up through the Secretary General's office of the United Nations.  
  
cf. Report on Projects (Information and Education), page 39.
- II. Noting the time delay and financial difficulties involved in dissemination of Peace Research material, particularly the important body of literature coming from North America, we recommend that the Confederation set up a mechanism whereby this situation can be remedied.
- III. We encourage the Council to explore the possibilities of collecting and abstracting peace research results relevant to ICDP. It is envisaged that national organisations could provide a service to ICDP in this way.

With specific reference to abstracting relevant material, the Sub-commission suggests that liaison should be established with the Secretary General of "Conferences on Research on International Peace and Security", as well as with national Peace Research institutes.

cf. Report on Projects (Information and Education) page 39.

- IV. We suggest that member organisations of the ICDP subscribe to:
  - i) The quarterly "International Peace Research Newsletter". (Room 116, 1100 E. Washington Street, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A. Annual Subscription: \$1.00)
  - ii) The special issue of "Our General against Nuclear War" on the "Search and Research for Peace". (3510 rue St. Famille, Montreal 18, P.Q., Canada. Annual subscription: \$3.00).
- V. We suggest that liaison between the ICDP and Peace Research organisations might possibly be best carried out informally by individuals rather than by any formalised liaison group.

CONCLUSION. The Report of the Sub-commission on Peace Research was accepted.

Keith Robins  
Recorder

REPORT OF SUB-COMMISSION  
ON EXPANSION OF THE ICDP

Members:

- Frank Boaten (Chairman)
- Bayard Rustin (Liaison Officer)
- Romano Argenti
- Werner Böwing
- Hugh Brock
- Chris Cowley
- Michael Craft
- Peggy Duff
- Guido Graziani
- Dimitrios Roussopoulos

The Committee considered that the main task in the area of expansion at least during the first year, is to spread information about the Confederation. It was considered that this could be done in two ways:

I. a) CIRCULATION OF INFORMATION ON THE CONFEDERATION

it was suggested that the General Secretary should be asked to put together appropriate documents of the Conference, prefaced by a summary of reports, indicating the nature of the Confederation and send these to all peace organisations and to such persons as are likely to facilitate the expansion of the Confederation.

In order to obtain a full list of such organisations, it was suggested that the General Secretary should consult published lists of peace organisations such as Housmans Peace Diary and the Disarmament and Peace Directory published in Ohio. In addition to this, member organisations should be requested to send to the General Secretary lists of peace organisations in their own countries.

b) CIRCULATION OF PUBLICATIONS BY THE CONFEDERATION

The Commission suggested that future publications of the Confederation should have as wide a circulation as possible among peace organisations. It was also considered useful to keep other organisations, not specifically peace organisations, such as Trade Unions, Women's groups, political parties, students' unions and organisations, informed about the activities of the Confederation.

In order to cut down the volume of work involved in the Secretariat of the Confederation, the Commission suggested that member organisations of the Confederation should undertake to duplicate and circulate publications put out by the Confederation to their own mailing list.

It was realised that this would mean a certain amount of duplication in countries where there were a number of member organisations. In order to minimise such duplication, it was suggested that national liaison committees of the Confederation should be set up to undertake the circulation.

cf. Report on Projects (Information and Education), page 39.

## II. SPECIFIC PROJECTS

Sub-Commission suggested that volunteer groups of the Confederation should undertake tours in various regions outside Europe and North America. Such tours should be preceded by thorough preparation. The main problem connected with this project is finance.

To finance projects it was suggested that:

- a) Money should be raised for the tour as a specific project,
- b) Member organisations should be requested to sponsor volunteers from their organisations.

III. The gradual accumulation of materials, advice and practical help to be made available to groups and individuals seeking to establish organised peace work in areas where it does not now exist, was recommended to the Council as an urgent task.

## CONCLUSION

The report of the Sub-commission on Expansion was accepted on the understanding that the principle documents to project the Confederation should be the pamphlet proposed in the report of the Sub-commission on Publications and the reports of the Documents of the Conference to be circulated by the General Secretary, and put on sale.

cf. Report on Publications, page 33.

Pierre Schori,  
Recorder

REPORT OF SUB-COMMISSION  
ON PUBLICATIONS

Members:

- Alfred Hassler (Chairman)
- Mervyn Jones (Liaison Officer)
- Werner Böwing
- Dimitrios Roussopoulos
- Bo Wirmark

I. PEACE INFORMATION BULLETIN

The Chairman outlined the existing situation: at the Oxford Conference the publication of an information bulletin as a service to peace organisations was felt to be one of the most important tasks for the Confederation. Three issues of a bulletin along the lines discussed at the Oxford Conference had appeared in 1963, financed by the International Peace Bureau and edited and compiled by Hugh Brock of Peace News with the assistance of staff and facilities of the ICDP office. IPB will continue to publish a bulletin from their Geneva office under the name "Peace Information Bulletin" but with some changes in format and content.\*(p.35)

The Commission agreed that it was extremely important for the Confederation to publish a bulletin under its own name and editorship, or if possible, in common with the International Peace Bureau.

1. Name and Format

- a) the Bulletin should as far as possible resemble the three issues already produced.
- b) it might be necessary to change the name to avoid confusion with the IPB Bulletin, but the title chosen should be understood in other languages without translation.
- c) because of the high cost of production of the first three issues, (approximately £110 for the printing of each), it was agreed that a cheaper method of printing should be sought and that the Bulletin would contain fewer pages, but members of the commission were for the most part not in favour of a mimeographed bulletin.

2. Frequency

There was not full agreement on whether it was most desirable to product the Bulletin at two/three monthly intervals or more frequently. However, it was realised that the frequency of publication would depend on resources and staff time available.

3. Editorship

The Bulletin should be compiled and prepared by the Confederation office personnel but assistance should be sought from Peace News editorial staff and possibly others in London. It was felt that if monthly or more frequent publication were envisaged, a full-time editor would be needed.

#### 4. Content

The subject matter of the Bulletin should be in accordance with that agreed by Commission IV of the Oxford Conference (see report of Commission and Editor's note in Bulletin No.1, page 14). There should be wider coverage of cultural aspects in which the peace concern is manifested (art, music, literature).

#### 5. Languages

Every effort should be made to produce the Bulletin in two or if possible three languages (English/French/German). In order to do this, co-operation would be needed from French/German speaking member-organisations for translation and possibly for assistance with production costs.

## II. DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE ON THE CONFEDERATION

The Commission were agreed on the need for a publication describing the Confederation. For practical reasons, it was proposed that this be done in the following way:

1. that the first available issue of the Bulletin take the form of a comprehensive pamphlet containing:
  - a) the history of the Confederation, including photographs of the the Oxford and Tyringe Conferences;
  - b) the Statement of Aims and Principles (and possibly the Constitution) of the Confederation;
  - c) the Confederation's programme for the next two years;
  - d) the officers of the Confederation;
  - e) member organisations, regional offices, etc.
2. that a section of this pamphlet be designed to be reproduced as a descriptive leaflet for free distribution to individual supporters of member organisations, newspaper reporters and other interested people. Reproduction proofs could be supplied to member organisations who wished to produce large quantities of the leaflet for distribution among their supporters.

c.f. Report on Expansion, p. 31.

## III. PUBLIC RELATIONS

The Commission considered how the Confederation could be projected:

- a. to peace oriented publications, and
  - b. to the press in general
1. Dimitrios Roussopoulos reported that, as part of his preparatory work for the Conference, he had sent a circular to editors of all peace oriented publications, offering them all or any of the following services:
    - a) documents of the Conference;
    - b) a feature article on the Confederation;

c) regular reports from the Confederation.

There had already been considerable response to this circular.

The Commission agreed that these services should be put into operation.

- 2. A press list was being compiled in the London office, which included daily and weekly newspapers, news agencies, radio and television. It was agreed that member organisations should assist in making this list more comprehensive and that the Confederation should issue press releases on matters relating to itself as the occasion arose and the facilities were available.

c.f. Report on Projects (Information and Education) p. 39.

IV. PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON PEACE PERIODICALS

The Commission were asked to comment on a proposal from Folkereising mot Krig, Norway, for an International Seminar on Peace Periodicals. This proposal was to be submitted to the IPB Executive Meeting on January 14th with a view to seeking their sponsorship of the Seminar to be held following their annual conference in Oslo in August 1964. It was suggested that IPB might ask ICDP to co-operate with them on this project.

Members of the Commission expressed interest in the proposal and there was a general feeling that such a seminar would be valuable. The question of whether ICDP could assist in arranging the seminar, and of what form this assistance should take, would be discussed by the Council or the Executive Committee if and when their co-operation was formally sought. The Commission recommended, however, that if asked to do so, the ICDP should give publicity and other assistance as far as resources and staff time allowed. (Report of Seminar, Appendix H, page 73.)

- V. The Commission recommends that the ICDP should, when publishing a list of periodicals in the Bulletin, urge all editors receiving the Bulletin to send copies of their own publication to all others listed, requesting an exchange.

CONCLUSION

The Report of the Sub-commission on Publications as amended in the Plenary Session was accepted.

Emma Weighill,  
Recorder.

\*PLEASE NOTE: IPB has taken a subsequent decision not to publish a Peace Information Bulletin any longer.

## REPORT OF SUB-COMMISSION ON PROJECTS

### I. INTRODUCTION

ED 718-27-79

In a preliminary general discussion two points emerged:-

- (a) The fundamental importance of co-ordinating the programme of constituent organisations.

It was accepted that in its initial period such co-ordination would occupy a great deal of the International Council's time. The ICDP would then be in a far better position to ensure an effective and planned international programme.

- (b) The autonomy of Constituent Organisations.

The diversity of the non-aligned peace movement was borne in mind and it was felt to be essential to preserve their freedom to act in particular national situations.

There was however, a strong feeling that the Council and Executive should provide compelling leadership in issuing programmes of activity information and material for circulation to member organisations, for their study and consumption. These organisations would, it was hoped, discuss and digest the material and act upon it in ways best suited to their own needs and conditions.

In suggesting such programmes, the Confederation should therefore maintain maximum flexibility, bearing in mind:-

- (a) The underlying policy of ICDP as agreed at Oxford, and  
(b) The wider and differing political and philosophical contexts in which many organisations might place a particular programme or proposal.

On the other hand there was a definite obligation on the part of the member organisations to consider all material supplied by the ICDP and to keep the Confederation informed of their view and programmes.

In addition it was recognised that in certain circumstances - as in a crisis situation similar to Cuba - the Executive must have the right to issue statements and programmes of action. The circumstances in which this might occur would either have to be strictly defined, or the question would be left to the discretion of the International Executive. But without this right, the ICDP would have little authority or stature.

### II. ACTION PROJECTS

After considerable discussion in which there was general agreement on the need for a co-ordinated programme of immediate action (i. e. opposition to the MULTILATERAL FORCE or opposition to the PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS), a sub-committee was appointed to draw up a programme, bearing in mind the paper submitted by April Carter and a seven point proposal submitted by Homer Jack. This committee consisted of Homer Jack, Hugh Brock, Gail Paradise, Andrea Gaggero, Bertil Svahnstrom. The report was subsequently amended by Claude Bourdet, Andreas Buro and Homer Jack. The Report follows.

SUB-COMMITTEE REPORT ON NEXT STEPS TOWARD DISARMAMENT  
AND PEACE, (as amended in Plenary Session).

Disarmament today is the major objective of mankind and the collaboration of those in favour of peace is a necessary condition for its achievement. The signing of the partial test-ban treaty calls for determined action to provide further steps to end the cold war and eliminate the military alliances and blocs. For this purpose the Conference of the International Confederation instructs the Council to explore with the constituent members of the Confederation the following important steps and to encourage and co-ordinate energetic action on the part of all of them, according to world, regional, or organisational needs and conditions,

To achieve general and complete disarmament, the arms race must be blocked by preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and encouraging disengagement in a world where mutual confidence is growing. Next steps should include measures:

1. to prevent the creation of a multilateral or multi-national force and to encourage the adoption of a UN Treaty preventing the spread of nuclear weapons;
2. to achieve a peaceful solution in Central Europe - beginning from the present situation in Berlin and Germany (recognised as a de facto starting point), including the continued absence of any German nuclear arms, and working towards a nuclear-free and gradually demilitarised zone in as large an area of Central Europe as possible;
3. to create other atom-free zones, initially in Africa, Latin America, and Scandinavia, and subsequently in South East Asia and elsewhere;
4. to encourage the renunciation of an independent deterrent by France and Britain;
5. to bring France and China into the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference, to encourage France and China to adhere to the test-ban treaty, and to include China in the community of nations by supporting the admission of this country to the UN;
6. to promote the progressive disengagement of individual states from their military blocs and alliances.

Each of the above steps would be implemented by research, educational material (such as background papers, popular pamphlets, manifestos, and posters), deputations (to national legislatures, the UN, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference), and such appropriate kinds of action as Easter and other marches, demonstrations, and protests. Much of this programme would be initiated by constituent organisations as a contribution to the Confederation but would not necessarily be executed in the name of the Confederation.

### III. DISARMAMENT

A three point plan put forward by Sean MacBride was accepted by the Plenary Session of the Conference:

One of the primary tasks of the incoming Council should be:

1. To analyse and keep under constant review the problems which stop or delay progress towards the conclusion of a treaty for general and complete disarmament;

- 2. To formulate and present to the governments chiefly concerned proposals designed to expedite the conclusion of a treaty for general and complete disarmament;
- 3. To request the constituent members of the Confederation to bring their influence to bear on their national governments to support particular proposals decided upon and to inform and enlist public opinion in support of such proposals.

IV. EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

Tony Smythe, Peggy Duff and Claude Bourdet were deputed to deal with this fundamental task of the ICDP, with particular reference to the papers submitted by Anne Stadler and Gerry Hunnius.

INFORMATION

The Confederation should aim to supply member organisations, either in a Bulletin or in other ways, with regular information of concern and value to peace and disarmament movements.

This information should include:

- 1. A regular bibliography covering not only books, other publications and documents, but also films, photographs and other material for exhibitions.

A list of available material in different fields should be provided in the first instance and this should be kept up to date.

A monthly digest, containing abstracts of recent material, was proposed as a follow-up to this.

(cf. Report of Sub-Commission on Publications, page 33.)

- 2. The Confederation should also supply and keep up to date an International Agenda, listing future conferences and activities, their scope and terms of reference. This should be followed by brief reports of important conferences and projects. (cf. Report of Sub-Commission on Conferences, p. 23)

- 3. The Confederation should aim to establish, a peace news agency to provide on the spot accurate news and reports of events concerning the peace organisations and disarmament. The sub-commission accepts that this must be a more long-term aim, but, in the meantime, information could be collected from national organisations on matters of immediate concern to the peace movements. Affiliated organisations ought also to be able to ask the Confederation Office to obtain or provide reports of this sort.

(cf. report of Sub-Commission on Publications, p. 33)

- 4. The Confederation should endeavour to promote the establishment of an independent Disarmament Research Institute. (cf. Report on Peace Research, p. 29)

- 5. The Confederation should endeavour to promote and circulate ways and means of making the maximum use of radio and television.

- 6. The Confederation should co-ordinate the publication of books and pamphlets filling in gaps where necessary. It was suggested that in some cases, such publications might be issued under a double heading of the Confederation and a national organisation (or of the Confederation and a group of national organisations).

The sub-committee agreed that there are three different areas in which information is required:

- a) Anti-war Information, including facts about the effects of nuclear war, civil defence, human rights and liberties, costs and national budgets, the use of capital and skill for arms and its effect on scientific and technical progress, the foreign policies of governments, and the status of conscientious objectors.
- b) Creative plans for the future (positive alternatives) including facts about a world without war, projects for international co-operation.
- c) Progress towards Disarmament. Including exhaustive studies of steps towards disarmament, such as nuclear free zones and disengagement, and long-term projects and problems such as the establishment of an international force and of a UN or World Government.

Some of this information has already been collected by individual organisations and only needs to be brought together and circulated. Others require new study and examination in depth.

## EDUCATION

1. The Confederation should encourage an international approach and interest in international work in its member organisations. This would include circulation of information about international work concerned with peace, disarmament and assistance to underdeveloped countries or distressed areas, and encouragement to individuals within the organisation to take part in such work. Both organisations and individual members of organisations should be involved in the international approach to disarmament and peace.
2. The Confederation should encourage the training & exchange of personnel. It should supply member organisations with information and advice based on work and schemes already projected by member organisations, such as the Turn Toward Peace document on Peace Internes. It should aim to provide manuals on the training of staff and peace workers, on the organisation of the peace movements, on the value and success of different projects and methods. It should also organise small working conferences on organisational theory, such as methods of finance, training of staff, etc.

(cf. Report of Sub-Commission on Conferences, p. 23)

It was recognised that a small secretariat would not on its own be able to undertake all this work during the early stages of the Confederation. The task of the Confederation should be to allocate tasks either to individuals or to organisations, to promote and encourage work along these lines, and to circulate the results.

## V. EASTER MARCHES

The papers submitted by Peggy Duff and Dr. Buro were accepted. Special attention was paid to Dr. Buro's proposal for the establishment of a World Peace Day.

Easter for Peace

1. The Confederation should write to all Governments where Easter Marches and demonstrations are planned, calling for recognition that Easter has become the time when organisations all over the world demonstrate for Peace.

The Governments should be asked to provide proper facilities for peaceful, non-violent demonstrations and to cease attempts either to ban them, or to restrict their right to come out on the streets during the Easter Weekend.

If possible, the Confederation should write from Tyringe but if this is impossible, the Press should be informed that the letters are to be sent.

2. Exchange of marchers and speakers: Since some form of march or demonstration is now held in all countries where peace or disarmament organisations exist, large international contingents are no longer feasible. The Confederation should promote and co-ordinate token exchanges and where there are differences in language every effort should be made to send marchers who speak the language of the country concerned.
3. Confederation Banners or Flags: It is important that now the Confederation is firmly in being it should be seen on the Marches. International Confederation banners or flags should be produced and carried on all marches by international contingents on them.
4. Aims of the Marches: Wherever organisations affiliated to the Confederation are organising marches or are concerned in their organisation, it is important that the overall aims and objectives of the marches should be the basic objectives of the Confederation as outlined in the statement of Aims and Principles agreed at Oxford.

These include active opposition to:

- i. the manufacture, testing, stock-piling and use of nuclear weapons by all countries;
- ii. all nuclear bases, including the use of their own territory for this purpose;
- iii. their country's membership of all nuclear alliances;
- iv. the spread of nuclear weapons to any new powers or blocs.

Obviously, many European organisations will in addition be concerned, as in 1963, with urging disengagement in Central Europe. The two international themes, therefore, should be:

Opposition to the spread of nuclear arms  
Support for disengagement and nuclear-free zones

In addition, there should be a link between the Easter Marches and more positive alternatives to arms. The collection of Dried Milk for Algeria on the Aldermaston March in 1963 was very successful. This year all organisations should be asked to promote collections for UNICEF at some time over the Easter week-end. It is obviously necessary - because Peace movements are always impoverished - not to conflict with collections for the Marches themselves, but it should be possible to organise collections for UNICEF which do not conflict and which aim to collect money from people and organisations unlikely to support the Marches.

The selection of UNICEF emphasises the concern of the peace movements and the Confederation to strengthen the United Nations and its Agencies.

5. Nagasaki Cherry Trees: The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain is aiming to plant, both in London and in provincial centres, some Nagasaki Cherry Trees.

These trees, all of which in Britain are descendants of seeds brought out of Nagasaki before the bombing, are cheap and hardy and have a direct link with one of the two cities on which atomic bombs have been dropped.

Other organisations may wish to do likewise.

Peggy Duff,  
for GND Easter March Committee

## INTERNATIONALISATION OR INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION FOR THE EASTER MARCHES

The kind of international contacts between the individual national campaigns has often been discussed recently with special reference to "Internationalising" the Easter Marches. But as the Easter Marches or similar actions are only one form of campaign activity, the question of internationalising cannot be considered in isolation, but only as a part of the whole relationship between organisations.

In order to clarify the question we should distinguish between "Internationalisation" and "international co-operation". Internationalisation in this context means the creation of an international organisation and campaign which acts as such and is separate from the national campaigns. An example of such an international organisation is UNO and its agencies. On the other hand, international co-operation implies the closest possible links between national campaigns which will support each other and promote common aims. This international co-operation will not affect the national responsibility and autonomy of the organisations concerned, although it will doubtless give rise to and necessitate an international loyalty. Before discussing the expediency of international co-operation or internationalisation, the essential difference between working for peaceful and for military ends should be pointed out. Military efforts are always directed at having the greatest possible effect on other peoples - in wartime by the application of force, in peacetime by threats. On the other hand, working for peace involves in the first place influencing conditions and attitudes in one's own country. A national peace campaign cannot force another nation to be peaceful against its will. It must make every effort to bring its own people to adopt a peaceful attitude, and to ensure that their country does everything within its power toward the preservation of peace and the relaxation of tension.

If one bears in mind this fundamental difference between peaceful and military efforts, then the question of whether internationalisation or international co-operation is preferable for peace groups is easily answered. For it follows that the national campaigns should in no way be allowed to shelve their national responsibility in order to take refuge in internationalisation. This could easily lead to their abandoning their concrete programme of work and, as in military circles, the responsibility for taking the initiative among the various groupings would be passed from one

to the other. Such a situation would have a disastrous effect on the peace movement as a whole. If the art of the cold war was to carry out a policy of brinkmanship, so the art of promoting peace is to advocate a policy which involves a worthwhile element of risk by taking initiatives towards the relaxation of tension. The campaigns of individual countries must not renounce the responsibility for such a national policy by internationalising.

The rejection of complete internationalisation does not mean, however, that internationalisation in certain specific fields of activity is not desirable at this time. An international organisation for promoting peace research work is obviously needed. The Pugwash conferences and similar preparatory bodies point the way to this. There is obvious scope for meaningful internationalisation in the field of peaceful co-operation of peoples and aid to developing countries, and here an international, non-governmental organisation could be extremely useful. As there is at present no basis for internationalisation of actual work for peace, preference must be given at the moment to international co-operation.

Even with intensive international co-operation and the obligations arising out of this, the national responsibility of each campaign will remain intact. Thus international bodies, if they are to function usefully and not represent power interests, will at the present stage of development merely be co-ordinating and communication centres for the national campaigns, as, for example, is implied in the name "International Confederation".

Deciding in favour of international co-operation and against internationalisation, and emphasising the national responsibility of the peace movements, does not, of course, mean to exclude the following:

that national peace movements should be concerned with extending the peace struggle and with developing similar organisations in as many countries of the world as possible.

that a campaign should observe critically the methods, aims and achievements of the campaigns in other countries.

the development of certain common habits and methods involving all or at least a large number of peace movements in order to demonstrate the worldwide character of man's efforts to free the world from war.

the development of certain common objectives and international co-operation with far-reaching obligations.

Now, how do the possibilities for international co-operation relate to the Easter Marches? It must be made clear that the Easter Marches are not autonomous things, organisations or movements in their own right, although sometimes this may be implied in their title, as in Germany, for example. The Easter Marches are merely an aspect of campaign activity which has proved extremely useful and effective.

The Easter Marches, which are directed principally at the public, have the following principal objectives, and I shall discuss below the possibilities of international co-operation these contain:

- a) The Easter Marches should draw public attention to the problems of peacemaking and the dangers of war.
- b) They should encourage the public and the government to find new ways of bringing about peace and to advocate and carry out a corresponding policy.

- c) They should demonstrate the peaceful intentions of their own people towards other peoples, since government statements are no longer sufficient to dispel mistrust on the other side. They are also an invitation to other peoples to demonstrate their own peaceful intentions.

On point (a), the national publicity of the Easter Marches will naturally be much greater if the event is not merely national but worldwide. This interaction has proved very effective in the past, as, for example, in Germany. For this reason, I suggest that the main demonstration of the year in every country in the world should take place at Easter. In this way Easter would become not only a day of peace in the Christian sense but would acquire this meaning for peoples who do not celebrate the Christian festival. Easter could thus come to mean for humanity what May 1st means for the Labour movement. I do not think that this is too much to hope for. Therefore I propose that Easter should be the common focus of the peace campaign and that Easter should become established in people's minds as World Peace Day. This does not mean to say, of course, that there must be marches everywhere. Obviously this focus can be achieved by other kinds of action.

(b) The encouragement of people and of governments to find new and more radical ways of promoting peace has an essentially national character. Yet it will be better brought about if similar appeals to people and governments are taking place in other countries. It could be particularly effective if the national demands and proposals of individual movements were made known to other campaigns in good time so that these could be publicised during the Easter March. Thus, for example, a Soviet Peace Council's demand for adequate control of underground nuclear tests in the Soviet Union and a corresponding demand by Turn Toward Peace in America could have an extraordinarily encouraging effect in both countries.

I propose therefore a timely exchange of information on aims and demands of national actions.

(c) The demonstration by individual peoples (of their peaceful intentions) has a very special importance in our mistrustful world. Here the campaigns can make an important contribution. In the context of their efforts, their demands, their proposals and their aims and the public support which these gain are again decisive. Of course these will have to have mainly a national regional character related to the situation in their own country, if they are to be really concrete. Yet it should be possible to unite internationally on a few important positive proposals, e.g.:

- Preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons.
- Ending the cold war.
- Halting and decreasing the militarisation of public life.
- Creation of zones of disengagement and nuclear free regions.
- Pursuing serious discussion on general disarmament.
- Furthering peace research.
- Support for UN in their efforts to ensure peace.

This indication of peaceful intention in the context of the Easter Marches should, however, also be expressed by means of border meetings. Here each side could state what efforts for peace-making are being undertaken in their own area. Delegations should also be sent to other countries to form an impression of the situation there, to demonstrate the international solidarity of the campaigns, and to report on what demands and proposals are being made in their own country.

I propose therefore: border meetings, exchange of delegations and agreement on concrete, general proposals which can be put forward in a number of countries.

To sum up, there are many points for international co-operation in relation to Easter Marches, which could be put into practise now. The realisation of the above proposals would doubtless be of great help to all national groups, could provide a new stimulus and new contacts and lead to a permanent worldwide campaign in full international co-operation.

Dr. Andreas Buro

It was also recommended that an approach be made to the World Peace Council on two levels:

- i. for the exchange of marchers (possibly limited in numbers) on marches in the West with those planned in Eastern Europe.  
(cf. Report of Sub-Commission on Relations with other Organizations, p.27) and Report of Discussion with WCP delegates, Appendix I, p. 75)
- ii. for agreement on some common themes or slogans on these marches (e.g. disengagement, nuclear free zones).

#### VI. CHINA

It was agreed in principle that China must have a seat at the UN, and the paper submitted by Homer Jack was referred to the International Council for closer study. (Paper contained in Volume II)

#### VII. LOBBY AT THE UN

It was agreed to refer Homer Jack's paper on this subject to the International Council. (Paper contained in Volume II)

#### CONCLUSION

The report of the sub-commission on Projects was agreed, as amended in the Plenary Session.

Pierre Schori,  
Recorder.

ED 718-27-84

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

APPENDICES

BASIC CONFERENCE DOCUMENT

by F.C. Hunnius, General Secretary, I.C.D.P.

---

Introduction

I believe it is accurate to say that the first year of the Confederation will be the crucial year. Either we achieve the break-through and become a useful and responsible instrument of the international peace movement, or we will fail.

We must guard against two dangers:

1. We must be realistic in planning our activities for the first year. Nothing is more harmful than the establishing of ambitious goals which cannot possibly be realised.
2. We must be bold, or we will not achieve the breakthrough. We must make a strong and constructive impact during the first 12 months.

Faced with these two seemingly contradictory conditions, I suggest the following:

At present we will not have the resources, nor the prestige, to undertake action ourselves. We must act, at least in the beginning, solely as a service organisation.

The work of the Confederation should perhaps be divided, for the purpose of clarity, into three parts:

- (1) Functions which can best be undertaken by the Executive and the Council.
- (2) Functions to be undertaken by the office staff:
  - (a) the General Secretary
  - (b) the Administrative Secretary and clerical help.
- (3) Functions to be undertaken by member organisations as a service to the Confederation.

(1) FUNCTIONS OF EXECUTIVE AND COUNCIL

Being responsible to act in the name of the Confederation between Conferences. The Executive should, however, in addition to its overall responsibility engage in a number of specific projects, i. e.

- (a) Fund raising over and above the membership fees.
- (b) Discussions with other international bodies, such as WCP.
- (c) General guidance of the office staff.
- (d) Decisions on any possible emergency action.
- (e) Audit and supervision of book-keeping.

## (2) FUNCTIONS TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY THE OFFICE STAFF

### (a) The General Secretary:

Visiting all member organisations to:

- (i) arrange small working conferences in every region to acquaint the local and regional leadership with the Confederation and with peace and social research and action in general;
- (ii) to learn in some depth about the problems and issues of each member organisation;
- (iii) assist in regional and functional planning;
- (iv) to discuss and learn about the goals, programmes and organisation methods of each organisation. The Administrative Secretary, or a specially appointed person, should begin to collect the available data and papers on goal-programme, and particularly organisational methods from all member groups, as well as others. This material should be edited and made available in the form of one or several handbooks to all member organisations.

On the basis of these reports, the small working conferences set up by or for the General Secretary will be able to move ahead utilising new ideas and methods.

Out of this data could come the publication of several more specific documents, e.g. on Fundraising; Membership Drives; Publicity and Communications, etc.

### (b) The Administrative Secretary:

- (i) Collection and dissemination of peace action -news relevant for the members. This is likely to entail the publication of a mimeographed bilingual newsletter. The collecting can be done in co-operation with the General Secretary).
- (ii) Collecting and disseminating relevant findings of Peace Research (the collecting can be done in co-operation with the General Secretary).
- (iii) Correspondence.

## (3) FUNCTIONS OF MEMBER ORGANISATIONS - REGIONAL, NATIONAL OR FUNCTIONAL

These will be involved in most of the above-mentioned activities, in addition to having their own programmes, which must remain of the greatest importance to them.

COMMENTS. To attempt more would be unrealistic; to aim for less would be more than useless, it would be harmful to the entire nonaligned movement.

FINANCE AND NECESSARY RESOURCES:

To accomplish this we need a minimum of three fully employed people (even this will make it difficult to reach our modest goals).

1. General Secretary;
2. Administrative Secretary; and
3. Secretary-Stenographer.

One of these has to be fluent in French and English.

Proposal. Would it be possible to get the various regional groups to undertake the following:

1. The North Americans to underwrite the salary of the General Secretary;
2. The British and Irish to underwrite the salary of the Administrative Secretary;
3. The Continental member organisations to underwrite the salary of the Secretary-Stenographer.

If this proves possible (over and above the subscription fees), we may have enough money left from the subscription fees to pay for office rent, postage, travel etc. (Even this is uncertain).

The various regions mentioned above may want to appoint one or several individuals to try to raise the money in their region rather than undertake to take it out of their already overtaxed budgets.

-----

For your serious consideration, I would like to raise one other issue: the training of peace internes (see Anne Stadler's proposal, Appendix B, page 50 ). This should be discussed in some detail and could greatly speed up the internationalising of the peace movement. It should be on the agenda of the January Conference.

If my general outline is accepted by the Administrative Committee it should draw up a new budget for presentation to the January Conference.

BASIC CONFERENCE DOCUMENT

by Anne Stadler

(Minute from Continuing Committee Meeting, Oosterbeek, August 1963):

"The Continuing Committee directs that all specific proposals for projects be referred to Anne Stadler in the USA, that she correlate these, prepare a comprehensive summary, including all suggestions in an appendix, and that this be circulated to all organisations as the basic paper for the Working Conference on the "Work of the Confederation: Activities and Projects."

The Confederation should plan to programme for the next two-year period, using 1964 to get organised and move forward and 1965 to carry out a series of programmes related tangentially to International Cooperation Year. Because its budget is now minimal, priority attention should be paid to seeking services which could be provided by member organisations for all Confederation members - with final responsibility for their use and the overall programme resting with staff and the international governing body elected at the working conference.

SERVICES AVAILABLE AND PROPOSED:

- I To facilitate direct discussion with governments on matters of interest to ICDP member organisations:
- (1) American and Canadian organisations are requested to discuss the possibility of providing staff (volunteer or paid) and office space in New York to arrange small conferences with government leaders at which ICDP members can discuss or present ideas to these persons; to initiate and carry on direct communication with U.N. officials and delegates, and to prepare and circulate periodic background reports to all member organisations.
  - (2) IPB is requested to provide a similar service during international conferences in Geneva for Confederation members.
- II To assist in the development of internationally-oriented peace workers:  
TTP and AFSC in the U.S. are requested to consider expanding their peace interne training programme so that one or more peace interns could work for one year with the office of the ICDP - either in a region or at the international office. Other national organisations are requested to consider whether they might wish to develop and embark on a similar kind of programme. Financial responsibility might be accepted by the national organisation initially with the understanding that after one year, either a tax-exempt fund would be developed, or existing trusts would be induced to accept applications from peace internes needing grants to pay their expenses.
- III To provide more effective communication between member organisations:  
It is proposed that IPB publish the Peace Information Bulletin on the basis described in Niels Mathiesen's recent memo, and develop a news service along the lines he and Tony Smythe have proposed; and that ICDP staff take responsibility for gathering information and establishing this service with editorial and financial responsibility shared equally.

- (ii) See (1)(i) above, under priorities for 2nd year.
  - (iii) Encouragement of initiatives like the CNVA-Russian exchange of leaders.
  - (iv) Participation in WRI study conference in Poland, summer 1964.
- (4) Co-ordinating infrequent popular demonstrations and action around an agreed-upon theme: Easter marches (suggested by many), Hiroshima vigils and observances, Human Rights Day (or week).
- (5) Expansion of ICDP work into new regions and assisting closer ties in regions where member organisations are:
- (i) Secretary should travel to Latin America, Africa - getting contacts and assistance in developing an itinerary from member organisations. Planned follow-up should be done beforehand in consultation with co-operating organisations.
  - (ii) Co-operating organisations should make a special effort to see that ICDP knows who their contacts and groups are, and they know about the ICDP, and should help set up travel and visit of secretary.

BASIC CONFERENCE DOCUMENT

by Dimitri Roussopoulos and Kenneth Lee

Any group such as the International Confederation needs to build up an investment of capital - not of money though that is useful - but much more of personal commitment and interest and of fellowship and loyalty to a common cause. Perhaps because of adversity at Oxford, we managed to establish a portion of this which later pervaded the meetings of the Administrative Committee and reappeared and developed at the meeting of the Continuing Committee at Costerbeck when we shared in the experience of what psychologists call the positive aspects of "in-group" growth. Because we had the spirit and relationship we decided to take votes only when absolutely necessary and as far as possible seek to achieve a consensus without a vote. Because we have faith that such a spirit of getting things done will pervade the Tyringe meetings the Continuing Committee decided to recommend the method of consensus here.

There is no doubt that the life blood of this International Confederation will be the fellowship and relationship that is built up amongst us as individuals and so we shall hope for a measure of continuity in representation at conferences and meetings between members whenever possible. But this spirit must not only remain with us but must be distributed to all our members in our organizations.

Building an international peace organization is fraught with difficulties, the like of which we are not familiar with in our national organizations. Few amongst us have the skills required to build the solid foundations of a creature like the International Confederation. Therefore many of the aspects of our new organization must be proceeded with, with extra caution and care, and with great patience. Our programme for the next two years must be realistic in the light of our limited financial resources, and because of the newness of growing international consciousness in our organizations. This programme must be realistic and yet must have a dynamic and thrust which will make its presence felt everywhere. Without these two latter ingredients, there is no real *raison d'être* for the International Confederation.

Some of the basic essentials for our work are;

- (1) The newly elected International Council and Executive Committee must be comprised of persons with a personal sense of commitment to the ICDP to the point of taking personal initiative in many areas of ICDP work and in particular its financial requirements.
- (2) The establishment of some sort of offices for the ICDP at Geneva and New York for Disarmament and United Nations work. We must get status as a non-government organization observer as soon as possible.
- (3) A basic pamphlet about the ICDP, its history, aims and objects, and its programme for the next two years, amongst other things, must be produced as soon as possible. This booklet must be produced in the high thousands so that it will receive the greatest distribution to members in various national organizations and to people outside them. It must be good enough to act as a reference guide for the ICDP.

- (4) The Peace Information Bulletin, as described by the Oxford sub-committee on publications, must be continued, with the co-operation of the International Peace Bureau if possible, independently if it is not. The first three numbers of the Peace Information Bulletin have been well received.
- (5) The Easter Demonstration of 1964 must be utilized by the ICDP as a project for international co-ordination and the existence of the ICDP must be made evident to both the public and the participants.
- (6) The question has been asked what disarmament goal must be the next aim of the peace movement after the partial test ban treaty. You will have before you the working paper on "Disengagement" commissioned from April Carter. We would like to suggest that the thrust of the ICDP for the next two years be a peace movement's plan for disengagement. We hope the Carter paper acts as a guide.

In addition to the above points, careful consideration should be given by the working commissions on the paper submitted by Anne Stadler.

APPENDIX D

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

Statement of Accounts: January to August 31st 1963

Income

Contributions from Organisations:

Committee of 100	£ 7 10 0
War Resisters International	25 0 0
SANE	30 3 3
Fellowship of Reconciliation (USA)	18 11 2
Komiteen for Oplysning om Atomfaren	5 0 0
New Zealand CND	10 0 0
Friends Peace Committee	19 0 0
Consulta della Pace	33 0 0
Canadian CUCAND	6 0 0
SANE/TTP	1 1 0
Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner	26 0 0
F.C.R. (USA)	11 1 3
CND	30 0 0
Yugoslav League for Peace	18 13 0
Accra Assembly	18 15 0
War Resisters League	17 13 5
	<hr/>
	£277 8 1

Payments

Rent	38 0 0
Telephone	25 19 1
Office Expenses	47 3 6
Stationery	71 9 5
Cable	1 0 2
Advertisements	5 3 0
Fares to Osterbeck (I. Rossopoulos)	52 10 0
Bank Charges	1 12 0
Bulletin:	
paid to Peace News: £2 5 1	
received: £2 4 1	1 0
Balance carried forward	34 9 11
	<hr/>
	£ 277 8 1

International Confederation for Disarmament and PeaceAccounts Outstanding

To Housmans Bookshop:		
Emma Weighill Salary	144	13 6
Peace Diaries	7	8 6
Telephones	7	0 10
Rent	36	0 0
Stationery	17	1 1
Office Furniture	43	18 3
To Peace News:		
Advertisements	5	15 0
To Friends House:		
Hire of room	1	2 0
	<u>262</u>	<u>19 2</u>
Less Housmans Credit Note	2	14 0
	<u>260</u>	<u>5 2</u>
Grants due for Conference:	350	0 0

## CONSTITUTION

\*\*\*\*\*

Adopted unanimously on the 11th. January 1964 at  
Tyringe, SWEDEN.

1. NAME

The name of the association shall be "The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace". Hereafter called "The Confederation."

2. OBJECTIVES

To promote, as outlined in the Statement of Principles and Aims adopted by the Oxford Conference, (which forms part of this Constitution), the closest co-operation among all national and international non-governmental organisations dedicated to the achievement of world peace.

3. MEMBERSHIP

Membership shall be open only to non-governmental organisations, either national or international, and shall consist of "Full Membership" and "Associate Membership".

- (a) "Full Membership" shall be open to any national or international non-governmental organisation which:
- i) Is mainly concerned with the promotion of disarmament and peace.
  - ii) Has generally and actively advocated the Principles and Aims of the Confederation, and does not hesitate to oppose the policies of any government, including its own, if they depart from these objectives.
  - iii) Has applied for "Full Membership" and whose application has been approved by a two-thirds (2/3) majority of the members of the Council or by a two-thirds (2/3) majority vote of Conference.
- (b) "Associate Membership" shall be open to national or international non-governmental organisations which are in general sympathy with the Principles and Aims of the Confederation, and are approved by a two-thirds (2/3) majority vote of the Council or Conference.
- (c) Termination of Membership - The Council may, subject to the over-riding jurisdiction of Conference, terminate the membership, (whether "Full" or "Associate") of any organisation, provided that no such decision shall be taken unless a two-third (2/3) majority of the members of the Council signify by recorded vote, (verbally or in writing) their support for such termination of membership.

4. CONFERENCE

- (a) The affairs and policies of the Confederation shall be controlled by a Conference (herein referred to as "Conference") representative of the member organisations, which shall meet at least once in every two years. When in session, the Conference shall be the supreme authority of the Confederation. The date and place of Conference

meetings shall be determined by the Conference, which shall have power to delegate this function to the Council or Executive of the Confederation.

(b) The representation at Conference of organisations in full membership of the Confederation shall be on the following basis:

- |                                  |             |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| i) International organisations   | 3 delegates |
| ii) National coalitions          | 3 delegates |
| iii) Large organisations         | 2 delegates |
| iv) Small or Youth organisations | 1 delegate  |

For the purposes of this sub-article the Council shall decide the basis of representation for full membership organisations. Such decisions will be subject to review at Conference. Each delegation to Conference shall be able to exercise all the votes to which it is entitled, irrespective of the number of delegates present.

(c) In addition to the delegates of organisations enjoying full membership, the following will be entitled to speak and vote at Conference:

- i) The outgoing President
- ii) Three (3) or more outgoing Vice-Presidents.

The following will be entitled to attend and speak at Conference:

- i) The outgoing Treasurer
- ii) The General-Secretary for the time being
- iii) The members of the outgoing Council and Executive

One person cannot exercise votes as both an officer and a delegate.

(d) Each of the organisations in associate membership of the Confederation shall be entitled to send to the Conference such numbers of observers as the Executive shall decide: such observers shall be entitled to participate in discussions.

(e) The Council or the Executive may invite observers to attend Conference, or parts thereof, from organisations not in membership of the Confederation. Such observers shall not be entitled to vote at Conference and may only address Conference by leave of the Conference chairman.

## 5. OFFICERS

There shall be the following Officers of the Confederation, (herein referred to as "Officers"), appointed in the manner provided:

- (i) A President who shall be Chairman of the Council, and at least three (3) Vice-Presidents, who shall be elected by Conference:
- (ii) A Treasurer, who shall be elected by the Council:
- (iii) A General Secretary, who shall be appointed by the Council for such period as may be determined by the Council.

6. COUNCIL

- (a) Between Conferences the governing body of the Confederation shall be the Council, (herein referred to as the "Council"), which shall consist of:
  - (i) Fifteen (15) persons elected by the Conference.
  - (ii) The Officers.
  - (iii) Any other persons, not exceeding five (5) in number, whom the Council agrees to co-opt.
  - (iv) In addition to the five (5) co-options which the Council may normally make, vacancies caused by resignations or death may be filled by co-option by the Council.
- (b) The Council shall meet at least once in every year at such time and place it may decide.

7. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- (a) Between the Meetings of the Council, the affairs of the Confederation shall be managed by the Executive Committee.
- (b) The Executive Committee shall consist of the following members:
  - (i) The President, Treasurer and the General Secretary.
  - (ii) A Chairman of the Executive to be elected by the Council.
  - (iii) Five (5) members elected by and from the Council.

The Vice-Presidents and all Council members shall be entitled to attend meetings of the Executive.

- (c) The Executive Committee should meet at least once every three months.
- (d) The Executive shall have the power to set up Standing Subcommittees to deal with any subjects for which it thinks they are needed. On any such Subcommittees concerned with finance the Treasurer shall be ex officio a member. The Executive Committee shall also have power to set up ad hoc subcommittees. The General Secretary shall be ex officio a member of Standing and ad hoc subcommittees.

8. QUORUM AND PROXIES

The quorum for meetings of the Conference, Council and Executive shall be not less than 50% of those entitled to be present and to vote, provided always that for the purpose of determining the existence of a quorum it shall be permissible, for good and valid reasons certified in writing by the President and General Secretary, to allow a member of Conference, Council or Executive to appoint in writing a substitute to represent him and vote on his behalf at a specific meeting, in which case such person may be counted for the purpose of determining the existence of a quorum.

9. REGIONS

- (a) There shall be such Regional or Functional Groupings of the Confederation as the Conference shall approve. Between conferences the Council may provisionally institute new Regional or Functional groupings.
- (b) Where Regional or Functional Councils are formed, the

Council of the Confederation shall define the functions and powers of such Regional or Functional Councils.

#### 10. SPOKESMEN

No affiliated organisations, Regional Council or Functional Council shall use the name of the Confederation in any public action or statement, without having obtained the prior consent of the Council, Executive or General Secretary.

#### 11. HONORARY PATRONS

The Council may invite persons, who in the opinion of the Council have made a valuable contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament to become Honorary Patrons of the Confederation.

#### 12. TRUSTEES

- (a) The property of the Confederation shall be vested in four (4) trustees appointed by the Council, who shall administer such property according to the instructions of the Council and Executive Committee.
- (b) The Council shall be responsible for prescribing by written regulations the method of accounting for all monies received by the trustees and Treasurer.
- (c) The Council shall appoint Auditors who shall audit all books and accounts annually.
- (d) Copies of a summary of the accounts and balance sheet certified by the Auditors shall be circulated to all member organisations annually.
- (e) Payment shall be made to the Trustees reimbursing them for all proper expenses and professional charges incurred by them for work done by them in the administration of the property.

#### 13. FINANCE

- (a) The subscriptions payable by members shall be determined by the Executive and approved by the Council. The rate of subscription need not be the same for all classes of members; but where different classes of subscription are established or amended, these shall be subject to appeal to the next Conference.
- (b) If any member fails to pay the appropriate subscription for 26 weeks, membership shall lapse unless the Executive on the recommendation of the Treasurer decides that membership shall be only suspended. Full members whose membership is suspended shall lose their right to send delegates to Conference but shall be entitled to send observers.

#### 14. INTERPRETATION

The Council shall in case of dispute decide questions of interpretation of this Constitution; but any member aggrieved

by such a decision of the Council shall be entitled to appeal to the Conference.

16. AMENDMENTS

This Constitution (including the Statement of Principles and Aims referred to in Article 2) may be amended by special resolution, by two-thirds (2/3) vote of the Conference. Such special resolutions shall be notified to the Executive Committee at least three months prior to the Conference and shall be notified by the Executive to each Member Organisation at least one month before Conference.

# STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND AIMS FOR THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

---

## PREAMBLE

The International Conference for Co-operation and Co-ordination of the movements against atomic armaments and for general and complete disarmament brought together at Oxford representatives of non-aligned movements and organisations throughout the world, joined in the common struggle for peace. Co-operation between these organisations has grown rapidly during the past few years. The danger of nuclear catastrophe has made it imperative that these organisations should form an International Confederation, which would respect the differences of method and emphasis and preserve their freedom of action, but help to develop popular action on an international scale.

The elimination of nuclear weapons, the policies based upon their use, the growth of military structures and of armaments, is mankind's most urgent task. All human endeavour presupposes the continuation of life. But apart from the danger to survival itself, human dignity and the development of social, technical and civilising processes are jeopardised by the preparation for war. Co-existence of different ideologies is possible in a civilised society, but the co-existence of human beings and nuclear weapons is not. Not only do these weapons generate the tensions which may at any moment explode into thermonuclear war, they also threaten fundamental human rights.

Every human being has a responsibility to act according to conscience to safeguard himself and others. This should take precedence over any demands of governments which compel him to destroy life.

Without prejudice to the Charter rights of the United Nations to enforce its mandate, we believe that political problems can no longer be solved by resort to war. Although statesmen now admit that a general nuclear war is tantamount to annihilation, they continue policies which threaten to make it inevitable. Thus nations arm for a conflict which they admit they cannot win.

The organisations within the new Confederation contend that fundamental new thinking on the problem of war is necessary, and that new forces and new methods must be interposed in the world situation, so that economic resources now used in the arms race may be diverted to the building of an international community based upon the active co-operation of all people in a disarmed world. Disarmament will mean fundamental social, economic and political change.

Therefore the creation of an international organisation, including pacifists and anti-nuclear movements, responds to an historic necessity. In the two societies that appear radically and mortally opposed a common problem must now be faced. The military structures in both societies constitute one of the principal foundations of the state. The Confederation intends to promote a constructive and dynamic effort to eliminate the real causes of war, and the institutions and structures of the state adapted to this function. For example, scientific progress cannot be halted at the door of armies, as long as these exist: on the contrary, even new atomic research for peaceful uses is greatly influenced by the military. Human progress in any area of the world requires the progressive abandonment of vast military expenditure and the use of these resources for the fight against misery and hunger, for welfare and the realisation of an increasingly just society.

Some of the organisations at Oxford were primarily concerned with nuclear disarmament. Others held to the pacifist position against all weapons. Some

adopt the methods of persuasion and political action. Others adopt the method of non-violent action. The Confederation respects these differences. But its component organisations are united in the determination to stimulate popular action, with the support of youth, labour, church, civic and other organisations, against the threat of war. The basis for this co-operation on an international scale is now established.

BASIC OBJECTIVES AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

Member organisations of the Confederation should work for:

- (1) A permanent test ban treaty.
- (2) General and complete disarmament of all nations.
- (3) The non-military solution of all conflicts.
- (4) The strengthening of the work of the United Nations and its existing Agencies, both in promoting disarmament and in increasing its responsibility for inspection and in determining the direction of economic aid and the encouragement of the growth of a world community based on world law.
- (5) The creation of zones of nuclear and conventional disengagement and demilitarisation.
- (6) The progressive elimination of nuclear bases by the great powers, internally and on foreign soil.
- (7) An active and developing co-operation between all peoples.

As a first step they should actively oppose:

- (1) The testing, manufacture, stock-piling and use of nuclear weapons by every country, including their own.
- (2) All nuclear bases, including the use of their own territory for this purpose.
- (3) All countries' membership of all nuclear alliances.
- (4) The spread of nuclear weapons to any new powers or blocs.

They must also provide evidence by consistent deeds and stated policies that they stand for these objectives.

The closer co-ordination of the non-aligned peace movements within the Confederation will strengthen existing organisations by their mutual active, material and intellectual support. It will promote the development of new centres in countries where, at present, they do not exist. It will enable these movements to confer and, when deemed appropriate, to co-operate as a united body, with other peace movements. It will give, generally, to organisations, to peace workers and groups, the feeling of strength and hope which will greatly enhance their desire for action and their effectiveness to bring pressure to bear on governments, and to force them to take the greatest possible account of their aims and actions.

## PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The Confederation resolves to co-ordinate internationally the activities of member organisations in pursuit of these objectives and such others as are added from time to time.

It seeks to encourage direct democratic initiatives and action of the people as a new dynamism for influencing national and international policies, and as a means of asserting the popular will on these and other issues.

Memorandum of the Consulta per la Pace

Concerning questions of organisation of the Confederation, the Committee of the Consulta has not expressed precise and particular opinions but will accept such decisions as the delegates find most efficient and useful for the development of the International. The Committee is in favour of the statement drawn up by the Secretariat of the Confederation of the general aims of the International, indeed the statement is very similar to the Constitution of our Consulta.

1. The Committee of the Consulta confirms its complete agreement with the aims of the Confederation and its own political independence.
2. Regarding relations with the World Council for Peace the Committee is in favour of continuing contacts and meetings, i. e. some kind of links, with the aims of exchanging information and eventually agreeing on actions to defend and develop peace.
3. The Committee is in full agreement with action against nuclear weapons however it wishes to emphasise the seriousness of the present conventional rearmament. Now that a halt in nuclear armament becomes probable it is necessary to intensify the struggle against conventional arms, since chemical and bacteriological weapons are associated with conventional arms and since rearmament creates powerful industrial interests and a military upbringing for youth.
4. The Committee of the Consulta suggests great emphasis be given to "non-co-operation" in the preparation and waging of war. Well-defined group actions can be created in this field with a widespread campaign of civil disobedience, intensive educational work in schools, social centres and the population at large with peace marches and the erection of monuments dedicated to peace. It is also necessary to support the movement for conscientious objectors and a league of scientists and workers refusing war work.
5. The Committee is of the opinion that the efforts of all peace workers should be concentrated on two great dates for popular demonstrations throughout the world: Easter week and next May Day.
6. The Committee holds that the campaign for the admission of China to the United Nations must be continued, with the aim of promoting a concrete action for disarmament with no exceptions, and of avoiding the formation of a group of nations in antithesis to the United Nations.
7. The Committee is in favour of regional relations, i. e. European, within the Confederation.
8. Regarding the plan for a Mediterranean meeting for peace, the Consulta has already expressed the following precise opinion: it is ready to lend its name to a meeting in which, when the military, social and political situations of all the Mediterranean and Balkan nations had been expounded the meeting should proceed to the constitution of broad unions for peace between various associations working for peace, between trade unions, mayors, students, university deans and men of culture. In this way a first meeting and link would be created which would be destined to develop in further meetings. The thing should not be excessively political in order not to estrange, but should rather bring together hostile positions such as Greek and Turk, Arab and Jew etc. This spirit of union should

be in the foreground.

9. The Committee confirms, as it already has regarding the January Congress that it is ready, if warned in time, to work for other meetings of the Confederation to be held in Italy, which has no shortage of suitable places and hotels where one can live and work.
10. For the next meeting of the Executive the Consulta can get in touch with Prof. La Pira of Florence with the double aim of presenting the work of the Confederation to Italy and of obtaining help.

718-27-97

APPENDIX G

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU

and

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

On the recommendation of a joint sub-committee it was AGREED:

That the International Peace Bureau should co-operate with the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace in carrying out as many as possible of the following projects according to the funds and personnel available, until August 1965:

1. Peace Research

To collect and abstract peace research results, relevant to ICDP.

2. Conferences

(i) To collect information with a view to research and advice being made available to organisations having similar problems (fund-raising, membership, publicity).

(ii) To promote regional or world co-operation for their solution.

(iii) To encourage the preparation of suitable materials (e.g. handbooks).

3. Establishing Contacts with Other Organisations

To encourage International Non-Governmental Organisations to work together for a "World at Peace", in connection with U.N. International Co-operation Year 1965, and take suitable initiatives in this connection involving direct contacts on a people to people level.

4. Publications

To co-operate in the proposed International Seminar on Peace Periodicals to be held after I.P.B. annual Conference - Oslo August 1964.

5. 'An International Service of Peace Information' in Geneva.

(It is understood that this service will be basically a library of information from which organisations may ask for information, but will not necessarily be a published service.)

Note: All these projects have been adopted by the I.C.D.P. Council. The first four are extracts from the reports of sub-committees meeting at Tyringe, Sweden, January 1964.

APPENDIX H

MEMORANDUM ON

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR OF PEACE PERIODICALS

by Nils Petter Gleditsch  
Co-editor, PAX  
Representing Folkereising mot Krig

NOTE: This memo is primarily for the attention of the Sub-Committees on Conferences and Publications.

PAX, the Norwegian pacifist monthly, has proposed to the IPB to organize an international seminar on peace periodicals in Oslo in late August 1964, just after the IPB Annual Conference. The seminar should preferably be arranged in cooperation with the ICDP.

Preliminary programme:

- 1st day: Production and Promotion
  - a) design
  - b) printing
  - c) sales and distribution
  
- 2nd day: Editing and Publishing
  - a) purpose of peace papers - contents
  - b) editorial long term planning
  - c) international cooperation (technical cooperation, seminars, etc.)
  - d) Foundation of an International Association of Peace Periodicals ???

Working language: English - with the addition of German, French and Scandinavian to the extent needed.

It is hoped that financial support can be found to make possible adequate international representation - but this will only be possible if sufficient interest is expressed soon.

If at all possible, a brief meeting of the editors (and others interested in "peace publishing") present should be held some time within the next few days. If this is not possible, I would appreciate individual comments at this conference or as soon as possible in writing (to: PAX, Kristian Augusts gate 19, Oslo 1, Norway).

The IPB has not yet discussed this suggestion, but will do so on Tuesday. If it is accepted, a more detailed programme will be sent out soon to all international peace periodicals.

APPENDIX I

REPORT OF INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE WORLD COUNCIL FOR PEACE AND THE  
INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

For the W.C.P.: Walter Diehl and Dr. Bacskai.

For the I.C.D.P.: Kenneth Lee, Claude Bourdet, Homer Jack and Peggy Duff.

A number of meetings took place, which were friendly and informal. We did not make the mistake of rushing into formal agreements. Our main aim was to find a basis for friendly co-operation and co-existence and to heal the rift created by the difficulties which occurred at the Oxford Conference.

This we achieved. Walter Diehl made it clear that the W.C.P. was not opposed to the establishment of a non-aligned International. We, on our side, emphasised that one of the aims of the Confederation was to create new possibilities for meaningful co-operation between organisations affiliated to the Confederation and those in the World Council of Peace.

We also suggested that such co-operation would be easier if, for the time being both internationals kept their lines of demarcation clear, that organisations attached to the one should not seek membership from the other. No suggestion was made for any formal agreement, as neither organisation claimed to control the policies of its members, but procedures were suggested for avoiding difficulties in the future.

There was considerable discussion about the possibility of Conferences on issues concerning disarmament and peace which would be of interest to both Internationals. A number of topics were suggested, such as disengagement, the multilateral force, etc. and it was agreed that a small conference on disengagement to which members of the W.C.P. would be invited was a practical possibility.

The possibility of co-operation on demonstrations and activities was also discussed. Much of this is in the Report of the Commission on Easter Marches. In general our Committee also agreed, firstly, that such co-operation must not harm the impact of demonstrations like the Easter Marches, and secondly, that the aim of each organisation involved must be to bring pressure on its own Government.

AFFILIATED ORGANISATIONS

(as at January 1964)

International

Accra Assembly, P.O. Box 1627, Accra, Ghana.  
International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFoR), 3 Hendon Avenue,  
London, N.3, U.K.  
War Resisters' International (WRI), Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield,  
Middlesex, U.K.

National

Australia:

Victorian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Box 577d Elisabeth Street  
P.O., Melbourne, Victoria.

Canada:

Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CCND), 329 Bloor Street W.,  
Toronto.  
Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND),  
55 Harbord Street, Toronto 5.

Denmark:

Komiteen for Oplysning om Atomfaren, Strandvaenget 15, Copenhagen Ø.

France:

(Rhone) France.  
Action Civique Nonviolente, Chemin de Montellier, Saint-Didiet au Mont d'Or,  
Mouvement Contre L'Armement Atomique, 54 Blvd. Garibaldi, Paris 15.

Federal Republic of Germany:

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände (ADF), München 19,  
Hengelerstr. 3/11.  
Kampagne für Abrüstung- Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner, München 55,  
Andreas-Vöst-Str. 5.

India:

Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Rajghat, Varanasi-1.

Ireland:

Irish Pacifist Movement, c/o 6 Eustace Street, Dublin.

Italy:

Comitato per il Disarmo Atomico e Convenzionale dell'Area Europea,  
Via XXIV, Maggio 7, Rome.  
Consulta per la Pace, Casella Postale 201, Perugia.

Netherlands:

\* Algemene Nederlandse Vredesactie, Postbus 385, Amsterdam.  
Comite 1964 voor de Vrede, Jac. Obrechtplein 3', Amsterdam-Z.  
Stichting Anti-Atombom Actie, Brederodestr. 44, Haarlem.

New Zealand:

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 7 Wilfrid Street, Christchurch 4.

Norway:

Folkereising mot Krig, Kristian Augusts gate 19, Oslo 1.

Sweden:

Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Box 5138, Stockholm 5.

United Kingdom:

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), 2 Carthusian Street,  
London, E.C.1.

Colleges and Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCaND),  
2 Carthusian Street, London, E.C.1.

Committee of 100, 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4.

Campaign Caravan Workshops, 197 Kings Cross Road, London, W.C.1.

Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (YCND), 2 Carthusian Street,  
London, E.C.1.

United States:

Fellowship of Reconciliation, (FoR), Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), 17 East 45th Street,  
New York 17, N.Y.

Student Peace Union (SPU), 60295 S. University Avenue, Chicago 37, Ill.

War Resisters' League (WRL), Room 1025, 5 Beekman Street, New York 38,  
N.Y.

Yugoslavia:

Section for Disarmament and Peace of the Yugoslav League for Peace,  
Independence and Equality of Peoples, Beograd, Trg. Marksa i  
Engelsa 11.

\* PLEASE NOTE: Algemene Nederlandse Vredesactie is not a member of  
ICDP and has been listed in error.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTSWORKING SESSIONSJanuary 9-11, 1964.

- ARGNANI, Romano (Consulta Italiana per la Pace), Via Redipuglia n. 30, Ravenna, Italy.
- BOATEN, Francis Edmund (The Accra Assembly), The Secretariat of the Accra Assembly, P.O. Box 1627, Accra, Ghana.
- BOULTON, David (CND), "Little Oaks", Hookley Lane, Elstead, Godalming, Surrey, England.
- BOURDET, Claude (Mouvement Contre l'Armement Atomique), 47 avenue d'Iena, Paris, France.
- BROCK, Hugh (Continuing Committee and Peace News), 79 Lordship Park, London, N. 16, England.
- BURO, Andreas (Kampagne fur Abrustung - Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner) Andreas-Vost-str. 5, Munchen 55, Germany.
- BOWING, Werner (Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Friedensverbände, WRI), 565 Solingen, Hacketauerstr. 136, Germany.
- CARRETTE, Abbe Paul (Belgian F.o.R., WRI, CNVA), Loveral, 8, rond-point du Cheniat, Belgium.
- COLLINS, Canon L. J. (European Federation Against Nuclear Arms, CND), 2 Amen Court, London, E. C. 4, England.
- COWLEY, Chris (Committee of 100), 38 Pembroke Villas, London W. 11, England.
- CRAFT, Michael (CND), 1, Elers Road, W. Ealing, London W. 13, England.
- DE ONDARZA, Irmgard (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände IDK, DFG), 75, Karlsruhe, Lammstr. 16, Germany.
- DIRANI, Ennio (Consulta per la Pace), Via Sicilia 5, Ravenna, Italy.
- DUFF, Peg (CND), 11, Albert Street, London N.W. 1, England.
- FRITH, Norman (Friends Peace Committee), 109, Warren Road, Wanstead, London E. 11, England.
- GAGGERO, Andrea (Consulta per la Pace), Piazza S. Chiara 49, Rome, Italy.
- GLEDITSCH, Nils Petter (Folkereisning Mot Krig, WRI) Ovre Skogvei 12, Oslo 2, Norway.

- GRAZIANI, Guido (Consulta per la Pace), Via Nomentana 429, Rome, Italy.
- GULDBERG, Sven (ILCOP-IPB) Skaldevagen 11, Bromma, Stockholm, Sweden.
- HANSEN, Villum (Komiteen for Oplysning om Atomfaren), Strandvaenget 15, Copenhagen Ø, Denmark.
- HASSLER, Alfred (Fellowship of Reconciliation, U.S.A.), P.O. Box 271, Nyack, N.Y., U.S.A.
- HOGLUND, Bengt (Swedish CND), Sodergatan 56 B, Lund, Sweden.
- JACK, Homer A. (National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy) 17 East 45th St., New York, N.Y., 10017, U.S.A.
- JASPERS, Rev. Gerold, (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Friedensverbände, Versöhnungsbund), Friedenstr. 8, Dortmund, Germany.
- JENKINS, Robin (Campaign Caravan Workshops), 36, Manor Drive, Leeds 6, England.
- JONES, Dan Elwyn (Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), 1, Grays Inn Square, London, W.C. 1, England.
- JONES, Mervyn (CND), 9, Hardy Road, London S.E. 3, England.
- LEE, Kenneth (National Peace Council, Friends Peace Committee), Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W. 1, England.
- LYON, Robert A. (American Friends Service Committee), 12, rue Adrien-Lachenal, Geneva, Switzerland.
- MacBRIDE, Sean (Council of Accra Assembly and Continuing Committee) Roabuck House, Clonskea, Dublin 14, Ireland.
- MENCARAGLIA, Luciano (Consulta Italiana per la Pace), Piazza Montecitorio 115, Rome, Italy.
- PAPE, Arthur (Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), 329 Bloor Street West, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada.
- PARADISE, Gail (Student Peace Union), 6029 University Avenue, Chicago 31, Illinois, U.S.A.
- PONTARA, Giuliano (Movimento Nonviolente per la Pace), Studenthem Tempus, Beckombergaavagen 13, Bromma, Stockholm, Sweden.
- ROUSSOPOULOS, Dimitrios (Canadian CND and Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), 3510 rue Ste. Famille, Montreal 18, P.Q., Canada.
- RUSTIN, Bayard (War Resisters League), 340, W. 28th Street, Apt. 9J, New York City, 1, N.Y., U.S.A.

SMOLE, Joze (Section for Peace and Disarmament of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples), Urtaca blok b2, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia.

SMYTHE, Tony (WRI), Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

SVAHNSTROM, Bertil (Swedish CND), Box 5138, Stockholm 5, Sweden.

WOLF, Ernest (ILCOP-IPB), 8 Elisabethstrasse, Basle, Switzerland.

WIRMARK, Bo (Swedish FoR), Krongatan 4A, Uppsala, Sweden.

CONFERENCE SECRETARIAT

Conference Secretary:

F. C. Hunnius, The Grange, 3 Hendon Avenue,  
London, N. 3., England.

Press Officers:

Dimitrios Roussopoulos, 3510 rue Ste.  
Famille, Montreal 18, P.Q., Canada.  
Bertil Svahnstrom, Kampanjen mot Atomvapen,  
Box 5138, Stockholm 5, Sweden.  
Bo Wirnmark, Krongatan 4A, Uppsala, Sweden.

Registrar:

Valerie Hunnius, The Grange, 3 Hendon Avenue,  
London, N. 3., England.

Recording Secretary:

Emma Weighill, 99 South Hill Park, Hampstead,  
London, N.W. 3, England.

Literature:

Keith Robins, 61 Coleswood Road, Harpenden,  
Herts., England.

Interpreters:

Anja Emsheimer, Vastmannagatan 16/III,  
Stockholm VA, Sweden.  
Ingrid Jonas, rue de Zurich 41, Geneva,  
Switzerland.  
Ruth O'Rahilly, Cursis Stream, Palmerstown  
Co., Dublin, Ireland.  
Pierre Schori, O. Vallg. 51, 603, Lund,  
Sweden.  
Henry Whyte, Polhemsgatan 4nb, Stockholm,  
Sweden.

Rapporteurs:

David Boulton, "Little Oaks", Hookley Lane,  
Elstead, Godalming, Surrey, England.  
Emma Weighill, 99 South Hill Park, Hampstead,  
London, N.W. 3, England.  
Keith Robins, 61 Coleswood Road, Harpenden,  
Herts, England.  
Pierre Schori, O. Vallg. 51, 603, Lund,  
Sweden.

Typists/Administrative Assistants :

Birgitta Ejuvman, Vastmannagatan 33,  
Stockholm VA, Sweden.  
Anja Emsheimer, Vastmannagatan 16/III,  
Stockholm VA, Sweden.  
Ingrid Jonas, rue de Zurich 41, Geneva,  
Switzerland.  
Ruth O'Rahilly, Cursis Stream, Palmerstown  
Co., Dublin, Ireland.  
Keith Robins, 61 Coleswood Road, Harpenden  
Herts. England.  
Emma Weighill, 99 South Hill Park, Hampstead,  
London, N.W. 3, England.

ED718-27-104

This Report was issued by the Secretariat of  
The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace  
The Grange,  
3 Hendon Avenue,  
London, N. 3,  
United Kingdom.



2.

French Tests

We are now preparing a background paper on the proposed French Tests in the Pacific. When available, this will be sent to all Member Organisations.

ICDP Brochure

Also in course of preparation is a well-designed brochure to be used for introducing the ICDP to potential new members and potential financial donors. This will be ready in approximately two months time. We will inform you in time of the details as to price and expected delivery date.

Peace Research

Friends of Peace Research will be happy to know that a new journal has made its appearance: Journal of Peace Research.

Subscriptions from: UNIVERSITETSFORLAGET,  
University of Oslo,  
P.O. Box 307, Blindern,  
Oslo -3, Norway.

Subscription (4 issues) \$4.00 (or equivalent) a year.

... ..

F U T U R O L O G Y

A selected list of publications relevant to  
Mankind 2000, compiled in cooperation with  
Dr. Robert Jungk and the Canadian Peace Research  
Abstracts.

Unless otherwise stated, these publications are in English.

Books

1. The Abolition of War, by W. Millis and J. Read, MacMillan, New York, 1963.
2. The Age of Cyberculture; The Challenge of Leisure and Abundance. A series of books to be published. Planned and edited by Alice Mary Hilton.
3. The Anatomy of Peace, by Emery Reves, Harper and Brothers, New York & London, 1945-46.
4. Anatomy of the Future, by Roderick Seidenberg, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C., USA, 1961.
5. Automation, by Friedrich Pollock, Europäische Verlaganstalt, Frankfurt (2nd. enlarged edition). Language: German.
6. Britain in 1984, a forecast prepared for 'Unilever' by Ronald Brech, Darton, Longman & Todd, London.
7. The Challenge of Abundance, by Robert Theobald, Clarkson N. Potter, New York, 1961.
8. The Challenge of Man's Future, by Harrison Brown, Viking Press, New York, 1956.
9. The City in History, by Lewis Mumford, Harcourt & Brace, New York, 1961.
10. Conflict and Defense, by Kenneth Boulding, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1962.
11. The Diversity of Man, by Robin Clarke, Phoenix Publications, J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., London.
12. Education and the Idea of Mankind, Robert Ulich (ed), Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., New York, 1964.
13. L'Etat Universel, by Ernst Jünger, Gallimard, Paris, 1962. Language: French (translated from German).
14. Europe's Future in Figures (Vol. I), R.C. Geary (ed), North Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam, 1962.
15. The Fraternal Society, by Richard and Hephzibah Hauser, The Bodley Head, London, 1962.

16. The Future of London, by Edward Carter, Penguin Books, London, 1962.
17. God's Own Junkyard, by Peter Blake, Holt, New York.
18. L'Homme à sa Découverte, by Jean Charon, Editions du Seuil, Paris.  
Language: French.
19. The Image of the Future (2 Vols.), by Fred Polak (translated from the Dutch). Oceana Press, New York.
20. Land for the Future, by M. Clawson, R.B. Held, C.H. Stoddard. John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1960.
21. Life in the Twenty-First Century, by M. Vassiliev & S. Goushev, Penguin Books, London, 1961.
22. The Lunar Society of Birmingham, by Robert E. Scofield, Clarendon Press, London.
23. Man and His Future, a CIBA Foundation publication, Gordon Wolstenholme (ed.) J. & A. Churchill Ltd., London, 1963.
24. Man, Land and Food: Looking Ahead at World Food Needs, by Lester R. Brown, Foreign Agricultural Economic Report No. 11. Available from: Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington, 20402, DC, USA.
25. Metropolis 1985, by Raymond Vernon, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., New York, 1963. (Metropolitan New York in 1985).
26. Modelle für eine Neue Welt; a series of books (Models for a New World) planned and edited by Robert Jungk and Josef Mundt. The following three volumes are available now:
  - (i) Der Griff Nach der Zukunft: Planen und Freiheit.
  - (ii) Wege ins Neue Jahrtausend: Wettkampf der Planungen in Ost und West.
  - (iii) Deutschland ohne Konzeption?: am beginn einer neuen Epoche.
 Verlag Kurt Desch, München, Germany. Language: German
27. Mutation der Menschheit, by Pierre Bertaux, Fischer Bücherei, No.497, Frankfurt. Language: German (translated from French).
28. Le Nouvel Age, by H. Van Lier, Casterman, Tournai. Language: French.
29. The Phenomenon of Man, by Teilhard de Chardin, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1959 (translated from French).
30. Présent et Avenir, by C.G. Jung, Buchet-Chastel, Paris, 1962.  
Language: French (translated from German).
31. Prospectives in Programming, R.T. Filep (ed), Collier, New York, and MacMillan, London, 1964.
32. The Quiet Crisis, by Stewart L. Udall, Holt, New York.
33. Quis Custodiet? Controlling the Police in a Disarmed World, by Arthur Waskow, including studies by Bloomfield, Fisher, Miller, Morgenthau, Singer and Snyder. Peace Research Institute, Washington, DC, 1963.

34. Resources in America's Future, by Landsberg, Fischman and Fisher, The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland, USA
35. To the end of time, by Olaf Stapleton, Basil Davenport (ed), Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York, 1953.
36. Towards a New Society, by Jayaprakash Narayan, Congress for Cultural Freedom, New Delhi, 1958.
37. Towards Universal Man, by Rabindranath Tagore, Asia Publishing House, New York, 1961.
38. Traffic in Towns, by Colin Buchanan, H.M.S. Printing Office, London. Also available in abridged form as a Penguin book.
39. Vers l'Automatisme Social, by Pierre Waville, Gallimard, Paris. Language: French.
40. A Warless World, Arthur Larson (ed), McGraw Hill, New York, 1963.
41. The West in a World without war, by N.W. Chamberlain, McGraw Hill, London, 1963.
42. The World Community, by Quincy Wright, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1948.
43. World Peace through World Law, by Granville Clark & Louis Sohn, Harvard University Press, 1960.
44. World Perspectives in Education, by Edmund J. King. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, USA.
45. World Technology and Human Destiny, by Raymond Aron, University of Michigan Press, 1963.
46. Die Zukunft hat Schon Begonnen, by Robert Jungk, Rowohlt Paperback, Germany, 1963. Language: German.

#### Periodicals

1. Futuribles, published as a supplement to 'Bulletin Sedes', by Société d'Etudes et de Documentation Economiques, Industrielles et Sociales, 205 bd. Saint-Germain, Paris -7, France. Futuribles is devoted to the probable political and socio-economic changes of the future. It can only be obtained by subscribing to 'Bulletin Sedes' which appears thrice monthly.  
Language: French.
2. New Scientist\* Cromwell House, Fulwood Place, High Holborn, London, WC.1, Beginning in January (16th), 1964, this weekly periodical has carried a series of articles by well-known scientists and public figures on the world in 1984. The series will terminate in the autumn of 1964.
3. Die Welt der Literatur appears every second Thursday as a supplement to the daily newspaper 'Die Welt'. It contains a review, written by Robert Jungk, of recent publications on the subject of Futurology. Language: German.

Articles

1. Advancing the American National Interest Without War, by Arthur Waskow, 'Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists' (February 1964).
2. After Civilization What? by Kenneth Boulding, 'Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists'. Volume 18, Number 8 (October 1962).
3. Cybernation, by Donald Michael, 'Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions', Santa Barbara, California (1962).
4. Cyberculture in the Transition from a War to a Peacetime Economy, by Mary Hilton. A 'Fellowship' reprint, FoR, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. USA
5. The Decline of the State, by Kathleen Gough, 'Our Generation Against Nuclear War', Volume II, Number 1.
6. For a World without weapons or wars, by L.F. Palamarchuk, 'Ukraine Pravda' (November 18, 1962). Language: Russian. Also in 'Disarmament and Arms Control', Vol. 1. Number 1, London. Language: English. Abstracts in French, German, Russian.
7. How to Change the World without War, by Arnold Toynbee, 'Saturday Review' (May 12, 1962).
8. Insatiability, a Problem for Utopia, by Saul Engelbourg in 'The American Journal of Economics and Social Sciences'. (January 1963).
9. International Change in a Warless World, by Arthur Larson, in 'Saturday Review' (November 17, 1962).
10. An International University, by Elton B. McNeil, in 'Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists', Volume 18, Number 8 (October 1962).
11. Kybernetik als Soziale Tatsache, by O.W. Hasseloff, 'Bergendorfer Gesprächskreis, Protokoll, Number 10', Hamburg (1963). Language: German.
12. Mental Hygiene and World Peace, by Kilton Stewart, in 'Mental Hygiene', Volume 38 (1954).
13. The More Abundant Life, by Theodore A. Sumberg, in 'The American Journal of Economics and Sociology' (January 1962).
14. Of the Making of Peace and The Shape of the World at Peace - A New Dimension in Peace-making, by Alfred Hassler. Available from FoR, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. USA.
15. Order and Change in a Warless World, by Walter Millis, 'Saturday Review' (September 15, 1962).
16. Peace: Science's Next Great Exploration, by J. Lear in 'Saturday Review' (December 10, 1960).
17. Ein Plädoyer für die Soziale Phantasie, by Robert Jungk, in 'Neue Zeit' (June 1962). Language: German.

18. A Place for Social Imagination (Parts I & II), by Robert Jungk, in 'Our Generation Against Nuclear War', Volume II, Nos. 2 and 3.
19. A Propos des Spéculations sur l'Avenir, by Jean Maynaud, in 'Revue Française de Science Politique', Vol. XIII, No.3 (September 1963) Language: French.
20. Raising the Sights of Research on Peace, by J. David Singer, 'American Behavioural Scientist', Volume IV, No.8. (April 1961).
21. Recapturing the Future, by Margaret Mead, 'Saturday Review', (June 1, 1963).
22. Science and Technology in the World of the Future, by N.N. Semyonov, in 'Scientific World', Volume VII, Number 1 (1963). Languages: original in Russian, also English, French, Chinese, German, Spanish.
23. Die Stadt der Zukunft, by Rudolf Hillebrecht, in 'Der Volkswirt', supplement in Number 13 (March 3, 1963). Language: German.
24. The Triple Revolution, reprint available from Liberation.
25. Utopia, 1980, by Bertrand de Journal, 'Spectator' Number 7077 (February 14, 1964)
26. The Utopian Basis of Peace, (unsigned) in 'Manas', Vol. XV, Number 47.
27. We have to be Liberators, by A.J. Muste, 'Fellowship', Volume 30, Number 1 (January 1, 1964) FoR, USA.
28. Where are we going, if anywhere? A look at Post-Civilisation, by Kenneth Boulding, in 'Human Organisation', Volume 21, Number 2 (Summer 1962).

#### Pamphlets

1. Disarmament, Economic Growth and International Cooperation, by Oskar Lange, The 20th Montague Burton Lecture on International Relations, Leeds University Press, Leeds, U.K. 1962
2. A New Civilisation - Peace with Abundance, by Elsa Peters Morse, International Institute for Peace, Möllwaldplatz 5, Vienna IV, Austria.
3. Permanent Peace, by Walter Millis, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, 1961.
4. A World without War, by Walter Millis, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, 1961.

ED 718-27-109

International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace  
Confédération Internationale pour le Désarmement et la Paix  
Internationale Konföderation für Abrüstung und Frieden

The Grange, 3 Hendon Avenue, London N.3, United Kingdom

Telephone: FINchley 7288

October 19, 1964

To Members of the Council  
Members of the Executive Committee  
Affiliated Organisations

23.10.64 V.

- President:  
Kenneth Lee (U.K.)
- Vice-Presidents:  
Claude Bourdet (France)  
Shikharaj Dhadha (India)  
Alfred Hassler (U.S.A.)  
Felix Kloppenburg (Fed. Rep. of Germany)  
Izeta Simic (Yugoslavia)
- Treasurer:  
Peggy Duff (U.K.)
- General Secretary:  
F. C. Hunnius (Canada)
- International Council:  
Frank Bosten (Ghana)  
Andreas Buro (Fed. Rep. of Germany)  
Michael Craft (U.K.)  
Peggy Duff (U.K.)  
E. Philip Eastman (U.K.)  
Andres Guggero (Italy)  
Nils Petter Gleditsch (Norway)  
Guido Geszani (Italy)  
Homer A. Jack (U.S.A.)  
Daniel Elwyn Jones (U.K.)  
Sean MacBride (Ire)  
Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Canada)  
Rayard Rustin (U.S.A.)  
Tony Smythe (U.K.)  
Bertil Svahnstrom (Sweden)

Dear Friends,

The Executive Committee of the International Confederation at its recent meeting in Ashford, England, considered two background papers on issues important for the Peace Movement. These were the July issue of CND's Information Bulletin: The Month, on "The Multilateral Force" and a Paper on "The French Nuclear Effort" specially prepared for the Confederation by John Slater, CND's Information and Research Officer, and Dr. Antoinette Pirie. It was agreed that the Confederation should publish these, jointly, as a pamphlet.

The two papers require editing and some additions will be needed to the section on "The Multilateral Force" to bring it up to date. It is not proposed to incorporate the final section of "The French Nuclear Effort" concerned with Proposals for International and National Action, in the pamphlet. The political aims, outlined on Pages 38 and 39 will be incorporated into the pamphlet. The proposals for action on Pages 39 and 40 have either been agreed by the Confederation, or are to be forwarded to affiliated organisations for comment.

V.V.

I am enclosing copies of the two documents for your information and consideration. Editing is to start almost immediately as we are anxious to publish the pamphlet as early as possible. I would therefore be grateful if you would send any comments you wish to make as quickly as possible to me at CND's National Office, 2, Carthusian Street, London E.C.1.

Yours sincerely,

Peggy Duff

\* As supplies of the documents are limited copies are not enclosed for members of the Executive Committee, who already have them.

Institut für...

# I.C.D.P.

The Grange,  
3, Hendon Avenue,  
Finchley,  
London, N.3.

ED 718-27-MO

## *inter-organisational bulletin*

I.O.B. Nr. 7. November 30th  
1964

8.12.64

### ANTI-MLF DEMONSTRATION/LOBBY DURING NATO COUNCIL MEETING IN PARIS DECEMBER 15th, 1964

---

- The demonstration/lobby in Paris will be sponsored by the ICDP and organised by Claude Bourdet of the MCAA in Paris.
- Several hundred participants are expected to come from Germany in chartered buses.
- The CND in Britain is planning to charter one or two planes to send people to Paris.
- We hope other member organisations in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium and Italy will be able to send smaller groups as well.

#### Programme:

The group will begin to arrive at 11 am. During the day, delegations will lobby at the Nato Council meeting.

We hope to arrange for a massive silent demonstration in the early evening.

At about 9pm, a large meeting will take place with prominent speakers from several countries.

There will be a Press Conference.

Note: Groups are asked to bring their own banners and posters specifying the nature of the demonstration (Anti-MLF) and the name and origin of the participants.

.....  
Please let the ICDP office know how many people are likely to come from your organisation (send a copy of all correspondence to

Claude Bourdet,  
47 Av. d'Iéna,  
Paris, 16, France.

Groups should arrange to arrive in the late morning (between 11am and noon) and plan to leave again in the late evening of the same day.

We will shortly send you the address of the assembly point in Paris.

#### New Associate Member

The Union générale des étudiants du Québec are applying for Associate Membership to the ICDP.

The Grange,  
3, Hendon Avenue,  
Finchley, London N.3.

**inter-organisational bulletin**

I.O.B. Nr. 8.

December 21st, 1964

29.12.64

ANTI-MLF Demonstration/Lobby in Paris on December 15th, 1964

Several hundred members of the Kampagne für Abrüstung (West Germany), CND and Committee of 100, and other ICDP Member Organisations from Italy and Belgium participated in a series of activities during the Nato Council meeting in Paris.

Small groups of 10-15 delivered messages to the delegates of the Nato Council meeting and to the Embassies of the 15 Nato member states.

Since the Paris police did not permit a large demonstration, all activities were carried out by small groups.

Over 30 participants were arrested (one group of 15 in front of the Nato Council meeting included Dr. Adreas Buro, the Chairman of the Kampagne für Abrüstung). Another group was arrested on the Champs Elysées, carrying a large banner with the slogan, 'No nuclear arms on German soil'. All arrested persons were released by evening.

The ICDP Press Conference, organised by Claude Bourdet of the MCAA (Claude is Vice-President of the ICDP) was well attended by Press, Radio and TV. Among those present at the Press Conference were: Fenner Brockway (former MP and now member of the House of Lords), Anne Kerr (MP), Claude Bourdet, Peggy Duff, Klaus Vack (Executive Secretary of the Kampagne für Abrüstung), Andrea Gaggero, and Gerry Hunnius.

The activities ended with a large mass meeting (over 2500), which was sponsored jointly by MCAA and the Mouvement de la Paix (France). Among the speakers were: Fenner Brockway, Andreas Buro, Claude Bourdet, Jean Rostand (Honorary President of MCAA), Andre Souquière (Secretary of the Mouvement pour la Paix), Therese Cargrain (Voice of Women).

Rome Conference

This conference was originally planned for December 5 h/6th, and has now been scheduled for February 13th/14th in Rome. Details of this conference which will discuss the proliferation of nuclear weapons, nuclear-free zones in Central Europe and the alternatives to MLF/ANF will be sent out early in January. The conference is sponsored by the ICDP and organised locally by the Consulta per la Pace.

GH.

ED 718-27-112

PEACE PRESS, ICDP London

- Rundschreiben - mit "Peace Press" No 1.1 - vom 11. 1. 65

Liebe Freunde,

die beiliegende Ausgabe von PEACE PRESS macht Sie ~~bekannt~~ mit einem neuen, vierzehntägigen Pressedienst der KONFÖDERATION bekannt. Sie haben von DEVI PRASAD erfahren, daß der Nachrichtendienst der WRI ((die blauen Vervielfältigungen!!)) in Zukunft nur an einen beschränkten Verteiler gesandt werden und daß die größere Verbreitung der WRI-Nachrichten durch die PEACE PRESS erfolgen wird.

Die beiliegende Ausgabe ~~wird~~ wird Ihnen einen Überblick geben über den Umfang der Berichterstattung, wie ~~ihm~~ wir ihn in Zukunft in PEACE PRESS bringen wollen. Wir senden Ihnen die erste Ausgabe als Einführungsnummer. Wenn Sie sie abonnieren wollen, füllen Sie bitte den anhängenden Abschnitt aus und schicken Sie uns diesen mit Ihrem Scheck zurück.

Mit besten Wünschen

GERRY HUNNIUS

Generalsekretär, ICDP

....

-----

A L F R E D : bisher hat der VK den blauen Pressedienst der WRI bekommen, und zwar mindestens ich einmal und einmal die Geschäftsstelle (zuletzt auch über mich immer). Diese Sendung hier ist ebenfalls an mich und nochmals an Gesch.stelle gerichtet gewesen (Beiliegende ist Eure Sendung!). Ich hätte gern auch in Zukunft die hier besprochene Veröffentlichung. Ob wir sie abonnieren müssen, glaube ich nicht - bitte schreibe nach London, daß wir so ein oder mehrere Ex. bekommen.

fred Horst

ED 718-27-113

PEACE PRESS, ICDP

3 Hendon Avenue,  
Finchley, London N.3

January 11th, 1965

26.1.65

Dear Friend,

The enclosed issue of Peace Press will introduce you to a new twice-monthly news service of the ICDP. You have heard from Devi Prasad that the news service of the War Resisters' International will in future only be sent to a limited mailing list and the wider distribution of W.R.I. news will be done through the Peace Press.

The present issue will give you an idea of the kind of coverage we intend to present in future issues of Peace Press. We are sending you this first issue as a complimentary copy. If you wish to subscribe to it please fill in the information below and return it with your cheque or money order.

With best wishes,

Gerry Hunnius,  
General Secretary,  
ICDP.

----- Tear here -----

I wish to enter a one-year subscription to Peace Press:

Name .....  
(Capital letters  
please)

Address .....  
.....  
.....

Annual subscription price: £1 1 6d. (\$3.00)  
£2 16 6d. (\$8.00) by Air Mail

I enclose my cheque or money order (make payable to Peace Press).

Return to Peace Press, 3 Hendon Avenue, London, Finchley, N.3., U.K.

ED 718 - 27 - 114

January 12, 1965Vol. I, No. 1

26.1.65

CONTENTS

ICDP Report - Activities of Member Organizations
News of Other Peace Organizations
Miscellaneous News and Projects
Study and Research
International Cooperation Year
Human Rights
Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Nations
Future Conferences
Reports on Crisis Spots

NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Peace Press replaces the former Peace Information Bulletin of the ICDP. There will be no Volume II, No. 4 of the quarterly bulletin. In this new service, we will continue to document projects and activities within and of concern to the international peace movement, and our twice-monthly service will enable us to include information from the world press of relevance to peace workers. Since this is our first issue after a three month period, it is particularly bulky. Future issues will be approximately ten pages in length.

REPORT ON ICDP ACTIVITIESNew Associate Member for ICDP

The founding convention (November 12-15) of the Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec (Quebec Students Union) adopted the following resolution:

'Considering that the U.G.E.Ç. must fight for the establishment of peace between nations,

Considering that there is an organization working for this achievement, It is proposed that U.G.E.Ç. join the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace.'

This resolution was adopted unanimously.

Published by the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP), 3 Hendon Avenue, London, N.3, U.K. Telephone: FINchley 7288

Issued twice-monthly

Subscription Rates: £1.1.6 (\$3.00) annually, £2.16.6 (\$8.00) Airmail

Address: Richard Guay, Vice-President  
aux Affaires Publiques, Union  
Générale des Etudiants du Quebec,  
2222 Maplewood, Montreal, P.Q.,  
Canada.

Anti-MLF/ANF Demonstration during  
NATO Council Meeting in Paris (Dec. 15)

Several hundred demonstrators from ICDP member organizations in Germany, Britain, France and Italy lobbied NATO delegates during their meeting and staged small demonstrations outside the NATO building in Paris on December 15. One group of over 15 from the Kampagne für Abrüstung (Fed. Repub. of Germany) including the Chairman of the German Campaign, Dr. Andreas Buro, were arrested in front of the NATO building. Another German group was arrested on the Champs Elysées, carrying a banner which read 'No Nuclear Arms on German Soil'. Everyone arrested during the day (including 4 CND supporters) were released the same evening.

At the ICDP Press Conference organized by the Mouvement Contre l'Armement Atomique on the same day, delegates stated their opposition to all plans for a multilateral force. Among delegates present at the Press Conference were Fenner Brockway (former M.P. and now a member of the House of Lords); Anne Kerr, M.P.; Peggy Duff (CND); Klaus Vack (Kampagne für Abrüstung); Claude Bourdet (Mouvement Contre l'Armement Atomique); Andrea Gaggero (Consulta Italiana per la Pace); and Gerry Hunnius (General Secretary of the ICDP).

Similar demonstrations on the same day were organised by the 'Mouvement de la Paix' supported by delegates from several Peace Committees of the World Council of Peace. An evening meeting (jointly sponsored by the MCAA and the Mouvement de la Paix) concluded a day of active peace work. ICDP speakers included Fenner Brockway, Claude Bourdet, Andreas Buro, and the honorary president of the MCAA, Nobel Prize winner, Jean Rostand.

The Paris action was one of a series of activities directed against the MLF/ANF. One week prior to the Paris demonstration, ICDP member organizations and other peace groups in Britain held a conference in the House of Commons, which was followed on the next day by a lobby of Parliament. On Dec. 12, 13, the CND initiated a lobby of the Labour Party Conference in Brighton followed by a meeting (sponsored by the CND, the Labour Peace Fellowship and other organizations) addressed by Frank Allaun, M.P., Michael Foot, M.P., Fenner Brockway and the chairman of the CND, Mrs. Olive Gibbs.

The Campaign Against the Multilateral  
Force Continues

While the MLF, as originally proposed seems dead, it is clear that the reasons for it have not been removed.

On February 13-15, the ICDP is sponsoring a small working conference in Rome to discuss and analyze the alternatives to the MLF and work out a strategy as well as projects for the peace movement.

The ICDP office is preparing background material for all the delegates. It has already published a 56 page pamphlet entitled 'A Threat to Peace' (available from the ICDP office for 2/6 or 40¢) which deals with the MLF and the proposed French nuclear tests in the Pacific.

Protest Against U.S. Military Action  
in Vietnam

On December 19, the ICDP participated in a delegation to the U.S. Embassy in London, made up of representatives of British peace organizations, which protested the continuation of U.S. military activity in South Vietnam. An appeal was made to the First Secretary for the immediate withdrawal of military intervention from Vietnam, and the U.S. was urged to support the immediate convening of a round-table conference of all countries directly concerned. It was urged that democratic elections be held

in Vietnam, which would not be influenced by either power bloc or any foreign country. This action was part of an international action co-ordinated by the War Resisters League in the U.S. (see below)

### China's Bomb

The President of the ICDP sent a letter of protest to the Chinese Peace Committee immediately after the explosion of China's first atomic device.

## ACTIVITIES OF ICDP MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

Widest coverage to the plans and projects of our member organizations can be given if we receive your reports regularly. Publication deadlines are the 1st and 15th of each month. Conferences are listed separately.

### THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY

P.O. Box 1627, Accra Ghana.  
General Secretary: Frank Boaten.

The General Secretary recently made a tour of several African and Asian countries (including India and Australia). The Accra Assembly presented a Memorandum to the Cairo Conference of the Heads of Government of Non-Aligned Nations (reported in a later section) on the threat of the French tests in the Pacific. Proposals embodied in the memo include the adoption of a U.N. Resolution calling on France to suspend development of her test sites in the South Pacific and abandon test plans under threat of strong U.N. sanctions, the declaration of the Southern Hemisphere as a nuclear-free zone, and government support for an immediate world-wide boycott by trade unions on shipment of testing materials into the testing areas. Proposals made were identical with those made earlier last year by the Accra Assembly in a letter to the Foreign Ministers of the signatory nations of the Test Ban Treaty. The full text may be obtained from the Accra Assembly.

### CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT (U.K.)

2 Carthusian St., London, E.C. 1, U.K. General Secretary: Peggy Duff.

From Nov. 20-22, the GND held its annual conference under the chairmanship of Clive Gibbs, the new GND chairman. 60 resolutions in all were under discussion - covering policy and priorities, organization and finances, projects, publicity and propaganda.

Critics who expected the GND to become no more than an uncritical supporter of the Labour Government were mistaken. The conference passed a resolution on 'GND and the Labour Government' which stated clearly that it would continue to press for renunciation 'of the so-called independent deterrent, oppose the formation of the MLF or any similar force and refrain from introducing conscription'. 'Further, it shall urge the Government to repudiate the Nassau agreement; cease the construction of Polaris submarines; announce its intention of withdrawing from NATO; and work for the inclusion of China in the U.N.'

A full report of the conference is available from the GND office. Meeting on Nov. 29, the newly elected National Council of GND met and commissioned John Gittings to write a new policy statement based on the 'policy and priority' resolutions passed by the annual conference. Prof. Peter Worsley was asked to chair a new committee to study and report on the relevance of 'positive neutralism'.

### COMBINED UNIVERSITIES CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT (CUCND)

55 Harbord St., Toronto 5, Ont., Canada.

A weekly evening seminar at Queens University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, on 'Non-Violence, Revolution and Social Change in the 20th Century' is being sponsored by the Queens University CUCND and the Student Christian Movement.

The purpose of the seminar is

to explore the role and function of conflict in society from a political, social and philosophical viewpoint. In order to relate it to a discussion of non-violence, conflict will be considered in the light of power, control, and change.

The Seminar will analyze the nature of power relationships in contemporary society, and relate its findings to the role of the individual. It will review briefly both Marxist and non-Marxist thought on the political and social implications of social change by violent and other means, and will examine the notion of non-violence as a political strategy and as an ideology.

#### COMMITTEE OF 100 (U.K.)

13 Goodwin St., London, N. 4.

A 'Peace in Malaysia Committee' has been formed by the International Subcommittee of the Committee of 100, and individuals and organizations in the independent peace movement are invited to join. The first meeting is being called for Thursday, 4 February at 7:30 p.m. in the reception room of the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C. 1. The meeting will set up a study group.

#### FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE

Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W. 1, U.K. Secretary: Kenneth Lee.

Friends Peace Committee has completely sold out its printing of a poster reading: £2000 million on arms, £100 on overseas aid, Hope lies in aid, not in arms.

A pamphlet, giving the arguments for supporting a proposal that the grants in aid to developing countries from the U.K. should equal 2% of its G.N.P. is being published in February by the Friends Peace Committee. This pamphlet will be regarded as a project of International Cooperation Year during its month for Economic Development.

#### INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (IFoR)

The Grange, 3 Hendon Ave., London, N. 3, U.K. General Secretary: Rev. E. Philip Eastman.

The IFoR reports the appointment of 3 new secretaries: Julian Griggs, a member of the Brethren, in Oakville, Ontario, has become Secretary to the Canadian FoR and is currently on a 3 month speaking tour in the west. Miss Johanne Opsahl has been appointed Secretary of Kristent Fredslag, the FoR in Norway. The Fellowship in India, of which Presbyter K. K. Chandy is Secretary, has appointed Sri Isaac John as Associate General Secretary from 1 April 1965 and announces that two training courses on non-violence will be convened at Manganam, Kerala by Isaac John and at Kotagiri by Marjorie Sykes. A peace workshop at Hyderabad is planned for workers in Central India and the Fellowship will continue to work for reconciliation in Nagaland, keeping in close touch with Jayaprakash Narayan and the peace mission, and rendering all possible help.

#### Vietnam

National Fellowships of the IFoR have made representations to U.S. Embassies in a number of countries, urging the immediate convening of a conference of those nations concerned with the situation in S. Vietnam, including both mainland China and the U.S.A. Such a conference should seek:-

- (1) cooperation in relief and rehabilitation of the people of S. Vietnam carried out under neutral auspices
- (2) an independent and neutral government in S. Vietnam through democratic free elections, and
- (3) renunciation of military intervention in Laos, Cambodia or North or South Vietnam by the U.S.

U.S.S.R., China or any other nation. This was part of an international appeal reported at the end of this section.

KAMPAGNE FÜR ABRÜSTUNG OSTER-  
MARSCH DER ATOMWAFFENEGEGNER

605 Offenbach/M. Waldstr. 99.  
Executive Secretary: Klaus Vack.  
Chairman: Dr. Andreas Buro.

A press release of the German Campaign issued on Jan. 1/65 announces a large mass meeting to take place on Jan 31/65 (details under Conferences). It draws attention to the need for a public discussion of the military policies of the Federal Government.

The German Campaign for Disarmament is presently circulating a petition urging the government to renounce the acquisition of nuclear arms in any form and to press for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. Over 100,000 people have already signed the petition.

NEW ZEALAND CND

7 Wilfrid St., Christ Church 4, New Zealand. Secretary: Mary Woodward.

An important analysis of SEATO has been published by the New Zealand CND, under the title 'SEATO: No Place for New Zealand'. Copies may be obtained by writing to the above address.

SANE (National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy)

17 East 45th St., New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A. Acting Executive Director: Donald Keys.

The 7th Annual Conference of SANE held in November adopted the following programme priorities for 1965:

- To Make the world ready for peace:
  - A. by stopping the spread of nuclear weapons through
    - (i) opposing the MLF and supporting mutual security arrangements through disarmament and political settlements in Europe,
    - (ii) making the test-ban treaty comprehensive, and
    - (iii) bringing China into disarmament negotiations and the U.N.
  - B. by settling the war in Vietnam and working for a non-aligned Asia

- To Make the U.S. ready for peace:
  - A. by planning for the conversion of the U.S. economy, and
  - B. by reducing the current U.S. military budget through making American initiatives, opposing new military systems and accepting partial disarmament measures.

Participants of a recent meeting of SANE continued discussion of the proposed merger of SANE with the United World Federalists. The joint committee of the two groups has now completed a draft of a detailed policy statement for a merged organization.

SARVA SEVA SANGH

Rajghat, Varanasi-1, India.  
Secretary: Radhakrishna.

Siddharaj Dhadra reports from India the plans and proposals adopted at the General Meeting of the Sarva Seva Sangh, Nov. 16-20. Jayaprakash Narayan reported on the work of the peace mission in Nagaland and it was decided to organize a peace corps to help the peace mission, and to organize a Joint Work Camp of Pak and Indian nationals to promote Indo-Pak understanding and friendship. Narayan led a goodwill mission to East Pakistan in early December.

The Sarva Seva Sangh has set up a committee to draw up possible lines of action of Sarvodaya workers in connection with the next General Election in India. Although Sarvodaya workers do not participate in the election in any form, they consider it their duty to educate voters to exercise their franchise rightly and wherever possible, to put up by unanimous agreement, candidates of their choice.

The Sangh has expressed itself categorically against India entering the atomic weapons race and maintains that voluntary and complete renunciation of arms can be the only effective answer to the Chinese bomb. Sarvodaya workers are attempting to influence opinion in India,

The Times (London) of Dec. 31/64 reported: "The Government of India and the rebel underground in Nagaland have agreed to extend the cease-fire by another month. The cease-fire came into force on Sept. 6 and was due to end on Jan. 6, but both sides agreed yesterday not to resume hostilities for another month and to give negotiations another chance. Although on the verge of breakdown a few weeks ago, the negotiations have been given further lease of life by the intervention of the 3 man peace mission consisting of the Rev. Michael Scott, Mr. J. P. Narayan, and the Chief Minister of Assam, Mr. B. P. Chaliha.

### WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL (WRI)

Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave.,  
Enfield, Middx., U.K. Secretary: Devi Prasad.

#### WRI Study Conference

The next Study Conference of the WRI will be held in Italy, probably in Perugia. The Conference will discuss training in non-violence, regionally and internationally. Final dates have not yet been fixed, but July/August are suggested. The WRI is also planning a CO Work Study Camp in Italy, and it is proposed to organize these two conferences so that some participants can participate in both.

#### World Conference on Non-Violence

In conjunction with its 12th Triennial Conference, due in 1966, the WRI is planning a World Conference on Non-Violence. The International believes it is the task of every society to uncover the root causes of growing tensions in society and of isolation of individuals and groups. New social and political institutions must be created on peaceful and sane principles. To discuss this, the WRI is asking social scientists, political thinkers, educators and other experts to contribute their experience and knowledge to make this Conference a useful event. The Conference will attempt to explore the conditions upon which a future of hope, free from war, can be based. The following are the main topics of discussion: Non-Violence and Sociology, Non-Violence and Education, Non-Violence and Planning, and Non-Violence

and Politics. Study groups are being set up in different countries. People interested should contact the WRI.

#### Israel

At the request of the Indian Shanti Sena, the WRI Israel Section is making Jan. 30 Gandhi Memorial Day. Jan. 30 is the day Gandhi was assassinated. Shanti Sena had sent an appeal to peace organizations, asking them to celebrate this day as World Peace Day. A public meeting is going to take place in the SCI hut in Haifa.

#### India

Satish Kumar, one of the two young Indians who walked from New Delhi to Moscow and Washington and who are now back in India, is planning to organize an Anti-War Campaign under the auspices of Sarva Seva Sangh.

To celebrate Jan. 30 as Peace Day, he is organizing a demonstration in front of the Indian Prime Minister's residence. Further details can be obtained from him, c/o the Sarva Seva Sangh.

#### South Africa: Prisoners for Peace Day

Theodore Kloppenburg, who was jailed for 2 months under the Suppression of Communism Act, returned home at the end of December to see a 'pile of Christmas cards'. He writes: 'It was with a grateful heart, being strangely uplifted in spirit when I beheld the magnificent display of Christmas cards that had come from countries as far apart as Finland and New Zealand'.

#### WORLD COMMITTEE FOR A WORLD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION INC.

8800 West 14th Ave., Denver  
15, Colorado, U.S.A.

Plans are underway to obtain, in 1965, a quorum of delegates to begin the World Convention which will draft a constitution for Federal World Government and seek ratification. 100 accredited delegates from 30 countries is the minimum requirement for a quorum. Appointment of delegates by at least 10 national govern-

ments and election of delegates by people in at least 20 other countries is being sought. To promote this programme, governments are being approached and campaigns to encourage public support for candidates will take place. National committees will be formed wherever possible and each one will be entitled to elect 2 members to the world committee.

A world-wide Consultative Council, to be composed of several hundred eminent personalities and creative thinkers, is being formed to serve in an advisory capacity to the development of a World Constitutional Convention.

To carry out this programme, the Executive meeting in September/64 adopted a minimum budget of \$75,000 for 1965, providing for the employment of a minimum full-time staff of 7 persons.

Pledges are being sought by the Treasurer: Tom Hudgens, 3800 W. 14th Ave., Denver 15, Colorado, U.S.A.

YOUTH CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT (YCND)

2 Carthusian St., London, E. C. 1, U.K. National Chairman: Mervyn Rice; International Secretary: Peter Sneddon.

At their Annual Conference meeting in London, Dec. 5-6, YCND accepted the principle that YCND and the Colleges and Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament should amalgamate, provided the CUCaND Conference also agrees. Reports of the YCND Conference may be obtained at the above address.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE ACTION, DECEMBER 19 AGAINST CONTINUATION OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Initiated by an ad hoc committee of leading persons in U.S. peace organizations and organized by the War Resisters League, 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N.Y., an international campaign against continuing U.S. military aggression in Vietnam was supported by a wide-ranging number of peace groups. On December 19, the following actions took place:

Demonstrations and picketing at U.S. Embassies or Consulates:

- in Montreal and Toronto, Canada
- in Hamburg, Germany (by the IdK, one of the 3 German WRI Sections, and the Socialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund) with support
- in Munich (from the Kampagne für Abrüstung)
- in London (by the Committee of 100)

Delegations to U.S. Embassies or Consulates:

- in Japan (by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Friends)
- in London (by the ICDF, Friends Peace Committee, WRI, IFoR, Peace Pledge Union, CND, and National Peace Council)
- in Ireland (by the Irish Pacifist Movement)
- in Melbourne, Australia
- in India
- in Brazil
- in New Zealand and
- in France

Cables of support were received by the War Resisters League from:

- the Irish Pacifist Movement
- the Vice-President of TANU, government party in Tanganyika,
- the President of the Southwest African People's Organization,
- the Deputy-President of the African National Congress, and
- the World Peace Brigade.

Vigils, rallies and demonstrations took place in more than 30 states in the U.S.A.

NEWS OF OTHER PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

COMMITTEE FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION  
(CNVA)

325 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y.  
10012.

Quebec-Guantanamo Peace Walk

"The U. S. Government is seeking to take possession of 'The Spirit of Freedom', the boat used by 5 members of the peace walk in their recent attempt to travel 'illegally' to Cuba", reports the Dec. issue of Fellowship. "In a case called 'U. S. vs. The Spirit of Freedom' the Florida Civil Liberties Union are defending the right of the crew members to keep the boat and make their trip. It is expected that the constitutionality of the McCarren Act will be called into question in the course of the case. Meanwhile, the 5 crew members, who were apprehended by the Coast Guard on Oct. 27, as they began their voyage to Cuba, are now free and have for the time being, shelved the action project."

PEACEMAKERS (U. S.)

The Coordinating Committee of Peacemakers in the U. S. has decided to hold a training programme in non-violence next summer. For further information write The Peacemaker, 10200 Sylvan Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.

PEACE RESEARCH AND EDUCATION PROJECT (PREP)

1100 East Washington St., Ann Arbor, Michigan, U. S. A.

Students for a Democratic Society based at the University of Michigan, has a greatly increased staff and budget with which it is expanding PREP, undertaken a year ago by its 30 chapters in the U. S. PREP's prospectus calls for effective campus peace programmes to reach both students and faculty, for the creation of new constituencies for peace and linking of domestic economic issues with those on the international level.

Further information can be obtained from the above address.

PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE INC.

112 Beach Ave., Woodmont,  
Connecticut, U. S. A.

The International Goodwill Seminar Tour for the summer of 1965 is tentatively scheduled to visit: England, France, USSR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania. Director of the tour is sociologist, Dr. Jerome Davis, assisted by the Rev. Roy W. Pfaff. For further information, write to the above address.

SCHWEIZERISCHE BEWEGUNG GEGEN ATOMARE AUFRÜSTUNG

8026 Zürich, Postfach 188,  
Switzerland.

The Swiss Campaign announces a mobile exhibition on 'Switzerland of Tomorrow without Atomic Arms' to take place Jan. 15-31, at Biel in the Städtische Galerie (Neumarktplatz).

STUDENT PEACE UNION (SPU)

5 Beekman St., New York 38,  
N. Y. (new address)

Closed down in Chicago in June due to temporary financial strain, SPU has relocated its headquarters (above) and is reported (in Nov. War/Peace Report) to be functioning again with 50 or more chapters in high schools and colleges and an estimated membership of 3,000.

TURN TOWARD PEACE (TTP)

Box 401, Cooper Station, New York 3, N. Y., U. S. A. Executive Director: Robert Gilmore.

TTP is organizing 3 regional follow-up conferences to the National Conference of Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War (held Dec. 13-15 in New York City). Purpose: to engage the leadership of America's voluntary associations in evaluation of problems of achieving a world without war; examine their responsibilities

towards building a climate of opinion to sustain responsible government policies and discussion of issues by the public. Assumption: that voluntary organizations, working within their own traditions, using their leadership in programmes to educate their own members, and the public, can make the significant difference.

The 1st of the series, the Midwest Conference, was held in Chicago, Jan. 9-10. It was called by 200 leaders of opinion in business, labour, academic, professional and public affairs in that region. Workshops examined the history, present policy and future alternatives for action with respect to China, the economic consequences of disarmament, nations in revolution and the United Nations. They also reviewed the role of religious, business, labour, academic, professional and public affairs groups with respect to standards of responsibility and traditions. All conferences will follow this pattern. (See conferences section for details of next 2 conferences.)

Anne Stadler writes that "these conferences are significant because in the U.S. people discharge their public responsibilities through the organizations they join. America's voluntary organizations are unique in their social and political function, standing outside of government but in responsible contact with it. This is a major project aimed at engaging these organizations in a long-term effort to build the climate and impetus for policies which will contribute to peace and freedom."

#### Targets outlined for 1964-65:

- 5 Basic Programme Guides for community peace centers: mass media, national decision makers, literature, films, opinion leaders
- Expanded Programme Services to voluntary organizations (possibilities include a special peace programme for the American Jewish Congress, conversion kit for Amalgamated Clothing Workers' regional conference, feature materials for labour press, etc.)
- 16 New Community Peace Centers
- 52 Peace Internes for 1965-66, to be recruited in 1965

- American Initiatives: a new leaflet to be published by Feb. 1/65
- Guide for Community Fund Raising to help Centers raise budgets

Early in 1965, TTP will publish its folio in tribute to Roger Baldwin, Grenville Clark, A. J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph, and Norman Thomas. The folio will have an opening essay by Harold Taylor; statements by each of the 5 men; an interpretive evaluation of each man by a colleague, such as Erich Fromm, Fred Rodell, Bayard Rustin.

As a service to TTP, the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament has assembled a Resource Packet for the use of high school students on the control of nuclear weapons systems and world peace. It contains an excellent selection of documentary and background information, analyses, bibliographies. Cost is \$1. Order from CWDWD, 218 E. 18th St., New York 3, N. Y., U. S. A.

#### WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (U. S. Section)

2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103, U.S.A. Secretary: Mrs. M. Cimsted.

On Jan. 4, a petition circulated by WILPF (U.S.) and signed by more than 100 constitutional law authorities was presented to Speaker McCormack, urging abolition of the Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) of the House of Representatives.

The petition was supported by an editorial in the New York Times (international edition) of Jan. 7, in which it was stated... "There has been a tendency... to criticize the HUAC because it has given more time and attention to extremists of the left than to extremists of the right. This is a valid criticism, but not the basic one... (which)... has been restated in a petition to the House... It is that the existence of a legislative committee empowered to inquire into ideas and opinions is irreconcilable with a system of free expression." The editorial concludes that "the Un-American Committee is unneeded, untrustworthy and basically unconstitutional. The new

House could not make a better start than by getting rid of it."

On Jan. 24-27, a petition for the seating of China at the U.N. will be launched at a Washington Legislative Seminar of WILPF. Theme of the Seminar: 'The Triple Challenge: Peace, Freedom and Jobs'.

Among other things, WILPF will press Congress to support cuts in military spending, for multilateral foreign aid, for seating China in the U.N. and for enforcement of the Civil Rights Act in the U.S.

### MISCELLANEOUS NEWS AND PROJECTS

#### ARAB-ISRAELI TOWN-TWINNING

The Jewish township of Kfar-Sava (17,000 inhabitants) has persuaded the neighbouring Arab village of Tirah (6000 inhabitants) to agree to a town-twinning arrangement, reports l'Arc en Ciel. The twinning of the two communities will help mutual understanding between their members and the promotion of good neighbourliness. The project is part of a larger programme of town-twinning between Arab and Jewish towns in Israel.

#### CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AT BRIGNOLES (Var, South of France)

Conscientious objectors in a camp at Brignoles, France, doing alternative service as fire-fighters with the French Department of 'Protection Civile', are risking arrest because of their objection to camp militarism.

On Dec. 3, two regulations of a military type were received by the unit. The 1st stated that 'Personnel serving in the unit cannot speak to meetings nor publish writings without the authorisation of the superior authority. It is forbidden for them to treat any subject in connection with social, political or religious questions or relating to foreign powers and armies'. The 2nd state: 'Any paper, leaflet or writing contrary to discipline will be forbidden inside the unit. It is also forbidden during the period of service to be a member of any movements for the support of social, religious, political or professional objects.'

Conscientious objectors in the camp have informed the 'Protection Civile' they are unable to obey these rules and are appealing to the highest court in France

to have the rulings revoked. (This report was condensed from a letter written to Philip Eastman by one of the CO's).

#### INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT

Dr. Josué de Castro is seeking financial support from governments for the development and equipping of the International University of Development, now under construction at Canisy. The International Centre for Dialogue, directed by M. Maurice Lambilliotte, will initiate a conference in Brussels next month which will contribute to the realization of this project (from a report in l'Arc en Ciel)

#### MLF A NEW YORK ELECTION ISSUE

The MLF became an election issue in New York when the leadership of National SANE, Women Strike for Peace and United World Federalists sought the views of congressional candidates on the MLF. All 3 national organizations have gone on record as opposing the MLF, SANE and WSP calling for its cancellation and UWF for a 'delay' in planning and a search for alternatives. (War/Peace Report, Nov./64)

#### MOZAMBIQUE INSTITUTE

P.O. Box 20773, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Since it opened in 1961, the Mozambique Institute has multiplied by 5 the number of Mozambican students studying at Universities abroad. It is a non-political school giving intensive primary and secondary education to the country's future teachers, and as such

plays a major role in the country's development. The Institute is in great need of assistance and the International Student Conference, Postbox 36, Leiden, Netherlands, is making an appeal.

#### NIEMÖLLER SHOCKS MODERATES

"Moderates in West German political parties are expressing shock at a new outburst by a well-known Christian pacifist, Dr. Martin Niemöller" writes a Times correspondent (Jan. 7/65). Dr. Niemöller is appealing to the electorate to return blank ballots in the coming federal election as a protest against the nuclear policies of all parties.

Dr. Niemöller, who is 72, and one of the 6 Presidents of the World Council of Churches, is retiring this year from the presidency of a small Evangelical Church in Hessen. He plans to devote himself to work with the W. C. of C.

#### PACEM IN TERRIS CONVOCAATION

About 1000 persons will be invited to a convocation, to be held Feb. 18-20 at the New York Hilton Hotel. The Convocation is being organized by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

In a letter to Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Center and Convocation chairman, President Johnson has called this 'an important event in International Cooperation Year'. Among other distinguished participants will be the Vice-President of the United States, the Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and the newly-elected President of the U. N. General Assembly.

Topics to be considered at the Convocation include:

- how to obtain universal acceptance of the idea of coexistence
- how to achieve sufficient flexibility so that all international conflicts can be settled by negotiation, and how to devise mechanisms for peaceful social and political change
- how to obtain recognition of the urgent need for rapid progress toward nuclear and conventional disarmament

- how to take actions and develop understanding to create mutual trust among nations
- how to achieve the elimination of racism in all countries
- how to achieve international cooperation in assisting the developing countries in the interests of world prosperity, and how to make full use of science and technology for developing cooperation among nations
- how to encourage further development of the United Nations so that its means and structure may become equal to the magnitude of its task

#### PROTEST AGAINST FRENCH TESTS

Australia is calling for support from women of all nations to help equip and sail a peace ship into the proposed French test area in the Pacific, in an effort to rouse public opinion against the French tests. Further information may be obtained from: Mrs. J. Symons, 5 Kareela Rd., Cremorne, New South Wales.

#### UNIVERSITY OF PEACE

35 rue du Marché, Huy, Belgium.

From January on, short sessions will be held, devoted to "The Fraternal Dialogue, the Path to Positive Peace". In July and August, two fortnight-long sessions will be held for men and women between the ages of 20 and 30.

The centre was founded 4 years ago by Father Pire with Nobel Peace Prize money he won for work among post-war refugees. Sessions are usually a fortnight and travel, board and lodging are paid for by participants. By means of simultaneous translation, work is carried on in French, English, Dutch and German. Except for the summer session the University is open to all ages and all faiths. The University's aim is "to teach the Fraternal Dialogue to the élite of the whole world with a view to establishing a positive peace". Over 400 students from 40 countries have attended its sessions.

## STUDY AND RESEARCH

Within a period of four weeks between November 9 and December 4, 1964, three separate developments in peace research and education gave new dimensions to the search for peace among intellectuals and scholars.

### I Universities and the Quest for Peace

From Nov. 9-13, Universities and the Quest for Peace, held the first of a series of conferences including educators, diplomats and representatives of research organizations. President Ronald Bauer of the Inter-American University of Puerto Rico had chaired a planning meeting in the spring of 1963 at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris, at which time Dr. Luther Evans (U.S.) was named Chairman of a continuing Executive Committee and Professor Raga S. Elim was appointed Executive Secretary.

The Peru Conference (above) was followed by a conference at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria (January, 1965). There will be other regional conferences in Asia and Eastern Europe with a final world conference to be held in Italy later this year. Each of the regional conferences is intended to mobilize educators in that region for a serious examination of (1) university teaching as an instrument for peace (with focus on curriculum evaluation); (2) university research in relation to peace; and (3) the place of the University within society.

The 2nd commission of the Lima (Peru) conference proposed the formation of an inter-university peace research institute in Latin America, as a pilot project for the establishment of similar regional institutes in all parts of the world. A regional Executive Committee of the Americas under Dr. Mauricio San Martin, Rector of the University of San Marcos, was appointed and charged with the responsibility of exploring how these recommendations can be carried out.

Address: Prof. Raga S. Elim, Universities and the Quest for Peace,  
Inter-American University, San German, Puerto Rico.

### II North American Federation for the Advancement of Peace Research

The second development took place in Chicago on Nov. 16-17, where a Peace Research conference was convened by Professor Walter Isard. Prof. Isard has organized a series of peace research conferences both in the U.S. and in Europe. During a formal business meeting during the Chicago conference the formation of a national peace research society was discussed and a steering committee for a continuing group on peace research was appointed with Prof. Kenneth Boulding as Chairman. In a memorandum, drawn up by Kenneth Boulding, the formation of a North American Federation for the Advancement of Peace Research was proposed. For further information, write to Prof. Kenneth Boulding, Center for Research in Conflict Resolution, University of Michigan, 1100 E. Washington St., Ann Arbor, Mich.

### III International Peace Research Association

The third project, which in time may contain the other two, is the International Peace Research Association (IPRA), created at the end of an international conference convened in London at the CIBA Foundation, Dec. 1-4, by an interim organization which was known as Conferences on Research on International Peace and Security.

IPRA, which succeeds CORCIPAS, will function as do other professional associations, to give encouragement and legitimacy to professional activities in all countries. Its stated aim is to "increase the quantity of research focussed on world peace and to insure its scientific quality". It will have membership both at the institutional and individual level. IPRA will maintain close contact with Fugwash but will keep its own em-

phasis on research, channelling concerns for advocacy of desirable policies in connection with disarmament and peace through Fugwash.

IPRA will take on the following specific functions:

1. Keeping up-to-date for UNESCO the International Peace Research Repertory compiled by the Oslo Peace Research Institute.
2. Sponsoring the publication of the Peace Research Abstracts put out monthly by the Canadian Peace Research Institute, which will now be financed by UNESCO.
3. Adopting the newsletter formerly known as the International Peace Research Newsletter as its official organ, now to be known as the IPRA Newsletter, also to be financed by UNESCO.
4. Consulting with groups in any country planning to form a peace research institute, specifically with the Committee appointed by the Swedish government to plan for a Swedish-sponsored international peace research institute, and with the U.N. on the U.N. Research and Training Institute which is currently in its early formative stages. Facilitating exchange of personnel between existing institutes.
5. Planning for an inaugural international peace research conference as soon as feasible in 1965 (International Cooperation Year). It is hoped that at this inaugural conference, some international coordinated research projects can be planned for, to come under the UNESCO participation scheme.

Address: Professor B. V. A. Röling, Polemological Institute, Ubbo Emmiusingel 19, Groningen, Netherlands

(condensed from a report by Elise Boulding, editor, IPRA Newsletter)

#### European Peace Research Conference

The second European Peace Research Conference organized by Prof. Walter Isard, will be held on September 4-5, 1965 in Central Europe. A full report of the first European Conference (Ghent, Belgium, July, 1964) will be available shortly.

Address: Prof. Walter Isard, Department of Regional Science, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

#### Société Européenne de Culture

The Société Européenne de Culture, founded in 1950, now has over 1500 members among scholars, scientists, writers and artists from 60 countries. It is primarily concerned to establish a constructive dialogue between East and West. It publishes an excellent journal (in French) 'Comprendre'. Currently the Society is proposing the formation of a World Association of Culture which can work on a world-wide basis for a war-less world.

Address: Dr. Umberto Campagnolo, Secretary-General, S.E.C., Piazza San Marco 52, Venice, Italy.

#### World Federation of Scientific Workers

The World Federation of Scientific Workers will build a new International Scientists Centre near Varna in Bulgaria. It will be named after F. Joliot Curie, the founder of the Federation.

Address: 40 Goodge St., London, W.1.  
U.K.

## INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION YEAR (ICY)

While several recently created ICY committees have worked out a full and promising programme of activities, there are still many countries without an active committee. Peace workers have an excellent opportunity to spark off community action during ICY and make sure that the important issues of our day are part of any ICY activity.

The brief bibliography below will give all the necessary background plus many specific proposals to permit individuals and groups to establish new committees or to revitalize existing ones:

### Literature and Information on ICY Activities

1. INTERCOM (Sept. - Oct. 1964) - 51, from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 E. 46th St., New York City) contains a 45 page handbook on ICY with lists of resources and suggestions for community actions.
2. The Conference Group on the U.N. (331 E. 30th St., New York City) has a committee on ICY which distributes relevant material.
3. The Accra Assembly (P.O. Box 1627, Accra, Ghana) has prepared a useful background and idea paper on the ICY.
4. For activities of the British ICY Committee, write to the Secretary, Douglas Smith at 29 Great James Street, London, W.C. 1.
5. The Report of the Committee for the ICY ( U.N. General Assembly, 19th Session, December 17, 1964) includes all relevant information on ICY, a calendar of events as well as reports of national plans received by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

### CALL FOR U. N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER

"The creation by the U. N. of the post of High Commissioner for Human Rights, with a status comparable with that of the High Commissioner for Refugees, was recommended by Mr. Sean MacBride, Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists (and Council member of the ICDP) in a speech to the International Lawyers Club in Geneva, Dec. 16, writes the Times correspondent of that date.

In his speech, Mr. MacBride hails the European Convention on Human Rights as an important advance in this field, providing effective machinery for its application in 16 European Signatory nations.

The possibility of adopting an African regional Convention on Human Rights was launched at the Lagos Conference of 1961 organized by the International

Commission of Jurists, and it is hoped that this will be one of the matters which the African Commission of Jurists will pursue. There are already drafts for an Inter-American Convention on Human Rights, which is under examination by the Organization of American States, and for a Central American Convention; the ICJ has been participating actively on a regional basis in these 2 projects. The possibility of an Asian and of a Pacific regional Convention on Human Rights is one of the matters which will be considered by the Conference the ICJ is holding in Bangkok on 15 Feb., 1965. (excerpted from Mr. MacBride's speech)

### CIVIL RIGHTS ACT RETROACTIVE

"The Supreme Court, Dec. 14, reversed the convictions of 3 sit-in demonstrators, and ruled that convictions for such violations prior to the new Civil Rights Act were unconstitutional", reports the Times, Dec. 15, 1964.

"The controversial ruling was strongly criticized by 4 of the justices, who argued that Congress had shown no intention of making the 1964 Act retroactive."

This ruling reverses the convictions of Arthur Hamm Junior, a Negro student arrested after a sit-in demonstration in Rock Hill, South Carolina in 1960,

and James Lupper and Thomas Robinson, who demonstrated at a lunch counter in Little Rock, Arkansas, in the same year. There are some 3,000 similar cases in state courts, either on appeal or untried, which must now be withdrawn.

## 2ND CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES (Cairo, Oct. 5-10, 1964)

47 countries participated as full members in the work of the Conference, 10 countries attended as observers

The most important disarmament recommendation which is part of the final declaration 'Programme for Peace and International Cooperation' is the proposal to the 19th U. N. General Assembly to take the necessary steps to convene a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations to which all countries would be invited.

The West and especially the U. S., have hitherto been opposed to such a conference which was first proposed by China in August 1963.

Dr. Homer Jack, who attended the conference as an observer, remarks in his report that there are several reasons to recommend a world conference. In addition to providing stimulation from outside to the 13 Nation Disarmament Negotiations at Geneva, it would bring China and France directly into disarmament negotiations.

### Bibliography:

1. A full report on the Cairo Conference is published in a special issue of Review of International Affairs, Vol. XV, No. 350 (published in Serbo-Croat, English, German, French, Russian and Spanish).  
Address: Nemanjina 34, PCB 413, Beograd, Yugoslavia. Single copy: \$0.50.
2. An excellent descriptive analysis on the Cairo Conference has been written by Dr. Homer Jack and is available from: Department of Social Responsibility, Unitarian-Universalist Association, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02108, U.S.A. Single copy: \$0.25 (postpaid).

## FUTURE CONFERENCES IN 1965

Please consult Peace Information Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 3, for further conferences.

<u>Date and Conference</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Details from:</u>
<u>JANUARY, 1965</u> 19th Plenary Assembly, World Federation of United Nations Associations	New Delhi, India	1 av. de la Paix, Geneva, Switzerland
<u>JANUARY 11-29</u> U. N. Commission on Human Rights, Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, 17th Session	Geneva, Switzerland	Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland

<u>Date and Conference</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Details from:</u>
<u>JANUARY 30-31</u> Quarterly Conference of Campaign Caravan Workshops Theme: 'A Movement with Purpose'	London, U.K.	David Swaffer, c/o Housmans, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N. 1.
<u>JANUARY 30-31</u> National Conference of Australian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament	Melbourne, Australia	The Secretary, VCND, Box 577d, GPO, Melbourne, Australia.
<u>JANUARY 31</u> Public Conference of Kampagne für Abrüstung Theme: Against the spread of nuclear weapons, for a nuclear free zone in Central Europe.	Gelsenkirchen Hans-Sachs-Haus West Germany	Klaus Vack, 605 Offenbach/M. Waldstrasse 99.
<u>FEBRUARY 13-14</u> Peace in Europe: a working conference of the ICDF (by invitation only)	Rome, Italy	ICDF, 3 Hendon Ave., London, N. 3, U.K.
<u>MARCH 10-11</u> Conference of Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War	Portland and Seattle U.S.A.	Turn Toward Peace 4235 Roosevelt Way, N.E. Seattle 98105, Washington, U.S.A.
<u>APRIL 11-16</u> 14th Pugwash Conference (by invitation only) Theme: 'International Cooperation for Science and Disarmament'	Isola S. Giorgio, Venice, Italy	Prof. J. Rotblat, Secretary-General, Pugwash, 3 Asmara Rd., London, N.W. 2, U.K.
<u>JUNE 29 - JULY 1</u> CIDA Foundation Symposium on Conflict in Society (by invitation only)	London, U.K.	CIBA Foundation, 41 Portland Place, London, W. 1.
<u>JULY 10 - 17</u> World Peace Congress	Helsinki, Finland	World Council for Peace, 94 Charlotte St., London, W. 1., U.K.
<u>JULY 24-30</u> International Congress of the Christian Workers Move- ment for Peace	Liège, Belgium	c/o Palais des Congrès, Liège, Belgium.
<u>AUGUST 1965</u> 9th World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship	Algiers, Algeria	World Federation of Democratic Youth, 34 Benczur Utca, Budapest 6, Hungary.

REPORTS ON CRISIS SPOTS FROM AROUND THE WORLDI INDONESIA-MALAYSIAINDONESIA QUITS U.N.

President Sukarno addressing a mass rally in Djakarta stated: "On January 7, 1965 at 22:30 hours I declare as follows: in my announcement a few days ago I said that if Malaysia becomes a Security Council member, I will order Indonesia to walk out of the United Nations. Now, since Malaysia has become a Security Council member, I declare that Indonesia has walked out of the United Nations."

Sukarno continued: "We can afford to operate without the U.N. specialized agencies. This is good for our own nation to stand on our own feet. I have said to hell with your aid."

New York Times (int) Jan. 8/65

United Nations officials were still waiting for a written notice from Indonesia to make clear whether she was actually out of the world organization.

A spokesman of Malaysian Foreign Ministry suggested on Jan. 8/65 that "Indonesia's withdrawal from the U.N. was the result of a 'preconceived arrangement' between that country and Communist China".

New York Times (int), Jan. 9/65

In a letter to the President of the Security Council, Mr. Radhakrishna Ramani, permanent representative of Malaysia at the U.N. appealed for support from that body to halt "this purposeless wastage of human and other resources". He stated that Malaysia had suffered over 100 dead and wounded in 200 incidents of aggression on the part of Indonesia. The casualties of Indonesia exceed 500.

The Times, Jan. 6/65

U.N. PARALYZED?

Joyce Eggington of the Observer reports from New York that "If Malaysia calls for United Nations intervention - as she has warned the Security Council she will in the event of an Indonesian invasion - the U.N. will probably be too paralyzed to help.

"This opinion, held by many Western delegates, was voiced openly tonight (Jan. 9) by Danish Foreign Minister Per Hækkerup in a television interview here. As Mr. Hækkerup pointed out, any Malaysian request to the Security Council would almost certainly be blocked by the Soviet veto". And it would be useless to refer the issue to the General Assembly "since that is already paralyzed by the no-vote agreement reached on Dec. 1 to avoid an East-West showdown over the Soviet failure to pay its peacekeeping dues."

The Observer, Jan. 10/65

CHIANG KAI-SHEK AIDS MALAYSIA

An unsigned article in the Chinese newspaper Jen-Min Jih-pao, Peking Dec. 2/64 p. 5., states that Chiang Kai-shek's men have recently entered Malaysia. The article states: "In the middle of September, Chiang's 'foreign minister' Shen Ch'ang-huan visited Kuala Lumpur, and soon afterwards Malaysia's Defense Minister announced that Chiang Kai-shek's men would soon begin to help Malaysia train guerrilla fighters, Chiang's 'guerrilla' specialists have now entered that country and on 26 Nov., Chiang's men openly established a 'consulate' in the capital of 'Malaysia'."

In another unsigned article in the same paper, it is stated that on Nov. 23, a spokesman for the Dept. of Foreign Affairs of Malaysia said that: "This decision of the

government of 'Malaysia' does not imply that it has changed its policy of recognizing neither the Kuomintang China nor the Communist party's China."

From: Translations of Political and Sociological Information on Communist China, No. 227, Dec. 23, 1964 (Joint Publications Research Service, Washington D. C.)

## II SOUTH VIETNAM

The situation in Saigon and in the whole of South Vietnam is slowly deteriorating. Frank Robertson of the Daily Telegraph reports from Saigon that: "Guerrillas have moved into Phuoc Tuy province, south-east of the city (Saigon), and are possibly hoping to ring it, an American military spokesman said today."

The Daily Telegraph, Jan. 7/65

Reports from the United States continue to be contradictory and confusing. On Jan. 3, Mr. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, rejected, "either withdrawal or enlargement of the war in South Vietnam as suitable solutions."

The Times, Jan. 4/65

### U. S. SENATORS DEMAND NEGOTIATION

In an interview on Jan. 2, "Senator Dirksen, the minority leader in the U. S. Senate said that the time had come to face up to the question of whether to fight it out in Vietnam or to withdraw. He did not disguise his concern at the consequences of withdrawal - but he thought the possibility ought to be faced."

The Guardian, Jan. 4/65.

U. S. Senator Frank Church thinks that "our present policy is leading us towards the same calamity as befell the French 10 years ago". He urges immediate negotiations.

The Guardian, Jan. 7/65

### U. S. S. R. SOLIDARITY WITH NORTH VIETNAM

The Soviet Government has assured North Vietnam of its support and complete solidarity in face of "aggressive actions" by the United States. This assurance was contained in a letter sent by Mr. Gromyko to Mr. Suan Thui, Foreign Minister of North Vietnam on Dec. 30.

The Times, Jan. 5/65

### THE "MANAGEABLE MESS"

According to Newsweek, Washington's approach to the crisis in South Vietnam is changing. No longer was there talk of establishing a stable government in Saigon as a precondition for winning the war against the Viet Cong. Instead the emphasis last week shifted to the doctrine of the "manageable mess". Explained Far East specialist Michael Forrestal, who is returning to private life after three and a half years of Vietnam policy-making in the State Department: "It may take ten years or more of no-win and no-lose - a situation which is contrary to our entire tradition. But with the resources at hand, we can control this thing and bring it to a satisfactory conclusion".

Newsweek, Jan. 11/1965

### SOUTH KOREAN SUPPORT FOR SOUTH VIETNAM

The South Korean Government decided (on Jan. 8) to send 2000 regular soldiers to South Vietnam in response to a request from Saigon for help with non-combat activities. The Times remarks that "the dangers of combat involvement are self-evident.

The Defense Minister is reported as admitting in Seoul that the Government was complying with Saigon's request to come armed with 'self-defence' capacity."

The Times, Jan. 9/65

### SAIGON LEADERS AGREE ON CIVILIAN RULE

"The leaders of South Vietnam issued a compromise declaration yesterday (Jan. 10) to restore civilian government after three weeks of crisis."

United States officials said they viewed the declaration as satisfactory enough to permit the resumption of aid to South Vietnam,

New York Times (int.) Jan. 11/65

## III DETERRENCE-ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

### U. S. A-FLEET BID VIEWED AS DEAD

These were the headlines in a New York Times article by Anthony Lewis who writes from London: "There will be no new command mechanism for nuclear weapons in the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance in 1965, in the view of officials here."

"They now regard as dead the American proposal for a mixed-manned surface fleet with nuclear arms. And there is no urgency evident in discussions of the alternative British proposal for a nuclear force under joint command."

New York Times (int.) Jan. 9/65

### OPPOSITION TO MLF/ANF GROWING

Reporting in The Guardian, Clare Hollingworth writes that opposition to the MLF and ANF (Atlantic Nuclear Force) has not only come from France. "The Belgians, the Canadians, and the Portuguese all believe that the establishment of an MLF or an ANF would destroy the Atlantic alliance, which itself they consider to be more important than any nuclear force merely designed to give the Federal German Republic a finger on either the nuclear trigger or safety catch."

The Guardian, Jan. 7/65

With the MLF nearly dead, at least for the moment, the attention of the German Federal Government has turned to the British proposed ANF. The Times writes in an article by its Bonn correspondent:

"In their determination not to allow this country any share in nuclear weapons all three western allies are absolutely at one, it is emphasized; and the British, in so far as they support an integrated formula which would allow the Germans some say in nuclear strategy, do at least go a big step further.

But, in German eyes, they present this in a way that is hardly likely to make it attractive by emphasizing for the benefit of Russian consumption the guarantee against non-proliferation which an Atlantic nuclear force would constitute, and setting it within the wider framework of a policy of security in Central Europe, arms control, and disarmament.

Looked at in this way, the ANF is not a means of enhancing the cohesion and military potential of NATO against a would-be aggressor but of setting Russian fears of a nuclearized Germany at rest. If one could sum up German misgivings about the British project in one word it would be 'disengagement', which is felt to be ominously lurking behind it."

"What was noted here in the B. B. C. interview at Christmas with Mr. Healey, the Defence Minister, was not his remark about the Germans having 'total equality within

the force<sup>1</sup> but his emphasis on those aspects of it which would commend it to Moscow, in particular that the original MLF scheme would have made Germany the dominant partner of the Americans, whereas in the ANF, the mixed manned element to which she would contribute would be a minority in the total force.

France so far has not been guilty of such intellectual appeasement, which Germans regard as typical of the over-optimistic British view of communist reasonableness. Those Christian Democrats and Ministers who still toy with the idea of a European - or even a Franco-German - nuclear alternative, have not given up hope altogether."

The Times, Jan. 8/65

### MLF DEAD?

Official circles in Washington emphasize that the special department on the MLF has not been liquidated despite rumours to that effect. The department has simply been relocated and functions now within the State Department's European Section. The former head of the MLF section, General (ret.) Smith retired at the end of December.

Frankfurter Rundschau, Jan. 6/65

### DISARMAMENT UNIT SET UP IN BRITAIN

"Lord Chalfont's appointment as Minister of State responsible for Disarmament and Arms Control suggested that the Labour Government was going to give more than lip service to these vital subjects."

"Further confirmation of this comes with the establishment of an Arms Control and Disarmament Research Unit in the Foreign Office, which will be directed by Mr. Hedley Bull, an Australian by birth who is at present reader in international relations at the London School of Economics."

The Guardian, Jan. 1/65

### PROGRESS IN DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

"A proposal that France should join with America, Britain, Russia and China in a five-Power treaty to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons has been put to President de Gaulle by a number of his senior diplomatic officials". Robert Stephens of the Observer continues by stating that "The idea is that agreement should be reached to limit the 'nuclear club' to the five permanent veto-holding members of the Security Council (with Peking taking over the China seat now held by Formosa). The Big Five would agree not to give nuclear weapons to other States and would give joint guarantees against nuclear attack to non-nuclear States."

"There is no indication so far that President de Gaulle has approved the plan."

The Observer, Dec. 20/64.

### U. S. AND SOVIET HOLDING QUIET DISARMAMENT TALKS

"American and Soviet disarmament experts have been holding private conversations over the last two days in an effort to find possible areas of agreement before the disarmament conference reconvenes."

It is reported that the U. S. has urged the Soviet Union to follow the American example by placing one of its atomic power stations under inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Thus far both sides have restated their respective official disarmament proposals without willingness to compromise.

New York Times (int.) Jan. 7/65

A NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY?

In a front page article by its Diplomatic Correspondent, The Observer stated that "President Johnson and Mr. Harold Wilson are now hopeful of reaching agreement with Russia this year on a complete nuclear test ban treaty including underground tests, as part of new measures to control the spread of nuclear weapons.

Results from Project Vela, the American research programme on test detection have so greatly improved the possibilities of detecting and identifying underground nuclear tests that the Western Powers could now safely accept a complete test ban with only a token number of inspections.

There is even reason to believe that from a security point of view the West could accept a ban without any on-site inspection at all."

The Observer, Jan. 10, 1965

IV JAPAN

The most militant new religious sect in Japan, Sokagakkai (its leaders now claim five million 'households' full of enthusiasts) may soon become the third largest political party in the Japanese Diet. The Sokagakkai's political arm, Komeito (The Clean Government Party) will challenge for 32 seats in Japan's next general election - not due until 1966 but expected much sooner than that - and, if they win, as seems likely since Sokagakkai has earned a reputation for contesting only elections it is sure to win, the sect will become a major political force in Japan.

To those interested in peace, Komeito's platform sounds encouraging - at least on first reading. The party is "opposed to the production, experiment and possession of nuclear weapons as well as their use..." and it "aims at the realization of sound, world-wide disarmament through the carrying through of Komeito's policies at home". Komeito will support the strengthening of the United Nations and "establish independent foreign policies through friendly relations with any country based on the principle of the one-worldism thus contributing to the peace of the world".

It is those domestic policies that alarm both Japanese politicians and foreign observers. Komeito promises something called "human socialism" that is opposed to both Capitalism and Communism and will be achieved through "Buddhist democracy". The party has not yet spelled this out but it includes such things as aid to small businesses -- many of whom have been forced to the wall in recent years -- and no income tax for workers whose annual income is "less than one million yen", (about \$2,500 U.S.)

This will obviously appeal to the working classes who make up the bulk of support for Sokagakkai. There is no formal connection between the political party and Sokagakkai (literally: Value-creating Society) but many of Komeito's leaders are also leaders of the sect, which traces itself back to a 13th century Buddhist monk who preached a form of asceticism. And Sokagakkai's leaders openly solicit votes for their party among the sect's followers, who are tightly organized down to cells as small as 3 families. Sokagakkai preaches a kind of clean-living, family unity and Komeito promises, among other things, clean elections and resumption of relations with China. Critics point out that Sokagakkai rallies, with waving flags, brass bands and mass chanting of slogans are frighteningly militaristic for a sect that preaches pacifism. And Komeito's policy of "the fusion of politics with True Buddhism" could become the rationalization for a theocratic tyranny for a political party.

Japan's more traditional politicians are openly worried and the coming elections could be the most vital since the end of World War II.

The English Text of "The Komeito and its Main Principles" is available from: Komeito, 17, Minamimoto-Machi, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

## V SOUTH AFRICA

On Jan. 11/65, the Clause in the General Law Amendment Act providing for detention for 90 days was suspended after 17 months during which time 900 people have been held in custody. Of these 500 were charged in court, 2 committed suicide, while others escaped.

According to the Johannesburg Star (5 Dec./64) Mr. Vorster said that nobody had been detained under the 90-day clause without just cause, and he challenged anybody to prove the contrary. The same paper, on 30, Nov./64, declaring that all detainees would have to be released or charged in court by 11 Jan./65, stated that although this clause (in the General Law Amendment Act) provided for the detention of people for 90 days, many have in fact been held for much longer. Some prisoners have been detained for up to 3 spells of 90 days.

Johannesburg Star, 5 Dec. and 30 Nov.  
1964

"A new political party claiming the western Cape Province and Namaqualand as the exclusive national home of the 1,700,000 Coloureds (of mixed race descent) in South Africa will be launched soon in Cape Town".

"The idea of a 'Colouredstan' corresponds to the Government's policy of 'Bantustans' for the Africans - except that the sponsors of the new party will insist on 'real sovereignty' in the 'Colouredstan'."

The Observer, Jan. 3/65.

---

### MORE NEWS FROM THE ICDP

#### I ANNOUNCEMENT

#### BULLETIN OF PEACE PROPOSALS

All over the world, an increasing number of PROPOSALS FOR PEACE are made; in East and West, North and South; by statesmen and 'peaceniks', by individuals and organizations.

These proposals vary widely as to their quality, but it is difficult for us today to differentiate between useful proposals and those which deserve rapid oblivion. What we do know is that many good ideas pass unnoticed every day.

For that reason, the Peace Research Institute in Oslo and the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace are interested in the publication of a BULLETIN OF PEACE PROPOSALS. The Bulletin would be published monthly or bi-monthly by the Peace Research Institute, and contain in a standardized form all recent published peace proposals accessible to the editor as long as they have a reasonable degree of relevance and specificity. The Bulletin would be politically neutral, contain no comments, and be at the disposal of interested governments, individuals, and organizations.

The very dissemination, in an easily surveyable form, of the many excellent proposals made by statesmen, by governments, Pugwash Conference, individuals and peace groups, or in the form of policy implications of peace research, would in itself be a significant contribution to peace.

For this purpose, the PRIC and the ICDP seek to establish contact with a person capable of independent work who would function as editor of this Bulletin. The following qualifications are required:

Perfect knowledge of English and reading knowledge of 1 or 2 other major languages;

- Interest in, and knowledge of international politics;
- Knowledge of the peace movement;
- Some training in the social sciences in order to gain an intelligent understanding of peace research literature.

If an agreement can be reached and sufficient funds found, the successful applicant will work out of Oslo at a salary of £1,000. to £1,200. a year, beginning early in 1965. Please address all enquiries to:

Johan Galtung, Director, Peace Research Institute- Oslo, P.O. Box 5062, Oslo 3, Norway.	and/or	Gerry Hunnius, General Secretary, ICDP, 3 Hendon Avenue, Finchley, London, N. 3, U.K.
--	--------	--

II ADDITIONAL NEW MEMBERS FOR ICDP

1. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF),  
International Headquarters, 12 Rue du Vieux-College, Geneva, Switzerland.
2. Kampagnen Mod Atomvaben,  
Vendersgade 13, Copenhagen K. Denmark.

Both organizations have joined the ICDP as Associate Members.

---

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

PEACE PRESS is published by the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace in cooperation with: the Accra Assembly; Agenzia Radicale (Italy); CND Information Office (U.K.); International Fellowship of Reconciliation; International Peace Bureau; Peace News; Peace Research Abstracts (Canada); V.K. Documentation Centre (Germany); and the War Resisters' International.

The ICDP gratefully acknowledges the financial support of the International Peace Bureau (41 rue de Zurich, Geneva) in the production of its information service.

---

Publications wishing to reproduce any part of Peace Press are requested to acknowledge the source.

ED 718-27-126

February 23, 1965.Vol. I, No. 4

11. 3. 65

CONTENTS

- ICDP Report - Activities of Member Organisations  
 Easter 1965  
 News of other Organisations & Miscellaneous Projects  
 Study and Research  
 Conferences  
 New Publications - Recommended

ICDP REPORT: ROME CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN SECURITY

Called by the Consulta della Pace, and sponsored by the ICDP, an international conference was held in Rome on February 13-14 to examine ways in which tension can be lessened, military commitments reduced and security increased in Europe. A total of 48 delegates and observers attended the conference, representing most ICDP member organisations and including individuals from non-member national and international peace organisations, trade unions and political parties. This conference represents a first attempt to bring together individuals from other political, cultural and professional groups with representatives of the peace movement in different countries for a free exchange of opinion and ideas.

The Conference divided into 3 commissions: An Analysis of the Political and Military Situation in Europe; Alternative Proposals; and Europe's Place in the World. Included in the latter discussion was Europe's relation to the Third World. The final Plenary Session discussed the role of the peace movement, its strategy and projects.

A press statement issued by the Conference, summarises areas of agreement reached by all participants. In its analysis of the situation in Europe, the Conference stressed the threat to world peace of all projects like the MLF, ANF, and the 'Force de Frappe', which tend to increase proliferation of nuclear armaments and are all in some way linked with the nuclear hopes of West Germany. As alternatives, the Conference envisaged various schemes for inter-European détente and security

Published by the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP), 3 Hendon Avenue,  
 London, N.3, U.K. Telephone: FINchley 7288

Issued twice-monthly

Subscription Rates: £1.1.6 (\$3.00) annually, £2.16.6 (\$8.00) Airmail

and decided the immediate exigency was a general action for a nuclear freeze leading to the establishment of zones of nuclear disarmament and lessening of tension in Central Europe, Scandinavia, and the Mediterranean area and the Balkans. A number of participants felt this might be a step toward a system of inter-European agreements on the political, economic, disarmament and security levels. It was stressed that any such policy must start from a recognition of actual facts, such as the existence of two German States and the permanence of the present external boundaries of Germany.

The main points from the speakers in the commissions were:-

- (1) That Peace Organisations should support a nuclear freeze as the most likely next step (coupled with inspection).
- (2) That an East-West agreement for security and cooperation should be adumbrated and supported. This could exist alongside NATO and Warsaw Pacts and/or replace them. The European Commission established by the United Nations in 1944/45 could serve as a useful model. Attention should be paid to this and other means of reconciling Eastern and Western European ideas, the communist party positions in France and Italy, and the E.E.C. and E.F.T.A.
- (3) That the development of a new European loyalty and sentiment would be a constructive alternative to the present military division. A feeling of unity among European peoples, if developed, would both foster, and be fostered by, disarmament. Proposals should be made and projects developed to this end.
- (4) ICDP was asked to set up a commission to examine how people could have more control of the social and political institutions that govern their lives, recognising that Governments are gen-

erally failing to reflect in their policies the deep desire for peace that exists among the people in every country.

- (5) Peace organisations are advised to draw attention:
  - a. -to the wealth of many of the countries of Europe;
  - b. -to the responsibility these countries have to give economic and social aid for development in the poor countries within, but especially outside Europe;
  - c. -to the urgent need for a drastic cut in arms expenditure which would enable them to fulfil this responsibility; and
  - d. -to the need to control and reduce the export of arms from Europe.
- (6) ICDP was urged to develop more and closer contacts with African and Asian countries.
- (7) ICDP was asked to draw to the attention of member organisations, and to recommend for their study, the Thirring proposals for the unilateral disarmament of Austria, to be guaranteed by neighbouring countries, as this proposal is the first initiative for unilateral disarmament at an official parliamentary level.

In the course of the Conference, a statement was adopted on Vietnam, calling on Britain and the Soviet Union to reconvene quickly the Geneva Conference of 1954 in order to stop developments which can endanger the peace of the whole world, and to establish a lasting solution based on the implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreement. This resolution was delivered personally by Kenneth Lee and Professor Aldo Capitini to the U. S. S. R. and British Embassies in Rome.

Following the conference in Rome on February 15, the ICDP held an Executive Committee Meeting.

\*\*\*\*\*

THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY

P.O. Box 1627, Accra Ghana.  
General Secretary: Frank Boaten.

Frank Boaten is presently representing the Accra Assembly as well as the ICDP at the current International Conference on Racism in Terris being held in New York. A report will be contained in later issue.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT (CUCaND)

Carthusian St., London, E. C. 1, U.K.  
Chairman: Richard Norman; Secretary: Ian Udall; Internat'l Sec'y: Peter Eneddon.

CUCaND's 1965 Annual Conference was held on Jan. 9-10, this year. It was decided to set up study groups to examine specific aspects of British Foreign Policy and publish analyses in the form of a duplicated pamphlet. It was decided, for the time being, that no merger between CUCaND and YCND will take place but that instead, all future projects will be undertaken in close consultation with YCND.

COMMITTEE OF 100 (U.K.)

International Sub-Committee  
Secretary: John Edmunds, Top Flat,  
20 Holland Road, London, W.14, U.K.

The current series of meetings being held on the Malaysian/Indonesian crisis offers a unique opportunity for off-the-record discussion between officials engaged in the dispute and members of the Committee. Peace News reported a high level of political discussion at the last meeting, February 4.

The next meeting is scheduled for 8.30 p.m. February 26 at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C. 1.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (US)

Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. U.S.A.

New York Workshops on Nonviolence

A plan for the setting up of international workshops and study groups on nonviolence has been proposed by the FoR and is currently being discussed with the New York Commission for Human Rights. They are being suggested for previously all-white communities where tension is grow-

ing due to introduction of minority groups. The immediate goal of such groups is to explore, expose and reduce feelings of hostility, anxiety, resentment and fear, and promote meaningful exchange.

One unique aspect of the workshops will be the use of simulation and role-playing as a technique of discovering creative alternatives to conflict. Workshops will be planned for high school and college youth; for professionally-involved persons such as teachers, social workers, law-enforcement officers, religious leaders; and for members of the general public who are involved in their changing community.

NEW ZEALAND CND

7 Wilfrid St., Christchurch 4, New Zealand.  
Secretary: Mary Woodward.

New Zealand CND continues its vigorous campaign against French tests in the Pacific. An open letter to de Gaulle, signed by representatives of more than 400 organisations, has been handed to the French Ambassador to New Zealand by New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr. Holyoake. The letter strongly objects to the proposed French tests. In November 1964, 10 members of the National Committee of NZCND signed a petition to Parliament requesting New Zealand to move a resolution at the U.N. opposing the French tests and requesting the government to call a conference of southern hemisphere countries and nuclear powers with a view to keeping the southern hemisphere nuclear-free. The petition was not adopted but provided a valuable opportunity during a two-hour debate to air CND views in Parliament. CND and trade union demonstrations took place recently when French warships visited Wellington and a protest note was delivered to the French Ambassador.

Readers please note that the SEATO publication mentioned in Vol. I, No. 1 of Peace Press is a 1962 publication and slightly out-of-date. The Campaign has since published a booklet 'The Bomb: A New Zealand View' (Aug. 1963); a pamphlet giving reasons why New Zealand should take action against the

tests (copies: 1/6 from the above address). A CND songbook, with words and melodies, has been prepared and is available for 3/-. Bulk rates cheaper.

SANE (National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy)

17 East 45th St., New York, N. Y. 10017, U. S. A. Acting Exec. Director: D. Keys.

SANE's 7th Annual Conference, held in New York, Nov. 13-15, 1964, approved merger of SANE with United World Federalists. The joint policy statement included positions on MLF, Vietnam, China, Cuba and Berlin in addition to positions on areas in which UWF and SANE have previously cooperated, such as disarmament, testing, peace-keeping, and strengthening the U.N. The next move is up to the governing body of United World Federalists.

Among policy resolutions adopted was one urging the U. S. government to seek a political settlement in Vietnam. 'As a first step we urge negotiations for an immediate cease-fire in South Vietnam. To seek a political settlement, we call on the U. S. to support the convening of a conference of all powers present (including China and the two Vietnamese states) at the Geneva Conferences of 1954 and 1962 .. to seek a framework for a big-power guarantees of Vietnamese neutrality; increased contacts between North and South Vietnam; and the possibility of reunification, of internationally supervised free elections, and the use of U. N. peace-keeping machinery.' The resolution goes on to say: 'Following a political settlement, the U. S. should be prepared to join all other foreign powers in withdrawing their military forces and equipment from the area encompassed in the agreement.'

Visavis European security and the MLF, SANE had this to say: 'The time has come for the U. S. to replace its outmoded assumption of the need for a tightly-knit military alliance to deter a Soviet attack on Western Europe by a policy which encourages the 'Europeanization' of all Europe. A new framework for all-European security can be achieved by combining political settlements in Central Europe with mutual arms reductions. The new relationships

thus achieved could be institutionalized through a security agreement between the NATO and Warsaw Pact powers, guaranteed by the U. S. and U. S. S. R.

Among the issues which might be resolved through political settlements are: recognition of the present German-Polish border; guarantees of access to Berlin; and a more formal relationship between East and West Germany, such as a loosely-knit confederation which would permit the Germans to work out their own internal problems.

The arms reduction measures should be designed to establish a phased and balanced withdrawal of conventional forces and nuclear weapons from all of Central Europe, and to dismantle the Soviet intermediate-range ballistic missiles targeted on Western Europe in return for comparable concessions by the NATO countries.

This series of measures, admittedly difficult to achieve, would help promote the reunification of Germany within a peaceful framework, give the Germans themselves an opportunity to knit together the democratic, capitalist West and the authoritarian, socialist East, remove fears of German revanchism, encourage the continued and augmented interchange between East and West Europe, and give the United States and the Soviet Union a legitimate role as guarantors of European security.'

These 2 resolutions were adopted Nov. 15, 1964 at SANE's 7th Annual Conference, and are quoted from Sane World, Jan./65.

STUDENT UNION FOR PEACE ACTION  
2 Bancroft St., Toronto 5, Ont., Canada.

The Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament voted itself out of existence at its National Membership Conference held Dec. 28-Jan. 1, 1965. In its place emerged the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA). The new designation symbolizes to the Canadian students a new definition of the students' positive role in society. Hand in hand with this ideological shift in the movement went structural reformation. The organization has been decentralized and is now organized in 5 areas: the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies,

and British Columbia. Jim Harding of Regina was elected Chairman of the SUPA National Council. Among other policy resolutions accepted, the students declared their opposition to the nation-state system due to the violence inherent in that system which prevents radical social change. The students declared that since peace means more than the absence of war, it means at least, a world of political and social justice and freedom, the absence of violence, and no exploitation of man by man - it is impossible to consider peace in abstraction from other social issues'. As an interim measure, it was decided that Canada follow CND in declaring itself to be nonaligned, siding with neither East nor West, but standing for humanity.

Writing in Feb./65 Sanity (Canada) Harvey Feit cites the growing interest among Canadian university students in the use of direct action against social injustice as being one powerful pressure behind the organizational changes. He says: 'Stimulated by the examples of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which is working against Negro segregation in the U. S. south, and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) which runs anti-poverty and segregation projects in northern slums and in Appalachia, Canadian students have begun looking for social issues in their own back yard. What they have found is widespread poverty and not infrequent segregation. Through the rapid development of non-violent methods of attacking social issues in the U. S., the Canadian students have now become anxious to use these techniques to tackle the major injustices present in Canadian society: industrial poverty; Indian poverty; lack of education, and second-rate citizenship; segregation against the Doukhobor communities; segregation and poverty among Negroes in the Maritimes; and the need for nonviolent solution of the bi-national issue.' A full report of the Conference is contained in the above-cited issue of Sanity (Canada).

#### WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL

Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx., U.K. Secretary: Devi Prasad.

The following news is taken from their Newsletter:

#### WRI Swiss Section

The Swiss Section of the WRI held a demonstration on Dec. 14 in front of the Palais Federal in Bern.

They demanded:

1. Civilian service for all Swiss citizens desirous of really working for peace.
2. Freeing of conscientious objectors in time for Christmas and protest against continued penalties.

They protested against:

1. Military authorities sitting in judgment on other people's consciences.
2. Failure of Switzerland to halt the traffic in arms and to press for creation of a 'de-atomised' zone in Europe.

They proposed:

That Switzerland be admitted to UNO and support international police force as opposed to national armies.

As the local bye-laws forbade demonstrations in front of the Palais Federal while official meetings are in session a large number of police were present during the demonstration. 30 demonstrators were arrested in a café when they were having a pre-demonstration meeting. They were detained until late in the evening. Further similar demonstrations are also being planned.

#### France

Le-Monde (21 Jan/65) reports "6,000 young men amongst those who have been conscripted for military service have volunteered for civilian service in Africa. A large contingent has just left for Algeria."

#### Sweden

Freden (28 Jan./65) reported, "The number of CO's who are sent to prison because of their refusal to accept any of the alternative services offered to them is rapidly growing. . . It seems, however, that parliament is beginning to recognize the seriousness of the problem. The way seems open for a more liberal CO law admitting alternative service also outside the so-called total defence."

EASTER 1965

The following is a summary of information we have received of Easter Plans of peace organizations around the world. Further details will be given in future issues.

BELGIUMAnti-Atoommarscomité 1965

The Anti-Atoommarscomité together with the Committee for Non-Violent Peace Action and Union Fédérale are sponsoring a one-day peace march in Brussels on the 28th of March, 1965. The march will be supported by large youth and student organisations.

Slogans will call for: 'No nuclear arms for Belgium, nor for the Belgian army; no nuclear spread; no MLF; no more tests; including underground ones; reduction of military budget; aid to developing countries; abolition of military pacts; destruction of all nuclear weapons; complete, simultaneous and controlled disarmament.'

Telegrams and greetings should be sent to Anti-Atoommarscomité, p/a Piet Frantzen, Auracaria 24, Brussels, no later than March 27.

BRITAINCampaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)

CND is planning a three-day march from High Wycombe (headquarters of Britain's Bomber Command) to London, April 17-19 inclusive.

Marchers will tell Britain's new government: 'You can't have NATO's Atlantic Nuclear Force AND Disarmament. You can't have a nuclear force in the Far East AND Disarmament. You can't have TSR 2s and Polaris AND Disarmament. YOU CAN'T HAVE IT BOTH WAYS, MR. WILSON.'

An international contingent and an ICDP banner will be part of the march. Address for messages will be given later. Among groups participating will be the Colleges and Universities Campaign (CUCaND) and the Youth Campaign (YCND) who will organize youth rallies along the way.

DENMARKKampagnen Mod Atomvaben

The Danish CND will not hold an Easter March in Denmark this year but will instead organize a large contingent to take part in the German Easter March. Plans are under way to have 50 well-known personalities in Denmark sponsor the Danish contingent. A further report will follow.

IRELANDIrish Pacifist Movement

Plans for a fast at Easter are still uncertain. A small Irish contingent will join the British march.

NEW ZEALANDNew Zealand CND

NZCND plans a four day Activity Camp from April 16-19, culminating in a march to the Parliament Buildings in Wellington on Monday, April 19.

The theme of the march will be: "opposition to the possession of nuclear weapons by any country; opposition to the proposed French tests; for a nuclear-free zone in the southern hemisphere."

Telegrams and messages may be sent to Mr. D. Morrison, 287 College St., Palmerston North, New Zealand (not later than Sunday, April 18) A public rally will be held on the steps of the Parliament Buildings in Wellington on Monday.

SWEDENKampanjen Mot Atomvapen

Like the Danish CND, the Swedish CND will not this year organize its own Easter March, but will instead send a Swedish contingent to the German Easter March.

SWITZERLANDSchweizerisches Ostermarsch-Komitee der Schweizerischen Bewegung Gegen Atomare Aufrüstung

The Swiss Campaign is organising a three day march from Olten to meet with French and German contingents at a rally in Basel, from April 17-19.

The general theme of the march will be in accordance with International Co-operation Year 'peaceful cooperation between nations'. Banners will call for Swiss initiatives for atom-free zones in Europe; bread not war for the peoples of the world; for a Switzerland of tomorrow without atomic weapons; and will oppose all nuclear weapons, both East and West.

Messages may be sent to: Willi Kober, 8032 Zürich, Reinacherstr. 13  
(no later than April 15, please)

USAStudents for a Democratic Society (SDS)

SDS has announced that it is sponsoring a student march on Washington to call for the end of American intervention in the Vietnamese civil war. The march is set for Saturday, April 17.

Student Peace Union (SPU)

The Student Peace Union is also planning marches and rallies to take place on April 17 in New York City, and probably Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Many of the rallies will be preceded by peace walks lasting from several days to a week.

The marchers will call for an immediate cease-fire in Vietnam, and neutra-

lization of Vietnam; and a cut in the military budget to finance massive economic aid to the developing countries.

Messages should be sent to the Student Peace Union, 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N. Y. Rm. 1025, before April 1, if possible.

WEST GERMANYKampagnen für Abrüstung Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner

Full details of the German Easter March are not yet available, but an Easter March with several international contingents is being planned, with a final international rally in Basel in co-operation with Swiss and French contingents. The Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer will participate in this march.

Themes of the march will be: An end to all tests, including underground ones; no proliferation of nuclear weapons; participation of France and China in disarmament negotiations; concrete steps towards general and complete disarmament under inspection; non-participation of West Germany in any nuclear weapons system; no nuclear weapons on German soil; for a nuclear free zone in Central Europe; inclusion of the whole of Germany in a European zone of disengagement and controlled disarmament. <sup>1</sup>

The address of the Ostermarsch Campaign is 605 Offenbach 4, Postfach 648, Germany. Further details will be reported later.

NEWS OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND MISCELLANEOUS PROJECTSAFRICANS CALL FOR CULTURAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE FOR DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

An African regional seminar of leaders of youth movements, called by the Government of Dahomey from Nov. 28 to Dec. 6, 1964, has recommended the creation of a cultural long-term voluntary service for the industrialised countries from Africa. The 47 participants, representing 10 francophone African countries envisage African musicians, sculptors, etc. working with youth movements in industrialised countries in order to bridge apparent gaps in cultural development in these countries visavis Africa.

The seminar, organised with the aid of UNESCO, considered cultural voluntary service as a second aspect in international cooperation, the first aspect of which consists of sending technically-skilled long-term volunteers from the industrialised countries to the developing countries. In respect to the latter, the participants expressed the hope that those taking part in the UNESCO 1965-6 voluntary service programme 'would be recruited on an international basis and work in a spirit of total impartiality'.

This meeting was the first on the subject of out-of-school education of youth organised in Africa. The participants were of the opinion that information services relating to workcamps in Africa could best be assured by the setting up of a regional centre in Africa.

Source: Bulletin: Information on Long Term Voluntary Services, 8 Jan. 1965.

#### BALTIC PEACE CRUISE 1965

As part of its programme for International Cooperation Year 1965, the British Peace Committee has chartered a modern Russian ship, M. S. BASHKIRIA providing a holiday cruise and an opportunity to meet people in six countries. The two week cruise will leave Tilbury on 22nd August and return on the 6th of September, having stopped for one day each at Copenhagen, Rostock, Helsinki, Gdynia and Stockholm, and three days in Leningrad. Accommodation on board ship ranges in price from Tourist Class 'C' £58 to De Luxe, £95. Prices include all meals and the cost of excursions in Leningrad. Reservations may be made by sending a deposit of 10% to the British Peace Committee 94 Charlotte St., London, W. 1. A further 40% must be paid by June 1st, and the balance by July 22nd.

#### CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (CARD)

A new campaign against racial discrimination, formed when Dr. Martin Luther King addressed an inter-racial group in London (on his way to accept the Nobel Peace Prize), is drafting a model bill to be presented to Parliament for enactment which

will include strong provisions against discrimination in housing, employment, apprenticeship training, private education, the sale of insurance and extension of credit. A campaign for its enactment was launched at a meeting at Friends House on February 20.

#### CARPENTERS FOR CHRISTMAS

More than 30 college students in the U. S. spent their Christmas holidays helping to rebuild Antioch Baptist Church in Ripley, Miss., which was gutted by fire as part of a local protest against civil rights action in October. The students were helping the Mississippi Committee of Concern, an inter-religious group of Mississippi Negro and white church leaders, in restoring damaged churches. Of the ten churches which have been approved by the Committee as in need of assistance so far, four have been completely restored by their congregations with assistance from the Committee, other groups, and in some cases, insurance. So far \$42,942 has been contributed to the Committee's campaign and the Negro community of the State has launched a campaign to raise \$50,000. of the \$200,000. objective.

COMMITTEE AGAINST ATOMIC TESTING  
Treasurer: Hughie Gilmore, P. O. Box 24,  
George Street North, Sydney, Australia.

£20,000 is being sought by CAAT to pay for its intended action in the Pacific in mid-1965 - the sailing of a multi-national unarmed fleet into the French test zone. Contributions may be made to the Treasurer.

#### MEREDITH PLANS WORLD TOUR

James Meredith, who made American civil rights history when he became the first Negro to attend the University of Mississippi in Oxford, Miss., under protection of an American federal escort, - is to make a world tour to discuss the Negro problem in the U. S. Following the tour, he plans a walk from Memphis, Tennessee to Jackson, Miss., to report to Negroes what he has learned on his tour.

NEW PREP JOURNAL

(Peace Research and Education Project)

A new student-published journal VENTURE is now in press, which covers research, thinking and action of students in national and international affairs. The first issue contains a research article on Vietnam and a report of the Boston economic conversion project. The journal is recommended at \$2.00 a year.

U.S. INTERFAITH PEACE CONFERENCE

Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders recently met in New York in the first of a series of conferences aimed at defining the role of religion in bringing about a universal peace. A further conference is being planned for the spring of 1966 as part of a drive to mobilize religious forces behind world peace.

WILPF (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom). U.S. Section.

2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103, U.S.A. Secretary: Mrs. M. Olmsted.

WILPF (U.S.) has issued a stamp (costing 1¢) for use of members. To be affixed to income tax returns, it states: 'That part of this income tax which is levied for preparation for War is paid only under protest. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. (signature)'

WORLD COLLEGE WILL OPEN IN FALL

A new Quaker-sponsored college that will eventually operate through seven study centers in representative parts of the world will open in Brookville, L.I., next September. The new institution, Friends World College is committed to a trans-national concept of education. The college will attempt to include students and faculty representative of many of the world's religions and cultures, and also intends to move a portion of the student body each six months to a different center of study in another part of the world. The centers are tentatively being planned for Western and East Europe, South Asia, East Asia, East Africa, and Latin America and North America. Eventually, the Soviet Union and China, are expected to be included. The College is seeking a small group of dedicated students who are concerned about the more menacing problems of the time - racialism, nationalism, economic justice and war - and many of which are prepared to spend a considerable portion of their college years abroad. At the same time, an international university is in the making under the sponsorship of UNESCO. Graduate students from around the world now attend specialised courses in science and technology at eight West European Universities taking part in the programme.

STUDY AND RESEARCH

AFRICA

The African Centre for Administration, Training and Research for Development will open shortly in Tangiers. UNESCO-supported, it is intended to serve all African countries in carrying on research and training for government administrators. Mohammed El Fasi, rector of Moroccan Universities, is in charge of organizing the centre.

CANADIAN PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Box 70, Clarkson, Ontario, Canada.

A group of international and national non-government organizations has asked CPRI to study their activities in the field of disarmament to provide a basis for im-

proved performance and mutual cooperation of the groups. Key people in ten international and twenty national organizations in various countries will be interviewed. The project was preceded by a pilot study by CPRI contracted for the Institute for International Order.

COUNCIL FOR THE STUDY OF MANKIND  
(Santa Monica, California)

The Council for the Study of Mankind has announced its five-year program 1965-9. Conference plans mentioned:-  
'Conference on Communication and the Idea of Mankind, in the midwest U.S., fall of 1965, and a European conference on 'The Industrial Society as the Future

Image of Mankind', summer 1965, and an undated conference on 'Politics and the Idea of Mankind. Publications coming in 1965: 'Is the Future Unity of Mankind a Justifiable Assumption?' Proceedings of The Hague Conference on that subject in 1963: 'Law and the Idea of Mankind', and 'Mental Health and the Idea of Mankind'. Coming in 1966: 'The Idea of Mankind in World History'. Each of these volumes represents a symposium by outstanding scholars in the field concerned, relating concepts in their disciplines to the mankind concept. Last year the first publication was released entitled 'Education and the Idea of Mankind'.

#### COUNCIL ON WORLD TENSIONS

Geneva Secretariat; Centre International, 1, rue de Varamb , 1211 Geneva 20.  
General Secretary: Dr. Ren  Timmermans.

A major pre-occupation of the Secretariat in recent years has been the preparation of material which can be used in schools as a teaching aid when presenting various problems of inter-group relations. During 1964 a teaching kit was prepared on the Development Decade. This presentation, was submitted to UNESCO and will be published during 1965 as a contribution to ICY, in collaboration with UNESCO and the Freedom from Hunger Campaign. Other educational materials prepared by the Council are 'Man and Hunger in the World' and 'racialism'.

For the past 10 years, the Council has subsidised the work of the International Commission for History Teaching. This Commission has just organized an enquiry amongst the history professors of the member countries of the Council to evaluate the work already carried out and the most urgent tasks for the future. A text, summarizing the results of the enquiry, is in preparation and will be sent to history and educational reviews. In the context of the continuing studies of history text-books of Italy, Austria and Yugoslavia, a meeting was organized in November, 1964 at Taormina (Sicily) by the Council with the aid of the Italian government.

Three main points engaged the meeting:-  
-- the examination of the thesis elaborated by the Italian and Yugoslav historians

under the Direction of Prof. Valsecchi. These memoranda have now been accepted as a basis for the revision of history text-books used in these two countries.

- the establishment of a working plan for intensive study - by historians of the three countries - of Austro-Italo-Yugoslav relations during the period of 1848-1965.
- the discussion and unanimous acceptance of a proposal to prepare a didactic documentation which would help educators in presenting an objective and realistic view of the profound modifications presently taking place in the world of international relations. This project would be an integral part of the planned project for integrated education.

A report on the Taormina meeting is presently in preparation and will be published early in 1965.

#### INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)

1900 Florida Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20009. Co-Directors: Richard J. Barnet; Marcus G. Raskin.

The first annual report of IPS (founded in October 1963) has just been published. It indicates an important contribution to the analysis of many issues concerning the peace movement. Among its many activities - seminars (on education, problems of the American economy, on the Alliance for Progress, on civil rights, on disarmament and national security), conferences, lectures; many studies of major public policy issues have been completed and will be published in 1965. Here are some examples cited:

- (1) What is Power? by David T. Bazelon - on the meaning of power in American political life and the special attitudes that have grown up towards this concept (to be published by Random House)
- (2) The Next Generation by Donald N. Michael - an exploration of a series of problems that cybernation poses for many phases of American life - (to be published by Random House).
- (3) After Twenty Years: Alternatives to the Cold War in Europe by Richard J. Barnet and Marcus G. Raskin -

- a study of the relations of the Great Powers towards Europe since the 2nd World War, outlining new directions for American foreign policy (to be published by Random House).

(4) Decentralization and Mixed Institutions by Paul Goodman - on the importance of furthering decentralization in the government, in the economy, and in many other phases of American life and how to accomplish it (to be published by Random House). In 1964 Mr. Goodman published a critique of American public education under the title Compulsory Mis-Education.

(5) Marcus Raskin is working on a book concerned with the reconstruction of American education which focuses on how to develop the concept that education is a proper activity of the whole society, not merely the young. It also deals with federal involvement in education (to be published by Random House).

(6) Christopher Jencks is completing a book with David Riesman on the history and sociology of American higher education, to appear in 1965.

(7) Arthur I. Waskow has completed a study of aspects of racial violence. The study seeks to understand the processes by which the techniques of racial protest have significantly changed from violence to non-violence. Entitled From Race Riot to Sit-In, 1919 and the 1960's: A Study in the Connection between Conflict and Violence (Doubleday, April, 1965.)

(8) Waskow has also edited a volume on The Debate over Thermonuclear Strategy (to be published by D. C. Heath & Co.) for the Amberst Series on 'Problems of American Civilization'.

(9) Milton Kotler has been working on the development of the Community Foundation and other new governmental and para-governmental structures for strengthening local political community and furthering the direct relationship between federal programs and local communities. He is working on a book on local government, which evaluates the role the States play in the atrophy of local government.

(10) Barnet has also edited (with Prof. Richard Falk of Princeton) a collection of essays dealing with a number of practical problems concerning the inspection and policing of disarmament agreements. This volume, to be published early in 1965 by Princeton University Press, will be called Security in Disarmament.

In addition to these books and many other articles and essays (listed in the report), the Institute has been engaged in a series of Special Projects relating to plans and ideas for institutional changes in American society. Among these are:

- a project on the application of the social sciences to the physical design of a new community (Columbia, a new community of 150,000 to be built between Baltimore and Washington during the next 15 years);
- a project exploring the feasibility of a four year college within a state prison system;
- a project on various approaches for dealing with special civil rights problems presented by the current situation in Mississippi;
- a project on the development of a model school system for urban slum areas;
- and others.

PEACE RESEARCH ABSTRACTS

Editors: Drs. A. & H. Newcombe, 25 Dundas Ave., Dundas, Ont., Canada (see Peace Information Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 3)

PRA, which already translates and publishes the Nieuwe Literatuur of Prof. Röling (Netherlands) and the Bibliographische Wegweiser of H. Stahnke (Germany), has recently received a donation of the collected RAND abstracts and the survey of the literature on Psychology of War and Tension compiled by C. Osgood and S. Feldman.

PSYCHIATRISTS ON WAR

The Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Committee on Social Issues has just published a report entitled Psychiatric Aspects of the Prevention of Nuclear War.

The central conclusion reached by 185 prominent psychiatrists in this study is that 'war is a social institution; it is not inevitably rooted in the nature of man'.

'Although war has traditionally served as an outlet for many basic human psychological needs, both aggressive and socially cohesive ones,' the study says, 'the increasing mechanization and automation of modern warfare has rendered it less and less relevant to these needs. There are other social institutions and other means of conducting conflict between groups of people, or between nations, that can serve these psychological needs more adaptively in our modern world.'

The study also discusses various psychological reactions of individuals to the nuclear threat. There is a section on the psychological aspects of deterrence and civil defense. As to the latter, the study concludes that 'current civil defense programs endanger more than they protect.'

The 105 page report may be obtained at \$1.50 per copy from the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 104 E. 25th St., New York, N.Y. 10010, U.S.A.

#### UNIVERSITIES AND THE QUEST FOR PEACE (Nigeria Meeting)

The 2nd regional meeting of UQP was held at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, Dec. 27-31, 1964 under the chairmanship of Prof. Clumbe Bassir. 27 participants came from the Congo, Ethiopia, Israel, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and the United Arab Republic. A significant resolution was one calling for the establishment of a regional Peace Research Institute. The following is the text of the resolution:

"The Conference recognizes that world peace is threatened not only by international conflicts but also by intranational conflicts, and any research program should take this fact into consideration.

1. The Conference therefore resolves to recommend the setting up, by the Universities of Africa and the Middle East of an institute or centre for the initiation, conduct and co-ordination of peace research in the different parts of the region and the rest of the world.

2. The Conference resolves that the following areas and factors call for special study and research:

- a. The role of psychological factors in human relations; the role of such factors in the creation of inter- as well as intra-community conflicts.
- b. Economic and territorial factors, including the special problem of political boundaries.
- c. The role of cultural and ideological factors as causes of tensions in international relations.
- d. Extreme forms and abuse of nationalism
- e. Armament or disarmament as possible factors in causing or preventing international tensions.
- f. Causes of social conflicts which have a relevance to war and peace:-
  - (i) Unequal distribution of wealth and disparities in income
  - (ii) Racial discrimination
  - (iii) Sectarianism
  - (iv) Religious and other forms of intolerance
  - (v) Biological characteristics of human beings
  - (vi) Discrimination on the grounds of sex.
- g. Colonialism and neo-Colonialism.

Peace researchers and institutions wishing to collaborate in the organisation of this Institute are invited to address themselves to Prof. Raga S. Elim, Executive Director of Universities and the Quest for Peace, San German, Puerto Rico.

#### UNIVERSITY OF FREIBERG INHERITS WEHBERG PEACE LIBRARY

Prof. Wehberg, who died in 1962, has bequeathed a large private library consisting of 15,000 volumes of international law and diplomacy literature and pacifist publications to the University of Freiberg. Source: Freie Presse, Nov. 18, 1964.

V. K. Documentation Service.

#### UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

J. W. Roberts, president of the University's Students' Administrative Council, has announced that the Council will award an annual scholarship of \$1500. to a graduate student for peace research.

In an attempt to develop interest in this new field a number of courses are expected to be offered in the coming academic year. Arthur Waskow will speak on 'The role of the university in research for peace' in a new series of seminars beginning in January. The Student Council has recommended the establishment of a Peace Research Institute at the University.

#### WEST GERMANY

The West German Parliament decided on Jan. 21, 1965 to create a new position for a government representative on Disarmament and Arms Control within the framework of the Foreign Office. A decision was also taken to work out a proposal for the creation of an independent research institute on questions relating to strategy, disarmament and arms control as well as related subjects. This proposal, upon completion, is to be presented to Parliament. Originally, this proposal was made by the Social Democratic Party (SPD) on April 14, 1964.

Source: Stenographischer Bericht des Deutschen Bundestages

#### INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH NEWSLETTER

1100 E. Washington St., Ann Arbor, Mich. U.S.A. Editor: Elise Boulding.

Now being published in an attractive new format by the International Peace Research Association (IPRA - see Peace Press, Vol. I, No. 1), subscription price is still only \$1.00 (7/6) annually. Order it now. You won't be sorry.

The current issue, Vol. III, No. 1, is just out and includes up-to-date information on the new Danish Conflict Research Group, a progress report on PR developments in Sweden, news of the Peace Research Institute - Oslo projects and publications along with comprehensive information on valuable work being done at American Universities. Among those reported in this issue are: Research on the International Economic Effects of Disarmament and Arms Control Programme at Columbia University, the work of the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan, and the Institute for Social Research.

#### CONFERENCES

<u>Date and Conference</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Details from:</u>
<u>MARCH 17-20</u> American Orthopsychiatric Association Annual Meeting	New York	Executive Secretary, Rm. 1313, 1790 Broadway, New York 10019.
<u>MARCH 22-APRIL 15</u> UN Commission on Human Rights 21st Session	Geneva	
<u>APRIL 9-10</u> International Studies Association General Meeting	Colorado Springs, Colorado, U.S.A.	Fred Sondermann, Colorado State University, Colorado Springs.
<u>APRIL 10</u> North American Federation for the Advancement of Peace Research	Colorado Springs, Colorado, U.S.A.	Kenneth Boulding, Center for Research on Conflict Resolution, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
<u>JULY 3-5</u> International Peace Research Inaugural Conference	Polemological Institute, Groningen.	Prof. B. V. A. Röling, Sec'y Gen., IPRA, Polemological Institute, Ubbo Emmiusingel 19, Groningen, Netherlands.

<u>Date and Conference</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Details from:</u>
<u>AUGUST 30- SEPTEMBER 2</u> American Sociological Association Annual Meeting on 'Problems of Civilizations and their Changes'	Chicago, Ill.	ASA, Suite 215, 1755 Massachusetts Ave., N Washington D. C. 20036
<u>AUGUST 30-SEPTEMBER 4</u> International Conference on the Economics of Disarmament and Co-existence (PRIO and RIEDAC of Columbia University)	Oslo, Norway	Peace Research Institute, - Oslo, P.O. Box 5052, Oslo 3, Norway
<u>SEPTEMBER 12-18</u> World Peace Through Law Conference	Washington, D. C.	World Peace Through Law Center, 400 Hill Bldg., Washington D. C.
<u>APRIL 12-17, 1966</u> 34th World Peace Congress on 'Planning for Peace: movements; research; and education.'	Paris, France	Dr. T. Pontzen, 12 rue Dohis, Vincennes, Seine, France.

#### NEW PUBLICATIONS - RECOMMENDED

1. Arms Control and Disarmament: A Quarterly Bibliography with Abstracts and Annotations, compiled by the Library of Congress, Arms Control and Disarmament Bibliography Section. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D. C. 20402. Subscription price: \$2.00 per year (50¢ additional for foreign mailing). Vol. I, No. 1, just issued contains abstracts of 369 current publications covered broadly under the 4 sections: the international political environment; the strategic environment; institutions and means for the maintenance of peace; the historical background. A scholarly and comprehensive overview of current ideas in the field. No peace worker can afford to be without it, especially at this price. (Language: English)
2. Die Kriegsdienstverweigerung in der Literatur, compiled by Karl-Heinz Stahnke of the V. K. Documentation Service. An important bibliographical service covering German literature on conscientious objection, non-violence and pacifism from 1945 to 1960. It can be obtained for \$1.25 from V. K. Dokumentationsabteilung, 207 Ahrensburg-1, Bogenstrasse 14, West Germany. (Language: German)
3. Current Disarmament Proposals as of March 1, 1964, preliminary edition. Published by the World Law Fund, 11 West 42nd St., New York 36, N. Y. 19518. May/64. \$1.00. Includes official texts of USSR Proposal for Disarmament (Sept./62); US Proposal for Disarmament (April/62) plus amendments; the Clark/Sohn draft of a treaty establishing a World Disarmament and World Development Organisation. 3 appendices cover the text of the communiqué of the Commonwealth Conference (March/61); the McCloy Zorin Agreement (Sept./61); and the full text of the Partial Test Ban Treaty (Aug./63)
4. Probleme der internationalen Abrüstung: Die Bemühungen der Vereinten Nationen 1945-1961 (Vol. I, Parts I & II) by Hermann Volle and Claus-Jürgen Duisberg, Alfred Metzner Verlag, Frankfurt/M. and Berlin, 1964, 984 pp. Part I surveys all disarmament proposals made within a U. N. framework between 1945-62. Part II contains in German and English the full texts of 129 of the most relevant documents, thus making it valuable as well for English-speaking readers. A publication of tremendous usefulness to students of disarmament.

ED718-27-133

From: The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace,

The Grange,  
3, Hendon Avenue,  
Finchley,  
London, N. 3.

To: All ICDP Member Organisations

February 21st, 1965

4.3.65

Dear Friends,

Study of a possible Boycott of American goods, as envisaged by the ICDP Executive

Although certain responsible elements in American politics, such as the New York Times, democratic leaders like Senator Mansfield, etc., are trying to prevent more dangerous action on the part of the American Government, the pressure on the White House from irresponsible military and political circles is becoming very great. The evident Russian desire not to make things worse could help to relax tension, but it also has two dangerous consequences: it tends to provoke the Chinese into making things untenable for the USSR - it encourages extreme elements in the US to believe that the rashest actions will not provoke any violent Russian reaction.

In such circumstances, much depends on the restraint of the American Government. The absence of a strong popular opposition to war in America is disturbing, and we believe it is most important that a powerful anti-war action, originating from clearly non-communist elements in the West, does try to fill this vacuum, and make the US Government realise that any drastic action may cause havoc to American relations with world opinion.

In this perspective, we ask our members whether they think it possible to discuss with parties, trade unions, popular organisations, church groups, etc. in their various countries, the setting up of a potential framework for the boycott of American goods. We stress that there is no question of boycott for the time being. What should be made clear, however, by discussion, 'leaks' to the press, etc. is that a large number of organisations in the West, in Africa, Asia, Australia, are ready to issue such orders if American policy continues to slide down the warpath; that they understand that not all the responsibility lies with the Americans, but that American power politics is at present playing into the hands of the most extreme elements of the other bloc, and that the huge mistakes made by the US in Vietnam for the last ten years do not entitle the American Government to play with the life of all mankind in order to cover its failures and to prove it is not a 'paper tiger'.

The very fact that the Soviet orientated peace movement is put in the same difficult situation as the Soviets themselves, delivers a unique possibility to our organisations to assert a moderate but firm leadership in this matter, not only in the West but in countries of Africa and Asia highly sensitive to American intervention in an Asian country.

It is quite possible that such a boycott, if put into effect, would be altogether impotent and useless. But that is not the point. What is in question is the impression any discussion of this idea in wide circles is bound to make on American business circles, highly sensitive to any threat against their foreign markets, marginal but vital for their profits and general economic balance; and, as a consequence, on the American Government.

2.

We believe that many of these business circles, which are not war minded and not concerned with the sales of planes, military equipment, electronics, etc. have as great fears as we have, but that except from articles in the New York Times and such papers, they are incapable of countering the present wave of militarism, any strong intervention on their part being liable to be denounced as 'appeasement'.

On the other hand, if reasonable business and political circles in America could point out, with some element of proof to support them, that present American policy can not only impair gravely American influence but also American industry and trade - their case would be much stronger.

And it would also be an interesting new experience to see if the peace movement and organised Labour around the world are mature enough to wield the powerful 'weapon for peace' that can be developed from the consuming power of millions - or rather from the psychological strength arising from this power.

Yours sincerely,



Kenneth Lee,  
President, ICDP.

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

# Information

ED 718-27-134

Der Film kann auch weiterhin gezeigt werden,  
da der geschichtliche Rückblick international  
aufgezeigt wird.

Kreisstelle für Unterrichtsmittel Weidau  
Straße der Freundschaft 23 (Dietzweggebäude)

ED 718 - 27 - 135

March 16, 1965Vol. 1, No. 5

23.3.65

CONTENTS

ICDP Report and News of Member Organisations

Easter 1965

Study and Research

Supplement on Vietnam:

Background: Military Data  
 The 1954 Geneva Agreements  
 Growth and Rational of the  
 U. S. Commitment

Strategic Developments

Vietnam: Internal Politics

French Viewpoint and Strategy

Peace Proposals and Reactions

ICDP REPORT AND NEWS FROM MEMBER ORGANISATIONS

The ICDP has been invited to participate in the 2nd World Conference on World Peace Through Law, sponsored by the World Peace Through Law Center, to be held in Washington, D. C. on September 13-18, 1965. It promises to be the most representative and influential assembly of the world's legal profession yet held. 2000 lawyers, jurists and legal scholars are expected to participate. Purpose: to advance the substantial accomplishment of the 1st World Conference on World Peace Through Law held in Athens in 1963. Details from: World Peace Through Law Center, 400 Hill Building, Washington, D. C. 20006, U. S. A.

CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT (CND)

New Address as of March 20/65: 14 Grays Inn Road, London, W. C. 1.  
 General Secretary: Peggy Duff

32 Members of Parliament, including one Life Peer (Fenner Brockway) have signed a statement welcoming CND's Easter March. The statement organised by Labour CND, is to be circulated to Constituency Labour Parties. More MPs who were not available on March 2, when the signatures were collected, are expected to sign it before it is sent out. The full text of the statement and names of the signatories is printed in Sanity, March, 1965, obtainable from the above address.

Published by the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP), 3 Hendon Avenue,  
 London, N.3, U.K. Telephone: FINchley 7288

Issued twice-monthly

Subscription Rates: £1.1.6 (\$3.00) annually, £2.16.6 (\$8.00) Airmail

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Box 271, Nyack, N. Y., U. S. A.  
Executive Secretary: Al Hassler.

Sponsored by the FoR and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, an important 3 day consultation of leaders of religion took place in New York (March 1 - 3); Theme: Peace on Earth: Moral and Technological Implications. A fuller report will appear in a future issue.

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (IFoR)

3 Hendon Avenue, London, N. 3, U. K.  
General Secretary: E. Philip Eastman.

News received from the IFoR:

3 measures proposed by Rev. Alan Walker, President of the Australian FoR, were adopted by the Australian Council of Churches at a recent meeting in Sydney:

- (1) the sending of a Peace Mission from the Churches of Australia to the Churches of Indonesia and Malaysia;
- (2) the calling of member Churches to a day of Prayer and Giving for Peace in Southeast Asia;
- (3) calling on the Australian government to initiate negotiations for peace.

KAMPAGNE FÜR ABRÜSTUNG

605 Offenbach/M., Postfach 648, West Germany. Exec. Secretary: Klaus Vack

The kick-off for the 1965 Easter March will take place at a large public meeting in Frankfurt's Paulskirche, on March 20 at 3 p. m. Among the speakers will be: Dr. Andreas Buro; Prof. Ossip Flechtheim; Christian Geissler; Prof. Helmut Gollwitzer; Heiner Halberstadt and Stanley Orme (British Labour MP).

EASTER 1965COMITE 1961 VOOR DE VREDE

Jac. Obrechtplein 3/I,  
Amsterdam - Z, Netherlands.

The Comité voor de Vrede together with the Vredesraad is organising this year's Eastermarch which will take place on April 24. Main themes: no atomic weapons on Dutch soil; stop all nuclear tests; for a nuclear free zone in Europe; stop nuclear armaments in every country. No slogans in foreign languages are permitted during demonstrations in Holland. Foreign participants are encouraged to bring posters with pictures and/or the nuclear disarmament symbol.

KAMPAGNE FÜR ABRÜSTUNG

12 separate marches are being organised this year in Germany. They will terminate in the following cities: Hamburg, Bremen, Hanover, Dortmund, Frankfurt, Saarbrücken, Stuttgart, Munich, Nürnberg and Basel. The march into Basel will be 3-pronged (with other marches leading from France and Switzerland). See Peace Press, No. 4, for other details (or write the Kampagne at the above address).

MOUVEMENT CONTRE L'ARMEMENT ATOMIQUE (MCAA)

54, Bd. Garibaldi, Paris XV, France.

7 regional marches are being organised for Easter weekend: in the North, in Normandy, the Loire region, l'Herault region, the Alpes-Maritimes, the Basses Pyrenées, and the region of Paris. Also, MCAA groups in the north and the Ardennes will participate on March 28 in the 'Youth March' being organised in Brussels (details in Peace Press, No. 4) Further details: next (No. 5) issue of Alerte Atomique, published at the above address by the MCAA.

TORONTO CND

329 Bloor St., W., Toronto 5, Canada.

TCND, in cooperation with other local peace groups, is planning an Easter March. Details of this and other Canadian marches not yet known.

VICTORIAN CND

Box 577D, GPO, Melbourne, Australia  
Secretary: Carol Siansky

A 1-day Eastermarch on April 19 is being organised by VCND, from Dandenong to Melbourne. Theme: Opposition to proposed French tests.

STUDY AND RESEARCHTHE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

Frank Boatman reports in his last Memo that the University of Ghana at Legon, Accra is thinking of establishing a faculty of international affairs, which would devote itself to research on peace and conflict resolution.

THE UPLAND INSTITUTE

Upland Ave., Chester, Penn, 19013, USA.  
President: Ronald V. Wells

The Upland Institute, an exciting educational experiment, will open in the fall of 1965. The idea has grown out of the expressed need of social, educational and action agencies for leadership trained in understanding the processes of social change, and prepared to deal in a constructive way with the difficult problems inherent in social conflict.

In response to the growing reliance on violence as a means of achieving social change, its programme of study will explore democratic non-violent alternatives as a means of directing conflict into constructive, orderly channels.

A one-year professional course on the graduate level will be offered beginning Sept. 20, 1965. Application from qualified students are invited now.

The core curriculum will include study, research and field work in the following major conflict areas of American society:

- .. community education and action for peace and international order
- .. the freedom struggle
- .. full employment and urban development
- .. problems of inter-group relations.

SUPPLEMENT ON VIETNAMBACKGROUND : MILITARY DATANorth Vietnam

Population: 17,000,000

Regular Army:	250,000 (approx)
Regional Militia:	200,000 (approx)
Security Troops	40,000 ( pprox)

Source: The Military Balance 1964-65, published by The Institute of Strategic Studies, London, November 1964.

South Vietnam

Population: 15,000,000

Total Armed Forces: 550,000

Source: Jack Langguth, N.Y. Times (I), February 23, 1965.

'South Vietnamese forces are to be increased by 100,000 men'... Mr. McNamara disclosed today.

Source: Richard Scott, Guardian, March 8, 1965.

Note: A contingent of 600 non-combattant but well-armed Korean troops (part of a commitment of 2000) arrived in Saigon on February 25, 1965.

Source: Times (London), February 26, 1965.

Viet Cong

'Vietcong strength has been estimated at 29,000 to 35,000 regular soldiers and 80,000 guerrillas.'

Source: Jack Langguth, N.Y. Times (I), February 23, 1965.

### BACKGROUND : THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS

"When the French accepted defeat at Dien-bienphu on May 8, 1954, a conference had already been set up at Geneva to arrange the settlement. An Accord was reached on July 21, 1954. According to the stipulations of this Geneva Conference on Indochina (see New York Times, July 22/54 for complete text), Vietnam was divided into two military re-grouping zones. The demarcation line was designated at the Ben Dai River, along the 17th parallel. Military disengagement was to be achieved by keeping the Vietminh forces above this line (since they were already concentrated in the North) and withdrawing the French troops below this line. The partition was designed only to facilitate separation of combatants; once the troops had been duly disengaged, the French were to leave Vietnam. When all the French troops had departed, there was to be a countrywide election to reunify the partitioned nation under common leadership. The deadline for both the withdrawal of all French troops and the holding of nationwide elections was.. July 20, 1956. The intent and plan of the agreements are unambiguous. Article Six states: 'The Military demarcation line whould not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary'.

"Further provisions of the Geneva Agreements imposed regulations on foreign military bases and personnel and on increased armaments in Indochina, and set up an International Control Commission (consisting of representatives from Canada, India, and Poland) to supervise the implementation of the agreements."

"The conference was chaired by the USSR and Great Britain; delegates came from People's China, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, the Vietminh régime, France and the United States. The US chose not to sign the agreements and instead issued a unilateral declaration. The Associated Press, July 21, 1954, carried this statement from President Eisenhower explaining why: -

'The U. S. has not been a belligerent in this war. The primary responsibility for the settlement in Indochina rested with those nations which participated in the fighting.'

Source: War and Atrocity in Vietnam  
by Bertrand Russell and Russell D. Stetler, Jr., p. 20

### BACKGROUND : GROWTH AND RATIONALE OF THE U. S. COMMITMENT

"The U. S. has long perceived the wealth of Indochina. We must not forget the frank remarks of President Eisenhower at a Governors' Conference on August 4, 1953: 'Now let us assume that we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, several things happen right away. The peninsula, the last bit of land hanging on down there, would be scarcely defensible. The tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area would cease coming ... So when the United States votes \$400,000,000. to help that war, we are not voting a giveaway programme. We are voting for the cheapest way that we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States of America, our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia. ' "

Source: War and Atrocity in Vietnam, *ibid*, p. 27

"Three successive Administrations in Washington have concluded that the United States had a vital stake in keeping South Vietnam out of Communist hands - a stake that involved the security of all Southeast Asia and potentially that of the US as well.

President Eisenhower began the commitment with the dispatch of the initial U. S. mission in Saigon. In 1954, the Eisenhower Administration took the lead in creating the SEATO pact which extended a protective umbrella over

three of the states carved out of Indochina by the 1954 Geneva agreements - South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. General Eisenhower subscribed to the 'falling dominoes' theory - the belief that Communist conquest of South Vietnam would lead to the toppling of neighbouring nations. His policy was to provide aid and military 'advice' in the Saigon Government's struggle against Communist Vietcong guerrillas.

"South Vietnamese forces proved ineffectual in dealing with the guerrillas, and the Vietcong expanded its campaign steadily. In 1961, the Kennedy administration began a major American buildup. The U.S. advisory group was strengthened to 3,000 men. U.S. helicopters began flying Vietnamese troops into battle. A 4-star general took command of military operations!"

"Under the Kennedy Administration, the U.S. commitment grew to 13,000 men and \$500 million a year. Washington sent more sophisticated arms and planes. American 'advisers' took an increasingly bigger part in ground and air operations."

"President Johnson carried forward the Kennedy policies. His succession to the White House coincided with a major step-up in the Communist warfare, and with the beginning of a period of acute instability in Saigon as a result of a series of coups and counter-coups. The American forces have gradually been increased to their present level."

"President Johnson at first resisted further expansion, but last August he felt forced into a fundamental change of tactics."

Two claims of the "white paper" that the bulk of the Vietcong's weapons and other military supplies have come from the North and that the North Vietnamese infiltration rate is increasing, are made questionable by recent press reports.

"In the March 8 issue of I. F. Stone's Weekly some revealing figures about Vietcong weapons are given. Figures he has obtained from the Pentagon press office indicate that in the 3 year period 1962-64, 15,100 weapons were captured from the Viet Cong guerrillas, and 27,400 were lost to them. The point here is not simply the generous balance in favour of the Viet Cong, but the surprisingly high figure of weapons captured from them: for Appendix

Source: Peace News (editorial on Vietnam) March 12, 1965

North Vietnamese PT-boats attacked U.S. warships in the Gulf of Tonkin. The President sent U.S. planes in retaliatory raids against North Vietnamese installations for the first time."

"Nevertheless, the well-trained and well-equipped Vietcong - estimated to number about 35,000 'regulars' and perhaps another 50,000 'irregulars' - pressed ahead on several fronts. By last month they had gained control of most of central South Vietnam and were threatening to cut the country in two. The U.S., which has had more than 300 combat fatalities in Vietnam already, seemed in danger of a major military defeat."

"The response ordered by President Johnson has been a rapid escalation of the U.S. role from 'adviser' to 'participant'. The escalation included, first, U.S. bombing attacks on North Vietnamese staging areas in retaliation for Vietcong attacks on American installations; second, American-manned jets (with no Vietnamese aboard) bombed Vietcong concentrations in South Vietnam; and third, U.S. planes - last week - hit targets in North Vietnam, with no attempt to relate the attacks to specific Communist provocations."

"A 'white paper' issued by the Johnson Administration two weeks ago gave its justification for the new steps. It charged that North Vietnam was waging open aggression against South Vietnam, and warned that such aggression must stop." Source: N.Y. Times (1), March 8, 1965.

D of the State Dept. 's 'white paper' on Vietnam listed a total of precisely 179 weapons of Communist manufacture captured from the Viet Cong between June 1962 and January 29, 1964. Thus according to the estimates of the US authorities themselves, on average 7,500 weapons were captured each 18 months in the past 3 years, and yet only 179 Communist-made weapons turned up in one period of 18 months - less than 2½% of the total."

Source: Peace News (editorial on Vietnam) March 12, 1965

Washington, March 3:

"General Harold Johnson, the Army Chief of Staff claimed today that 75,000 Vietcong had been killed since the beginning of the guerrilla war in South Vietnam..."

"In spite of this rather impressive total, the White Paper released last weekend disclosed that the Vietcong military strength had been increasing. Although only some 37,000 had entered the South since 1959 the current strength of the Vietcong was given as between 95,000 and 115,000. On the basis of these figures and the 75,000 killed it is clear that the overwhelming manpower of the Vietcong has been recruited in the South."

Source: The Guardian, March 4, 1965.

### STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENTS

Washington, February 7, 1965:

"A retaliatory air strike against North Vietnam was carried out today by U.S. aircraft in response to what President Johnson called provocations ordered and directed by the Hanoi régime. Mr. Johnson made it clear, however, that the air strike was a limited response that did not signal a general expansion of the guerrilla warfare in South Vietnam."

Source: Tom Wicker, N.Y. Times (I), February 8, 1965.

Washington, February 8, 1965:

"U.S. policy is unchanged. The key to peace in Vietnam rests on the requirements that (1) infiltration and aggression from North Vietnam come to an end and (2) the Hanoi régime must abide by the Geneva Accords of 1954..."

Source: U.S. Information Service, February 8, 1965.

Hanoi, February 13, 1965:

"Hanoi radio broadcast that it had requested the International Commission to withdraw its fixed teams in North Vietnam owing to the North Vietnam authorities' inability to ensure the security of members of the ICSC fixed teams in North Vietnam due to bombing and strafing raids by the U.S.A. and South Vietnam. North Vietnam, however, reiterated its intention to respect and implement the Geneva Agreement."

Source: India News, March 6, 1965.

Washington, February 24, 1965:

"The State Department disclosed this afternoon that the decision to use the American jets on combat missions in the South was in line with the new policy announced last week by President Johnson, of 'continuous action that is appropriate, fitting, and measured.'"

Source: R. Scott, Guardian, Feb. 25, 1965.

Saigon, March 5:

"The U.S. military headquarters here announced today that the costliest helicopter operation of the war had ended with Government forces claiming only one Communist guerrilla killed. The massive 6-day clearing operation... began last Saturday when more than 1,000 Government troops aboard 137 helicopters were flown into a small jungle clearing 45 miles southeast of Saigon."

Source: UPI, N.Y. Times (I), Mar. 6-7, 1965.

Saigon, February 28, 1965:

"The highest American and Vietnamese officials here say they are 'virtually certain' that President Johnson has decided to open a continuing but limited air war against North Vietnam - unrelated to specific provocation - to bring about a negotiated settlement on honorable terms."

"The latest version of the plan, submitted to the President in December... proposed that North Vietnam be given indications that there could be a better route to economic viability, to the rice of South Vietnam and to independence from China than through the reunification of Vietnam by force. This alternative to aggression - including trade with the West, increased diplomatic recognition, possible food for peace aid and international development assistance - was to be made even more attractive by opening a low-intensity air war against North Vietnam."

"The aim was not to bomb North Vietnam into submission but, as one high official here said, 'to do something we could stop doing to them in return for equivalent concessions'."

"The idea was to reply to Hanoi's continuing, surreptitious, undeclared ground war against South Vietnam not with tit-for-tat blows set off only when Americans were injured but with a continuing surreptitious undeclared war against North Vietnam as already was being carried on in Laos."

"Attacks would neither be announced nor officially admitted. Raids, 2 or 3 a week, were to start - near the 17th parallel border with South Vietnam. These were to remain restricted initially to a few planes - striking at the bottom 3rd of North Vietnam south of the 19th parallel, thus remaining beyond the range of Hanoi based MIG interceptors. More important, the 19th parallel limit would support assurances to Moscow and Peking that the raids were aimed neither at China nor at the destruction of the Hanoi régime."

Source: Robert Kleiman, N. Y. Times (I) March 1, 1965

#### VIETNAM : INTERNAL POLITICS

##### What is the Liberation National Front?

The Liberation National Front, which was founded on Dec. 20, 1960, in opposition to the dictatorial Diem régime, included peasants, small businessmen, progressive landlords, fishermen, workers, ethnic minorities and Buddhists. Its leadership comprised intellectuals and professionals who had suffered under Diem.

"The policies of the LNF were decided at a national congress, held from Feb. 16 to March 2, 1962. The number of delegates at the LNF's Congress exceeded 100 men."

"The people and policy of the Front are discussed extensively in the April 1964 number of War/Peace Report in an article entitled: 'Can Vietnam be Neutralized?' Three experts on South Vietnam answer in this article a number of germane questions. One of the experts, Prof. Stanley Millet, outlines the platform of the Front thus:

"The first point of its platform was to oust the Diem régime and to replace it with a democratic coalition government, composed of the representatives of every section of the population - nationalities, political parties, religious communities, and patriotic personalities,

"This small, semiclandestine type of offensive was favored because of 4 major disadvantages of large-scale public raids. Such raids might provoke Chinese intervention. They would put the Soviet Union on the spot, forcing gestures of solidarity with Hanoi and possibly Peking. They would make it more difficult for North Vietnamese leaders to back down without loss of face. And they would place Washington under enormous pressure from its allies and American opinion to enter premature talks."

"All but the first of these disadvantages now have been brought down upon Washington by the 3 February retaliatory strikes which involved as many as 160 planes. And it was only after Feb. 11 that (this) plan was pulled out and steps taken to implement it."

The second is to build a broad democratic régime, which would include freedom of expression, Press, association, religious belief and worship and other democratic liberties. The third is to build an independent economy. The furthest the platform goes in this area is to urge abolition of the economic monopoly of the Diem régime. It calls for government aid to industrialists and handicraftsmen, improvement of technology, agriculture and fishing, development of trade, an equitable tax system, better labour relations, increased social assistance, prohibition of the forcible removal and burning of people's dwellings. The platform does not even demand a serious land reform."

"When asked about the percentage of Communists in the Front, he answered that they are 'only a very, very, small number of the intellectuals'. He adds that these Communists are experienced men, who provide much of the direction of the Front and whose ideas are necessary to maintaining a structured movement. He states, 'Communist leadership provided the organizational structure for them to enter into. Without an

organizational structure, it's very difficult for a mass, particularly a peasant mass, to exercise political power. " "

"When asked bluntly whether the Liberation National Front would accept as premier a neutralist like Souvanna Phouma in Laos, Millet replies, 'This is their position. '

"The Liberation National Front has sent emissaries to many Socialist bloc and revolutionary nations, in an effort to gain recognition. It has so far received no actual diplomatic recognition, but has set up permanent missions in Prague, Cairo, Algiers, and Havana. "

"The Liberation National Front sets up local governments in the areas its forces win. (Just how much area the guerrillas now control is debated:

Senator Bartlett (D-Alas.) asserted in the February 19, 1964, entry in the Congressional Record that they now retain control of about 75 % of the land area of the south; cabinet officials give the guerrillas less credit, while admitting always that they hold a very large portion of the land area at night even where the Government forces patrol during the day). The Front establishes programs which will minister to the legitimate needs of the people, giving them grassroots democracy and economic reform. The network of local units constitutes a provisional government which should be recognized as such. "

Source: War and Atrocity in Vietnam,  
ibid, pp. 32-4.

\*\*\*\*\*

Saigon, February 15:

"South Vietnam was given its ninth government in 15 months .. when the Armed Forces Council designated Dr. Quat the new Prime Minister. "

Source: The Economist, February 20, 1965.

#### FRENCH VIEWPOINT AND STRATEGY

In a recent edition of Der Spiegel, the following information and analysis of the French viewpoint appeared:

"As early as Aug. 29, 1963, de Gaulle irritated the West by his proposal that South and North Vietnam should unite and form a neutral state. A few days later, two diplomats (the chief of France's permanent mission in Hanoi and the Polish representative on the International Control Commission in Indochina) went to Saigon with the knowledge of de Gaulle and on behalf of Ho Chi Minh. They had talks with Diem and Nhu. "

"Ho Chi Minh's proposal was that 'South Vietnam should dissociate itself from the U. S. and become neutral, while North Vietnam would terminate the guerrilla operations and respect the neutrality of Diem'. Diem agreed to think it over. Shortly after, the Diem régime was overthrown. "

"De Gaulle continued his plans for the neutralisation of Vietnam. During 1964, he did not get a favourable response in Hanoi: the war went so well for the guer-

rillas that they had lost interest in a negotiated settlement, believing they could win the war shortly. For the same reason, Washington was not prepared to negotiate and instead stepped up its military effort in South Vietnam. "

"In the middle of January, 1965, Lucien Paye, French Ambassador to China was called to the Chinese Foreign Office and shortly after left for Paris attempting to persuade his government to explore the chances in Washington in regard to negotiations. "

"On Feb. 7 and 8, U. S. jet bombers bombed North Vietnam. "

"The hotter the crisis grew, the clearer became the interest of the East for a peaceful settlement. "

"On Feb. 12, the chief of North Vietnam's Trade Mission in Paris and China's Ambassador in Paris negotiated with the French foreign office over the possibility of a French initiative toward negotiations in Washington. "

"On Feb. 15, the first secretary of the

North Vietnamese delegation in Paris, Vo Van Sung, contacted for the same reason, the Soviet Ambassador in Paris, and through him the French foreign office. Chinese conditions for negotiation were withdrawal of U.S. troops. Knowing this to be unacceptable to the U.S., de Gaulle finally sent Couve de Murville, with a modified proposal to Washington, that the U.S. should agree to negotiations without any preconditions'. Johnson refused."

"On Feb. 23, the Soviets took the initiative - the Soviet Ambassador in Paris informed the French government that Hanoi was willing to accept a compromise: armistice in South Vietnam for the duration of the negotiations if Washington would stop its air attacks on North Vietnam. President Johnson again refused and ordered a new attack against North Vietnam, the heaviest so far."

"De Gaulle, however, remains confident. He believes America's reasons for the attacks are to prepare for the eventual end of the war."

Source: Der Spiegel, March 10, 1965.

"According to the French theory, both Peking and Hanoi would be willing to negotiate on Vietnam and neither would insist on departure of American troops from

Source: C. F. Sulzberger, N.Y. Times (I), Mar. 10, 1965.

### PEACE PROPOSALS AND REACTIONS

#### FRANCE & THE SOVIET UNION

Paris, February 24, 1965 :

"France and the Soviet Union have agreed to press for an international conference to negotiate a settlement of the war in South Vietnam. Qualified sources made it clear that the target of the two governments combined pressure was the U.S... Moscow will advocate the neutralization of South Vietnam. Moscow favors an international guarantee of the country's independence."

Source: Drew Middleton, N.Y. Times (I), February 25, 1965.

"Mr. Kosygin, the Soviet Premier, in Moscow yesterday indicated Moscow's interest in international talks on Vietnam but pressed for a prior suspension of U.S.

South Vietnam until after a peace conference had arranged its neutralization. The only Communist precondition, it is argued, is that U.S. bombings of the North must cease before negotiations start."

"Paris reckons North Vietnam would accept a genuinely neutral South Vietnam and would like to work out economic and customs arrangements with such a state, developing unofficial contacts similar to those between West and East Germany and only contemplating unification as an eventual dream. It also feels China would much rather persist with long-range subversion and penetration programs in Southeast Asia than chance outright war."

"The French are convinced, there are in fact two Chinese policies. Ideologically, China pushes outward in all directions, seeking to establish preeminence in the world Communist movement through propaganda and subversion. But nationally, Chinese tactics are more prudent and wish to avoid any confrontation that could lead to major war. Thus, at this juncture, while Peking hopes ultimately to extrude Western influence from Asia (including both America's and Russia's) it privately cautions extremists among its own friends."

actions in the area.. It is noteworthy that he did not make this an absolute precondition for any talks.."

Source: Victor Zorza, Guardian, Feb. 27/65.

#### U THANT

United Nations: March 8, 1965:

The N.Y. Times reported a proposal of U Thant that the U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France, the People's Republic of China, North Vietnam and South Vietnam take part in a conference to halt the Vietnam war. It was understood that he envisaged it as a preliminary step before a more formal and enlarged conference takes place."

Source: N.Y. Times (I), March 9, 1965.

Times (London), March 10, 1965.

Washington, February 25, 1965:

"The Administration is convinced that any expressed willingness at this time to seek a peaceful settlement could lose the war for the southern forces before the powers met at a conference table. The consequences are not only exasperated comments on the efforts of friendly governments to find a basis for negotiation but the virtual severance of relations with those countries as far as the crisis is concerned. It is an odd situation, making nonsense of inter-allied diplomacy..."

Source: Times (London), February 26, 1965.

"For the first time since the beginning of the present Vietnam crisis the Peking 'People's Daily' forswore yesterday the bloodcurdling threats against the U.S. in favor of a thoughtful analysis of the situation. The unsigned article makes no concessions to the U.S... the context suggests a slow groping towards a new understanding, not so much with the Americans as of the Americans..."

Source: Victor Zorza, Guardian, March 2, 1965.

"The anti-American demonstration (at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow on March 4) which turned into an ugly anti-Russian riot when Soviet mounted police started riding down their Asian guests, was clearly instigated by Peking... to embarrass the Russians and to bring to the surface in Moscow itself differences which Mr. Kosygin and his colleagues are vainly trying to damp down... The Albanian Zeri i Populit... accused the Russians of weakening the Vietcong rebels in South Vietnam by trying to force North Vietnam to negotiate with the Americans at a moment when the Vietcong were said to be on the edge of final victory. It concluded, 'By their manouvres the Soviet revisionists are seeking... to help America indeed. Already we are hearing from China about the bloody intervention of Soviet police in the service of America, beating down revolutionary students.'"

Source: Edward Crankshaw, Observer, March 7, 1965.

Washington, March 9:

"The United States has told U Thant... that it could not accept his or any other invitation to a conference on Vietnam until North Vietnam indicated a readiness to halt its 'aggression'."

Source: Max Frankel, N.Y. Times (1), March 9, 1965.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### Interview with Ho Chi Minh

After returning from his recent interview in North Vietnam with Ho Chi Minh, British Labour MP, William Warbey had this to say in The Guardian, February 9, 1965.

"When I discussed the terms of a possible political settlement in Hanoi with President Ho Chi Minh and Pham van Dong, both of them made it clear that the Liberation Front would have to be accepted as one of the negotiating bodies. 'Without them the negotiations would have no meaning', said Pham van Dong, 'since no genuinely independent and neutral Government can now be formed in Saigon without them'."

"The other absolute condition is that the Americans must be prepared to abandon their bases in South Vietnam and withdraw their military forces and weapons."

"More seriously, however, first the President in general terms, and then the Prime Minister in explicit detail, outlined their view of a possible 'package deal'

which should meet the wishes and calm the fears of the parties involved."

"We have always regarded the 1954 Geneva agreements as providing a sound and firm basis for the restoration of peace in Vietnam' said Ho Chi Minh. 'It would be a good thing if the independence, unity, military neutrality and freedom from foreign interference of Vietnam, and of Laos and Cambodia, were guaranteed by an international treaty, drafted and signed at a new Geneva conference at which all the countries interested in peace in this region would participate.'"

"Pham van Dong confirmed that this time his Government wanted something... which they did not get in 1954 - a treaty or agreement which the participants, including the Americans would adhere to."

"He defined his concept of neutrality: 'First of all we want to restore the military clauses of the 1954 Geneva agreements and have them applied in both North and South Vietnam. These you will remember, provide for no foreign military alliances, no foreign military bases, no foreign troops, and no foreign weapons, except as replacements. This is the equivalent of military neutrality, and we for our part are prepared to reconfirm our acceptance of these conditions without a time-limit and we know that the Liberation Front is prepared to do the same!'

"The West cannot expect us, after the experience of the past 20 years, to be politically neutral. We are, and shall remain, close friends of the Socialist camp, although we shall seek friendly commercial and cultural relations with everybody who is willing to co-operate with us."

"As for the South the position is quite different. While we have developed our country on planned Socialist lines, they remain a private enterprise area, and are likely to be so for some time to come. The Liberation Front will therefore follow a policy of political as well as military neutrality, and we shall not interfere with that policy!."

"We have no desire to rush political reunification. We want the opening up of trade and communications between the North and South and the reunion of the divided families, but political reunification will result from a slow process of rapprochement between our Government and the new democratic Government in Saigon. This is a matter we shall settle between ourselves in our time, and without outside interference."

#### Saigon Peace Efforts

Saigon, February 25:

"...a group of respectable South Vietnamese citizens circulated a petition for peace... Slightly unnerving to the Americans... The police dispersed a gathering of 50 people who wished to hold a press conference to launch the appeal. Their resolution calls on both the Government in Saigon and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front to agree to an immediate cease-fire. Dated Feb. 16., it considers that the war... threatens to exterminate the Vietnamese race and to ignite a world war... It further states that the whole population demands a cease-fire."

Source: Times (London), Feb. 26, 1965.

Saigon, February 26:

"While the political situation in Saigon today appeared settled, the police continued making arrests in the capitol among the signatories of a cease-fire resolution... it appears that this is the first such effort to have dared to come into the open, with perhaps more than 600 signatures drawn from the professional circles usually considered respectable... The extent of the police action may, perhaps, be an indication of its potential."

Source: Times (London), Feb. 27, 1965.

Saigon, February 28, 1965:

"A Buddhist led peace movement today officially opened a campaign to end the war... in spite of a Government ban on alleged Communist Front groups demanding a ceasefire. The... Government... is reported to be worried about the growing strength of various peace movements."

Source: Guardian, March 1, 1965.

Saigon, March 3, 1965:

"The South Vietnamese Air Force Commander, Vice Marshall Nguyen Cao Ky, denounced tonight the growing number of peace movements in Saigon as Communist. He said the armed forces would exterminate them."

Source: New York Times(I), Mar. 4/65.

The Times Special Correspondent from Saigon reports that three prominent signatories of the cease-fire appeal made to both the Saigon Government and the National Liberation Front, were being deported to North Vietnam.

Source: Times (London), March 13, 1965.

From Newsweek, March 15, 1965:

"The proponents of peace at any price were scornfully denounced by South Vietnam's Premier Phan Huy Quat, but Quat carefully excluded from criticism the militant Buddhists whose support his government needs to survive. Yet it was precisely the Buddhists who were giving the peace movement its greatest impetus.

'This is the right time to talk about peace', said Quaing Lien, 38, former Yale student and top-ranking monk. 'Ten years of fighting have only brought suffering to my country.' "

"Lien, who has emerged as the nominal peace spokesman for the Buddhist hierarchy, made it plain to Newsweek's François Sully last week that his scheme would call for both American troops and Communist guerrillas to leave the country. 'The ideal solution', he said, 'is a return to the situation of 1954; Communists in the North and nationalists in the South.' "

"According to a news release of an NBC (National Broadcasting Corporation) reporter, the South Vietnamese Government is eager to begin negotiations with the Government of North Vietnam. The report states: 'A highly placed member of the Government of Prime Minister Quat said that his government agreed fundamentally with the position of General de Gaulle, that the only solution was to sit down with the communist North Vietnamese at the conference table. The Government encouraged further air attacks against the North as a prelude to negotiations. This would put the South in a stronger position at the negotiations.' "

Source: Frankfurter Rundschau, Mar. 6/65.

Saigon, March 12:

"Dr. Phan Huy Quat, the Prime Minister of South Vietnam, today announced his Government's new action programme, containing five points and 84 objectives, including the launching of a campaign against subversion aimed at a peace conference designed to neutralize South Vietnam."

Source: The Times (London) March 13/65.

"The Prime Ministers of India and Afghanistan have called for immediate convening of a Geneva-type conference to find a peaceful and lasting solution to the problem

of Vietnam."

Source: India News, March 6, 1965.

Peking, March 5:

"President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan called today for a negotiated settlement that would bring peace with honor to all interested parties..."

Source: N.Y. Times (I), Mar. 6-7, 1965.

New York, March 7:

"In a speech to the Canadian Club on the above date, the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Lester Pearson stressed the need for a negotiated settlement (in Vietnam). He believes that the U.N. could and should be enrolled as policemen once the Powers intimately concerned with Southeast Asia reach a settlement - and ideally he would wish that some arrangements for throwing a cordon sanitaire around Vietnam could be agreed before the Powers go to the conference table."

"Mr. Pearson obviously believes that it is essential to set up enforcement machinery that goes far beyond the small and ineffectual truce commission that was established under the 1954 agreements and it is obvious that he is thinking of a settlement in Southeast Asia which would embrace some grandiose United Nations action in the economic development field.

Source: Hella Pick, Guardian, Mar. 8/65

"The British Government yesterday published as a White Paper documents presented to the co-chairmen of the Geneva Agreements by the International Control Commission. They include a majority statement by the Indian and Polish members of the ICC recording the American bombings of North Vietnam, along with denunciation from the North Vietnamese authorities. The statement called on the co-chairmen to appeal to all concerned to take all measures necessary to stem the deteriorating situation. A minority statement by the Canadian delegation declares that the most important cause of the continuing instability... was 'the deliberate and persistent pursuit of aggressive but largely covert policies by North Vietnam directed against South Vietnam.' "

Source: Times (London), Mar. 9, 1965

Labour MPs Protest in Britain

"More than 50 Labour MPs last night tabled a motion calling on the government to take an initiative to end the war in South Vietnam. It reads:- 'That this House, recognising that British policy in regard to Vietnam is based upon acceptance in principle of the 1954 Geneva Declaration, that United States policy springs from a non-acceptance of this declaration, and therefore on this point the objectives of the two countries cannot be the same, expresses the urgent hope that the British Government will take an early initiative in order to bring about a ceasefire and the political settlement which is essential to the res-

toration of peace'.

Source: The Guardian, Feb. 11, 1965.

"A large group of Labour MPs last night urged Mr. Wilson publicly to dissociate the Government from the latest American attacks on North Vietnam. 45 Labour MPs signed a motion calling on the Government to declare publicly that, 'While Her Majesty's Government sincerely desires to preserve her alliance with the U.S.A., it is unable to support the U.S. in the war in Vietnam.' "

Source: The Guardian, March 5, 1965.

Washington, March 11, 1965:

"President Johnson has reached two important decisions on Vietnam which must have grave and far-reaching consequences. The first is that the war must be prosecuted with all necessary means; the second is that a United States military presence on the Asian mainland must be maintained indefinitely to prevent Chinese expansionism."

"The Administration is pondering the significance of the President's two basic decisions. It is known that he will not contemplate negotiations until the north withdraws its support from the Vietcong guerrillas, and that any future negotiated settlement must allow for American garrisons in the south. This requirement would make a settlement difficult if not impossible to negotiate, and might further delay political unity in Saigon."

"It is also understood that the President has rejected a return to the 1954 Geneva agreement. Neutralization is also unacceptable, at least for the foreseeable future."

"This apparently springs not so much from disillusionment with existing agreements, which could be understandable, as from the need seen to maintain forces on the Asian mainland. This is unacceptable to China, and the two countries could now be on a collision course."

"It certainly amounts to a reversal of American policy. Only recently, Mr. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, said that American troops could be withdrawn if North Vietnam aggression stopped. On December 23, he said that the United States had no desire for bases or a permanent military presence in the area."

Source: Times (London), March 12, 1965.

According to a Reuter's report of March 12, the State Department has denied reports that the United States was seeking a permanent position on the Asian mainland. An official of the department told a press conference that American forces in Asia would come home tomorrow if the problems created by communist aggression were removed.

Source: Times (London), March 13, 1965.

According to a well-informed sources in Washington, President Johnson is considering a naval blockade of North Vietnam by the 7th Fleet which would be strengthened for this purpose. No official announcement of the blockade is expected but it is assumed that the allies of the U.S. will be informed in order to secure their support for this measure.

Source: Frankfurter Rundschau, March 12, 1965.

## THE MEKONG RIVER PLAN

For the past 7 years, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and South Vietnam have been working with little publicity on a huge development programme. These 4 countries, which do not cooperate on anything else, have reached a large measure of agreement on the development of the Lower Mekong Basin. Work is under way in drawing engineering designs, moving earth for dams, building power plants, cultivating pilot farms and training village technicians. Work has not been interrupted by guerrillas. There are massive opportunities to increase output of rice and to diversify crops. 'Hydro-electric power plants on the tributaries would provide cheap power for urban and commercial growth.'

'If the United Nations were to designate this area for international development according to the plan already drawn by the 4 nations, there is a strong possibility that peace could be achieved in a common pursuit of agricultural and industrial growth. This is a solution to Southeast Asian violence which would make sense to peasants in the rice fields and to American taxpayers.'

'Planning for the Lower Mekong was begun by a committee of the 4 countries under auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1957. The basin below the Burmese and Chinese borders includes virtually all the area of Cambodia and Laos, the Korat Plateaux in northeast Thailand, and the Delta and southwest interior of Vietnam. It embraces half the population of the 4 countries.'

'More than \$14 million has been spent to date on basic studies. These now involve 20 other nations and 11 international agencies.' 'The total U.S. contribution to Lower Mekong planning has cost less than 4 days of military aid in South Vietnam, now reported to exceed \$1.5 million per day.'

'The People's Republic of China has at least 74,000 sq. miles in the upper basin. While China has not participated in the planning for the lower basin, integrated development of the entire basin ultimately should include the upper reaches. North Vietnam does not have a part in the basin. However, if large-scale hydro-electric installations were to be made along the mainstream above tidewater, its cities would be a possible market for the power.'

What is needed now is still greater investment and the enlistment of a unified Administration (such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development). 'Heavy financial support will not come unless the security of the area can be assured more confidently'. This may be the time and place for the presence of a United Nations Peace Force.

'This type of agreement would be fundamentally different from the ceasefire that is envisioned under a neutralization treaty. The 4 countries, the U.S., North Vietnam, and other interested nations would commit themselves primarily to advance a great development program for the welfare of the people of the lower basin on which the 4 governments have agreed. This would mean withdrawal of national military units. It would require support for a United Nations force to maintain security of the program. It would substitute a development goal for an indistinct battle line, and it would permit the United States to withdraw gracefully in favor of an international force committed to that goal. Financial obligations of the U.S. would in the future be linked with contributions of money and people from other nations.'

'Would this be acceptable to North Vietnam and the Pathet Lao? No one can say for certain what ultimate position they would take. Developments to date are encouraging. None of the important field work has yet been halted by guerrilla activity. It is known that the head of the Pathet Lao is highly sympathetic to multi-purpose water programs in his country. The goal of harnessing a river's resources to serve the common man is widely hailed in both Communist and non-Communist countries, and the People's Republic of China and the USSR have been distinguished practitioners of the idea. Neither has raised formal objections to its embodiment in the Lower Mekong.'

Source: Vietnam: The Fourth Course, by Gilbert F. White in Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, December, 1964.

Publications wishing to reproduce any part of Peace Press are requested to acknowledge the source.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT & PEACE

The Grange,  
3, Herdon Avenue,  
Finchley, London N.3.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting,  
held at Rome, February 15th, 1965. 3. 4. 65

E. 4.

Present: Claude Bourdet; Andreas Buro; Aldo Capitini; Peggy Duff;  
Andrea Gaggero; Isa Gaggero (interpreter) Guido Graziani;  
Kenneth Lee; Jose Smole; Bertil Svahnstrom.  
  
Observer: G. Rendi, from the Comitato per il Disarmo Atomico  
convenzionale dell' Area Europea.

1. Peace Information Service

The General Secretary introduced his written report on the ICDP Peace Information Service. (See attached.)

It was generally agreed that Peace Press was performing a useful function. The General Secretary was asked to prepare an extensive report for the next Council Meeting, at which time the Information Service should be evaluated.

2. Membership Application

The Executive unanimously accepted the following organisations as members of the ICDP.

- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (International) - Associate Member
- Union Generale des Etudiants de Quebec - Associate Member
- Kampagne Mod Atomvapen (Denmark) - Associate Member

3. Invitation to international conference

The General Secretary reported that Frank Boaten and a delegate of the American For would represent the ICDP at the Pacem in Terris Convocation in New York (February 18th - 20th, 1965).

The ICDP has been invited to participate in the Second World Conference on World Peace Through Law, to be held in Washington, DC on September 13th to 18th, 1965.

It was decided that we should ask Sean MacBride to represent the ICDP as well as someone from one of our North American member organisations.

#### 4. The 34th World Peace Congress

The Executive considered an invitation by Dr. Fontzen to take part in the 'organisation committee' to be set up in Paris. The Executive welcomed the invitation, but felt that ICDP was overextended already in relation to the resources and was not able to participate at present in the organisation committee.

#### 5. Next ICDP Council Meeting

The Executive expressed its desire to have the next Council Meeting immediately prior to or after the second conference of the Accra Assembly, tentatively scheduled for July, 1965, in Nairobi.

Since it takes a fair amount of planning to ensure a worthwhile Council Meeting, the Executive decided to wait until April 1st, 1965. If by that date, arrangements for the Accra Assembly were not yet certain, the Executive would ask the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples to act as hosts to its Council Meeting.

J. Smole agreed to let the ICDP office know if such an arrangement was acceptable in principle. If the Council is to meet in Yugoslavia, the dates would be August 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 1965.

#### 6. Next Membership Conference of the ICDP

The General Secretary pointed out that the next Conference is to take place in 1966 and proposed Germany as the location. Andreas Buro agreed to take this up with his Executive and report back to the ICDP.

#### 7. Mankind 2000

The General Secretary reported on his visit to Robert Jungk. He also reported on the proposal to set up an independent British group on Mankind 2000. Several sponsors from Britain have expressed the desire to set themselves up independantly in order to re-write the present draft on Mankind 2000 for presentation to the British Government, with a view to having the Government accept the responsibility to hold an exhibition on Mankind 2000. Robert Jungk has agreed to this proposal.

The Executive agreed to this proposal and stated further that the ICDP should continue to promote the project in other countries, with a view to initiate additional national and/or regional groups.

#### 8. Vienna Project; Meeting Point, 1965

After a lengthy discussion centering around the report presented to the Executive Meeting, it was decided that:

- If UNESCO participation is assured, the ICDP will act as one of the sponsors of the project.
- The cost for participation is to be raised in order to cover administrative expenses arising from the necessity to hire a full-time person for the last two or three months prior to September 1st, 1965.
- The General Secretary is to go to Paris as soon as possible in order to secure the participation of UNESCO.

It was also agreed the ICDP should write to the IPB as soon as UNESCO participation was secured, asking IPB to transfer the £750 to a London account for use in this project.

Andreas Buro agreed to advance up to £150 to the ICDP for expenses on the Vienna project (to be repaid).

There was general agreement with Claude Bourdet's comment that the project would only be worthwhile if the participants were young people and excluded tourists, members of the peace movement and communists. The whole idea was to bring young people from Western Europe together with young people from Eastern Europe, and there was little point in having the Western contingent made up of peace workers and communists.

#### 9. World Peace Congress (Helsinki)

Kenneth Lee reported on his discussion with Professor Bernal and Andrew Walker. The WCP was interested to secure the opinion and advice of other peace organisations in the organising of the Congress, and would welcome ICDP participation at its next organising meeting.

It was agreed that the ICDP had not the resources in personnel or finances to become involved in assisting the organisation of the congress, in addition to our other programme commitments. It also noted that this was a WPC congress. Cooperation in a joint congress would depend on the ICDP being able to take a full and equal share in all respects.

It was agreed that the ICDP should encourage member organisations to appoint some members to attend the congress if similar guarantees of freedom to address the conference and adequate reporting of minority views as given at the Moscow Congress were assured.

#### 10. Finance

The report of the Treasurer was read and received.

After a lengthy discussion on fundraising the following proposals were selected as priorities:

(a) The ICDP will issue a coloured stamp for sale through its member organisations. Profit is to be directed among ICDP and those organisations selling the stamps. It was stressed that the design must be excellent, taking into account the fact that the stamp will be sold in many countries.

If at all possible, the stamps should be available before the 1965 Eastermarch.

(b) Sale of paintings, through Art Galleries, the profit to be donated by artists to ICDP.

Claude Bourdet was to get in touch with a Manager of an Art Gallery in Paris, and Kenneth Lee agreed to contact someone in London. Andreas Buro was asked to find a suitable person in Germany, so that the project could be handled in cooperation between these people.

(c) Andreas Buro agreed to send the names and addresses of several potential German donors to the ICDP. The ICDP would approach Lord Boyd Orr to write a personal letter to those people asking them to support the ICDP financially. Bertil Svahnstrom stated that with the case of Sweden, it would be better if he sent a covering letter along. Svahnstrom and Gaggero agreed to send names of potential donors for that purpose.

(d) Production and sale of Records and Peace Songs

Andrea and Isa Gaggero agreed to contact a professional group in Milan who may be agreeable to take this project into their hands. The proposal would envisage a record of about 6 peace songs in several languages (German, French and English).

Sales to proceed the same way as with the stamps.

(e) Mailing of Financial Appeal letter to Member organisations

Peggy Duff agreed that the CMD was again willing to send out a financial appeal to a selected number of its supporters, on behalf of the ICDP. It was agreed to urge other groups to do likewise.

In the concluding discussion, Graziani said that the ICDP must eventually find a trained full-time fund-raiser, if it is to solve its continuous financial problem.

The Executive agreed that this minute on fundraising was to be sent separately to every member organisation in view of the serious financial position of the ICDP.

11. Miscellaneous

(a) Claude Bourdet stressed the importance of leaving more of the administrative matters to the London-based Executive members and instead, using the Executive Meetings for discussions on politics and policy.

It was agreed that the next Council meeting was to take four full days of which two days was to be devoted to political discussions.

(b) It was agreed to circulate a proposal by Claude Bourdet to member organisations on the 'Study of a possible Boycott of American goods, as envisaged by the ICDP Executive'. (Proposal attached).

ED 718-27-144

From: The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace,

The Grange,  
3, Hendon Avenue,  
Finchley,  
London, N. 3.

To: All ICDF Member Organisations

February 21st, 1965

Dear Friends,

Study of a possible Boycott of American goods, as envisaged by the ICDF Executive

Although certain responsible elements in American politics, such as the New York Times, democratic leaders like Senator Mansfield, etc., are trying to prevent more dangerous action on the part of the American Government, the pressure on the White House from irresponsible military and political circles is becoming very great. The evident Russian desire not to make things worse could help to relax tension, but it also has two dangerous consequences: it tends to provoke the Chinese into making things untenable for the USSR - it encourages extreme elements in the US to believe that the rashest actions will not provoke any violent Russian reaction.

In such circumstances, much depends on the restraint of the American Government. The absence of a strong popular opposition to war in America is disturbing, and we believe it is most important that a powerful anti-war action, originating from clearly non-communist elements in the West, does try to fill this vacuum, and make the US Government realise that any drastic action may cause havoc to American relations with world opinion.

In this perspective, we ask our members whether they think it possible to discuss with parties, trade unions, popular organisations, church groups, etc. in their various countries, the setting up of a potential framework for the boycott of American goods. We stress that there is no question of boycott for the time being. What should be made clear, however, by discussion, 'leaks' to the press, etc. is that a large number of organisations in the West, in Africa, Asia, Australia, are ready to issue such orders if American policy continues to slide down the warpath; that they understand that not all the responsibility lies with the Americans, but that American power politics is at present playing into the hands of the most extreme elements of the other bloc, and that the huge mistakes made by the US in Vietnam for the last ten years do not entitle the American Government to play with the life of all mankind in order to cover its failures and to prove it is not a 'paper tiger'.

The very fact that the Soviet orientated peace movement is put in the same difficult situation as the Soviets themselves, delivers a unique possibility to our organisations to assert a moderate but firm leadership in this matter, not only in the West but in countries of Africa and Asia highly sensitive to American intervention in an Asian country.

It is quite possible that such a boycott, if put into effect, would be altogether impotent and useless. But that is not the point. What is in question is the impression any discussion of this idea in wide circles is bound to make on American business circles, highly sensitive to any threat against their foreign markets, marginal but vital for their profits and general economic balance; and, as a consequence, on the American Government.

The International Conference on the Disarmament and Peace  
100, Strand, London, W.C.2  
England

2.

We believe that many of these business circles, which are not war minded and not concerned with the sales of planes, military equipment, electronics, etc. have as great fears as we have, but that except from articles in the New York Times and such papers, they are incapable of countering the present wave of militarism, any strong intervention on their part being liable to be denounced as 'appeasement'.

On the other hand, if reasonable business and political circles in America could point out, with some element of proof to support them, that present American policy can not only impair gravely American influence but also American industry and trade - their case would be much stronger.

And it would also be an interesting new experience to see if the peace movement and organised Labour around the world are mature enough to wield the powerful 'weapon for peace' that can be developed from the consuming power of millions - or rather from the psychological strength arising from this power.

Yours sincerely,



Kenneth Lee,  
President, ICDP.

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

ED 218-27-145

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

3, Hendon Avenue,  
Pinchley, London, N.3.

To: The Executive Committee of the ICDP, meeting in Rome, on  
February 15th, 1965

From: The General Secretary of the ICDP

GENERAL PROGRESS REPORT covering the period from the previous  
Executive meeting, held at Ashford. (Oct. 3rd-4th  
1964)

I. Membership

- 1. Kampagne Mod Atomvapen (Denmark) - Associate Member
- 2. Union Generale des etudiants du Quebec - Associate Member

The present Executive meeting must deal with these applications.  
I hope we will admit both organisations as Associate members to the ICDP.

II. Relations with the IPB

At the last Executive meeting of the IPB, January 1965, it was decided  
to pay the ICDP the second half of the £2000 grant which was originally  
made at the Annual General Meeting of the IPB in Sörmarka last autumn.  
This grant is to be used for the ICDP Information Service.

It was further agreed that a small committee of IPB and ICDP Executive  
members should meet in order to work out proposals for future  
cooperation. This committee has not yet met.

III. Easter Marches, 1965

The ICDP Secretariat has mailed out questionnaires to all relevant  
peace organisations asking for details of their plans for Easter, 1965.  
The results have been disappointing - many groups have not replied at all.

The Secretariat will compile a report on the basis of these replies and  
mail it out to all member organisations by March 1st.

IV. World Conference

The ICDP has been invited to the International Convocation on Pacem in  
Terris (February 18th-20th, 1965), and to the 2nd conference on World  
Peace through World Law to be held in Washington, September 1965.

This Executive meeting must decide on our reaction to this invitation.

V. Literature

On December 15th, 1964, the ICDP published its first pamphlet, 'A Threat to  
Peace'. Of the 2,500 copies printed, about 800 have so far been ordered.  
I would like to urge all member organisations to put in their orders for  
further copies now.

We have also published a brochure describing the ICDP and its work, which  
is intended for use in membership drives as well as in soliciting funds for  
the ICDP.

I would like to receive orders for this brochure from all member organisations.

## VI. Action on MLF and Vietnam

You all know the series of activities which have recently taken place on European Security and more specifically on the MLF. The ICDP and/or its member organisations have been involved in a lobby of the House of Commons (London), a lobby and mass meeting in Paris, a large meeting in Gelsenkirchen (Germany) and now the Rome Conference which we hope will outline constructive alternatives for the peace movement.

We have also been active in cooperating with the War Resisters League (United States) in protesting and demonstrating against continued US involvement in Vietnam.

## VII. ICDP Secretariat

The problems of the ICDP office cannot be viewed in isolation from our financial situation. I must nevertheless in all honesty put the facts before you as I see them.

At present the ICDP employs one General Secretary, one office secretary and a half-time Information Secretary.

Anyone familiar with office work and publishing will readily agree with the following:

1. The information work of the ICDP requires at least one qualified full-time person. Our present budget permits us to employ a full-time information secretary by July 1st, and we must again budget for a full-time information secretary for our next financial year, if we want to maintain our present output.
2. It is absolutely imperative that we find the necessary funds to employ another junior office help in the office. I know of no international organisation that operates with one secretary and the present staff (myself included) cannot be expected to work a 70 or 80 hour week indefinitely (and even then much of the work remains undone).
3. We must again review the whole problem of producing all our literature in French and English. I expect to be in a position to make concrete recommendations on this subject at our Council meeting this summer.
4. We must begin to plan for our next conference which is scheduled for January 1966. This includes the appointment of a nominating committee at an early stage.

VIII. The Vienna Project: Peace Information; Mankind 2000; The Report of the Treasurer and the report of the Finance Committee are available as separate reports and are not covered by this general report.

Verband.

# I.C.D.P.

ED 718-27-146

The Grange,  
3, Hendon Avenue,  
Finchley, London, N. 3.

## inter-organisational bulletin

I.C.B. Nr. 9  
March 31st, 1965

27. 4. 65

### Membership

Union Federale (Belgium) has applied for Associate membership in the ICDP.

### Mankind 2000

The response to this project is growing. Last week, a small committee was formed in London to cover the United Kingdom activities of Mankind 2000. We anticipate further development on the national and/or regional basis.

The CIBA Foundation for the Promotion of International Cooperation in Medical and Chemical Research (London) has kindly agreed to offer its splendid conference facilities for a small meeting of Mankind 2000 sponsors to be held in November, 1965. We expect further development and action to arise from this meeting.

### ICDP Rome Conference on Peace in Europe

The summary report of this conference which was organised by the Consulta per la Pace (Italy) and sponsored by the ICDP, will be available within a week. Member organisations who wish to receive a copy of this report should write to the ICDP office.

### ICDP Council Meeting

The next ICDP Council meeting will take place in Yugoslavia (in August). Member organisations who wish to present proposals to the ICDP should send them in duplicate to the ICDP office before July, 1st, 1965.

### Vietnam

More than any previous issue since the testing of nuclear weapons, the Vietnam crisis has sparked activities among ICDP member organisations. Please report to us of your action on Vietnam so that we can inform others of the growing strength of the peace effort on this question.

### Telegraphic address

The telegraphic address of the ICDP is NOMALIGNED, LONDON N 3.

ED 718-27-147

The International Confederation for Disarmament & Peace

3, Hendon Avenue,  
Finchley, London, N. 3.

April 20th, 1965

To all ICDP Member Organisations.

27. 4. 65

Dear Friends,

We believe the enclosed report, which has been prepared by

Turn Toward Peace, will be of interest to you.

If you wish to receive any of the statements or papers listed in  
this report, please write directly to the organisation which has issued  
it.

Gerry Hunnius,  
General Secretary

+ Zusammenstellg. v. Organ. und  
ihren Aktivitäten  
v. HTP v. 2. 65

## THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT &amp; PEACE,

3, Hendon Avenue,  
Finchley, London, N. 3.

May 21st, 1965

30. 6. 65

DANUBE PROJECT: A report by Gerry Hunnius on the meeting held in Dortmund, May 6th/7th, 1965, to set-up an international organising committee for the Danube Project.

Present: Heinz Altschul (World Council of Peace); Walter Diehl (WCP); George Delf (International Peace Bureau); Martin Hall (WCP); Gerry Hunnius (ICDP); Rudolph Schultz (Secretary).

These are the decisions reached at this meeting:

- The name (in English) of the project will be 'Danube Project'. The letterhead will include the inscription: International Cooperation Year, 1965; Danube Project (in English, German, French and Russian), and the address of the International Organising Committee, which is:
 

Rudolph Schultz,  
Secretary,  
46, Dortmund-Hombruch,  
Kiefferstr. 16,  
West Germany.
  - The two boats will stop in Bratislava, Belgrade, Giurgiu (Rumania), Kuse (Bulgaria trip to Bucharest), Budapest. There will be opportunities at each stop for visits to factories, meetings with students, workers, and scientists, as well as sightseeing.
 

The boats will depart from Vienna on Sunday, September 5th at 10 a.m. and arrive back in Vienna, Saturday evening, September 18th.
  - The number of participants will be 300 - 310, to be divided as follows:
 

On two boats -	West Germany, France, Great Britain, 30 each.	
	Italy, 25.	Holland, Belgium,
	USSR, 20.	Hungary, Yugoslavia,
	Scandinavia, 20.	Rumania, Bulgaria,
Austria, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, 15 each.		Greece, 10 each
Switzerland, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, 5 each.		
- The remaining places will be reserved for resource people and staff.
- The cost per participant will be as follows:
 

390 DM in double cabins (approximately £35. 10s)
350 DM in cabins of 4 & 6. (approximately £32.)

This includes full accommodation and meals on board, accommodation in Vienna from September 4th-5th, and the cost of a special visit, by 'bus to Bucharest. Participants must pay for their own travel to and from Vienna. We urge participants to travel in groups and thus avail themselves of sharply reduced rates for group travel on trains.

Handwritten mark: "Hawr"

- 5. The details of the arrangements in Vienna at the start and end of the journey are not available yet, but it is hoped that they will include a briefing session on the trip; a visit to the Atomic Energy Commission and on return, a final large meeting in Vienna.
- 6. The seminars will take place on the return voyage from Rumania to Vienna (5 days). The topics for the seminars are as follows:
  - (a) Detente and cooperation in Europe.
  - (b) Disarmament; its politics and economics.
  - (c) Role, structure and future of the United Nations.
  - (d) The individual and society.
- 7. All correspondence as to the Danube Project should be directed to Rudolph Schultz, Secretary of the International Organising Committee, (address given overpage). Prospective participants from Britain should contact Mrs. Christine Judd, ICY Committee, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1. Tel: CHAncery 3228.
- 8. The International Organising Committee consists of:
  - George Delf (International Peace Bureau)
  - Walter Diehl (World Council of Peace)
  - Gerry Hunnius (The International Confederation for Disarmament & Peace)

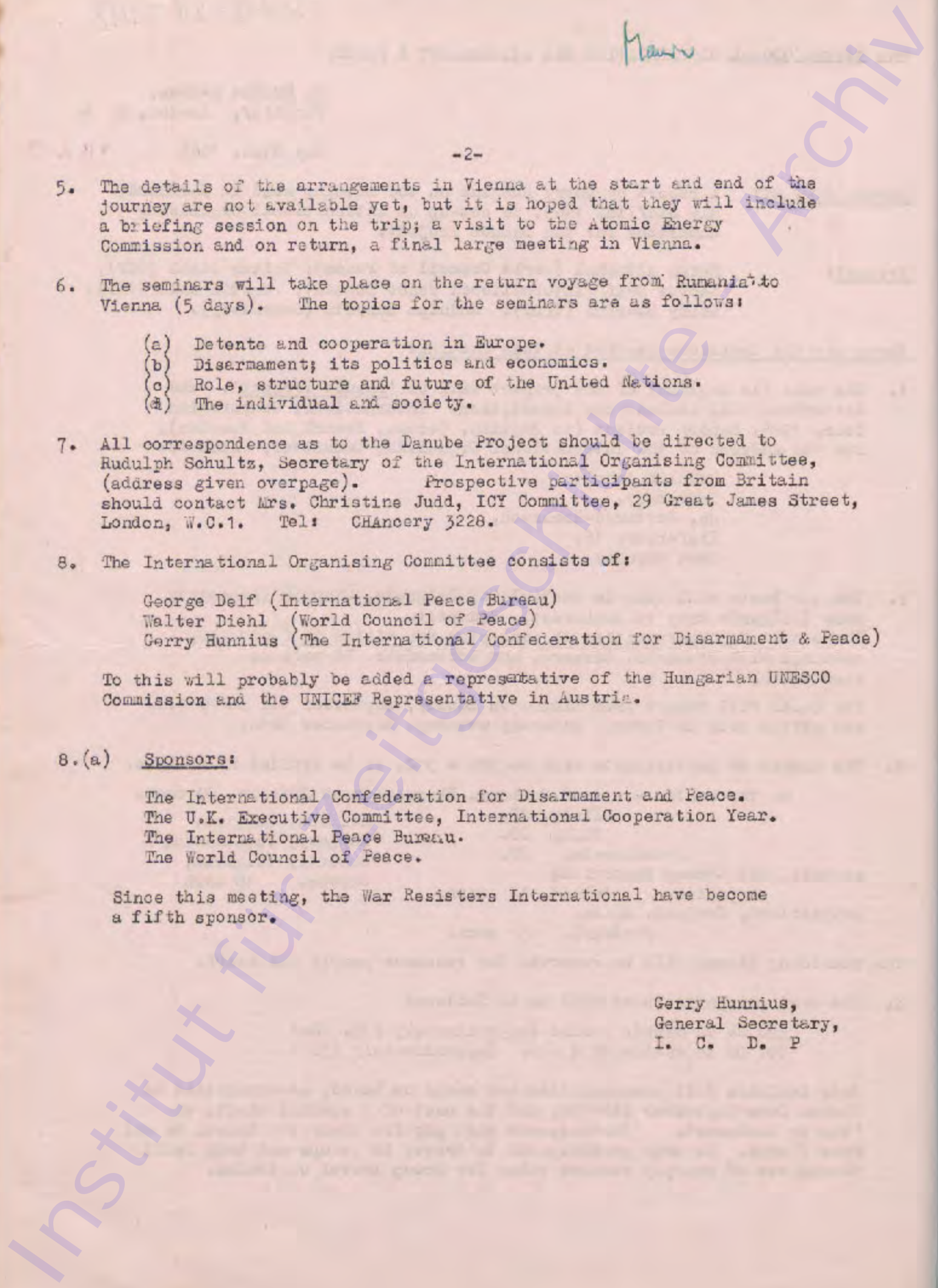
To this will probably be added a representative of the Hungarian UNESCO Commission and the UNICEF Representative in Austria.

8.(a) Sponsors:

- The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace.
- The U.K. Executive Committee, International Cooperation Year.
- The International Peace Bureau.
- The World Council of Peace.

Since this meeting, the War Resisters International have become a fifth sponsor.

Gerry Hunnius,  
General Secretary,  
I. C. D. P



# I.C.D.P.

ED 718-27-149

The Grange,  
3, Hendon Avenue,  
Finchley, London, N. 3.

## *inter-organisational bulletin*

I.O.B. Nr. 10.  
May 24th, 1965

**30.6.65**

1. Enclosed you will find my report on the Danube Project which the ICDP cosponsors with the IPB, WCP, WRI, and the U.K. ICY Committee.

All correspondence about this project should be directed to:

Rudolph Schultz,  
Secretary,  
46 Dortmund-Hombruch,  
Kieferstr. 16,  
West Germany

and in the United Kingdom to:

Mrs. Christine Judd,  
ICY Committee,  
29 Great James Street,  
London WC. 1. (Tel: CHancery 3228)

2. We hope that ICDP member organisations will cooperate with Mr. Schultz in this project.

We are also enclosing our new ICDP brochure, which we hope you will use to solicit funds and new members for the ICDP. Please send your order for additional copies to the ICDP office.

3. Due to the financial help of the International Peace Bureau and our North American member organisations my trip to North America will now take place from May 25th to June 15th. I will be back in the office on June 16th.
4. Two new organisations have applied for full membership in the ICDP.
  - (a) Association Francaise pour la Paix Universelle (France)
  - (b) Friends Peace Fellowship (Nigeria)

G.H.



ED718-27-150

Memo

THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY  
THE WORLD WITHOUT THE BOMB  
P.O. Box 1627  
ACCRA, GHANA

24.10.63 V

MEMORANDUM TO PARTICIPANTS OF THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY

Since our last mailing, The General Secretary of the Secretariat, Mr. F. E. Boateng has attended two international conferences - Clarens Conference on Peace Research and a meeting of The Continuation Committee of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace - on behalf of The Accra Assembly. I have attached copies of reports and other relevant papers of these conferences for your information. A copy of the General Secretary's memorandum to the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace on co-operation with The World Peace Council is also attached for your information.

FORMAL INAUGURAL CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE.

At the meeting of The Continuation Committee of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace it was decided that a meeting at which the Confederation would be formally inaugurated should take place in January next year. This conference will be held in two parts - a working conference lasting from January 9 - 11 to which only delegates from affiliated organisations will be admitted, and an inaugural congress lasting over two days from January 12 to 13th. The agenda for the two sections of the conference are attached.

The possibility of Accra becoming the venue for the inaugural meeting with The Accra Assembly playing host, was discussed. The Secretariat of The Accra Assembly has examined the question of transportation and other conference facilities:-

a) Return passage to Accra.

The Ghana Airways is willing to operate charter flights from London to Ghana at £65 return per head for 100 passengers and £85 return per head for 75 passengers. Carrying 100 passengers, however, will require re-arrangement of sitting. As soon as a decision is taken to hold the January Conference in Accra, firm negotiations with The Ghana Airways will begin.

b) Conference Hall.

Informal discussions have been held with the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of The University of Ghana who has indicated that The University of Ghana could be made-available for the conference since The University would be on vacation during the duration of the conference.

Movable simultaneous interpretation equipment can be made available for the use of the conference. The Confederation is to provide its own interpreters.

c) Living Accommodation.

Participants and Observers will be accommodated in the University Halls at a nominal charge of 10/- per day per person for boarding and lodging, The Accra Assembly being willing to supplement boarding and lodging charges.

These facts have been communicated to the Secretariat of The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace.

Meeting/....

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY

Members will recall that in course of the year, efforts were made to hold a meeting of The Council of The Accra Assembly in Rabat, under the sponsorship of The Government of Morocco. This meeting could not come on as The Government of Morocco was already committed to other conferences and the low state of the Secretariat's funds could not stand payment of passages of Council members to attend the meeting.

During the General Secretary's recent visit to Morocco, the matter was raised again and The Government of Morocco agreed to sponsor a council meeting in Rabat in November this year. Dr. El Fassi, The President of the Council, who was in Rabat during the General Secretary's visit suggested 14th November for the Council meeting. Since then, the matter has been reconsidered in the light of the possibility of The January Conference of The International Confederation taking place in Accra. It is proposed that if the January Conference should take place in Accra, meeting of The Council should also take place in January in Accra a few days before the conference. Members of the Council could then form a delegation of The Accra Assembly to the conference. Views of members of the Council on this will be welcome.

VISITS TO RABAT, ALGIERS, TUNIS, U.A.R. AND KHARTOUM

On the General-Secretary's return from the Conferences in Clarens and Oosterbeek, he took the opportunity to visit Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Cairo and Sudan to have discussions with Heads of State of those countries, regarding co-operation with The Accra Assembly. The following were the main points for the discussions:-

- a) Financial contribution to the funds of The Secretariat of the Assembly.
- b) Secondment of staff to work with the Secretariat.
- c) Setting up of Disarmament Sections in Foreign Ministries.
- d) Possibility of The Organisation for African Unity sponsoring a second Accra Assembly.
- e) Sponsorship of Council meetings.

The General Secretary on his return to Accra reported that his visits were very successful. A copy of a press release issued on his return is attached for information. Since his return, follow up letters have been addressed to the Presidents of the five countries visited and positive results of the visits is now awaited.

It is probably a good thing that these visits were undertaken after the Addis Ababa Conference of The Organisation of African Unity at which The General-Secretary presented a memorandum embodying some of the proposals made in Accra last year. Copies of this memorandum have already been sent to you. Since The Addis Ababa Conference, consequent meetings in Addis Ababa and Dakar have discussed those proposals and have adopted them in principle as guides and action at the United Nations.

A WORLD COMMUNICATIONS CENTRE

At The Accra Assembly last year a proposal was made for the establishment of A World Communications Centre (page 126 of the Conclusions of The Accra Assembly). Owing to inadequacy of funds nothing much has been done on this project apart from keeping in touch with developments on the idea of an international communications system. At last, The General Secretary has been able to send Miss Julie Medlock, an Executive Member of the Secretariat on a contact making tour which it is hoped will assist further development of the idea. Copies of Miss Medlock's report will be sent to participants in our next mailing.

ED 718-27-152

SECRET

Office of the Secretary

The Accra Assembly Secretariat, Accra, Ghana

Date

Monday, September 21, 1963.

Time of Meeting

10:00 - 11:00 a.m.

Subject

The Accra Assembly 21st North Atlantic Conference

OBITUARY

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois who participated in the last Accra Assembly passed away on 27th of August. The Secretariat of The Accra Assembly issued a press release on his death. A copy of this is attached for your information. The Secretariat laid a wreath also on behalf of The Accra Assembly. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois' memorial service, at which The Accra Assembly was represented by the General Secretary was held in the Aggrey Memorial Chapel, Achimota, on Sunday 29th September.

May his soul rest in peace!

F. E. BOATEN  
GENERAL SECRETARY  
THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY.

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

## PRESS RELEASE

24.10.63 V.

Office of Origin: The Accra Assembly Secretariat, Accra, Ghana.  
Date: Monday, September 23, 1963.  
Time of Release: Immediate and thereafter.  
Subject: The Accra Assembly Wins North African Support.

Text:

Enthusiastic support in independent African countries of North Africa for the purposes, plans, programs and projects of The Accra Assembly for The World Without the Bomb was reported here today by Mr. F. E. Boaten, the Assembly's General Secretary, on his return after five weeks of meetings abroad.

Full cooperation was promised by King Hassan II in Morocco, and similarly in personal talks with President Ben Bella of Algeria, President Farouk Ibrahim Abboud of Sudan, and, in the absence from Cairo of President Nasser, by Wing Commander Aly Sabry, President of the Council of Ministers in the United Arab Republic. Useful discussions were also held with various Foreign Ministers such as Mungi Slim in Tunisia, and Political Advisors such as Algeria's Bouatura, Presidential Advisors and other interested officials.

The general feeling was repeatedly expressed, Mr. Boaten said, that the work of The Accra Assembly is of increasing value to all non-aligned States and in particular to the new Organization of African Unity.

Firm support is now promised for The Accra Assembly Secretariat finances, sponsorship of future Assemblies either in Accra or elsewhere, the setting up in Foreign Ministries of Sections to deal with Disarmament and other issues relevant to world peace in cooperation with The Accra Assembly Secretariat, and the seconding of official staff for duty with The Accra Assembly Secretariat in Accra.

All of this will be worked out in detail in the next few weeks, Mr. Boaten said.

Prior to his visit to the North African countries, Mr. Boaten had attended two conferences in Europe which he referred to as "highly successful". These were the Quaker Conference on Peace Research in Clarens, Switzerland, which resulted in the establishment of a London Secretariat for Conferences on Research on International Peace and Security headed by the Australian scholar, John Burton; and the International Confederation for Peace and Disarmament conference at Oosterbeek, Holland, which made plans to formally launch its new organization in January, 1964.

"It was an extraordinarily successful trip," Mr. Boaten reported on arrival. "and there is no doubt whatsoever that there is now a conscious and deliberate banding together of like-minded people in every land who stand for non-alignment, construction, development and world brotherhood in action. This is the greatest guarantee of hopes that a world at peace is realizable".

\*\*\*\*\*

PRESS RELEASE  
-----

24.10.63 ✓

Office of Origin: The Accra Assembly Secretariat, Accra, Ghana.  
Date: August 28, 1963.  
Time of Release: Immediate and thereafter.  
Subject: Message of Condolence to Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois.

Text:

The Accra Assembly Secretariat has sent a message of sympathy to Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois on the death of her distinguished husband, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois.

Dr. Du Bois was one of the 130 participants in The Accra Assembly of June, 1962 and followed the President of Ghana, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to the rostrum on the opening day.

His memorable message on that occasion is being recalled today:

" If we can conceive of a world without atomic bombs, then we can conceive of a real world peace. The only hope of mankind today is Peace, and the development which Peace permits. Atomic power and war make Peace impossible. We strive therefore for a world without bombs, for world peace; for a world where men thinking and acting for the social good of all will be able to achieve this aim which war makes impossible.

Africa, which is just at the point of recovering its past greatness after centuries of domination and oppression, faces the danger of having its bright future blotted out before it can even attempt to realize it.

It seems curious that some of the great modern discoveries, and inventions, instead of being used to help mankind, are used for its destruction or certainly to threaten its destruction.

I beg you, therefore, let us all strive for a world without atomic bombs - which means a world of Peace".



ED 718-27-155

24.10.63 V

**THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY**  
**THE WORLD WITHOUT THE BOMB**  
P.O. Box 1627  
ACCRA, GHANA

A MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE CONTINUATION COMMITTEE OF  
THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND  
PEACE - COSTERBECK, AUGUST 21ST - 23RD BY MR. F. E.  
BOATEN, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY.

The Oxford Conference held in January this year was significant not so much for what it was able to achieve but as an indication of the urgent need for co-operation among peace groups. Negotiations over the last few years have demonstrated that the reason underlying East - West disagreement on a formula for general and complete disarmament is not The Soviet Union's rejection of the principle of inspection as an effective instrument for policing a disarmament treaty, not the West's proposal that withdrawal of military bases should be phased through stages I and II of the disarmament process as against the Soviet Union's proposal to achieve this in phase 4 of stage I. These are manifestations of the basic reason for the conflict and disagreement - suspicion and distrust arising from the negative thinking that communism and capitalism cannot co-exist in peaceful co-operation.

The importance of peace organisations lies in the fact that, presumably not being obsessed with prejudice and often straight-jacketed policies of governments, they can rise above mere politics and consider the issues of peace dispassionately and that, perhaps, in so doing, indicate a solution. It seems obvious enough that peace organisations can hardly hope to achieve anything if they allowed themselves to be dragged into cold war arguments such as indulged in at the governmental level. For this reason, it was unfortunate that at the January Conference at Oxford, Observers from the Peace Council were excluded perhaps due to inadequate prior consultation between the sponsoring group and the various organisations which had been invited to participate in the conference. Although, as we say, "there is no use crying over spilt milk", I think it is imperative to recognise that the important issue of co-operation between the International Confederation and the World Peace Council remains unsolved, and the danger of the Confederation being considered as a rival organisation to the World Peace Council is real. I think I am right in saying that many organisations in the East and West and in Africa, will find it embarrassing to belong to any peace organisation which is daubed as being partisan in the cold-war manoeuvres. We have an example of this kind of situation in the world labour movement, and it will be tragic for world peace if the same situation was to be repeated here.

In considering the activities of various peace organisations throughout the world, it is important to accept the fact that different systems of government exist in different parts of the world. The differences in the systems of government are sometimes reflected in the type of activities which can be undertaken by peace organisations without jeopardising their very existence. These considerations I submit, apply to all countries, variations being perhaps in degree. Co-operation among peace groups therefore should be centred round such projects in which co-operation is possible, rather than on general identity of approach or action in specific issues.

Fields which occur to me readily in which co-operation can be achieved are:-

(a) International Conferences on Peace

An agreement should exist between the World Peace Council and The Confederation whereby Observers will be invited to attend meetings sponsored and organised by the two organisations. Such Observers should have the right to be present and to speak, both

at/....

plenaries and at committee sessions. Both viewpoints are required to bring a full and realistic picture into view.

Here it should be observed that The World Peace Council has already made a beginning - The World Congress for Peace held last year and The International Congress of Women held in Moscow this year being examples.

(b) Peace Bulletins

Bulletins on Peace, including results of peace researches, compiled by the two organisations should be made available to members of both organisations. It should also be possible to publish articles written by members of the two organisations in publications maintained separately by the two bodies.

(c) Co-ordination of Peace efforts

At a later stage of co-operation between the two organisations, a meeting of representatives of both organisations should be convened from time to time to appraise peace efforts and consider fields, in relation to the world situation, in which there can be useful co-operation and where possible agree on a co-operate action.

(d) Joint International Conferences.

From time to time, the two organisations, The World Peace Council and the Confederation, should co-jointly sponsor and organise international conferences on peace. The organising committee of such conferences should be composed of representatives from the two bodies.

In view of the misunderstanding in Oxford, I suggest that this proposal be considered for implementation as soon as possible and the first of such conferences should take place in January or February next year. Its venue should be agreed upon in consultation with the World Peace Council.

These proposals may sound unrealistic, because even at the non-governmental level many of us allow ourselves to be guided by the official conditioning in our own countries. Whatever the merits of the proposals are, they emphasize one fact, that peace organisations while protesting against national actions which jeopardise international peace, should also give a lead in positive international co-operation. World peace organisations will not be worth their role if they degenerated into cold war organs.

ED 718-27-157

# THE HUMANIST

subscription order form

A bi-monthly  
magazine  
published  
by the

AMERICAN  
HUMANIST  
ASSOCIATION

Yellow Springs  
.Ohio

Please enter my subscription for

- one year at \$3
- two years at \$5

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

ZONE \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ enclosed

Bill me later

Please send me information about the American Humanist Association

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6

# The American Humanist Association

HUMANIST HOUSE

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

ED 718-21-158

September 10, 1962

Dear Peace Worker,

Enclosed is a copy of a recent publication of The American Humanist Association: The Unit of Survival Is the Human Race, by Hudson Hoagland, reprinted from The Humanist.

We call your attention to the following peace literature available from the AHA, Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio, USA:

- (1) Humanism and Peace, by Linus Pauling  
(AHA Reprint #114, 15¢)
- (2) Toward Nuclear Disarmament, by Homer Jack  
(AHA Reprint #123, 15¢)
- (3) The Semantic Preparation for War, by Neil Postman  
(AHA Reprint #124, 15¢)
- (4) Survival--Let the People Decide, by Maurice Visscher  
(AHA Reprint #125, 15¢)

With your order for one or more of the above AHA Reprints (all four for 50¢), we will include free two peace bibliographies compiled for recent issues of Free Mind, the Association's membership bulletin. To order copies of the Reprints, simply check the titles you wish on the enclosed list, include payment, and mail to Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio, USA.

Enclosed, also, is a handbill announcing private publication of an important document: the international peace/disarmament directory, compiled independently by Lloyd Wilkie, a member of the Humanist House staff, 327 Dayton Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, USA, for 20¢. We encourage you to obtain a copy of the international peace/disarmament directory directly from Mr. Wilkie.

In case you are not already a subscriber to The Humanist, we invite you to use the enclosed subscription card. We will be happy to send you information about the AHA upon request.

Hoping that these announcements and the enclosed pamphlet will serve the cause of peace, we are

Sincerely yours,

*Edwin H. Wilson*

Edwin H. Wilson  
Executive Director

EHW/esh  
encs.

Officers,  
1962-1963

President:

Vashti McGollum

Vice Presidents:

Gerald Wendt

John W. Hardebeck

Robert W. McCoy

Secretary:

Charles B. English

Treasurer:

Herbert A. Taine

Executive Director:

Edwin H. Wilson

Board of Directors:

George E. Axtell

James F. Hornback

Alfred B. Kuenzli

Corliss Lannon

Tolbert H. McCarroll

Mary Morain

Ernest Morgan

Harold R. Patton

D. A. Rickards

Herbert T. Rosenfeld

Awards

John W. Hardebeck

Church and State

Lester Forest

Conservation

Alexander Lincoln, Jr.

Family Relations

Lester Forest

Group Activities

Robert W. McCoy

Human Rights & Welfare

Mark Starr

Planning

Tolbert H. McCarroll

Project Worth

Robert W. McCoy

Public Education

William R. McKenzie

Resolutions

Ernest Morgan

World Humanism

Mary Morain

The AHA publishes



Editor

Gerald Wendt

# Humanist Reprints

Attractive reprints from The Humanist

1	"The Ethics of Birth Control," Thomas S. Szasz	15¢
2	"Neurotic Defense Mechanisms in Supernatural Religion," Weston La Barre	15¢
3	"The Humanism of Albert Camus," Eric W. Carlson	15¢
4	"The Impact of Uncontrolled Birth On Our Democratic Process," Rudolf Dreikurs, M.D.	15¢
5	"The War Between Generations," Rudolf Dreikurs, M.D.	15¢
6	"An Objective Basis for Ethics," Alfred E. Kuenzli	15¢
7	"John Dewey and The American Humanist Association," Corliss Lamont	15¢
8	"New Light on Dewey's Common Faith," Corliss Lamont	15¢
9	"The Richer Rich and the Poorer Poor," Samuel Jacobs	15¢
10	"Signal Reactions to Religious Symbols," Anatol Rapoport	15¢
11	"The Religion of Democracy," Rudolf Dreikurs, M.D.	15¢
12	"Raising Children in a Democracy," Rudolf Dreikurs, M.D.	15¢
13	"Faces of Heroism," Maxine Greene	15¢
14	"Humanism and Peace," Linus Pauling	15¢
15	"Can Humanism Meet Man's Spiritual Need?" Algernon D. Black	15¢
16	"The Outlook for Rationality in the Present World," Harry Elmer Barnes	15¢
17	"The Negro Comes to Grace Street," Vern L. Bullough	15¢
18	"In the Cause of Humanity," Hermann J. Muller	15¢
19	"The Banal and Costly Funeral," Vern L. Bullough	15¢
20	"Humanism in Holland," George von Hilsheimer	15¢
21	"What Is Humanism?" E. Burdette Backus	15¢
22	"Humanism," A. E. Haydon	15¢
23	Toward Nuclear Disarmament, Homer A. Jack	15¢
24	"Semantic Preparation for War," Neil Postman	15¢
25	"Survival—Let the People Decide!" Maurice B. Visscher	15¢
26	"The Unit of Survival Is the Human Race," Hudson Hoagland	15¢
27	"Decadent Conservatism and Fighting Liberalism," Ivor Kraft	15¢
28	"Moral Aspects of Mental Health," Nathaniel S. Lehrman	15¢
29	"Supreme Court's Decision on the Reading of Prayer in Schools"—Official Text	15¢

Special: For ten or more copies, 10¢ each.

Please circulate and/or post:

**international  
peace/disarmament  
directory**

Addresses for 600 groups and sub-groups

Titles, addresses, and subscription data for 110 periodicals

60 countries around the world represented

-----

48 pages, 7½ column inches per page

price per copy, 20¢ (1 to 10 copies) plus self-addressed and stamped envelope (#10 size)

bulk rates: 11 to 50 copies, 15¢ each  
51 to 100 copies, 12½¢ each  
101 to 500 copies, 10¢ each  
Larger quantities, 5¢ each

Order from: Lloyd Wilkie, Compiler  
327 Dayton Street  
Yellow Springs, Ohio, U.S.A.

(Please, payment with all orders.)



# Agenzia Radicale

8.7. Klaus: hat bereits  
auf Veranlassung v.  
Huber im Verteiler  
ZIVIL + Friedensdienst  
aufgenommen — lol

ED 718-27-161

Klaus Tach  
Naturfreunde  
Offenbach/Main  
Lohrweg 15  
GERMANY

Rome, June 15, 1963

2.7.63 V.

The Italian Pacifist Movement which generally conforms to the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, is organizing its structure and working methods on a broader basis.

The successes obtained so far allow us to hope for a fuller development of this movement in the future. With a view to this we feel it necessary to supply public opinion in our country with better information about the pacifist movement on the whole, and its activities all over the world. Only very rarely does the Italian press print such information, either because they lack exact data or because they deliberately ignore the situation altogether.

In a few days a group of Italian pacifists adhering to the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace will establish a news agency on a national basis; the principal purpose of this is to furnish complete and accurate coverage in Italy of news about the International Pacifist Movement.

This news agency will obviously have also other aims, and consequently other fields to cover; as its name says (Agenzia Radicale), it is meant to be the spokesman for progressive elements whose main program is the renewal of traditional democratic forces in our country (European Union, fight against nuclear as well as conventional armaments in Europe, activation of so called "one-purpose" groups for a broader action) within a "radical" or "new left" perspective.

The interest for the pacifist movement is in any case essential for the news agency. We would therefore appreciate very much your sending us any

Instytut

Agencia Radical

518-24-164

Handwritten notes in the top right corner, including "V. of ..."

available new on your pacifist movement: what we would mainly be interested in having as rapidly and regularly as possible would be:

- 1) periodical publications,
- 2) advance notices on actions and meetings,
- 3) whatever information you would like us to disseminate.

We hope thus to reach, through a form of daily reporting to our press, a point where intimate knowledge of the movement in other countries is normally established.

We are sure that you will understand how important it is for us to give in Italy also the widest possible circulation of news concerning your activities.

The news agency will start very soon; in case you approve of it we are already expecting as of now your news releases (all European languages are welcome). We look forward to the same favorable response from you as we have received from other European and American organizations.

Yours very sincerely

The Director

MARCO PANNELLA

Handwritten signature: *cf/Pannelle*

ED 718-27-162

Miphlagath Poale Zädäk  
----- Ma Pa Z -----  
Bund der Arbeiter  
der Gerechtigkeit

An den V.K. Dieses Flugblatt soll in 3000 Exemplaren  
durch unsere Delegation an Ostmarok West an die deutschen  
Teilnehmer verteilt werden.

Wir bitten um seine schnelle Verarbeitung in  
ganz Deutschland.

Ihnen in vorer dankend,  
mit unseren besten Grüßen,

MANIFEST

*Blau*

27.3.64.

1.4.64

Die Deutschen haben 6000000 Juden ermordet.  
Wären alle Deutsche Wehrdienstverweigerer gewesen,  
Hätte es keinen Hitler gegeben,  
Hätte es keinen Krieg gegeben,  
Hätte es keine Ausrottungslager gegeben,  
Hätte es kein einziges jüdisches Opfer gegeben,  
Hätte es keinen jüdischen Staat gegeben,  
Hätte es keine arabischen Flüchtlingslager gegeben.  
Die Ungerechtigkeit und die Gewalt würden nicht in der Welt herrschen.  
Deswegen gibt es nur einen einzigen Weg der Busse für das deutsche Volk:  
Die gemeinsame und allgemeine Wehrdienstverweigerung.  
Kein einziger Deutscher mehr in Militäruniform.  
Kein deutsches Heer mehr.

Das ist die Bedingung unserer Verzeihung und der Versöhnung.  
Deswegen erklären wir Kinder der Verschleppten:  
Jeder Deutsche der nicht schwört  
Nie mehr in einem Heer zu dienen  
und der sich der Wehrpflicht unterwirft,  
Wird als Nazi betrachtet und als solcher behandelt werden.

Andererseits:  
Wir belegen mit dem Banne die jüdischen Personen und Organisationen  
die Beziehungen mit dem bewaffneten Deutschland unterhalten.  
Wir betrachten sie als Feinde Israels.  
Ebenfalls die Regierungen und Nationen  
welche die deutsche Wiederbewaffnung dulden und fördern.  
Insbesondere klagen wir an den zionistischen Staat und den von de Gaulle.  
Ihre tätige Zusammenarbeit mit dem bewaffneten Deutschland  
sind eine Herausforderung  
des prophetischen und überlieferungstreuen jüdischen Gewissens,  
welches die Räson des souveränen Staates nicht kennt,  
und eine Verhöhnung des Gedächtnisses unserer Märtyrer.

Wir können nicht zulassen dass die Monarchen  
die Söhne der Opfer der Nazis zwingen  
mit den Söhnen der Mörder in den selben Kasernenstuben zu schlafen  
und in ihrer Gesellschaft das Töten zu lernen.  
Halt den Abscheulichkeiten und den Entwürdigungen!  
Halt den Verräten!  
Hier ist der Befehl des Ewigen,  
der allein regiert in Israel:  
Ziehst aus von den Stätten der Greuel,  
kein einziges Kind Israels mehr  
in den Standlagern des Staats-Molochs.  
Ausserhalb der Schulen des Verbrechens,  
in der Schule der Gerechtigkeit und des Friedens der Propheten Israels,  
in der Schule der Wehrdienstverweigerung,  
in der Wüsten-Stätte Zion,  
und nicht in Mourmelon,

wird die Versöhnung stattfinden  
zwischen dem Mörder und sein Opfer,  
zwischen dem Deutschen und dem Juden,  
und durch sie hindurch zwischen allen Feinden,  
wird die Erlösung stattfinden,  
wird der Messias kommen,  
welcher die 6000000 Juden wiederauferwecken wird  
und alle Märtyrer Israels und der Menschheit,  
die Opfer der Hitler und der Haman aller Zeiten.

"Er wird Recht sprechen zwischen den Völkern  
" Und Weisung geben vielen Nationen;  
" Und sie werden ihre Schwerter zu Pflugscharen schmieden  
" Und ihre Spiesse zu Rebmessern.  
" Kein Volk wird wider das andre das Schwert erheben,  
" Und sie werden den Krieg nicht mehr lernen."

Tu Bichwath-Purim 5724,  
6. Februar 1964.

(Veröffentlicht in "Esédék", Organ des "Bundes Abrahams" und "Bundes der Arbeiter der Gerechtigkeit", Nr. 73, P a r i s, Februar 1964.)

Hauptgeschäftsstelle : Emmanuel LEVYNE, 18, rue A.-Chéricoux,  
ISSY-LES-MOULINEAUX (Seine), Frankreich.  
Geschäftsstelle für Wallonien und für die Verbindungen mit Deutschland :  
Arno HAMERS, 16, Les Petits Battys,  
KHORIS (Liège), Wallonien, Belgien.

=====

DEUTSCHE FRIEDENSFREUNDE ! WEHREDIENSTVERWEIGERER UND TEILNEHMER AN DEN  
OSTERMARSCHEN 1964 GEGEN DIE ATOMWAFFEN !

Die im vorigen Monat gegründete gewaltlose jüdische Kampforganisation MaPaZ  
steht an Eurer Seite in Eurer schweren Kampagne gegen die deutsche Wiederauf-  
rüstung, die vorbereitete "Notstands"-Diktatur und den drohenden Atombomb.

In diesem Kampfe ist das Manifest des MaPaZ (siehe Kehrseite), welches  
mitten in den Prozess der Henker von Auschwitz fällt, eine neue und unvor-  
hergesehene Waffe in Euren Händen. Die Stärke seiner Wirkung hängt aber  
von Euch, von Eurer Aktion ab, denn ohne Eure Hilfe kann das Manifest des  
MaPaZ nicht jedem Deutschen zur Kenntnis gebracht werden, und insbesondere  
denen die in der Bundeswehr und in dem Ulbricht-Heer dienen.

Im Namen der 6000000 von Hitlerdeutschland ermordeten Juden bittet der  
MaPaZ Euch um diese Hilfe.

Um das Manifest des MaPaZ in einer von allen sichtbaren Weise zu unter-  
stützen, tragen wir Christen die uns dem MaPaZ angeschlossen haben, ab  
heute Ostern 1964, den gelben "Judenstern" wie die Juden in Hitlerdeutsch-  
land und in den von der Nazi-Wehrmacht besetzten Gebieten dazu gezwungen  
wurden. Wir gedenken dabei dass der Davidstern auch das Emblem des Juden  
Jesus ist, für uns Christen Sohn Davids und König der Juden, und wir fü-  
gen als Christen dem Manifest des MaPaZ noch folgendes hinzu:

Hätten, am Anfang der Judenverfolgungen, die Christen der verschie-  
denen Glaubensgemeinschaften, mit ihrem Klerus an der Spitze, durch diese  
sich gebietende stetige öffentliche Solidaritätskundgebung sich dem ver-  
folgten Volke Jesu gleichgestellt, wären die antisemitischen Massnahmen  
der Hitlerregierung gescheitert und es hätte kein Auschwitz gegeben.

Für uns Christen ist diese Aktion "Judenstern" zur Unterstützung des  
Manifestes des MaPaZ also auch eine Aktion Sühnezeichen und ein Aufruf  
zur Busse an unsere Glaubensbrüder aller Bekenntnisse.

DEUTSCHE FRIEDENSFREUNDE !

Schliesst Euch der Aktion "Judenstern" und dem MaPaZ an. In Eurer un-  
gleichlichen Kampfe gegen die Feinde des Friedens, gegen die westlichen und  
die östlichen Agenten der Atom-Diktatur und des Atombombes, stellt Euch  
unter den Schutz des Davidsternes. Er wird Eure Bewegung wie ein Schild  
gegen ihre heimtückischen Unterdrückungsversuche beschirmen, denn jeder  
Angriff, jede Massnahme gegen den MaPaZ wird auf der Stelle von ihm vor  
der Weltöffentlichkeit als ein Wiederaufleben des Antisemitismus gebrand-  
markt werden.

DAS LÜTTICHER AKTIONSZENTRUM FÜR GEWALTLOSIGKEIT  
(dem MaPaZ angeschlossen).

Verfasser, Herausgeber und verantwortlich für den Inhalt: Arno Hamers, Xhoris.  
Abzug: Lütticher Aktionszentrum für Gewaltlosigkeit, Wallonien, Belgien.

----- Hier abschneiden -----

Ich unterstütze das Manifest des MaPaZ und bin bereit an der Aktion  
"Judenstern" teilzunehmen. Ich warte auf Ihre diesbezüglichen Anweisungen.  
Schicken Sie mir bitte ..... Exemplare dieses Flugblattes zur Verbreitung  
in den pazifistischen Kreisen hier in Deutschland.

Ich zahle DM ..... als finanzielle Unterstützung für den MaPaZ auf das  
Postscheckkonto Paris 15-398-97, Emmanuel Levyne, 18, rue A.-Chéricoux,  
ISSY-LES-MOULINEAUX (Seine), Frankreich, mit dem Vermerk: "Für den MaPaZ".

Name/Vorname (in Druckschrift) .....

Postanschrift: .....

Beruf: ..... Tel.: .....

Datum: .....

.....  
(Unterschrift)

Für Brief senden an: A. HAMERS, 16, Les Petits Battys, KHORIS (Liège), Belgien

ED 718-27-163

CANADIAN  
PEACE  
RESEARCH  
INSTITUTE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: Dr. NORMAN Z. ALCOCK : Dr. KENNETH E. BOULDING : JACQUES BRILLANT  
Dr. G. BROCK CHISHOLM : Dr. PIERRE DANSEREAU : PIERRE ELLIOTT-TRUDEAU  
Dr. FRANC R. JOUBIN : Dr. HUGH I. KEENLEYSIDE  
WALTER C. KOERNER : GERARD PELLETIER  
Rt. Rev. JAMES S. THOMSON : Mrs. W. D. TUCKER  
FRANCIS G. WINSPEAR

CANADIAN  
PUGWASH  
COMMITTEE

MEMBERS: Dr. NORMAN Z. ALCOCK : Dr. G. BROCK CHISHOLM  
Dr. FRANC R. JOUBIN

20.12.63  
v. VK Fim/Zi

EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE  
F. C. HUNNIUS

PENSION ACLON : DOROTHEERGASSE 6-8  
VIENNA I, AUSTRIA : TEL. 52 54 13

6. Dezember 1963. 9/12/63

Sehr verehrte Damen und Herren!

In der Anlage übersende ich Ihnen eine Notiz über die beiden nächsten Sonderhefte der internationalen Zeitschrift "Our Generation Against Nuclear War".

Die eine Nummer befaßt sich mit den Fragen der Friedensforschung, die jetzt schon in vielen Teilen der Welt intensiv diskutiert wird. In der zweiten Nummer werden die Alternativen zu der heutigen Militärpolitik in Hinblick auf ein Verhalten ohne Gewaltanwendung behandelt.

Ich könnte mir vorstellen, daß die Leser Ihrer Zeitschrift an den angeschnittenen Fragen interessiert sind, und wäre Ihnen daher dankbar, wenn Sie die Notiz in Ihrer Zeitschrift abdrucken würden.

Selbstverständlich stehe ich Ihnen gerne auch für weitere Auskünfte über die Friedensforschung zur Verfügung, um deren Förderung ich mich im Auftrage der Kanadischen Gesellschaft für Friedensforschung hier in Europa bemühe.

Mit bestem Dank und freundlichen Grüßen, bin ich Ihr

F.C. Hunnius

Institut für Friedensforschung - Archiv

NOTIZ

"Our Generation Against Nuclear War" ist eine internationale Vierteljahres-Schrift, die sich bemüht, die wichtigsten Ergebnisse der Friedensforschung und Friedensarbeit zusammenzufassen.

Die eben erschienene 4. Nummer des 2. Jahrganges enthält Beiträge zur revolutionären Konzeption der Gewaltlosigkeit und zu der vielleicht noch wichtigeren Frage ihrer Anwendung im gegenwärtigen Zusammenspiel von Kaltem Krieg und sozialer Ungerechtigkeit. Die Ausgabe bringt Artikel von bekannten Pazifisten und Wissenschaftlern wie A.J. Muste, Gene Sharp, Johan Galtung, Aldous Huxley, Michael Scott und vielen anderen. Eine Bibliographie von Büchern über Gewaltlosigkeit vervollständigt diese Nummer.

Nummer 1 des 3. Jahrganges wird ein Sonderheft zum Thema Friedensforschung sein. Hierin wird ein historischer Teil einen Überblick über das Wachsen der Friedensbewegung vom Beginn der Idee des nationalen Staates bis zur Gegenwart geben. Der zweite Teil ist der Friedensforschung gewidmet. Es werden die Fragen beantwortet: Was ist Friedensforschung? Wer betreibt sie? Welche Resultate liefert sie? Eine Zusammenstellung aller größeren Friedensforschungsinstitute und Projekte (Namen, Adressen und Veröffentlichungen) wird den zweiten Teil abschließen. Der letzte Teil analysiert die Beziehungen zwischen der Friedensforschung und den großen Friedensbewegungen der Welt.

Preis des Jahresabonnements (4Ausgaben) : Can.\$ 3.00 (10.80 DM)  
Studenten : Can.\$ 2.00 ( 7.20 DM)

Bestellungen bei: "Our Generation Against Nuclear War",  
3510 rue Sainte Famille,  
Montreal-18, P.Q.,  
CANADA.

BOARD OF EDITORS

April Carter  
 Richard I. Clements  
 Dan Daniels  
 Stuart Hall  
 F.C. Hunnius  
 Brewster Kneen  
 Lucia Tweedie Kowaluk  
 B. Roy Lemoine  
 H.O. Landau  
 Gilles B. Richard  
 Adam Roberts  
 Dimitri I. Roussopoulos  
 Catherine W. Rubinger

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

M. Audain	M.P. Maxwell
O. Feinstein	Arthur Pape
Harvey Feit	R.C.M. Posner
Ian Gentles	Bruce Reid
J. Girard	G.J. Ringer
A.M. Mardiros	Michael Rowan
D. Maxwell	Paul Switzer

CORRESPONDING EDITORS

Howard Adelman	Canada
K.J. Charles	Canada
Hans Stern	West Germany
Onec Khanna	India
Costas J. Vournas	Greece
Takashi Tachibana	Japan
Gurmukh Singh	U.K.
Devi Prasad	U.K.
Dennis Gould	U.K.
Steve Salaff	U.S.A.
Jan Hartman	U.S.A.
Douglas Rutherford	N.Z.

Editorial Office

911 ST. JAMES ST., MONTREAL 3,  
CANADA



OUR GENERATION AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR

international quarterly journal

ED 718-27-165

**ANNOUNCES**

Vol. 3

No. 1

A SPECIAL ISSUE ON

**THE  
 SEARCH  
 AND  
 RESEARCH  
 FOR  
 P E A C E**

TO BE PUBLISHED NOVEMBER 63

May 64

Gilles B. Richard, Editor

## Part I - The Search

## INTRODUCTION

Evolution of the Concept of Peace  
Solutions proposed in the past  
Rise of the nation-state and its  
impact on the problems of peace  
Concurrent growth of political power:  
its implications for Peace

## THE 19TH CENTURY

Emergence of the Peace Movement  
Subsequent birth of Peace Action  
groups  
Towards political institutions for  
Peace

## EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Growth of the Peace Movement  
Spread of Peace Action groups  
World War I  
The League of Nations  
Further growth of the Peace  
Movement

## MID - 20TH CENTURY

World War II  
Advent of the Nuclear Age  
Birth of The United Nations  
U.N. Security Council and Peace  
U.N.E.S.C.O. and Peace  
Growth of the Peace Action Movement  
Rise of the "Nuclear Pacifists"  
Emergence of Peace Science  
Evolution towards a worldwide Peace  
Action Movement

## Part I - The Search (cont'd)

Ecology of the Peace Movement  
Search for peace within the Nation-  
state system.  
Search for Peace beyond the Nation-  
state system.  
Search for Peace in the face of growing  
political power and the rift of the  
cold war.  
Drift and thrust towards World War II  
Ideologies: Their importance and  
their uses for the Peace Movement.

Suggested further reading.

## Part II - The Research

## PEACE SCIENCE

What it is  
What it is not  
Its relation to the humanities  
Its relation to the sciences

## PEACE RESEARCH

What it is  
What it attempts to do  
Its desirability and usefulness  
Its growth and evolution

WHAT is being done

WHO is doing it

WHERE are the results

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Part II - The Research (cont'd)

LISTINGS

- A. FUNDING INSTITUTES
  - Institutes who farm out projects in Peace science exclusively or mainly
  - Names and addresses of key persons
  - Listing of projects as far as possible
- B. RESEARCH INSTITUTES - PEACE
  - Institutes doing research primarily in Peace science,
  - Names and addresses of key persons
  - Number of Scientists, by discipline
  - Listing of main projects or area of Research
- C. RESEARCH INSTITUTES - COGNATE FIELDS
  - Institutes doing research in related areas, e.g: inter-group dynamics
  - Names and addresses of key persons
  - Brief description of area of Research
- D. OTHER GROUPS
  - Groups specially set-up for a project
  - University departments involved in P.R.
  - Names and addresses of key persons
  - Brief description of project or area
- E. INDIVIDUALS
  - Not members of groups already listed
  - Names and addresses
  - Listing of significant contributions

OUR GENERATION AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR is a strange title for a journal. We decided on this title from the very start because we want to make it clear to everyone that there cannot be any doubt as to our committed position. We believe quite categorically that the greatest achievement of our generation will be the saving of the world from a nuclear holocaust. Our generation must be committed firmly to putting an end to war once and for all.

"What we now need to discover in the social realm is the moral equivalent to war: something heroic that will speak to men as universally as war does, and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war has proven itself to be incompatible."  
William James

To this the Journal is dedicated.

---

"All friends of peace must rejoice that the opponents of nuclear warfare in Canada are setting forth their case in a quarterly which promises to be influential and exceedingly well-informed....It is earnestly to be hoped that your magazine Our Generation Against Nuclear War will have a profound effect on opinion, especially in the Western Hemisphere. It is with hope and admiration that I wish all possible success to this gallant venture."  
Bertrand Russell, O.M., F.R.S.

"I salute with respect the new journal you have started."  
Lewis Mumford

"I have read your first issue...with great admiration. If you can maintain this standard, the people of the west, even the world, must pay attention."  
Hugh B. Hester, Brig. Gen., U.S. Army (Ret.)

"We live on the brink and ... some unfortunate mistake may hurl us into the abyss. Therefore, it is necessary to carry on a crusade against nuclear war. I like the quarterly journal 'Our Generation Against Nuclear War' because it is conducted in this crusading spirit and I am sure it will impress the many people who read it and make them also join in this crusade"  
Premier Jawaharlal Nehru

"Your magazine is outstanding - a vital, concerned, and highly readable publication. You have my warmest wishes for continued success in publishing the magazine, for it is a much-needed voice."  
Norman Cousins, Editor, Saturday Review

Part III - The Search and The Research  
RESEARCH as part of The Search  
RESEARCH: Cornerstone of Action  
RESEARCH and ideology of Peace

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES**

	Western Europe	India	Others
1 Vol. 61/ 0/0		6 rp	Can. \$3.00
1 Vol. 15/0		6	\$2.00
Student			
2 Vol. 1/15/0		10	\$5.50
3 Vol. 2/10/0		14	\$8.00

**MAIL YOUR ORDER TODAY TO:**

Our Generation Against Nuclear War  
 Western Europe                      Scandinavia

Housmans'                      Kampagnen Mob Atomvaben  
 5 Caledonian Road            c/o Steffen Larsen  
 London N. 1                      Vendersgade 13  
 England                          Copenhagen K, Denmark,

India                                      Others  
 Gandhi Peace Foundation      911 St. James St. W.,  
 c/o Dr. Omprakash Gupta                      Montreal 3,  
 Rajghat, New Delhi, India                      Canada  
 Sarvodaya Prachuralayan  
 Tanjore, India.

ORDER FORM

- Please enter my subscription for \_\_\_\_\_ volumes starting with the current issue: Vol. 2 No. 3
- Please enter my subscription for \_\_\_\_\_ volumes starting with Vol.3 No. 1 - "The Search and Research for Peace".
- Please send me the following issues, for which I enclose payment in full.

**PAYMENT IN FULL**

Quant.	Item	Price	Total
Amount due			

Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Bill me later for my subscription

HIGHLIGHTS OF FORTHCOMING ISSUES

--On Neutralism and Non-Alignment--  
 Tony Smythe, Bertil Sanden, Malcolm Caldwell, Peter Worsely.

-----On Non-Violence-----  
 Hugh Brock, A.J. Muste, Michael Scott, Gene Sharp, Martin Luther King, Jr., Charles Walker, & F.C. Hunnius.

-----Education For Peace-----  
 -----Religion, Disarmament And Peace-----  
 -----The Coming Of World Society-----



HIGHLIGHTS OF PAST ISSUES

Volume 1 - 1961-62  
 NUMBER 1 - Fall 1961  
 Necessity for Peace Research Institutes  
     by Dr. N.Z. Alcock  
 Is the Military Mentality Breaking Up?  
     by John. B. Mitchell  
 Other articles - by R.S. Bigelow, A.K. Smith, Dan Daniels, W.H. Pope, Farley Mowat.

NUMBER 2 - Winter 61-62  
 Supplement on the Berlin-German question:  
 Gen. H.B. Hester; Prof. Warner Neal; Editorials  
 Other articles - by J.B. Priestley, Dr. Günther Anders, G.J. Ringer, Michael Maxwell.

NUMBER 3 - Spring 1962  
 \*Special handbook on Peace: Seymour Melman; Arthur Waskow; Stephen Withey; Todd Gitlin; Nicolette Carey; Otto Feinstein; F.C. Hunnius; Ron Dorfman; Dimitri Roussopoulos, etc.

NUMBER 4 - Summer 1962  
 C. Wright Mills: The Scientific Imagination Of a Moral Man - by Prof. Irving Louis Horowitz.  
 A Psychiatrist Looks at the Nuclear Age  
     by Dr. F.N. Hanley  
 Other articles - by Homer Jack; Stuart Hall, K.G. Woodsworth, Helen Tucker, others.  
 Documents, Book Reviews.

Volume 2 No.2-1962  
 Supplement on Nationalism and the Nation-State - Prof. Kathleen Gough; Emery Reeves; Dr. Hans Kohn; other articles - Documents - Reviews

Volume 1 is now available hardbound in limited quantity. Can. \$10. - 66s. 20 rp.

20.12.63

ED 718-27-167

Herr Horst Maurer,  
Kontakte zu Kriegsdienstverweigerern,  
Frankfurt 10,  
Hans-Thoma-Str., 11,  
Deutschland.

Anmerkung  
"Ko"-Redaktion  
zum Verbleiben!  
9/12 Z.

Abdruck  
u. E. nur gegen Befragung!

nimmt  
zu viel Platz

F. C. HUNNIUS  
PENSION AGLON  
DOROTHEERGASSE 6-8  
VIENNA-1 AUSTRIA

# COMITE D'ACTION NON-VIOLENTE POUR LA PAIX

A.S.B.L.

Secrétariat: 65, rue Hublinbu, Marcinelle (Charleroi)

C.C.P 1853.25 - Tél. 07/36.10.92

## STATUTS.

1. Etant donné l'immoralité fondamentale de la violence et son impuissance manifeste, en cette ère atomique surtout, à résoudre les conflits inévitables entre les peuples, les nations, les classes ou les collectivités quelconques: le COMITE D'ACTION NON-VIOLENTE POUR LA PAIX estime que tous leurs rapports doivent, comme ceux entre les individus, être basés sur le respect total de la vie humaine, la fraternité universelle, la compréhension mutuelle et la recherche constante de la plus grande vérité.
2. Le Comité entend lutter pour la paix et la justice sociale uniquement par des moyens non-violents.
3. Il alerte l'opinion publique au sujet de l'urgence immédiate à mettre tout en œuvre pour éviter une nouvelle guerre.
4. Il appuiera toute autre initiative tendant aux mêmes buts.
5. Le Comité est ouvert à tous, quelles que soient leur race, leurs convictions religieuses, philosophiques ou politiques, pour autant qu'ils adhèrent aux principes de la non-violence rappelés ici:
  - a) la non-violence est la seule manière morale de résoudre les différends et de se défendre contre la violence. Son principe est d'opposer un bien à un mal, la vérité au mensonge.
  - b) la non-violence est une action positive qui affronte le danger, le non-violent étant prêt à souffrir et s'il le faut à se sacrifier pour son témoignage.
  - c) la non-violence a pour but, non de vaincre l'adversaire, mais de le rallier à la vérité, en parlant à sa conscience.
6. Les soussigné(e)s, membres du Comité se déclarent d'accord avec les présents statuts et s'engagent à s'y conformer. Ils mettront leurs actes en concordance avec leur conscience et leur volonté de paix en participant au maximum de leurs possibilités aux actions proposées.
7. Pour toute modification aux statuts, comme pour l'admission de nouveaux membres et toute autre décision importante, l'unanimité des membres est requise.

## PREMIERS OBJECTIFS.

- La cessation des essais nucléaires.
- L'arrêt de la course aux armements.
- Le désarmement total et général.
- Comme premier pas concret vers le désarmement général indispensable et à titre d'exemple : désarmement progressif et inconditionnel de notre pays.
- La destruction des stocks d'armes atomiques, bactériologiques, chimiques ou autres de destruction massive.
- Le démantèlement des laboratoires, ateliers de construction et usines de production d'armes et de tous moyens de destruction massive.
- La conversion des industries de guerre en industries de paix.
- L'affectation des économies ainsi réalisées par le désarmement à un fonds spécial pour le développement des régions sous-développées.
- La promulgation immédiate d'un statut des objecteurs de conscience afin de garantir à chacun sa liberté de conscience.
- La faculté pour chacun de remplacer le service militaire par un service civil dans les régions sous-développées ou au bénéfice de celles-ci.
- L'instauration d'un système de défense non-violente contre d'éventuelles agressions et l'enseignement de la non-coopération avec des forces d'occupation.

## NOTRE APPEL.

Si nous voulons la paix dans le monde, commençons à faire la paix en nous et autour de nous. Dans ce sens invitons chacun à agir individuellement pour la paix.

Il va de soi que nous ne pourrons réaliser nos objectifs qu'avec le concours d'un grand nombre. Invitons incessamment chacun à se joindre effectivement aux actions non-violentes.

Demandons aux jeunes d'interroger leur conscience pour savoir si en cette ère atomique le service armé correspond encore au devoir. Référons-les au service civil.

Invitons tous à appuyer la demande d'un statut des objecteurs de conscience, d'un service civil et d'un système de défense non-violente.

Interrogeons-nous pour savoir si notre travail manuel ou intellectuel n'apporte pas une aide indirecte au potentiel de guerre.

N'investissons pas de capitaux dans les industries de guerre.

Protestons régulièrement contre l'obligation de payer des impôts pour couvrir les frais d'un armement immoral et d'ailleurs absurde parce que tout-à-fait désuet et d'effet contraire au but qui lui est assigné.

Faisons volontairement pour la paix les sacrifices qu'on nous obligerait de faire pour la guerre.

ED718-27-169 *Stumm* ~6.62

**Mankind against war**  
***L'Umanita' contro la guerra***  
**Der Mensch gegen den Krieg**  
***L'Homme contre la guerre***  
**Человек против Войны**



**NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF 100**

President: Bertrand Russell Vice-President: Michael Scott

*Insitut für Zeitgeschichte*

# Mankind against war

A MESSAGE FROM THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF 100

13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4

To our Friends everywhere . . .

Since wars are international, peace must be sought internationally, and common action requires the exchange and mutual development of ideas.

In Britain, 1962 is the fifth year of our campaign against nuclear weapons. In a score of countries people like ourselves work for the same cause, and in no two countries is the movement alike. What we say and do springs from the intelligence, humanity and aspirations of ordinary people. We have no faith in power-politics or in power-politicians for we see these as part of the very factors making for war.

Five years ago we in Britain faced certain circumstances peculiar to ourselves. Located half-way between Russia and America, we were the principal American base abroad. Without any mandate from the people, our government had made the Bomb. At the same time our tradition of civil liberties was strong and unbroken and we had never been subject to foreign occupation. Yet whilst the British and American governments were discredited, so were the Soviet government and its supporters, particularly after Hungary and the Russian tests. More and more people, especially the young, turned away from the existing political parties because of their attachment to military alliances and the Bomb. We found ourselves ready for a completely new start.

The build-up of World War III has been part of our lives since the end of the last war. Through the process of retaliatory nuclear testing casualties occur everywhere daily. Yet through propaganda and deliberate suppression of information, both sides have lulled their populations into acquiescence. But people everywhere can take a stand against *some* part of this treacherous process. It may be against the manufacture, testing and stock-piling of nuclear weapons, a military alliance, a military solution of a particular crisis or any part of the war propaganda that comes at us from all sides every day.

The means of opposition at our disposal will always vary according to circumstances. In Britain it was fairly easy to make a start. With you in other countries the difficulties, dangers and penalties are likely to be greater than for us. For that reason we can do no more than describe our experience and ask you to judge its relevance for yourselves. But about one thing we are emphatic—since greater issues have never been at stake, calculated risks must be taken in face of them.

In 1957 we met to consider what best to do and we decided at the outset to develop on a large scale what was for us more or less conventional forms of protest—the local meeting, the petition, the demonstration, the march.

Significant direct action began at the rocket bases and was taken up by the Committee of 100 when it was formed in the winter of 1960/1. This meant a frontal challenge to the nuclear state through mass non-violent civil disobedience—the sit-down. We were no longer content to leave matters to our elected representatives.

We shall experiment with other new forms of action, including industrial action, not merely as protest but as meaningful and effective resistance. Looking ahead to concerted international action, we are immensely encouraged by the news of the movement abroad.

We have had a vigorous debate amongst ourselves about whether non-violence is a principle or a tactic and that debate continues. To some of us non-violence is good because it works. To others it is good because it is related to deeper matters and suggests the possibilities of a non-violent society, the kind of thing they would like to create.

When laws are used to defend the Bomb, they cease to be our laws and we are prepared to disobey them. If this means some physical suffering or fines or imprisonment, we have to compare this cost with the cost of our failure—the deaths of hundreds of millions. We are not being martyrs, we are doing what we see to be necessary.

We say to those who govern us, who pretend to represent us and who are preparing for war: 'No! This you cannot do in our name.'

Inspired by examples of non-violent direct action in other countries, we are building a new movement in Britain. Such action gives us, amongst other things, a new and deeper level of appeal and communication. Our growth is uneven and we make mistakes, but of our progress there can be no question.

We hope that you will discuss and criticise what we say. We look forward to more personal contact and to increasing co-operation between your movements and ours. We want to discuss with you such ideas, policies and methods as are of common interest, to exchange news and to prepare the grounds for direct international action against the Bomb and World War III.

We must not fail.

With all good wishes,

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF 100

Summer 1962

*Correspondence can be addressed directly to the International Sub-Committee of the National Committee of 100—5 Aetons Way, Cambridge. Tel. 51104.*

# L'Umanità' contro la guerra

ED 718-27-130  
MASSAGGIO DEL COMITATO NAZIONALE DEL 100

13 Goodwin Street, London N.4

Ai nostri amici di ogni paese . . .

Il pericolo della guerra minaccia tutti i popoli e quindi l'azione per la pace deve essere sviluppata sul piano internazionale, attraverso un libero scambio di idee e azioni condotte in comune.

Per l'Inghilterra il 1962 è stato il quinto anno della nostra campagna contro l'armamento atomico. In molti altri paesi esistono movimenti che lavorano per la nostra stessa causa, seppure, purtroppo, con metodi diversi. Come guida alla nostra azione abbiamo scelto la razionalità, l'umanità e l'aspirazione delle genti comuni. Non abbiamo alcuna fiducia in una politica di forza o negli uomini che la rappresentano, poiché li consideriamo proprio come una delle cause che possono scatenare la guerra.

Cinque anni fa ci siamo trovati ad affrontare delle circostanze che erano proprie dell'Inghilterra. Infatti, situati a metà strada fra l'America e la Russia, eravamo la principale base americana all'estero. Senza alcun mandato del popolo, il nostro governo aveva costruito la bomba atomica. Nello stesso tempo però le nostre tradizioni di libertà vivili rimanevano intatte, anche perché il nostro Paese non è mai stato soggetto all'occupazione straniera. Non vennero però discreditati solamente il governo inglese e americano, ma anche quello sovietico e i suoi sostenitori, specialmente dopo i fatti d'Ungheria e gli esperimenti nucleari russi. La gente e soprattutto i giovani si allontanarono sempre più dai partiti politici, poiché questi erano collegati ad una politica di alleanze militari e di riarmo atomico. In tal modo venivano poste le premesse per l'inizio di un nuovo movimento.

Dalla fine dell'ultima guerra in poi, la preparazione della terza guerra mondiale è stata parte della nostra esistenza. Ogni giorno nel mondo qualcuno muore per gli effetti delle radiazioni causate dagli esperimenti nucleari, tuttavia mediante la propaganda e la deliberata censura della informazioni, entrambi i blocchi cercano di ottenere l'acquiescenza dei rispettivi popoli. Ma i popoli possono arrestare questo drammatico processo verso la distruzione. La loro opposizione può rivolgersi contro la produzione, la prova e la creazione di riserve di armi nucleari, contro un'alleanza militare, contro la soluzione militare di una particolare crisi o quelle forme di propaganda militare che ogni giorno giungono a noi da ogni parte.

I mezzi di opposizione a nostra disposizione possono variare secondo le circostanze. In Inghilterra, le condizioni iniziali si dimostrarono abbastanza favorevoli allo sviluppo del nostro movimento. Ci rendiamo conto che in altri Paesi le difficoltà, i pericoli e le condanne che debbono affrontare gli aderenti di analoghi movimenti sono probabilmente maggiori. Per tale ragione desideriamo limitarci a sottolineare alcuni elementi della nostra esperienza, lasciandovi giudici del significato che possono avere per voi. Ma vogliamo sottolineare una cosa: poiché non è mai stata in gioco una posta più alta, bisogna in tal caso studiare i rischi da affrontare.

Nel 1957 discutemmo sulle vie da seguire e decidemmo di sviluppare su più vasta scala le formule

tradizionale di protesta: i dibattiti pubblici, le petizioni, le dimostrazioni, la marcia.

Iniziammo l'azione diretta contro le basi di missili con una manifestazione organizzata dal 'Comitato dei 100' che si era formato nell'inverno del 1960-61. Con la nostra azione portammo una sfida diretta allo stato nucleare attraverso la disobbedienza civile di massa attuata con mezzi nonviolenti (il 'sit-down'). Non potevamo più accontentarci di lasciare tali questioni nelle mani dei nostri rappresentanti eletti.

Desideriamo sperimentare altre nuove forme di azione, compresa un'azione in campo industriale, non solo come mezzi di protesta, ma di effettiva e decisa resistenza. Ed è appunto nella prospettiva di un'azione coordinata sul piano internazionale, che riceviamo un grande incoraggiamento dalle notizie che ci giungono dai movimenti degli altri Paesi.

Si è svolto tra noi un ampio dibattito sulla questione se la nonviolenza è un principio o una tattica, e questo dibattito continua. Alcuni accettano la nonviolenza soltanto perché sta dando buoni risultati. Altri invece trovano il suo fondamento in principi più alti e prospettano le possibilità di una società interamente nonviolenta.

Quando le nostre leggi sono impiegate per difendere la bomba atomica, allora cessano di essere nostre leggi e noi siamo pronti a disobbedire ad esse. Se da questo nostro atto deriva per noi qualche sofferenza fisica o una multa o la prigione, dobbiamo confrontare questo costo col costo che deriverebbe dal fallimento della nostra impresa—la morte di centinaia di milioni di persone. Non vogliamo diventare dei martiri, ma stiamo semplicemente facendo ciò che consideriamo necessario. Noi diciamo ai nostri governanti, che pretendono di rappresentarci e preparano la guerra: 'noi non potete fare ciò in nostro nome'.

Inspirati dall'esempio di azione non violenta in altri paesi, stiamo creando un nuovo movimento in Inghilterra. Questo tipo di azione ci dà, fra l'altro, una nuova e più profonda possibilità di richiamo e di comunicazione. Il nostro sviluppo è poco uniforme e purtroppo facciamo ancora degli errori, ma è fuor di dubbio che stiamo facendo dei progressi.

Ci auguriamo che voi vogliate liberamente discutere e criticare questo documento. Desideriamo sviluppare i contatti personali e la cooperazione internazionale fra il vostro e il nostro movimento. Intendiamo discutere con voi le idee, le politiche e i metodi che sono di comune interesse, scambiare informazioni e preparare il terreno per un'azione diretta sul piano internazionale contro la bomba atomica e i pericoli della terza guerra mondiale.

Noi non dobbiamo fallire.

Con i nostri migliori auguri:

IL COMITATO NAZIONALE DEL 100

Estate 1962

La corrispondenza può essere indirizzata direttamente a: International Sub-Committee of the National Committee of 100—5 Acton Way, Cambridge. Tel. 51104

# L'Homme contre la guerre

UN MESSAGE DU COMITE NATIONAL DES 100

13 Goodwin Street, London N.4

À nos amis où qu'ils se trouvent . . .

Puisque la guerre est une condition internationale, on ne trouvera la paix que par l'action internationale, et une telle action exige l'échange et développement mutuel des idées.

En Grande-Bretagne, il y a cinq ans que notre campagne contre les armes nucléaires a commencé. Dans une vingtaine de pays, on lutte pour la même cause; et en chaque pays le mouvement se trouve différent. Ce que l'on dit ou ce que l'on fait provient de l'intelligence, du cœur et des aspirations du peuple ordinaire. On ne croit point ni aux politiciens de puissance ni à leurs politiques, car ceux-ci font partie des causes mêmes de la guerre.

Il y a cinq ans, nous avions en Grand Bretagne des circonstances particulières à nous-mêmes. Situés à mi-chemin entre la Russie et l'Amérique, nous étions la base principale des États Unis d'outre-mer. Sans le consentement du peuple, notre gouvernement avait fabriqué la Bombe. Au même temps notre tradition des libertés civiles était encore intacte et forte, et nous n'avions jamais connu l'occupation étrangère. Mais, tandis que les gouvernements Britannique et Américain étaient discrédités, le gouvernement Russe l'était aussi, surtout après l'affaire de Hongrie et les expériences atomiques russes. De plus en plus les gens, et surtout les jeunes, se détournent des partis politiques, à cause de leur rattachement aux alliances militaires et à la Bombe. Nous nous trouvions prêts pour un complet renouvellement.

Depuis la fin de la dernière guerre, notre vie est mêlée aux préparatifs de la troisième guerre mondiale. En conséquence des expériences atomiques entreprises par esprit de représailles, la maladie et la mort frappent chaque jour un peu partout. Pourtant, grâce à la propagande et à la suppression voulue des informations, les deux adversaires ont endormi leurs peuples. Mais les gens partout peuvent tenir face contre quelque partie de ce procédé perfide. Ce pourrait être contre la fabrication, l'accumulation et les expériences des armes atomiques, contre une alliance militaire, contre la solution militaire d'une crise déterminée ou contre n'importe quelle partie de la propagande de guerre qui nous assaille chaque jour de tous les côtés.

Les moyens d'opposition dont on dispose varient toujours selon les circonstances. En Grande-Bretagne, il était assez facile à commencer. Pour vous, aux autres pays, les difficultés, les dangers et les peines peuvent être beaucoup plus graves que chez nous. C'est pourquoi nous ne pouvons que soumettre notre expérience à votre jugement afin d'en faire usage, si elle vous convient. Mais il y a un fait que nous soulignons—vu qu'il n'y a jamais eu une question aussi importante, on doit faire face aux risques calculés.

En 1957, nous nous sommes réunis pour considérer ce qu'il fallait faire, et nous avons décidé dès le début de développer en grand ce qui étaient pour nous les formes conventionnelles de protestation—l'assemblée locale, la pétition, la manifestation, la marche.

L'action directe d'importance commençait aux bases des fusées et était embrassée par le Comité des 100 quand il était formé en hiver 1960/1. Ceci signifiait un défi de front à l'état nucléaire par la désobéissance civile non violente en masse—le 'sit-down'. Nous n'étions plus contents de laisser aux députés les affaires.

Nous ferons des expériences avec d'autres nouvelles formes d'action, action industrielle y inclus, non seulement comme protestation mais comme résistance sensible et effective. Comme prévue de l'action internationale concertée, les nouvelles du mouvement à l'étranger nous encouragent énormément.

Dans nos réunions, nous nous sommes livrés à un vigoureux débat sur le sujet de la non-violence—Est-ce un principe ou une tactique? Ce débat continue. Certains d'entre nous trouvent que la non-violence est bonne parce qu'elle marche; à d'autres elle est bonne parce qu'elle a des rapports avec des idées plus profondes et qu'elle fait penser à la société non violente, ce qu'ils voudront tant créer.

Quand on emploie la loi pour défendre la Bombe, elle cesse d'être notre loi, et nous sommes prêts à lui désobéir. En conséquence, si l'on doit en souffrir corporellement ou par les amendes ou l'emprisonnement, il faut comparer ce prix avec ce que coûtera notre insuccès—des centaines de millions de morts. Nous ne sommes pas des martyrs, nous ne faisons que ce que nous devons faire.

Nous disons à ceux qui nous gouvernent, qui prétendent nous représenter, et qui préparent la guerre: 'Non! Ça vous ne faites pas en notre nom'.

Inspirés par les exemples de l'action directe non-violente aux autres pays, nous créons un mouvement nouveau en Grande-Bretagne. Cette action nous donne, parmi autres choses, un nouveau degré profonde d'appel et de communication. Notre avance est inégale et on fait des erreurs mais de notre progrès il n'y a pas question.

Nous espérons que vous voudrez bien discuter et critiquer ce que nous écrivons. Nous attendons avec plaisir encore des contacts personnels et de la coopération entre vos mouvements et le nôtre. Nous voulons discuter avec vous les idées, les politiques et les méthodes qui nous sont d'un commun intérêt, échanger des informations et préparer le terrain pour l'action directe internationale contre la Bombe et la 3e Guerre Mondiale.

Il ne faut pas échouer.

Avec nous meilleurs vœux,

LE COMITÉ NATIONAL DES 100

Été 1962

On peut s'adresser directement au Sous Comité International du Comité National des 100, 5 Acton Way, Cambridge.  
Téléphone 51104.

# Der Mensch gegen den Krieg

EIN AUFRUF DES KOMITEES DER 100 IN GROSSBRITANNIEN

13 Goodwin Street, London N.4

Unsere Freunde in allen Ländern . . .  
Weil Kriege international sind, muss für die Erhaltung des Friedens auch international gekämpft werden, und solche gemeinsamen Aktionen verlangen den Austausch von Ideen.

Seit fünf Jahren wird in Grossbritannien gegen die Kernwaffen protestiert. In vielen anderen Ländern arbeiten Menschen für dieselben Ziele, und doch sind die Bewegungen überall auf sich selbst gestellt und voneinander unabhängig. Was wir sagen und tun, wird von der kritischen Betrachtung der Weltlage, der Menschlichkeit und dem Verlangen des gewöhnlichen Menschen bestimmt. Wir setzen keine Hoffnung in Machtpolitik und haben kein Vertrauen zu Politikern, die einer Kriegspolitik dienen.

Grossbritannien befand sich vor fünf Jahren in einer eigenartigen Lage. Zwischen der Sowjetunion und den U.S.A. gelegen, wurde es die Hauptbasis für amerikanische Streitkräfte im Ausland. Ohne den Auftrag des Volkes begann unsere Regierung, Atombomben zu produzieren. Zugleich hatten wir eine lange Tradition bürgerlicher Freiheit und niemals bis dahin eine fremde Besatzung im Lande. Während so das Vertrauen in die britische und die amerikanische Regierung ins Wanken geriet, geschah dasselbe mit der sowjetischen Regierung und ihren Befürwortern, vor allem seit dem Ungarn-Aufstand und den sowjetischen Testen.

Immer mehr und besonders junge Menschen wandten sich von den politischen Parteien ab, die sich durch ihr Festhalten an militärischen Bündnissen und an der Atombombe ungläubwürdig gemacht hatten. Wir sahen uns vor der Aufgabe einen ganz neuen Weg zu finden.

Das stetige Hintreiben auf einen 3. Weltkrieg seit 1945 hat unser aller persönliches Leben geformt. Täglich werden neue Schäden festgestellt, die durch die Atomversuche hervorgerufen sind. Und dennoch haben beide Seiten es durch Propaganda und durch bewusste Vorenthaltung von Informationen verstanden, die Bevölkerung einzufüllen und in Sicherheit zu wiegen. Aber jeder von uns kann an seiner Stelle eine feste Haltung in wenigstens einem Bereich dieses verhängnisvollen Prozesses beziehen, sei es gegen die Herstellung, die Erprobung und die Lagerung von Atomwaffen, sei es gegen Militärblindnisse, gegen eine militärische Lösung in bestimmten Krisen oder gegen irgendeinen Teil der Kriegspropaganda, die täglich von allen Seiten auf uns eindringt.

Unser Widerstand wird sich immer den jeweiligen Verhältnissen anpassen haben. In Grossbritannien war es ziemlich einfach, damit anzufangen. Aber für Euch in den anderen Ländern sind die Schwierigkeiten, die Gefahren und die Strafen wahrscheinlich schwerwiegender als bei uns. Aus diesem Grunde können wir die Erfahrungen, die wir gewonnen haben, nur andeuten, und Ihr selbst müsst ihre Bedeutung für Euch abwägen. Dies eine jedoch ist klar: es hat niemals grössere Aufgaben für den Menschen gegeben, und deshalb muss das Risiko, das wir einzugehen haben, dieser Aufgabe angemessen sein.

1957 kamen wir zu dem Entschluss, dass grosse Demonstrationen herkömmlicher Art wie Massensammlungen, Bittschriften-Sammlungen, und Märsche die richtigen Mittel seien. Dann begannen die bemerkenswerten direkten Aktionen bei Raketen-

Basen, deren Methoden vom Komitee der 100 aufgegriffen wurden, als es im Winter 1960/61 gegründet wurde. Dieser Schritt bedeutete eine Herausforderung gegenüber dem Staat, der sich auf Kernwaffen stützt, und zwar durch die Methode des staatsbürgerlichen Ungehorsams von grossen Gruppen, des Massen-Sitz-Protestes. Von nun an überliessen wir nicht mehr den Kampf unseren gewählten Abgeordneten allein.

Wir werden noch andere neue Aktionsformen erproben, besonders im Zusammenhang mit der Herstellung von Atomwaffen, z.B. Industrie-Aktion, und zwar nicht nur als Protest, sondern als bedeutungsvoller und wirksamer Widerstand. Wir rechnen mit künftigen gemeinsamen Aktionen auf internationaler Ebene und fühlen uns durch die Nachrichten aus anderen Ländern in unserer Arbeit ermutigt und bestärkt.

Wir haben untereinander heftige Debatten über die Frage gehabt, ob gewaltloser Widerstand für uns Prinzip oder Taktik sei, und die Auseinandersetzungen darüber sind noch nicht zuende. Die einen halten gewaltlosen Widerstand für angemessen, weil er sich bewährt hat. Für die anderen hat er eine tiefere Bedeutung. Sie verhindern ihn mit der Möglichkeit für eine neue Gesellschaftsordnung, die geschaffen wollen.

Wenn man mit bestimmten Gesetzen die Atombombe verteidigt, erkennen wir diese Gesetze nicht an und verweigern ihnen den Gehorsam. Bedeuten eine solche Haltung für uns körperliche Leiden, Geldstrafen oder Gefängnis, so vergleichen wir alles, was man gegen uns unternimmt, mit dem, was geschieht, wenn wir keinen Erfolg haben: dem Tod von Millionen Menschen im Atomkrieg. Wir sind keine Märtyrer; wir tun einfach, was nötig ist.

Zu denen, die uns registrieren und die uns angeblich vertreten wollen und zugleich den Krieg vorbereiten, sagen wir: 'Nein! Das soll nicht in unserem Namen geschehen!'

Angeregt durch die Beispiele gewaltloser direkter Aktionen in anderen Ländern, sind wir dabei, in Grossbritannien eine neue Bewegung aufzubauen. Neben anderem geben uns gerade derartige Aktionen eine neue und tiefere Ebene, um andere Menschen anzusprechen. Wir sind nicht immer erfolgreich und wir machen Fehler, aber es gibt keinen Zweifel, dass wir vorankommen.

Wir hoffen sehr, dass Ihr das, was wir sagen miteinander besprecht und kritisiert. Wir brauchen dringend einen grösseren persönlichen Kontakt und eine immer stärkere Zusammenarbeit zwischen Euch und uns. Wir möchten mit Euch Ideen, Richtlinien und Methoden von gemeinsamem Interesse besprechen, zu einem Nachrichten-Austausch kommen und Vorbereitungen für direkte internationale Aktionen gegen die Atombombe und den 3. Weltkrieg treffen.

Wir dürfen auf keinen Fall versagen.

Mit den besten Wünschen,

Das Komitee der 100 in Grossbritannien

Sommer 1962

Briefe können direkt an das 'International Sub-Committee of the National Committee of 100', Cambridge, 5 Acton Way, gerichtet werden. Tel. 51104

ED 718-27-121

# Человек против Войны

СООБЩЕНИЕ ОТ БРИТАНСКОГО КОМИТЕТА 100

13 Goodwin Street, London N.4

## НАШИМ ДРУЗЬЯМ ВО ВСЕХ СТРАНАХ:

Раз войны ведутся между народами, — нужно стремиться и в международному миру, а общие действия требуют обмена и взаимодействия идей. В Великобритании тысяча девятьсот шестьдесят второй год — пятый год нашей кампании против ядерного оружия. В двух десятках стран наша единомышленница работает на то же дело, и в каждой стране движение носит свой характер. То что мы говорим и делаем действует умом, человечностью и стремлением обычных людей. Мы не доверяем ни политике силы, ни политикам силы. Для нас это — факторы, готовящие войну.

Пять лет тому назад мы в Великобритании оказались перед лицом некоторых непонятных нам обстоятельств. Находясь на полпути между Советским Союзом и Соединенными Штатами, мы оказались главной американской базой вне Соединенных Штатов. Безо всякого мандата от британского народа наше правительство изготовило атомную бомбу. Но, как и традиции гражданских свобод сильны и непреложны и мы никогда не подвергались иностранной оккупации. Но дискредитирован правительства не только Великобритания и Соединенных Штатов, но и Советского Союза и его приверженцы — особенно после негероичных событий и советских испытаний. Все больше людей, особенно молодых, отворачиваются от существующих политических партий из за обязательств в области военных связей и атомной бомбы. Мы готовы к совершенно новому подходу.

Подготовка третьей мировой войны стала с конца минувшей войны частью нашей жизни. В результате ядерных испытаний всюду ежедневно бывает жертвы. Но, с помощью пропаганды, и сознательного подавления информации обе стороны убавляли свое население. Но люди везде могут занять позицию против той или иной-нибудь части этого предательского процесса. Либо против изготовления испытаний и нахождения запасов ядерного оружия, либо против военных союзов, военного решения отдельных призовов, либо, наконец, против военной пропаганды со всех сторон и беспрерывно.

Методы сопротивления, которыми мы располагаем, меняются с обстоятельствами. В Великобритании было довольно легко положить начало. В других странах трудности, опасности и возможные яры могут быть больше чем у нас. Поэтому мы можем только подходить своим опытом и просить вас самих оценить его важность. Но, во всяком случае, мы совершенно уверены в том, что так как никогда не было более важных и зрелых последствием проблем, приходится сознательно идти на риск.

В 1957 году мы, собравшись для обсуждения лучших методов решили прибегнуть к более или менее обычным формам протеста — в местных собраниях, в петициях, и демонстрациях, и шествиям — при этом в возможно большем масштабе.

Значительные прямые действия начались на ранних этапах и тогда зимой 1959—1961 года был создан Комитет Ота он взял на себя продолжение этих действий. Приним вызовом ядерному государству было массовое мирное грандальское несовиновение — мы стали рассаживаться на уличках. Мы больше не хотели оставлять дела в руках наших набранных представителей.

Мы испробуем и другие новые виды действий, в том числе промышленных, не только для протеста, но и для осмысленного персистивного сопротивления. В виду согласования международных действий нас чрезвычайно поощряют сообщения о движениях и других странах.

У нас были оживленные споры между собой о том является ли ненасильственное начало принципом или тактикой. Этот спор продолжается. Некоторым из нас ненасильственное начало нравится потому, что оно приводит к должным результатам, а другим потому, что оно связано с более глубокими проблемами и говорит о возможности того ненасильственного общества, которое они хотели бы создать.

Когда для защиты атомной бомбы используются законы, они перестают быть нашими законами и мы готовы им не повиноваться. А если это связано с физическими лишениями, штрафами или тюремным заключением, нам приходится сравнивать это с тем и чему приводит наша неудача — со смертью сотен миллионов людей. Мы не мучники, мы делаем то, что до нашему необходимо.

Мы говорим тем, кто нами управляет, кто утверждает, что представляет нас и кто готовит войну: «Нет, этого вы от нашего имени делать не можете!»

Вдохновляясь примером ненасильственных прямых действий в других странах, мы создаем новое движение в Великобритании. Это дает нам, помимо всего другого, новый более глубокий способ правды и связи. Наш рост вероен и мы делаем ошибки, но не можем быть сомнений в наших успехах.

Мы надеемся на то, что вы обсудите то, что мы говорим и подвергнете это критике. Мы хотим большего личного контакта и большего сотрудничества между нашим движением и вами. Мы хотим обсудить с вами идеи, политику и методы, представляющие общий интерес, обменяться мнениями и подготовить основу для прямых международных действий против атомной бомбы и против третьей мировой войны.

Мы не должны потерпеть неудачи.

Мы несем вам успеха.

Британский Комитет 100

(Обращаться прямо к адресу 'International Sub-Committee of the National Committee of 100'—5 Action Way, Cambridge.

Телефон: Cambridge 51104

# ACT OR PERISH

*A call to non-violent action by Earl Russell and Rev. Michael Scott*

**We are appealing for support for a movement of non-violent resistance to nuclear war and weapons of mass extermination. Our appeal is made from a common consciousness of the appalling peril to which Governments of East and West are exposing the human race.**

## DISASTER ALMOST CERTAIN

Every day, and at every moment of every day, a trivial accident, a failure to distinguish a meteor from a bomber, a fit of temporary insanity in one single man, may cause a nuclear world war, which, in all likelihood, will put an end to man and to all higher forms of animal life. The populations of the Eastern and Western blocs are, in the great majority, unaware of the magnitude of the peril. Almost all experts who have studied the situation without being in the employment of some Government have come to the conclusion that, if present policies continue, disaster is almost certain within a fairly short time.

## PUBLIC MISLED

It is difficult to make the facts known to ordinary men and women, because Governments do not wish them known and powerful forces are opposed to dissemination of knowledge which might cause dissatisfaction with Government policies. Although it is possible to ascertain the probabilities by patient and careful study, statements entirely destitute of scientific validity are put out authoritatively with a view to misleading those who have not time for careful study. What is officially said about civil defence, both here and in America, is grossly misleading. The danger from fall-out is much greater than the Authorities wish the population to believe. Above all, the imminence of all-out nuclear war is ignorantly, or mendaciously, underestimated both in the statements of politicians and in the vast majority of newspapers. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that most of the makers of opinion consider it more important to secure defeat of the "enemy" than to safeguard the continued existence of our species. The fact that the defeat of the "enemy" must involve our own defeat, is carefully kept from the consciousness of those who give only a fleeting and occasional attention to political matters.

## ACTION IMPERATIVE

Much has already been accomplished towards creating a public opinion opposed to nuclear weapons, but not enough, so far, to influence Governments. The threatening disaster is so enormous that we feel compelled to take every action that is possible with a view to awakening our compatriots, and ultimately all mankind, to the need of urgent and drastic changes of policy. We should wish every parent of young children, and every person capable of

feelings of mercy, to feel it the most important part of their duty to secure for those who are still young a normal span of life, and to understand that Governments, at present, are making this very unlikely. To us, the vast scheme of mass murder which is being hatched—nominally for our protection, but in fact for universal extermination—is a horror and an abomination. What we can do to prevent this horror, we feel to be a profound and imperative duty which must remain paramount while the danger persists.

## CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION NOT ENOUGH

We are told to wait for the beneficent activities of Congresses, Committees, and Summit meetings. Bitter experience has persuaded us that to follow such advice would be utterly futile while the Great Powers remain stubbornly determined to prevent agreement. Against the major forces that normally determine opinion, it is difficult to achieve more than a limited success by ordinary constitutional methods. We are told that in a democracy only lawful methods of persuasion should be used. Unfortunately, the opposition to sanity and mercy on the part of those who have power is such as to make persuasion by ordinary methods difficult and slow, with the result that, if such methods alone are employed, we shall probably all be dead before our purpose can be achieved. Respect for law is important and only a very profound conviction can justify actions which flout the law. It is generally admitted that, in the past, many such actions have been justified. Christian Martyrs broke the law, and there can be no doubt that majority opinion at the time condemned them for doing so. We, in our day, are asked to acquiesce, passively if not actively, in policies clearly leading to tyrannical brutalities compared with which all former horrors sink into insignificance. We cannot do this any more than Christian Martyrs could acquiesce in worship of the Emperor. Their steadfastness in the end achieved victory. It is for us to show equal steadfastness and willingness to suffer hardship and thereby to persuade the world that our cause is worthy of such devotion.

## TOWARDS WORLD PEACE

We hope, and we believe, that those who feel as we do and those who may come to share our belief can form a body of such irresistible persuasive force that the present madness of East and West may give way to a new hope, a new realisation of the common destinies of the human family and a determination that men shall no longer seek elaborate and devilish ways of injuring each other but shall, instead, unite in permitting happiness and co-operation. Our immediate purpose, in so far as it is political, is only to persuade Britain to abandon reliance upon the illusory protection of nuclear weapons. But, if this can be achieved, a wider horizon will open before our eyes. We shall become aware of the immense possibilities of nature when harnessed by the creative intelligence of man to the purposes and arts of peace. We shall continue, while life permits, to pursue the goal of world peace and universal human fellowship. We appeal, as human beings to human beings: remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, nothing lies before you but universal death.



ED 718-27-173

24/6/63



# COMMITTEE OF 100

President: EARL RUSSELL, O.M., F.R.S.

13 GOODWIN STREET  
LONDON, N.4  
ARCHWAY 1239

Dear Friends,

13.6.63

The Bertrand Russell Committee of 100 in Greece is calling for a mass meeting in the centre of Athens to take place on Hiroshima Day, August 6th this year. They are asking for large numbers of volunteers from other countries to go to Athens to join the demonstration.

As was shown at the time of the Marathon to Athens march in April, the presence of foreigners greatly inhibits the repressive activities of the police and government. It causes them considerable embarrassment, focuses international attention on Greece and reduces the danger of violence such as that which resulted in the murder of Gregory Lambrakis.

The British Committee of 100 sent 16 people to Greece for the Marathon march. We intend to provide much larger support for the Hiroshima Day demonstration.

We intend to send a convoy of dormobiles across Europe to Greece with at least 100 volunteers from this country. We will take 9 days to reach Greece and hold mass meetings and demonstrations all across Europe.

We are asking other European organizations to cooperate to make this an international action of major importance. We want volunteers from all over Europe with vehicles joining us as we cross Europe on the way to Greece.

Please do your utmost to get volunteers from among your supporters. If possible organize a convoy of your own to join up with ours.

Our plan is to leave London on the evening of July 26th and to travel across Belgium, Germany, Austria and Yugoslavia to arrive at the Greek frontier on the morning of August 5th. If we are allowed into Greece we will arrive in Athens that evening for the demonstration the following day. If as is likely we are stopped at the frontier and refused entry, we will attempt nonviolently to cross the frontier - if necessary along the whole of its length. This attempt at non violent invasion will continue until the demonstration in Athens is over. Our idea is to put the Greek

Greek/

authorities in a position where, if they wish to prevent us from joining our friends in Athens, they must line the whole of the frontier with troops and physically prevent us from doing so.

We will not stay long in Greece but will depart on Wednesday, August 7th so that those of us from Great Britain will be able to arrive back in London on Sunday, August 11th.

We feel great concern about the situation in Greece. The peace movement has become the focal point of all opposition to the tyrannical regime. The Bertrand Russell Committee has suffered violent suppression at the hands of the Greek authorities.

You can help to ~~make~~ this demonstration a success in the following ways:-

- 1) By sending as many volunteers as possible in dormobiles or other vehicles to join the convoy.
- 2) By organizing supporting demonstrations in your country on Hiroshima Day.
- 3) By giving ~~hospitality~~ to the convoy as it passes through your area.
- 4) By helping us to organize public meetings to be held in the towns through which the convoy is to pass.
- 5) By giving wide publicity in your country, to the demonstration and its aims.

Can you help us to make this the biggest international effort ever by the Peace Movement? Governments will not abolish the barriers between nations; we must.

Please write to us as soon as possible and say how you can help and support this action.

Yours sincerely,

*Terry Chandler*  
Terry Chandler.

13th June 1963.

ED 718-27-174



# COMMITTEE OF 100

President: EARL RUSSELL, O.M., F.R.S. Secretary: MICHAEL RANKLE

13 GOODWIN STREET  
LONDON, N.4

ARCHWAY 1239 25. 6. 63 V. / WSK  
13. 6. 63

Dear Friends,

The Bertrand Russell Committee of 100 in Greece is calling for a mass meeting in the centre of Athens to take place on Hiroshima Day, August 6th this year. They are asking for large numbers of volunteers from other countries to go to Athens to join the demonstration.

As was shown at the time of the Marathon to Athens march in April, the presence of foreigners greatly inhibits the repressive activities of the police and government. It causes them considerable embarrassment, focuses international attention on Greece and reduces the danger of violence such as that which resulted in the murder of Gregory Lambrakis.

The British Committee of 100 sent 16 people to Greece for the Marathon march. We intend to provide much larger support for the Hiroshima Day demonstration.

We intend to send a convoy of dormobiles across Europe to Greece with at least 100 volunteers from this country. We will take 9 days to reach Greece and hold mass meetings and demonstrations all across Europe.

We are asking other European organizations to cooperate to make this an international action of major importance. We want volunteers from all over Europe with vehicles joining us as we cross Europe on the way to Greece.

Please do your utmost to get volunteers from among your supporters. If possible organize a convoy of your own to join up with ours.

Our plan is to leave London on the evening of July 26th and to travel across Belgium, Germany, Austria and Yugoslavia to arrive at the Greek frontier on the morning of August 5th. If we are allowed into Greece we will arrive in Athens that evening for the demonstration the following day. If as is likely we are stopped at the frontier and refused entry, we will attempt nonviolently to cross the frontier - if necessary along the whole of its length. This attempt at non violent invasion will continue until the demonstration in Athens is over. Our idea is to put the Greek

Greek/

authorities in a position where, if they wish to prevent us from joining our friends in Athens, they must line the whole of the frontier with troops and physically prevent us from doing so.

We will not stay long in Greece but will depart on Wednesday, August 7th so that those of us from Great Britain will be able to arrive back in London on Sunday, August 11th.

We feel great concern about the situation in Greece. The peace movement has become the focal point of all opposition to the tyrannical regime. The Bertrand Russell Committee has suffered violent suppression at the hands of the Greek authorities.

You can help to ~~make~~ this demonstration a success in the following ways:-

- 1) By sending as many volunteers as possible in dormobiles or other vehicles to join the convoy.
- 2) By organizing supporting demonstrations in your country on Hiroshima Day.
- 3) By giving hospitality to the convoy as it passes through your area.
- 4) By helping us to organize public meetings to be held in the towns through which the convoy is to pass.
- 5) By giving wide publicity in your country, to the demonstration and its aims.

Can you help us to make this the biggest international effort ever by the Peace Movement? Governments will not abolish the barriers between nations; we must.

Please write to us as soon as possible and say how you can help and support this action.

Yours sincerely,

*Terry Chandler*

Terry Chandler.

13th June 1963.

ED 718-27-175

Athens Demonstration,  
Committee of 100,  
13, Goodwin Street,  
London, N.4.  
ARChway 1239.

~ 20. 7. 63

27. 8. 63 *Trump*

Dear Friends,

We are sending you our timetable for the trip to Athens. Our intention is to hold meetings at each of the places specifically mentioned en route. We will need the co-operation of all of you along the route to organise these meetings. Please reply immediately and let us know what arrangements you can make or have made.

We need to finalise the arrangements for accommodation at our nightly stopping places. Will you write and tell us how you can help with this. We want nothing lavish. Preferably a hall or large meeting room where we can lay out our sleeping bags and sleep.

If you want, we will send groups or individuals to places not on our main route to speak at meetings etc. Let us know what you want and we will do what we can.

There will probably be about 75 of us in the main convoy. Others will travel separately and make their own arrangements. We will travel in about nine vehicles- mostly large dormobiles and vans.....

We look forward to hearing from you and hope that as many as possible of you will come with us to Greece.

Yours sincerely,

Terry Chandler (Secretary)

ATHENS DEMONSTRATIONED 718-27-476  
TIMETABLEFirst Day 27/7

depart Costende	14,00hrs	
arrive Bruxelles	17,00	
depart " "	17,30	
arrive Liege	19,00	
		total dist. 210 Km

Second Day 28/7

depart Liege	10,00	
arrive Köln	12,00	
depart " "	15,00	
arrive Frankfurt	18,00	
		total dist 284 km

Third Day 29/7

depart Frankfurt	9,00	
arrive Stuttgart	12,30	
depart " " "	14,30	
arrive München	18,30	
		total dist. 458 km

Fourth Day 30/7

depart München	9,00	
arrive Salzburg	11,30	
depart " " "	14,00	
arrive Kalngersfurt	19,30	
		total dist. 423 km

Fifth Day 31/7

depart Klagenfurt	9,30	
arrive Zagreb	17,00	
		total dist. 267 km

Sixth Day 1/8

depart Zagreb	9,30	
arrive Beograd	18,00	
		total dist. 402

Seventh Day 2/8

depart Beograd	12,00	
arrive Nis	18,00	
		total dist. 257 km

Eighth Day 3/8

depart Nis	9,00	
arrive Skopje	13,00	
depart " " "	15,00	
arrive Gavgelija	20,00	
		total dist. 336 km

Ninth Day 4/8

approach Greek Frontiers	1000	
arrive Salonika	16,00	
		total dist.

Tenth Day 5/8

depart Salonika	10,00	
arrive Athens	18,00	
		total dist.

Eleventh Day 6/8

assemble in Acropolis	5,30	
ceremony	6,00	
march thru Athens arrive Psnath. Stad.	6,45	
demonstrate in	11,00	

# AMSTERDAM

13.10.62

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

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 718-27-177

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 J.C. ten Cate, Ds Krijn Strijd, Pather S. Jelma, Prof. Dr Emile V.W. Verduyze, Prof. Dr J. Presener, Prof. Dr de Graaf, and E.M. Buter.

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

#### C O N F E R E N C E A G E N D A

Saturday 10th November. 10.00 - 12.30 - Ideas and policies in face of the threat of war. Introduced by Prof. Dr Frits 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

Bericht d. WKI v. 23. 10. 62 s. bei WKI-V.

ED 718 - 27 - 178

DI COORDINAMENTO INTERNAZIONALE  
PER LA NONVIOLENZA  
191000 ALDO CAPITINI, PERUGIA, (Italia)

Perugia, 25th May, 1963.

31.5.63 V.

Klaus Vack,  
Waldstr. 99,  
605 Offenbach.

Dear Sir,

Dr. Heinz Kloppenburg has advised us to take contact with you, concerning the preparation of the International Seminar on the technics of Nonviolence to be held here in Perugia from 1st to 10th August 1963, as can be seen by the enclosed card.

And therefore we permit us to ask you if you can helps us, expecially in the following ways;

1. by giving all the publicity you can through individuals, groups, meetings and publications;
2. by indicating or sending reading material to be used before or during the Seminar;
3. by giving us suggestions on how to make the best on our efforts.

With many thanks and best wishes for your work.

Yours sincerely,

Aldo Capitini  
Pietro Pinna

*Aldo Capitini*  
*Pietro Pinna*

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

17.7.63 9.8.63 V.

SAMPLE COPY  
Sent by Request  
1 YEAR - 12 ISSUES - 52



# American Revolution...

This month marks ten years of CURE's fight to revitalize world federalism in the United States. We have perhaps been a useful irritant to United World Federalists in that time. We have made such a nuisance of ourselves that UWF's statement of policy now sounds almost as though CURE had written it. Until this year UWF's "minimizers" had adamantly opposed any world law beyond mere police powers; this year, the minimal formula disappeared from UWF's policy without a word of protest. So subject a surrender of the Clark-Sohn myth seems to justify our theme that it always was a phony idea. Another ten years may bring UWF's other literature, its study programs and lobbying in Congress into line with the aims which its policy statement now avows. Such changes within UWF, however reluctant, reflect the impact of CURE's reform.

ED 718-24-179

Statements of purposes notwithstanding, a world federalist movement in America will not realize its potential until it fills more of a role of protest and reform upon the American political scene than it does at present. Federalist leadership in America snatches gullibly at whatever tasty sops politicians offer: a disarmament agency, a test ban proposal, an optimistic speech by the White House. President Kennedy's language often sounds as though UWF had written it. But UWF should insist on implementation of the President's gestures toward world law by such steps as American pressure for a United Nations Charter review conference. If world federalists in the United States made as big a nuisance of themselves among America's political leadership as CURE does within UWF, the President couldn't get away with phony proposals and lip-service leadership. UWF has yet to learn that the impact of an idea is the collision of a revolutionary purpose with an entrenched lethargy.

The American nation was born in revolution. Its strength is the continuation of humanity's revolution against tyranny: the emergence of the republic in 1776, of democracy from 1812-1828, the industrial revolution which makes democracy possible in America as it will eventually even in Russia and China, the space revolution which today convulses a still-growing nation. Today the world talks as Americans talked in 1776. A ruler of the hoary Roman Catholic church, Pope John XXIII, publishes an encyclical on "Pacem in Terris" which reads as though Thomas Jefferson might have written it. And, in a sense, he did. The world's revolution today is America's revolution. Communists are the real Tories of the modern age: democratic peoples see the truer vision of freedom in a federal world, of a world community and a world federal government under law, of a life with liberty, equality and justice for all men. The greatest impact of the American revolution, too, still lies ahead.

# Pacifist Statement

"Thanks for the views of Lawrence Scott," writes H. V. Lofquist, 1411 Anderson Street, Wilson, North Carolina; "he speaks my mind." Mr. Scott's essay on pacifist action in our May issue was "excellent", thinks Douglas Beasley, 3832 Lassen Drive, Pittsburgh, California; "admirable", finds John D. Monro 10, Penare Road, Penzance, Cornwall, England; "brilliant", says Dr. J. David Singer, Mental Health Research Institute, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan - "one of those rare statements that widens the agenda and raises important but unfamiliar questions", he adds.

"Lawrence Scott's essay is an invaluable tool in my efforts to persuade peace groups to work for world government," declares Marjorie Barter, 9 Jackson Place, Moonachie, New Jersey; "I attended a War Resister's League conference and signed up 17 more to principles of world government." "The pacifist statement was most excellent and reasoned," believes William A. Wheeler, 360 Canterbury Road, Rochester, New York. "The problem of peace is so tremendous that most people are merely overwhelmed by it and prefer to ignore the possibilities," Mr. Wheeler declares further.

"Somehow I suspect that the moral and spiritual senses of Americans will not move against their economic logic. Only when pacifists (or Federalists) can supply an economic motivation for peace which matches the moral motivation will they become at all influential in an unbombed America," demurs Harvey Frauenglass, 2302 Candelaria NW, Albuquerque, New Mexico "how many of us are so bold or so foolish or so young as to turn to embrace an unknown and ever-so-foreign mystique while our tried-and-true little mistress lies so comfortingly on the bosom?" he asks reflectively.

"There will be neither a lead nor a movement nor law nor government if the most genuine American peace movement just limits itself to the moral and spiritual aspects: as always, peace has to be established not among yourselves, but between yourselves and your opponents," sagely observes Dr. Théodore C. Pontzen, 12, rue Dohis, (Paris) Vincennes, France; "just as present-day war is of a total character - which means that no area of human activities can be left out - present-day peace-striving is hopeless unless it is comprehensive. Making a difference between civil and uncivil disobedience hardly means more than to prefer a raincoat to an umbrella when it rains - the main problem being whether you have to go out at all, when you are going and why you can't stay at home to wait until the shower is over."

## Bulls' Wool

"The human race has been defending its various groupings and values since the beginning of time and looks very much like continuing to do so until the millenium. That the arms race will lead to war is pretty well accepted by most people so why reduce it to psychological bulls' wool?" indignantly inquires C. C. Titman, Chairman, Federalist Action for a Revolutionary International Constituent Assembly ("FARICA"), P.O. Box 2444,

Auckland 01, New Zealand. "The fact that would escape most pacifists because they don't talk world federalism outside of Federalist meetings is that the public will vote for us on every occasion that they have the opportunity of doing so, and the issues are put up to them reasonably clearly and concisely.

"We don't own 'our mass media' so we have little chance of dictating what they will or will not publish. But to the degree that we can influence their content shall we do this along the 'getting to know each other' lines that have been the stock in trade of the pacifists since Christ was a boy or should we present the case for world federal government?" continues New Zealander Clark Titman. "If non-violence produces peace and can do so on a world level, then that is the answer but in that case we should all become pacifists. The pacifist is an adherent of an attitude to violence that has spread through the Christian world so rapidly that whereas two thousand years ago practically no one was a pacifist now a whole one per cent of the population have flocked to their banner. If this phenomenal growth continues, we have only fifty thousand years to wait for peace. Most pacifists are intelligent enough to know they haven't got that long among the living, so they content themselves with 'raising the standard', 'pointing the way', or in one way or another glorying in the fact that they are fifty thousand years ahead of the rest of the human race. Voices in the wilderness get to like it after a time but this sickness is not catching.

ED 748-27-180

"It may be true that some change in human nature is required before pacifism becomes practical politics - but that is the pacifists' problem and shouldn't be made ours. The Federalist cause is not some far-out esoteric cult, and those who through force of habit treat it as such and give others the impression that it is are greater enemies of our cause than any of the straw men like the Birchers we worry so much about," he winds up. "There is no more intrinsic worth in non-conformity than there is in conformity and probably less."

## Ban the Ban

Discouraged with the difficulty of progress toward world law, United World Federalists have turned increasingly to ideas which are indistinguishable from pacifism, such as support of a nuclear test ban treaty or the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Some of us see these as valid commitments: a test ban "is the one striking approach," maintains Merwin W. Humphrey, 352 East Irvin Avenue, State College, Pennsylvania, "to arouse man to rethink the historic acceptance of a national right to wage war."

Eleanor Greenwald, 212 Thornridge Drive, Levittown, Pennsylvania, thinks that a test ban treaty "is of major importance as signalling a shift from military dominance at all costs to co-existence." And she adds, "it deserves as much support as it can get." A test ban treaty underscores "the urgency of getting East and West together on so vital a matter," concurs Tracy D. Mygatt, RFD 1, Brewster, New York. Such proposals are "strategic in our political climate," notes Donald E. Twitchell,

7872 Brookside Drive, Cleveland 38, Ohio. Douglas Ireland, RFD 1, Boot Pond Road, Plymouth, Massachusetts, believes that "as a means of securing a measure of tension-reduction, a test-ban is essential, since both the Soviets and ourselves have attached great importance (at least this is the felt psychological effect) to a ban."

Others emphasize the exemplary influence of a test treaty. It "could act as a sort of 'bilateral' initiative by Russia and our country to lessen world tension," mentions Morris R. Manning, 1901 Forest Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa. Professor Quincy Wright, 232 Cabell Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, comments that "the problem is to create an atmosphere in which a test ban, disarmament, and improvements in the UN can be effected."

Some of us would accept this goal with a conditional basis: "as a short term, ad hoc commitment," says Mac Swengel, 501 West Nevada, Urbana, Illinois, "if this does not take us from our prime goals," notes Father Joseph Dooley, 4217 Central Avenue, Indianapolis 5, Indiana, and Harrison G. Dyer, General Delivery, Union City, New Jersey, will go along on a test ban program "plus the other activities toward world peace."



'No—You May NOT Smell My Breath.  
I Belong To A Bomb Anonymous'

Three-fifths of the participants in CURE's discussions, however, disapprove of a major commitment of United World Federalists to a campaign for a nuclear test ban treaty, perhaps agreeing with Jay V. Groves, 130 Barbour, Buckhannon, West Virginia, that it would prove "unprofitable". "Why should the UWF confine itself to one path into the maze of blind alleys?" demands Jeanne Bradford, 3963 West Seventh St., #10, Los Angeles 5, California; "if there is a path that leads through anarchy, the chance of reaching it is greatly enhanced by using many entrances, many choices, many possibilities." "It is hard for me to become enthusiastic about any campaign centered on obtaining a test ban treaty," confesses Philip Isely, 8600 West Colfax Avenue, Denver 15, Colorado, who as

Executive Director of the World Committee for a World Constitutional Convention spearheads one of the principal alternative possibilities himself. "Already we have enough nuclear weapons stockpiled and poised on missiles ready to destroy the people of the world over and over again several times, and so we have the new term 'overkill'," he protests. "Campaigns for a test ban treaty are about 10 or 20 years out of date." And he asks, "what is dwelling in the past a sign of?"

ED 718-27-181

"I find the present UWF accent on a test ban treaty and disarmament completely unworthy of any serious effort," accuses Louis E. Dailey, 46 Sagamore Road, Maplewood, New Jersey. "UWF is now being 'used' as a political arm by SANE, AAUN and other disarmament and peace groups. Its former unique image as the only national organization seeking to establish a world government with adequate powers to give justice and maintain law and order has been blurred beyond recognition. There is a great need for a world government organization in the U.S. and UWF now is failing to meet this need."

## Thunder on the Right

Only about two-fifths of CURE's conferees feel that the advocacy of such steps toward disarmament as a test ban treaty prior to establishment of a world federal government will make both pacifists and Federalists dangerously vulnerable to charges of Communist appeasement by groups of the radical right. But four-fifths of CUREspondents expect a growing political influence of opposition by radical right groups to proposals of disarmament during the present period of world insecurity (see Freedom in a Federal World, Chapter 2), while only one out of five among our readership believes that radical right politics are so ludicrous as to collapse of their own weight.

"I don't see human nature functioning like that," comments H. V. Lofquist; "we must be a live counter-force." If rightist politics should collapse, it may be "later rather than sooner," thinks George G. Holt, Woodstock, Connecticut. And Professor Everett Refier, 205 North Fremont Street, Whitewater, Wisconsin, points out that "there are too many gullible people." "If this be an indictment of democracy, so be it," says Professor George W. Thumm, Department of Government, Bates College, Lewiston, Me.

"In 1936 I spoke with several Germans in Germany, who assured me that the Nazi doctrines were so ludicrous that they would soon collapse of their own weight," remarks Alfredo Rodrigues Brent, Bredaan 112, Bergen, Nordholland, Netherlands. "As next-door neighbours to the German Reich, the over-fifty Dutchmen have eyewitnessed how weird absurdities and self-contradictory conclusions on principles of democracy could gradually spread, in the course of only seven years, over the majority of the German people. Consider that, at the time, the late twenties and early thirties, the German people were among the best educated in the world." Sarah Hill Moore, P.O. Box 871, Fayetteville, North Carolina, backs him up: "the social and political climate that developed as a response to Senator Joseph McCarthy shocked me into realizing that there are no politics too ludicrous to attract a following."

# Policy Study Program

The menace of the radical right is part of a larger threat of nationalism whose hidden springs are suicidal in nature. In this situation world federalists are highly vulnerable to being betrayed by any dishonesties which may exist in their thinking, or lack of thinking. "I deplore the perennial re-election of the same old people to the UWF National Council - some of them very stuffy," Mrs. James Tracy, 108 Laurel, Muscatine, Iowa, tells us bluntly. "The Council needs some new young blood - and ideas," she adds.

"World federalists are always going out on the limbs of the tree of world federal government before they have a trunk to attach them to," comments Floyd J. Moeckly, 1718 45th Street, Des Moines, Iowa. According to James A. MacLachlan, 198 McAllister Street, San Francisco, California, "the ineptitude rests in failure to put first things first." "Let us say what we believe is the only thing that will save mankind," pleads Dr. Don Frank Fenn, 4431 Wickford Road, Baltimore 10, Maryland, who in a recent sermon asserted that world federalist goals are "the only possible objectives on a world level of people who profess to believe the basic facts of the Christian religion."

More than a score of CURE's conferees will ask their UWF Chapter or Branch representatives on UWF's Executive Council to support the plan by Chicago Area Council (enclosed with June's ONE WORLD) for an effective Policy Study Program. Others among us hail the unexpected fruit of the Chicago Council initiative in switching last year's policy program to study of the UWF statement of policy itself. "Oh, if there could have been agreement on that Boston formula a dozen years ago," sighs Dr. Vernon Nash, 601 Litchfield Lane, Santa Barbara, California. "Whatever some fancy liars said then, it was the minimalists who forced me out," he recollects of the incredible blunders which Federalist leadership committed in that era.

But the world federalist forces have a backlog of loyalty. "I am committed whole-heartedly to UWF objectives and methods of reaching them," writes George Mellor of Solebury, Pennsylvania: "UWF takes absolute preference over all the many worthwhile 'causes' in the world," he declares. UWF's leadership "are not exactly to blame for all the world's ills, you know," admonishes Philip Peingold, 2332 S. W. Kanan, Portland, Oregon. "I've noticed that almost all other worthwhile peace groups gravitate to the Federalists in time," he comments. "The Federalists are the ones with the best long range goals."

## United Front

The success of a united front of peace groups depends much on how it's done. "I think efforts to 'unify' peace sects, like efforts to unify religious sects are not only silly but even mischievous. In propaganda it is better to have variety than to have uniformity," advises Jennie M. (Mrs. Glenn P.) Turner, 5738 Roosevelt Street, Middleton, Wisconsin. "But the bringing together locally of all organizations interested fun-

damentally in peace in a "Peace Center" such as we have in the city of Madison is a very fine thing. They have rented an old store room in the University district, and each organization has its own section and exhibits - mainly literature (World Federalists, Quakers, Esperantists, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, etc.). Students and others come in and browse and talk with representatives of these groups; and these representatives talk with each other. This would be an excellent place to start a discussion group on a constitution for the UN. My husband and I hope to do it." ED 718-27-182

"A co-ordination of activities for peace in some such form as a 'League Against War' is to be seriously considered now," urges Le-Linh, 293 (lau), Dai-lo Hong-Bang, Cholon, South Vietnam, backed by two-thirds of our conferees (ONE WORLD, August to October, 1961, and June, 1963). Dr. Théodore C. Pontzen remarks that "leagues 'against' anything have proved to be effective in the public mind; but they do not lead to constructive thinking and acting. 'Leagues 'for' something suffer from the disagreement amongst promoters about what exactly they stand for. (UWF is an example!) 'Co-ordination' is treacherous: everybody wishes to become everybody else's co-ordinator."

## Appraising our Decade

The product of CURE's discussions appears in periodic revisions of our book. By this test our debates are rewarding: Freedom in a Federal World is "well written, illuminating and perceptive"; comments Robert L. Nicholson, Professor of History, Chicago Undergraduate Division, University of Illinois, Chicago 11, Illinois. Horrall Harrington, 822 61st Street, LaGrange, Illinois, past Chairman of Southwest Suburban Chapter of United World Federalists, judges it "scholarly without being pedantic".

"It is a reference book of value, and we should be grateful," concurs Ruth P. Schmiedekamp, Apt. 304, Hotel Newcomb, Quincy, Illinois, while Elizabeth H. Fetter, 323 South 21st Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania, publicitor for the UWF Philadelphia Area Council, calls it "quite a book. I like your 'let's look it straight in the face' approach." "Your book is going to be put to the best use possible," assures Lorre Dille, 1631 Ridgewood Lane, Glenview, Illinois, an eighth grade pupil at North Shore Country Day School in Winnetka: "it will greatly help me write many essays and also give me a better understanding of the world's peace problems."

"I found also very interesting that you gave much opinions of CURE members, and that you did it in such an objective way," reports engineer Martin W. Polak, Wilhelmaweg 10, Wageningen, Netherlands. "When reading some of the opinions I (though I am a member of the Humanist Union) thought of a Word of the Bible: 'It is revealed to the children'." "Have you been in touch with anyone willing to translate this book into other languages and especially into French?" asks Maurice R. Cosyn, Secretary General of Union Fédérale, 14 rue aux Laines, Brussels 1, Belgium; "comparing with what has been written in Anglo-Saxon countries about world unity and world federation, there is really a lack of similar literature in French, German and Italian."

# ONE WORLD

A Forum of Federalist Opinion

Published by an Illinois non-profit corporation for Conference Upon Research and Education in world government, 4030 Irving Park Road, Chicago 41, Illinois. Telephone SPring 7-4030

Everett L. Millard, Editor

Vol. 10, No. 12 July, 1963

## Notes

THE INTER-UNIVERSITY SURVEY ON WORLD LAW, sponsored by 28-man committee of CURE's professors, has circulated a questionnaire to 850 political scientists on the jurisdictions of world law . . . ONE WORLD ISSUE on survey coming in fall. . . GEORGE HOLT SUGGESTED a Tennyson-Beethoven hymn (enclosed in June) at the Boston UWF Assembly, now urges its formal Federalist adoption . . . CAMPAIGN FOR A WORLD CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY seeks a full time paid secretary. . . CURE'S DEFICIT April-June \$844.58

## Quotes

"WHY SHOULD WE try to become saints, when all we need to do is stop being fools?" - Jeanne Millard Bradford. . . "THANK YOU for all you give this world federalist co-labourer" - Terji Disington, Hamnerstadtagatte 46, Oslo 3, Norway . . . "I HAVEN'T DONE much yet, but I'm still young" - John P. Koch, 1460 North Sandburg Terrace, Chicago 10, Illinois

## Notes

RADICAL RIGHT POLITICS aren't so ludicrous as to collapse of their own weight, 81%. . . A GROWING POLITICAL INFLUENCE of radical right opposition to disarmament proposals is to be expected during present period of insecurity, 77%. . . TEST BAN AND DISARMAMENT aims of pacifists and Federalists aren't dangerously vulnerable to radical right charges of Communist appeasement, 56%



Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
Mozartstrasse 34  
Detmold, Germany

605 Offenburg

Waldring 93

Form 3547 Requested  
4030 Irving Park Road, Chicago 41, Illinois

CURE

YOUR OPINION, PLEASE!

ONE WORLD / VII / 1963 9, 8, 63 ✓

YES NO

- ( ) ( ) President Kennedy, in speeches at American University and subsequently, has offered a veiled invitation to Russia to join with the United States in an anti-China alliance. Do you fear that such a "deal" might include a tacit American agreement not to press for a conference to strengthen the UN Charter?
- ( ) ( ) In your opinion, would an American-Russian alliance be able to withstand the strain of events, for instance in case of a Chinese threat of atomic attack upon Formosa, which might bring an American demand for USSR help?
- ( ) ( ) Do you believe that world federalists in the United States should oppose Kennedy's "trial balloon" which contemplates security in such alliances perhaps at the expense of essential steps to world law such as UN Charter review?
- ( ) ( ) Might popular repugnance toward such a USSR-American military alliance provide a useful springboard for world federalists to present their proposals for world law in terms which would seem patriotic and persuasive to public opinion in the United States?

\* \* \* \* \*

- ( ) ( ) During the past ten years, the Conference Upon Research and Education in world government has conducted a study and reform activity within the world federalist movement. Do you believe that CURE's usefulness is sufficient so that you will wish to contribute by discussion and funds in support of ONE WORLD's future debates?
- ( ) ( ) Would a tax-deductible way to support ONE WORLD debates enable you to increase your contribution of funds in support of ONE WORLD's activities?

NOTES - COMMENTS - QUESTIONS - NAMES OF OTHERS INTERESTED:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_



**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**  
 FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 33161 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

SUBSCRIPTION to "One World" is \$2.00 for twelve issues, or one year.

Enclosed \$ \_\_\_\_\_

CONTRIBUTIONS are welcome to help meet costs of CURE.

Enclosed \$ \_\_\_\_\_

ALTERNATIVELY, you will receive a subscription if you contribute your views by reply questionnaire, letter or an 800-word essay.

**CURE**

4030 West Irving Park Road  
 Chicago 41, Illinois  
 U. S. A.



**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

**CHANGE OF ADDRESS**  
 If the address to which this mailing came is PERMANENTLY changed, please show change at the bottom of questionnaire form on other side and mark prominently "New Address".

**TO MAIL**—first fold in sides, then fold up bottom section and seal. Your remittance or additional sheets may be safely enclosed.

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

# Our Personal Invitation

DEAR Member of CURE:

PLEASE ACCEPT OUR INVITATION FOR YOU TO JOIN US IN A PREPARATORY CONGRESS FOR A WORLD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. THE PREPARATORY CONGRESS WILL BE HELD FROM SEPTEMBER 3 TO 8, 1963, AT DENVER, COLORADO, U. S. A.

WE SHALL ATTEND THIS CONGRESS BECAUSE WE WANT THE ORGANIZATION OF A WORLD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION TO GO FORWARD WITHOUT DELAY — AS ONE WAY TO PROMOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL WORLD GOVERNMENT, TO PREVENT WAR AND SERVE THE NEEDS OF HUMANITY.

AT THE PREPARATORY CONGRESS, WE WANT YOU TO APPEAR WITH US ON THE PLATFORM TO PUBLICLY ANNOUNCE THAT WE ARE JOINTLY TAKING THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ISSUING THE CALL TO CONVENE THE WORLD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

ENCLOSED IS A COPY OF THE CALL, TO BE PUBLICLY ISSUED AT THE CONGRESS. ALSO ENCLOSED IS A PROGRAM OUTLINE FOR THE CONGRESS, AND A REPLY SHEET.

WE URGE YOU TO SIGN THE CALL AND RETURN IT WITH THE REPLY SHEET, GIVING US THE ASSURANCE THAT YOU WILL COME TO DENVER TO HELP BEGIN THE WORLD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. IN ANY EVENT PLEASE SIGN THE CALL. 1963 MUST BE A YEAR OF CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION TO AVERT DISASTER FOR THE HUMAN RACE.

*Elisabeth Belgirum*

QUEEN ELISABETH (BELGIUM)  
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

*Boyd Orr*

LORD BOYD ORR (GREAT BRITAIN)  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

*Josue de Castro*

PROF. JOSUE DE CASTRO (BRAZIL)  
AMBASSADOR, FORMER M. P.

*Henri Laugier*

DR. HENRI LAUGIER (FRANCE)  
FORMER ASS'T SEC'Y GENERAL OF U. N.

*Bertrand Russell*

LORD BERTRAND RUSSELL (GREAT BRITAIN)  
ELDER STATESMAN

*Shinzo Hamai*

SHINZO HAMAI (JAPAN)  
MAYOR OF HIROSHIMA

*A. H. Jaffer*

AHMED E. H. JAEFFER (PAKISTAN)  
BUSINESSMAN, FORMER M. P.

*M. Govinda Reddy*

M. GOVINDA REDDY (INDIA)  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

*W. H. Ferry*

W. H. FERRY (U. S. A.)  
V. PRES. OF FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

*Mary Tibaldi Chiesa*

DR. MARY TIBALDI CHIESA (ITALY)  
AUTHOR, FORMER M. P.

*Elmore Philpott*

ELMORE PHILPOTT (CANADA)  
JOURNALIST, FORMER M. P.

*Martin Luther King, Jr.*

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. (U. S. A.)  
INTEGRATION LEADER

*Hakim Mohammed Anson*

HAKIM MOHAMMED ANSON (PAKISTAN)  
FORMER MAYOR OF KARACHI

*Richard Andriamanjato*

RICHARD ANDRIAMANJATO (MALAGASY REPUBLIC)  
MAYOR OF TANANARIVE, M. P.

*Heinz Kloppenburg*

DR. HEINZ KLOPPENBURG (GERMANY)  
CO-PRES. EUROPE FED. AGAINST NUCLEAR ARMS

*N.J.C.M. Kappeyne van de Coppello*

N.J.C.M. KAPPEYNE VAN DE COPPELLO (NETH.)  
LAWYER

*B. N. O. Addison*

B. N. O. ADDISON (GHANA)  
CHAIRMAN OF ACCRA CITY COUNCL

*Edward J. Sparling*

DR. EDWARD J. SPARLING (U. S. A.)  
PRESIDENT OF ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

*Jose Figueres*

DR. JOSE FIGUERES (COSTA RICA)  
EX-PRESIDENT, FARMER

*Lord Gilkin*

LORD GILKIN, P. C. (GREAT BRITAIN)  
PRES. OF WORLD PARLIAMENT ASSOCIATION

# A Call To All Peoples And All National Governments Of The Earth

TODAY, THE PEOPLE OF EARTH FIND THEMSELVES LIVING UNDER CONDITIONS WHEREIN A CRISIS MIGHT DEVELOP ANY WEEK IN SOME PART OF THE WORLD, WHICH WOULD THREATEN THE EXISTENCE OF ALL MANKIND.

Independent national governments, pressing their competing interests, have been unable to agree upon disarmament. Repeatedly they endanger the safety of their own citizens and everyone else by testing and threatening to use modern weapons of mass destruction.

Even if one crisis passes, there are endless possibilities for potentially fatal crises, unless a new way to handle world problems is devised. Life cannot go on like this: a breaking point could come at any time, and then destruction.

The organization of the nations for war also prevents good use of the world's technology and resources for the benefit of man. If the advanced nations should destroy themselves, even if people survive in some less developed countries, all hopes for a better life will be gone for generations to come.

To us, it is clear the point has been reached in the evolution of human society where the rule of law must be established at the world level, to replace international anarchy which threatens our daily lives. Under world law, disarmament will be possible.

But what does world law mean? It is simply common sense to recognize that world law, if it is to be democratic and just, requires a representative world legislature to make the law, an executive with power to enforce the law, and courts to which any international dispute must be submitted. This means a federal world government. Nothing less can provide the kind of world law under which free men will be happy and safe.

It is also common sense to recognize that a starting point for democratic world government is the drafting of its constitution—to define what powers shall be given to the world government, what powers shall be kept by national governments, and to reach agreement on all other aspects of the world government.

Until a federal world government can be established, we support maximum use of the facilities of the United Nations and the World Court, together with the specialized agencies; and would favor the transfer of all weapons of mass destruction to a United Nations command.

However, in order to prepare the constitution for a world government able to make and enforce world law, we believe it is desirable to convene a separate world constitutional convention, with delegates invited from the people and national governments of every country. This method allows the United Nations to continue its usual functions without disruption by debate over amendments to the Charter, subject to veto at every point, and at the same time permits the constitutional convention to go forward freely in response to the urgent needs of mankind.

Please return signed Calls to:

**WORLD COMMITTEE FOR A  
WORLD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION**  
8600 West Colfax Avenue  
Denver 15, Colorado, U. S. A.

I am interested in attending the Preparatory Congress. Please send full information.

THEREFORE, IN ORDER TO SECURE THE SAFETY AND WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE OF EARTH, WE DO HEREBY JOIN IN ISSUING THIS CALL FOR A WORLD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, TO CONVENE WITHIN 90 DAYS AFTER 100 DELEGATES FROM 30 COUNTRIES AND 5 CONTINENTS, INCLUDING DELEGATES FROM AT LEAST 10 NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN DECLARED.

The purposes of the Convention shall be to draft the constitution for a federal world government, limited in its jurisdiction to problems which transcend national boundaries, but with powers adequate to secure peace and serve the needs of mankind; then to submit the constitution for ratification by the governments and people of all countries, and to take whatever steps may be deemed necessary to establish a world federal government.

We request each national government or legislature to send at least two delegates to the Convention, with an additional delegate allowed for each 10 million population beyond the first 10 million population, but with a maximum permitted of 11 delegates; and to pay the expenses of its delegation.

We also request the people of each country, by any appropriate means, to send at least three delegates to the Convention, with one additional delegate allowed for each 7 million of population beyond the first 10 million population, but with a maximum permitted of 17 delegates; provided, however, that each peoples' delegate must show proof that at least 25,000 persons have cast votes or signed petitions in support of that particular delegate, with those showing the most number of votes or petitions to be accredited in cases of competition.

The delegates of national governments and legislatures shall compose one house of the Convention, and the delegates of the people shall compose another house, meeting concurrently and with provision for joint sessions.

In addition, we direct the World Committee for a World Constitutional Convention to select up to 200 qualified persons from any part of the world, but no more than one-fourth of the total from any one continent, to compose an advisory body at the Convention, which can originate proposals for submission to the two houses and give opinions on matters submitted to it.

We also direct the World Committee to supervise all necessary arrangements for the Convention, to provide for the examination and verification of the credentials of peoples' delegates, to declare when the quorum requirements have been met, and to fix the exact calendar date and location for the Convention.

In view of the dangers of war and the needs of mankind, we urge the national governments and the people of all countries to act promptly upon this Call, and to publicly announce their intention to send delegates.

Signature ..... Name .....  
(please print)

Address .....  
City ..... State ..... Country .....

Occupation or identification .....  
Enclosed is a contribution of \$..... Please send me ..... copies of the Call to circulate for additional signatures.

# INFORMATION

4.64  
22.5.64 V.

OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMITTEE OF DEFENDERS OF PEACE

## FOR A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF OUR COMMON STRUGGLE

One of the main conditions for a successful outcome of our common struggle for peace and complete national independence for all nations of the world is the unity and close co-operation of all anti-imperialist forces. Consequently, any attempt to weaken this unity and co-operation - even though motivated by the most "revolutionary" spirit - plays objectively into the hands of imperialism and weakens our struggle.

Although this fact seems self-evident, it is unfortunately necessary to discuss it. The danger exists, in view of the crude attacks of the Chinese leaders and their endeavour to undermine the world peace movement. They want to impose quite a different policy on the movement and to revise its aims, which they once approved.

• It will not, perhaps, be out of place to recall that precisely 15 years ago, in April 1949, the world peace movement endorsed its first Manifesto against war. In this declaration, its signatories came out unanimously against the "crushing burden of military expenditure" and supported the struggle for national independence and for peaceful co-operation among all nations. The need to achieve complete disarmament and to step up the fight for peace was also discussed at all subsequent meetings, also attended by delegates of the Chinese Peace Committee.

Now, the Chinese leaders fly in the face of the facts and assert that disarmament is an illusion, that the fight for peace has to be given up and must be replaced by the fight against imperialism. They maintain, not merely that

armed struggle may be necessary, but that it is inevitable and must be emphasized. The main attack, especially of late, has been concentrated against "overestimating" the danger of nuclear weapons which are said to be merely a "paper tiger", and against the Moscow treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. We will, therefore, examine more closely these two assertions which, by the way, are mutually exclusive.

The atomic bombing of Hiroshima has been described already in many works. In that city, there is a Museum displaying authentic, utterly horrifying material about the effects of the bomb, which annihilated nearly 250,000 people. By present-day standards, this was an "extremely small" bomb - equivalent to a mere 0,015 megatons of TNT. We know that today's bombs are equivalent to 25, 50 and even 100 megatons of TNT, and their destructive effect is beyond imagination. Even Mao-tse-tung himself declared that nuclear war could mean death for half of mankind.

This naturally poses the question: can such a catastrophe be brought about by a "paper-tiger"? As far as we can see, this theory of the Chinese is refuted not only by responsible leaders of the Chinese People's Republic themselves, but by all serious scientists and rational people, who are aware of the immense danger facing mankind due to the existence of nuclear weapons.

For the sake of argument, let us suppose that nuclear weapons are merely a "paper-tiger". Why, then, do the Chinese leaders attack the Moscow partial nuclear test ban agreement in such an unbridled fashion? If, as they say, nuclear bombs are paper tigers, such great importance need not be attached to them.

In practice, however, we see quite the opposite. The Chinese leaders call this treaty, welcomed by the overwhelming majority of mankind, a fraud perpetrated against mankind, and which "legalizes" underground tests. In addition,

tion, the treaty is said to distract the vigilance of the nations and to play into the hands of imperialism.

It should be stressed that, if there is anything which the Moscow treaty legalizes, it is - first and foremost - efforts to find ways towards disarmament and total prohibition of all nuclear tests. This emerges clearly from the Preamble to the treaty where its signatories proclaim "as their principal aim the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control ... which would put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons".

This necessarily raises the question: is not precisely this the main reason for the frantic attacks being made by the Chinese leaders on the Moscow treaty? We should like to recall, in this connection, the following statement made by Kuo-mo-jo, Chairman of the Chinese Peace Committee, at a meeting in Peking on July 26, 1963: "There is no new technology which remains inaccessible and which can for long be monopolized by a small number of people and countries. The nuclear monopoly of the United States of America has practically come to an end. It will not be long before the attempts of a small number of countries to rule the destinies of the nations of the whole world through monopoly of nuclear weapons will be thwarted".

This quotation, together with the Chinese leaders' actions, make it quite clear that they do not consider their main task to be the fight for disarmament and for abolishing nuclear weapons, but rather to obtain nuclear weapons. One need not have too much imagination to realize, that, if the Chinese People's Republic had nuclear weapons, who could prevent, let us say, Japan, the German Federal Republic and other countries from also embarking on the production of nuclear weapons? Would such an increased

number of nuclear powers make the world more secure and strengthen peace? Rather the opposite!

It follows that the Chinese leaders' plans are directly at variance with the aims of the world movement of defenders of peace. A conflict with these views, which constitute a direct negation of the peace movement and reflect contempt of all real defenders of peace, was therefore inevitable.

Czechoslovak defenders of peace most resolutely oppose the attempts of the Chinese leaders to impose their own, highly dangerous policy on the peace movement. We refuse to replace joint, noble efforts to preserve life from nuclear death by subservience to the great power interests of the Chinese leaders.

Efforts to disrupt the unity and co-operation of the forces fighting against imperialism and nuclear war play objectively into the hands of militarist, aggressive forces. The actions of the Chinese leaders greatly help the enemies of peace and the freedom of nations - the American, French, British and other imperialists. It is therefore impossible to remain silent in face of the attempts by the Chinese leaders to break up the unity of the forces of peace and progress. Consequently, these forces must draw even closer together and jointly fight even more actively for a happy, peaceful future, for the progress of all nations.

Jaroslav K n o b l o c h

## II.

ACTIVITIES HARMFUL TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The Chinese leadership very quickly carried the ideological dispute also into relations between states, into international organizations, and, last but not least, also into the national struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. In an obvious effort to subordinate the liberation movement in the Asian, African and Latin American nations and to use it for their own special political ends, the Chinese leaders are extremely active in these parts of the world.

Unfortunately, however, this activity is not so much directed against imperialism, against the real enemies of the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America, as against the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the Communist Parties, the peace movement and against all those who do not want to share the adventurous policy of the Chinese leadership.

Lately, starting with last year's Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity at Moshi /Tanganyika/, the Chinese leaders launched their attack in the solidarity movement of Afro-Asian countries. They tried to get the Soviet Union expelled from that movement, to sever its links with its natural, powerful ally - the socialist countries, and to subordinate the movement to their own aims and needs. Things have already got to the point where, at the Algiers meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council, the head of the Chinese delegation did practically nothing but indulge in anti-Soviet attacks and did not submit a single positive proposal.

apart from motions to endorse general resolutions. The Chinese representatives hinder every activity and paralyze meetings and conferences of this movement by engaging in polemics, and make the holding of meetings of this movement in the Soviet Union and participation of representatives of the socialist countries impossible. They have their own criteria for recognizing representatives of individual countries and are in the habit of taking along with them to meetings people who live in Peking and have very slight contact with the movement in their own countries, but who, with Chinese support, try to usurp the right to speak on behalf of their countries.

All this, naturally, paralyzes the work of the solidarity movement which the Chinese leaders increasingly regard as of little significance in the fight against imperialism and which they increasingly consider merely as an arena for polemics and for advocating their special nationalist aims.

Although the Moscow partial nuclear test ban agreement was ratified by nearly every country of Asia and Africa, the Chinese leaders use every possible means to fight against this treaty. In Algiers, they could merely wish that the nations would eventually "see through" this "fraud", as their theses met with no response and they remained lamentably isolated. It undoubtedly reflects at least lack of tact if they oppose the nuclear test ban treaty in Algeria, on whose territory nuclear explosions have been carried out and whose Government is a signatory to the Moscow agreement.

The same also applies to problems connected with the fight for disarmament. Simple reflection leads everybody clearly to understand that disarmament would be most beneficial for the nations of Asia and Africa. It would deprive them of the need to expend large sums of money on armaments and armies and would also emancipate them from armed threat by the imperialists. It is hard to understand why the Chi-

ness leaders wage such a frantic campaign also against disarmament, while at the same time asserting that they defend the interests of the African and Asian nations. Nobody has ever demanded, in connection with the disarmament talks, that the fighters for national liberation should throw away their weapons. But would not disarmament of the capitalist powers be of help to them ?

Armed struggle for national liberation is, very often, the only way to force the imperialists and colonialists to retreat. But this does not mean that the peoples reject other, non-military forms of struggle. The form the struggle takes depends on the resistance put up by the colonialists. Disarmament would weaken the power of colonialists to put up such a resistance and would reduce the imperialist threat to independent countries. It should certainly be one of the special aims of the Chinese leaders to promote such a development. Unfortunately, the Chinese leaders have recently used weapons and armies not against foreign colonies in Hongkong and Macao, which are undoubtedly part of Chinese territory, but against India, a country which pursues a policy of neutrality. Once more, Chinese national interests are exalted above all other interests and needs, even at the price of splitting one of the most influential movements of our time - the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movement of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The fact that China herself has territories and border disputes with her neighbours, evidently explains why the Chinese oppose the proposal to conclude a treaty on the peaceful settlement of territorial and border disputes. This proposal has been welcomed by many African and Asian countries. The settlement of the Algerian-Moroccan dispute, of the Ethiopian-Somali dispute and others is also in harmony with its spirit. Why do the Chinese leaders - who speak of the need for peaceful solutions and who assure the

world that "one day" the Sino-Indian dispute, too, will be settled in a peaceful way - refuse to commit themselves to peaceful settlement in the form of an international treaty? Once more, this is because they are endeavouring to impose their own selfish interests.

In this connection, it is distressing that even racialist arguments are being used. It is quite natural that, in the past, Asian and African nations frequently identified all white men with the colonialists. But they have long ago realized that their allies are not only the socialist countries but also the working class and progressive forces in the imperialist countries. Just how low has the Chinese leadership sunk when it takes over the arguments of the darkest forces and tries to draw a dividing line on the basis of the colour of the skin!

Incidentally, in the Chinese view, the movement of the Asian and African countries is not revolutionary enough. However, in the course of their State visits and diplomatic talks in Asia and Africa, the Chinese representatives display a remarkable opportunism. They agree with, and, by words, support the views of the representatives of these countries. At the same time, however, they are unable to see anything but armed struggle, they consider economic construction as something of minor importance, and in their eyes the revolutionary attitude boils down to the use of arms, which they demand carelessly and without any analysis of the real situation as the only method for solving everything. Naturally, it is not a question whether arms should or should not be used. Nations for themselves must decide what form of anti-imperialist struggle they will choose according to their situation, and it is the duty of other anti-imperialist forces to assist them, and not to prescribe what they ought to do.

What is the use of pious statements and assurances if, in practice, the policy of Chinese representatives in the movement of Asian and African nations is subordinate to but one aim: to an effort to divert these countries from co-

operation with the socialist countries and with the forces of peace and progress in the world, and to turn them into a basis and an instrument for achieving their political aims. What is the use of good and peace-loving assurances, if they oppose peaceful co-existence, disarmament, and a treaty on peaceful settlement of border conflicts ?

It need not be stressed that this policy is damaging the Afro-Asian solidarity movement in many respects. It paralyzes its activities, artificially creates antagonisms, endeavours to lead it into dangerous paths, to set one group of countries against another, to impose its policy on the movement and thus, objectively, to weaken its effectiveness and to damage the struggle of the Asian and African nations. At the same time, it ignores and tolerates the activities of British, French, West German and other imperialists and neo-colonialists to such an extent, that the Chinese press did not even mention, let alone protest against French intervention in Gabon. These activities can only weaken the broad liberation movement for the eradication of colonialism and all its consequences, weaken this important force of peace and anti-imperialism. It need not be emphasized whom this will serve.

Jaromír Svamberk

+ + + + +

+ + +

+

### III.

#### FOR A CORRECT POLICY OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT, FOR THE CO-OPERATION AND UNITY OF ALL PEACE FORCES

---

Now, that there are sufficient nuclear weapons and missiles stockpiled to annihilate all mankind, the fight for peace long ago ceased to be mere wishful thinking and has become a really active fight to win demands which will pave the way to a world without arms and without wars. In this situation, when lasting peace ceases to be a generalized, abstract idea, a great deal depends on what tasks the peace-loving forces set themselves, what policy they decide to pursue in their activities, to what extent they co-operate in achieving their aim, how broad and united the peace movement is. A correct policy is the pre-requisite for broad co-operation and for growth and vigour in the individual sections of the peace movement while - at the same time - their comprehensiveness, co-operation and unity are pre-requisites for implementing that policy.

The greatest part of the peace movement today - in the broadest sense of the word - is agreed that its basic policy should be the fight against the danger of thermonuclear war, the struggle for general and complete disarmament, for peaceful co-existence in a world without arms and without wars. There is also agreement that this aim must be achieved step by step, and that the achievement of such gradual measures requires the broadest co-operation of all sections of the world peace movement and of all peace forces in the world. This policy is pursued not only by the peace movement affiliated to the World Council of Peace, but also in the general peace movement, which has a basis even broader than the

Moscow World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace of 1962. The policy of the core of the movement, closely associated with the World Council of Peace, has recently again been defined, especially at last year's meeting of the World Council of Peace at Warsaw. Briefly, it may be characterized as a policy leading to a world without arms and without wars by gradual stages, in the spirit of the Moscow partial nuclear test ban agreement. At the same time, it is a policy of broad co-operation, uniting the most diverse sections of the peace movement and all peace forces throughout the world in positive action, a policy which makes it possible to link general, common aims with demands of a regional or local character, and with special demands of individual sections of the peace movement. It may be noted that this policy is closely related to the programme and the demands of many other peace and democratic movements and organizations, as well as to the programmes of organizations like the Organization of Afro-Asian Solidarity.

It is common knowledge that, at the Warsaw session of the World Council of Peace, it was necessary to defend this policy against an attempt to force the peace movement to accept a different policy, one in direct contradiction to all the past principles of this movement. This attempt was made by representatives of the Chinese Peace Committee. Their policy is based on the rejection of the Moscow treaty and, thus, on a rejection of the concept of general disarmament as well. They deny that the fight for peace is intimately bound up with the fight for national liberation and independence.

In addition, this policy ascribes to the peace movement responsibilities which it does not have; in particular, responsibilities connected with the struggle to do away with imperialism and with the capitalist social system. It needs to be realized what consequences this policy would have for the peace movement, how greatly it would be weakened and how

it would be deprived of any opportunity of rallying world public opinion on a really broad basis.

The Chinese delegates to the Warsaw meeting also openly attacked the representatives of the Soviet Union and alleged that the policy of the peace movement was an exclusively Soviet policy. One cannot help recalling that, now just as in the past, imperialist circles attack the peace movement with precisely the same anti-Soviet arguments. Such manoeuvres could, to say the least, create the impression /and that is evidently the Chinese aim/, that their attacks are related merely to the Sino-Soviet dispute. Their attacks, however, are directed against the very heart and at the whole character of the world peace movement. The same applies in other democratic organizations, the world youth movement, the trade union and women's movements, the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, etc.

We are a constituent part of the world peace movement and we therefore deem it necessary to draw attention to these facts in this special issue of the foreign bulletin of the Czechoslovak peace movement.

We have no wish to concentrate only on Chinese attempts to weaken and break up the world peace movement. We know that, at present, the peace movement is merely one part of all the peace forces of the world, which, in our view include also the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries, the peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which fight for their complete liberation from the consequences of colonial domination as well as neo-colonialist domination, the international working class and its organizations, and the national liberation movements in colonial and dependent countries. We can now see that the Chinese are attacking the policy of peaceful co-existence and unity within all these peace forces and that, at the same time, they are trying to alienate them one from another, break up the whole peace front and each of its individual components. It

cannot be maintained that disruption of the unity of the international working class, of the unity of the national liberation movement or of the unity of the socialist countries is of no concern to the peace movement. All the more so since in all cases, disruption is based on denial of the possibility of peaceful co-existence, the possibility of compelling the forces of war by joint pressure to retreat, to agree to further concrete measures for lessening international tension, in the spirit of the Moscow agreement, and to conclude an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

It is now evident that the total danger of thermonuclear war must be resisted by the total opposition of mankind, which has the power to end it. Positive developments over the past years show that the conditions now exist for achieving this aim and that an unprecedentedly broad front of the peace forces is now in sight. Any weakening of this front is, without any doubt whatsoever, to be deplored. But, it is generally known that rejection of what weakens is not the same thing as weakening; quite the reverse is true.

We are publishing this material, therefore, not only to inform our readers on the attitude of Czechoslovak defenders of peace, but also to provide some food for thought and reflection, not just for the sake of evaluating and considering events of general concern to everybody who works for lasting peace, but primarily, for the sake of deciding what needs to be done in the present situation to really pave the way to a world without arms and without war.

Dobroslav Matějka

ED 718-27-192



Dear Friends:

The Institutional Peace Officers' Director (U.S.A.) Office is pleased to announce the publication of this Special Edition of INFORMATION. At your home, the Director of the Office of International Affairs, United States Department of State, is working to bring about the end of the arms race and to bring about a world of peace and justice. We are working to bring about a world of peace and justice. We are working to bring about a world of peace and justice.

---

SPECIAL EDITION of INFORMATION - April 1964 **22.5.64**  
Published by the Czechoslovak Committee of Defenders of Peace,  
Prague 1, Panská 7.  
Chairman of Editorial Board: Jaromír Švanberk  
Chief Editor: Dobroslav Matějka

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

ED 718-27-193



To promote through education  
support of the United Nations . . .

and of measures to strengthen  
it and enable it to maintain peace.

# INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORDER

ELEVEN WEST FORTY-SECOND STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y. • WISCONSIN 7-2723

April 29, 1964

2.6.64 Bu 47

### BOARD

- EARL D. OSBORN  
*President*
- ROBERT M. MACIVER  
*Vice President*
- J. A. MIGEL  
*Vice President*
- JOHN F. B. MITCHELL, JR.  
*Secretary*
- MRS. JACK HAUSMAN
- PAUL G. HOFFMAN
- HARRY B. HOLLINS
- SIDNEY P. HOWELL, JR.
- ROBERT H. KNIGHT
- ARTHUR LARSON
- MRS. JOHN G. LEE
- MRS. GEORGE LITTLE
- MRS. HARVEY PICKER
- IRVING SALOMON
- HAROLD TAYLOR
- LE GRAND I. THURBER

### STAFF

- GEORGE A. BEEBE  
*Director*
- MRS. ANITA KAYE  
*Recording Secretary*
- ROGER R. WOOD  
*Director of Seminars*

Dear Friend:

The International Peace/ Disarmament Directory (published in York, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.) lists you as an organization working for peace and disarmament. As you know, the Directory is not concerned with political affiliation, religious belief or geographical location. Its editors believe that the cause of peace should transcend any barriers to communication. We are sending this letter to everyone in the Directory in the hope that, regardless of policies and opinions, a common meeting ground can be found to analyze and discuss the possibilities of peace.

We thought you might be interested in our questionnaire "Ten Minutes for Peace", which we have been distributing in the United States since December 1961. Over half a million were distributed of the first edition to individuals, schools, churches, organizations, businesses and labor unions. The enclosed revised and shortened new edition has had an even more enthusiastic reception. We realize the questionnaire is too obviously written for an American audience for you to distribute them to your members, but it was our thought that you might be interested in adapting the idea of such a questionnaire for a publication of your own, eliminating the Institute's name of course.

"Ten Minutes for Peace" is a project of the Institute for International Order, a private, non-profit organization founded in 1948. The pamphlet is an effort to crystallize American thinking on peace and disarmament. We believe that answering the questions makes a person more responsive to information about peace programs, and more interested in trying to act constructively in the interests of peace.

We are also sending you this questionnaire because we want to acquaint you with one private American effort in behalf of peace; but our main reason is the hope that you might find it useful in your own work for peace. If you have any questions about this project, or if you want additional copies of "Ten Minutes for Peace", please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

George A. Beebe  
Director

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORDER  
11 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036



ED 718 - 27 - 194



PRINTED MATTER

Verband der Kriegsdienstver-  
weigerer  
6000 Frankfurt  
Burgstrasse 47  
Germany

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

ED 718-27-195

**BOARD OF DIRECTORS**  
**INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORDER**

- EARL D. OSBORN**, President, New York  
Chairman of the Board, EDO Corporation
- J. A. MIGEL**, Vice President, Rhode Island  
Retired Vice President, American Silk Spinning Company
- JOHN F. B. MITCHELL, JR.**, Secretary, New York  
Attorney, Baker, Nelson, Williams and Mitchell
- CONVINGTON HARDEE**, New York  
Attorney, Clark, Carr and Ellis
- MRS. JACK HAUSMAN**, New York  
Co-Founder, United Cerebral Palsy Association
- PAUL G. HOFFMAN**, California  
Director, United Nations Special Fund
- HARRY B. HOLLINS III**, New York  
Managing Director, The Fund for Education  
Concerning World Peace Through World Law
- SIDNEY P. HOWELL, JR.**, New York  
Attorney, Regan, Goldfarb, Powell & Quinn
- ARTHUR LARSON**, North Carolina  
Director, World Rule of Law Center, Duke University
- MRS. JOHN G. LEE**, Washington, D. C.  
President, Overseas Education Fund  
of the League of Women Voters
- ROBERT M. MACIVER**, New York  
Lieber Professor Emeritus of Political Philosophy  
and Sociology, Columbia University
- MRS. HARVEY PICKER**, New York  
Member, Board of Directors  
Foreign Policy Association, Inc.
- IRVING SALOMON**, California  
Business Executive
- HAROLD TAYLOR**, New York  
Former President, Sarah Lawrence College
- LaGRAND L. THURBER**, New York  
Electric Typewriter Division  
International Business Machines

**10 minutes for peace**



Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv



There is only one supreme, overriding issue confronting the American public today—one critical issue that affects, and is affected by, everything else we do as a nation and as individuals. Whether we call that issue by the name of national security, or foreign policy, or the quest for peace, the fact remains that in this nuclear age no other public matter touches all of our lives so directly and so decisively.

**President John F. Kennedy**  
"Strategy of Peace"  
Harper Bros., 1960



Today, with nuclear power balanced uneasily between two great blocs, each capable of destroying the other, the only defense is a constructive and enduring peace. You cannot win a nuclear war.

**Lester B. Pearson**  
Prime Minister of Canada



Today the universal common good poses problems of world-wide dimensions, which cannot be adequately tackled or solved except by the efforts of public authorities endowed with a wideness of powers, structure and means of the same proportions: that is, of public authorities which are in a position to operate in an effective manner on a world-wide basis. The moral order itself, therefore, demands that such a form of public authority be established.

**Pope John XXIII**  
Encyclical "Peace on Earth"

Mail to:

**INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORDER**  
11 West 42nd Street  
New York 36, New York

I have invested 10 minutes considering what I could do to help build peace.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

Please send me another copy of this questionnaire.

Please send copies of the "10 Minutes for Peace" questionnaire to:

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....


have access to many free pamphlets and study guides. Significant public documents are available, at extremely low cost, from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

The earnest and concerned individual can join, support, contribute to or lead any of hundreds of local study or action groups dedicated to particular aims or programs. For example, over 400 such groups are listed in the "Directory of Voluntary Organizations in World Affairs," INTERCOM, issue of January 1963. This publication is available in your public library or may be purchased for 75 cents from the Foreign Policy Association, Inc., 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. The February-March issue of INTERCOM (same source, same price) describes a wide range of public and private efforts in the field of arms control and disarmament.

The first purpose of education is understanding—on the part of the individual, the group or the larger society. The second purpose is constructive action, in the light of understanding. Neither purpose is fulfilled until individuals seize educational opportunities—and then act responsibly and according to the dictates of their own consciences.

ED 718-27-196

will  
you  
invest  
**10 minutes...**



- to explore your own attitudes toward peace?
- to consider what measures and steps may strengthen the peace?
- to decide what you will do to help build peace?

It will take you only 10 minutes to read, think about and answer these questions. Will you make this small investment in a clearer understanding of the conditions of your own survival?



## a note before you begin

Most of the following questions can be answered by checking one of the boxes. A few questions call for brief answers in your own words. There is room, after each question, to write in a short comment or qualification if you wish to do so.

If you are not sure of an answer, move on to other questions and come back later.

When you are satisfied with your answers, look in the back of the booklet to see where you may send your completed questionnaire.

who  
works for  
peace...?

There are innumerable ways in which governments, organizations and individuals work for peace and a more stable international community. The Institute, which prepared this questionnaire, does not advocate any one policy, program or position. Nor does it recommend any specific organization or program as the most effective. It does urge free choice, by the individual citizen, and wide citizen participation in the discussion and resolution of the critical issues of war and peace which face mankind.

The individual citizen can participate—directly or indirectly—in the solution of these problems right in his or her own community. Abundant information on the issues is available in daily newspapers, weekly and monthly periodicals, and on radio and TV. A wealth of current and background information exists in every public and school library. A number of national organizations and publishing houses provide useful study materials at reasonable cost. Local chapters of national associations

ED 718-27-197

## 10 minutes for peace

Do you think it's been worthwhile to invest this 10 minutes in thinking about problems of war and peace?

- yes
- no
- unsure

Would it be useful for others—family, friends, neighbors, business associates, members of your church or club—to make this same investment?

- yes
- no
- unsure

Will you bring this questionnaire to the attention of someone else who might profit from it? (For additional copies, see coupon on last page.)

- yes
- no

If so, when?

Considering the alternatives raised in this questionnaire (and any others that may have occurred to you), what one useful thing could you do now, to help move the world toward peace? Specify:

Will you?

Do you think another world war, in the next 10 or 20 years, is

- possible?
- likely?
- unlikely?
- don't know or no opinion

What are the chances that you and your way of life would survive such a war?

- good
- poor
- uncertain

What are the chances for survival of your way of life in peaceful competition with other systems, without war?

- good
- poor
- uncertain

Do you feel the world is really at peace now?

- yes
- no
- uncertain

Do you believe conflicts and disputes between nations are

- normal?
- inevitable?
- unnecessary?
- don't know or no opinion

Do you think some of the following measures might strengthen peace and help avoid future wars (check only those you think are important):

- Greater respect for, and observance of, international law by all nations?
- Freer exchange of information, ideas and people among all nations?
- A stronger United Nations?
- A better financed United Nations?
- More cooperation among nations on exploration of outer space, medical research, weather control, nutrition and other joint scientific efforts?
- Expansion of world trade?
- More rapid economic and social development in the poorer nations?
- A mutually acceptable nuclear test-ban treaty?
- Agreements to reduce or regulate armaments?
- Agreement on world disarmament?
- An international police force?
- Agreement by all nations to submit disputes to the International Court of Justice for binding judicial decision?
- Enforceable world law?
- Other? Specify:

Is this group making any contribution at all to the strengthening of peace? If so, what? Specify:

Would you consider supporting, in your community, some constructive efforts to help build a more peaceful world:

- By taking part in study and discussion?
- By reading literature on current problems of war and peace, or by attending lectures, or by tuning in instructive radio and TV programs?
- By joining an organization or association that is working for peace and security in a responsible way?

Do you have such an organization in mind? If so, which one? Specify:

- By contributing money to a university, church or research or action organization?

Which one? Specify:

- By expressing your concerns or opinions in letters to the editor or in other public forums?
- By supporting or opposing an important piece of legislation being considered by Congress?
- Other? Specify:

Do you believe some of the following efforts of non-governmental organizations may make useful contributions to the search for a stable world peace (if uncertain, leave blank):

- Study and discussion of problems of war and peace?
- University research and education on measures to reduce the dangers of war and to strengthen peace?
- Distribution of information on the United Nations and other agencies for international cooperation?
- Study, debate and political action in the local community on such issues as trade expansion, foreign aid, disarmament, national defense policy, and other matters now before Congress?
- Church and other voluntary programs to provide relief, health and nutrition aid, technical assistance, aid to education, etc., to people abroad?
- Private American investment in business and industry abroad?
- Encouragement of foreign capital to invest in this country?
- Exchange fellowships and other programs to send American students and specialists abroad and to bring foreign students and specialists here?
- Other? Specify:

Are you now involved, in any way, in any of these efforts?

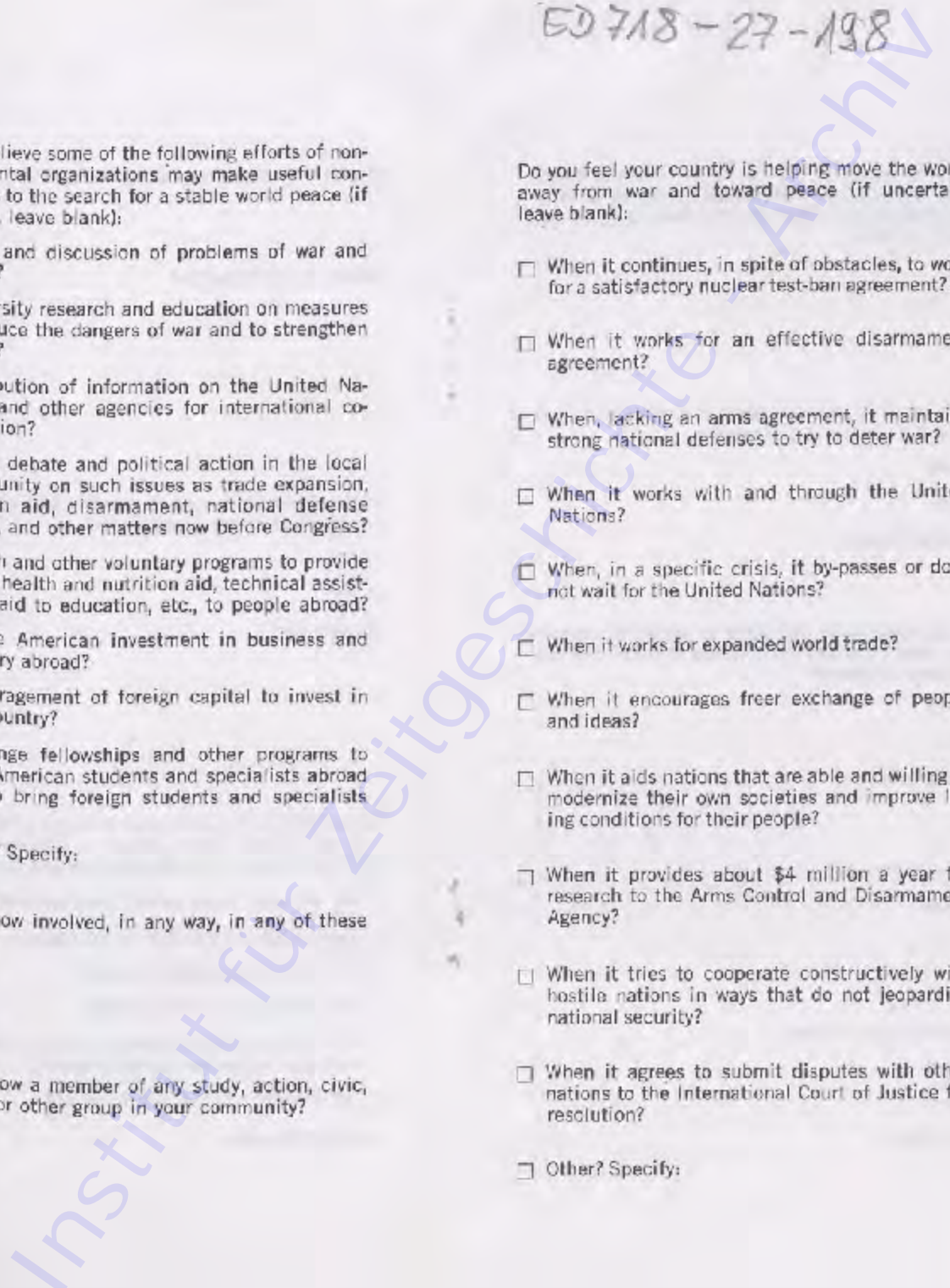
- yes
- no

Are you now a member of any study, action, civic, fraternal or other group in your community?

- yes
- no

Do you feel your country is helping move the world away from war and toward peace (if uncertain, leave blank):

- When it continues, in spite of obstacles, to work for a satisfactory nuclear test-ban agreement?
- When it works for an effective disarmament agreement?
- When, lacking an arms agreement, it maintains strong national defenses to try to deter war?
- When it works with and through the United Nations?
- When, in a specific crisis, it by-passes or does not wait for the United Nations?
- When it works for expanded world trade?
- When it encourages freer exchange of people and ideas?
- When it aids nations that are able and willing to modernize their own societies and improve living conditions for their people?
- When it provides about \$4 million a year for research to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency?
- When it tries to cooperate constructively with hostile nations in ways that do not jeopardize national security?
- When it agrees to submit disputes with other nations to the International Court of Justice for resolution?
- Other? Specify:



88-23-078

Look once again at the list on the previous page. Are there any areas in which you think your country should be doing **more** than it is now doing? If so, which? Specify:

When these issues are argued in Congress, do you follow the debates in the news?

- yes
- no
- occasionally

Do you think it is important or useful to express your views on any of these issues to your Congressman and Senators?

- yes
- no
- uncertain

Have you done so?

- yes
- no

Do you intend to do so?

- yes
- no
- perhaps

What is the name of your Congressman?

Names of your Senators?

Do you feel that peace and security are exclusively the responsibility of governments?

- yes
- no
- uncertain

Do you believe there are ways in which private citizens and citizen organizations (as well as governments) can help move the world toward peace:

- By arousing public interest and concern?
- By educating the public on the issues?
- By influencing public opinion?
- By exploring fresh alternatives?
- By increasing understanding (or reducing hostility and suspicion) among peoples?
- By influencing government policy?
- Other? Specify:

DECISIONS OF THE CONSULTIVE MEETING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

Florence, June 11-12, 1963 20.7.63 V.

The second consultive meeting for the International Youth and student Conference for Disarmament and peace, riconfirms the profound conviction which spark all the partecipant in this meeting that peace, disarmament and national indipendence are today the most important problems which confront the new generation in all the countries of the world.

It expressed a warm thank-you to the Florentine youth and student, promotes of the exceptional political manifestation for the work done up to now.

It direct a warm appeal to the national directions of the italian youth and student movements to assume the responsability ,given the international importance which the Conference has assumed of the political and organizational preparation of the Conference at Florence .

The partecipating organizations in the second consultive reunion for the International Youth and Student Conference for disarmament ad peace, have espressed some recommendations and propcsals for the work of the Conference, with the hope that the italian national Youth organizations take him into the consideration and that they constitute a basis for a profitable discussion and development : they have raccomended that the basis and the themes of the conference in those proposed by the United Florentine Committee after the first consultive meeting taking into special account that these had already b been discussed and accepted by many national and international youth organizations.

1)-Disarmament and economicand social problems, of the school of culture of the education of the new generations;

2)-Disarmament and peaceful coexistence. Measures to adcpt, commediate objectives to reach, obstacles to overcome for the realization of disarmament,(atom-free zones, military bases and pacts,etc.);

3)-Disarmament, the people struggle for national liberations and the economic and cultural development of newly-indipendent countries.

4)-The united actions of the youth and international cooperation of youth and student organizations for disarmament and peace.

They have recommended as well to take into account the contribution brought forth from the various organizations for that which regards the themes of the Conference.

The partecipating organizations retain that the Conference must the open to all the organizations of the youth and student of the world, national and international interested in problems of peace, disarmament, and national independence, and are certain that the Italian youth organizations will stimulate the qualifud and representative partecipacion of all youth forses, of different countries, and of differing political, ideological and political convictions.

The participating organizations recomand that in the work of or anization for the conference the Italian Youth movements get in contact with all the youth and students organizations interested on the manifestation.

Such contact could also take place in the form of a new consultive meeting in the next few nounths. They recommend as wall that the Italian youth movements consider the opportunity given the enormous effort which the preparation of the Conference will require to be hel- ped in the ways which they would retain most indicative, by five youth movements of other contries, chosen according to the following criteria:

- I from the socialist countries
- I from west Europe or from north
- I from Latin America
- I from Asia

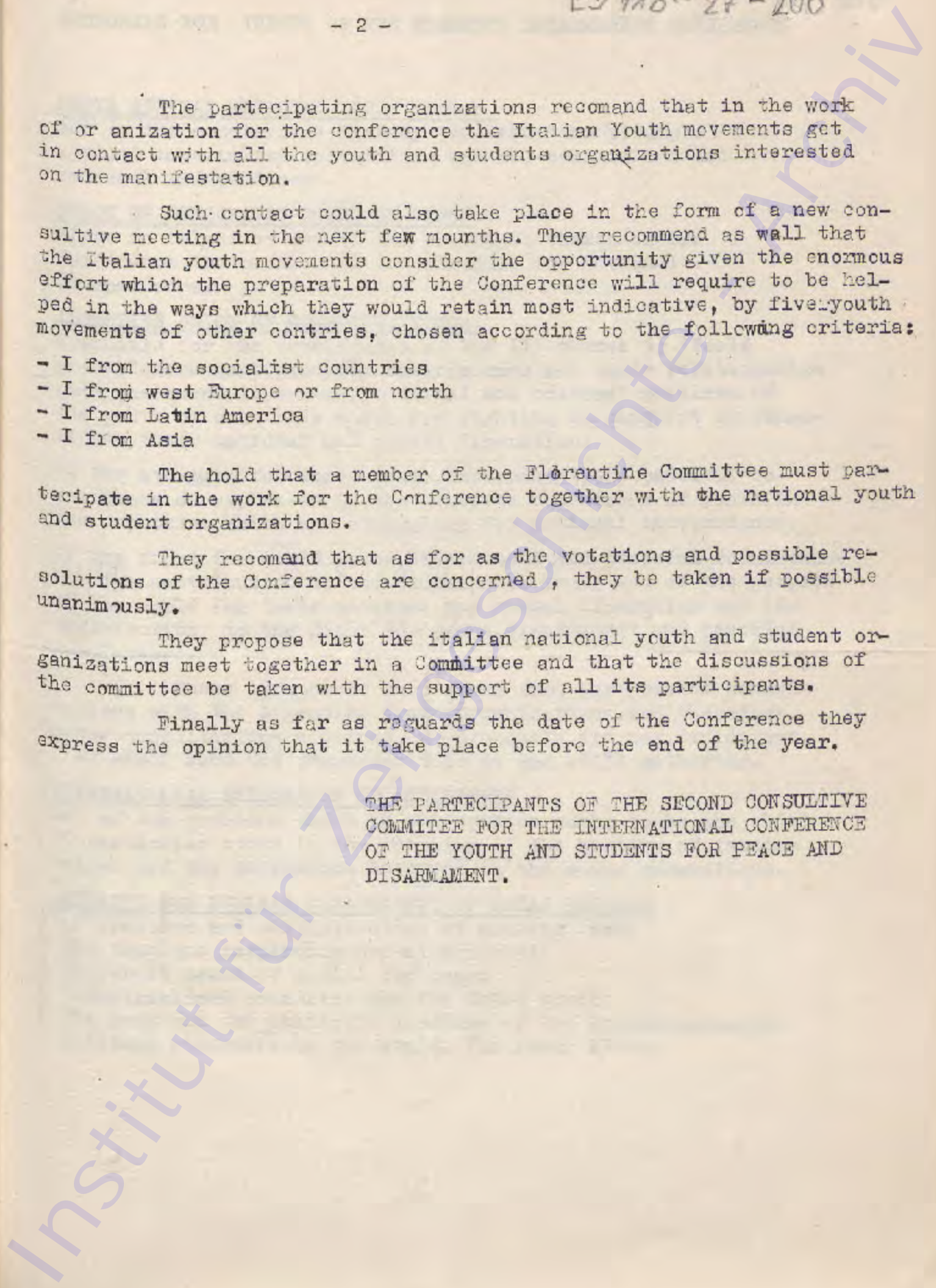
The hold that a member of the Flôrentine Committee must par- ticipate in the work for the Conference together with the national youth and student organizations.

They recomand that as for as the votations and possible re- solutions of the Conference are concerned, they be taken if possible unenimously.

They propose that the italian national youth and student or- ganizations meet together in a Committee and that the discussions of the committee be taken with the support of all its participants.

Finally as far as regards the date of the Conference they express the opinion that it take place before the end of the year.

THE PARTECIPANTS OF THE SECOND CONSULTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT.



## PROPOSALS FOR THEMES OF THE FLORENCE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL YOUTH LEAGUE

Add to the commissions already proposed "the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and national independence".

UNION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH OF JAPON

Place in relief as one of the principal themes of the Conference the problem of the struggle for national independence.

ARGENTINE UNION OF COMMUNIST YOUTH

Proposals for the development of the III theme: 1) "World peace, disarmament, peaceful co-existence and their relationships with the economic, social, political and cultural problems of the youth of countries which are fighting to conquest or consolidate their national and social liberation.

2) The struggle for wored peace, disarmament, and peaceful co-existence as expressed in the concrete conditions of youth in the countries which are struggling for national independence.

3) The fight for world peace, disarmament and peaceful coexistence and the contribution to the campaign of youth and of the peoples of the world for their national and social liberation and its contribution to the fight for peace, disarmament and peaceful coexistence.

These proposals have risen from our present consultations with the Argentine Youth Organizations and therefore, since consultations continue, our proposals are not definitive.

We shall send the proposals that we are still gathering.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF RESISTENTS

One of the problems which in our opinion ought to be the objet of particular study is the teaching of the history of fascism nazism and the Resistance Movement to the young generations.

CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN

- 1) The exention and multiplication of nuclear arms
- 2) The problems regarding non-allignment
- 3) Different means of action for peace
- 4) Industrialized countries and the third world
- 5) The army and the state: the question of the social-economic-military structure in the world. The Power Elite.

COMITATO UNITARIO DELLA GIOVENTU' DI FIRENZE PER LA PACE E IL DISARMO

PRESS COMMUNICATION

On the occasion of the visit of U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, to Florence June 12th 1963 for the conferment of the honorary citizenship of this city, the Unitary Youth Committee of Florence for Disarmament and Peace had the honour to be received by him.

The Committee, composed of leaders of florentine youth and student political organizations, outlined the character of their initiative for a World Youth and Student Conference on Disarmament and Peace to be held next October in Florence.

The youth delegates received the U.N. Secretary's encouragement and his wish for to full success and he also expressed his hope that the initiative might contribute to the furthering of world peace.

The U.N. Secretary, accompanied by the Vice Mayor of Florence, Dott Enriquez Agnoletti, then departed once more for the airport at Pisa.

Florence, 13/7/'63.

ED 718-27-203

MINUTES

of the

March 26, 1964 Meeting

of the

14.5.64

-2-

LABOR COMMITTEE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

The meeting was called to order at 8:10 P.M. by Chairman Jack Wagner in the Hall of Lodge 68 of the IAM.

Permission was granted John Burton, candidate for the Democratic nomination for State Assembly, to address the meeting. Mr. Burton outlined his program, emphasized his unqualified support for civil rights, free speech and full employment, and solicited support for his campaign in the June Democratic primary.

Chairman Wagner presented an agenda and then made a report on the objectives of the Labor Committee for Full Employment, and a report from the Executive Committee. Chairman Wagner stated the primary purpose of this Committee is to get labor in motion on the central issue of our time - Full Employment. This task is difficult because the labor movement has grown contented and reactionary, the chairman noted. Yet there is hope of moving labor around two basic issues: Health Care and Public Works programs; the Executive Committee recommended a program around these issues.

Reports were made by chairmen of the following committees:

A. Unemployed. Chairman Jack Weintraub recommended in his report that our Committee approach the Labor Councils on a program to organize Councils of the Unemployed, that a Speakers Bureau on the Unemployed be set up, that the Governor be asked to appoint a Council on Unemployed to advise him on problems of the unemployed.

M/S/C the report and recommendations be received and adopted.  
M/S/C that the Committee on Unemployed and the other Committee Chairmen be authorized to carry out this program.

B. Hunters Point Conversion. Chairman Hy Solomon recommended in his report that planning must begin now to save Hunters Point and that a Hunters Point Conversion Committee be organized under the auspices of the employees at Hunters Point.

M/S/C that report be accepted.

Chairman Wagner reported that he had been in touch with Supervisors Mascone and Morrison, seeking their support in getting a resolution by the S.F. Board of Supervisors setting up a Committee to Plan for Hunters Point Conversion, and the supervisors are presently seeking Mayor Shelley's support for same.

C. Publicity. Chairman Richard Linebarger advised the meeting that his committee had circulated over 20,000 reports on the Dec. 14 Conference on Full Employment. The committee plans to organize a letter tree and a phone tree to promote its work; there is still need for union membership lists, sympathetic people for our mailing list, and clerical help.

M/S/C that the report be accepted.

D. Minorities. Chairman James Herndon reported that the next Committee meeting will be Tuesday, March 31, at 126 Chenery St., S.F. At this juncture, it was reported that the committee is studying how to blend a Civil Rights program with the Labor Committee for Full Employment, so as to diminish conflict between Negro and white workers. All are invited to the next meeting to help plan this program.

M/S/C that report be accepted.

Chairman Wagner thanked all committees for their reports and urged members who are not now serving on a committee to join one.

Under old business a brief discussion of finances was had. Chairman Wagner reported that Committee is in debt for about \$1,500, and suggestions were made that letters and speakers to various unions be used to solicit funds.

Under new business:

M/S/C that public opinion telegrams be sent to Senator Fulbright for his fine speech calling for changes in American foreign policy, and to President Johnson for appointing a Committee on Conversion.

M/S/C that Conversion Committee draft both telegrams, and that individuals be urged to send similar wires.

Permission granted member to report that ILWU and Teamster Warehouse contracts will expire in early June, 1964, that new contracts call for triple time for overtime, and general public support is solicited for these unions in their fight.

Permission granted to Brother Weintraub to discuss the conviction of Teamster President James Hoffa. Weintraub observed that Hoffa was convicted of conspiracy to fix a Federal jury, that this is a classical case of a frame-up of a militant labor leader, and that this would never have occurred if Hoffa had been a "labor statesman." Ultimately, Weintraub stated, the Hoffa conviction will be reversed by the U.S. Supreme Court.

A collection of \$24.01 was taken.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:15 P.M.

Jack Wagner, Chairman

James Herndon, Acting Secy.

oteu29(afl-cio)

[ + ]
[ NEXT MEETING - APRIL 23 ]
[ 8 P.M. ]
[ Machinists Hall ]
[ 3151 Mission, S.F. ]
[ ]
[ ++++++Bring a friend!+++++ ]



TOM LINEBARGER  
734 Overland Way  
San Jose, California, 95111

ED 718 - 27 - 205



FREE

Verband der Kriegsdienstver-  
weigerer  
6000 Frankfurt *Schwanzheim*  
~~Bergstrasse 47~~ *Am Reiterstein*  
Germany

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

718-27-206

# REPORT

## CONFERENCE ON FULL EMPLOYMENT

Saturday, December 14, 1963

San Francisco State College

14.5.64

Sponsored by

### THE LABOR COMMITTEE for FULL EMPLOYMENT

**ATTENDANCE:** The Conference was attended by 380 delegates and observers from 136 trade union, civil rights, peace and other organizations.

Among the affiliations listed by the participating Delegates, were:

**TRADE UNIONS:** United Auto Workers, Machinists, Teamsters, Carpenters, Painters, ILWU, Culinary Workers, Boilermakers, Printing Trades, Teachers in all 96 Local Unions from over 40 International and Craft Councils.

**CIVIL RIGHTS AND PEACE GROUPS:** NAACP, Mexican-American (MAPA), Presbyterian inter-city council, Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), American Friends Service Committee, Women for Peace, Catholic Council for Spanish Speaking people, The Humanist Fellowship, Students Non Violent Coordinating Com. (SNCC), Coro Foundation, etc. a total of 20 groups.

**POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS:** Young Democrats; Calif. Democratic Clubs; West Compton Civic League; Californians for Liberal Representation; Democratic Party; University of California SLATE; Socialist Party; I.W.W.; Technocracy Inc.; etc.

#### ADDRESS OF DR. ARTHUR CARSTENS to the Conference on Full Employment (excerpts)

Elimination of idleness and of the waste of human capacity in this decade of technology triumphant will require wholesale revision of outmoded concepts about work, wages and welfare, Dr. Arthur Carstens told the Conference on Full Employment.

Dr. Carstens, Director of Labor Programs for the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California at Los Angeles, featured speaker at the conference, called for:

- Complete reappraisal of the commitment to the idea of wages, especially the hourly wage.
- New assessments of kinds of human activity that are socially necessary and should be supported by society.
- Apportioning to the middle years of the worker's life some of the "non-work" privileges already accepted as proper for the youth and the elderly.

Among the novel—and even revolutionary—concepts Americans will have to get used to, he suggested, are:

- The guaranteed annual wage.
- Sabbatical free periods with pay which the worker can devote to education and self-improvement or use in any way he sees fit.

In facing the problems of the Affluent Society in this decade, said Dr. Carstens, organized labor is up against the same kinds of resistance and arguments as when it led the fight for other historic social and economic breakthroughs, such as free public education in the early 19th century and free distribution of land under the Homestead Act after the Civil War.

All the standard arguments were used against free schools . . . "that this was a subversive, foreign idea, that if we deprived working people of the opportunity to work for education of their children it would remove one of the big incentives to work, that we would reduce the working people to alcoholics."

The Homestead Act, "the first huge welfare system in which we indulged," was vetoed by President Buchanan as "a subversive, foreign idea."

American labor wasn't always committed to the wage system, and it was not until 1890 that it generally accepted the wage system as the proper way to distribute the resources of this world. "This is the bind we're in today, because wages are attached to work, and we are producing a generation of children that are doing everything they can to eliminate . . . work as we know it—production work."

Most Americans feel, deep down in their consciences, that only work that produces things is important. Thus the onrush of technology confronts them, unlike earlier generations, with an ethical problem as well as an economic one.

"All of a sudden, I and millions of people and the labor movement are confronted with a problem, because the young people these days are realistic enough to see that production jobs are no longer going to offer them an income or a useful way of spending their lives."

The year 1956 may come to be recognized as the crucial year in this development. It was the first year when the number of white collar jobs in the U. S. exceeded the number of blue collar jobs.

We now have a different ethic governing the three parts of our lives. In the first third of life, we have a system of "educational welfare" in which the young people—at least, the White ones—are expected to stay out of the working world and be educated, up to age 22 or 24 years.

"The Negro group have another point of reference . . . because they've been excluded from participation in this kind of welfare, and these young people, I think, have a point of view that we've (also) got to recognize."

But generally for the younger age group, nobody asks whether they have savings or credits. They're entitled to participate in this educational welfare scheme "because they're human, no questions asked."

The final third of life is a welfare system with somewhat different rules. "You mustn't work. We bribe or punish you by cutting down your pension, but you must live on welfare. We call it a pension system, but here we say you must have earned a property right to participate."

Unless the older worker has put aside some private means, he will have to live in poverty. "Most of us in California can look forward to a life of poverty in the last third of our life . . . in the most affluent society in the world."

"We've simply got to think through the problem of distributing income during the last third of life. The pension system is clearly inadequate. It was developed during the period when goods were scarce and we had to ration it. But now our problem is to keep people from producing as much as they can, and we've got to invent a completely new system of distribution of resources to older people . . . this means housing, this means medical care and this means food."

"This calls for social invention on a scale we've never dreamed of, and it doesn't mean \$5 a month more on pensions; that's not enough."

"There's nothing sacred about these theories, because a pension is only a theory. We, as working people, have got to reexamine this theory in this decade, or we're going to be run over. They (older citizens) are not organized, but their numbers are already greater than the number of people in the organized labor movement."

In the middle third of life a third ethical system operates which says, in effect, "You must not have any welfare—you must work—you must attach yourself to a wage income some way or another."

But in a big city like Los Angeles, only 2 out of 10 persons going to work on a given day will produce any goods. "The rest of us are working at 'made work,' that is, we're rushing down there to sell second mortgages to each other, or engaging in psychiatric work, or selling each other cigarettes or embalming those who don't survive."

One problem is that "we have a new set of gates" and it's hard to enter the world of "made work" without a college degree or other special qualifications.

"If we can, as I think we will in the next decade, learn to produce all the goods we need in the U. S. with 2 per cent of the working population, there is nothing wrong with the rest of us engaging in this new kind of occupations, providing the activities we go into provide some useful function."

As it is, the new work patterns provide strange distortions. We pay 10 times as much to the young man who designs bread labels as to the young man who grows the wheat. In Los Angeles there are 5,000 salesmen selling auto insurance that the law says we have to buy anyway, while thousands of children are in overcrowded school rooms because we haven't enough teachers.

One of organized labor's responsibilities is to help decide what are the important social functions, then develop an income system and incentives that will draw people into the important activities. "We've got to invent huge numbers of new kinds of human activities that we're willing to pay for."

Perhaps education and self-improvement is one of these new activities. "There is no reason at all why we can't call participation in education one of the reasons we pay wages . . . why we shouldn't say human development is one of the crucial reasons why we have this kind of system and why each of us shouldn't be allowed at least one day a week to improve himself."

As to the hourly wage:

"We ought to stop selling our lives in terms of an hour. The hourly wage is an accident. Why has it become so important? Our bills don't come on an hourly basis. Nothing in human life happens on an hourly basis except our income. Why can't I say that the smallest unit of my life that I will sell is a year?"

"I'm saying that we take these educational experiences that we distribute to people in the first third of life and bring them to the people in the middle period, so that each of us, if we choose, can take care of our own development. Then I'd like to share some of the pension years that we now have in the last third of life, I'd like to see them shared in the middle part of life, so that young couples and older couples can say to each other and their kids, this is our year, and we're going to do with it what we want."

Present concepts of welfare must be reexamined, too. Workmen's Compensation is already outmoded, with too narrow an outlook and with control through private insurance companies resulting in about \$264 million a year paid in premiums but only about \$138 million a year going to the workers in benefits. The difference is "retention", which is a euphemism for profit. Other countries administer workmen's compensation for about 5 per cent of totals paid in.

Auto insurance (\$625 million a year paid in, \$348 million "retained") health insurance show the same patterns. "Look what that says about organized labor. It says we are literally throwing away, not tens of millions but hundreds of millions of dollars. . . . The management and administration of any kind of economic security is one of the primary functions of the labor movement. Until we get to the point where we accept that responsibility, these figures will stand, and we stand to blame."

Labor also missed the boat on using from \$60 to \$90 BILLION of its pension funds as a means of providing housing, work and security as is done, say, in Sweden. "We've abrogated something. We've built a powerful, powerful instrument and then never learned to use it."

Dr. Carstens concluded:

"We've got an awful lot of challenging things to do, and it seems to me if we do only part of these things in this generation, we can get the imagination of the kids. The college people and other people are not going to be organized by organizers, but by the kind of demands the labor movement makes.

"We've got to stand for real, fundamental changes that coincide with the kinds of things that are happening. And if we do that, I don't think we have to be afraid of what's going to happen in the next 10 years."

#### **WORKSHOP RECOMMENDATIONS:**

Workshops were conducted on five topics: Full Employment and Minorities; Full Employment and Peacetime Conversion; Full Employment and Automation; Full Employment and Collective Bargaining Solutions, and Full Employment and Legislative Solutions.

Following are the action recommendations of the workshops as discussed, modified and adopted by the closing General Session of the Conference:

#### **FULL EMPLOYMENT AND MINORITIES**

1. The fight against racial discrimination must be accelerated. Organized labor, for the first time in its history, must face and solve the problems of racism in its own ranks and join the struggle to end racism throughout America. We propose the following:

A. We urge the leaders of unions and labor councils to personally manifest their commitment to civil rights by joining civil rights demonstrations in California.

B. We urge every trade union to establish a Civil Rights Committee to educate its members on the evils of racism and the benefits to be gained by workers from supporting civil rights.

C. We urge the establishment of a permanent Labor Committee on Civil Rights to help workers and the labor movement to channel support to the civil rights movement, to encourage workers to picket and demonstrate in support of civil rights. Organized labor cannot trail the religious bodies of America. Failure to give concrete support to civil rights will widen the gap between the minorities and labor and hurt the labor movement.

2. The second task facing labor and minorities is the creation of more jobs. . . . Full employment can be achieved only when the resources are used to meet human needs. This is urgent in order to avoid conflict and competition between black and white workers or decrease in jobs. Therefore we urge:

A. A federal work program to create and guarantee a job for every American worker who desires a job.

B. The establishment of a \$2 an hour minimum wage for all workers, including all domestic, agricultural and industrial workers.

C. The establishment of a 35-hour work week.

D. The pursuit of a policy of foreign trade equally with all countries regardless of social or economic system, which could double our foreign trade and thus ultimately add 2 million jobs to our total economy. The only exception should be countries which the United Nations has voted trade boycotts against for violation of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

E. We oppose the extension of Public Law 78, the bracero program, and the importation of migrant workers into this country to compete with our citizens for agricultural jobs.

3. Minorities are frequently unable to avail themselves of skilled jobs due to past discrimination in the educational and job training programs. Therefore we urge:

A. An end to restrictions in public school apprenticeship programs which limit participation to those registered in the union apprenticeship programs. Job training in tax-supported schools must be open to all students.

B. A federal training program to train minorities, young and displaced workers. Trainees must be paid the minimum wage of \$2 an hour while in training.

C. Labor and minorities must combine forces to support and improve the school system and defend it from right wing attacks.

D. That the state college system take under advisement the hiring of more teachers and instructors of qualified minority background to teach future teachers the sympathetic attitude and understanding of minority children and the problems of the underprivileged.

### FULL EMPLOYMENT AND PEACETIME CONVERSION

#### 1. Resolution for Immediate Development of Plans for Peacetime Conversion.

(The resolution notes recent threats and rumors to close down Bay Area military-based installations such as Hunters Point Naval Shipyard in San Francisco and the Lockheed plant at Sunnyvale and resolves:)

That this Conference on Full Employment recommend to every large defense plant and especially to the labor organizations having members in them, that joint labor-management committees begin discussion immediately on concrete types of civilian work that could be performed in them should curtailment of defense or military contracts threaten shutdown.

That the call of the recent AFL-CIO Convention for the creation of a national planning agency involving the democratic participation of all elements of the population be pressed upon this session of Congress for enactment and implementation.

That the maritime or commercial shipbuilding industry, immediately adaptable to a most comprehensive expansion that would be economically justifiable and in addition capable of reemploying many thousands of workers, be given special attention.

That Mayor Shelley (San Francisco) be requested to convene a full employment Bay Area conference, inviting labor, business and all other interested groups to develop concrete proposals to the federal and state governments that we need to effectuate a conversion from the present military-based, depression-prone Bay Area economy to one of full employment based on useful peacetime production.

That this Conference and its sponsors call on Governor Brown to call a conference on full employment in this state on the basis of a non-military-oriented economy, inviting labor, business, minority, peace and other civic-minded groups and all other sections of our society to participate democratically in inventorying and budgeting of the programs necessary to replace our overemphasis on military contracts.

That Governor Brown be called upon especially to exert his influence toward securing allocation immediately of contracts in the following areas of non-military work: commercial shipbuilding, hydrofoil passenger ferries, construction of rapid transit facilities and an accelerated public works program including dams, powerhouses, water pipelines, middle- and low-income housing, schools, colleges, hospitals, community recreation centers and parks.

That every possible member of organized labor, of the churches, of the minority groups, as well as the personnel now engaged in military plants be involved in the planning of the conversion of California's military and defense centers into citadels of the things we need for constructive peacetime life.

2. That the Conference urge the federal government to subsidize completely education, health, welfare and cultural fields, and also that the Conference urge expanded federal subsidy of local health, education, welfare and cultural services.

3. Whereas the war section of our economy threatens the U. S. with economic disaster, as war threatens total disaster, and whereas no solution to the dangers of a war-oriented policy can be achieved without a powerful demand for peace by the people of our country, therefore be it resolved that this Conference urges all labor and civic groups to take active steps to support a national peace policy.

### FULL EMPLOYMENT AND AUTOMATION

WHEREAS, our labor-saving technology and the automation it has spawned is eliminating increasing thousands of jobs each week, when the need is for creating more jobs, and

WHEREAS, automation can be a boon to all working people, rather than the threat to our security that it is today, and

WHEREAS, we recognize that men have the right to life and the means necessary to the proper development of life, which are food, clothing, shelter, medical care and social services, and

WHEREAS, we further recognize that we have a right to security in cases of inability to work, unemployment, or in any other case in which we are deprived of the means of subsistence through no fault of our own, and

WHEREAS, we feel that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence and that people who are hungry and out of a job due to automation or any other reason are not free, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we establish a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all. Among these shall be the right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation; the right to earn enough for adequate food, clothing, housing and recreation; the right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health; the right to real and adequate protection from the economic fears of labor dislocation due to unemployment or any other reason, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we call on all of organized labor and other similarly interested groups for a resurgence of organization, economic and political, among the unorganized and among the unemployed. Thus we may garner renewed strength with which to face industry and government when we sit at the conference table to formulate economic plans which will make available the goods things of life, created by automation and the genius of science and technology, to use them not for the enjoyment of the few but for the welfare of all.

### FULL EMPLOYMENT AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING SOLUTIONS

The workshop made the following recommendations:

1. Reduction of the hours of employment, with no reduction in pay.

2. Early retirement of the individual on a voluntary basis rather than one of compulsion, with increased benefits so that the retiree may live with dignity.

3. Labor organizations, through collective bargaining, should strive for an annual wage.

4. Apprenticeship programs and collective bargaining agreements should be expanded to give the younger people coming into the labor market opportunities for more jobs.

5. Establishment of councils for the unemployed in the various areas, where it is possible to do so with the cooperation of the various labor organizations and councils, including the independent organizations.

6. Continuation of the work of the Labor Committee for Full Employment.

## FULL EMPLOYMENT AND LEGISLATIVE SOLUTIONS

Very early in our workshop deliberations we came to the conclusion that legislative solutions to the problem of unemployment could not be divorced from political solutions, and consequently we spent a good deal of the time talking about the relation of the labor movement to the political forces in this country.

We were advised by the two able and friendly legislators that initiative in these areas comes from (1) a strong political executive and (2) from the grass roots, but that in relatively rare instances can you expect legislators themselves to take initiative, and therefore if we want more legislative effectiveness than we presently have it behooves us to become much more actively involved as a movement than in the past in political activity.

Our recommendations were:

### On Youth:

1. We urge that State-financed projects specifically designed to create jobs for youth be developed.
2. To strengthen apprenticeship training programs for youth, in conformity with the State FEPC law.
3. To provide additional federal funds to the youth section of the State Dept. of Employment, specifically for the greater employment of youth.
4. To provide financial assistance for high school students to enable them to finish high school, also state scholarships to those who want to continue their education, both technical and academic.

### Mass Action:

We call upon labor, the minorities and their allies to support proposals for state marches for jobs and freedom similar to the march on Washington.

### Political Action:

The problems of automation can be resolved, and full employment can be created by political action. Labor and civil rights groups must combine their forces to deal with the political questions of economic growth. Congressional action is necessary to fix economic growth and create jobs.

The undemocratic coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans prevents Congressional action for social progress full employment and peace. This coalition rests on southern congressmen who hold their seats and seniority in Congress because of racist disenfranchisement of Negro workers. Social progress requires first of all a democratically elected and controlled Congress responsive to the public will. Therefore we urge:

1. Enforcement of the second section of 14th Amendment of the Constitution to remove unconstitutional southern Representatives from Congress.
2. Full labor support for the southern Negro fight for the vote.

## A WORD ABOUT THE LABOR COMMITTEE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

It grew out of a social gathering when ten Trade Unionists—Most of them officials of their organizations, came to discussing the problems of the Trade Union Movement of today. The group later grew to some sixty participants.

The December 14, 1963 Conference—our first project endorsed by many labor unions, councils and other organizations in this area, was declared a great success.

Since then, at a meeting to which all conference participants were invited, five standing committees were set up to carry out the intent of the conference resolutions, and each committee is already at work on important projects.

Our big test will come on February 18th when we elect a new Congressman to replace Jack Shelley, whose victory in winning the Mayoralty race here last November was due to support from the coalition of Labor, Minorities Civil Rights, and Peace groups.

We believe that our Committee has to a degree been instrumental in getting Labor in motion in this Area. We think you can be equally or more successful in your Area. (Write to us for any information you might desire in setting up your Committee.)

Our committee is loosely organized, Meeting rooms, time and Labor are donated. Our finances are bad, but we have decided to mail the report of our December 14th conference to every Union, Civil Right Organization, Peace Group and other liberal organization in an attempt to achieve the goals of our committee set out.

### PREAMBLE (adopted September 6, 1963 meeting)

Since the ever-present dedication of Labor has been and should be to the welfare of the nation and to the well being of the working man and women who constitute the majority of the nation's people, and

Since the economic and social health of the nation and the well being of its people depend upon full employment in a prosperous economy, and

Since existing and past economic policies have demonstrated their incapacity to provide for full, peacetime employment, even in the most favorable of circumstances, and

Since, in addition to the old problems that Labor and the nation must contend with, the new challenges posed by transformations in agricultural and industrial processes are resulting in a shrinking demand for labor and continually spiraling unemployment, and

Since none of our pressing problems—from economic dislocation to full civil rights for all—can be adequately and equitably solved without full employment,

THEREFORE, the Labor Committee for Full Employment dedicates itself to the task of arousing Labor specifically and the nation generally to the imperative need for a re-examination and revamping of its economic policies so as to promote a full and orderly mobilization of the nation's economy to guarantee jobs and economic security to all who are willing and able to work.

### GOALS (adopted September 6, 1963 meeting)

It shall be the objectives of the Committee composed of members of organized labor to have the American labor movement achieve the following goals:

1. Give priority attention now to the question of full and equal peacetime employment.
2. Define and propose alternatives to wartime production.
3. Assess the unmet social needs of the country as the basis for shifting from a cold war economy to a full, peacetime economy.
4. To create a groundswell among the rank and file and leadership of Labor, the organized and the unorganized, the employed and unemployed, who, by their outspokenness and political action, will bring these goals to fruition.

Fraternally yours

Jack Wagner, Chairman  
Member Bro. Carpenters

Robert Hall, Sec.-Treas.  
Fed. of Teachers.

P.S. The Committee is in great need of FINANCIAL HELP, PERSONAL contributions and Union Donations would be most welcome.

Make Checks payable to "Labor Committee for Full Employment"  
240 Golden Gate Ave.  
San Francisco, California



## Ligue Belge pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme

1, avenue de la Toison d'Or - Bruxelles 6  
Tél. 11.60.88 - C.C.P. 7389.61.

Bruxelles 6, le 26 avril 1964.

CHRONIQUE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME N° 10

(15 décembre au 15 mars 1964)

Index Alphabétique

	Page		Pages
Aden. . . . .	25	Israël . . . . .	24
Afrique noire (généralités) . . . . .	16	Italie. . . . .	8
Afrique Portugaise. . . . .	22	Kenya . . . . .	16,20,32
Afrique du Sud. . . . .	21	Maroc . . . . .	15
Algérie . . . . .	14	Mozambique . . . . .	22
Antilles Françaises . . . . .	31	Nations Unies (v. Conseil de Sécurité, B.I.T. - Ruanda)	32
Autriche. . . . .	8	Ouganda . . . . .	16,20
Bahamas (Iles). . . . .	31	Pakistan. . . . .	27
Belgique. . . . .	2	Pérou . . . . .	32
Bibliographie . . . . .	33	Pologne . . . . .	13
Birmanie. . . . .	29	Portugal. . . . .	7
B.I.T. . . . .	32	Presse (Liberté de la). . . . .	2
Bolivie . . . . .	31	République Démocratique Allemande (R.D.A) . . . . .	10
Brésil . . . . .	31	République Fédérale Allemande (R.F.A) . . . . .	8
Chine (R.P. de) . . . . .	28	Réunion (Iles de la). . . . .	26,31
Chypre . . . . .	23	Rhodésie du Nord. . . . .	21
Commission Européenne des Droits de l'Homme (voir aussi Belgique, France)	33	Rhodésie du Sud . . . . .	21
Comores (Iles). . . . .	26	Ruanda. . . . .	16
Congo-Léopoldville. . . . .	16	Soudan. . . . .	18
Conseil de l'Europe . . . . .	33	Suède . . . . .	7
Conseil de Sécurité . . . . .	32	Suisse. . . . .	7
(v. Chypre - Pakistan)		Syrie . . . . .	24
Corée du Sud. . . . .	28	Tanganyika. . . . .	20
Dahomey . . . . .	19	Tchécoslovaquie . . . . .	13
Espagne . . . . .	6	Turquie . . . . .	14
Etats Unis d'Amérique . . . . .	29	U.R.S.S. . . . .	11
France . . . . .	3	Vénézuela . . . . .	31
Gabon . . . . .	19	Vietnam du Sud. . . . .	28
Ghana . . . . .	19	Yougoslavie . . . . .	12
Grèce . . . . .	13	Zanzibar . . . . .	16,20,32
Guinée Espagnole. . . . .	22		
Guyane Britannique. . . . .	31		
Haiti . . . . .	31		
Honduras Britannique. . . . .	31		
Hongrie . . . . .	13		
Inde. . . . .	27		
Irak . . . . .	25		
Iran . . . . .	26		

## LIBERTE DE LA PRESSE :

Le bulletin de janvier de l'Institut International de la Presse déclare que, malgré les pressions accrues qui s'exercent sur elle dans de nombreux pays, la presse a néanmoins emporté une série de succès en 1963 dans sa lutte pour la sauvegarde de sa liberté.

En France, les journalistes ont démontré clairement leur détermination de maintenir la liberté d'expression en dépit des dispositions de la loi du 29/7/1881 qui a permis, au cours des quatre dernières années, de condamner près de 200 personnes pour atteinte à la dignité du chef de l'Etat. En Grande-Bretagne, la presse n'a cessé de réclamer la révision des "libel laws" et "Official Secrets Act" qui réduisent sa liberté. Un journal, le "Sheffield Telegraph" a mené une croisade courageuse en dévoilant certains abus de la police locale.

En Israël, les journalistes ont obtenu le remaniement d'un projet de loi prévoyant des sanctions contre la presse pour diffamation du Gouvernement. A Ceylan, la presse a déjoué des efforts gouvernementaux visant à son contrôle absolu. Au Pakistan, de nouvelles lois disposèrent que seules, les versions officielles des débats parlementaires et judiciaires seraient publiées. Elles furent suspendues après qu'un millier de journalistes eurent manifesté et commencé une grève.

Néanmoins, il n'en resta pas moins, selon le rapport de l'Institut International de la Presse, que certains états sud-américains ne prétendent même pas à la liberté de la presse, que les journalistes de nouveaux états africains "sont bien des membres d'un continent sombre, du moins en ce qui concerne les droits qui leur sont accordés," qu'en Indonésie, à Burma, des éditeurs de journaux sont en prison préventive depuis 2 ans (Guardian 2/1).

Le bureau exécutif de la Fédération Internationale des Editeurs de Journaux a protesté auprès du gouvernement algérien au sujet de la suppression de 3 quotidiens de langue française (Monde 2 et 3/2). Il a attribué la "Plumé d'Or de la Liberté" 1964 à M. Gabriel MAKOSO, directeur du Corrier d'Afrique à Léopoldville, qui mène depuis plusieurs années une action très courageuse en faveur de la liberté de la presse.

### I.- EUROPE

-----

#### BEIGIQUE.

##### Presse :

Dans notre pays même, un numéro du "Pourquoi Pas ?" a été saisi parce qu'il contenait une interview de M. TSHOMBE sur les circonstances de l'assassinat de Patrice LUMUMBA.

Une loi de 1852 permet, en effet, de censurer des articles de presse considérés comme offensants pour des chefs d'état étrangers.

Néanmoins, rappelant l'article 98 qui réserve les délits de presse à la compétence exclusive du jury, le bureau de l'Association Générale de la Presse Belge a fait publier un communiqué déclarant que le caractère inopportun d'une déclaration ne doit pas être jugé suffisant pour autoriser une mesure de saisie, préalablement à une décision judiciaire quant au fond. Le Sénateur P.L.P. VAN AUDENHOVE a fait une interpellation au Sénat à ce sujet et protesté, au nom de son parti, contre cette atteinte à la liberté de la presse, qu'il juge illégale et injustifiée.

Le pourvoi judiciaire a été saisi et appréciera le fond de la question (Soir : 1, 4, 8/2).

Affaires linguistiques :

A Strasbourg, deux autres plaintes contre la législation linguistique belge ont été déclarées recevables. Les requérants francophones de Louvain et Mol, se plaignent de ce que leurs enfants n'aient pas accès aux classes françaises de l'Institut du Sacré-Coeur de Heverlé et de l'Ecole Européenne de Mol. La Commission Européenne des Droits de l'Homme a accueilli les requêtes sur base des articles 8 (respect de la vie privée et familiale) et 14 (non-discrimination) de la convention ainsi que de l'article 2 du premier protocole additionnel (droit à l'instruction et droit des parents d'assurer l'éducation de leurs enfants conformément à leurs convictions religieuses et philosophiques (Soir 10/3).

La Commission a joint ces deux requêtes aux quatre autres affaires linguistiques belges qui ont été déclarées partiellement recevables le 26 juillet dernier. Une sous-commission se réunira à Strasbourg, dans la seconde quinzaine d'avril, afin d'entendre à huis clos les explications des parties sur le fond des 6 affaires.

Une 7ème requête, provenant de 85 habitants de Vilvorde, sera examinée lors de la prochaine assemblée de la Commission, c'est-à-dire en juin (Soir, 12, 13/3).

La presse belge a annoncé, à la fin de décembre, la constitution d'un Rassemblement pour le droit et la liberté, créé à l'initiative de 300 professeurs des universités belges pour défendre certains droits de l'homme qu'il précise dans l'énoncé de ses buts : "droit et liberté de chacun de vivre dans la culture de son choix, d'avoir accès à toutes les cultures et de s'exprimer dans les langues de son choix".

Un Comité pour le retour du chef fasciste Léon DEGRELLE se serait constitué en Belgique. C'est ce que déclara, à une conférence de presse, M. HALIN, porte-parole de l'Union Internationale de la Résistance, Léon DEGRELLE, a-t-il ajouté, attend à Constantina, sous le nom de Juan SANCHEZ, le moment où la prescription sera acquise à la condamnation qu'il a encourue il y a presque 20 ans (décembre 1944). L'Union Internationale\*Belge de prendre des mesures (pour éviter l'effet de provocation et de scandale d'un tel retour (Monde 16/2). \*de la Résistance a demandé au Gouvernement

FRANCE.-

A l'occasion du XVème anniversaire de la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme, M. POMPIDOU a exalté la "notion des droits de l'homme, essentielle à la pensée française". La presse s'est étonnée, une fois de plus, à ce moment, que la France, qui a signé, le 4 novembre 1950, la Convention Européenne des Droits de l'Homme, soit aujourd'hui le seul des pays appartenant au Conseil de l'Europe, à ne pas avoir ratifié cet accord (Monde 12/12/63).

Mesures de grâce en faveur des condamnés politiques :

Depuis le début de décembre, le Général de GAULLE a pris de nombreuses mesures de grâce en faveur de condamnés pour actes de subversion. Selon M. FOYER, garde des sceaux, le total des condamnations pour menées subversives s'élevait, au 31/5/63 à 2.360. Quarante et un criminels avait été condamnés à la peine capitale, dont 30 par contumace : 4 seulement furent exécutés. Actuellement tous les mineurs d'âge ont été graciés, dont 200 en décembre. On estime généralement, qu'en 1965, seuls

Les grands responsables de l'O.A.S. et les condamnés pour crimes de sang seraient encore en prison (Monde : 10 et 11/11, 25/12/63 et 17/1/64).

Affaire ARGOU :

Pour son rôle, tant dans le putsch d'avril 1961, qu'au sein de l'O.A.S., l'ex-colonel ARGOU a été condamné à la détention criminelle à perpétuité. La presse a généralement estimé que, si sa responsabilité, dans les actes criminels de l'O.A.S. était indéniable, son enlèvement à Munich, dans des circonstances mystérieuses, n'en était pas moins injustifiable. Cet enlèvement est à la fois une infraction à la loi pénale allemande et au droit d'asile dont la tendance est de plus en plus de faire un droit de la personne humaine. Il est inscrit du reste dans la constitution de la R.F.A. Aussi le Gouvernement allemand a-t-il envoyé 2 notes demandant au gouvernement français le renvoi d'ARGOU en Allemagne. Aussi la défense n'a-t-elle pas voulu plaider au fond et l'accusé a-t-il refusé de comparaître à plusieurs audiences (Monde, du 27/12/63 au 1/1/64 et Monde Diplomatique, Février 1964 : Henri ROLIN, Répression des Crimes Politiques et Droit d'Asile).

Le Comité central de la Ligue Belge pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme a voté, le 10 janvier, l'ordre du jour suivant :

"Le Comité central, ému des circonstances qui, de notoriété publique, ont entouré l'enlèvement par la force, en Allemagne, de M. ARGOU, et celui, au Sénégal, à bord d'un avion italien, de M. CURUTCHET

"Considère que les pratiques d'enlèvement à l'étranger des personnes poursuivies principalement pour des infractions à caractère politique, sont non seulement contraires au droit international, mais aux droits de la défense et aux principes élémentaires des droits de l'homme".

Arrestation de républicains espagnols :

La Ligue française a vigoureusement protesté contre l'arrestation d'une vingtaine de réfugiés politiques espagnols, s'étonnant "que le gouvernement d'un pays, qui est par tradition le refuge de tous les exilés politiques, ait cru devoir céder à des injonctions du chef de l'Etat espagnol". Des protestations nombreuses se sont jointes à celles de la Ligue, celles du Comité Directeur du Parti Socialiste S.F.I.O., de nombreuses organisations syndicales, de l'Association "La Libre Pensée", de diverses personnalités éminentes (Monde, 15, 18, 19, 20/10/63). Depuis lors, 17 des 21 personnes arrêtées ont été relâchées après 3, 4, ou 5 mois de prison et sans que rien n'ait pu être retenu contre elles. Les quatre inculpés, encore détenus, se proclament également innocents et ont fait une grève de la faim, en manière de protestation contre leur maintien en prison (Guardian, 18/1, Monde 26/2/64).

Statut des Objecteurs de conscience :

Ce projet de loi qui, pendant 6 mois, a fait la navette entre la Chambre et le Sénat, qui n'a cessé de la repousser, a été adopté en quatrième et dernière lecture, le 12/12/63 par l'Assemblée Nationale. Les sénateurs lui reprochent de comporter des clauses trop dures : il institue, pour les objecteurs de conscience, un service civil d'une durée double à celle du service militaire ordinaire et, d'autre part, il les exclut de certains emplois publics (Monde, 13/12/63). Une Commission juridictionnelle - qui a déjà été installée - tranchera les demandes, "assorties de justifications utiles", que les intéressés peuvent dorénavant envoyer au Ministre des Armées (Monde 24/1/64).

GRANDE BRETAGNE.-Anti-racisme :

M. Fenner BROCKWAY a introduit, pour la neuvième fois, au Parlement, son projet de loi contre la discrimination raciale sous toutes ses formes. Il estime que, chaque année, ce projet trouve plus de partisans.

M. Selwyn LLOYD, Chef de la majorité, a promis à une délégation venue le consulter à ce sujet, que les ministres envisageaient l'adoption d'une loi contre la discrimination raciale après les prochaines élections (Guardian, 15/1).

Le 13/9/63, l'Assemblée nationale du Parti Libéral avait déjà émis le vœu de voir adopter une loi qui proscrirait toute discrimination raciale en matière d'emploi, logement, lieux de divertissement publics, cafés et restaurants (Guardian 14/9).

Le Guardian du 27/9/63 annonçait que la Fondation NUFFIELD à Londres a offert une bourse de 70.000 £ à l'Institut des Relations Inter-raciales pour qu'il entreprenne une étude approfondie de ces relations en Grande Bretagne.

La presse anglaise s'est fort émue de ce qu'elle a appelé l'Affaire MANCROFT : Lord MANCROFT, sous la pression d'intérêts arabes et du bureau de boycottage d'Israël de la Ligue Arabe, a dû démissionner du Conseil d'Administration de la Norwich Union parce qu'il est Israélite. Cette démission valut un torrent de critiques à la compagnie. Pressé de reprendre son poste, Lord MANCROFT déclina cette offre. Le Gouvernement Britannique fit communiquer à la presse une déclaration très ferme s'opposant "à toute intervention de l'extérieur dans les affaires britanniques, affectant la liberté commerciale des sociétés." (Guardian, 2, 7, 10 à 15/12/63).

Abus d'autorité de la Police :

Au cours d'un interrogatoire, deux détectives de la brigade criminelle de SHEFFIELD s'étaient livrés contre trois suspects à des brutalités inadmissibles. Ils furent révoqués tandis que le chef de la brigade et le chef de la police de la ville étaient suspendus (Guardian 6 et 7/II/63). Dans le Monde du 8/II/63, Henri PIERRE émit l'opinion que ce qui surprenait le plus l'observateur étranger était l'intensité de la réaction populaire que la découverte de ces abus a provoquée. "C'est surtout, dit-il, parce qu'ils se font une haute idée de leur police que les Britanniques ont réagi aussi violemment... Dans ce pays, les réflexes de la défense de la personne humaine n'ont pas été érodés".

Le fait que la Police soit son propre juge en Grande Bretagne tourmente depuis longtemps le Conseil National pour les libertés civiles, lequel a demandé, dans une publication d'octobre dernier, la création d'un tribunal indépendant chargé de l'examen des plaintes des particuliers contre la police. Trois membres d'une Commission Royale, chargée d'enquêter au sujet du fonctionnement de la police et de faire des suggestions pour améliorer celui-ci, avaient proposé également la création d'une "Commission of Rights" (Guardian 16/II/63).

Campagne en faveur des réfugiés d'Afrique du Sud :

Le Labour Party a critiqué la politique du Gouvernement envers les protectorats d'Afrique du Sud. Il estime que celui-ci ne presse pas avec assez de vigueur les autorités de Bechuanaland, Basutoland et Swaziland d'admettre les réfugiés politiques d'Afrique du Sud (Guardian 16/10/63).

Le Conseil National pour les libertés civiles, dans son bulletin d'octobre, cite le cas de plusieurs "réfugiés de l'apartheid" auxquels les autorités des protectorats auraient refusé le droit d'asile, particulièrement au Bechuanaland. Il dénonce également les activités excessives du gouvernement d'Afrique du Sud qui "apparemment", serait autorisé à faire des perquisitions et arrestations sur le territoire même des protectorats".

Enfin, le mouvement international pour l'Amnistie politique, AMNESTY, a envoyé aux chefs des trois grands partis britanniques un document confidentiel concernant les activités des agents sud-africains dans des territoires britanniques d'Afrique (Guardian 1/II/63).

ESPAGNE.-

Vers un statut des protestants :

On étudie depuis 7 ans le statut à conférer aux 30.000 protestants que compte l'Espagne. Un projet serait enfin élaboré et soumis à l'épiscopat espagnol. Le président du Bundestag, en visite à Madrid, l'a déclaré en retard sur la mentalité européenne actuelle (Monde 14, 25/2/64).

Procès des Socialistes :

33 personnes, accusées d'avoir tenté de réorganiser le parti socialiste, ont été jugées à Madrid pour des faits remontant à novembre 1958. Dix-huit avocats espagnols sont venus à la barre défendre ouvertement les valeurs morales du socialisme. Vingt accusés ont été acquittés, les autres condamnés à des peines d'un à cinq ans de prison et à diverses amendes. Mais, en raison de l'amnistie décrétée à l'occasion du couronnement de Paul VI, les détenus ont tous été remis en liberté, après avoir purgé au moins deux ans de prison préventive (Monde 4, 12/2/64).

Le 9 février, dix étudiants de la faculté des sciences de Madrid ont été arrêtés pour avoir peint sur les murs de l'Université des inscriptions de propagande du syndicat clandestin des étudiants démocratiques (Monde 11/12/63).

Mesures contre les activités culturelles catalanes :

Le Gouvernement a ordonné la fermeture de l'Omnium Culturel et du Groupement Dramatique de Barcelone. La Revue "Serra d'Or", publiée par le Monastère de Montserrat, a dû cesser de paraître (Monde, 31/12/64).

Quatre cent prêtres et religieux, appartenant à tous les diocèses catalans, se sont solidarisés avec les déclarations faites au Monde, le 14/II, par Dom ESCARRE, Abbé de MONTISERRAT, dans lesquelles il affirmait que "le régime espagnol se dit chrétien mais n'obéit pas aux principes de base du christianisme". (Monde 13/2/) Une importante manifestation contre l'absence de libertés syndicales a eu lieu à Madrid le 11 mars.

Elle semble avoir groupé des éléments ouvriers très hétérogènes. Ses 600 participants réclamaient des syndicats libres et le droit de grève. La manifestation a été dispersée au bout de trois quarts d'heure par la police armée, qui a effectué de nombreuses arrestations. (Monde, 13/3). Quatorze d'entre-elles ont été maintenus.

#### PORTUGAL.-

##### Nombreuses condamnations et arrestations politiques :

Dix communistes ont encore été condamnés à des peines d'un à deux ans de prison pour propagande subversive (Monde, 12 et 19/11/63 ; 23/1, 26/2/64). De nombreuses arrestations politiques ont été signalées par la presse. Les deux écrivains connus Alexandre CABRAL et Alberto FERREIRA ne sont restés que 3 mois en prison, mais on n'a pas annoncé la mise en liberté de l'écrivain Alves REDOL, de divers dirigeants ou employés des Ciné-clubs et de la Revue IMAGEM (dont les critiques : Pedro ALVIM, Vasco GRANJA et Manuel SILVA), de quatre avocats : L. DE AZEVEDO, Manuel DURARO, M. CAL BRANDAO et T. DOS SANTOS, de l'écrivain TAVARES RODRIGUEZ, de deux ingénieurs du nom de ROSARIO, du Dr. DIAS AMADO, ancien professeur à la faculté de médecine de Lisbonnes, etc...

La libération de MM. ALVIM, GRANJA et SILVA a été sollicitée par un groupe de journalistes portugais et par 50 personnalités du cinéma français, appartenant à toutes les tendances politiques. (Monde, 2, 5, 12, 9/II/63 ; 7, 10, 11, 19, 29/II/63 ; 16/2/64). M. GRANJA aurait été victime de sévices de la part de la police.

D'autre part, un groupe de 38 écrivains a demandé au Président de la République Portugaise la libération de 9 écrivains qui se trouvent détenus en Angola (cf. ANGOLA). (Monde, 28/10). Le Comité de soutien à l'Angola que le R.P. PINTO DE ANDRADE a été de nouveau incacéré (Monde, 4/3/64).

#### SUEDE.-

Le pasteur noir américain, Martin Luther KING, a été proposé pour le prix "NOBEL" de la paix, en sa qualité d'apôtre de la revendication sociale et de l'intégration sans violence (Monde 2 et 3/2/64).

Cependant, des tracts antésémitiques ont été distribués devant le théâtre qui joue "Le Journal d'Anne FRANK" (Monde, 15 et 16/II/63)

#### SUISSE.-

Des groupes d'autonomistes jurassiens d'expression française réclament la séparation du Jura d'avec le canton de Berne, de langue et culture germaniques. Le plus extrémiste de ces groupes eut deux fois recours au terrorisme ; un attentat au plastique a été commis dans la maison d'un conseiller aux Etats du Canton et un autre contre une scierie appartenant au président de l'Union des patriotes jurassiens, mouvement opposé aux thésés séparatistes. Un dépôt d'explosifs a été découvert (Monde, 4, 10/9 ; 8, 10, 14/11/63). Enfin, le 4 mars, une tentative de sabotage de la voie ferrée Bienne-Berne lui a été attribuée (Monde 5/3/64).

ITALIE.-

On sait que le TYROL DU SUD ou Haut Adige, arraché à l'Autriche par le traité de Versailles, est administré depuis plus de 40 ans par l'Italie. Sa population (230.000 âmes) a gardé sa langue germanique et se plaint de l'insistance que met l'administration italienne à l'écartier de la vie administrative du pays et à proscrire le bilinguisme. Certains Tyroliens croient toujours pouvoir obtenir la solution de ces problèmes en recourant au terrorisme : une dizaine d'attentats à la bombe ont été commis à l'automne et un dépôt d'armes a été découvert près de Bolzano. A l'occasion du procès à Trente de plusieurs suspects de terrorisme, l'Autriche a accusé les carabinieri de Bolzano de leur avoir infligé des traitements inhumains, qui fut démenti par l'Italie. Les ministres des affaires étrangères des deux pays ont accepté de prendre comme base de discussions le rapport d'une commission de 19 experts, qui sera déposé sous peu. L'Italie envisagerait la possibilité d'accorder une certaine autonomie à la province de Bolzano (Monde 15 et 20/9 ; 10, 16, 25/10 - Guardian, 2' et 28/1963 ; 22/2/64).

Des attentats à la bombe ont également été commis contre des permanences communistes et contre le siège du parti C.G.I.L. à majorité, communiste et socialiste. Le secrétaire adjoint de ce parti les impute à des éléments fascistes (Monde, 10/I).

Objection de conscience :

Un prêtre et un journaliste italiens ont été condamnés par la Cour d'Appel de Florence à 8 et 6 mois de prison, avec sursis, pour avoir défendu le droit à l'objection de conscience au moment où un objeteur était condamné à 6 mois de prison ferme. (Evangile et Liberté, de la Fédération Protestante de France, 6/II/63).

AUTRICHE.-

Une conférence secrète, réunissant des magistrats et policiers autrichiens allemands et hollandais, s'est tenue à Vienne pour procéder à un échange de vues et de documents sur des affaires concernant d'anciens S.S. (notamment Erich RAJAKOVIC, ancien adjoint d'Eichmann) D'autre part, la commission disciplinaire du ministère de l'intérieur tente actuellement de déterminer si l'inspecteur de police viennois SILBERBAUER, qui arrêta Anne FRANK en Hollande et qui a été suspendu de ses fonctions, aurait uniquement exécuté les ordres de ses supérieurs (Monde, 30/II/63). Stefan ROJKO, le bourreau du camp de Theresienstadt, a été reconnu coupable de 26 assassinats et condamné à la détention perpétuelle par la Cour d'Assises de Graz. C'est la peine maximum en Autriche.

R.F.A.-

Les procès pour crimes de guerre n'ont pas cessé. Le plus important s'est ouvert à Francfort le 19/12 contre 22 allemands accusés d'avoir participé au meurtre de millions de prisonniers au camp d'Auschwitz. Parmi eux des commandants du camp, des docteurs, des dentistes, un pharmacien-chef. Ce sont des documents remis par un ancien détenu à un journaliste qui ont permis l'ouverture de ce procès, dont l'instruction dure depuis 1958. Les comptes-rendus des débats sont propres à consterner tous ceux qui croiraient à l'évidence de la nécessité du respect des droits de l'homme. Certes les accusés se sont présentés comme de pâles comparses ingorants ou amnésiques et ont tenté de minimiser les horreurs et les assassinats du camp. L'aisance relative avec laquelle

ils se justifiaient était, à elle seule, de nature à troubler les spectateurs. Un ancien infirmier n'a-t-il pas dit, pour minimiser ses forfaits : "Je n'ai jamais fait de piqûres mortelles qu'à des Juifs, jamais à un aryen" ; un autre, qui avait piqué 20 à 70 détenus par jour : "J'avais bien l'impression que ce n'était pas légal, mais je ne savais pas jusqu'où allaient les lois de la guerre".

Au sujet de cette apparente insensibilité, M. Simon WIESENTHAL, directeur du Centre juif d'éducation, à Vienne, a révélé que 4 "écoles d'assassinat" pour la formation et la déshumanisation du personnel des camps existaient en Allemagne nazie. Plusieurs des hommes qui les fréquentèrent seraient encore en vie. L'extermination des malades mentaux fut la première besogne de ces écoliers mais, dès 1942, les établissements se transformèrent et des expériences de gaz toxiques furent faites sur du matériel humain (Monde 22/2).

Les témoins n'avaient pas les mêmes raisons de se taire. Le premier d'entre eux, le Dr. WOLKEN, a fait une description si effrayante de l'infirmerie d'Auschwitz, où les malades, tourmentés par les rats et couchés les uns sur les autres à même le sol, mouraient de dysenterie et de typhus, puis des "chasses aux lapins" où les détenus, rampant sur la terre, sous le feu des sentinelles, jouaient le rôle de gibier, que de nombreux spectateurs ne purent retenir leurs larmes et qu'un juge fut victime d'une crise cardiaque et dut suspendre l'audience.

Le second témoin décrivit l'extermination systématique des Polonais, surtout des intellectuels et agriculteurs.

La doctoresse autrichienne LINGENS a déclaré qu'elle avait vu les gardes du camp jeter des bébés vivants dans un four à gaz. L'écrivain autrichien H. LANGBEIN a raconté avoir vu une chambre à gaz dans laquelle s'entassaient des cadavres d'enfants que les rats dévoraient. Il a accusé un des prévenus de s'être vanté que, sur 7 prisonniers désignés pour lui pour être exécutés, six l'avaient été par lui. Un ancien juge S.S., qui exerce actuellement la profession d'avocat à Francfort, et qui avait été chargé en 1943 d'une enquête à Auschwitz par le gouvernement hitlérien, a déclaré lui-même "qu'en pratique, les choses allaient au camp bien au delà des règles : les directeurs du camp assassinaient les détenus de leur propre chef". Des colis provenant du camp avaient été saisis : ils contenaient des kilogrammes d'or provenant des dents aurifiées des victimes.

Au moment où cette Chronique est mise sous presse, le procès continue. M. Ewald BUCHER, Ministre de la Justice de la R.F.A., au cours d'une interview radio-télévisée, a déclaré qu'il n'approuvait pas les démarches faites en faveur d'une amnistie pour les Allemands coupables de crimes de guerre et faisait tout ce qui était possible pour retrouver les dits criminels. Le fichier du centre de poursuites des criminels de guerre contiendrait au moins 500 noms de personnes qui devraient être traduites devant les tribunaux dans les 5 à 8 prochaines années". (Comptes-rendus du procès des responsables d'Auschwitz dans les journaux : Le Soir, 22/12/63, 15, 25, 28/2 ; 4, 8 et 9/3 Le Monde 20, 22/12/63, 1, 12, 15, 18, 19, 29/1 ; 1, 2, 3, 5, 23 et 24 et 29/2 ; 1, 2, 3, 7, 10, 11/3.)

D'autre part, un ancien commissaire de la Gestapo et son complice ont été condamnés aux travaux forcés à perpétuité pour l'exécution de 22.000 détenus du camp de concentration de Kulmbach (Monde 10/11/63). Pourtant le bilan des condamnations prononcées contre les anciens tortionnaires nazis semble encore peu proportionné au nombre et au caractère des crimes commis. Il a été publié à Bonn le 13/12/63 par le Ministre de la Justice de la R.F.A. : à la fin de 1962, 12.846 personnes avaient été accusées de crimes nazis : 400 furent reconnues coupables d'assassinat et 12 condamnées à mort (dont 3 exécutées), 75 furent condamnées à l'emprisonnement à vie (Guardian 15/12/63).

Le procès de l'euthanasie s'est ouvert également en Allemagne devant la Cour d'Assises de Limbourg : l'accusé principal, le Dr. MENGELE est vraisemblablement réfugié en Amérique latine, le second est en fuite et deux autres viennent de se suicider. Le Dr. Hans HEFELMANN est le seul accusé présent au procès. Il a déclaré n'avoir pas eu l'impression de commettre des délits !

Le Conseil fédéral de l'Ordre des Médecins d'Allemagne fédérale s'applique actuellement à vérifier les affirmations d'anciens détenus des camps de concentration, selon lesquelles 24 médecins ayant participé au programme hitlérien d'euthanasie (qui aurait fait environ 200.000 victimes) exercent actuellement leur profession en toute impunité (Monde, 14, 16/2, 5/3). Deux professeurs et un médecin seront inculpés de complicité avec le Dr. HEFELMANN.

On découvre en effet encore partout en Allemagne des anciens nazis à des postes de responsabilité ou de confiance : Ewald PETERS, un des gardes du corps du chancelier ERHARD, accusé d'avoir participé à des exécutions massives dans le Sud de la Russie, a été arrêté et s'est pendu dans sa cellule. M. Hans KRUGER, Ministre des réfugiés, a été suspendu en attendant les conclusions d'une enquête relative aux accusations dont il est l'objet de la part des communistes de la R.D.A. Il a été jugé en territoire polonais occupé. (Monde 24/I, 2, 4/2).

Un procès curieux a eu lieu à Stuttgart, celui d'un ancien garde-frontière d'Allemagne Orientale Fr. HANKE (22 ans), accusé d'avoir abattu, ainsi que l'y obligeaient ses fonctions et les lois de la R.D.A., un jeune compatriote qui tentait de passer en Allemagne Fédérale. HANKE s'est ensuite réfugié lui-même en R.F.A. Il y a été condamné à 1 an et 3 mois de prison pour avoir "volontairement commis un meurtre sans pouvoir être considéré comme un meurtrier". Le jugement fera sans doute jurisprudence - Monde 13 et 14, 20/10/63.

#### REPUBLIQUE DEMOCRATIQUE ALLEMANDE.-

Le "Mur de Berlin" s'est ouvert pendant trois semaines pour livrer passage à 1.318.000 personnes et 157.000 automobiles. Il s'est refermé le 7 janvier. Un jeune fugitif de l'Est, qui tentait de profiter de l'occasion pour passer à l'Ouest, a été abattu le jour de Noël (Monde 27/12/63 - 7/1/64).

Quelques chiffres encore : dans les 9 premiers mois de 1963, près de 3.000 personnes se sont échappées d'Allemagne Orientale (Guardian 10/10/63). Depuis le 13 août 1961, 1.380 garde-frontières, policiers et militaires, sont passés en Allemagne Fédérale (Monde, 12/9/63). Au moins 2.000 enfants, vivant en zone soviétique, sont empêchés de rejoindre leurs parents en République Fédérale. Toutes les démarches de la Croix Rouge à ce sujet seraient restées sans effet (Monde 2, 3/2/64).

Anciens nazis à la Chambre du Peuple :

Selon le "Comité d'enquête des Juristes Libres", 42 anciens membres du parti nazi figuraient sur la liste officielle des 433 candidats aux élections à la Volkskammer de la R.D.A. ; 54 députés de la chambre sortante étaient connus comme anciens nazis, notamment le Général Arno VON LENSKI (Monde, 5/10).

U.R.S.S.-

La rubrique des atteintes aux droits de la personne humaine en U.R.S.S. ne change guère de contenu d'une chronique à l'autre.

Campagne anti-religieuse :

Selon Bernard FERON du Monde (5/2/64) et André PIERRE du Soir (19/2/64) les soviétiques n'en font pas mystère. L'offensive contre la religion catholique orthodoxe est dirigée par la Commission idéologique du Comité central du Parti Communiste, qui a pris une série de mesures nouvelles : création d'un institut d'athéisme scientifique, organisation d'un département de l'athéisme dans les universités, production de films de propagande athéiste, organisation de centres anti-religieux dans les écoles. Selon l'Osservatore Romano, on continue à fermer des Eglises, et maisons de prière en assurant que les populations elles-mêmes le demandent. Les églises sont l'objet d'une surveillance, on s'efforce de gêner leurs activités. On fait pression sur les parents afin qu'ils ne fassent pas baptiser leurs nouveaux-nés. Un comité s'est constitué à Paris pour "faire la lumière" sur la situation des chrétiens en U.R.S.S. (Monde 4/3/64).

Brimades infligées à la culture et la religion juives :

L'église juive n'est pas mieux traitée : Le Dr. Nahoum GOLDMANN, président du Congrès Juif Mondial a déclaré dans son rapport aux membres du Congrès que la communauté juive en U.R.S.S., qui compte 3 millions de membres, serait en passe d'être détruite, non par massacre mais par brimades : refus de l'autorisation de pratiquer la religion ancestrale, d'adhérer à sa culture particulière, qui est pourtant accordée à d'autres fois religieuses et communautés nationales. M. GOLDMANN signale que des synagogues ont été désaffectées dans douze villes qu'il énumère (Guardian, 18/2, Monde, 11, 14 et 25/9/63).

Le grand Rabinat d'Israël a rendu public le texte d'une prière spéciale destinée à être récitée dans les synagogues du monde entier "en raison des destructions et fermetures des synagogues en U.R.S.S. quotidiennement rapportées par la presse". On sait que, depuis 2 ans, la fabrication de pain azyme à l'époque de la Pâque était interdite : 2 Juifs coupables d'en avoir fabriqué et vendu avec bénéfice avaient été punis de peines de prison. (Monde 11/9/63)

Cette année, on annonce dans les milieux informés, que l'interdiction a été levée : les Juifs seraient autorisés à faire cuire du pain azyme dans une boulangerie spéciale (Monde 28/2).

Est-ce le fruit des nombreuses requêtes qui ont été adressées à M. KROUCHTCHEV ? En décembre un appel particulièrement pressant lui fut fait en faveur des Juifs : il était signé par la Reine Elisabeth de Belgique, Lord RUSSELL, le Dr. SCHWEITZER, François MAURIAC et 8 autres personnalités éminentes. Il exprimait l'inquiétude des signataires en raison des mesures et publications qui dénotent de l'hostilité au peuple Juif en tant que tel". Il émettait également l'avis que les délits économiques sont frappés de châtements d'une sévérité vraiment excessive (Soir, 18/2, Monde 18/2/64).

Le 11 mars, à Bruxelles, les représentants des 10 organisations juives les plus importantes du Monde (dont le Congrès Juif Mondial) ont invité le gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. à prendre des sanctions contre les responsables de la publication en Ukraine d'un pamphlet de caractère antisémite qui s'intitule "Le Judaïsme sans masque". (Monde 12/3)

Les condamnations à mort pour crimes économiques restent fréquentes. Le Soir du 26/9/63 donnait le chiffre de 122 depuis juillet 1961, dont 11 en 1963. Selon le rapport de N. N. GOLDMANN, cité ci-dessus, 60 % des personnes condamnées à mort pour crimes économiques sont de race juive. On a signalé la condamnation, à mort, pour trafic de devises, d'un rabbin de PIATIGORSK : il aurait été gracié ensuite (Monde 1/9/63 - Guardian, 20/I/64), celle des 3 hauts fonctionnaires ukrainiens, de 11 personnes en Ouzbekistan (Monde 12/10/63), l'exécution d'un restaurateur et 2 fonctionnaires d'usines au Kazakhstan (Guardian, 27/12/63 ; Monde, 22/I/64), de deux directeurs d'un grand magasin de Riga : Rozenblum et Ruz. En février 5 personnes, dont 2 à nom d'aspect israélite : ROIFMAN et CHAKERNAN, qui dirigeaient, depuis 1957, une production clandestine d'articles de mercerie ont été condamnés à la pendaison (Guardian, 5/2, Monde 28/2).

Réhabilitations : Deux victimes de STALINE : le Commissaire d'armée BOULINE, arrêté en 1937, et le Commandant DYBENKO, fusillé en 1938, ont été l'objet d'articles élogieux dans "L'Etoile Rouge" (Monde 4 et 18/2).

Dégel littéraire : Les Izvestia elles-mêmes ont publié un long poème d'Alexandér TVARDOVSKI, directeur de la revue NOVY MIR : "TERKINE dans l'autre monde". C'est une féroce satire de la bureaucratie. La revue OKTIABR, plus conservatrice, a critiqué sévèrement ce poème.

#### LA POSITION DE L'EPISCOPAT DANS LES PAYS COMMUNISTES.-

Une certaine détente a été enregistrée. On avait espéré que plusieurs évêques de ces pays, qui n'avaient, pu aller à Rome pour la première partie du Conseil Oecuménique auraient été autorisés à se rendre à la 2ème Session. Néanmoins, sur 120 évêques des états communistes, une bonne quarantaine seulement ont assisté à la seconde partie du Concile (Monde, 25/9/63).

En YOUGOSLAVIE, les rapports entre le Gouvernement et le Vatican sont nettement améliorés. Des contacts auraient lieu en vue de la solution de certains problèmes. Il n'est pas impossible qu'un modus vivendi s'établisse après des années de tension et de récriminations mutuelles. Les évêques peuvent se rendre à Rome ; l'Etat aurait même accordé une aide financière à l'église catholique yougoslave (Monde 28/2/64).

En TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE, l'archevêque de Prague, Mgr. BERAN et 4 évêques ont été libérés par les autorités (Monde 5/9). Signalons aussi que 5 sociaux-démocrates, emprisonnés depuis 1954, ont bénéficié d'une amnistie de Noël (Monde 25/2). Un communiqué officiel a annoncé la réhabilitation de CLEMENTIS, fusillé en 1952 (Monde, 3/3).

#### HONGRIE.-

Réfugié à la légation des Etats-Unis à Budapest lors des événements de 1956 et condamné à l'emprisonnement à vie pour conspiration et trahison, le Cardinal MINDSZENTY, s'y trouve toujours. Le Vatican travaille sans relâche à sa libération. Le Gouvernement hongrois serait disposé à le faire bénéficier d'une amnistie mais non à annuler la condamnation. Le prélat refuse toute solution qui n'aurait pas la valeur d'une réhabilitation. Le règlement de cette affaire serait en vue (Soir, 8 et 28/2). Entretiens il a été mis fin au système des commissaires gouvernementaux qui contrôlaient l'activité des diocèses catholiques et les désignations des prêtres de paroisses ne sont plus soumises au contrôle de l'Etat -Monde, 2/I/63.

En POLOGNE, le cardinal WYSZYNSKI ne se fait pas faute de dénoncer les persécutions. Il s'est plaint, dans un sermon, du refus d'autorisation pour la construction d'églises : deux églises seulement ont été édifiées à Varsovie alors qu'il en faudrait 40 (Monde, 10, 15, 25/9/63). Des incidents se sont encore produits à Przemysl par suite de la transformation d'une école d'organistes en école nationale de musique ; huit personnes auraient été traduites en justice (Monde, 27 et 28/10/63). Enfin, l'entourage du Cardinal s'est ému d'apprendre l'appel sous les drapeaux de nombreux séminaristes polonais. Jusqu'ici en vertu d'un accord entre l'Eglise et l'Etat, ceux-ci ne faisaient pas de service militaire (Monde 3 et 4/II/63)

#### GRECE.-

Assassinat du député de gauche LAMBRAKIS : Le procureur de Salonique a demandé que soient traduits en justice pour complicité avec les deux assassins, abus de pouvoir et manquement à leur devoir, plusieurs officiers supérieurs, anciens hauts fonctionnaires de la police et la gendarmerie, impliqués dans l'affaire du meurtre, le 22 mai 1963, du député LAMBRAKIS. "Cette mesure fait honneur à l'indépendance et l'intégrité de la justice grecque" dit Marc MARCEAU du Monde (30/8, 17/9 ; 15/12/63).

Les observateurs envoyés pour suivre les élections du 3 novembre ont déclaré que celles-ci se sont déroulées dans un climat de liberté (Monde 16/II/63). Le nouveau gouvernement a annoncé une libéralisation du régime. La loi sur la presse sera révisé ; les "certificats d'opinion seront abolis" de même que les déportations d'ordre administratif sans décision judiciaire (Monde, 16/11 ; 5/12/63). Le Gouvernement a également annoncé la libération, par voie judiciaire, des détenus politiques en prison depuis au moins 10 ans, à l'exception des auteurs de crimes odieux (Monde, 19/11 ; 22 et 23/12/63, 23 et 24/2/64). De fait 15 prisonniers politiques ont été relâchés en novembre, 40 autres, la veille du nouvel an. M. ANBATIELOS, en prison depuis 16 ans à l'île d'Egine, n'était pas parmi eux (Monde, 2/I/64).

TURQUIE.-

Putsch manqué de l'Ecole Militaire (20 et 21/5/63) :

Le procès est terminé. Le colonel en retraite TALAT AYDEMIR, ancien directeur de l'Ecole Militaire d'Ankara, et trois de ses compagnons ont été condamnés à la mort par pendaison et 29 autres conjurés à l'emprisonnement à vie. Sur les 1459 cadets qui avaient participé au coup d'état, 75 se sont vu condamner à 4 ans de prison ; 91 autres, qui avaient été condamnés à 3 mois de prison et la radiation des cadres de l'armée, ont été acquittés en appel (Monde, 12/9/63).

Craignant que la Cour de Cassation ne casse ces sentences, l'Assemblée Nationale a, par deux fois, prorogé de deux mois l'état de siège et a rejeté les demandes en grâce déposées par les avocats des condamnés (Monde, 20/10/63 ; 21/12/63).

° ° °

II.- A F R I Q U E

ALGERIE.-

Création d'une justice 'Révolutionnaire' :

Des manifestations contre le gouvernement eurent lieu en janvier à Oran et en d'autres villes. Selon les communiqués officiels, 300 personnes auraient été arrêtées, "en majorité de jeunes voyous encadrés par des meneurs contre-révolutionnaires". En suite de quoi, une ordonnance gouvernementale a créé, au siège de chaque cour d'Appel une cour criminelle révolutionnaire chargée de juger les crimes susceptibles d'entraver le fonctionnement normal des institutions ou d'apporter un trouble exceptionnel à l'ordre public. Ces cours jugent sans appel.

M. BEN BELLA a exposé à la radio la nécessité d'une telle justice et M. KAHN, du Monde, s'est demandé si la petite manifestation d'Oran n'a pas été "exploitée pour justifier des mesures d'ordre exceptionnelles dans une situation difficile". (Monde 9, 10, 14/1 ; 12/2).

Le secrétariat du Front des Forces Socialistes, parti d'opposition dirigé par M. AIT AHMED, a annoncé l'arrestation de plusieurs militants : 50 à Constantine, 40, à Alger (Monde, 6, 14/2).

Affaire des marins de l'Hasiblal :

Ce petit caboteur, battant pavillon marocain mais affrété par une compagnie d'armement de Monaco, a été appréhendé dans les eaux algériennes. Soupçonné de trafic d'armes et transport d'explosifs, il a été saisi. Son équipage a été incarcéré. Mais, 50 jours plus tard, le gouvernement s'est excusé de son "erreur" et a rendu le bateau à son capitaine. Malheureusement l'équipage avait non seulement été victime d'une arrestation arbitraire, mais sérieusement malmené. Un marin français s'est plaint des sévices de la police marocaine ; un officier espagnol et deux marocains ont déclaré avoir été torturés ; un autre officier espagnol s'est suicidé dans des circonstances mal élucidées. Le Gouvernement français a élevé une protestation énergique, demandant que les responsables soient identifiés et châtiés (Monde 31/12/63, 2 et 3/2/64).

MAROC.-Procès de Rabat :

Selon l'arrêt de renvoi de la chambre d'accusation, deux groupes de conjurés devaient s'emparer du pouvoir après avoir assassiné le roi et ses principaux ministres. Des cellules et des dépôts d'armes avaient été constitués dans plusieurs villes. Le fqih BASRI, M. YOUSSEFI, ancien bâtonnier de Tanger, M. MEHDI BEN BARKA, tous trois dirigeants de l'Union Nationale des Forces Populaires, le Cheikh EL ARAB et M. MOUMEN DIOURI sont les principaux des 102 accusés.

Quel que soit le fondement des accusations, il paraît certain que les accusés ont été l'objet de pressions et de tortures extrêmement graves et que le procès soit entaché d'irrégularités nombreuses. M. DIOURI fit à l'audience le récit minutieux de tortures qu'il a endurées pendant 34 jours, il affirma que ses aveux lui avaient été extorqués et se découvrit pour montrer la trace des violences de la police. L'accusé Naïm BOUBEKER fit voir la trace de brûlures à la chaux vive. L'accusé FERGANI parla aussi d'horribles sévices et d'extorsion d'aveux, écrits en français, langue qu'il ignore. Quant à l'accusé KABBAL, il fit remarquer qu'un procès-verbal pour son interrogatoire avait été établi le 23/7/63 et qu'il n'avait été arrêté que le 27 du même mois. M. YOUSSEFI déclara qu'il avait vu tirer une rafale de mitraillette sur un accusé. Les avocats de la défense firent donc valoir que l'instruction était entachée de vices nombreux et demandèrent qu'elle soit recommencée dans des conditions régulières. N'obtenant pas satisfaction, ils renoncèrent à assurer la défense, celle-ci étant privée des moyens qu'elle réclamait pour apporter ses preuves. D'autres avocats furent commis d'office et les débats continuèrent.

L'indignation des observateurs s'est violemment manifestée. M. Erik T. POUSSON, membre de la Haute Cour Norvégienne et observateur au procès de la Commission Internationale de Juristes, écrit en conclusion de son rapport : "Ce que j'ai dit des arrestations sans mandat, torture, garde à vue et refus de citer à l'audience le juge d'instruction accusé de tortures, concerne des faits et des actions, dont chacune constitue une violation sérieuse et manifeste des garanties fondamentales inscrites dans la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme et dans la Constitution du Maroc".

M. JACOB, observateur de la Ligue Internationale des Droits de l'Homme et du Mouvement AMNESTY international, a également déclaré dans son rapport que les éléments de preuve de l'accusation ne présentent aucune garantie d'authenticité et ont été obtenus dans des conditions douteuses. Il note qu'aucun démenti officiel n'a infirmé les déclarations des accusés relatives aux tortures subies par eux. Le procureur général a estimé que ces rapports procédaient "d'idées préconçues" ! Le centre français d'information et d'étude sur la situation au Maroc (voir chronique n° 9) a demandé solennellement à tous les démocrates français d'exprimer leur indignation et de mettre tout en oeuvre pour la défense de ces accusés qui n'ont pas eu droit aux garanties les plus élémentaires. Des personnalités françaises, dont MM. Ch. A. JULIEN, François MAURIAC, J.P. SARTRE et André MAUROIS ont exprimé leur "étonnement douloureux" au Roi HASSAN (Monde 28, 29/II/63 ; 5 et 6, 9, 10, 14, 16, 18, 22, 23, 24, 26, 30/I/64, et 1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 14, 16, 29 et 24/2/64 - 4, 7/3/1964).

AFRIQUE NOIRE.-

Au tableau que nous faisons dans la Chronique n° 9 : agitation, subversion, conspirations, coups d'état, arrestations politiques, nous pouvons ajouter : coups de mains et révoltes armées !

Au Congo, en effet, ce sont des groupes d'émigrants armés qui se sont rendus coupables d'incursions au Soudan, comme au Ruanda, provoquant, dans leur pays, des répressions plus ou moins sanglantes. Des coups d'état n'ont échoué au Gabon, au Tanganyika, que grâce à l'intervention de troupes européennes. Celles-ci ont agi seules, en raison de mutineries de l'armée au Kenya et en Ouganda. Après un mois d'indépendance, Zanzibar a été le théâtre d'un coup d'état réussi qui a renversé l'Islam au profit d'un gouvernement noir. Le pouvoir du parti unique s'est encore renforcé dans divers pays : Dahomey, Cameroun. Il est devenu une dictature caractérisée au Ghana. Ce sont des troupes armées que mène le rebelle Pierre MULELE ;

CONGO-LEOPOLDVILLE.-

Les anciens territoires belges d'Afrique Centrale connaissent une nouvelles tension. Au Congo, depuis la fin de janvier, d'anciens partisans de LUMUMBA, groupés autour de Pierre MULELE, sèment la terreur au Kwilu, à moins de 500 km de la capitale, où ils auraient tué une centaine de personnes au moins, dont plusieurs missionnaires et 2 professeurs belges. Ils isolent et assiègent les missions, plusieurs d'entre-elles ont été évacuées et il ne semble pas que l'armée nationale congolaise ait pu rétablir la situation. Au contraire, selon le Soir du 15/2, un demi-million de Bambunda et Bapende soutiendraient les rebelles. La famine pourrait, dans quelques mois, menacer ces régions.

La manière dont les troupes gouvernementales traitent les rebelles ou même les simples suspects a été révélée le 6/2/64 par l'émission française "Cinq Colonnes à la une" qui a montré des prisonniers ligotés, battus, torturés et "livrés sans défense aux caprices de brutes immondes" dit M. Marcel GREGOIRE, dans le Soir du 13/2/, en en appelant à la Ligue Belge des Droits de l'Homme. Le général MOBUTU a déclaré l'émission "truquée".

Aussi le gouvernement congolais fait-il ce qu'il peut pour entraver l'information. En décembre, les correspondants du Soir, du Figaro et Journal de Genève ont été déclarés "indésirables" et priés de quitter le Congo (Soir, 6, 2/12/63).

D'autre part, au moment même où une commission réunie à Luluabourg décide de proscrire la censure de la presse dans la nouvelle constitution congolaise, le journal "Présence Congolaise" est empêché de paraître parce qu'il refuse de se plier à la censure préalable du gouvernement. L'Association de la Presse congolaise a dénoncé cette atteinte arbitraire à la liberté d'expression (Soir 1/3/64).

Au RUANDA, il semble que les Hutu (85 % de la population) veulent effacer dans le sang plusieurs siècles de domination féodale en éliminant systématiquement les Tutsi, chassés du pouvoir depuis 1959. Ceux-ci fournirent un prétexte à leur extermination : plusieurs groupes, réfugiés au Burundi, ont effectué des incursions sanglantes dans leur ancien pays (Soir 30/1). Quoi qu'il en soit, la riposte des Hutu constitua, semble-t-il, au moins en intention, un génocide caractérisé. Des familles entières de Watutsi du Ruanda, hommes, femmes, enfants, auraient été massacrées et leurs cadavres jetés dans la rivière. De nombreux Watutsi furent emprisonnés, exécutés, livrés à la populace et un climat de terreur se répandit dans tout le pays.

Il est impossible de déterminer avec précision le nombre des victimes. M. Anastase MAKUSA, président de l'Assemblée nationale du Rwanda, déclara, au cours d'une conférence de presse que celui-ci ne dépasse pas un millier.

M. BINNEMANS (Scir, 4/2) donne celui de 1.500 environ mais M. VUILLEMIN, détaché par l'U.N.E.S.C.O. comme enseignant à Butare, dans une lettre adressée au Monde (4/2/) parle de 8.000 personnes tuées dans la seule préfecture de Gikangoro. Témoin de nombreuses scènes sanglantes, il a démissionné de son poste, ne jugeant pas possible de rester au service d'un gouvernement qui tolère de telles choses. M. CARTER, envoyé de l'association philanthropique OXFAM a estimé le nombre des victimes à 10.000 et signalé la responsabilité de 2 ou 3 ministres et de chefs de municipalités (Guardian, 7/3).

Ne pouvant douter de la réalité du massacre de nombreux innocents, la Ligue belge pour la défense des droits de l'homme a voté le 7/2/64 l'ordre du jour suivant :

Le Comité central de la Ligue Belge pour la défense des droits de l'homme,

C o n s t a t a n t que des informations nombreuses et concordantes ne permettent malheureusement plus de douter que le massacre des populations Tutsi du Rwanda, dont les victimes se chiffrent dès à présent par milliers, menacent en se poursuivant d'entraîner leur disparition complète.

D é p l o r e à nouveau que la Convention Internationale du 9 décembre 1948 sur le génocide n'ait jamais été mise en oeuvre,

S a n s souhaiter évidemment le retour au régime féodal que la minorité Tutsi du Rwanda fit longtemps peser sur la majorité Hutu et tout en condamnant les incursions armées de Tutsis, au départ de territoires étrangers, dans le Rwanda,

V i v e m e n t ému du soutien qu'apportent par leur seule présence à l'actuel gouvernement du Rwanda, largement responsable de ces massacres les techniciens belges et spécialement les quinze militaires belges devenus "conseillers" de forces armées du Rwanda et les Belges détachés à la Sûreté Rwandaise au titre de l'assistance technique,

D e m a n d e au Gouvernement Belge de prendre d'urgence les initiatives qui s'imposent pour que

1. la Convention sur le génocide reçoive force de loi internationale et que les organismes qu'elle prévoit soient enfin créés ;
2. le Conseil de Sécurité de l'Organisation des Nations Unies mette ce problème qui risque de compromettre la paix entre le Rwanda et le Burundi à son ordre du jour ; qu'une enquête impartiale dont les conclusions seraient rendues publiques ait lieu et que les mesures soient prises pour faire cesser les massacres ;
3. que toute assistance technique au Rwanda soit suspendue aussi longtemps que le Gouvernement de ce pays ne sera pas à même de faire respecter le droit à la vie de ses ressortissants.

À la demande des Nations Unies, M DORSINVILLE - Haïtien a fait une enquête sur les lieux. Dans son rapport, publié le 5 mars, il estime que, sans aucune doute, un grand nombre de Tutsi ont été massacrés, mais que le nombre des victimes a été grossi et qu'il ne peut s'agir d'un génocide délibéré. Les événements se sont produits dans des régions où le gouvernement n'exerçait guère de contrôle et n'ont donc pu être dictés par Kigali (Monde 6/3)

Les journaux anglais estiment que ce rapport est "fort charitable" pour les autorités et que quelques mots de condamnation d'un massacre - même limité et "de représailles" - n'auraient pas été déplacés ! (Guardian 6/3).

Au cours d'une conférence de presse, l'Ambassadeur du Ruanda auprès des Nations Unies a assuré que son gouvernement avait pris des mesures énergiques pour mettre fin aux massacres de Tutsi et châtier les coupables (Monde 7/3). Depuis décembre, 15.000 Tutsi sont entrés au Burundi, pour fuir les persécutions a dit le Dr. MASUMBOKO, Ministre de la Santé du Burundi (Soir 8 et 9/3).

#### SOUDAN.-

Le gouvernement absolu mais paternaliste du Maréchal IBRAHIM ne serait peut-être pas mentionné dans cette Chronique, n'était la fâcheuse publicité que lui vaut "l'affaire du Sud". Au Soudan, en effet, l'Islam gouverne appuyé sur les deux tiers de la population, le dernier tiers (3 millions) compte un peu plus d'un demi million de chrétiens, groupés dans les provinces du Sud, auquel le gouvernement ne montre certainement pas la tolérance nécessaire. Dès 1957, la nationalisation des écoles a forcé au départ bon nombre de missionnaires ; une loi de 1962 leur interdisant toute autre activité autre que religieuse a forcé le tiers des missionnaires restant à quitter le pays. Enfin, le 27/2, le gouvernement a annoncé la déportation de tous les missionnaires étrangers : 272 catholiques et 28 protestants ; les églises et missions seront confiées à des prêtres soudanais. Les prêtres déportés ont été entassés dans des camions par des policiers quelques heures après avoir reçu l'ordre d'expulsion ; ils ont été emmenés à Juba et Khartoum sans nourriture ni commodités d'aucune sorte.

Le gouvernement a pris prétexte de troubles anti-musulmans et anti-arabes qui ont éclaté dans le Sud du pays où, en effet, des sécessionnistes vivant en exil, dont certains seraient chrétiens, organisent de temps à autre des raids dans le pays. Selon le Sunday Telegraph du 10/11/63, ils avaient rasé et pillé des villages et tué les habitants. Pourtant le gouvernement de Khartoum entretiendrait une armée de 4.000 hommes dans le Sud. A Wau, une centaine de rebelles ont été jugés : 3 condamnés à mort et pendus, 24 condamnés à des peines de prison, 21 autres personnes attendent leur jugement dont 2 prêtres ; ils sont accusés d'aide au mouvement terroriste. (Monde 14/8/63, 11/2/64, 23 et 24/2/64 ; Guardian 11/3, 28/2/64).

DAHOMÉY.-

Un nouveau texte constitutionnel a été approuvé par 98 % des suffrages. Il s'agit d'une constitution de type présidentiel comportant certains aménagements destinés à atténuer les pouvoirs du chef de l'Etat. Pour l'élection du président et du vice-président, une seule liste sera présentée aux électeurs : celle du "Parti Démocratique du Dahoméy, créé en décembre et groupant tous les chefs politiques du pays (Monde 17, 20/12/63, 7/1/64). Le Colonel Christophe SOGLO, chef du gouvernement du Dahoméy, a protesté auprès de l'O.N.U. au sujet des traitements "inhumains et sauvages" que les Nigériens ont employés à l'égard de Dahoméens du NIGER (Guardian 2/1/64).

GABON.-

On avait pu observer, depuis quelques mois, un malaise parmi les éléments politiques de l'opposition : ils n'avaient plus guère la possibilité de s'exprimer et les plus jeunes prétendaient être systématiquement écartés du pouvoir. Le 18 février, un comité révolutionnaire s'est emparé du président, M. Léon MBA, de plusieurs de ses ministres et confié le pouvoir au chef de l'opposition, M. AUBAME. Il ne semble pas qu'il ait été soutenu par la population de Libreville. En vertu d'un accord de défense, le gouvernement français est intervenu militairement et a rétabli M. MBA dans ses fonctions. Une commission d'enquête de 7 membres a été chargée de l'instruction des délits commis à l'occasion de la rébellion. M. MBA a déclaré "qu'il n'y aura pour ces aigris, ni pardon, ni pitié". (Monde, 19 à 25/2, 28/2).

GHANA.-

Au terme d'un référendum sur l'amendement de la Constitution, les électeurs ghanéens se sont presque tous prononcés pour l'instauration d'un parti unique. Les journalistes autorisés à suivre l'évolution du référendum, ont constaté de graves irrégularités : chaque bulletin de vote portait le numéro d'inscription du titulaire et ce bulletin "secret" devait être introduit dans une des deux urnes marquées "oui" et "non". Dans une agglomération rurale, l'urne "non" avait même été scellée, dans d'autres, considérées comme des fiefs de l'opposition, des électeurs ont été rayés des listes ou les élections ont été arrêtées prématurément. (A. HOPCRAFT et P. PRESTON : Threats and Farce in Ghana, Guardian, 3 et 5/2 ; Monde 4/2/64).

L'opposition n'en paraît pas moins impatiente ; pour la quatrième fois, en 3 ans, le dictateur Kwame NKRUMAH échappa le 2/1 à un attentat. Une semaine plus tard, le gouvernement décida d'importantes mesures de répression : le chef de l'ancien mouvement d'opposition fut arrêté, 11 officiers furent destitués, dont le chef de la police (Guardian et Monde 10/1).

Ajoutons que la nouvelle constitution autorise le président à destituer les magistrats de la Cour Suprême et de la Haute Cour pour des raisons dont il est seul juge. Le Ghana n'a donc plus qu'un chef, un parti un juge (Guardian, 1/1 ; 22/2). Des étudiants ayant critiqué à plusieurs reprises la politique du président, des purges de professeurs ont commencé à l'université (Guardian, 10, 11, 14/2).

Aussi la Commission Internationale de Juristes a-t-elle déclaré que "constatant que le gouvernement du Ghana tente de justifier ses agissements en prétendant qu'ils sont conformes aux principes africains et socialistes, elle affirme que l'on ne peut y voir que l'exemple familial de la dictature, reconnaissable en n'importe quel pays et qui ne caractérise ni le nationalisme africain, ni le socialisme" (Monde 29/2/64).

### DEUX SEMAINES D'INCIDENTS EN AFRIQUE ORIENTALE

#### ZANZIBAR.-

Le 12 janvier, après un mois d'indépendance, Zanzibar a été le théâtre d'un coup d'état de gauche. Le Sultan a été obligé de fuir et la communauté arabe semble avoir chèrement payé, dans ses biens et dans le sang, la domination qu'elle exerçait depuis plusieurs siècles. Des bandes d'Africains ont fait la chasse à l'arabe dans les rues de Zanzibar, leurs maisons ont été pillées et incendiées. Il est impossible de déterminer le nombre exact des victimes : la presse avance les chiffres les plus variables. Il semble que des condamnations sommaires aient été prononcées, certaines personnes, dont deux anciens ministres auraient été exécutés sur le champ. Le 31 janvier, M. Abib KARUME, nouveau président de la République, a annoncé que seul le parti afro-shirazi serait autorisé. Ce parti groupait essentiellement les masses africaines de l'île. Deux partis qui représentaient les éléments arabes ont été déclarés illégaux. (Soir, 14, 15/1 ; Guardian, 12, 20, 21, 24, 29/1 ; Monde 14, 22, 23, 26 29/1).

Le 3 mars, le Président KARUME a signé un décret autorisant la police à maintenir en détention, sans jugement préalable, "toute personne dont la conduite menace la sécurité de la République (Monde, 4/3).

#### Mutineries militaires au Tanganyika en Uganda, au Kenya :

Le 20 janvier de graves incidents se sont produits à Dar-es-Salam, où une unité de Tanganyika Rifles s'est révoltée et s'est assuré le contrôle de la ville. Le 23 janvier, des militaires des Uganda Rifles se mutinèrent et firent prisonnier à Kampala, M. Félix ONAMA, Ministre de l'Intérieur. Enfin, le 24 janvier, une révolte menaçait chez les Kenya Rifles de Nairobi. (Le Kenya est indépendant depuis le 12 décembre). Tous ces régiments exigeaient de très fortes augmentations de solde et le départ des derniers officiers d'origine britannique. Leurs gouvernements leur consentirent des concessions importantes mais ne purent maintenir l'ordre qu'en faisant appel à des troupes britanniques. Celles-ci, rapidement dépêchées d'Aden par le Gouvernement de Londres, empêchèrent des troubles plus graves au Kenya et en Uganda et mirent rapidement à la raison les mutins du Tanganyika. La situation reste cependant d'autant plus dangereuse que le chômage sévit au Kenya et que le prestige de MM. NYERERE (Tanganyika) et KENYATTA (Kenya) ont été sérieusement entamés.

Aussi M. NYERERE a-t-il fait procéder à plusieurs arrestations, notamment celle des chefs syndicalistes MKELLO et KAZIMOTO, et déclaré que les meneurs seraient châtiés. Il a fait désarmer ses soldats et établi une censure sévère.

M. KENYATTA a déclaré également que les militaires rebelles seront punis et que leurs leaders passeront en jugement. (Guardian, du 21 au 29/1, 10/2 ; Monde 21 à 24, 26, 28 à 30/1 ; 4, 11/2).

LA FEDERATION D'AFRIQUE CENTRALE a cessé d'exister le 31/12/1963.

RHODESIE DU NORD.-

Les premières élections ont investi M. Kenneth KAUNDA dans les fonctions de premier ministre d'un gouvernement autonome. Il a réaffirmé sa détermination de faire de la Rhodésie du Nord une nation unie sans différences raciales. Il a amnistié tous les condamnés politiques. Le pays deviendra sans doute indépendant cette année encore. (Guardian 23/I - Monde, 24/I, 4/2).

RHODESIE DU SUD.-

Aucun progrès n'aurait été réalisé dans les pourparlers entre le gouvernement britannique et M. Winston FIELD, premier Ministre de Rhodésie du Sud. Une nervosité croissante se manifeste au sein de la communauté sud-rhodésienne de souche européenne, qui désire obtenir l'indépendance au moins en même temps que le Nyassaland, c'est-à-dire en juillet. Mais le gouvernement britannique ne veut pas l'accorder avant qu'il ait été procédé à une révision équitable de la constitution sud-rhodésienne. Celle-ci devra prévoir l'accession graduelle au pouvoir de la majorité noire. La minorité blanche estime cette condition extravagante et parle de s'emparer du pouvoir contre le gré de la Grande-Bretagne. Entretemps, les troubles augmentent à Salisbury. Le 30/1 et le 4/3, la police a tiré sur la foule africaine, faisant 2 morts et plusieurs blessés. M. NKOMO, chef du principal parti nationaliste africain, a été condamné, le 21/12, à 9 mois de prison pour distribution de tracts subversifs. Il bénéficie d'un sursis en attendant le procès en appel mais ne peut approcher à plus de 15 miles de Salisbury. Son parti est banni depuis novembre (Guardian, 21/12/63 ; 31/1/64 ; 5/3/64).

AFRIQUE DU SUD.-

On ne constate aucune amélioration à la situation exposée dans notre Chronique n° 9.

Tortures et mauvais traitements : de nouveau des émigrés ont décrit à Londres, les traitements inhumains infligés aux prisonniers par la police. Le pharmacien A. LEWITTON, par exemple, dit comment il avait vu battre et maltraiter des prévenus dans une prison sud-africaine (Guardian, 8/2).

En Afrique du Sud, à Bloemfontein, des policiers ont été jugés pour ces mauvais traitements. Au cours du procès, deux docteurs sont venus décrire les traces de sévices qu'ils ont relevées sur le corps de prisonniers décédés : l'un portait 23 marques de coups de fouet, un autre des "cloches semblables à celles causées par des chocs électriques" (Guardian, 16/12/63). Pourtant le Dr. VORSTER, ministre de la Justice a déclaré qu'il ne nommera pas de commission d'enquête à ce sujet "car la chose est tout à fait inutile !". (Guardian, 23/1/64).

Détention préventive au secret : Soixante psychiatres et médecins sud-africains ont adressé un appel aux autorités pour qu'elles revocent le régime de la détention préventive, si nuisible à la santé morale et nerveuse des détenus. "Rien ne peut justifier, ont-ils dit, les blessures physiques et mentales infligées à des gens qui n'ont pas été reconnus coupables par jugement d'un tribunal" (Monde 18/12/63).

M. NZO, par exemple, détenu dans un régime d'isolation absolue pendant 238 jours, souffre de troubles nerveux graves, M. MABULELONG, après des mois au secret, a été transféré dans un asile psychiatrique : pourtant aucune charge n'a été retenue contre lui, 4 autres détenus ont subi le même sort.

M. VORSTER a déclaré que la détention préventive resterait appliquée tant que le besoin semblerait s'en faire sentir (Soir, 15/1).

On continue à arrêter des Africains sur le simple soupçon qu'ils pourraient appartenir au parti interdit "Pan African Congress". La presse a rapporté la condamnation à des peines de prison, pour cet unique motif, de 9 Africains en janvier, 14 en février (Guardian 7/1).

Le procès des anciens dirigeants du "Pan African Congress" avait commencé puis a été ajourné au 7 avril : le procureur a présenté un document dont il ressortirait qu'un plan d'attaque avait été dressé par ce parti contre le territoire de la République sud-africaine (Monde, 12/2 ; 5/3/64).

L'Afrique du Sud a refusé de recevoir le groupe d'experts de l'O.N.U. que M. THANT avait proposé d'envoyer dans ce pays en application de la résolution du Conseil de Sécurité du 4/12 dernier (Monde 8/2).

#### AFRIQUE PORTUGAISE.-

Le poète portugais Virgilio DE LEMOS, arrivé à Londres en provenance de Mozambique, a déclaré au Guardian (18/2) que, pendant son interrogatoire par la police portugaise, il a été soumis 5 fois à la torture dite de la "statue" : obligation de rester debout immobile pendant des périodes de 3 à 7 jours. Il ajouta que des africains accusés, comme lui, d'essayer d'organiser un mouvement de subversion, avaient été battus et soumis 10 jours à ce supplice !

#### GUINEE ESPAGNOLE.-

Une loi d'autonomie administrative a été acceptée, à une large majorité, par la population des territoires espagnols de Guinée. Toutefois, les chefs nationalistes ont déclaré que cette loi n'a été admise que comme une étape "brève, transitoire et technique" sur le chemin de l'indépendance. Des élections municipales auront lieu en mars (Monde Diplomatique, février 1964 - Monde, 15, 18, 18, 22/12/63).

## III.- A S I E

CHYPRE.-

Cette île, jadis pacifique, est devenue le foyer d'une haine raciale et religieuse qui a conduit aussi bien la minorité turque (20 % environ) que la majorité grecque aux pires atteintes aux droits de la personne humaine. Le monde s'est étonné que deux communautés, ordinairement évoluées et raisonnables, aient pu perpétrer l'une et l'autre de réelles atrocités.

Certes la constitution, imposée au moment de l'octroi de l'indépendance, introduisit dans l'île un système voisin de l'apartheid, qui n'était pas fait pour créer un rapprochement d'ordre psychologique : dirigeants grecs et turcs de Chypre sont d'accord pour dire qu'il a accru la tension entre les deux ethnies, attisée encore par des excitations étrangères. La majorité grecque, qui n'exerçait pas les prérogatives normales du pouvoir s'est sentie brimée et impuissante : la minorité turque de plus en plus inquiète, voyait le salut dans le partage de l'île. Turcs et grecs étaient séparés au parlement comme à l'armée, les municipalités de maintes villes et villages étaient dédoublées. Ce système, peu démocratique et peu viable, a produit ses fruits amers depuis décembre.

Des violences, dont l'origine fut imputable tantôt à l'un, tantôt à l'autre groupe, se produisirent en plusieurs villages et mirent le feu aux poudres. La minorité turque n'était pas plus innocente que la majorité mais elle est évidemment vite apparue comme la plus exposée aux coups : elle semble avoir compté beaucoup plus de victimes. Excitée par quelques attaques - voir attentats -, la majorité grecque n'a pas craint de tirer sur des villes et quartiers turcs, brûlant des demeures, tuant femmes et enfants. La nuit de Noël fut une nuit de frénésie raciste : des quartiers de Nicosie furent envahis par des foules grecques déchaînées, que la police ne pouvait ou voulait contenir. Ils furent détruits, pillés. Une véritable tuerie se serait produite : des mitrailleuses et fusils à lunettes auraient été installés sur le toit des maisons, mosquées et églises. Les habitants turcs du secteur furent expulsés de force et emmenés comme otages.

La population turque abandonna presque tous les villages mixtes. Terrorisée, elle s'établit dans des tentes, écoles, étables, mosquées et y vit dans des conditions de réfugiés. Certains de ces refuges furent du reste assiégés par la population grecque, par exemple l'école de Polis, celle de Mallia.

Dans une lettre qu'il a adressée le 24/2, au Conseil de Sécurité, M. Rauf DENKTASH, président de la communauté turque cyprite, a déclaré que, depuis le 21/12/63, plus de 800 cyprites turcs ont été tués ou blessés, surtout des femmes, enfants et vieillards et que des biens leur appartenant, d'une valeur de 6 millions de Lst., ont été détruits. Un quart de la population turque de l'île serait actuellement sans foyer ou sans travail.

Par ailleurs un groupe d'extrémistes turcs a déclenché, le 9 mars, à Ktima, l'attaque d'un marché, tué 7 grecs et a emmené des femmes et des enfants.

Il fallut l'intervention de troupes britanniques pour que la majorité des otages soit libérée et une trêve conclue. Mais, peu après, les Turcs furent assiégés dans un quartier de Ktima par la police grecque et les combats reprirent. Les troupes étrangères n'arrivent plus à empêcher les forcés de s'entretuer : les autorités grecques menacent de s'en prendre à elles aussi. Le Secrétaire des Nations-unies semble ne pas être parvenu à constituer une force internationale, selon la mission que lui a confiée le Conseil de Sécurité. Il est donc à craindre que de nouvelles atteintes aux droits de l'homme soient perpétrées dans l'île : il est difficile en effet de soutenir que la population turque ne doive pas y être protégée contre ses propres extrémistes et les réactions qu'ils déclenchent.

(Scir, 30/1 ; 13, 18, 23 et 24, 28/2 ; 11, 12/3/64  
 Monde, 21, 25, 31 /12/63 ; articles de Eric ROUBEAU du 6 au 9/2 ;  
 22, 23, 30/1 ; 2, 18, 23, 24 et 25/2, 10, 11, 12/3/64  
 Guardian, 14/1 ; 3, 8, 13, 17, 22/2 ; 10, 11/3/64.

#### SYRIE.-

Le procès des conjurés de la tentative de coup d'état pro-nassérien du 18/7/63 a eu lieu devant la Cour Martiale de Damas. Dix personnes ont été condamnées à mort, dont 7 par contumace, mais le Conseil Suprême de la Révolution a commué ces peines le 6/12. Il a décidé en outre de lever l'indignité nationale qui frappait 101 personnes et de libérer la plupart des condamnés de la révolution du 8 mars et du coup d'état du 18 juillet (Monde, 7/12/63).

Pendant des émeutes marquèrent le 24/12/63, à Homs, l'anniversaire de l'union syro-égyptienne. En vertu de la loi sur l'état d'urgence, en vigueur depuis 2 ans, les perturbateurs ont comparu aussitôt en Cour Martiale : 5 d'entre eux ont été condamnés à des peines allant de 10 à 20 ans de prison. De nombreuses arrestations ont été signalées en outre à sa suite de troubles mi-religieux, mi-politiques dans certaines villes (Monde 25/2/64).

Le 27 décembre, la presse israélienne était pleine du récit des souffrances endurées par 11 prisonniers israéliens échangés contre des Syriens détenus en Israël. Ces personnes avaient disparu à proximité de la frontière, 8 d'entre-elles sont restées plus de 8 ans en prison et toutes affirment avoir été torturées. Elles sont dans un état physique et moral révélateur des épreuves subies ; l'expertise de médecins de renommée mondiale a été sollicitée et le secrétariat des Nations Unies a été saisi de ce cas (Monde 26/12/63).

#### ISRAËL.-

Israël a connu, à l'automne, une période d'agitation et de fanatisme confessionnels. Des "militants de la Thora" ont réclamé la fermeture des missions chrétiennes, des manifestations se sont produites contre les écoles confessionnelles ; d'autres en faveur de la laïcisation de l'état (Monde 27/9 ; 2, 15/10/63). La presse israélienne a condamné les exaltés des deux bords ; le gouvernement a réprouvé le fanatisme et les actes de violence ; les responsables des incidents contre les institutions confessionnelles furent traduits en justice (Monde, 13, 14, 18/9/63).

Un nouveau paquebot israélien, le Chalom fut lui-même victime de l'intolérance religieuse. Pour attirer la clientèle internationale, il se proposait de servir deux cuisines, l'une rituelle, l'autre pas. Les juifs pratiquants ont menacé de boycotter la compagnie de navigation. (Monde 27/2)

Monseigneur Georges HAKIM, Archevêque grec catholique de Galilée, a remis aux journalistes à l'occasion de la visite papale, une note faisant un tableau fort sombre de la situation des arabes chrétiens et musulmans d'Israël, évoquant notamment l'expropriation et la destruction d'agglomérations arabes pour faire place à des logements pour immigrants juifs. La presse israélienne a traité ces allégations de calomnies, sans démentir le fond même de ces accusations (Monde 2 et 3, 27/2).

#### ADEN.-

Un attentat à la grenade s'étant produit à l'aéroport d'Aden, plusieurs centaines de dirigeants syndicaux et politiques auraient été déportés sur l'île de Kamaran, ce qui a provoqué la protestation de la Confédération Internationale des Syndicats libres. Plusieurs des personnes arrêtées se sont plaintes de mauvais traitements; un débat a eu lieu à ce sujet à Londres à la Chambre des Communes et 3 groupes de parlementaires britanniques ont été invités par le gouvernement d'Aden à venir se rendre compte sur place de l'injustice de ces allégations. Les enquêtes opérées ont dénoncé tout au plus l'absence de confort des prisonniers: 44 détenus ont été interrogés; seulement 20 personnes étaient encore sous les verrous en février. (Guardian, 1/1; 10, 13, 19/2).

#### IRAK.-

La radio gouvernementale a annoncé le 10 février qu'un cessez-le-feu était intervenu entre les troupes irakiennes et les rebelles Kurdes. Les troupes gouvernementales, engagées dans la répression, ont commencé à regagner leurs garnisons. En mars, le gouverneur militaire a annoncé son intention de libérer immédiatement 450 détenus politiques, arrêtés à la suite de l'insurrection Kurde. Des correspondants de presse ont pu rencontrer le général BARZANI, chef de la rébellion. Celui-ci leur a déclaré que ses combattants n'ont pas encore déposé les armes car les négociations relatives au futur statut politique des Kurdes n'ont pas été entamées. Il attendait l'arrivée de négociateurs officiels à Ranya, ayant refusé de se rendre à Bagdad. Il avait demandé que des représentants de puissances étrangères assistent aux pourparlers. 400 militaires irakiens, capturés par les Kurdes, avaient été libérés (Monde, 12 à 17, 23 et 24/2; 3/3). Après cet entretien, le correspondant de l'agence Reuter a été expulsé d'Irak (Guardian 6/3).

IRAN.-

On se rappellera que des adversaires du régime, de droite comme de gauche, se sont retrouvés côte à côte, en juin dernier, dans des émeutes qui ont duré 3 jours et ne purent être réprimées que par les chars et les voitures blindées de la garde impériale. Les principaux responsables furent arrêtés en même temps que les chefs et des membres de l'opposition. Deux d'entre eux furent exécutés dès novembre, mais c'est en décembre que débuta le procès de la majorité des détenus. Les irrégularités semblent y avoir été nombreuses : procès "publics" se déroulant pratiquement à huis clos, interdiction à la presse de donner un compte rendu des débats, avocats nommés d'office, récusés par les accusés et qui ont continué à les défendre, etc... Parmi les accusés, on compte de nombreux intellectuels, étudiants, professeurs - dont 4 de l'Université de Téhéran, pour lesquels des peines de mort ont été requises.

Aussi des associations d'étudiants de 33 pays, des associations et organisations syndicales françaises, des personnalités, dont M. Daniel MAYER, président de la Ligue française des Droits de l'Homme, ont signé des protestations condamnant la peine de mort pour délit d'opinion et demandé la vie sauve pour les prévenus ainsi que la libération des prisonniers politiques (Monde, 5, 21/12/63, 9/1, 16 à 20/2 ; Eric ROULEAU "L'Iran 10 ans après MOSSADEGH).

Les arrestations continuent : à la fin de février, 3 généraux et une cinquantaine d'officiers ont été appréhendés et accusés de complot, ensuite 8 personnes accusées d'appartenir à un groupe terroriste (Monde 23, 24/2/64).

REUNION.- (Ile de la)

Ce département français de l'Océan Indien (360.000 habitants) possède de une opposition communiste nationaliste, dirigée par M. Paul VERGES, ancien député et directeur du journal "Témoignages". M. VERGES a été condamné le 7/2 à une peine de 3 mois de prison à la suite de la publication d'un article concernant des incidents électoraux survenus en mai dernier. Cette condamnation s'ajoute à une peine analogue infligée en appel par la Cour d'Appel de Saint-Denis pour des articles parus en 1961 (Monde 17/2).

L'archipel des COMORES, situé également dans l'Océan Indien, au Nord de Madagascar, a également le statut de territoire d'Outre-Mer et est administré par un Conseil de Gouvernement et une assemblée locale. Depuis plusieurs mois, un mouvement de libération exigeant l'indépendance des îles, a pris naissance au sein de la minorité arabe comorienne fixée à Zanzibar. Ce mouvement a envoyé une lettre au Général de GAULLE, demandant des élections libres, l'accession à l'indépendance et le retrait des troupes françaises (Monde 30/8).

INDE.-

Depuis 8 ans le peuple Naga, (habitant un territoire situé le long de la frontière birmane), soucieux d'obtenir plus d'indépendance et se prétendant brimé par le gouvernement central indien, menait une guérilla contre l'armée indienne. Il accusait celle-ci d'avoir incendié ses villages, ses moissons et violé ses femmes. Il avait lancé plusieurs appels à l'O.N.U., pour qu'elle empêche les avions indiens d'attaquer ses territoires et ce par l'entremise d'un Conseil Révolutionnaire Naga, dont le président, M. Zaphu PHIZO, vivait en exil à Londres (Observer, 25/8). Des pourparlers eurent lieu entre le gouvernement indien et les chefs Nagas. Le 3/12, le Nagaland, le seizième et plus petit état de l'Union Indienne, a été inauguré. A Delhi, on espère que l'autonomie ainsi accordée au peuple Naga, amènera la fin du conflit mais les dirigeants rebelles souhaitent une indépendance complète. M. PHIZO a reçu un sauf-conduit pour se rendre en Inde (Monde, 4/12/63, Guardian, 2 et 7/12/63, 3/1/64).

D'autre part de sanglants affrontements ont eu lieu entre les communautés hindoues et musulmanes au Bengale. Très vite, ce furent des malfaiteurs professionnels qui, selon Jean WETZ (Monde 25/1) "conduisirent la danse, pillant et brûlant de façon très impartiale, les maisons et boutiques des deux communautés": 100 à 150 personnes auraient été assassinées à Calcutta et Dacca : 10.000 musulmans se seraient réfugiés au Pakistan (Guardian, 13/1). Le Gouvernement indien a déclaré avoir pris les mesures nécessaires mais il a fort à faire à Calcutta, appelée par Jean WETZ "Capitale du monde de la misère !"

PAKISTAN.-

Toujours selon M. WETZ (Monde, 27/2), il paraît vraisemblable qu'au Pakistan également, un mouvement xénophobe créé pour des motifs économiques et religieux, d'abord toléré, et peut-être encouragé, ait finalement échappé à tout contrôle et déclenché une monstrueuse tragédie. Au Pakistan oriental, il existe de nombreuses communautés catholiques et protestantes dans les villages. En janvier et février, nombre d'entre elles auraient été assaillies par des foules musulmanes en furie ! les maisons ont été brûlées ou confisquées, les femmes violentées, les récoltes et le bétail saisis. En tous cas, 60.000 personnes auraient franchi la frontière pour se réfugier en Inde. Le R.P. BUCCIERI, qui dirige la mission catholique de Tura (Assam : district des montagnes Garo) parle de 20.000 émigrés catholiques et 15.000 protestants, terrorisés et démunis de tout ; les garde frontières pakistanais avaient tiré sur eux. (Monde, 27/2, Guardian 26/2, Soir 29/2).

M. BHUTTO, ministre des affaires étrangères du Pakistan, a déclaré que "sur les 47.000 chrétiens isolés dans la jungle au Pakistan oriental, 10.000 seulement sont partis et ce en raison de l'afflux de musulmans venus d'autre part de l'Inde". (Monde 28/2). Quoiqu'il en soit l'Archevêque de Dacca s'est rendu, à l'invitation du Président AYUB KHAN, à Karachi, pour discuter de l'exode des chrétiens du Pakistan oriental. Il aurait reçu l'assurance que le gouvernement sauvegardera les droits de ces minorités que "l'Inde agite avec des histoires de persécutions imaginaires". (Guardian 28/2/64).

VIETNAM DU SUD.-

Trois mois après la chute du Président DIEM, un nouveau coup d'état a éclaté au Sud-Vietnam. Seize généraux ont fait arrêter 4 des principaux membres du directoire militaire (dont les généraux KIM et DON) qui gouvernait le pays depuis le 1er novembre et se sont emparés du pouvoir. Leur chef est le général NGUYEN KHANH. Il a déclaré à la presse qu'il s'agissait simplement d'écartier ses collègues trop favorables aux solutions neutralistes. Treize quotidiens ont été interdits par le nouveau gouvernement. (Monde 31/1 ; 1, 2, 3, 4, 21/2). Le 23 février, le journal "SAIGON NEWS", fortement appuyé par les services de M. CABOT LODGE demandait "Si les généraux DON et KIM sont coupables de complot neutraliste, pourquoi ne pas les faire passer en jugement ? Et s'ils ne le sont pas, le général KHANH ne devrait pas oublier que le régime de M. DIEM est mort de n'avoir pas su reconnaître à temps ses erreurs". (Monde 26/2).

COREE DU SUD.-

Des élections présidentielles (15 octobre) ont fait ressortir une majorité très réduite en faveur de l'ancien dictateur, le général PARK. (4.702.640 électeurs ont voté pour lui, 4.546.614 contre). L'ancien régime militaire est donc devenu un régime civil, mais 6 partis d'opposition de plus en plus conscients de leur force, malgré toutes leurs divisions s'opposent à lui. Au lendemain des élections, on a annoncé la découverte d'un complot dans certains milieux estudiantins appuyés par des éléments de l'armée : 6 personnes auraient été arrêtées et accusées de tentative d'assassinat (Monde 18, 19, 30/10).

CHINE (Populaire).-

Les dissensions intervenues entre l'U.R.S.S. et la Chine Populaire ont permis à la presse de publier quelques informations relatives à ce pays. C'est ainsi que l'opinion mondiale a été avisée du fait que les minorités nationales (Ouzgours et Kazakhs) du Sinkang et du Kazakhstan sont victimes de persécutions de la part des Chinois. Pour y échapper elles auraient entrepris depuis plusieurs mois un vaste exode vers l'U.R.S.S. Le chiffre de 50.000 réfugiés aurait été avancé officieusement. (Monde, 21/9, Soir 24/9, selon la Komsomolskaïa - Pravda).

M. TYCHKABAEV, écrivain Kazakh originaire de ces régions, a publié des détails précis dans la Literatournaïa Gazeta. Il raconte que, dès 1957, une hostilité croissante se manifesta contre ces populations; une grosse majorité de ses membres fut écartée de toutes fonctions et envoyée dans des camps de rééducation par le travail, qui sont de véritables camps de concentration. Un mouvement de résistance s'organisa. C'est alors que les autorités procédèrent à des déplacements massifs de populations, déportant les Kazakhs vers l'arrière-pays et repeuplant le Sikiang de Chinois.

M. O. MASKEVITCH, de la Pravda du Kazakhstan a corroboré ces faits ; il aurait vu des dizaines de familles réfugiées, mourant de faim et vêtues de loques, des villages Kazakhs rasés, des groupes de prisonniers politiques chargés de chaînes (cf. Michel TATU, Soir, Monde, 28/2/64).

BIRMANIE.-

Le gouvernement militaire du général NE WIN a rompu ses pourparlers avec les chefs des mouvements communistes - plus de 420 politiciens, journalistes et syndicalistes de gauche auraient été arrêtés le 15 novembre à Rangoon (Guardian 18/11)

o  
o

IV.- A M E R I Q U E  
-----

U.S.A.-

Le vote par la chambre des lois antiracistes, présentées par le Président KENNEDY, est de première importance. La déclaration dans sa forme actuelle interdit toute discrimination concernant le droit de vote, la fréquentation des théâtres, des hôtels et autres lieux publics, toute discrimination dans les avantages accordés par l'état et les programmes fédéraux ; elle augmente les pouvoirs du procureur général pour réprimer les infractions.

Le vote à la chambre n'a pas posé de problème grave. La situation sera probablement toute différente au Sénat. La minorité Sud démocrate compte organiser un "filibuster" traditionnel, c'est-à-dire l'obstruction par une succession ininterrompue d'orateurs à la tribune, ceci afin, d'obtenir certains amendements à la loi en échec de son adhésion finale (Guardian 12/2/64).

On suppose que cette opposition durera des mois (Monde 11 /2/64), l'adoption finale du projet plus ou moins amendé ne semble cependant pas douteuse. Les leaders noirs ne considèrent le vote des lois civiques que comme une première étape, ils désirent notamment obtenir de meilleures possibilités de travail, d'instruction donnant accès à un travail d'un niveau supérieur ; ils attaquent vivement la "ségrégation résidentielle" existant en fait dans le Nord des Etats-Unis comme dans le Sud (U.S. News and world Report - Negro leaders tell their plans for 1964, p. 56 - 24/2/64) (Soir 8/2/64).

Les leaders noirs se montrent très heureux du fait que l'ancienne taxe, mise à charge de celui qui désirait voter va disparaître. Cette taxe privait de nombreux américains noirs et de souche mexicaine de la possibilité d'exercer leur droit de vote. Un amendement à la constitution avait été voté en ce sens en 1962, mais pour être applicable il devait également être ratifié par les  $\frac{2}{3}$  des législatures des états de l'Union. Le premier qui lui donna force constitutionnelle fut le Sud-Dakota le 24 janvier 1964. Cinq états seulement n'ont pas marqué leurs accords et essaieront de maintenir la taxe sur le droit de vote sous un autre nom. (Guardian 25/1/64).

Les manifestations anti ségrégationnistes se poursuivent entraînant arrestations et attentats.

A Atlanta, 70 arrestations furent faites à la suite de manifestations opposant les intégrationnistes et le Kukluxklan (Monde 21/1/64) et 90 arrestations la semaine suivante (Monde 28/1/64). Des manifestants ont été blessés et des jeunes filles durent être hospitalisées. Près de

400 manifestants ont été arrêtés à Chapel-Hill depuis le 13 décembre (Soir 4/2/64). A Princess-Ann, alors que 300 étudiants manifestaient, la police intervint avec chiens policiers et lances d'incendie, blessant 59 personnes et en arrêtant 20 autres (Monde 29/2/64). A Jackson, trois manifestants noirs sont blessés par un tir de police (Monde 5/2/64). Quinze manifestants noirs sont arrêtés à Cambridge (Maryland)-(Monde 27/2). Deux cocktails "Molotov" furent jetés contre la demeure du leader noir SMALL (Monde 18/2/64), un pasteur noir vit son église réduite en cendres (Monde 25/12/63). Une jeune fille blanche a été condamnée à un an et demi de prison et à une amende de 1.000 \$ pour avoir participé à une manifestation à Atlanta (Monde 22/2/64).

Une condamnation de sept mois de prison seulement fut prononcée contre le dénommé SMITH, âgé de 16 ans, qui avait tué un jeune noir à Birmingham (Monde 21/1/64).

Pour la première fois la peine de mort fut requise contre un blanc, BYRON de la BECKWITH, accusé d'avoir tué en juin le leader noir M. EVERS. A la surprise générale, il déclara que le fusil découvert sur le lieu du crime, lui avait été volé avant le jour du meurtre. Le procès a été remis à une date ultérieure, le jury, composé de blancs ayant été incapable de rendre un verdict unanime (Guardian 28/1/64, Monde 9, 10/2/64).

Les écoliers de plusieurs villes ont déserté massivement l'école pour manifester contre la ségrégation de fait qui règne dans le nord : les loyers des habitations du quartier blanc sont trop élevés pour les noirs, les écoliers blancs et noirs sont séparés : à New-York, 500.000 élèves noirs et américains portoricains s'absentèrent (Soir 5/2/64 - Monde 5/2/64) ; à Boston et à Chicago plusieurs milliers d'élèves boycottèrent également leurs écoles (Guardian 28/2/64 - Monde 29/2/64).

Si un étudiant noir est admis à l'Université d'Auburn sans incident, une nouvelle manifestation de ségrégation a lieu à Tuskegee, où 12 enfants noirs avaient été inscrits dans une école récemment intégrée : à la demande du gouverneur WALLACE, les parents blancs retirèrent leurs enfants de l'école (Monde 2 et 3/2/64) et celle-ci fut fermée pour des raisons de "rentabilité". Un tribunal fédéral ordonnant alors d'inscrire les enfants noirs dans des établissements non intégrés (Monde 5/2/64), les élèves blancs boycottèrent leur école (Monde 16 et 17/2/64).

A Shorter, 6 élèves noirs ayant été admis dans une institution, la moitié des élèves s'absentèrent (Monde 7/2/64).

Certains signes plus heureux sont aussi à signaler : pour la première fois un noir américain, M. ROWAN, assistera aux réunions du Conseil de Sécurité (Monde 23/1/64). Un juge noir vient d'être nommé en Géorgie. Une dizaine d'acteurs américains exigent, avant de signer un contrat, que leurs films ne soient pas projetés dans des cinémas ségrégationnistes (Guardian, 11/2/64). L'Association pour le progrès des Noirs a adressé une demande à la Cour Suprême pour que les noirs ne soient plus appelés en justice uniquement par leurs prénoms (Monde 31/1/64). La Cour Suprême a abrogé une loi de Louisiane, exigeant que la race du candidat soit spécifiée sur le bulletin de vote (Monde 15/1/64). La Cour Suprême a décidé de s'occuper directement de l'importante affaire de ségrégation de Prince Edward (Monde 8/1/64), où les écoles publiques avaient toutes été fermées à la suite d'un arrêt ordonnant la déségrégation scolaire.

Les cinquantes plus grandes compagnies privées américaines d'électricité, de gaz, téléphone et télégraphes sont accusées par M. SONNABEND, président du Comité Juif américain, de recourir à des pratiques discriminatoires contre les juifs dans leurs établissements. Il n'y aurait qu'un % de juifs dans le personnel dirigeant (Monde 31/12/63).

#### DECOLONISATION :

Le 1er janvier, l'Archipel des BAHAMAS et le HONDURAS britannique ont accédé à l'autonomie interne avec un système bicaméral (Monde 8/1/64, Monde 3/1/64 et 1/2/64).

#### GUYANE BRITANNIQUE.-

Des manifestations pour l'obtention immédiate de l'indépendance ont eu lieu à Georgetown. Au cours d'incidents, un indien a été grièvement blessé (Monde 11/2/64).

#### ANTILLES (et REUNION.-)

Dans un manifesta publié à Paris, différents groupements des Antilles et de la Réunion demandent un nouveau statut, devant aboutir au suffrage universel libre et secret, à une Assemblée délibérante et à l'installation d'un exécutif responsable devant-elle (Monde 19/12/63). Plusieurs autres organisations ont protesté contre cette requête, affirmant leur appartenance à la France (Monde 8/1/64) (cf. aussi Réunion)

#### HAÏTI.-

La Commission Internationale des Juristes, jouissant d'un statut consultatif aux Nations-Unies, a fait un rapport stupéfiant au sujet de la tyrannie régnant à Haïti : les membres du gouvernement pillent le pays pour leur profit personnel ; pour obtenir sa réélection le président DUVALLIER usa d'un procédé simple : il fit imprimer son nom sur tous les bulletins de vote, les membres du parlement ont été mis en congé ; la nomination des magistrats dépend désormais du Président (Monde 25/2/64).

Dix huit jésuites canadiens ont été expulsés dernièrement d'Haïti sous de vagues allégations d'activités mettant en danger la sûreté de l'état (Monde 9 et 10/2/64 ; Guardian 14/2/64 - Monde 15/2/64).

#### Au BRÉSIL

la "guerre de la terre" aurait fait sa première victime dans l'état de Goiás (Monde 23, 24/2/64).

#### VENEZUELA.-

POMPEIO MARQUES, un des chefs du parti communiste (interdit) et une dizaine de membres importants des partis communiste et révolutionnaire ont été arrêtés (Monde 20/12/63, Monde 17/1/64). Tous les leaders d'extrême-gauche arrêtés depuis octobre seront déférés devant les tribunaux militaires sous l'accusation de "rébellion armée" (Monde 17/1/64).

#### BOLIVIE.-

A la suite de l'arrestation de deux de leurs dirigeants communistes les mineurs boliviens ont pris comme otages quatre américains et dix huit autres personnes (Monde 12/12/63 ou 10/12/63). Ceux-ci furent relâchés ensuite sur la promesse d'un jugement équitable des leaders syndicaux (Monde 18/12/63).

Le général BARRIENTOS, chef de l'armée de l'air et candidat à la présidence a été grièvement blessé. Deux autres attentats eurent lieu le même jour (Monde 27/2/64).

PEROU.-

De graves incidents ont fait 17 morts à Sicuani, les forces de la police ayant voulu chasser des paysans indiens des terres qu'ils avaient occupées (Monde 17/12/63 ; 6/2/64 - Soir 6/2/64, Monde 17/2/64). Cinquante agitateurs ont été arrêtés et seront placés dans des pénitenciers au coeur de la forêt amazonienne (Monde 9, 10/2/64).

° °

V.- ASSOCIATIONS INTERNATIONALES

---

NATIONS UNIES.-

Assemblée générale : (cf. Chronique n° 9)

L'Assemblée générale a terminé le 17 décembre 1963 les travaux de sa XVIIIème Session après avoir admis ses 112ème et 113ème membres : le ZANZIBAR et le KENYA. La session n'a pas obtenu des résultats spectaculaires, mais elle a pratiquement fait admettre, malgré l'opposition de la France, que le principe de non-intervention de l'O.N.U. dans les affaires intérieures des états ne s'applique pas lorsque les droits de l'homme sont gravement violés (Monde 19/12/63).

Le Conseil de Sécurité :

a examiné une plainte du PANAMA accusant les Etats-Unis de menaces répétées et d'actes d'agression. Il a lancé un appel aux deux gouvernements. Il a également été saisi d'une demande d'intervention du PAKISTAN, qui souhaitait voir "interdire à l'Inde d'intégrer le Cachemire à son territoire", mais il a ajourné son débat à ce sujet.

Enfin il a été saisi par la Grande Bretagne et Chypre de la triste affaire cyprite (voir Chypre) où, tout d'abord, il a échoué dans la recherche de propositions de nature à satisfaire les communautés ennemies de l'île. La médiation de M. THANT eut le même résultat négatif. Mais le Conseil de Sécurité reprit les négociations et, le 5 mars, une résolution fut enfin votée à l'unanimité. Elle prévoit l'envoi, pour 3 mois, dans l'île d'une force de police internationale (contingents venant de Pays du Commonwealth et de pays neutres) et la désignation d'un arbitre par le Secrétaire général (Monde 6/3).

Le Conseil d'Administration du B.I.T. a accepté le rapport de la commission spéciale concernant un programme d'action pour l'élimination de la politique d'apartheid en Afrique du Sud. Il a adopté une proposition d'amendement à sa constitution, qui donne à la conférence du B.I.T. la faculté d'interdire la participation à ses travaux de tout pays membre dont l'O.N.U. aurait pu constater qu'il poursuit une politique de discrimination raciale. La Conférence Internationale du Travail devra prochainement se prononcer à ce sujet.

CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE :

M. Polys MODINOS, Secrétaire général adjoint, a inauguré le 21 novembre les premiers cours donnés à la chaire des droits de l'homme de la faculté de droit de Strasbourg. L'Université de Strasbourg est la première au Monde a avoir créé une chaire des droits de l'homme.

La Commission Européenne des Droits de l'Homme a déclaré irrecevable la requête introduite par Stein Andreas IVERSEN contre la Norvège.

On se souviendra que le requérant alléguait que la "Loi provisoire" de juin 1956 était incompatible avec l'article 4 de la Convention des Droits de l'Homme. La loi en question prévoyait un service dentaire obligatoire pour les dentistes. Le requérant soutenait en outre que le Ministère des Affaires Sociales avait violé l'article 4 en lui enjoignant, en décembre 1959, d'aller pratiquer sa profession à Moskenes (Nordland) pour une année. Cet article prévoit, en particulier, que nul ne peut être astreint d'accomplir un travail forcé ou obligatoire, ce qui toutefois n'inclut pas les travaux ou services accomplis dans certaines circonstances strictement définies.

La décision d'irrecevabilité a été prise par une majorité de six membres sur les dix membres présents et votant. La requête a été déclarée irrecevable pour défaut manifeste de fondement. (Conseil de l'Europe, Direction de l'Information, C (63) 49, 20/12/63.)

Le Comité des Ministres du Conseil de l'Europe a adopté le texte d'un Code Européen de Sécurité Sociale. Il sera ouvert à la signature le 16 avril ; le texte en sera rendu public le même jour (Conseil de l'Europe, Direction de l'Information, C (64) 3 - 7/12/63).

ooooo

B I B L I O G R A P H I E

La pièce "LE VICAIRE" de Rolf HOCHHUTH a été, depuis sa création à Berlin en novembre 1962, l'objet de nombreuses controverses, en raison de ses critiques sur l'attitude du Pape PIE XII à l'égard des persécutions nazies. Elle rappelle d'une manière dramatique les massacres des camps de concentration et ramène l'attention sur la plus grande infraction aux droits de l'homme commise en Europe Occidentale depuis le début du siècle. La pièce se jouera à Bruxelles ; elle a été traduite par J. SEMPRUN et éditée par "Le Seuil".

Autre tableau de l'enfer d'AUSCHWITZ peint par l'écrivain polonais Tadeuz BOROWSKI ; "Le Monde de Pierre", traduction par Erik VEAUX - Paris, Calmann - Lévy, 1964.

Jacques BERQUE : Dépossession du Monde (décolonisation)  
Paris, Seuil, 1964.

Haïm GOURI : Cage de Verre (journal du procès EICHMANN) :  
Paris, Albin Michel, 1963.

James BALDWIN : More Notes of a native son : Nobody Knows my name  
New York, Michaël JOSEPH, 1964.

Vicent SAVARIUS : Volontaires pour l'échafaut ;  
(procès de Budapest en 1949) ; Paris 1964.

M.A. KLOCHKO : Un russe en Chine  
Paris - Gallimard, 1964

Georges CHAFFARD : Indochine, 10 ans d'indépendance  
Paris - Calmann-Lévy, 1964

Michel BERNARD : Le Québec change de visage  
Paris - Plon, 1964

Nombreux ouvrages sur la situation en Afrique :

Lord HAILEY : The Republic of South Africa and the High Commission  
Territories  
Londres, 1963 (en anglais), Oxford University Press.

Jean-Daniel WAGRET : Histoire et Sociologie politiques de la République  
du Congo-Brazzaville  
Paris, R. Pichon et R. Durand-Auzias, 1963

Robert CORNEVIN : Le Togo, nation-pilote  
Paris, Nouvelles Editions latines, 1963

Maurice POLLET : L'Afrique du Commonwealth  
Paris, Ed. St. Paul, 1963.

Hélène TOURNAIRE et Robert BOUTEAUD :  
Livre noir du Congo (Congo-Katanga- Angola)  
Paris, Librairie Académique Perrin, 1964

J. GERARD LIBOIS : Sécession au Katanga ;  
Bruxelles, Ed. Crisp, 1964.

Presse Périodique :

DOCUMENTS DE LA REVUE DES DEUX MONDES : 28 ème numéro - Janvier 1964  
Un drame américain : "Le Problème noir".

Revue de l'ACTION POPULAIRE : Janvier 1964  
numéro spécial consacré aux Droits de l'Homme

APRES-DEMAIN : n° 60, Janvier 1964  
sur l'Ordre Public et la Liberté

Politique Etrangère : (du centre d'Etudes de Politique Etrangère) :  
P. AUBERT de la RUE : Le Québec et l'Avenir du Canada,  
Bernard ANTAR : La Mongolie entre Moscou et Pékin.

SOCIALISME, n° 60 - Bruxelles, novembre 1963 :  
P. MURRAY : les aspects légaux de la déségrégation raciale aux Etats  
Unis.

\* Jacques LE CORNEC : Histoire Politique du Tchad  
Paris, R. Pichon et R. Durand - Auzias - 1963.

\* Zbigniew BREZINSKI et 7 collaborateurs : Africa and the communist  
world (en anglais) ; Stanford University Press, 1963.

LE MONDE COMBATTANT - organe de la Fédération Mondiale des Anciens Combattants

Décembre 1963 - n° spécial consacré au XVème anniversaire de la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme.

DROIT et LIBERTE : février 1964 :

commente les pièces "Le Vicaire" et "Zoo de Vercors".

Deux hebdomadaires sur les problèmes africains sont publiés à Paris : Révolution Africaine et Jeune Afrique.

Voir dans Jeune Afrique : janvier 1964

L'Avenir de la dictature en Afrique.

Béchnir BEN YAHMED : Mort du Parti Unique.

février 1964 :

Aziz MAAROUF : Au Maroc, Le procès change de face

L'Affaire LUNUMBA : La confession de TSHOMBE.

#### Documents...

Bulletin n° 3 pour la Vérité sur les crimes de STALINE

Recueil des décisions de la Commission Européenne des Droits de l'Homme - Strasbourg n° 11 - novembre 1963 (2)

O.N.U.- Assemblée générale - A/5603 : 12/11/63 - Projet de déclaration sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale. (2)

Rapport de la Mission d'Enquête au Vietnam du Sud (Assemblée générale A/5630 - 7/12/63) (2)

La Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme : Un Idéal pour tous les peuples - Ed. spéciale du XVème anniversaire du 10 décembre 1963. (1)

Documentation sur l'Europe Centrale :

(Institut de Recherche de l'Europe Centrale à Louvain)

15/12/63 : Liberté religieuse en Tchécoslovaquie

M. FCRAIN : Aspects de l'Eglise Catholique de Pologne

Janvier - février 1964 :

S. MUSLAY : Kommunisme ten overstaan van godsdienst en kerk.

(1) Cette brochure peut être obtenue au siège de la Ligue, 1, avenue de la Toison d'Or - Bruxelles 6.

(2) ces ouvrages peuvent être consultés à la Ligue.

ED 718 - 27 - 242

30. 8. 63

24. 10. 63 V.

CONFERENCES ON RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

C/- London Institute of World Affairs,  
Faculty of Laws,  
University College,  
Gower Street,  
LONDON. W.C.1.  
30th August, 1963.

---

Memorandum to Participants:

1. The Peace Research Conference, convened as part of the Quaker Conference Programme, took place between 16th August and 20th August, 1963, at St. George's School, Clarens, Switzerland.
2. Attached is a copy of the official list of participants. Attached also is a copy of the text of the agreed decision which established "Conference on Research on International Peace and Security".
3. At the conclusion of the conference a short press statement was issued and a copy of this is attached. It is suggested that you may wish to send this statement to appropriate academic journals in your country. As further background that might be sought by interested persons, attached also is the summary of proceedings prepared by the staff of the conference.
4. It is hoped that the first meeting of the Standing Committee will take place in London on Saturday and Sunday, 28th and 29th September. This date cannot be confirmed until nominations to the Standing Committee have been received from the various academics and institutions concerned. Each has been so informed.
5. The Standing Committee will be concerned at this first meeting almost entirely with administrative matters, its relationships with Pugwash, the organisation of a secretariat, the obtaining of necessary funds, and some preliminary consideration of the first international conference to be held in June or July 1964. If any participant has any second thoughts in relation to any matter discussed at the conference, it would be appropriate to communicate to the Secretary-General before the meeting of the Standing Committee.
6. One of the first endeavours of the Standing Committee will be to compile a list of institutes, organisations, departments and persons that might be directly interested in research on International Peace and Security. It would be helpful if participants could send to the Secretary-General any information which would be useful in the compilation of such a list.

John Burton  
Secretary-General

PEACE RESEARCH CONFERENCEClarens, Switzerland  
August 16-20, 1963

ED 718-27-243

CONFERENCE MEMBERSHIP

ADLER, David	Danish Peace Research Society	45 Haslegaardsvej, Hellerup, Denmark
ALCOCK, Norman E.	Canadian Peace Research Institute	P.O. Box 70, Clarkson, (Ontario), Canada
BAILEY, Sydney D.		19 Deansway, London, N.2.
BOAHEN, Frank	General Secretary, Accra Assembly	P.O. Box 1627, Accra, Ghana
BOULDING, Elise	Research Associate, Center for Research on Conflict Resolution, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA	International Christian University, Mitaka, Tokyo (Sept. 1963 to June 1964)
BOULDING, Kenneth	Professor of Economics and Co-Director, Center for Research on Conflict Resolution, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA	See above
BURTON, John	University College, London	Gower Street, London, W.C.1.
COOPER, Ralph A.	American Friends Service Committee	12 rue Adrien-Lachenal, Geneve, Suisse
CORY, Robert H.	Quaker Disarmament Representative to United Nations, New York	Quaker UN Program, 345 E 46 New York 17, N.Y.
HOCHFELD, Julian	Deputy-Director, Dept. of Social Sciences, UNESCO, Paris	UNESCO, Paris
HUNNIUS, Gerry	European Representative, Canadian Peace Research Institute	Pension Aolon, Dorotheer- gasse 6-8, Wien-1, Austria
ISONO, Fujiko		1429 Ikobukuro 3 Toshima-ku, Tokyo
KUCZYNSKI, Jurgen	German Academy of Sciences	Parkstrasse Berlin-Weissensee, DDR
LANDHEER, Bart	Director, Peace Palace Library and Professor of International Relations, University of Groningen	Peace Palace, The Hague, Netherlands
MENDL, Wolf	Dept. of War Studies, Kings College, University of London	97 Woodland Drive, Watford, Herts, England
PASTER, Nicholas (Chairman)	Director, Antioch Education Abroad	Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, USA
ROLING, Bert V.A.	Professor, Director of the Polemo- logical Institute at the University of Groningen	Groenesteinlaan, 22 Groningen, Netherlands
ROTLAT, Joseph	Professor of Physics, University of London	8 Asmara Road, London N.W.2.
RUGE, Mari Holmboe	Research Associate, Institute for Social Research, Section for Research on Conflict and Peace	Munthes Gate 31, Oslo-2
SAWICKI, Jerzy	Dr., Polski Instytut Spraw Miedzynarodowych, Warsaw, Poland	Dlugosza 2 m 26, Warsaw
SOJAK, Vladimir	Director, Institute of International Politics and Economics, Prague	Na piskach 18, Prague, Czechoslovakia
TALENSKII, Nicolai	Chief, Section of Historical Aspects of Disarmament, Institute of History	Academy of Sciences, Moscow
URBAN, Ludek	Economic Institute, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences	Polit. Veznu 7, Prague-1
de YTURBE, Francisco-Luis	Professor Adjunto, Seminario de Derecho-Politico	Salamanca, Spain
ZSEBOK, Zoltan	Professor of Radiology, University of Budapest	Ulloi ut 78 Budapest-VIII, Hungary

CONFERENCES ON RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

The Plenary Session of the Peace Research Conference agrees:

1. That a series of international conferences on research on International Peace and Security be instituted along the pattern of Pugwash Conferences, without constitution or stated procedures in the first instance, and managed by a Continuing Committee of nine members one of whom would be the Secretary-General.
2. That the Continuing Committee be elected at this Conference and given power to co-opt as it thinks fit in relation to its developing activities.
3. That the main activity of the Continuing Committee be to convene international conferences of a scientific nature.
4. That the first such international conference be held in the Summer of 1964, in Clarens if possible, and the theme of this conference be "The Contribution of Social Sciences to the Establishment of Stable Peace", with the additional special objective of preparing for the 1965 International Co-operation Year sponsored by the United Nations.
5. That invitations to participants of Conferences be issued by the Continuing Committee taking into account a balance between the various disciplines in the social sciences in relation to the subjects to be discussed, and taking into account also geographic distribution.
6. That the site of Conferences be determined having in mind restrictions upon movement of scientists of some countries, costs of transport, the presence of social scientists in all regions of the world, and the importance of furthering the widest possible exchange of scientific knowledge.
7. That the Continuing Committee in addition to its primary function to convening conferences, consider other suggestions made at this Conference, including its detailed administrative arrangements and its status; the compilation of a list of existing research groups concerned with Peace Studies, their publications and special interests; the making of abstracts in collaboration with the Canadian Peace Research Institute; liaison with research workers in Peace Research groups; the establishment of a scientific association of persons concerned with Peace Research; the publication of a Year Book, Newsletters or other means of communication; exploration of means of communication with decision-makers and the public; and other matters which the Continuing Committee might decide upon.
8. That the Continuing Committee meet as and where required, and establish its secretariat at the headquarters of the Secretary-General.
9. That the Continuing Committee establish a close working relationship with the Continuing Committee of Pugwash, and that Pugwash be asked to appoint an observer to it, and to receive an observer from it, and to consider the possibility of joint and/or simultaneous conferences on matters of common interest.
10. That the decision to hold conferences, and to carry out other objectives mentioned, be communicated to the International Social Science Council, and to relevant scientists and institutions.
11. That a full report of this Conference and these decisions be communicated to the Director-General of UNESCO with a request for whatever advice and assistance that might be appropriate and possible, and that the United Nations Preparatory Committee for the International Co-Operation Year be informed of the proposed 1964 Conference.
12. That financial support be sought for administrative, conference and research activities from public and private sources, provided that the independence of research and of discussion is not thereby prejudiced.

PEACE RESEARCH CONFERENCE

Clarens, Switzerland  
August 16-20, 1963

On the initiative of the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Service Council (Quakers), social scientists concerned with peace research met at the St. George's School in Clarens, Switzerland from the 16th through the 19th of August. It was unanimously decided to establish a series of International Conferences on Research on International Peace and Security. Scholars from fifteen countries participated in this conference, plus an observer from UNESCO in Paris. The countries included Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Hungary, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain, the United Kingdom, the USSR and the USA.

Designed in the pattern of the Pugwash Conferences, the proposed international meetings of invited experts will seek to encourage the development of professional interest in peace research. Managed by a Continuing Committee of nine members, the organization will be kept simple, without constitution or stated procedures in the beginning.

The first conference will be held in the Summer 1964 with "The Contribution of Social Sciences to the Establishment of Stable Peace" as the main theme. At that time, also, a program of research will be proposed as a contribution to United Nations International Cooperation Year 1965.

Dr. John Burton, from Australia, now at the University College, London, was elected the secretary general of the new organization. The other eight members of the Continuing Committee are scholars from Africa, Canada, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the USSR and the USA.

3D718-27-246

Dr. ZAKIR HUSSAIN, President  
Sri V. V. GIRI, Vice-President  
Smt. INDIRA GANDHI, Chairman Executive Committee  
Sri R. R. DIWAKAR, Hony. Secretary

NATIONAL  
COMMITTEE  
FOR THE  
GANDHI  
CENTENARY



Gandhi Centenary, 1889-1989

Rajghat Colony, New Delhi-1. Telephone : 278105 Grams : 'SHATABDI'

Centre Quaker, 114, rue de Vaugirard,  
Paris VIe, France.

राष्ट्रीय गांधी  
जन्म शताब्दी समिति

9th February, 1968.

Dear Friend,

From my enclosed programme you will see that in preparation for the Gandhi Centenary celebrations I am undertaking an extensive tour of European countries. To make this tour I need a great deal of help and support from you.

1. Could you kindly arrange a meeting in the University and with some interested people of your city.
2. Could you kindly put me in touch with press, radio, T.V. etc. to publicise the centenary programme.
3. I am travelling with almost no money. Therefore would you kindly help me in getting hospitality in your country.
4. According to my dates in your city and country, could you kindly fix up some engagements according to your own thinking.

I am leaving for Paris today. Therefore kindly acknowledge this letter by return post to my Paris address.

Looking forward very much to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Satish Kumar.

## A. Nonviolent Peace International

1. At present, at action level, we have no proper understanding and knowledge of each others work. This is partly because we have no proper means of communication.

2. Action organised in one country and supported by people from other countries does not need centralised organisation. It requires good communications and as much personal contact as possible.

We have the makings of this kind of 'international' already in the individuals and groups throughout the world that are already committed to nonviolent direct action.

3. Under the conditions of war in Vietnam and steadily worsening political conditions elsewhere (Africa, the Middle East and Latin America etc) there is a good case for a new start.

4. With person-to-person, if there is anything that calls for action in one country, the protest would then be possible in all countries. Constructive achievements might be universally publicised.

5. To organise such a nonviolent international there should be one large scale conference (or parallel continental conferences with intercontinental participation) every year. A beginning could be made by calling an anti-war conference on Gandhi's centenary - October 1968.

February 1968

SATISH KUMAR

Postscript: There needs to be a newsletter to help to serve these purposes - will the WAI and the ICDP help? S.K.

GANDHI CENTENARY TOUR OF EUROPE BY SATISH KUMAR AND ANANT

<u>Dates</u>	<u>place</u>	<u>address</u>
Nov. 23 - Dec. 6	Rome	FOR, 155 Via Rusella
Dec. 7 - Dec. 9	Milan	WRI - Putelli
10 - 17	Brussels	Union Federal
Dec. 18 - Jan 12	London	National Peace Council, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1
Jan. 13 - Feb. 9	England tour	National Peace Council
Feb. 10 - 20	Paris	Centre Quaker, 114 rue de Vaugirard, Paris VIe, France
Feb. 21 - 25	Geneva	Ingrid Jonas, IPB, rue de Zürich 41, Geneva, Switzerland
Feb. 26 - March 3	Vienna	Yves Choliere, WPC, 1040 Vienna IV, Müllwaldplatz 5, Austria
March 4 - 14	Belgrad	Ljubomir Josifovic, Yugoslav League for Peace, Narodnog fronta 45, Beograd
March 15 - 20	Sofia	George Pirinski, Bulgarian Peace Com. 4 Blv. Gottwald Sofia, Bulgaria
March 21 - 25	Bucharest	Committee for the defence of Peace, 19 rue de Pologne, Bucharest, Rumania
March 26 - 31	Budapest	Mrs. Helen Sebestyen, Hungarian Peace Council, Begrad Rakpart 24, Budapest Hungary
April 1 - 5	Prague	Ivo Vasiljev, Praha 6, Belchorsta 147, Czechoslovakia
April 6 - 14	Brussels	International Youth Cooperative Conference
April 15 - 18	Amsterdam	Robert Mulder, Reyer Ansostraat 21-h, Amsterdam, Netherlands
April 19 - 21	Düsseldorf	Walter Schumacher, Düsseldorf 10, Diederhofenerstrasse 4, Germany
April 22 - 23	Bonn	Nils C. Nagel, 532 Bad Godesberg, Burgstrasse 91, Germany
April 24 - 25	Stuttgart	Alfred Knaus, IZD, 7 Stuttgart 1, Filderstrasse 63, Germany
April 26 - 28	Frankfurt	Norbert Winkler, Vh, 6 Frankfurt, Moselstrasse 25, Germany
April 29 - 30	Munich	Dr. Andreas Buro, 806 Dachau, Schwarzholzstrasse 20, Germany
May 1 - 5	Berlin	Eberhard Grosser, 1 Berlin 12, Schlüterstrasse 48, Germany
May 6 - 7	Hamburg	Helmut Hertling, 2 Hamburg-Volksdorf, Wulfdorfer Weg 77, Germany
May 8 - 16	Copenhagen	Poul Nexmand, AMK, Thorsgade 79, Copenhagen, Denmark
May 17 - 26	Leningrad - Moscow	Soviet Peace Com., 10 Kropotkinestreet, Moscow, U.S.S.R.
May 27 - 29	Helsinki	Johannes Pakoslahti, Suomen Sadankomitealiito, Toimisto Dagmarinkatu 13 B 7, Helsinki, Finland
May 30 - June 9	Stockholm	Bertil Svahnst 8m, Jungfrugatan 30, Stockholm O, Sweden
June 10 - 12	Oslo	Aase Bang, C/o Pax Forlag, Sehestedt.2, Oslo 1, Norway

-----

3.4.65 V

TO OUR INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS.

National  
Youth  
Campaign  
for  
Nuclear  
Disarmament.

Colleges and Universities  
Campaign for Nuclear  
Disarmament.

from :  
Pete Sneddon,  
International Secretary,  
CUCaND, NYCND,  
126 Mayfield Rd, Edinburgh 9, Great Britain.

To :

Dear Friends,

We are sending you this short report of our activities this year in the hope that you will find what we are doing of interest to you. If you are already sending us reports of the activities of your own organisation then we thank you for doing so, as we are always keen to learn what peace minded people in other countries are thinking and doing. If you are not, then we would welcome any account, official or unofficial of the progress of your movement.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE NATURE OF CUCaND and NYCND, might be useful at this point. Both these organisations, while working in close co-operation with each other, and with the 'adult' movement, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, are independent of each other in as much as they have separate National Committees elected by different Annual Conferences. The mainstay of both movements are the groups, the local units which are spread throughout Britain. There are around 150 CUCaND groups and 250 YCND groups.

THE ACTIVITIES of these groups are many and varied. In addition to holding regular meetings, or organising demonstrations when necessary, many groups hold open air public meetings and literature stalls so that the public, whether they are citizens or fellow college students can hear or read about our arguments. Some groups also publish their own pamphlets and magazine as well as distributing the literature produced by the national organisations.

Colleges and Universities CND started its existence as Combined Universities CND but the name was altered when a number of Teachers Training and other Colleges became affiliated.

One of the major projects for CUCaND this year has been setting up, in conjunction with local groups, seminars to examine specific aspects of British Foreign Policy, and other specialised topics and publishing the conclusions and information gathered in the form of duplicated pamphlets.

Published so far this Year are :

The End of the Alliance, Labours Defence Policy and C.N.D.,  
by John Gittings and Richard Gott. (the Alliance in question is of course N.A.T.O.)

Democracy and the Bomb, by Raymond Williams.

The Risks and Limitations of Nuclear Strategy, by Terence Heelas.

CUCaND has also been active over Viet-Nam, especially the U.S. bombings of North Viet-Nam. The relevant facts have been circulated to all groups and action was taken by some groups within two days of the first U.S. bombing raid. Since then leaflets have been distributed and petitions are being circulated, calling for the withdrawal of American forces from Viet-Nam and the opening of negotiations to achieve a peaceful settlement. Next term it is hoped that study groups will be established on the whole problem of South-East Asia.

The National Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has also been very active this year. In addition to the activities of the groups N.YCND has also carried out several projects. The first of these involved the production of special bulletins (called Focuses) for two conferences of the Council for Education on World Citizenship. (this is the Youth movement of the United Nations Association). The response to both of these was quite encouraging and it was generally felt that both of the projects had opened new horizons for the promotion of YCND policies among young people.

Previous to the Leyton By-election (when Gordon-Walker, the then Foreign Secretary, was standing) YCND had the distinction of being the only organ of the Campaign active in the constituency. A schools project was organized in the area. This was centred on eight local secondary schools. Copies of the pamphlet entitled 'You May Not Have The Vote But...' were distributed outside these schools. This related the Campaign's message to the election and expressed support for George Delf, the independent Disarmament candidate.

YCND was also represented at a lobby to Parliament over Labour's proposals on the M.L.F. and A.N.F., and subsequently took part in the organising of a national demonstration protesting about the planned A.N.F, the banners being "No nuclear Force, East or West".

A copy of YCND's policy statement for 1965 is attached.

Easter March 1965.

This year YCND is organising a three-day march from High Wycombe (this is the control centre for Britain's Nuclear Bombers) past the U.S. Airforce base at Ruislip and on to Trafalgar Square in London.

Naturally both YCND and CUCaND are busy organising the maximum amount of support for this march, which is usually the biggest political demonstration in Britain. In addition YCND is producing its own badge and a National Youth Day is being called for Easter Sunday with a youth rally being held on the march route. YCND also hope to produce an international newspaper for Easter in conjunction with the Belgian Youth Peace Organisation, Club Fraternité.

Unfortunately it is not possible to cover many of our other activities in this short newsletter, but we trust it has been of interest and use to you.

YOUTH CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

POLICY STATEMENT 1965

The Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament ( YCND ) came into existence because large numbers of young people opposed the nuclear defence policies of East and West. The use of nuclear weapons in any circumstances would mean the end of life, as we know it, on this planet. Millions would be killed outright, but even those who survive the initial attack would almost certainly die a slow and painful death from the effects of radioactive fallout.

Clearly the use of such weapons would be utterly immoral. But despite this, the Soviet, American and British governments continue to base their defence policies on the theory of deterrence - the theory that nuclear weapons are too powerful to be used. Such a theory will fail at some time and meanwhile we live in the knowledge that this may happen any day, especially as nuclear weapons continue to spread to other countries such as France and China.

The purpose of YCND's activity is to secure world peace through the abandonment of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

YCND calls on the Peoples of the World to urge their governments to unilaterally renounce the manufacture and stockpiling of these weapons, to withdraw from all alliances depending on nuclear weapons and to insist on the withdrawal of all bases from foreign soil. YCND opposes the Governments defence policy, particularly with regard to a mixed-manned force (MLF, ANF or any other variation) .

Furthermore YCND:

- a) rejects a further spread of nuclear weapons, and advocates the setting up of nuclear-free zones in Europe.
- b) opposes conscription as an alternative to nuclear policies.
- c) calls for British withdrawal from NATO and SEATO.
- d) urges the admission of China to the United Nations.

In order to bring these policies into being YCND will continue to press the English Government, whichever party is in power. It will work in and with other organisations and independently, both at home and abroad. Its tactics will reflect both the changes in the political situation and other youth organisations.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT  
NATIONAL YOUTH CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

CHANGE OF ADDRESS - PLEASE NOTE

New Address

Pete Sneddon (International  
Secretary, NYCND, CUCaND)

126 Mayfield Road,

Edinburgh, 9,  
Great Britain.

Old Address

Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

2 Carthusian St., London, E.C.1, England.

Colleges and Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

2 Carthusian St., London, E.C.1, England

ED 718-27-252

(24. 10. 62)  
26. 10. 62

# NEW YORK COMMITTEE FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE FOR PEACE

63 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. CHelsea 2-3595  
PO Box 1380, N.Y. 1, N.Y.

Dear Friend:

We are preparing a 2nd call for a General Strike for Peace in November, and we need your help. Ultimate success depends, of course, on world-wide action of this and similar kinds.

This call is the second in a series. We suspect that no overpowering number will be out in November. But the only way to start such a movement is to begin, and to set the example.

We enclose the leaflet we are circulating. We have chosen the November date to include the American Election Day, since this annual ritual is a big deal in our country, and our striking against it may awaken many Americans to the reality of the situation. Naturally any date or activities that you would choose would have to fit your own needs and conditions.

A third Strike has tentatively been scheduled for either the week ending on Easter Sunday or the week of May 8th, but we would like to hear your ideas and suggestions before plans are made definite. Please send us your news and plans. They will be both heartening and suggestive to us.

We are in sympathy with, and support, every kind of peace action in the United States and elsewhere. Since our modern society has become systematically geared to waging the Cold War, any peace action is bound to have some revolutionary influence. In our own group however, we concentrate on the following ideas:

It is because of everybody's cooperation, economically, industrially, technologically, and politically, that the war system keeps in motion. It moves because people make the motions they do, in their work, their buying, their taxes, their culture. Therefore we are trying to get as many people as possible not to make these motions, and so slow down and stop the war system. This is the idea of the General Strike - boycotting the goods of outstanding war industrialists, refusing conscription, refusing to take part in war-state politics, quitting war industries, sympathetically slowing down or striking for a few days in other industries and businesses - since almost all the work we do contributes directly or indirectly to the war effort.

Hopefully, we shall meanwhile learn to live and work in a way that will replace the present way - of a society which is heading towards doom.

We welcome the help and fellowship of all those who think that a Strike is a useful direct action toward peace.

*Naomi Levine* for

The New York Committee for the  
General Strike for Peace

INTERNATIONAL

SPONSORS:

Dorothy Day  
Babette Deutsch  
Ralph Di Gis  
Paul Goodman  
David McReynolds  
Ashley Montagu  
A. J. Muste  
Sir Herbert Read  
Bertrand Russell  
Bayard Rustin  
Pitirim Sorokin

COMMITTEE:

Robert Bates  
Julian Beck  
Dick Bell  
Karl Bissinger  
Joseph Chalkin  
Peter W. Crowley  
William DeVore  
Ruth Emerson  
Aulden Fowler  
Suzanne Fox  
Douglas Gorsline  
Saul Gottlieb  
Bruce Grund  
John Harrison  
Harriet Herbst  
Hans Hokanson  
Michael Itkin  
Naomi Levine  
Jackson MacLure  
Judith Malina  
Jean Morton  
Jonathan B. North  
Paul Prousky  
Jules Rabin  
Arthur Sainer  
James Scrippling  
Connie Scrippling  
Anne Upshurc

Lettre circulaire

3. 4. 65 V

" Pacem in terris ", le mouvement œcuménique, indépendant et international des laïcs d'éducation pour la paix, dans l'esprit de Jean XXIII, a pris l'initiative de lancer une Pétition pour que les Pères conciliaires invitent les Nations Unies à mettre la guerre "Hors la Loi".

Nous comptons fermement sur votre appui moral et vous prions de bien vouloir signer et renvoyer notre pétition aussi rapidement que possible, puisqu'elle doit être transmise au Vatican à la fin du mois de mai.

Le concile ne s'ouvrant que le 14 septembre prochain, nous vous prions de ne pas faire une communication à la Presse avant le 18 septembre 1965.

Au nom du mouvement " Pacem in terris "

Elisabeth-Marie Rostra

Adresse : " Pacem in terris ", 15 chemin de la Paumière  
Genève - Conches (Suisse).

EMBARCO POUR LA PRESSE : 18 SEPTEMBRE 1965

Pétition.

Les organisations soussignées s'adressent avec confiance aux Pères conciliaires et se permettent de leur soumettre la Pétition qui suit :

Considérant que le premier des Droits de l'homme est celui à l'existence; qu'aujourd'hui toute guerre - conventionnelle ou nucléaire, défensive ou offensive, tribale ou internationale, constitue un crime contre l'humanité;

constatant que les grandes puissances comme les petites nations ne cessent de s'armer et n'arrivent pas à une solution quant à un désarmement à cause de la peur et de la méfiance mutuelle; face à un nationalisme à outrance et un racisme toujours plus exaspéré et barbare qui font craindre le pire;

prient les Pères conciliaires de prendre en considération ces faits et de déclarer solennellement toute guerre, sans en innocenter aucune, ainsi que toute intervention collective armée contraire aux Droits de l'Homme et à la morale; de recommander aux Nations Unies de prendre en considération cette condamnation, de tout faire pour arriver à mettre la guerre "Hors la Loi", et d'inviter l'Assemblée générale à adopter sa mise au ban; ainsi que de stipuler que la négociation constitue le seul moyen valable et apte à résoudre les litiges entre pays et peuples.

Signatures.

# PAX

## PASIFISTISK MÅNEDSSKRIFT

ED 718-27-  
255

Kristian Augustsgt. 19,  
Oslo  
Redaksjonens kontortid:  
Tirsdag og torsdag kl. 17-19.  
Telefon 33 89 32  
Postgirokonto: 307 54

27. 8. 63 *Grøing*

Dear Friends,

Oslo, May 24th

We take great pleasure in informing you that PAX will publish a special edition in English to the triennial conference of the War Resisters' International to take place in Norway this Summer.

PAX is published monthly in Norwegian by Folkereisning mot Krig, the Norwegian Section of the WRI. During its one year of existence, it has become the leading forum of discussion of the problems of war and peace in Scandinavia. The circulation is nearly 4000, by far surpassing any other publication of the peace movement in this country.

Due to generous support from the WRI, we are now able to put out a special edition in English, which we welcome as an occasion to present the Norwegian peace movement and its ideas to the international movement. This will only be possible, however, if we receive some help in distributing the special edition.

Please see the enclosure for details of the contents.

We enclose a copy of a previous issue in Norwegian.

Publishing date is July 1st, so please send in your order at once. This is your chance to get to know the Scandinavian peace movement and to support it!

Best wishes,

yours fraternally

*Tor Bjerkmann*  
Tor Bjerkmann  
editor

*x) Englische Nr.  
s. bei "STAVANGER  
11. Dreij.!"*

DETACH AND MAIL TO  
PAX, Kristian Augustsgt. 19,  
Oslo - Norway.

Please supply ..... copies of PAX, special edition in English  
at the rate of: Single copies: 2 N.Kr./2 shillings/ 30 US c

Bulk orders: 10 copies: 13 N.Kr./13 sh./ \$ 1.80  
25 copies: 33 N.kr./£1-13/ \$ 4.50  
50 copies: 50 N.Kr./£2-10/ \$ 7.00  
100 copies: 75 N.Kr./ £ 5/ \$ 10.50

Payment has been made/ ..... name

will be made on receipt/ .....

# PAX

## PASIFISTISK MÅNEDSSKRIFT

SPECIAL EDITION IN ENGLISH 1963

ED 718-27-

256

Kristian Augustsgt. 19,  
Oslo  
Redaksjonens kontorlid:  
Tirsdag og torsdag kl. 17-19.  
Telefon 33 09 32  
Postgirokonto: 307 54

### C o n t e n t s

Tony Smythe, Secretary of the War Resisters' International: THE ROLE OF PACIFISM.

Tarjei Vesaas: NAKED. A short story.

Johan Galtung; Leader of the Section for Research on Peace and Conflict at the Institute for Social Research in Oslo: TOWARDS CONSTRUCTIVE PACIFISM.

Noel Cobb: THE BATTLESHIP. A poem.

Michael Randle, Peace News, and Stuart Morris, Peace Pledge Union: A DIALOGUE ON MODERN PACIFISM.

NORWAY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DISARMAMENT. An enquete with contributions from Minister of Defence, Gudmund Harlem, Foreign Minister Halvard Lange, President of the Norwegian Section of the WRI Diderich H. Lund, Peace Researcher Mari Nolinboe Ruge and Foreign News Editor Tomas Torsvik.

Ursula Jorfald: ALFRED NOBEL AND THE PEACE PRIZE

Niels Mathiesen; Secretary of the Norwegian section of the WRI: THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN NORWAY.

:::

PROGRAM OF THE TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL, STAVANGER, NORWAY, 1963

Was wollen die?

Bitte zurück.

Auf das ist es nie mehr wieder  
sich in die Aktion H.M. - 7pm.

30.10.64

K. D.

G e l d .

und mitteilen, was sie gemacht haben.

Es handelt sich um die Aktion eines "Friedens-  
Aktions-Zentrums" in England, das vom März bis  
September 64 in England und in Frankreich  
Arbeitslager durchgeführt hat. Gute Resonanz bei  
Bevölkerung. Manager: BARNABY MARTIN.

Leider haben wir selbst nicht soviel Geld,  
das dortige Defizit von 131 £ tragen zuhelfen.

28. 10. 64

Hart

Vor Wegwerfen das Zeug an Mich bitte!

# PEACE ACTION CENTRE

CARRIAGE DRIVE FRODSHAM CHESHIRE

Dear Friend,

Enclosed is a report of the whole Anglo-French Project. It gives a description of the project and comments on special aspects of it. By far the most important aspect is what we learned about applying work-camps to the job of creating political change. The effect we had in Frodsam through only a few weeks of work-camp was so much greater than we could have expected using only propogande methods that we are bound to experiment further with this method.

We may, in time, be able to present to the peace movement a method of action which helps to counteract apathy, challenges the economic structure and our way of life as well as the military system and does give some indication of the sort of society we would like to work towards.

If this method can do that, then our experiences during this project will be many times worth the efforts that have been put into it. The peace organisations seem to be getting disheartened and smaller; we hope to offer a more powerful line of development than one based only on protests.

I enclose a financial report on the project which shows that the cost has turned out close to the estimated £300, but that donations have only reached £180. Please help us with this problem.

*Barnaby Martin*

Barnaby Martin.

P.S. The plan for a speaker from the Quebec to Cuba March to visit Britain during the autumn, has been transferred to the first few months of 1965. He will speak primarily on racial problems in the Deep South and US-Cuba relations.

The experience of this March will give him a fascinating story to tell. We already have some meetings planned; but please tell us now if you think there could be a meeting held in your town, school or university. (Confirmation of the visit will be given in November or December).

B.M.

I enclose £            s            d towards the costs of the Anglo-French Project. (Donations should be sent to Peace Action Centre).

Name . . . . .

If the address to which this report was sent was not the right one, please send us your correct address.

Could there be a meeting in your town for the speaker from USA?

FINANCIAL STATEMENT  
 Anglo-French Project 1-3-64 to 17-9-64

The first four items are approximations because they are extracted as proportions of the total expenses in these categories for Peace Action Centre during the project.

EXPENDITURE	£	S	D
Stationery	25	0	0
Postage	53	0	0
Phone	4	10	0
Literature	1	0	0
Organiser's expenses for 6 weeks. (board and lodging during preparation, plus National Insurance stamps.)	23	13	0
Petrol (motor-cycle and van)	16	14	8
Photography	1	15	5
Food for team in Frodsham	85	15	0
Work-camp tools and materials	29	19	3
Peace News advertisement	5	12	6
Expenses for France. (Channel-crossing, meals while hitch- hiking; incidental expenses at work- camps in France.)	64	11	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£ 311	11	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
DONATIONS to the project, including contributions made by team members to food and travel costs.	180	10	6
Deficit on Project	131	0	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£ 311	11	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Please help to remove this deficit.

**THE PEACEMAKER**

If not claimed please return to  
10A MT. IDA AVE., E.3, VIC.  
If not claimed within 7  
days, please return to

~~N. W. Ruffels,  
46 Saunders Bay Rd.,  
Caringbah, N.S.W.~~

If not claimed please return to  
~~10A MT. IDA AVE., E.3, VIC.~~

ED 718-27-259

22.10.64

POSTAGE PAID  
~~BURWOOD, N.S.W.~~

Horst Maurer,  
6000 Frankfort- Schwenheim,  
Am Ruhenstein 43 II,  
(Goldsteinsiedlung),  
WEST GERMANY

H/je 1 Nr. The Peacemaker  
Vol. 26 No 1-8  
= 2.64 - 9.64

10A MT. IDA AVE.  
E.3, VIC.

Federal Pacifist Council of Australia

If not claimed please return to  
10A MT. IDA AVE., E.3, VIC.

## FINAL REPORT ON THE ANGLO-FRENCH PROJECT IN FRODSHAM, CLUNY, GIGNY.

The project started in Frodsam on July 14th, with the arrival of 13 French participants and one Swede. At that time only 4 British participants had arrived, but 10 more joined during the remainder of the time in Frodsam.

Early on in the work at Frodsam, the team were able to help the town in a spectacular way, when heavy rains caused damage. The team's quick action in protecting shops and houses and clearing away mud and stones from Main Street was much appreciated, well publicised, widely discussed and still remembered.

Propaganda and constructive work were intermingled throughout the period in Frodsam. Leaflets were distributed, Banity sold. A War on Want coffee morning and two meetings were organised. The first meeting explained our ideas to the 55 members of the public who attended (this was during the summer holiday period in a normally spethetic village). The second meeting was attended by 30 teenagers who formed a voluntary work group, which is now conducting a survey of teenage needs in town in order to develop better facilities for the youth here. A three-day fast to connect the wastage of money on arms while most people are hungry, concluded the British section of the project. Some team members went to other parts of the country to take part in fasts or other activities between 6th and 8th August. This was especially valuable in giving our foreign visitors a wider experience in the British peace movement.

The whole team collected in London on August 9th and met a few members of the Committee of 100, and then crossed to France for the pair of work-camps in the Seine valley.

At Cluny, two-thirds of the team worked for 11/- a day digging in the foundations of an old abbey to find valuable stones etc. Other work in Cluny included painting old people's houses and rebuilding a footpath.

One third of the team worked at Gigny, building an extension to a house for a family of 13. They had been living in two rooms and now have seven. The money earned at Cluny provided food and lodging for the whole team. The Gigny work-camp can be regarded as the genuine service, while the Cluny work-camp made it possible.

During the French work-camps there was less propaganda used. A meeting in Cluny attracted only 6 people (the Council had insisted that the team should not use leaflets or posters, as part of the work contract). However at Gigny a big meeting around a camp fire attracted 250 local people.

After the 2½ week work-camps, the team moved to Coubron, near Paris, for a conference. The first day was devoted to assessing the value of the project and comparing the methods used. The remaining four days were for ACNV supporters to discuss their work for the next twelve months. Subjects included - challenge to French nuclear tests - action for amnesty for all political prisoners connected with the Algerian war - Civilian Defence; should ACNV groups popularise the idea?

The planned demonstration at NATO headquarters was cancelled.

## DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ACTION CIVIQUE NON-VIOLENTE AND THE BRITISH PEACE MOVEMENTS

Further Anglo-French cooperation depends on understanding the differences between the movements of the two countries. The difficulties experienced during this project were largely due to these differences.

ACNV was built up during the Algerian War situation and extra care was needed to prevent misrepresentation. This and the danger of agents provocateurs may have led to a more precise and controlled form of organisation than we are used to in Britain. The organisation is still small compared to CND or Committee of 100, with few driving influences; this tends to place real control in very few hands.

ACNV's main concern has been conscientious objection and comparatively little attention has been given to the nuclear problems until recently. Their approach is grounded in opposition to war as such and the line of development has been to work towards a better society in which war will have no place. Since emphasis is given to the origin of war in men's minds, more attention is given to one's manner of life than the form of group organisation.

ACNV's practice has not been to organise demonstrations lasting a few hours, but to develop work-camps lasting some weeks where concerned people would learn to live together. Then this well-integrated team would conduct some form of demonstration, probably involving only a few people. Since this method was developed in tense political conditions, the organisers have some experience of having work-camps cancelled because their sponsors did not like the demonstrations. Therefore public activities have always been left to the end of the work-camp, rather than being combined. This is the first time ACNV has organised a twin work-camp where one raises the money and the other is entirely free of Councils etc.

The modern British peace movements were built out of concern for an immediate and terrible danger - nuclear war. Quick vigorous demonstrations have characterised its activities. Great emphasis has been placed on liberal organisation because of the awareness that obedience has been a party to the world's greatest atrocities. This has even gone to the extent of Committee of 100 not having marshals for demonstrations.

CND has given little attention to one's way of life and Committee of 100 is only now developing this aspect. Demonstrations depend on people just turning up at the time and place decided upon by the organisers, who hope that the participants will further the object of the action.

Obviously both aspects of the origin of war exist - one's way of life and attitudes as well as the system in which one lives. Therefore we can hope that both British and French movements will educate one another in their attitudes. The distance which separates the two movements at the moment is nothing but a measurement of the amount we can learn from one another.

## ANGLO-FRENCH COOPERATION

Judging this subject as a continuous process with a past and a future, cooperation has certainly been advanced. But the project showed up some serious problems which we must work to overcome for the future.

In Frodsham, we had a deep discussion on the subject of voluntary work. Most of the French members felt that it should

be limited to cases of desperate need, while British members felt that service to others, whatever their economic position, should guide our efforts. Discussion on this subject was useful, but never produced a complete unity. In fact this left the team with a better understanding than previously, since we knew one another's different ideas and still worked in unison.

In France, the more precise method of organising practiced by ACNV was thought wrong by most British participants and the problems of relations between organisers and volunteers dominated discussion meetings throughout the Cluny work-camp. While many personal relationships were good, the climate in the Cluny work-camp as a whole was not creative. I believe that this was due to the team's inability to cope with differences in a creative way in those circumstances. No doubt language difficulties and a strange diet were hindrances, but I also felt that the manner of criticism practiced by two or three British participants made constructive discussion extremely difficult.

In Gigny, the atmosphere was good and the difficulties that arose were solved in general agreement.

Towards the end of the work-camps, Jo Pyronnet, the leading organiser in ACNV, proposed that we should discuss whether or not the demonstration should be held at NATO headquarters. He felt that the current atmosphere in Cluny made it dishonest for us to talk to NATO about international cooperation for peace and a better way of life. Most British team members felt that the urgent danger that NATO represents to humanity demanded action; whatever problems there may be within the team, NATO might not wait until we were ready to demonstrate against it.

I think this discussion can best be understood in the light of the differences between the origins of the British and French movements described above. The problem was never solved and ACNV members decided that ACNV should not officially sponsor the action. Some British participants and a few French considered a demonstration against French nuclear tests, but this development was interrupted by the Stuart Christie case. Two letters were handed in at the Spanish Embassy in Paris protesting against the 20 year sentence.

So the difficulties have lead team members to an understanding of how we can best work for improved communication. Many valuable personal links have been formed and will be developed.

THE WORK-CAMP METHOD

By far the most important result of the project was the discovery of the work-camp method of promoting social and political change. There are six basic aspects of this method, summarised below, but further ideas can be gained from my article on page 3 of Peace News, August 14th 1964, or by writing to Peace Action Centre.

(1) Voluntary work challenges our present economic system which is built upon individuals responding to money rather than need. Those who come off worst in the rat-race are therefore left poor. The welfare state ameliorates some of the deficiencies of this system but, to say the least, a large factor of voluntary work and concern is needed for a better society. Voluntary work is necessarily based on need rather than profit. (ACNV also has a revolutionary principle when it works for Town Councils and asks the minimum needed to live on rather than the most it can get).

The problem can be well understood in connection with under-developed countries. Our economic system forbids response to the needs of the under-nourished, but there is no obvious source of profit in giving aid at the rates needed. This is why War on Want was included in the work done in Frodsham; it is the beginning of response to a great need.

(2) Voluntary work challenges popular attitudes to work. Work is currently regarded as something bad, perhaps because of our schools and the necessity to do work to earn money. Yet most political activity depends on people being concerned and giving time, money and effort to local and world problems. ("Why should I waste my time discussing the Bomb, when I would much rather watch television?"). We must assert that complete leisure is not the object of life, that work should be something in which we express ourselves and find satisfaction. Apathy may be largely due to a disinclination to do anything that does not have an obvious benefit for oneself.

(3) Apathy must be studied and overcome. Our present governmental system, in theory, depends on a live popular opinion, but it actually seems to deaden interest. (Today we see the paradox of the US Government buying advertising time to encourage citizens to go and vote). In the work camps, we not only proved to ourselves that work can be enjoyed, but found others responding by coming out of their apathy and taking an interest in us and our ideas.

(4) Work-camps can give us a true image in the eyes of the public. Most people see us as nuisance-makers, but our concern is to save humanity from another war. By conducting constructive activities we can alter our "image" into a true view of what we stand for and how we wish to respect all people.

(5) Communication is improved when the atmosphere is sympathetic. In strictly practical terms it may prove best to use two-thirds of one's time in constructive work and one-third explaining one's ideas. We have communicated our ideas to the people of Frodsham and their ears have remained open because of the voluntary work done.

(6) The last aspect is the effect on participants. When volunteers take part in such a fundamental project, touching so many faulty aspects of modern life, their commitment is increased and their work is more meaningful. I have certainly found this for myself and other volunteers felt the same way.

#### THE FUTURE

I shall continue the communication with French movements that gave rise to this project. However, Susan Hall (17 Knights Park, Kingston, Surrey,) wants to develop the organisation of Anglo-French cooperation into a series of working groups in various parts of the country. These groups can study French, the political situation in France, French law etc. This will prepare for better projects in the future.

If you can send 10/- to Action Civique Non-Violente, Chemin de Montellier, St. Didier-au-Mont-d'Or. (Rhône), France, you can receive their bulletin four times a year.

Further experiments with the work camp method will be tried, perhaps during the winter, but certainly next summer.

The Youth Group formed in Frodsham during the project has just achieved headlines in the local paper through its present constructive project - a survey to get the views of all local teenagers on the facilities for youth in Frodsham. The survey will be followed by action along the lines indicated by the results.

ED 718-27-262

'I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER'

28.10.62



# Peace Pledge Union

(BRITISH SECTION OF THE WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL)

Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

EUSon 5501

## CARIBBEAN AND INDIA

Statement issued by the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union

The National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, while fully sharing the general concern about the dangerous situation arising out of the conflicts in the Caribbean and India, emphasises that there can be no solution of either by continued threats or by a resort to further violence.

It urges all concerned to take no steps likely to extend or exacerbate the conflict, but to seek a basis for a settlement by arbitration or negotiation.

It points out that such situations are to be expected in a world in which the ultimate accepted sanction is the use of violence, and where too little attention is given to the need for creating the conditions which alone can assure peace for all men.

Mutual accusations of aggressive intention and dishonesty are an inevitable consequence of the rivalry which seeks for security under the nuclear deterrent and to negotiate only from strength. In that respect all governments involved in the Cold War bear a measure of responsibility for the present crisis.

The main lesson of the conflict, with its incalculable risk of complete destruction, is that governments must quickly come to the abandonment of force and the threat to use violence for any reason by accepting the necessity for total disarmament. In the name of humanity the Peace Pledge Union urges the British Government to make a new determined effort to secure total disarmament at all costs and at any risk and to strengthen the machinery for negotiation, mediation and conciliation, by the repudiation of violence in a unilateral act of unconditioned disarmament.

London, October 28th, 1962.

*President:* MICHAEL TIPPETT, C.B.E.    *Chairman:* LEONARD BIRD    *Secretary:* STUART MORRIS, M.A.    *Organiser:* SYBIL MORRISON  
*Treasurer:* DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE, D.B.E., LL.D.    *Sponsors:* VERA BRITAIN, M.A., BENJAMIN BRITTON, C.H., ALEX. COMFORT, M.A., M.B., PH.D., ALDOUS HUNTER, PROFESSOR DAME KATHLEEN LONSDALE, D.B.E., D.Sc., F.R.S., STUART MORRIS, M.A., SYBIL MORRISON, CLARE SHEPHERDAN  
DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE, D.B.E., LL.D., MICHAEL TIPPETT, C.B.E., THE DOWAGER LADY WEDGWOOD.

ED 718-27-  
1961 263

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

**1st December 1 décembre 1 Dezember**

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

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

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

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

\* Jehovah's Witness

\* Témoin de Jéhovah

\* Zeugen Jehovahs

**FRANCE — FRANCE — FRANKREICH**

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

Jean-Pierre Hemon

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

André Feret (Cellule 18, Section D)

Luc Monnier

*Prison de Loos (Nord), France*

\* Pierre Brinio  
Francis Cardon

Yves Dubouché  
Albert Fasquelle

Antoine Golabeck  
\* Régis Kesteloot

Anthème Laurence  
Gérard Segard

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

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

\* Claude Dewitte  
\* Frédérie Diedrich  
\* Bernard Gabel  
Gérard Manceau  
\* Jean-Marie Ochenowski

\* Edmond Micazwinski  
\* Pierre Perron  
\* Richard Przybylski  
\* Christian Pyveteau  
\* Gérard Quevilly

\* Marc Seignobos  
\* Georges Terrignon  
\* Michel Terray  
\* Gérard Thomas  
\* Jean Ulliel

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

René Nazon (Cellule 2.25)

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

Antoine Orengo

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

Jean Lagrave Jean Pezet  
Eric Pot

*Prison de Fresnes (Seine), France*

Sylvain Carrel  
Henri Cheyrouse

\* Jean-Michel Cochard  
Michel Duran

Roland Lebreton  
M. Ohrant

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

Georges Cherau

André Bernard

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

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

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

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

*Prison de Poitiers, Poitiers, France*

\* Guy Brzyszczy

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

Valentin-Mario Colomba                      René Nazon

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

Paul Grosz                      \* Bernard Vanbaelinghem

*Caserne Donop, Nancy, France*

Michel Hanniet

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

Janura Jaroslaw

*Prison de Reims, Reims, France*

\* Vladislav Palucki

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

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

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

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

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

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

ED 718-27-204

**GREAT BRITAIN — GRANDE BRETAGNE — GROSSBRITANNIAN**

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

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

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

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

**HOLLAND — HOLLANDE — HOLLAND**

Robert Brons, IJsselsteomstraat 30, Amstelveen, Holland  
Henk Bok, Camstrawei 33, Firdgum (Friesland) Holland  
Piet de Heer, Driehuizen B 56, Stompctoren, Holland  
Edo Ruijnders, Trompstraat 24, Oldenzaal, Holland

**SWITZERLAND — SUISSE — SCHWEIZ**

*Etablissements pénitentiaires de Bochuz, Orbe, Switzerland*  
André Pache

*Prison de St. Antoine, Genève, Switzerland*  
Alain Charrotton

Gérald Jousson, 14 Luserna, Genève, Switzerland

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

*Federal Correctional Institution, Allenwood, Pa., U.S.A.*  
Levi L. Herschberger

*Federal Correctional Institution, Chillicothe, Ohio, U.S.A.*  
Donald Bruce Reed

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

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

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

**BELGIUM — BELGIQUE — BELGIEN**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**DENMARK — DANEMARK — DANEMARK**

Tillidsmaendene  
Gribskovlejren  
Maarum st.  
Denmark

Tillidsmaendene  
Kompedellejren  
Engsvang st.  
Denmark

**HOLLAND — HOLLANDE — HOLLAND**

De Raad van Gewetensbezwaarders (Bauke Kootstra)  
Rijks Psychiatrische Inrichtingen  
Woensel.  
Eindhoven, Holland

Dienstweigernars  
Kamp Vledder  
Vledder  
Holland

## NORWAY — NORVEGE — NORWEGEN

Sivilarbeiderne  
Hustad Leir  
Farstad  
Norway

Sivilarbeiderne  
Den sivile arbeidstjeneste  
Mysen  
Norway

## SWEDEN — SUEDE — SCHWEDEN

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Sunnanås  
Gävle 1  
Sweden

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

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Oskar-Fredriksborg  
Sweden

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

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Björkö  
Adelsö  
Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Asbro  
Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Garnisonsbrandkåren  
Boden 19, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Brandstationen  
Lfv.  
Bromma 10  
Sweden

## WEST GERMANY — ALLEMAGNE LOUEST — WEST DEUTSCHLAND

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

An die Mitglieder der Staatlichen  
Zivildienstgruppe,  
Tübingen,  
Universitäts-Kliniken,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Goddelau-Ehrfelden,  
Heil- und Pflegeanstalt,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Werner Kappler,  
Germany

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

An die Zivildienstleistenden beim Deutschen  
Roten Kreuz,  
Bonn-Lengsdorf,  
D.R.K.-Hauptlager, Hauptstrasse,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Fritz Grömping,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden beim Bayrischen  
Roten Kreuz,  
Ebenhausen bei Ingolstadt,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Hans-Christian Lembke,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden beim Deutschen  
Roten Kreuz,  
Wolffhagen/Hessen,  
D.R.K.-Hilfszug,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Eghard Müller,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Neuenkirchen über Bremen-Vegesack,  
Evang. Hospital,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Gerhard Koesling,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Westerland/Sylt,  
Nordseeklinik,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Erik O. Fritzenwalder,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Bad Hersfeld/Hessen,  
Kreis Krankenhaus,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Klaus Cassuben,  
Germany

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Bethel bei Bielefeld/Westfalen,  
v. Bodelschingsche Anstalten,  
z. Hd. von (c/o) Jürden Voss,  
Germany

An die Mitglieder der Zivildienstgruppe der  
Nothelfergemeinschaft der Freunde,  
Frankfurt/Main,  
Germany

ED 718-27-265

1962

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

1st December

1 décembre

1. Dezember

HONOUR ROLL - Supplementary List  
 LA LISTE D'HONNEUR - LISTE supplémentaire  
 EHREN LISTE - Die ergänzende Liste

## HOLLAND

## HOLLANDE

## HOLLAND

REIT DE BOER	Tolbert, Leuringslaan 7
HENK BOK	Firdgum, Camstrawei 33
LAMMERT BOTTEMA	Nijeholtwolde, Fr.
JAN BRANDSE	Amsterdam, Ortelliusstraat 108 II
DRIES BRUNIA	Rotterdam, 21, Dorpsweg 119 B
BOB DE HAAS	Hollandse Rading, Spoorlaan 98
PIET DE HEER	Shermer, Driehuizen B 56
RUUD LINDEN	Haarlem, Indische straat 10
COR PIETERS	Amsterdam, Barendiszstraat 83 III
JAAP SCHELTES	Hilversum, Hyacinthonlaan 76
COR STELLOO	Rotterdam, Bergweg 304 B

## ITALY

## ITALIE

## ITALIEN

Complete correct list - La liste complète avec les corrections -  
 Liste zusammen mit verbesserungen

II Riparto, Castello Angicino, Gacte, Italy

Benito ARDITO	☆ Guiseppe PESSOT
Dr. Avv. Gianfranco CIABATTI	Pietro FORTUGNO
Alberto CORTINI	☆ Brighenti OLIVIERO
Rocco d'ANGELO	☆ Dino TOSSETTI
Nello di STEFANO	

Cariere 24 Maggio, Peschiera del Garda (Verona) Italy

☆ Luigi PAGLIARINI		
☆ Roberto BOGETTO )	Prison Unknown - Prison Unconnue - Gefängnis unbekannt	
☆ Pietro MOTTA )		
☆ Jehovah's Witness	☆ Témoin de Jéhovah	☆ Zeugen Jehovahs

## WEST GERMANY

## ALLEMAGNE L'OUEST

## WEST DEUTSCHLAND

The following are alternative Service Camps and not Prison Camps.  
 Les adresses qui suit sont Service Civil Camps - pas Prison Camps.  
 Die folgenden sind Friedensdienst Adressen - nicht Gefängnislager.

Deutsches Rotes Kreuz - Landessanitätsschule,  
 Stuttgart - Möhringen,  
 Rosenwiesstr. 17,  
 z. Hd. Herrn Günter Fritz.

Ersatzdienst-Gruppe der Nothelfergemeinschaft der Freunde e. V.  
 Haus der Jugend, Frankfurt a.M. S.10.  
 Germany.

PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY 1962  
LA JOURNEE DES PRISONNIERS POUR LA PAIX  
FRIEDENSGEFANGENEN TAG

1st December                      1 décembre                      1 Dezember

HONOUR ROLL  
LA LISTE D'HONNEUR  
EHREN LISTE

Names and Addresses of War Resisters in Prison at Christmas-time  
1962 and New Year 1963

Noms et Adresses de Résistants à la Guerre qui se trouvent à  
prison à Noël 1962 et au Nouvel An 1963

Namen und Adressen von Kriegsgegnern, die Weihnachten 1962 und  
Neujahr 1963 im Gefängnis sind

FRANCE - FRANCE - FRANKREICH

N.B. The French Government is in the process of transferring nearly  
all the COs. in prison to a civilian work camp. Until new  
legislation to deal with C.O.s can be introduced by Parliament this  
means that, apart from the C.O.s already at the Camp de Mauzac, we  
cannot guarantee that your cards will reach their destination.  
Please, therefore, send your cards to the Camp de Maurac. Here  
are the names of the men:

N.B. Le gouvernement français est en train de transférer dans un  
camp de travail civil presque tous les objecteurs de conscience  
actuellement incarcérés. En attendant la présentation d'un projet  
de loi relatif aux objecteurs de conscience, et faisant abstraction  
des objecteurs qui se trouvent déjà dans le Camp de Mauzac, nous  
ne pouvons pas vous assurer que toutes les cartes arriveront bien  
à destination. Par conséquent envoyez-vous les salutations pour  
Noël à la Camp de Mauzac. Voilà les noms:

N.B. Die französische Regierung ist im Begriff, fast alle Militär-  
dienstverweigerer aus den Gefängnissen in Zivilarbeitslager zu  
überführen. Bis dem Parlament neue diesbezügliche Gesetzentwürfe  
vorgelegt werden können, können wir also nicht garantieren, dass  
Weihnachtskarten ihre Adressaten erreichen werden, abgesehen von  
denen, die schon im Camp de Mauzac waren. Dadurch, bitte, senden  
Sie ihre Weihnachtsgrüsse zu Camp de Mauzac. Hier sind die Namen:

Camp de Mauzac, Dordogne, France

- |                    |                        |                  |
|--------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| Charles ACTIS      | Francis CARDON         | Yves DUBOUCH     |
| Jean ANDRE         | Sylvain CARREL         | José DUCHARNIAT  |
| Dominique AUDRAN   | Gilbert CÉZARD         | Michel DUCHESNE  |
| Guy AUTÉRIVE       | Jean-Claude CHAGOT     | Evans EMIOT      |
| André BAJDEK       | Daniel CHARBON         | Albert FASQUELLE |
| Marius BANAZECH    | François CHARLOPEAU    | Léonard FELKER   |
| Gérard BEAUFILS    | Raymond CHERON         | André FERET      |
| Yves BEL           | Pierre CHIMOT          | Christian FIGUET |
| André BERNARD      | Daniel CIBRARIO        | René FLIPO       |
| Daniel BESMARDIÈRE | Paul COLAS-BERNA       | Paul FONLUPT     |
| André BIERWAQUE    | Valentin-Marie COLOMBA | Michel FRON      |
| André BLANC        | Claude COQUELET        | Bernard GABEL    |
| Gérard BLANC       | Eric CRISOPASSO        | Gérard GASTON    |
| Michel BLASER      | Yves CRUCIFIX          | Gérard GILBERT   |
| Gilbert BOISTARD   | Bernard DAGUENET       | J.-L. GIROD      |
| Joseph BOUDARD     | Henri DEBRE            | André GODARD     |
| Michel BOURJEOIS   | Jacques DELBECQUE      | André GOLABECK   |
| Jean BOURLIER      | Maurice DESCHANEL      | Antoine GOLABECK |
| - BOURRES          | Claude DEWITTE         | Guy GROSMANN     |
| Guy BRYCZY         | Frédéric DRIEDRICH     | Paul GROSZ       |

Rodolphe GUICHARD	Albert LUX	Daniel REBOUX
Albert HAMMERLIN	André MACKE	Henri ROBACZINSKI
Michel HANNIET	Guy MARBER	Jean-Paul ROBERT
Marcel HJADIK	Christian MAISON	René ROCHER
Eugène HOCIJ	Gérard MANCEAU	Edouard RYDRYCZAK
René HUYH	Claude MARQUET	André SALAÜN
Félix IDARGO	Michel MARY	Jean-Paul SALER
Janura JAROSLAW	Bernard MATECKI	Gilbert SCHMITZ
Daniel JOLLY	Edmond MIERSWINSKY	Jean-Pierre SEMBEL
Bogdan JURA	Jacques MILLET	Gérard SÉGARD
Régis KESTELOOT	Luc MONNIER	Marc SEIGNOBOS
Ernest KIRCHER	Maurice MONTREUX	Bernard SEUX
Léon KUKIELKA	Robert MORSILLI	Marc SICARI
Félicien KULCZAK	Jean-Claude MOZER	Claude SIEGMUND
Jean-Pierre LADOIRE	Claude NEVEU	Robert SIMÉON
Jean LAGRAVE	Jean-Marie CCHENOWSKI	Stanislas SOBOTA
Georges LAJOIE	Antoine ORENGO	Paul SOULTAN
Charles LAMBRECH	Daniel PETER	Sylvain STINEAU
Alain LARCHIER	Pierre PERRON	Jean TAURINES
Lucien LATINI	Joseph PERSONNAZ	- TETIOT
Anthelme LAURENCE	Jean PEZET	Gérard THIERRY
Roland LEBRETON	Raymond PISKORSKI	Gérard THOMAS
Alain LEFEBVRE	Didier POIRAUD	Roland THOMAS
Paul LEGER	Louis PORON	Bernard VANBESELINGHEM
Sylvain LENTZ	Eric POT	Claude VERREL
Christian LePLAY	Michel POUCHO	François VIOLLEAU
Gabriel LIPOWICZ	Michel PRÉVOT	Claude VORON
Pierre LOBOT	Pierre PREZ	Bernard WIGGERS
Gilbert LORENZINI	Christian PYVETEAU	Antoine WROBEL
André LOUP	Gérard Quevilly	Francis ZIMMERMANN

N.B. Only cards enclosed in tuck-in envelopes should be sent to prisoners in France

N.B. Seulement les cartes dans une enveloppe (décacheté) envoyez-vous aux prisonniers en France

N.B. Schicken Sie nur Karten die in einem Umschlag gesteckt sind.

---

GREAT BRITAIN - GRANDE BRETAGNE - GROSSBRITANNIEN

Wormwood Scrubs Prison, Du Cane Road, London, W.14., England

Des LOCK Michael RANDLE

Spring Hill Open Prison, Grendon Underwood, Nr. Aylesbury, Bucks. England

Ian DIXON Trevor HATTON

Ford Open Prison, Arundel, Sussex, England

Terry CHANDLER Pat POTTLE

---

ITALY - ITALIE - ITALIEN

II Riparto, Castello Angioino, Gaeta, Italy

Benito ARDITO	Guiseppe PESSOT
☆ Roberto BOGETTO	Pietro FORTUGNO
Dr. avv. Gianfranco CIABATTI	Brightenti OLIVIERO
Alberto CORTINI	☆ Pietro MOTTA
Bocco d'ANGELO	Dino TOSSETTI
Nello di STEFANO	

Cariere 24 Maggio, Peschiera del Garda (Verona) Italy

Luigi TAGLIARINI

U.S.A.

ETATS-UNIS

VEREINIGTE STAATEN

Federal Correctional Institution, Prison Camp, Allenwood, Pa., U.S.A.

Boaventura Santos GRACA      Jack SMITH

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

★ Donald MARTIN

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

Walter TRENCH

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

Donald VAN HOOK

Federal Correctional Institution, Seagoville, Texas, U.S.A.

Jerry Lee ANDERSON

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

Stanley L. RHODES

Federal Correctional Institution, Tucson, Arizona, U.S.A.

Robert DUCKLES

Federal Correctional Institution, Lewisburg, Penna., U.S.A.

John KRUSE

Federal Correctional Institution, Springfield, Mo., U.S.A.

Peter KIGER

Paul SALSTROM

N.B. Robert T. REEDY - 5-year sentence - No address available

★ Donald MARTIN sentenced in June 1961 to an indefinite term of imprisonment

N.B. Robert T. REEDY - 5 ans de prison - Adresse ne pas disponible

★ Donald MARTIN condamné au mois de juin 1961 à une peine de durée indéterminée.

N.B. Robert T. REEDY - 5 Jahr Gefängnis - Keine Adresse verfügbar

★ Donald MARTIN war in Juni 1961 zu eine unbestimmten Strafe verurteilt.

DENMARK

DANEMARK

DÄNEMARK

Tillidsmaendene  
Gribskovlejren  
Maarum st.  
Denmark

Tillidsmaendene  
Kompedellejren  
Engesvang st.  
Denmark

HOLLAND

HOLLANDE

HOLLAND

De Raad van Gewetensbezwaarden  
(Bauke Kootstra)  
Rijks Psychiatrische Inrichtingen  
Woensel  
Eindhoven, Holland

Dienstweigeraars  
Kamp Vledder  
Vledder  
Holland

NORWAY

NORVÈGE

NORWEGEN

Sivilarbeiderne,  
Hustad Leir  
Farstad, Norway

Sivilarbeiderne  
Den sivile arbeidstjeneste  
Mysen, Norway

SWEDEN

SUÈDE

SCHWEDEN

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Sunnanäs  
Gävle 1, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Björkö  
Adelsö, Sweden

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

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Asbro, Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Oskar-Fredriksborg,  
Sweden

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Garnisonsbrandkåren  
Boden 19, Sweden

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

Vapenfria värnpliktiga  
Brandstationen  
Lfv.  
Bromma 10  
Sweden

N.B. Collective greetings may be sent to the above camp addresses  
in Denmark, Holland, Norway and Sweden

On peut écrire des souhaits généraux à tous les habitants d'un  
camp en Danemark, Hollande, Norvège et Suède

Ein gemeinschaftliche Glückwünsche kann zu den Zivildienstlager  
in Dänemark, Holland, Norwegen und Schweden geschickt werden.

WEST GERMANY

ALLEMAGNE L'OUEST

WEST DEUTSCHLAND

The following are alternative Service Camps and not Prison Camps.  
Les adresses qui suit sont Service Civil Camps - pas Prison Camps.  
Die folgenden sind Friedensdienst Adressen - nicht Gefängnislager.

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

An die Zivildienstleistenden beim  
Deutschen Roten Kreuz,  
Wolfhagen/Hessen,  
D.R.K.-Hilfszug,  
z.Hd. von Eghard Müller, Germany.

An die Mitglieder der Staatlichen  
Zivildienstgruppe,  
Tübingen,  
Universitäts-Kliniken, Germany.

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Neuenkirchen über Bremen-Vegesack,  
Evang. Hospital,  
z.Hd. von Gerhard Koesling,  
Germany.

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Goddelau-Ehrfelden,  
Heil- und Pflegeanstalt,  
z.Hd. von Werner Kappler,  
Germany.

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Westerland/Sylt,  
Nordseeklinik,  
z.Hd. von Erik O.Fritzenwalder,  
Germany.

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Remscheid-Lüttringhausen,  
Evang. Krankenanstalten Stiftung  
Tannenhof,  
z.Hd. von Rolf Jürgensen,  
Germany.

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Bad Hersfeld/Hessen,  
Kreis Krankenhaus,  
z.Hd. von Klaus Cassuben,  
Germany.

An die Zivildienstleistenden beim  
Deutschen Roten Kreuz,  
Bonn-Lengsdorf,  
D.R.K.-Hauptlager, Hauptstrasse,  
z. Hd. von Fritz Grömping,  
Germany.

An die Zivildienstleistenden,  
Bethel bei Bielefeld/Westfalen,  
v. Bodelschingsche Anstalten,  
z.Hd. von Jürden Voss, Germany.

An die Zivildienstleistenden beim  
Bayrischen Roten Kreuz,  
Ebenhausen bei Ingolstadt,  
z.Hd. von Hans-Christian Lembke,  
Germany.

An die Mitglieder der Zivildienst-  
gruppe der Nothelfergemeinschaft  
der Freunde,  
Frankfurt/Main,  
Germany.

We cannot guarantee that all addresses are accurate. If your cards are  
returned please do not ask the W.R.I. to provide an explanation.

L'IRG a fait tout son possible afin de fournir des renseignements précis.  
Si vos cartes vous seront renvoyées, nous vous prions de ne point vous  
adresser à l'IRG pour en constater la raison.

Die WRI hat versucht genaue Auskunft zu geben. Sollten Sie Karten  
zurückgeschickt bekommen, so fragen Sie uns bitte nicht warum.

Dear Friends,

26.8.63 vide  
ED 718-27-268

Thank you all very much for your Christmas cards. At first we were surprised by the numbers which were arriving each day, then amazed, but finally only overwhelmed. To be the benefactors of this flood of good will has been a unique and wonderful experience -- in fact, the only thing that made Christmas a happy, not sad, occasion for us this year, and in some ways even more meaningful than many a Christmas in the outside world.

Peter Kiger has been working as a clerk for a doctor since his arrival here at the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners last June. He hopes to be paroled in about April of this year. He was sentenced in June, 1962, to two years; parole can be granted after a third of one's sentence has expired. Peter has had much time for reading medicine while on the job and has supplemented that mainly with some history. He hopes to change jobs soon from clerk to hospital attendant (orderly). Upon release, he intends to live with his parents at Dunreith, Indiana, and work either in his father's printing and office supply business or as an hospital orderly, in either case spending part time with peace movement efforts in Indiana. Later on he will perhaps return to medical school, in which he has completed one year, and will also in the future probably do considerable full-time work with peace organizations.

Paul Salstrom, the other CC at Springfield, had his sentence of three years handed down on June 20, 1962; and he too after a short wait in jail was immediately sent to the prison camp attached to the medical center. Like Peter, he had spent about six months participating in the CNVA Polaris Action program in Connecticut. Also as Peter, he had returned his draft card to Selective Service and was drafted due to thus being "delinquent" vis-a-vis Selective Service. Paul worked for five months as clerk of the Associate Warden, but several weeks ago managed to switch to farm work, desiring no longer to help supplement the custodial phase of prison routine. In June he will become eligible for parole and if released plans either to work with an uncle's business in Illinois, as a wood carver, work in the San Francisco area and participate in CNVA-West, or return immediately to full-time peace activity with Polaris Action. He hopes eventually to participate in the World Peace Brigade.

There are at present twelve Jehovah's Witnesses here at the medical center in the prison camp section on the same charge of failure to report for induction. These are conscientious young men who have stood up for their beliefs in a quiet and impressive way. In the federal prison system as a whole, which contains 35 prisons, there are approximately 150 Jehovah's Witnesses as opposed to a few pacifists. Of the twelve Jehovah's Witnesses who are here, three have five year sentences, and none less than two. The differences are due to differing opinions among federal judges.

We two pacifists have been allowed to receive a great number of publications, the following regularly: CNVA, Polaris Action, SPU and WRL Bulletins; the Catholic Worker; Peacemaker; CCCO News Notes; Peace News; Liberation; the Churchman; Greenleaf; Washington Peace Action Bulletin; New America; Nation; and the Living Wilderness; and we manage to read every bit of each. Our correspondence privileges have also been liberal and we have probably received all letters sent to us, with the exception of a few which exceeded the 2-page regulation limit. (Don't hesitate, therefore, to write to us.)

We have each received more than 325 Christmas greetings, many containing notes as well as signatures. There were a large number from Europe, particularly Germany and England; and one or two still arrive each day. Since you are one of those who did send a card, we wish to apologize that this message is not personal as yours was. Such an off-set printed letter was the only method available that would enable us to thank each of you. However, we think it is not an exaggeration to say that if we ever meet you in the years ahead it is quite likely that we will remember your names.

Our message is only that we are grateful for your support and good wishes, and hope your Christmas too was enriching -- and may we all work very hard together in 1963 for disarmament and nonviolence. The Cuban crisis, as terrifying an experience as the world is likely to have short of nuclear war, merely dramatized the logic and bared the appalling modern fists of our perennial dilemma. What we two conscientious objectors believe is that the key to disarmament and a more just world is nonviolent action; for the changes needed, and the opportunities for perceptions which could effect these changes, are as broad as humanity and as specific as each and every human encounter.

Paul Salstrom  
Peter N. Kiger

ED 718-27-269



# Sanity

911 St. James Street West, Montreal 3, Canada ■ PUBLISHED BY THE CANADIAN CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

JUNE 15, 1963

10.7.63 V/VK

DEAR SUBSCRIBER:

PLEASE ACCEPT THIS NOTE OF APOLOGY FOR THE DELAY IN RECEIVING YOUR SANITY #4. UNFORTUNATELY OUR PRINTER SERIOUSLY DELAYED NOT ONLY THE PRODUCTION OF THIS ISSUE BUT ALSO ITS DELIVERY. SINCE THEN WE HAVE CHANGED PRINTERS, AS A RESULT OF WHICH WE HAVE CUT PRODUCTION TIME FOR SANITY # 5 IN HALF. YOU WILL FROM NOW ON RECEIVE UNINTERRUPTED SERVICE.

WE HAVE ON THIS OCCASION EXPANDED THE NEWSPAPER SO THAT IT HAS MORE SUBSTANTIVE MATERIAL IN IT. OUR NEW PRINTER HAS GIVEN FAVOURABLE ENOUGH TERMS WHICH PERMITS US TO UNDERTAKE THIS EXPANSION AT NO EXTRA COST TO CCND. WE HAVE HAD, HOWEVER, TO CHANGE THE PAPER AND DROP THE EXTRA COLOUR. WE HOPE YOU WILL APPROVE OF THE CHANGE.

THE CCND IN ITS ACTIVITIES REAFFIRMS THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, SANITY MUST REFLECT THIS MORE AND MORE. WE ASK YOU THEREFORE TO SEND IN LETTERS TO THE EDITOR, IDEAS ON ARTICLES, IDEAS ON HOW TO EXPAND THE SCOPE AND CIRCULATION OF THE NEWSPAPER ETC. IN SHORT WE WOULD LIKE YOUR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THIS NEW VENTURE FOR WORLD PEACE.

WE HOPE TO BE HEARING FROM YOU SOON.

YOURS SINCERELY:

THE EDITORS

*Sanity/Canada*  
*# 4 + 5*

DIE SCHWEIZERISCHE ZENTRALSTELLE FÜR FRIEDENSARBEIT

The SZF was founded in 1924 during the period following the First World War when the entire world thought that after the bitter experiences of the war years the call "No more war" would surely be realized. Its founders were Prof. Dr. Leonard Ragaz, leader of the Christian Socialist Movement of Switzerland, Pierre Ceresole, the founder of the International Voluntary Service, and Pastor Karl von Greyerz. Later Pastor Greyerz founded the Church Peace Group of Switzerland and through this movement tried unsuccessfully to interest the Reformed Church in working for peace.

The main target of the SZF was to become the centre of action in the fight for peace, against war and militarism. For many years it was the only peace organisation in Switzerland and had both French and German speaking Swiss in its ranks. In spite of hostile public opinion it also remained one of the few Swiss organisations to keep up unceasingly its open fight and was supported by other peace groups - such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Church Peace Group, the Swiss Quakers, the Swiss S.C.I. and others. In 1945 it was one of the founders of the Peace Council and here it has always played the role of the spokesman for decisive peace action.

True to its aims, it fought against Swiss nationalistic militarism, repeatedly requesting that a law be passed recognising objection to military service on the grounds of conscience and also asking that some form of civilian service be set up to replace military call-up. Unfortunately it has been unsuccessful with either of these requests, although, thanks to its action, and later to that of the Peace Council, it has been possible to make military service more humane. In the years before, during and after the Second World War it took up the struggle against the export of arms, and has at least achieved this much - the stain on the honour of the Swiss has been brought out into the open and the official supervision and consent to such transactions is now treated much more strictly. When, at the end of the '30's and beginning of '40's, the authorities attempted to introduce compulsory preparatory military education, the SZF led the fight against this encouraging of militarism in youth and was successful in that this was declared voluntary.

After the Second World War, Switzerland once more let herself be drawn into the rearmament business and the yearly military budget rose to one thousand million francs. The SZF played a leading part in organising and effecting a pledge proposing that the yearly military budget should not exceed 500 million francs and that a proportion (10%) should be given to the Swiss Service for economically under-developed peoples. This looked as though it would be successful but had to be withdrawn owing to the hysteria caused by the Hungarian incident. The SZF was one of the first instigators of the programme for help to economically backward peoples. This idea was taken up by the Swiss Peace Council and through its work Swiss Help to Non-European Countries came into being. This was eventually organised independently of the Swiss Peace Movement.

In 1947 the SZF introduced its "Press Service" which has become a bi-monthly publication. This serves to explain the aims of the SZF and also spreads news on peace problems which otherwise would barely be mentioned elsewhere in the Swiss press. The SZF was also a co-founder of the movement against rearming Switzerland with nuclear weapons and its efforts have led to a plebiscite to be taken on this subject on April 1st, 1962.

All these actions are accompanied by the production of leaflets and booklets which are being published and distributed by a pacifist bookshop affiliated to the SZF. The profits derived from the bookshop give very welcome financial help towards paying the salary of the part-time Secretary of the SZF. The bookshop is also responsible for the regular publication of reports from the Peace Council.

The Cold War has had a detrimental effect on the Swiss Peace Movement - the SZF included. Its membership has fallen to half of what it was during the Second World War; most of its members are elderly and its financial resources get less and less. However, the greater devotion of those who are left, makes up for the losses and helps to keep up the fight for peace in Switzerland.

March 1962.

WILLY KOBE

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

TSEDEK

Bulletin Mensuel

Abonnement annuel:

France ..... 20 fr

Etranger ... 25 fr

C.C.P.

B. LEVYNE, PARIS 15-398-97

18 r. Adolphe Chérioux

ISSY - LES - MOULINEAUX

(Seine)

c

**TSEDEK**

VERITE - JUSTICE - PAIX

Organe de L'ALLIANCE D'ABRAHAM

Tous les serviteurs du roi, qui se tenaient à la porte du roi, fléchissaient le genou et se prosternaient devant Haman, car tel était l'ordre du roi à son égard. Mais Mardoohée ne fléchissait point le genou et ne se prosternait point.

Esther 3,2

N° 73 - 9ème Année

POURIME 5724

FEVRIER 1964

24.3.64 Vlg

LETTRE A "DEFENSE DE L'HOMME"

A Monsieur Louis Dorlet

Cher Ami,

Votre collaborateur M.-E. Flower, dans sa lettre, parle de tout, sauf de l'essentiel.

Est-il anarchiste, oui ou non ?

L'essence de l'anarchisme est-elle la négation totale et absolue de l'Etat ?

Alors qu'il crie avec moi - sans crainte de passer pour un "antisémite" -

A BAS L'ETAT D'ISRAEL, (et non les Israéliens, qui sont victimes de leur Moloch).

Sinon, il n'est qu'un fumiste - et je ne demande ce qu'il fait parmi vous.

Moi aussi, mon père a été déporté et assassiné à Auschwitz. Et dans quelles circonstances ! Le jour de mon anniversaire. En Février 44. Il accompagnait un ami aveugle à une messe célébrée par le régiment auquel avait appartenu son fils tombé au champ d'honneur. Une alerte, le métro évacué, mon père et son ami, avec leurs étoiles jaunes, dans la rue ; des policiers dressent des contraventions, ils profitent de l'occasion pour ramasser les Juifs.

Le dernier mot qu'il nous fit parvenir du commissariat : "Je garderai votre image jusqu'au bout ..."

Ce sont donc des bombardiers alliés - qui ont choisi pour opérer leur raid l'heure à laquelle un régiment français commémorait religieusement ses morts - qui ont fourni aux Allemands le prétexte pour arrêter mon père et le déporter à Auschwitz. Tout s'enchaîne. Le tourbillon de la guerre. Militaires anglais, américains, français, allemands, filios, tous complices et responsables - et la messe et l'église. Et que sont les soldats et les policiers ? Les agents, les instruments de l'Etat.

Ce ne sont pas les Allemands qui ont assassiné mon père.

C'est l'Etat allemand.

C'est l'Etat.

L'Assassin, c'est l'Etat.

Le Nazisme, c'est l'Etat.

L'Etat d'Israël est un Etat.

Je n'accuse pas l'Etat d'Israël d'avoir assassiné des femmes et des enfants arabes.

Je l'accuse d'avoir assassiné mon père.

Le jugement d'Eichmann est le jugement de l'Etat d'Israël.

Car Eichmann,

C'est l'Etat.

Emmanuel LEVINE

P.S. - Après l'arrestation de mon père, quelques semaines plus tard, réfugié chez des cousins à Noisy-le-Sec, je subis le plus meurtrier bombardement de la région parisienne. La gare était visée ; tout fut détruit dans un rayon de plusieurs kilomètres : des milliers de civils, innocents de toute collaboration, espérant la Libération, massacrés ; et comble de cruauté et de sauvagerie : d'innombrables bombes à retardement gênaient considérablement les sauveteurs, et pendant des jours et des semaines, elles semèrent la terreur et firent des victimes (surtout parmi les Juifs du camp de Drancy qu'on employait de force pour les travaux de déminage). Je me souviendrai toujours de cette famille amie qui nous fournissait du ravitaillement : grands-parents, parents, enfants périrent dans leur pavillon écrasé par les bombes - seule une petite fille survécut après avoir été amputée d'une jambe. Ce bombardement ne fut-il pas Auschwitz pour cette famille française, qui a plus été victime de la guerre que moi qui ai perdu mon père ? Mais au nom de laquelle on ne massacrera pas d'autres êtres innocents pour les déposséder de leurs terres et de leurs maisons. Car, les dirigeants sionistes qui, eux, n'ont pas souffert personnellement de la guerre - la Palestine n'a été ni occupée, ni bombardée par les Allemands - ont exploité ma souffrance pour se créer un Etat et des situations privilégiées, pour accéder aux postes de ministres, ambassadeurs, généraux, etc ..., et c'est en mon nom qu'ils ont infligé aux Arabes des traitements que les Allemands n'ont réservés. Et grâce, précisément, aux sommes d'argent astronomiques que leur versent les Allemands. En échange de quoi, ils fournissent aux Allemands des mitraillettes afin, probablement, que demain ils me liquident - comme hier, mon père - au cas où je refuserai de me rendre volontairement dans leur camp de concentration qu'est leur Etat cananéen. Oui, l'Etat d'Israël réarme les bras des assassins de nos parents. Il faut vraiment que le monde - le monde juif en particulier - soit bien aveugle pour ne pas voir la collusion entre le germanisme et le sionisme (créé par le journaliste allemand Herzl, qui n'avait plus rien de juif, selon ses propres aveux). Aucune manifestation juive n'a eu lieu contre le réarmement allemand, voulu par les Rothschild, grâce au silence de la presse juive officielle - qui est naturellement leur presse. Avant de gouverner et d'exploiter la France, les Rothschild - originaires de la Prusse, comme tous les empoisonneurs de l'humanité contemporaine (Marx et le communisme, Freud et la psychanalyse, Einstein et la bombe atomique, etc ...) - les Rothschild gouvernent et exploitent Israël. Et il n'est qu'à voir ce qu'est devenu le peuple français - peuple essentiellement révolutionnaire - depuis qu'il est soumis au pouvoir des De Gaulle-Debré-Pompidou, pour avoir une idée de ce qu'est devenu le peuple juif - peuple essentiellement anarchiste - depuis qu'il est soumis au pouvoir des banquiers et des politiciens. Du érev rav. Moins que l'ombre de lui-même. Sa négation. Il n'existe plus. Il s'est anéanti dans l'adoration du Veau d'Or et dans le culte du Moloch.

Mais le jour où la France révolutionnaire et l'Israël anarchiste se retrouveront et conjugueront leurs efforts, le règne de la Bourgeoisie ne tardera pas à prendre fin, et l'Humanité connaîtra enfin la Liberté, sans laquelle l'homme ne peut pas accomplir sa vocation : la Création de sa propre Vie.

Car, en hébreu, Dieu ne signifie pas Autorité et Pouvoir, mais Liberté et Création.

Béréchit Bara Elohim ...

UNE LETTRE D'ADOLPHE GRAD

Mon Cher Ami,

Je vous remercie pour l'envoi de votre dernier "Tsédék" (n° 69, juillet 63) qui, comme les précédents, a la vertu de ne pas laisser le lecteur indifférent. Je dirai même, cette fois, qu'il y a de quoi être effaré, car si, personnellement, je suis assez large d'esprit, je me demande non sans angoisse comment votre Numéro va être accueilli dans nombre de milieux, même et surtout dans les milieux où l'on en a pourtant vu d'autres.

J'ignorais, il va sans dire, votre polémique avec Flower, et le point de vue, évidemment, de ce dernier. Si l'hébraïsme est un anarchisme sur le plan idéal où vous vous situez vous êtes farouchement seul, et il doit être difficile de vous suivre. Pourtant, même si l'on remonte avec vous à Caïn, je crains fort que la cause de celui-ci soit fort peu défendable.

L'hébraïsme est peut-être un anarchisme, mais vos détracteurs peuvent aussi penser que vous ne pouvez pas mettre en parallèle "l'aspirateur israélien" et le "balai allemand", même si, à vos yeux, le résultat est identique. Je pressens que Flower vous répondra que le volontaire (car il s'agit, je crois, de volontaires) qui part pour Israël au nom de tout ce que vous voudrez, n'est tout de même pas dans le même "état d'esprit" (en l'occurrence, des wagons à bestiaux) que celui qui partait pour un camp où l'attendait des sadiques et des chiens dressés. Flower peut vous dire que l'étoile de David sur Haïfa, c'est tout de même autre chose que la croix gammée sur Auschwitz.

La mention de Simone Weil, votre "vierge rouge", est sans doute regrettable, car son antisémitisme intellectuel est bien connu (voir Baruk : Le cas de Simone Weil in Le Monothéisme devant la Science).

Si l'hébraïsme est un anarchisme, Siméon ben Yohai est avec vous, qui, sortant de sa caverne après douze ans de réclusion, s'écrie en voyant le peuple labourer et semer : "Tous ces hommes oublient la vie éternelle et s'adonnent aux tâches de ce monde !" Mais vos détracteurs peuvent vous répondre que si les Arabes sont vraiment supérieurs aux Israéliens sur le plan spirituel (leur "respect" du sol, l'idéal de la "maison arabe", etc.) alors les premiers sont beaucoup mieux préparés que les seconds pour abolir tout Etat, et renoncer à l'Iraq-Iraq, à l'Egypte nassérienne ou non, à la Syrie, à la Tunisie, à l'Algérie, au Maroc, à tout ce qui s'étire du Gange à l'Atlantique. Flower peut vous dire que devant ce bel exemple de renoncement à l'Etat arabe, la mince bande côtière israélienne apparaîtrait plus ridicule que jamais. Flower peut aussi vous répondre que même si Israël se fait hara-kiri, ces Musulmans très supérieurs se précipiteraient bien vite sur l'ex-Etat juif afin de rectifier les cartes de l'Empire arabe entre deux cures de pamplemousses.

En ce qui concerne Jérémie, j'avoue mon incompetence. C'est tout de même singulièrement épineux.

Avec la kabbale de la lutte de Jacob, on revient en fait au thème central de ce "Tsédék" qui m'apparaît vulnérable. Si votre titre "l'hébraïsme est un anarchisme" est valable, vos arguments sont à double tranchant.

Votre dernier mot a été 'hazak, le mien permanent pour vous et les vôtres sera chalom.

Adolphe GRAD.

REACTION ANTISEMITE

La seule réaction négative importante à notre numéro 68 a été celle d'un nommé Jean Alexander, domicilié à l'Isle-Adam, qui a résilié son abonnement à cause de ses opinions anarchistes exprimées dans notre "Réponse à Flower". Nous ne pouvons pas reproduire cette lettre (elle est rédigée en petit nègre, avec des fautes d'orthographe à chaque mot et des injures). Voici quand même quelques phrases passables : "J'aime beaucoup l'Allemagne, elle est ma patrie véritable (...) Je suis contre l'anarchisme, contre le désordre, et je ne peux pas avoir beaucoup d'admiration pour les Juifs (Comme Ben-Gourion ("L'Arche", n° 79-80), il leur reproche de ne pas aimer les travaux durs) (...). Allez leur dire aux Allemands (...) Vous avez de la chance que l'Etat français vous laisse répandre de tels Bulletins (...)"

Pour une réponse à Grad

POINTS DE REFERE

Demander aux Arabes d'abolir leurs Etats,  
cela revient à leur demander de se convertir à Israël.

On connaît le Midrach :

Dieu a proposé la Torah à toutes les Nations.

Les unes ne l'ont pas acceptée parce qu'elle interdit le vol ;

Les autres parce qu'elle interdit le meurtre .

Autrement dit : l'Etat.

Car l'Etat vit essentiellement

par le vol (l'impôt)

et le meurtre (l'armée et la police) .

Supprimer l'impôt ,

Supprimer l'armée et la police,

Et il n'y a plus d'Etat .

Il n'y a plus de De Gaulle et de Hitler,

de Kennedy et de Khrouchtchev

de Nasser et de Ben Gourion.

Car l'Etat repose sur la Violence,

c'est sa loi de vie,

et on n'a jamais vu un Etat s'en passer.

Une seule nation a accepté de vivre selon la Loi :

Tu ne tueras point et

Tu ne voleras point.

Autrement dit : sans Etat .

Israël.

Israël est la Négation de l'Etat.

Il représente le Non-Etat parmi les Etats.

Tel est le Pacte jusqu'à l'arrivée du Messie.

Israël tolère les Etats.

Les Etats tolèrent Israël.

Leur Négation.

La Paix de l'Eternel.

Les Arabes ont le droit d'être Israël,

- c'est-à-dire d'avoir des Etats.

Israël n'a pas le droit de ne pas être Israël.

En ce qui concerne Jérémie, c'est peut-être singulièrement épineux , mais essentiel. Sans les références de Jérémie et de Néher, je n'oserais pas attaquer l'Etat juif. Mais pourquoi, Grad, voulez-vous être plus Juif et plus patriote que les Jérémie , les Rabbis Yo'hanan ben Zakaï et les rabbins du Ghetto. Il faut que les amis d'Israël en prennent conscience : soutenir l'Etat d'Israël peut être une forme d'antisémitisme.

De même que défendre les Juifs riches tels que Rothschild, comme le fait Flower, peut être une forme d'attaque contre les Juifs pauvres tels que Lévine. Car Rothschild est mon ennemi au même titre que Hitler. Il a commandé à ses valets rabbiniques de m'ôter "tout appui et toute ressource, toute ressource de pain et toute ressource d'eau". Il a détruit l'âme d'Israël. Il est le "Erev Rav".

Simone Weill : le feu de l'Eternel brûlait en elle et le soufflé des prophètes d'Israël l'inspirait et l'animait. C'était une Léviite. Ma sœur. Comme moi, elle avait la kabbale dans le sang. Comme le note Rabi dans son "Anatomie du Judaïsme français", "Sans le savoir, elle avait d'instinct retrouvé la grande tradition de la Kabbale. Elle écrit par exemple : "L'acte de la Création n'est pas un acte de puissance. C'est une abdication (...) C'est un Royaume d'où Dieu s'est retiré. Dieu ayant renoncé à en être le roi ne peut y venir que comme mendiant" (Ecrits de Londres). Cette idée n'est ni grecque ni chrétienne ; elle jaillit directement de la mystique juive. C'est exactement l'opération dénommée "Tzimcum" par les Kabbalistes : Dieu se retire d'une partie de lui-même pour faire place à l'univers du temps et de la mort." (p.192). Comme elle, j'ai partagé la vie des ouvriers (quand mon père a été arrêté, je travaillais, souvent de nuit, dans une usine de décolletage où je tirais le plus gros tour, auquel j'étais attelé par une ceinture, comme un cheval), et je suis naturellement porté vers les mouvements révolutionnaires et anarchistes. En attaquant impitoyablement la bourgeoisie juive, Simone Weill a accompli sa fonction de Léviite. En la faisant passer pour une névrosée et une antisémite, le Fr. Baruk protège et rassure cette bourgeoisie. C'est la fonction du médecin qui dépend de l'Arbre de la Science, qui est celui du "Erev Rav". Ce n'est pas pour rien que l'emblème des médecins est le Serpent, et le Talmud dit "le meilleur des médecins mérite l'enfer" (Michna Kiddouchin, IV,14).

Revue de la Presse : "La Tour de Feu", n° 76

#### CANONISATION de LOUIS LECOIN (MARDOCHEE)

Ce n'est pas sans intention que je cite Jean Genêt à côté de Louis Lecoïn. A peu près à la même époque où celui-ci publiait "De prison en prison", Jean Genêt rédigeait "Le Journal d'un voleur" (NRF). Le parallélisme est frappant : alors que le prisonnier politique dénonçait la prison ("Dussé-je heurter les gens sans cœur, les faire hurler même, je me prononce pour le rasement des prisons ... Pardonner, tendre la main ; repardonner, retendre la main, ne pas se laisser et l'on parviendra à des résultats que ne donneront jamais les murs tristes des geôles et la gueule rébarbative de leurs gardiens"), le prisonnier de droit commun glorifiait la prison et ses fonctionnaires ("La prison m'entoure d'une garantie parfaite... Rien ne la démolira. Coups de vent, tempêtes, faillites n'y peuvent ... Policiers et criminels sont l'émanation la plus virile de ce monde... J'aime secrètement la police").

On me dira que la sainteté conférée à Jean Genêt, est celle d'une déchéance qui refuse tout salut, celle du misérable qui dans sa volonté d'abjection de conscience ne voit pas de limite au mal et se vautre dans son malheur. Mais n'oublions pas que la société a toujours éprouvé une préférence secrète pour la catégorie des "droits communs". Elle distribue plus facilement ses grâces aux Barabbas qu'aux Christs. Ceux-ci lui paraissent plus dangereux que ceux-là. Sans oser le proclamer officiellement, elle se reconnaît mieux dans les criminels et dans les voleurs que dans les révolutionnaires. Ils ne menacent pas son ordre, ils ne mettent pas en cause ses principes, puisque patrie et propriété sont nées du crime et du vol. On sait également que dans les camps nazis les prisonniers politiques étaient commandés par des droits communs et jusqu'à maintenant la République a plus libéralement amnistié les gangsters que les objecteurs de conscience.

Ainsi, quand J.P.Sartre canonise Jean Genêt, il reste parfaitement dans l'ordre de ce monde naturel, violent et cruel, tandis que lorsque nous disons Saint Leccin (et nous à "Tsédek", nous l'appelons Mardoohée), nous sommes dans l'ordre de la poésie et de la révolution. Sartre est avec ceux qui perpétuent le monde et ses fureurs. Nous sommes avec ceux qui changent le monde et qui le transfigurent.

Louis Leccin a passé une douzaine d'années de sa vie en prison pour avoir sans répit lutté contre la guerre, milité contre l'armée, protesté contre toutes les atteintes à la liberté, à la dignité de l'homme. Il est un des acteurs les plus éclatants et les plus purs de l'amour de l'homme pour l'homme. D'une sensibilité vraiment pascalienne devant l'injustice, sa volonté de conscience n'a jamais été prise en défaut. Il a donné ses loisirs et ses économies de modeste correcteur à la défense des Objecteurs, mais d'une façon si simple et si discrète qu'on ne remarque pas le sacrifice. Il est de ceux qui nous empêchent de désespérer de l'homme et de nous-même.

"Dieu vous aime", lui a dit l'abbé Pierre. Et je pense que Dieu aime surtout les saints qui ne croient pas en lui, qui ne misent pas sur lui, qui ne s'appuient pas sur lui, parce qu'ils sont les plus purs !

Et nous disons qu'en dehors de toutes les églises et bien au-dessus d'elles, Louis Leccin est un saint de l'humanité. Et nous le canonisons !

Pierre BOUJUT.

#### RECEPTION

du sionisme d'honneur de Pourime 5724

Les Portes de Tsédek,  
Les Portes de Jérusalem,  
Les Portes de la Communauté d'Israël  
s'ouvrent pour recevoir en son sein  
le Juste des Nations

Louis Leccin,  
Protecteur et défenseur des Juifs spirituels  
que sont les objecteurs de conscience.

Il est Mardoohée ;  
Haman est Debré.

Louis Leccin,  
Tu es un Guer-Tsédek - un étranger à ton pays, parce que citoyen de la Justice ;  
Tu es un Poël -Tsédek - un ouvrier et un artisan de la Justice ;  
Tu es un Moré - Tsédek - notre maître de Justice .  
Tu es notre frère .

Barou'h Haba - sois le bienvenu dans la tente d'Abraham  
Chalom Alé'ha - tu portes la Paix de l'Eternel  
que nous avons perdue,  
parce que nous avons gagné la guerre .

En te regardant,  
nous retrouvons notre image.

Notre conscience .  
Notre objection de conscience .

"Mais Mardoohée ne fléchissait point le genou et ne se prosternait point ..."

#### Correspondance

#### D'UNE LETTRE D'ARNO HAMERS

#### Voeux

Merci de tout cœur pour les bons voeux que vous nous avez envoyés pour la Noël et le Nouvel An. Nous vous souhaitons, à vous et les vôtres, qu'au cours de cette année extraordinaire de 1964, les bénédictions de l'Eternel fassent fructifier l'oeuvre de "Tsédek" d'une manière qui étonnera vos amis comme vos adversaires .

#### De Gaulle et la Chine

La série des coups de théâtre continue avec la reconnaissance spectaculaire de la Chine de Mao par de Gaulle, acte dont il n'est pas facile de prévoir toutes les répercussions. Il aura peut-être comme résultat d'amener en automne prochain cet énergumène de Goldwater à la présidence des Etats-Unis, qui est capable de faire sortir les USA de l'ONU si la Chine de Mao y entre, et en attendant il aura certainement comme conséquence que l'Allemagne mènera à son tour une politique beaucoup plus ouvertement indépendante avec les coups de théâtre qui pourraient également en résulter un jour... (suite p.12)

LE JUDAÏSME OFFICIEL LE RECONNAÎT :  
ROTHSCHILD ET LES JUIFS DE COUR GOUVERNEMENT ISRAËL

La période post-ghettoïque de l'émancipation n'a pas éliminé du milieu juif cette tendance (à la richesse et au luxe) avec ses implications, ses contextes et ses prolongements psychologiques. Tout au contraire, au fur et à mesure que s'effaçait la "cléricature", le gouvernement à l'intérieur de la congrégation juive, était exercé par les riches. C'est ainsi que s'instaura un peu partout et surtout dans les Judaïsmes spirituellement anémiés et dilués du type occidental, le régime et le règne des personnages revêtus de parures de soie et, par la suite, quand la dominante sociale et mondaine devint bourgeoise au lieu d'aristocratique, de graves messieurs en jaquette et haut-de-forme. Ces gentlemen servaient d'échantillons et de modèles. Dans la communauté juive, c'était ainsi que l'on devait paraître, à moins de se résigner à la posture de "Schnorrer" (mendiant).

Le violent séisme de l'ère hitlérienne, pour aussi dévastateur qu'il fût, n'a presque rien changé à ces conduites et lignes de conduite pour les nouveaux Judaïsmes de rescapés et de survivance. Dans le cadre et la perspective générale de la "restauration", en l'absence de toute prise de conscience profonde de la signification de la terrible épreuve, historiquement encore si récente, on revint aux anciennes structures, même si elles furent ponctuées de quelques néologismes "modernes" : aux anciennes habitudes mentales, aux habitudes de carence classique et surtout dans le style, à cette "dignité" compassée et morne, qui réduit le religieux et sa teneur spirituelle à la dimension d'un cérémonial, ce qui exclut nécessairement tout élan vital. Aussi bien, aujourd'hui, en 1963, qu'en 1920 et en 1935, quand on s'approche d'une synagogue le bourgeoisisme vous saute à la gorge et ce n'est pas un bourgeoisisme de démocratie bourgeoise, mais autoritaire et paternaliste, pompeux et en même temps prosaïquement utilitaire, comme l'architecture et l'urbanisme du baron Haussmann dont on tant édifice, cette synagogue procède. On sait bien que la majeure partie des ressortissants affectifs ou virtuels de la communauté juive dans nos contrées se compose à présent des éléments de la classe moyenne et que, plus particulièrement, les Juifs qui se rattachent encore ou de nouveau à une quelconque expression du Judaïsme religieux se recrutent davantage dans les milieux aisés et que dans les couches populaires où semble fonctionner une sorte de dispositif ultra-rapide de dépersonnalisation et de déjudaïsation. De ce fait, on ne saurait s'attendre à ce que le Judaïsme donne la réplique à l'Eglise catholique, par exemple, pour ce qui est de la largeur de l'éventail des perceptions, des résonances et des attitudes. Nous ne pouvons donc pas, dans la situation donnée, avoir nos abbés Pierre ou notre R.P. Bruckberger, moins encore des homologues juifs des prêtres ouvriers ou d'un Teilhard de Chardin. C'est impossible, non pas que le Judaïsme soit, comme le pense un de nos plus éminents et séduisants philosophes, "une religion située au-delà du pathétique" mais parce que le complexe de minorité ne lui permet pas, surtout dans le rôle officiel de corps constitué, de dépasser le mur du son du conformisme.

Aussi bien les multiples témoignages - pour la plupart silencieux - de cette timorité n'étonnent ni ne scandalisent.

Tout récemment encore, alors que des représentants des confessions chrétiennes ont naturellement pris parti dans la question du statut des objecteurs de conscience (qui est d'ordre moral, et non pas politique, avec de graves implications du problème de la réalité des droits de l'homme, de la liberté de conscience, voire de la liberté religieuse proprement dite, puisque la plupart des objecteurs de conscience invoquent le Décalogue), tout aussi naturellement les Rabbins n'ont rien dit, ni pour ni contre, même pas de manière nuancée ou avec des restrictions mentales.

Or, à "vol d'oiseau", toute l'histoire universelle des Juifs en tant qu'entité religieuse (et c'est en réalité à peu près toute l'histoire des Juifs en général), n'est qu'une globale objection de conscience, sinon sur le plan limité du refus du port d'armes, dans la perspective plus vaste de perceptions éthiques et des conduites morales dans leur ensemble. Comme pour souligner d'un léger trait rouge les affinités électives du Judaïsme avec cette "affaire", le diable diota à la majorité des députés d'octroyer par leur vote aux objecteurs de conscience une sorte de "statut juif" puisque leur "privilège" est taxé ou plutôt sanctionné par une incapacité civique discriminatoire, car ils n'auront pas le droit d'exercer certaines fonctions publiques (1). En dépit de cette troublante coïncidence, les Juifs en tant que tels, n'ont émis à ce sujet qu'un tacite no comment. Cet épisode significatif, ainsi que d'autres, passés et sans doute futurs, ne doivent inspirer aucune diatribe. Il faut reconnaître ses limites. En l'occurrence elles sont mal tracées, bien en deça de la ligne de démarcation idéale. Mais qu'y faire ? La synagogue occidentale, la synagogue française ne pourront pas de sitôt devenir des Delphes. L'erreur capitale et atroce d'une Simone Weil - voyant dans la foi ancestrale l'exemple même d'une religiosité étroitement "sociale", dénuée de toute spiritualité et fermée au rayonnement de l'amour - aura encore maintes occasions de récidiver avec des apparences de raison. Les chevaliers de l'absolu, les chercheurs de Dieu, les poètes, les mystiques, les rebelles, les explorateurs du "fond du problème", bref tous ceux qui ne peuvent pas accepter le monde comme il est, savent - ou aurent tôt fait de savoir - que la communauté juive confessionnelle et ses instances, ne sauront, en aucun cas, être les réceptacles de leur quête (...)

Jacques MOSEL.

(Note : Rappelons que "L'Arche" est la revue du Fonds Social Juif Unifié, dont le président est ... Guy de Rothschild ! C'est encore ici le lieu de citer le proverbe du Talmud : "C'est de la forêt elle-même que sort la hache du bûcheron" (Sanhédrin 39b) )

---

(1) "Le Diable", dont parle Jacques Mosel, n'est autre que Michel Debré, petit-fils d'un grand-rabbin consistorial. Notre proverbe du Talmud est encore à citer ici, mais à rebours : "Tes oppresseurs, Israël, sont à ta tête" (Lam. 1,5). C'est le "érev rav", dont les Debré représentent une famille typique. Avec toute la bande des Juifs de cour de l'U.N.R., que les rabbins qui ne seraient pas des valets de la bourgeoisie, devraient impérativement rappeler à l'ordre de la Torah et de ses valeurs morales et humanitaires, qui condamnent sans appel les raisons d'état gaulliste, les raisons du souverain général, qui sacrifie dans le plus haut style païen, les particuliers et les minorités, les petits et les faibles, sur l'autel de la banque Rothschild. Mais puisque les rabbins officiels faillissent, c'est à nous, Lévites, d'amathémiser et d'excommunier ces adorateurs du veau d'or.

Nous le proclamons :

Toute personne d'origine juive qui milite dans le parti U.N.R. - parti égyptien et pharaonique - ou qui lui apporte un quelconque soutien, sera considérée comme s'adonnant à l'idolâtrie et déclarée païenne.

En conséquence, les rapports de cette personne et les membres de la Communauté d'Israël sont régis par les lois traditionnelles réglant les rapports des Juifs et des Païens.

L'origine métaphysique et historique des Rothschild et des Juifs de cour :

LES INTRUS (REKEV RAV)

Zohar 1, 25a :

Les Intrus sont composés de cinq catégories d'êtres : Des Nephilim (les Tombés), Guiborim (les Puissants), Anaquim (les Grands), Rephaïm (les Géants), Analéguim (les Analécites). Les âmes de ces cinq catégories ont survécu jusqu'à la quatrième captivité d'Israël. Ce sont eux qui sont à la tête d'Israël, ils le dominent avec force, ce sont "des instruments de violence" (Gen. XLIX, 5). C'est de ces Puissants qu'il est écrit (Ibid, VI, II) : "La terre était corrompue devant Dieu, la terre était pleine de violence". Ce sont les âmes de la catégorie des Analécites. Les Nephilim sont ceux dont l'Écriture dit (Ibid, 2) : "Et les enfants de Dieu voyant que les filles des hommes étaient belles...". Ceux-ci forment la seconde catégorie des âmes rejetées du ciel. Lorsque le Saint, béni soit-il, voulut créer l'homme, ainsi qu'il est dit : "Faisons l'homme à notre image, etc.", Il se proposa de placer l'homme au-dessus de toutes les légions célestes, de sorte que tous les êtres célestes fussent commandés par l'homme, de même que Joseph commandait sur tout le pays." Il est écrit (Ibid, XLI, 34) : "... Afin qu'il établisse des commandants sur tout le pays." Mais les Anges révoltés vinrent requérir contre l'homme en disant (Ps. VIII, 5) : "Qu'est-ce que l'homme, pour que tu te souviennes de lui ? Et le fils de l'homme pour mériter le commandement ?" "Il est certain, dirent ces anges, que l'homme finira par pécher contre toi." Le Saint, béni soit-il, leur répondit : "Si vous étiez en bas, à sa place, vous seriez plus coupables que lui." Aussitôt après cette réponse divine, il arriva ce que dit l'Écriture (Gen. VI, 2) : "Et les enfants de Dieu voyant que les filles des hommes étaient belles..." Aussitôt que ces anges eurent ces désirs coupables, le Saint, béni soit-il, les rejeta enchaînés en bas. Ces anges sont Aza et Azaël, dont émanent les âmes des Intrus qui sont appelés "les Tombés", parce qu'ils se sont abaissés eux-mêmes en se servant des femmes pour satisfaire leur penchant à la luxure. C'est pourquoi le Saint, béni soit-il, les rejeta hors du monde céleste, les priva de toute part à la béatitude éternelle et leur accorda la récompense en ce bas monde, ainsi qu'il est écrit (Deut. VII, 10) : "... Et qui récompense promptement ceux qui le haïssent, pour les perdre ensuite." Les Guiborim sont les âmes de la troisième catégorie, dont l'Écriture dit (Gen. VI, 4) : "Il en sortit des enfants qui furent des Guiborim (des Puissants, des Héros) et d'une grande célébrité." Ces âmes sont du même côté que celles dont l'Écriture dit (Gen. VI, 4) : "Venez, faisons-nous une ville et une tour qui soit élevée jusqu'au ciel et rendons notre nom célèbre." Ces âmes animent les corps de ceux qui bâtissent des synagogues et des écoles, qui font faire des Pentateuques et des ornements pour ces mêmes Pentateuques, sous prétexte d'arriver au ciel, mais en réalité pour se faire une célébrité. C'est à eux que fait allusion le verset : "... Et rendons notre nom célèbre." C'est par les forces démoniaques qu'ils s'élèvent au dessus du peuple d'Israël, qui est comme la poussière de la terre, ils le volent, et c'est à leur sujet que l'Écriture dit (Ibid. VII, 19) : "Les eaux crurent et grossirent prodigieusement au-dessus de la terre". Les Rephaïm sont les âmes de la quatrième catégorie. Les hommes animés de ces âmes ont ceci de caractéristique que, toutes les fois qu'ils voient Israël en détresse, ils l'abandonnent, bien qu'ils aient le pouvoir de les secourir, ils abandonnent également la doctrine ainsi que ceux qui la cultivent ; ils font en outre du bien aux païens. C'est d'eux que l'Écriture dit (Deut. II, II) : "Les géants (rephaïm) ne ressusciteront plus." Et lorsque l'heure de la Délivrance aura sonné pour Israël, alors arrivera ce que l'Écriture ajoute : "Leur mémoire sera à jamais effacée." Les Anaquim sont les âmes de la cinquième catégorie ; les hommes animés de ces âmes vilipendent ceux dont l'Écriture dit (Prov. I, 9) : "Et elles seront un ornement à votre tête, et comme de riches colliers (anaquim) à votre cou." C'est d'eux que l'Écriture dit (Deut. II, II) : "Les Rephaïm sont semblables aux Anaquim", c'est-à-dire : les uns valent les autres. C'est à cause de ceux-ci que le monde est retourné à l'état de tchou et bohou. Le mystère de ces cinq catégories d'âmes, qui ont causé la

destruction du Temple, est exprimé dans les paroles de l'Écriture : "Et la terre était tohou et bohou." Mais aussitôt après que la racine et la base du monde apparaîtront, racine désignée dans l'Écriture par le terme "Lumière", parce que cette racine est de l'essence du Saint, béni soit-il, toutes ces âmes seront effacées de dessus la terre et exterminées. Selon une autre explication, les paroles de l'Écriture (Gen.II,4) "Voici (élèh) les enfants du ciel et de la terre" désignent ceux dont l'Écriture dit (Ex. XXXII): "Aaron les ayant pris, les jeta en fonte, et il en forma un veau. Alors les Israélites dirent : "Voici (élèh) ton Dieu, ô Israël." Le jour où les âmes de ces hommes seront exterminées sera aussi solennel que le jour où le Saint, béni soit-il, créa le ciel et la terre, ainsi qu'il est écrit : "Au jour où Dieu créa la terre et le ciel." A cette époque, le Saint, béni soit-il, s'unira à la Chekhina et le monde sera renouvelé, ainsi qu'il est écrit (Isaï LXVI,22): "Car comme les cieux nouveaux et la terre nouvelle que je vais créer subsisteront toujours devant moi, dit le Seigneur..." Telle est la signification des paroles : "Au jour où Dieu créa ..." A cette époque, dit l'Écriture (Gen.II,9): "... Elohim avait produit de la terre toutes sortes d'arbres beaux à la vue et portant des fruits agréables au goût." Mais, avant l'extermination de ces cinq catégories d'âmes qui se sont introduites parmi les Israélites, la pluie de la doctrine ésotérique ne tombera pas sur Israël, et Israël qui est comparé aux plantes et aux arbres ne poussera pas .

#### RESUME

L'extermination des Intrus - donc de la classe bourgeoise juive - est la condition essentielle de la Révélation kabbalistique et du renouvellement messianique du monde .

#### COMMENTAIRE

Pour nous, Juifs non-violents : Extermination = Séparation (s'il n'existe aucune possibilité de fécondation, de transfiguration, d'illumination). Pour sauver le monde, il faut créer une communauté juive purifiée de tout élément bourgeois, qui s'ouvrira aux justes de toutes les nations pour les nourrir de la vérité et de la justice divines dont ils ont faim. Une communauté hébraïque mondiale (C.Hé.M.). La communauté d'Abraham. Son Alliance. Une communauté de Poalè-Tsédek et de Guèrè-Tsédek. D'ouvriers de la Justice et de convertis à l'idée de Tsédek (et non aux rites juifs - la conversion des Intrus, laquelle est interdite dans les temps messianiques - nous y sommes.) (1)

(1) Les dirigeants du Judaïsme officiel, notamment en France (Consistoire, Copernic, Orsay), ont fait entrer, ces dernières années, dans la communauté juive des âmes particulièrement démoniaques, lesquelles, naturellement, persécutent les justes et les pauvres d'Israël, la Chekhina .

#### ILS SONT RICHES ... ISRAËL EST PAUVRE...

Les érev rav, ce sont les enfants de Lilith, la Garce - saleté de serpent. Ils sont durs avec les enfants d'Israël pauvres. Il est dit d'eux : "Et les eaux grossirent beaucoup beaucoup sur la terre", qui est Israël... Ils s'élèvent au dessus du peuple dans l'exil avec leurs jolies femmes et leurs beaux enfants, avec leur richesse et leurs beaux habits... et les enfants d'Israël sont misérables ...

Zohar 'Hadach, Yitro, 39b-40a

#### LE EREV RAV

Ce sont les âmes, les agents de la grande confusion de la fin, qui, partout où ils passent, opèrent des mélanges qui conduisent à l'uniformisation et à l'indifférenciation, c'est-à-dire à la Mort. Ils font retourner le monde au Néant. La civilisation moderne est une oeuvre du Erev Rav.

Miphlagath Poalè Tsédek  
Ma PaTS  
Parti des Ouvriers de la  
Justice

MANIFESTE

Les Allemands ont assassiné 6.000.000 de Juifs .  
 Si tous les Allemands avaient été objecteurs de conscience,  
 Il n'y aurait pas eu Hitler,  
 Il n'y aurait pas eu de guerre,  
 Il n'y aurait pas eu de camps d'extermination,  
 Il n'y aurait pas eu une seule victime juive,  
 Il n'y aurait pas eu nécessité de créer un Etat juif,  
 Il n'y aurait pas eu de camps de réfugiés arabes.  
 L'injustice et la violence ne régneraient pas dans le monde.  
 C'est pourquoi, il n'y a qu'une seule voie de pénitence pour le peuple allemand :  
 L'objection de conscience collective et générale.  
 Plus un seul Allemand en uniforme militaire .  
 Plus d'armée allemande .  
 C'est la condition de notre pardon et de la réconciliation.  
 C'est pourquoi, nous enfants de déportés, nous déclarons :  
 Tout Allemand qui ne fera pas le serment  
 De ne plus jamais servir dans une armée  
 et qui se soumettra à des obligations militaires,  
 Sera considéré comme un nazi et traité comme tel.  
 D'autre part :  
 Nous jetons l'anathème sur les personnes et les organisations juives  
 qui entretiennent des rapports avec l'Allemagne armée.  
 Nous les considérons comme des ennemis d'Israël.  
 De même des gouvernements et des nations qui tolèrent et encouragent  
 le réarmement allemand.  
 En particulier, nous dénonçons l'Etat sioniste et l'Etat gaulliste,  
 dont les actes de collaboration avec l'Allemagne armée,  
 sont un défi à la conscience juive, prophétique et traditionnelle,  
 qui ne connaît pas les raisons de l'Etat souverain,  
 et une insulte à la mémoire de nos martyrs .  
 Nous ne pouvons pas accepter que les Monarques  
 contraignent les fils des victimes des nazis à coucher avec les fils de leurs assassins  
 dans les mêmes chambres et à apprendre à tuer en leur compagnie .  
 Halte aux abominations et aux dégradations !  
 Halte aux trahisons !  
 Voici l'ordre de l'Eternel  
 qui seul règne en Israël :  
 Sortez des lieux de l'abomination,  
 plus un seul enfant d'Israël  
 dans les cantonnements du érev rav.  
 C'est en dehors des écoles du crime,  
 à l'école de la justice et de la paix  
 des prophètes d'Israël,  
 à l'école de l'objection de conscience,  
 au lieu Désert-Sion,  
 et non à Mourmelon,  
 que se fera la réconciliation entre  
 l'Assassin et sa Victime,  
 entre l'Allemand et le Juif,  
 et à travers eux entre tous les ennemis,  
 Que s'opérera la Rédemption,  
 Que viendra le Messie,

destruction du Temple, est exprimé dans les paroles de l'Ecriture : "Et la terre

Qui ressuscitera les 6.000.000 de Juifs  
et tous les martyrs d'Israël et de l'Humanité,  
Victimes des Hitler et des Haman de tous les temps.  
"Il sera le juge des nations,  
L'arbitre d'un grand nombre de peuples.  
De leurs glaives ils forgeront des hoyaux,  
Et de leurs lances des serpes ;  
Une nation ne tirera plus l'épée contre une autre,  
Et l'on n'apprendra plus la guerre."

Tou Bichevath-Fourime 5724  
6 fevrier 1964.

#### MANIFESTATIONS

Au moment opportun, nous prendrons l'initiative de déclencher des manifestations non-violentes, sous les formes les plus imprévues, contre le réarmement allemand et la collaboration avec l'Allemagne armée .

Dès maintenant, nous demandons à toutes les consciences juives et de bonne volonté de se considérer comme mobilisées et de se tenir prêtes à répondre à notre premier appel.

Notre intention était de provoquer la première manifestation le jour anniversaire de l'arrestation de notre père, Meyer Lévyne (Meyerkoj). Mais nous avons été pris de court par le temps. Nous ne sommes pas prêts. On ne peut improviser. Ce n'est que partie remise pour l'année prochaine (1). Qu'on retienne bien cette date. C'est facile

6 FEVRIER

A cette date également, nous organiserons régulièrement un grand colloque Judéo-Chrétien en souvenir de notre père, qui fut un pionnier et un champion de l'amitié judéo-chrétienne - il est tombé au champ d'honneur de cette amitié, puisqu'il a été arrêté en conduisant un ami aveugle à une église. Les réunions mensuelles des "Amis de Tsédek", des "Poalè-Tsédek" constituent une préparation à l'organisation de ce grand colloque, que nous tendrons à rendre permanent, et au cours duquel nous élaborerons un programme d'actions et d'oeuvres communes de caractère révolutionnaire . Car nous pensons que la résorption des différends d'ordre théologique et dogmatique - et aussi historiques - entre Juifs et Chrétiens s'opérera dans la dynamique, dans le feu d'une action prophétique et messianique pour hâter l'avènement du royaume de la justice divine sur terre .

(1) Si la guerre n'éclate pas d'ici là ! ...

---

D'UNE LETTRE d'ARNO HAMERS (suite de la page 6)

#### Anniversaire

Notre message à la Conférence de Tyringe est justement daté du 10ème anniversaire de ma première lettre ouverte (où j'annonçais au Ministre de la Défense nationale mon refus de porter les armes aux côtés de la future " Bundeswehr " ), qui était la première manifestation de mon action politique indépendante, allant de pair avec ma démission de mes fonctions de chercheur scientifique au service d'un Centre de recherches dépendant de l'Etat .

---

Revue de la Presse : "La Libre Belgique", du 21.4.61

LA PRIERE DU DEPORTE INCONNU

Les Juifs pourront-ils jamais pardonner ces crimes au peuple allemand ? demandait-on après la guerre au grand rabbin de Berlin, Leo Baeck, qui avait survécu au régime de la terreur .

La réponse n'est pas dans le procès Eichmann. Elle a été donnée par la prière d'un Juif inconnu dans un camp de concentration :

"Paix aux hommes de mauvaise volonté et fin de toute vengeance, à tous ces mots de peine et de châtement... Les horreurs défient toute mesure, elles dépassent les limites de l'intelligence humaine et trop d'hommes ont témoigné de leur sang ... O Dieu, ne mets pas leurs souffrances sur la balance de l'équité, afin qu'elles ne soient pas comptées aux bourreaux et qu'il ne leur soit pas demandé compte de l'horreur. Accorde plutôt à ces bourreaux, aux indicateurs, aux traîtres et à tous les méchants, le bénéfice de tout le courage, de la force d'âme qu'eurent ces autres, les victimes, le bénéfice de leur résignation, de leur grande dignité, de leur peine silencieuse, de l'espoir qui ne s'avoua pas vaincu, et du sourire courageux qui tarissait les larmes. Accorde-leur le bénéfice de leur amour, de tous leurs sacrifices de tout cet amour ardent... De tous ces coeurs labourés, torturés, qui restèrent forts et confiants face à la mort, jusque dans les heures de la plus grande faiblesse... Que tout cela, O mon Dieu, compte devant Toi, afin que la faute soit pardonnée, que ce soit la rançon qui ressuscitera la justice, que tout ce qui est plus dans le souvenir de nos ennemis, leurs victimes, leur angoisse, le fantôme de leur terreur, mais plutôt leur secours, afin qu'ils renoncent à leur folie furieuse. C'est tout ce que nous leur demandons et aussi, lorsque tout sera consommé, que nous puissions vivre comme des hommes parmi les hommes, que la paix soit à nouveau sur cette pauvre terre aux hommes de bonne volonté et qu'elle descende aussi sur tous les autres."

La réponse de Leo Baeck était donnée dans le même esprit : il ne s'agit pas de savoir si les Juifs pardonneront aux Allemands. La question est plutôt de savoir si le peuple allemand pourra se pardonner à lui-même .

A. W .

UN MOT D'ARNO HAMERS

Mon cher Lévine,

La prière d'un Juif inconnu dans un camp de concentration : La connaissiez-vous ? Je crois que dans toute la littérature chrétienne, on ne peut trouver une prière qui reflète d'une manière aussi juste cet amour des ennemis prêché par Jésus, que cette prière d'un Juif. Et rien ne peut mieux prouver, à mon avis, la justesse de ce que vous me disiez à Paris : En fait, le Christ, le persécuté dans ce siècle et de longs siècles passés ce ne sont pas les chrétiens mais les Juifs (et j'ajouterais, les chrétiens de certaines petites sectes non "orthodoxes" restées plus fidèles à l'enseignement de leur Maître).

Depuis que je vous ai rencontré à Paris, ce qui m'impressionne particulièrement en lisant cette prière sublime, c'est qu'elle est d'un Juif inconnu. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas sans une certaine terreur que je vous l'ai envoyée, car, forcément, l'idée me hante que ce Juif inconnu pourrait être - pourquoi pas ? - votre père. Tel que vous me l'avez décrit, je m'imagine sans difficulté que ce pourrait être lui. C'est une idée qui m'écrase et me réjouit à la fois, c'est difficile à exprimer par des mots .

Le vieux journal qui contenait cette prière et que je conservais pieusement a été sauvé vraiment "in extremis" lors de l'incendie de notre maison. Il était déjà sérieusement carbonisé sur son porteur. J'ai été fameusement soulagé quand j'ai retrouvé ce document dans le tas d'affaires que les pompiers avaient sorti pêle-mêle de la maison en feu. Je me proposais en effet depuis longtemps de publier cette prière dans un bulletin.

A. H.

Des écrits de mon père :

LE SANCTUAIRE INCONNU

... S'il y a appauvrissement, s'est écrié M. Pallière, il est volontaire : je consens à m'appauvrir par amour pour Israël. Et M. Pallière termine par ce magnifique cri qui est une profession de foi, la voix d'un cœur et d'un esprit éclairés par la lumière divine, par l'amour le plus pur, qui remuait en nous l'âme millénaire d'Israël : "Ton Dieu sera mon Dieu, ton peuple sera mon peuple."

Nous voudrions laisser le lecteur sur cette impression. Et cependant, il faut essayer de dire ce qu'il y a au fond de notre âme .

Il nous semble que le chemin du règne de Dieu a été tracé dans ce débat. Certes ne nous illusionnons pas. Les amours-propres, l'esprit de domination ne sont pas encore prêts à se briser pour réaliser cette œuvre. Ce sera le travail des siècles à venir. Mais quelle joie de l'entrevoir, de se dire que les bases de l'universalisme, du messianisme sont là et qu'il se réaliserait de suite si la doctrine de Benamozegh qui s'est fait l'interprète de la vraie tradition juive - était suivie, si le christianisme acceptait de retourner à la source pure de sa foi, si, par surcroît, des Juifs eux-mêmes cessaient d'y faire obstacle. M. Pallière a su rappeler cela aux uns et aux autres. A nous, les jeunes, de la suivre et de nous pénétrer enfin de l'esprit du plus grand Judaïsme .

MEYERKEY (Meyer Lévyne)

Extrait de la revue "Chalom" du 15 Février 1927, organe de l'Union Universelle de la Jeunesse Juive, qui avait organisé un colloque judéo-chrétien à l'occasion de la parution du "Sanctuaire Inconnu". Mon père avait à cette date 28 ans, et il assumait les fonctions d'administrateur et de secrétaire de rédaction de cette revue, dont Aimé Pallière était le rédacteur en chef .

Des paroles de mon père :

APPEL A L' AMOUR

Devant les représentants du christianisme, permettez-moi de dire avec quel cœur je souhaite qu'enfin nous finissions par nous connaître, que nous nous aimions les uns les autres, que dans la fidélité à notre foi respective toujours épurée à la source d'où elle émane, nous travaillions à l'avènement du règne de Dieu, que toutes les persécutions contre nos coreligionnaires cessent, que la haine fasse place à l'Amour. Et alors, la religion ne sera pas un mot vide de sens, mais une réalité.

MEYERKEY (Meyer Lévyne)

Extrait de l'allocution prononcée à la controverse sur "Le Sanctuaire Inconnu" d'Aimé Paillière. Tous nos amis doivent lire ce chef d'œuvre qui a été réédité aux Editions de Minuit.

LE 'HASSIDISME PRECHE L'AMOUR DES ENNEMIS

Paroles de Rabbi Pin'has de Koretz: "Les méchants d'entre les nations, il faut aussi que nous priions pour eux: il faut aussi que nous les aimions. Tant que nous ne priions pas ainsi, tant que nous n'aimerons pas ainsi, le Messie ne pourra pas venir" (Cité par Martin Buber dans "Les récits 'hassidiques")

UN ENSEIGNEMENT 'HASSIDIQUE POUR POURIME

Il est écrit: "Souviens-toi de ce que t'a fait Amalek" ( Deut.25,17). Ce verset biblique recevait de Rabbi Lévi Isaac de Berditchev l'explication suivante: "Puisque tu es un homme, il t'est permis de te souvenir pour commencer de tout ce que t'ont fait les puissances du Mal. Mais lorsque tu atteins au degré du Tsadik et que la paix est dans ton cœur pour tous les ennemis qui t'entourent, c'est alors que "tu effaceras la mémoire d'Amalek de dessous le ciel" (Deut.25,19) pour ne plus te souvenir que des entreprises maléfiques contre le ciel. Qu'il te souvienne comment les puissances du Mal ont érigé un mur entre Dieu et Israël; comment elles ont jeté en Exil la Che'hina divine." (Telle est l'œuvre du "érev rav", de la bourgeoisie juive, dont Hitler a été le produit.)

16, Les Petits Bateys, 16  
KHORIS (prov. de Liege)  
Wallonie - Belgique

ES 718 - 27 - 278

PÉRIODIQUE

V. K. ( W. R. I. ),  
Herrn Horst MAURER,  
Burgstrasse 47,  
6 FRANKFURT 14,  
A l l e m a g n e .

*Schwabenheim*

43 II

*1014*

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

CENTRE LIEGEOIS D'ACTION  
POUR LA NON-VIOLENCE (C.L.A.N.)

22.2.1964.

16, Les Petits Battys,  
XHORIS (prov. de Liège),  
Wallonie, Belgique

Bulletin d'information  
et de documentation  
----- N° 2/1964 -----

MFNSUEL

(Supplément au N° 73 de "Tsédok")

Vers une force de frappe allemande et le cataclysme nucléaire

C'est sous ce titre que nous publions dans notre numéro précédent des informations relatives aux accords de coopération sur le développement des réacteurs nucléaires, conclus l'année dernière par l'administration française de l'énergie atomique et la société ouest-allemande Siemens-Schuckert-Werke, ainsi qu'aux projets tendant à accorder à l'Allemagne occidentale une base d'essai pour fusées en Sardaigne.

Rappelons que les réacteurs nucléaires pour le développement desquels l'accord franco-allemand a été conclu, produisent toujours des quantités plus ou moins importantes de plutonium, qui peut être utilisé dans la fabrication d'armes nucléaires.

Quant aux fusées, tout le monde sait que l'on peut toujours les doter d'une ogive nucléaire...

Nous reproduisons ci-dessous, pour l'information de nos lecteurs, de larges extraits d'un article très documenté sur le réarmement de l'Allemagne fédérale paru, le 5 de ce mois, dans la "Revue de la Politique internationale", revue bi-mensuelle yougoslave éditée à Belgrade. Les titres et sous-titres sont de l'auteur. Les passages en majuscules le sont par nous.

LA BUNDESWEHR HIER, AUJOURD'HUI ET DEMAIN

"... (C'est) en mai 1955, dix ans après la capitulation du Troisième Reich, (que) la République fédérale allemande devint membre de l'OTAN, pour ainsi dire à part entière, l'unique restriction portant sur la production des armes atomiques. C'est sur des bases solides que l'on commença à former rapidement la Bundeswehr, qui compte aujourd'hui environ 450.000 hommes constituant 3 corps d'armée et 12 divisions de l'armée de terre, 10 wings aériens, et des unités de la flotte de guerre. A la fin de 1962, les unités de la Bundeswehr avaient près de 2.500 chars moyens de fabrication américaine, 4.000 véhicules blindés, 700 engins autotractés, plus de 180 navires de guerre et bâtiments auxiliaires, et près de 600 avions modernes.

"Selon les plans de l'OTAN, dont la réalisation est en cours, chaque division allemande aura un bataillon doté de projectiles "Honest John" (portés une trentaine de kilomètres) et chaque corps d'armée un ou deux bataillons armés de missiles "Sergeant" (dont la portée est de l'ordre de 150 kilomètres). L'armement de l'aviation de guerre comporte déjà des missiles sol-air du type "Niké", tandis que les projectiles démodés sol-sol du type "Matador" doivent être remplacés prochainement par des missiles plus perfectionnés du type "Parshing" (portée : environ 600 kilomètres). Les effectifs nécessaires au maniement de ces engins sont instruits aux Etats-Unis depuis le début de 1958; quant aux ogives nucléaires, elles sont entreposées dans des dépôts dont les clefs sont dans les mains des Américains.

"Si l'on ajoute à la Bundeswehr les autres effectifs armés (défense du territoire, unités frontalières et police) on constate que les effectifs des forces armées de la République fédérale allemande sont bien plus importants. (...) Il est vraisemblable que les effectifs de la Bundeswehr continueront à augmenter. La presse allemande parle de 500.000, de 580.000 et même de 750.000 hommes, ce qui aurait été suggéré soi-disant par les Américains. Même si elle est maintenue dans son cadre actuel, LA BUNDESWEHR CONTINUERA À ÊTRE LA FORCE ARMÉE CONVENTIONNELLE LA PLUS PUISSANTE DES ARMÉES EUROPÉENNES DE L'OTAN.

- Le cadre de commandement - noyau d'une armée massive

"... A la fin de 1963, la Bundeswehr comptait : 192 généraux, 33.809 officiers, 141.365 sous-officiers et près de 90.000 cadres subalternes. Avec un aussi fort encadrement, la Bundeswehr pourrait accueillir, pour ainsi dire sans difficultés, des centaines de milliers de nouveaux soldats, et former un grand nombre de nouvelles unités. A titre de comparaison, il suffit de rappeler qu'à la veille de la Deuxième guerre mondiale, la Wehrmacht comptait 24.000 officiers d'active. En ce qui concerne les écoles militaires, le rapport du Ministère de la Défense de la République fédérale allemande pour 1962 indique que la Bundeswehr possède 47 écoles techniques (33.600 places) et que depuis l'automne de 1957, quelque 86.540 militaires sont passés par ces écoles, tandis que 1.439 personnes ont accédé au degré ultime de l'instruction militaire.

"... La Bundeswehr compte actuellement plus de 400000 nouveaux réservistes dont le nombre sera de 600000 en 1966. En même temps, des centaines de milliers d'anciens nazis et autres anciens combattants de tous les fronts d'Europe, ainsi que de jeunes gens qui n'ont pas réussi à s'instruire dans les unités de la Bundeswehr, sont regroupés dans d'innombrables organisations militaires et paramilitaires. Une attention spéciale doit être consacrée à la "défense territoriale" qui comptera à la fin de l'année, selon le Ministre de la Défense du gouvernement de Bonn, Von Hassel, 50.000 hommes dotés d'armes légères, et dont la tâche principale consistera à assurer les arrières des forces qui seraient engagées sur le front. Il convient de relever à ce propos UN FAIT CAPITAL : LA "DEFENSE TERRITORIALE" ECHAPPE A LA COMPETENCE DE L'OTAN; ELLE EST ENTIEREMENT ENTRE LES MAINS DU MINISTERE DE LA DEFENSE DE LA REPUBLIQUE FEDERALE ALLEMANDE.

"Elle comporte des unités des trois armes - armée de terre, aviation et marine de guerre. Les autorités ont très nettement tendance à en accroître les effectifs et à en perfectionner l'armement et l'organisation. D'autre part, on met sur pied d'importantes forces de la "défense civile" composées d'unités et de formations locales qui seront en état d'intervenir en dehors de leur lieu de séjour. Selon la presse militaire française, ces formations mobiles compteront 200.000 spécialistes, et leur cadre de commandement aura près de 5.000 hommes.

"Ces temps derniers, il est question de plus en plus souvent de la militarisation de la police, des unités frontalières aussi bien que des forces de police chargées de maintenir l'ordre à l'intérieur du pays. On propose que ces effectifs soient dotés du statut du combattant et qu'ils disposent d'armes lourdes. Comme nous l'avons dit des centaines de milliers d'anciens combattants sont groupés dans de nombreuses organisations, sociétés, clubs et associations paramilitaires dans toutes les régions de l'Allemagne fédérale. Leur tâche principale est d'entretenir l'esprit militariste, d'attiser le chauvinisme et l'esprit revancharde. Nous mentionnerons encore un détail à ce sujet : en 1962, près de 10.000 enseignants recevaient régulièrement la brochure "Informations pour la troupe" éditée par l'Etat-major de l'Inspecteur général de la Bundeswehr.

"... On pourrait ajouter à tout ce qui a été dit, une série de faits qui révèlent sans équivoque le stade de développement atteint par le potentiel militaire de la République fédérale, et qui laissent entrevoir les tendances de ce développement. Nous nous contenterons d'en mentionner quelques-uns. En 1963, les dépenses militaires de la République fédérale allemande ont atteint 4,5 milliards de dollars. La Bundeswehr a débordé les frontières de la République fédérale - elle possède des polygones et des installations en France, en Grande-Bretagne, en Hollande et dans certains autres pays d'Europe occidentale, et plusieurs centaines de ses instructeurs ont été envoyés à l'étranger.

"... Des centaines d'officiers allemands, dont la plupart ont servi dans la Wehrmacht, occupent des postes très responsables dans divers organismes de l'OTAN etc. (...) Sous la pression de Bonn, le Commandement suprême de l'OTAN pour l'Europe (Le SHAPE) a adopté la conception de la "stratégie avancée". LES DIRIGEANTS MILITAIRES ET POLITIQUES DE LA REPUBLIQUE FEDERALE ALLEMANDE INSISTENT OBSTINEMENT SUR L'ADMISSION DE LEUR PAYS DANS LE "CLUB ATOMIQUE", CE QUI LUI PERMETTRAIT D'ETRE, A CET EGARD AUSSI, L'EGAL DES ETATS-UNIS, DE LA GRANDE-BRETAGNE ET DE LA FRANCE.

- La reprise de la production de guerre

"... Il est impossible de fournir ici des données détaillées sur tout ce qui est produit actuellement dans la République fédérale allemande pour les besoins des forces armées. Toutefois, on peut constater que la liste de ces produits est très longue, et qu'elle comporte notamment: des chars de combat, des canons autotractés, des véhicules et des canons blindés, plusieurs types d'avions de combat et de transport, y compris les appareils à décollage et atterrissage vertical, des missiles air-air, sol-sol, sol-air, etc., des sous-marins, des destroyers et autres bâtiments de guerre, tout l'armement léger nécessaire à l'infanterie, et tous les types de munitions, etc. D'année en année, les commandes de la Bundeswehr à l'industrie de guerre nationale, ainsi que les exportations d'armes et de matériel de guerre, augmentent rapidement.

"On consacre également une grande attention au développement des études scientifiques qui font des recherches à des fins militaires. Lorsqu'on sait d'autre part que des centaines de spécialistes allemands travaillent depuis ces années dans des instituts analogues à l'étranger, en particulier aux Etats-Unis surtout, on a une idée encore plus précise des potentialités de la République fédérale allemande dans le domaine de la fabrication du matériel de guerre. SI LES CIRCONSTANCES MILITAIRES ET POLITIQUES VENAIENT A SE MODIFIER, CETTE INDUSTRIE SERAIT EN ETAT DE PRODUIRE ELLE-MEME LES ARMES LES PLUS PERFECTIONNEES DE DESTRUCTION MASSIVE.

"... UN RAPPEL DU TRAITE DE VERSAILLES ET DE LA CONFERENCE DE POTSDAM, AINSI QUE DE L'EVOLUTION DE LA BUNDESWEHR, PEUT ILLUSTRER L'INCROYABLE SIMILITUDE QUE L'ON OBSERVE DANS LA RECONSTITUTION DES FORCES ARMEEES ALLEMANDES APRES LA 1<sup>ère</sup> ET APRES LA 2<sup>ème</sup> GUERRE MONDIALE, ET DE L'IDENTITE POUR AINSI DIRE COMPLETE DES POSITIONS DES GOUVERNEMENTS DE CERTAINS PAYS OCCIDENTAUX FACE A CES FORCES ARMEEES, PENDANT L'ENTRE-DEUX-GUERRES ET A NOTRE EPOQUE..."

LEON DEGRELLE RENTRERA-T-IL EN BELGIQUE A LA FIN DE L'ANNEE ?

Un "Comité pour le retour de Léon Degrelle" a été formé en Belgique par d'anciens collaborateurs. C'est ce qu'a révélé, le 13 de ce mois, M. Hubert Helin, au cours d'une conférence de presse organisée à Bruxelles par l'Union Internationale de la Résistance et de la Déportation (UIRD) qui groupe une soixantaine d'associations des pays d'Europe occidentale et d'Israël. L'ex-chef de Rex, qui vit actuellement près de Séville, attend avec

impatience la prescription, en décembre 1964, pour l'exécution de la peine de mort à laquelle il a été condamné par contumace en décembre 1944. Il a regroupé autour de lui un petit nombre de fidèles et a conservé de nombreux contacts en Belgique. M. Halin a souhaité que les autorités belges s'emploient à établir exactement les responsabilités de Degrelle dans les crimes commis par les meneurs de ses brigades, notamment en août 1944. Il a ajouté que la même demande a été adressée aux autorités soviétiques concernant les crimes commis en URSS par des Waffen-SS de la Légion Wallonie que Degrelle commanda (1).

L'orateur a par ailleurs indiqué que l'ex-secrétaire de Rex, Fernand Rouleau, qui a été mêlé à des massacres de Juifs en Pologne vit également en Espagne, et qu'Albert Loyks, condamné à 20 ans de travaux forcés et qui s'est évadé en 1948, est installé à Dublin comme industriel où il s'intéresse à des projets de construction en Irlande d'un important complexe économique qui, avec l'appui de Skorzeny notamment, servirait à alimenter le nazisme renaissant à l'échelle internationale.

M. Halin cita encore d'autres cas de criminels de guerre allemands et belges réfugiés dans différents pays d'Europe, d'Afrique et d'Amérique du Sud, et souligna en terminant qu'en 1965, sonnera pour bon nombre d'entre eux, l'heure de la prescription.

(1) Rappelons pour ceux qui l'auraient oublié que, sur le front de l'Est, la Légion Wallonie fut sous les ordres du général Hans Speidel, qui occupa aussi les fonctions de commandant en chef des forces terrestres de l'OTAN au quartier général de Fontainebleau, jusqu'à ce qu'il fut, il y a peu, atteint par la limite d'âge.

Signalons à ce propos pour ceux de nos lecteurs qui l'ignorent que suite à la nomination de Speidel à ces fonctions en 1957, le responsable de notre Centre d'action, Arno Hamers, renvoya au roi Baudouin sa médaille de la Résistance accompagnée d'une lettre dans laquelle il déclarait qu'il avait brûlé ses papiers militaires, en violation de la loi et devant témoins, qu'il n'obéirait plus à aucun ordre de rappel sous les armes et qu'il était prêt à accepter la peine prévue pour ce genre d'insubordination. Il y exprimait en outre le souhait que son geste inciterait d'autres citoyens à agir de même. Il ne fut jamais poursuivi pour cette infraction aux lois bien qu'il publia le texte de cette lettre et le distribua, au surplus, sous forme de tract, sur la voie publique à l'occasion de plusieurs manifestations patriotiques ! Il est vrai aussi que jamais aucun citoyen belge n'imita ce geste de protestation contre la nomination de Speidel et le réarmement de l'Allemagne...

Précisons ici qu'Arno Hamers est ancien citoyen allemand, né de père allemand (décédé en 1938) et de mère wallonne, et qu'il vécut avant la guerre en Allemagne. En 1938, il fut témoin, comme tous les habitants de l'Allemagne d'alors, des progromes anti-juifs. De famille catholique, il quitta l'Eglise romaine à ce moment, scandalisé par la passivité coupable du clergé devant ces horreurs. En 1939, à la veille de la deuxième guerre mondiale, il se réfugia avec sa mère en Belgique en tant qu'émigré anti-fasciste.

Sous l'occupation allemande, il lutta dans les rangs de la résistance belge et fut réfractaire à l'incorporation forcée dans la Jeunesse hitlérienne et dans la Wehrmacht. Il fut contraint de ce fait à vivre près de deux ans dans la clandestinité. Un de ses plus proches parents belges, jeune résistant, fut arrêté par l'occupant et disparut dans les camps de concentration en Allemagne.

Pour protester contre la politique de réarmement de l'Allemagne, Arno Hamers suspendit, fin 1953, ses travaux de recherches scientifiques pour le compte d'un Centre de recherches dépendant de l'Etat belge, et persista depuis dans son attitude de non-coopération avec le gouvernement.

27-118-27-281

9.11.62 (DFG/Paulshin)

Frankfurt a. M., im November 1962

# Vereinigungen der Verfolgten des Naziregimes Das Präsidium

## In ernster Sorge

um Demokratie und Freiheit in der Bundesrepublik wendet sich das Präsidium der VVN an die Bevölkerung.

Vor drei Jahren, am 20. Oktober 1959, hat die Bundesregierung ein Verbotsverfahren gegen die VVN beantragt. Das Bundesverwaltungsgericht hat nun auf den 29. November 1962 den Verhandlungstermin in Westberlin festgesetzt, um darüber zu entscheiden, ob die VVN als verfassungswidrig verboten werden sollen.

Die Widerstandskämpfer weisen diesen Vorwurf der Bundesregierung entschieden zurück. Sie sehen in dem Verbotsantrag eine Mißachtung der notwendigen Lehren aus der Vergangenheit.

Daß die unter Hitler Verfolgten, die Überlebenden der Zuchthäuser und Konzentrationslager, die Hinterbliebenen der Ermordeten erneuter Verfolgung ausgesetzt sind, zeigt, welche Kräfte heute in der Bundesrepublik wieder wirksam sind.

Die Widerstandskämpfer gegen das Hitlerregime haben unter Einsatz von Freiheit, Gesundheit und Leben die Ehre und das Ansehen unseres Volkes gewahrt. Die Geschichte hat die Richtigkeit ihrer Haltung im vollen Umfang bestätigt. Sie handelten damals wie heute im Bewußtsein ihrer Verantwortung vor dem deutschen Volk.

Nach 1945 waren die Auffassungen der deutschen Widerstandskämpfer, in denen sich die Erfahrungen des langen Kampfes gegen Diktatur und Krieg niedergeschlagen hatten, die Grundlage des demokratischen Aufbaues. Wäre diesen Erkenntnissen entsprechend auch in den späteren Jahren gehandelt worden, hätte es niemals eine Spaltung unseres Vaterlandes gegeben. Dann wäre heute die Demokratie nicht gefährdet. Dann gäbe es in der Bundesrepublik weder belastete Nazi-Größen und Militaristen in einflußreichen Stellungen des öffentlichen Lebens, noch bestünde die Gefahr, daß von deutschem Boden ein neuer Weltbrand seinen Ausgang nehmen könnte.

Die VVN empfanden es als ihre Pflicht, dieser Mißachtung der Lehren aus der jüngsten deutschen Geschichte kompromißlos entgegenzutreten und zogen sich damit das Mißfallen der Bundesregierung zu. Sie wurden unangelegentlich unter dem Vorwand der Verfassungswidrigkeit verboten werden.

In Wirklichkeit handeln diejenigen verfassungswidrig, die zugelassen haben, daß in Regierung, Justiz, Polizei und Bundeswehr zahlreiche belastete Repräsentanten des NS-Staates in führende Positionen gelangt sind. Die VVN dagegen handeln im Sinne des Grundgesetzes, wenn sie sich gegen diese Entwicklung zur Wehr setzen und die Entfernung aller belasteten Elemente aus dem öffentlichen Leben fordern. Verfassungswidrig handeln diejenigen, die ermöglichen, daß nazistische und militaristische Verbände, einschließlich der SS, wieder bestehen und tätig sein können. Die VVN verteidigen die Demokratie gegen ihre schlimmsten Feinde, wenn sie eine erneute Verseuchung des ganzen öffentlichen Lebens durch militaristisches, nazistisches und antisemitisches „Gedankengut“ bekämpfen.

Nicht die Vereinigungen der Verfolgten des Naziregimes, sondern die Bundesregierung handelt dem Sinn und Wortlaut des Grundgesetzes zuwider, wenn sie entgegen früheren feierlichen Erklärungen heute eine Politik der Stärke betreibt, die Aufrüstung fördert, die Verfügungsgewalt über atomare Waffen anstrebt und gleichzeitig versucht, durch Notstandsgesetze die im Grundgesetz verbrieften Rechte und Freiheiten einzuschränken.

Das Vorgehen der Bundesregierung richtet sich deshalb nicht nur gegen die Verfolgten des Naziregimes, sondern gegen alle nichtkonformistischen Kräfte; es ist ein massiver Angriff auf das im Grundgesetz verankerte Recht auf Meinungs- und Vereinigungsfreiheit.

Zehntausende Witwen und Waisen, kranke und alte Überlebende der Hitlerschen Konzentrationslager, die Opfer barbarischer Menschenversuche würden durch ein Verbot der VVN ihres moralischen und rechtlichen Schutzes beraubt.

Der ungeheuerliche Schritt der Bundesregierung hat über den Kreis der Mitglieder der VVN hinaus im In- und Ausland zahlreiche Proteste ausgelöst. Millionen Menschen in aller Welt, alle großen europäischen Widerstandsorganisationen, Staatsmänner, Parlamentsabgeordnete, bekannte Wissenschaftler, Geistliche aller Konfessionen, Vertreter verschiedener Parteien sowie Funktionäre und Gruppen der Gewerkschaftsbewegung haben ihre Entrüstung zum Ausdruck gebracht und bei den Botschaften und der Regierung der Bundesrepublik die Zurücknahme des Verbotantrages gefordert.

In dieser ersten Schicksalsstunde wendet sich das Präsidium der VVN an alle verantwortungsbewußten Menschen, den antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfern und Opfern des Naziterrors beizustehen. Lassen Sie nicht zu, daß die Vereinigungen derer verboten werden, die sich, wie es in der Präambel zum Bundesentschädigungsgesetz heißt, „ein Verdienst um das Wohl des deutschen Volkes und Staates“ erworben haben.

Im Interesse unseres Vaterlandes: Freiheit für die VVN!

Präsidium der  
Vereinigungen der Verfolgten  
des Naziregimes

*Dr. J. C. Roggendorf*  
*Ulrich*



An  
alle Bürger  
der Bundesrepublik Deutschland



### Außerungen zum VVN-Prozeß

„Der entscheidende Punkt, über den sich leider viel zu wenig Menschen klar sind, ist dieser: Wird ein Mensch deshalb bestraft, ... weil er die gegenwärtige Ordnung der Dinge als falsch, unrichtig und schädlich beurteilt? Wenn sich diese Auffassung durchsetzt, daß Meinungen und Überzeugungen strafbar sind, dann stehen wir — schlicht gesprochen — am Ende jeder Demokratie!“

Kirchenpräsident D. Martin Niemöller, Wiesbaden

„Die VVN sind in dem demokratischen, liberalen und friedliebenden Geist entstanden, in dem die Bundesrepublik geschaffen wurde, und sie sind ihm treu geblieben. Unsere Regierung aber ist diesem Geist durch zunehmende reaktionäre Tendenzen untreu geworden. Auf die Seite der VVN treten heißt, für das bessere Deutschland, das einst gegen den Nazismus Widerstand geleistet hat, und das heute in immer größerer Gefahr der Beseitigung von innen her gerät, eintreten und damit eine demokratische Pflicht erfüllen.“

Professor Dr. Franz Rauhut, Würzburg

„Die Regierung von Bonn hat in letzter Zeit ihr Bekenntnis zum Antinazismus betont. Welch schreiender Widerspruch zu dem Auflösungsverfahren, das sie gegen die VVN eingeleitet hat, die gerade jene Organisation ist, die die Verfolgten des Naziregimes umfaßt.“

Senator Ferruccio Parri, Präsident des Nationalrats der italienischen Widerstandsbewegung, ehem. Ministerpräsident, Rom

„Ein Verbot der VVN wäre bezeichnend und für die Freiheit und den Frieden beunruhigend.“

Albert Forcinat, Minister a. D., Paris

**Schließen auch Sie sich den Protesten an!**

ASSOCIATED PUBLICATIONS

"LA VOIE DE LA PAIX"

The first number of "LA VOIE DE LA PAIX" (The Way of Peace) appeared in January 1951. Its aim was to bring together the free pacifists, those who did not owe allegiance to either of the big adverse blocs, Russian and American, into a vast organisation. This is how the Committee of Resistance to War and Oppression was born, primarily under the influence of Emile Bauchet and Félicien Challaye, ex-general secretary and president of the International League of Combatants for Peace, which existed before 1939.

In February 1961 this Committee was disbanded to make way for the Union Pacifiste de France (U.P.F.) of which "LA VOIE DE LA PAIX" has been the official organ.

Its editorial committee consists of Emile Bauchet (editor), Jean Gauchon (general secretary of U.P.F.) and Paul Rassinier (publicity).

Our newspaper is strictly independent of all political, philosophical or religious groups. It issues our fundamental principles monthly. It condemns all wars, whatever the pretext, whatever the cause. It rejects all war preparation, all collective arming or military organisation, any and every treaty and pact tending to align certain countries for the event of a possible war. Its pacifism is absolute, out-and-out.

It admits no exception to these rules and refuses to treat as pacifist any nation which contemplates war or maintains an army. It considers that the safety of a people can henceforward be found in the total disarmament of its country, for that people will provoke no fear in other nations, which will therefore have no grounds for making war upon it; they will notably no longer be able to invoke against it the supreme argument always used to mobilise the all too credulous masses: legitimate self-defence.

During the last year, since the establishment of the U.P.F., that is, the resources of this peace organisation, have made possible a very real improvement in the presentation of "LA VOIE DE LA PAIX". With a very slightly reduced format, the number of pages has doubled (8 instead of 4). Moreover, the articles have been better spaced, the titles more clearly separated. The new set-up makes for easier and pleasanter reading than before. The "LA VOIE DE LA PAIX" today reaches 81 French provinces and has enabled the number of U.P.F. supporters to be doubled since the beginning of 1961.

Of course, during the recent years, the "LA VOIE DE LA PAIX" has published a number of articles on the Algerian war, which has been for the French the most burning and also the most poignant problem. It has constantly proclaimed the return to Peace, especially by negotiation and cease-fire.

It publishes, too, as regularly as possible, news of imprisoned Conscientious Objectors who number 100 in France. It demands for them the voting of a statute which would allow them, by choosing Civilian Service, to escape from military obligations. Two months ago the editorial committee decided that the paper should publish a monthly review aiming at giving the widest possible information on the attitude and lot of the various conscientious objectors in prison.

In short, the "VOIE DE LA PAIX" seeks, with its modest means, to offset the disastrous influence of the powerful war party among the French press. The recent increase of supporters of U.P.F. is an encouragement it appreciates, as is its recent admission to the rank of associated publication to War Resisters' International.

March 1962

JEAN GAUCHON

ED 718-27-283 9.11.63 IdK Saar

EILINFORMATION

Südafrikanische Friedenskämpfer vor Gericht Internationale  
Todesstrafe droht Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegn-

Landesgruppe Saar  
6605 Bildstock-Saar

Adolfstraße 9  
Postscheckkonto 22706 Saarbrücken

ur Information

Sehr geehrte Dame!  
Sehr geehrter Herr!  
Liebe Freunde!

Nachstehend geben wir Ihnen Kenntnis von einer Botschaft des Südafrikanischen Friedensrates, die für sich selbst und für ihre Dringlichkeit spricht.

Wir empfehlen Ihnen allen, sich der weltweiten Protestkampagne anzuschließen. Richten Sie Ihre Proteste an die Regierung von Südafrika, an das Gericht in Pretoria, an die Menschenrechtskommission der UNO in New-York. Schreiben Sie Leserbriefe an die Presse. Helfen Sie mit, das Leben dieser Menschen zu retten!

Landesgruppe der IdK - Saar

BOTSCHAFT VOM SÜDAFRIKANISCHEN FRIEDENSRAT

„Wir sind der Ansicht, daß der Weltfriedensrat über die augenblickliche Lage in Südafrika informiert sein muß, wo die gehässige und ungerechte Regierungsführung eine Situation heraufbeschwört, die eine Bedrohung des Friedens in ganz Afrika darstellt.

Wir hoffen, daß es auf diese Weise gelingen wird, Maßnahmen zu verhindern, die für Generationen die Beziehungen zwischen den verschiedenen Rassen unseres Landes verbittern und ein gutes Verhältnis unmöglich machen könnten.

Vielleicht wissen Sie bereits von den am 11. Juli d.J. erfolgten Verhaftungen einer Reihe prominenter Personen politischer Bewegungen unseres Landes. Sie wurden drei Monate lang in Einzelhaft gehalten und es wurde ihnen untersagt, mit ihren Anwälten in Verbindung zu treten oder irgendeinen Rechtsbeistand in Anspruch zu nehmen.

Unter den Verhafteten befinden sich einige der geachteten Führer des südafrikanischen Volkes - Männer wie Walter Sisulu, Goven Mbekh, Ahmed Kathrada, Rusty Bernstein u.a.. Einige von ihnen lebten in der Illegalität, da Landesverweisungen, Verhängung von Hausarrest und andere Verfolgungsmaßnahmen ihnen jede legale Arbeit für die Sache der Demokratie unmöglich gemacht hatten. Diese Männer werden, zusammen mit Nelson Mandela, der wegen seiner politischen Tätigkeit bereits eine sechsjährige Gefängnisstrafe verbüßte, vor Gericht gestellt werden, und für einige von ihnen wird die Anklagevertretung die Todesstrafe beantragen.

Sollte das Gericht die Todesstrafe verhängen, so wird dies noch für kommende Generationen katastrophale Folgen haben und möglicherweise die Entwicklung von Freiheit und Frieden in Afrika für immer in falsche Bahnen lenken.

Es müssen alle Anstrengungen unternommen werden, um die Verhängung und Vollstreckung der Todesstrafe zu verhindern. Die Verhängung einer derartigen Strafe auf Grund einer politischen Anklage in Friedenszeiten stellt einen Präzedenzfall dar; je-

doch wird es dem Gericht, dank der innerhalb der letzten Jahre vom südafrikanischen Parlament (in welchem nur Abgeordnete weißer Hautfarbe sitzen) angenommenen Gesetze sehr leicht gemacht, im gegebenen Fall diese Todesstrafe auszusprechen.

Badurch, daß die Regierung Organisationen des afrikanischen Volkes, wie z.B. den Afrikanischen Nationalkongress und den Kongress der Demokraten, d.h. Organisationen, die offen gegen die gegenwärtige Regierung auftraten, außerhalb des Gesetzes gestellt hat und gegen Einzelpersonen, verantwortliche Führer aller Rassen, mit der Verhängung von Hausarrest, Landesverweisungen, Verhaftungen, Deportationen, Verboten und anderen faschistischen Maßnahmen vorging, hat diese Regierung die Kämpfer für Gerechtigkeit und Freiheit gezwungen, in die Illegalität zu gehen. Nunmehr beabsichtigt die Regierung, die hervorragendsten Kämpfer für die Freiheit zum Tode zu verurteilen.

Wir sind der Ansicht, daß die Weltfriedensbewegung dies verhindern könnte. Es ist möglich, daß der Antrag auf die Verhängung der Todesstrafe erst gegen Ende des Prozesses gestellt und der Öffentlichkeit zu einem Zeitpunkt bekanntgegeben wird, da es zu spät sein wird, öffentlichen Druck auszuüben.

Der Prozess beginnt am 29. Oktober und wird voraussichtlich einige Wochen dauern. Es ist notwendig, sofort eine mächtige Bewegung zur Verhinderung der Hinrichtung der Angeklagten ins Leben zu rufen, und wir bitten daher den Weltfriedensrat, diesem Problem dringende Aufmerksamkeit zuzuwenden.

Sie werden sicher mit uns darin übereinstimmen, daß die Kampagne zur Rettung dieser Menschen nicht auch nur um einen einzigen Tag hinausgezögert werden darf. Wenn es Ihnen gelingen sollte, durch die nationalen Organisationen in den verschiedenen Ländern die öffentliche Meinung wachzurütteln, so könnte dies für das Ergebnis des Prozesses von ausschlaggebender Wirkung sein. Es ist den Völkern der Welt in der Vergangenheit gelegentlich gelungen, das Leben von ihnen unbekanntem Männern und Frauen zu retten und ihre Freilassung zu erreichen. Möge auch dieses Mal die Stimme der Weltöffentlichkeit laut genug sein, um die elf Männer, die in Südafrika vor Gericht stehen, zu retten."

-----

SÜDAFRIKANISCHE GEFANGENE SEHEN „LEIDEND UND ABGEMAGERT“ AUS  
GROßER SABOTAGE-PROZESS VERSCHOBEN

aus „Guardian“, vom 10. Oktober 1963  
(Preteroria, 9. Oktober)

„Der Prozess gegen die elf Männer, die der Teilnahme an einer Verschwörung zum Sturz der südafrikanischen Regierung durch eine Revolution angeklagt waren, wurde heute um 20 Tage verschoben, nachdem der Verteidiger der Angeklagten geltend gemacht hatte, daß diese nach 88 Tagen Einzelhaft nicht in der entsprechenden Verfassung seien, vor Gericht zu erscheinen.“

Herr Abraham Fisher, einer der führenden Verteidiger des Hochverratsprozesses vom Jahre 1960, der die meisten der Angeklagten vertritt, wies bei seinem Ansuchen an das Oberste

Gericht um mindestens einen Monat Aufschub auf das leidende und abgemagerte Aussehen einiger der Angeklagten hin.

Auf ihre geistige Verfassung zu sprechen kommend, führte der Verteidiger aus: „Sie benötigen eine längere Ruheperiode. Sie sind 23 Stunden am Tag in Einzelhaft gewesen. Es wurden ihnen nur eine Stunde Bewegungszeit täglich zugestanden, und es war ihnen untersagt, mit irgendjemanden zu sprechen.“

Ferner waren die Angeklagten noch weiteren Belastungen ausgesetzt; Drohungen, Verhöre, Erpressungen wurden angewandt, erklärte Verteidiger Fisher. „Die Angeklagten werden immer noch 23 Stunden am Tag in Einzelhaft gehalten und unter derartigen Umständen ist es ganz unmöglich, die Verteidigung vorzubereiten.“

„Normale“ Behandlung.

Der Anklagevertreter Dr. Percy Yutar erklärte, daß die Angeklagten nunmehr wie normale Gefangene, die ihrem Prozess entgegensehen, behandelt werden und daß es ihnen zustehe, sich frei mit ihrem Verteidiger zu beraten.

Richter De Wet vertagte hierauf das Verhör. Vorher hatte lediglich die formelle Verlesung der Anklageschriften stattgefunden. Bewaffnete Polizei bewachte die Eingänge und patrouillierte in den Gängen des Justizpalastes, als die 11 Männer - vier Weiße, sechs Afrikaner und ein Inder - auf der Anklagebank Platz nahmen.

Sieben der Angeklagten, unter ihnen der 44jährige Nelson Mandela, der angebliche Führer des verbotenen illegalen Afrikanischen Nationalkongresses, der bereits eine fünfjährige Gefängnisstrafe wegen Aufwiegelung verbüßt sowie der fünfzigjährige Walter Sisulu, Generalsekretär des Afrikanischen Nationalkongresses, wurden der Mitgliedschaft zu einem „Nationalen Oberkampfbande“, das zwecks Leitung der geplanten Revolution gegründet wurde, beschuldigt.

Die anderen fünf unter der gleichen Anklage stehenden Häftlinge sind zwei Weiße, Dennis Goldberg, ehemaliges Mitglied des verbotenen Kongresses der Demokraten und Lion Bernstein, ein Architekt aus Johannesburg sowie der Moslem Ahmed Kathrada, ehemaliger Generalsekretär der Indischen Kongresspartei von Transvaal; ferner Govan Mbeki, ein Afrikaner und ehemaliges Mitglied des Afrikanischen Nationalkongresses, und Raymond Mahlaba, ebenfalls ein Afrikaner.

Adressen, an die Protestbriefe gerichtet werden können: „Südafrikanische Regierung Pretoria; Generalsekretär der UNO - New-York; MRS. Rica Hodgson C/O Afrikan Unity House 3 Collingham Gardens London SW 5.

Abschriften bitte an die Landesgruppe senden!

## Ein Testfall!

### Delegiertentagung der Hamburger Gewerkschaftsjugend

H a m b u r g: (jw) 49 Delegierte vertraten auf der 7. Kreisjugendkonferenz am 12.10.1963 die etwa 26.000 jugendlichen Mitglieder des DGB der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg. Auf der Konferenz, die eine Reihe von Beschlüssen zu sozialen, organisatorischen und politischen Fragen faßte, referierte Günther Stephan (Mitglied des DGB-Bundesvorstandes und Leiter der Abteilung Jugend) zu dem Thema „Die Aufgaben der Gewerkschaftsjugend in Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft“.

Stephan erklärte weiter: „Die ablehnende Haltung der Gewerkschaften in der Frage der Notstandsgesetzgebung ist durch die jüngsten Ereignisse gestärkt worden. Was wäre geschehen, wenn einigen Ministern die Notstandsgesetze zur Verfügung gestanden hätten?“

Im Anschluß an die Ergebnisse der letzten Bundesjugendausschuß-Sitzung berichtete Stephan, der Ausschuß habe sich dafür ausgesprochen, in die internationale Arbeit auch Kontakte zu den Ostblockländern einzubeziehen. Er sprach sich in diesem Zusammenhang für die Bemühungen der Gewerkschaftsjugend, zum Beispiel die Auschwitz-Gedenkfahrten der IG Metall aus. Bei einer Regelung der Ostkontaktfrage, die auch im Rahmen des IBFG vorgenommen werden sollte, seien jedoch Kontakte zum FDGB und zur FDJ ausgeklammert. (Warum?- d.R.)

In seinem weiteren Vortrag ging Stephan dann auf den Antikriegstag am 1. September ein, den die Gewerkschaftsjugend im Jahre 1964 zusammen mit der Gesamtorganisation mit zentralen Mahnkundgebungen begehen wird. - Verstärkt will sich die Gewerkschaftsjugend um die Betreuung ihrer Mitglieder in der Bundeswehr kümmern. - Zum Ostermarsch meinte Stephan, jeder Gewerkschafter könne sich an dieser Kampagne als Privatperson beteiligen, wenn auch der DGB als Organisation nicht daran teilnehme.

Stephan setzte sich mit Nachdruck für eine uneingeschränkte Presse- und Meinungsfreiheit ein und erklärte, der DGB werde sich vor allem angesichts der letzten Skandale „nicht den Mund verbieten lassen“. Es habe heute den Anschein, „daß jeder Kritiker mundtot gemacht wird, indem man ihm unedle Motive nachsagt“.

### Wettbewerb zum Antikriegstag 1964

B o c h u m: (jw) Die Zeitschrift VOLKSKUNST IN AKTION hat alle Laienkünstler zu einem Wettbewerb anläßlich des Antikriegstages 1964 (1. September) aufgerufen. Songs, Lieder, Sprechwerke, Gedichte, Zeichnungen und Grafiken, Laienspiele und Kabarettsszenen, Fotos und Filme, die für Veranstaltungen zum 25. Jahrestag des Kriegsbeginns geeignet sind, sollen veröffentlicht und ausgezeichnet werden.

FLUGPOST  
BY AIR MAIL  
PAR AVION

ED 718-27-285

IMPRIME

Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer e.V.  
Frankfurt/Main S10  
~~Mainzer Landstrasse 239~~  
DEUTSCHE BUNDESREPUBLIK

Hans Thomath. 17 J.

Main  
zum Vaterland  
noch gab per. zum 1. d. d.  
er gleiches Verhalten hat  
Z: 14/7

20. 7. 63 v VK Fim/Zi

**BULLETIN  
OF THE WORLD COUNCIL  
OF PEACE**

Möhlwaldplatz 5  
VIENNA IV, AUSTRIA  
Tel. 65 42 04

~~Internat. Verein~~ ED 718-27-286  
für E. betr. des dem Bundesparlament  
da Proteste gewünscht werden. Falls  
Sie ~~hinschreiben~~, bitte auch auf wichtige  
Notverse, siehe Würzburg, hinweisen

- 8. 6. 63

Eingegangen am

Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
e.V. I.d. War Resisters' International  
Gruppe Frankfurt/M.  
Hans-Thoma-Str. 114 - Tel. 681044  
Vienna, 31 May 1963

Dear Friends,

Below we reproduce the text of a statement by the Secretariat  
of the World Council of Peace about

SOVIET ROCKET BASES IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

"The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace has recently received  
from a professedly pacifist organisation a letter requesting the World Council  
of Peace to organise demonstrations at rocket bases of the Soviet Union in  
Eastern Europe, especially in four places in the German Democratic Republic.

"The organisation announced that it knew where the rocket bases  
were in the G.D.R.: 'We have learnt (it said) by means we propose to keep  
to ourselves that there are Russian rocket bases in the German Democratic  
Republic at Eisenach, Bernburg, Naumburg and Oranienburg'.

"The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace treated this letter  
with the contempt it deserved.

"Disappointed by not receiving the reply it hoped to provoke, the  
organisation published the letter through international news agencies and  
some European and American newspapers, including the suggestion that the  
World Council of Peace should protest to the Government of the Soviet Union  
against the maintenance of the above-mentioned and other rocket bases in  
Eastern Europe.

"To put into the proper light this provocative insinuation by a  
splinter organisation which is known to be under strong influence of  
Trotskyist elements, we draw your attention to the statement made by the  
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., N.S. Khrushchov, on  
30 July 1962 at the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace:

"The aggressive NATO bloc began openly threatening us with  
war over a German peace treaty. In such circumstances the  
Soviet Union was forced to take steps to improve its own  
thermo-nuclear weapons in order to cool down certain hotheads  
who suggested putting an end to Russia with a single blow.  
We should have committed a crime against our own people,  
against all mankind, if we had not prevented a dangerous  
development of events in the summer of 1961. Those who have  
been following international events know that the Soviet Union's  
strength in nuclear rockets is a decisive means of defending  
peace and that it has more than once already saved mankind  
from the world war which the imperialist circles of the West  
had been trying to unleash'.

"The World Council of Peace, which has consistently called for the

abolition of all nuclear weapons, and the Chairman of its Presidential Committee, Professor J.D. Bernal, fully and unreservedly endorse this statement".

-:-

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

The Editorial Board

Bulletin of the World Council of Peace

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

**BULLETIN  
DES  
WELTFRIEDENS-RATES**

Möllwaldplatz 5  
WIEN IV, ÖSTERREICH  
Telefon 65 42 04

Wien, März 1964 7. 4. 64

Lieber Leser!

Das "Bulletin des Weltfriedensrates" ist die einzige Publikation, die regelmässig über die in der ganzen Welt von der Weltfriedensbewegung und anderen Friedenskräften entfaltete Tätigkeit berichtet. Es bringt darüber hinaus Stellungnahmen hervorragender Persönlichkeiten zu den aktuellen Problemen des Kampfes für den Frieden und veröffentlicht alle wichtigen Dokumente des Weltfriedensrates, seiner Organe sowie der nationalen Friedensbewegungen. Es ist das einzige bestehende Bindeglied zwischen den Friedenskräften aller Kontinente.

In zahlreichen Briefen, die uns aus allen Teilen der Welt erreichen, bringen unsere Leser immer wieder ihre Anerkennung für das Bulletin zum Ausdruck. Das Bulletin übt eine sehr nutzbringende Funktion aus und ist für alle, die aktiv für den Frieden wirken, von grossen Wert. Dies ermutigt uns in unserer ständigen Bestrebung, sowohl seinen Inhalt als auch seine Gestaltung weiter zu verbessern, damit es allen Erfordernissen und Wünschen entspricht.

Die Herausgabe und der Versand des Bulletins, deren Kosten in der letzten Zeit wieder gestiegen sind, erfordern einen beträchtlichen finanziellen Aufwand. Wir sahen uns gezwungen - wie Sie es bereits feststellen konnten, - die Herausgabe des Bulletins auf eine Nummer monatlich zu beschränken. Weitere Einschränkungen können notwendig werden, falls es uns nicht gelingt, die finanzielle Lage wesentlich zu verbessern. Nur die Erhöhung der Zahl der Abonnenten wird uns erlauben, dieser Situation abzuhelfen.

Wir erlauben uns daher, Sie dringendst zu ersuchen, den Abonnementbetrag für das Jahr 1964 baldmöglichst zu überweisen.

Anlässlich des XV. Jahrestages der Gründung der Weltfriedensbewegung schlägt das Bulletin allen Friedensfreunden ein Kollektivabonnement vor, das es ermöglicht, das Bulletin zu einem ermässigten Preis zu beziehen.

Wir sind überzeugt, dass Sie, werter Freund, entsprechend dem Geist Ihrer Tätigkeit für den Frieden, Interesse daran haben, das Bulletin regelmässig zu beziehen. Sie sind sich

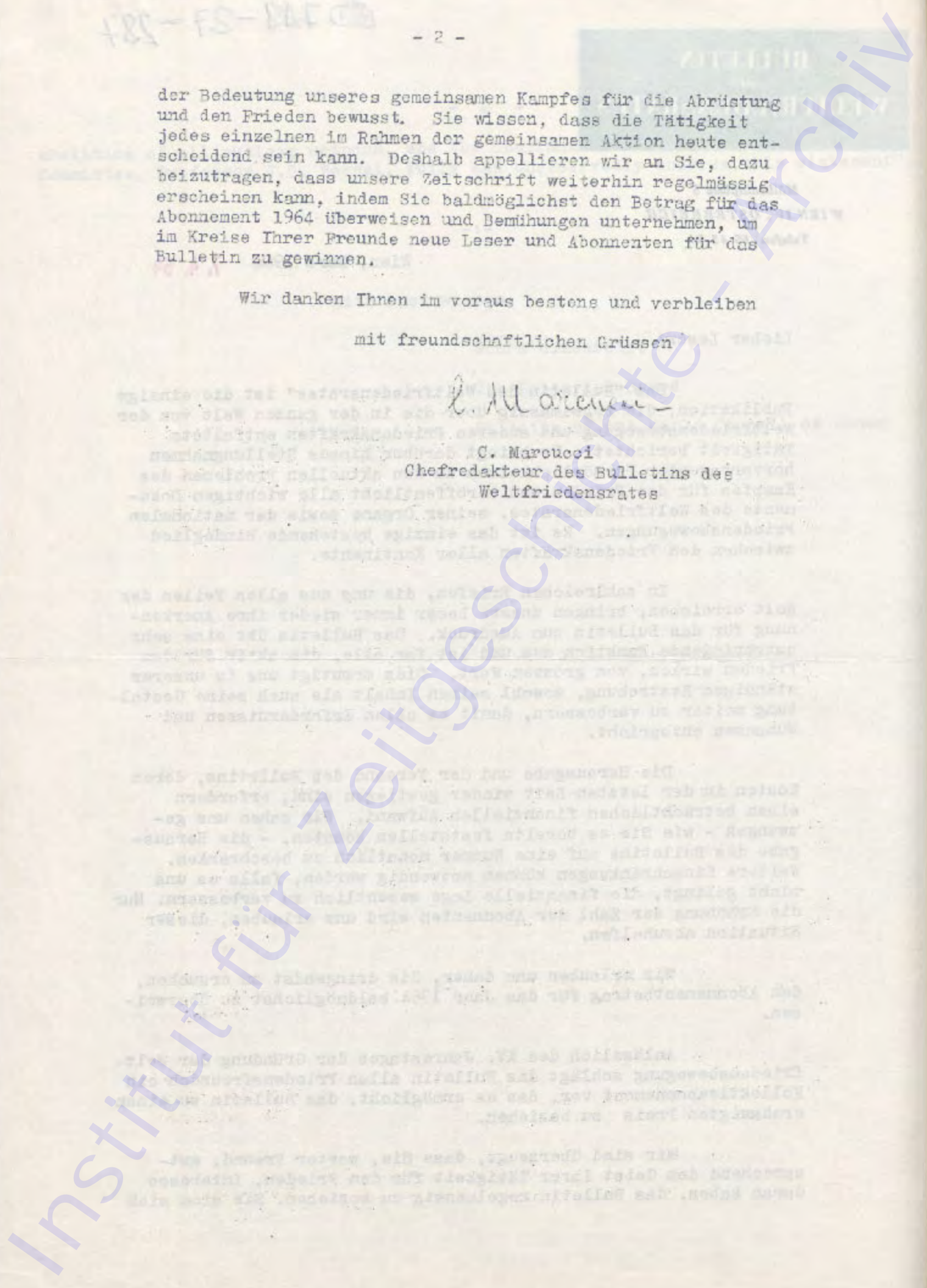
der Bedeutung unseres gemeinsamen Kampfes für die Abrüstung und den Frieden bewusst. Sie wissen, dass die Tätigkeit jedes einzelnen im Rahmen der gemeinsamen Aktion heute entscheidend sein kann. Deshalb appellieren wir an Sie, dazu beizutragen, dass unsere Zeitschrift weiterhin regelmäßig erscheinen kann, indem Sie baldmöglichst den Betrag für das Abonnement 1964 überweisen und Bemühungen unternehmen, um im Kreise Ihrer Freunde neue Leser und Abonnenten für das Bulletin zu gewinnen.

Wir danken Ihnen im voraus bestens und verbleiben

mit freundschaftlichen Grüßen

l. Marcucci

C. Marcucci  
 Chefredakteur des Bulletins des  
 Weltfriedensrates



CONFERENCE TO ESTABLISH A WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

at

Brummana High School, Brummana (Nr. Beirut), Lebanon

28 December, 1961 - 1 January, 1962

28.12.61

FOR IMMEDIATE PUBLICATION

Saib Salam, Acting Foreign Minister of the Lebanese Government, has agreed that the Conference to Establish a World Peace Brigade can be held in the Lebanon. It will take place at the Brummana High School, outside Beirut, in December.

Michael Scott, Chairman of the Conference Preparatory Committee in London, praised the Government's decision. "Ours is a novel peacemaking effort", his announcement read. "Implementation of the World Peace Brigade concept will be a dramatic step forward for the forces of peace and common sense. We are most happy the Lebanese Government has reacted favourably."

An authority on African problems, Michael Scott has received world-wide publicity for his "direct action" campaign in Britain against nuclear weapons. The philosopher Bertrand Russell, another leader of the campaign, is one of the thirty Sponsors of the Conference. Also amongst the Sponsors are: Vinoba Bhave, the "Walking Saint" of India; Prof. Martin Buber of Israel; Danilo Dolci, the social worker of Sicily; Prof. Leopold Infeld, the Polish Pugwash Scientist; Kenneth Kaunda, African leader in Northern Rhodesia; Dr. Martin Luther King, leader of the racial integration movement in the U.S.A.; Prof. Georgi Nadjakov, Chairman of the Bulgarian Peace Committee (and Vice-Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for the Peaceful Utilization of Atomic Energy); Jayaprakash Narayan, Indian Socialist; Dr. Martin Niemöller of West Germany; Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika and Alan Paton, the South African author.

The Peace Brigade will be "unarmed, independent and outside the concept of the cold war". The decision to found such a body was taken at the Tenth Triennial Conference of the 40-year old War Resisters' International, whose membership extends over 80 countries. Its headquarters at Enfield, England, are being used by the Conference Preparatory Committee, but the Brigade itself may establish headquarters in Tanganyika.

In addition to long-term projects in needy areas, volunteers will be trained to deal with conflict situations by Gandhian non-violent techniques. "This is peacemaking with its sleeves rolled up", concluded the statement.

Lansbury House  
88 Park Avenue  
Enfield, Middlesex  
England

ED718-27-288a

ARTICLE FROM "THE GUARDIAN" : THURSDAY 10.8.61.

TOWARDS A PEACE BRIGADE

NON-VIOLENCE AMONG WORLD'S VIOLENT

By our Own Reporter

A Conference is to be held later this year to form a World Peace Brigade of unarmed volunteers, trained in the Gandhian techniques of non-violence, who would go to any area of tension in the world to practise what has been called "moral jiu-jitsu" on the warring inhabitants.

This non-political international brigade would offer itself as an alternative to the sending of a United Nations armed force. Members would be prepared to give their lives or risk injury by walking between hostile groups to pacify them by word of mouth, by literature, or by their very presence.

Mr. Anthony Brooke, a member of the preparatory committee for the conference, made the first announcement in this country of the proposal to form the brigade in a speech yesterday at the Universal Esperanto Congress at Harrogate. Esperanto, he suggested, should become the common language of the brigade, which would draw its members from all nations.

The preparatory committee has asked the Lebanese Government for permission to hold the conference near Beirut from December 28 to January 1. Sponsors of the movement include Bertrand Russell and the Rev. Michael Scott, Danilo Dolci (Sicily), Kenneth Kaunda (Northern Rhodesia), Martin Niemöller (West Germany), Alan Paton (South Africa), and the Abbé Pierre (France).

Mr. T. Smythe, assistant secretary of the War Resisters' International at Enfield, which is acting as headquarters in Britain for the movement, said that, as at present envisaged, the brigade would be trained in the methods of the Shanti Sena, which had successfully intervened non-violently in religious riots in India. The brigade would also help in economically backward countries.

He supposed that if such a brigade had been used in the Congo, soldiers would not have been forced to stand between combatants and be "stoned and messed about." Instead, the world would have seen a force of men positively trained in non-violence, aware of the psychological aspects of conflict, and versed in the ways of calming hostile forces.

They would be using experience gained not only in India, but also in the Direct Action campaigns in Britain and the United States. He thought, however, that the form of non-violence used would be more positive than the "go limp" methods of Direct Action campaigners.

Asked how he thought members of a brigade would act under heavy stoning from a hostile crowd, Mr. Smythe said:

"They would - one hopes, for one can never account for human actions in times of stress - stand up and face violence openly. From the history of non-violence, we do not believe that people will continue stoning those who faced up to them. It might mean death or injury. The member of the Peace Brigade would have to accept this risk, as indeed Indians faced death during the independence campaign."

Mr. Smythe said there had been a wide response from organisations and individuals, some of whom had volunteered to join the brigade. President Nyerere, of Tanganyika, had invited the brigade to go to Tanganyika for training. He assumed that a training course for brigade volunteers would include a solid grounding in the philosophy of non-violence; psychological and political training; and special training to meet certain situations.

WORLD PEACE BRIGADE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION

20718-27-289

To all supporters,  
Report on the Delhi-Peking March

5 Endsleigh Street  
London W.C.1.

~1.5.63

26.8.63 tide

In India, on March 1st at Rajghat, New Delhi (where Mahatma Gandhi was cremated) 20 people commenced the Delhi to Peking Friendship March. They have just reached Ghazipur after passing through Varanasi (headquarters of the Shanti Sena), now they are holding a five-day conference (ending May 12th) to assess the affects of the March and its future work and policy.

The March will be passing through Patna, Purniya, East Pakistan, Assam, Burma and China during the remaining 3,500 miles to Peking. They are able to walk 8 - 10 miles per day and expect to arrive at the Chinese border in August, if all goes well.

At the start there were two British participants, Michael Scott, Chairman of the European Regional Council, and Max Maxwell, who had spent the previous five months working in the Brigade office in London. Michael has now returned to London and is concentrating on other problem areas. There are five Indians with the March all the time, of whom the best known is Shankarrao Deo, who took part in Gandhi's independence movement and more recently in the Sarvodaya movement. There is one Japanese, Rev. Fujii Guruji, President of the Japan Buddha Sangh, one Austrian, Gerhard Tschannerl with his Indian wife, and two Americans, Albert Bigelow, skipper of the San Francisco-Moscow March and the crew of Everyman I and one of the prime initiators of the present project. Albert Bigelow has recently returned to USA via London and has been replaced by George Willoughby, member of the crew of Golden Rule and veteran of the Committee for Non-Violent Action.

The conditions are severe, especially for Max, who had never been in India before. Daytime temperatures range from 100 to 110 degrees, the roads are often rough and dusty, sleeping facilities sometimes very primitive and the food will take a lot of getting used to. Foot and stomach troubles are common. However they are all pressing on determinedly in spite of the increasing summer heat.

Their daily activities include marching, from 5am to 10am to avoid the hottest period, and meetings with village or town populations. Sometimes ordinary public meetings are held, other times they have small discussion groups. They attempt to communicate the idea of friendship between peoples as each speaker sees it. The original statement of the marchers makes it plain that they are urging peaceful solutions to the India-China dispute and oppose war as a means of attempting to solve international disputes. They put forward non-violence as an alternative to violence and as a better way to face hostility or tyranny. Their basic objective will be to reduce war hysteria wherever they find it and replace it with understanding. The "evil aggressor versus innocent defender" mentality must be replaced by bridges of understanding and respect.

However, further points of policy than these general ones are in doubt and cause much difficulty for and in the March. The volunteers from outside India are generally keen to advocate the sort of policy we are used to hearing in England. People should consider opposing government defence programmes, preparations for war, defence funds, cadet forces, recruitment and war propaganda. Most Indian participants tend to dislike this approach and feel unable to call for opposition to government policies, but press a more general idea of friendship. Some Indian peace movement workers advocate non-violent assistance to the government policy. These various ideas are all held with sincerity, but create a confusing picture of the March, as can be seen from the different statements in Peace News etc. The five-day conference should enable the World Peace Brigade and the participants to draw up a clearer identity for the March.

The first question put to the marchers by the Indian public is always, "do you recognise that the Chinese are the aggressors?"

The fact that the marchers do not accept as obvious that the Chinese are wholly responsible for the border conflict raises some opposition. There have been suggestions from important politicians in both national and province parliaments that the marchers should be gaoled or deported. The latest problem in that field is whether the Indian Government will renew the visas of the foreign participants which will shortly become invalid. (Max, as a citizen of UK, does not need a visa but the US, Japanese and Austrian members may be in difficulty).

#### Reactions from the People's Republic of China

Reactions from China have not been encouraging. On March 2nd, the Peking New China Agency issued a statement in response to the news of the start of the March. Included in this are such phrases as: "A group of Indian reactionaries in collusion with U.S. imperialism are on a so-called 'Delhi-Peking Friendship March'... the false flag waved by the planners was inscribed 'establish friendly relations between the people of India and China'... Narayan (Jayaprakash Narayan, one of the three Chairmen of the World Peace Brigade) in a statement on February 26th revealed its anti-China intentions. He is reported as saying that the Indian Government's present defence effort was inadequate to meet the Chinese threat... It is well known that Narayan, one of the planners of the March, is a notorious anti-China element. He is a reactionary politician financed by the United States. Over the past years he has given hysterical support to the anti-China activities of the Tibetan serf-owners who had fled to India..."

At the same time the Chinese Peace Committee issued a statement along the same lines, condemning the March.

#### A letter from the March to the Chinese Peace Committee

On April 15th the marchers wrote to the Ho Ping Ta Hui expressing the aims and nature of the March and its wish to have the advice and assistance of the Peace Committee in gaining entry to the People's Republic. "...We feel that the daily words and actions of the March are the best gauge of the spirit of the venture. Since correspondence only serves a limited purpose in communicating this spirit, we are prepared to send representatives of the March to meet with representatives of the Chinese people at a convenient location of your choice at your request..."

The only report that I have heard since then is that the Chinese Peace Committee have refused to assist the March or to apply for visas on its behalf. It may be this which gave rise to press reports that China had refused visas. East Pakistan and Burma have, however, refused visas to the marchers and this is thought to have been in response to a request from the Chinese Government.

Jayaprakash Narayan is in a very difficult position being both Chairman of the Brigade in that region and a politician expected to make statements regarding defence policy etc. Nobody feels that the whole situation is satisfactory, yet it does not revolve around Jayaprakash so much as around a problem facing the whole Indian peace movement. The movement grew from a somewhat nationalistic independence campaign lead by Mahatma Gandhi and seems not to have faced the question of Indian arms production and recruitment for the army at all - as seen through western eyes. It remains to be seen how much can be settled at the conference.

#### The involvement of the World Peace Brigade

Now I want to mention the involvement of the European Region in this project. We were asked to send volunteers and Michael Scott was able to go immediately. Max Maxwell needed to have his fare paid out of Brigade funds. The W.P.B. borrowed £137 from Peace News to pay for the single fare out to New Delhi. At very least we need to be able to pay back Peace News and obtain another £137 for the return journey to London after the project. In addition, I feel we ought to pay what we can towards the maintenance of the one British participant (the German section of the Brigade is financing the Austrian member and his wife). Therefore on the enclosed slip I have asked for support for these matters and hope that you may be able to assist.

Barnaby Martin, Secretary.

To the World Peace Brigade for Nonviolent Action,

6 Endsleigh Street, London W.C.1.

ED 718-27-290

I enclose £            s            d to help the Delhi to Peking  
Friendship March and the cost of sending Max Maxwell to  
join it, and I am able to send £            per month as  
maintenance for him and the London office.

Name .....

If you have recently changed your address or have not  
received this communication direct from the Brigade office,  
please write your correct address below.

Institut für Zeitgeschichte - Archiv

ED 718-27-291

*an G. Goining*

WORLD PEACE BRIGADE for Non-Violent Action

Announcing cancellation of

PEACE ACTION DAY, 19th May, 1962

The original intention of the WORLD PEACE BRIGADE for Non-Violent Action was to organise as its first major activity Peace Action Day, with mass demonstrations, marches, vigils, direct action, and other events taking place all over the world.

Responses have come from Argentina, Czechoslovakia, Chile, France, Hungary, India, the United States and elsewhere. The Committee of the World Peace Brigade is most grateful for the support offered by these many organisations and individuals, and expresses the hope that action for which preliminary plans have been made will still take place.

However, the World Peace Brigade itself has been called into action in Africa several months ahead of schedule, due to the rapidly developing situation in Northern Rhodesia. It has been decided to throw all of our energies, and our limited staff and resources, into the African project. A Brigade Office and Training Centre has already been established in Dar-es-Salaam, and there is much to do in the next few weeks and months to prepare for one or more major undertakings in connection with the non-violent struggles for independence - particularly in Northern Rhodesia.

We therefore announce the cancellation of our proposed Peace Action Day. We hope you will see merit in our flexibility, and in our determination to deal with issues quickly and effectively as they arise, even when it necessitates a public change in plans.

Every day is PEACE ACTION DAY for the World Peace Brigade for Non-Violent Action!

*Arlo Tatum*

Arlo Tatum  
General Secretary

ED 718-27-292



# EVERYMAN III

London - Leningrad - Moscow  
Voyage Against Nuclear Tests

6 ENDSLEIGH STREET . LONDON, W.C.1

EUSon 1377

**PRESS RELEASE**

16.12.62

**Sponsoring Organisations:**  
World Peace Brigade  
For Non-Violent Action  
Committee For Non-Violent Action (U.S.A.)

**Supporting Organisations:**  
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament  
Committee of 100  
War Resisters International  
Friends Peace Committee

**Project Committee:**  
Hugh Brock, *Chairman*  
Allen Skinner, *Vice-Chairman*  
Horneo Alexander, *Hon. Treasurer*  
Neil D. Haworth, *Co-Coordinator*  
Barnaby Martin, *Co-Coordinator*  
Earle Reynolds, *Skipper*  
Stan Allagranza  
Jane Buxton  
Donald Groom  
Maurice Henry  
Stuart Morris  
Pat O'Connell  
Franco Perna  
Inez Randall  
Tony Smythe  
Jon Treiman  
Nigel Young  
(*Partial listing*)

FOR RELEASE PAPERS WEDNESDAY A.M.  
OCTOBER 16, 1962

## PACIFISTS TO CONFRONT SOVIET AUTHORITIES IN LENINGRAD

EVERYMAN III, the 48 foot ketch with a crew of twelve nuclear disarmers on board arrived in Stockholm at mid-day on Saturday, 13th October, en route from Gravesend to Leningrad to protest against hydrogen-bomb tests.

So far they have been extremely well received and have appeared on television and radio; there have also been several articles as well as news reports appearing in the press. The crew report that excitement is building up for their departure on Wednesday for Leningrad, where they expect to arrive about Saturday, 20th October. No accurate arrival date can be given owing to the rough seas and bad weather the crew are expecting to meet.

It is not yet known what kind of reception the Soviet authorities will give them. The voyage has not so far received the co-operation of the Soviet Peace Committee; but remembering the welcome and co-operation that was given to the San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walkers, the crew believe that there is a good chance of their being given visas in Leningrad.

However, the crew have stated that conscience compels them to make every effort to land in order to achieve a direct and personal communication with the Soviet people.

A fuller statement with extracts from correspondence by Earl Russell is attached.

n/16/10/62

Institut für Friedensforschung und Konfliktanalyse

EVERYMAN III

The following statement was made from the London office of the Everyman III project by the secretary Jeffrey Hurford, Tuesday, 16 October.

When the crew of Everyman III have their confrontation with the Soviet authorities later this week, they will be taking the same position as the men of Everyman I and II before them, who sailed in protest against the American government's nuclear tests in the Pacific. In this case, the crew of Everyman III will be protesting against nuclear tests by the Soviet government, but they will also be declaring their opposition to all nuclear tests, and preparations for war.

So far, the Soviet Peace Committee have decided not to support the voyage of Everyman III. They Point out that the Soviet government has made such reasonable offers for a test ban agreement, that the blame for the lack of such an agreement rests with the West, and that Soviet testing is for defensive purposes. None of the sponsoring organisations of the crew can accept any such position that implies a double standard of morality. All tests - whatever their nationality - are potential killers.

However, it must be remembered that it was the Soviet Peace Committee who last year, gave a splendid welcome and co-operation to the San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walkers - who also demanded an end to tests. We are still hoping that the same co-operation will be given to the crew of Everyman III.

Nevertheless, if the authorities decide to refuse the crew permission to land and communicate freely with the Soviet people, their conscience will compel them to persistently attempt to complete their voyage.

Extracts from a letter by EARL RUSSELL to A.J. MUSTE, Chairman of the Committee for Non-violent Action

Dear Dr. Muste:

Thank you very much for your letter, which I have read with care and interest. I should wish to urge you in the strongest terms to carry on with your plans for Everyman III. I consider it to be of first importance that the Soviet peace workers understand the meaning of work for a cause such as ours, and the serious obligation involved with respect to independence of the very authorities who perpetrate the policies we oppose.....

It is my view that we must continually remind by our example those who are professing to be for peace that serious work for peace can only be achieved when no considerations of national kind are allowed to interfere with the integrity of our protest. For all these reasons, as well as those important reasons you outline in your letter, and in your cable to the Soviet peace workers, I wish to express my serious feeling that the "Everyman III" must continue and serve as a significant international project for peace - a model of what we hope to achieve in large and small ways in the future.

I shall airmail a letter to the Soviet Peace Committee, a copy of which I shall forward to you. Thank you for writing and for sending me your information.

Yours sincerely,  
signed  
Bertrand Russell  
21st September, 1962

The full text of Earl Russell's letter to the Soviet Peace Committee is set out overleaf.

Soviet Peace Committee  
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Dear Friends,

I write to you to express my hope that the "Everyman III" may be supported by the Soviet Peace Committee and admitted to Leningrad and the Soviet Union. A movement of peace which is truly independent, international and in the interests of the peoples of all countries must be able to express its protest against nuclear policy, no matter from which source it may emanate. This is the only basis on which we may offer ourselves to all those who are eager to condemn our work as genuinely disinterested and genuinely impartial in our demand for a peaceful solution to these most dangerous problems of our time.

I believe that the "Everyman III", as the March to Moscow which preceded it, is a most significant example of that independent peace movement for which I have received the welcome and gratifying support of your Vice-Chairman, Mr. Yury Zhukov. It is my sincere hope that we may continue to work together in the same spirit of understanding and recognition of the difficulties of our movement. Those who will be coming to the Soviet people, in the name of their opposition to the policy of their own Government and in the cause of explaining to the Soviet people why the reliance on nuclear mass destruction is in the profound disinterest of all humanity.

Yours sincerely,

signed  
Bertrand Russell  
21st September, 1962

The following is the full text of the last cable to be sent to the Soviet Peace Committee, by A.J. MUSTE (Chairman) and GEORGE WILLOUGHBY (Co-secretary) of Committee for Non-violent Action, New York, Oct. 9th

"EVERYMAN III SCHEDULED ARRIVE STOCKHOLM 10th AND DEPART 14th OR 15th OCTOBER DUE ENTRANCE LENINGRAD HARBOR 18th OR 19th. CONSCIENCE COMPELS CREW MEMBERS INEXORABLY SEEK COMMUNICATION WITH SOVIET PEOPLE BUT THEY COME IN SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND WITHOUT ILLWILL TO SOVIET AUTHORITIES OR CITIZENS ON BEHALF AS LORD RUSSELL WROTE A MOVEMENT OF PEACE WHICH IS TRULY INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL AND IN THE INTEREST OF ALL COUNTRIES STOP THOUGH WE HAVE RECEIVED NO REPLY OUR LATEST COMMUNICATIONS WE CONTINUE HOPE YOU UNDERSTAND PASSION FOR PEACE WHICH ANIMATES US AND THAT CREW WILL THEREFORE BE RECEIVED IN FRIENDSHIP DESPITE DIFFERENCES IN OUR VIEWS. FRIENDLY PERSONAL GREETINGS. MUSTE, WILLOUGHBY"

N.B.

The dates in the above cable have since been changed.

EDJ18-27-299



# EVERYMAN III

London - Leningrad - Moscow  
Voyage Against Nuclear Tests

6 ENDSLEIGH STREET LONDON, W.C.1

EUSton 1377

## PRESS RELEASE

4.11.62

**Sponsoring Organisations:**  
World Peace Brigade  
For Non-Violent Action  
Committee For Non-Violent  
Action (U.S.A.)

**Supporting Organisations:**  
Campaign for Nuclear  
Disarmament  
Committee of 100  
War Resisters International  
Friends Peace Committee

**Project Committee:**  
Hugh Brock, *Chairman*  
Allen Skinner, *Vice-Chairman*  
Horace Alexander,  
*Hon. Treasurer*  
Neil D. Haworth,  
*Co-ordinator*  
Barnaby Martin,  
*Co-ordinator*  
Earle Reynolds, *Skipper*  
Stan Allagrenza  
Jane Burston  
Donald Groom  
Maurice Henry  
Stuart Morris  
Pat O'Connell  
Francis Perna  
Inez Randall  
Tony Smythe  
Jon Tremala  
Nigel Young  
(*Partial listing*)

Issued by Max Maxwell  
and Jeffrey Hurford  
November 4th, 1962

PRESS CONFERENCE - London Airport, 12.40 p.m.  
Monday, 5th November; with Earle Reynolds, Neil  
Haworth and Barnaby Martin, on flight SK505 from  
Stockholm.

The skipper, Earle Reynolds, and two co-ordinators, Neil Haworth and Barnaby Martin, of the ketch Everyman III that sailed to Leningrad in protest against nuclear tests and other war preparations, are returning to London - details above.

EARLE REYNOLDS - aged 52; American now living in Hiroshima, Japan, he is a Quaker, Professor of Anthropology at the Hiroshima Women's College, had conducted research into the effects of radiation on

children surviving the Hiroshima bomb. Sailed his yacht Phoenix into the U.S. nuclear test zone in the Pacific in 1958, was arrested but won the legal case after two trials and two appeals; sailed Phoenix to Nakhoda in Siberia in 1961 in protest against the last series of Soviet nuclear tests. He is married with two children.

NEIL HAWORTH - co-ordinator, aged 31, American, has a degree in political science. Co-secretary of the Committee for Non-Violent Action, which sponsored this project. Served a 6 month prison sentence for entering a rocket base in Nebraska while demonstrating against the United States military programme. He is married and is a Quaker.

BARNABY MARTIN - co-ordinator, aged 25, from Richmond, Surrey. Refused military service, took part in San Francisco to Moscow March for Peace in 1961. As a result of demonstrations on the March he was deported from France and East Germany; sentenced to two days' gaol in West Germany but did not serve any time.

The rest of the crew - who will be sailing her home via European canals - are with Everyman III in Stockholm, where they arrived on Friday (Nov. 2nd) after their 14 day attempt to land in Leningrad and communicate with the Soviet people.

For details of their voyage and attempts to land in Leningrad, please see attached sheet.

Issued by Max Maxwell  
and Jeffrey Hurford  
4th November 1962  
For IMMEDIATE RELEASE

6, Endsleigh Street  
W.C.1. EUS 1377

### The voyage to Leningrad

Everyman III and her crew of 12 pacifists left Gravesend on September 26th. Before reaching Leningrad they visited Ostend, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Kiel, Copenhagen and Stockholm where they arrived October 13th.

Some of the notable events of this part of the voyage were:-  
Ostend where they were given a mooring opposite the Town Hall and welcomed by the mayor, who wished them good luck and good sailing.  
Amsterdam - Barnaby Martin was warned by a police inspector that foreigners were not allowed to speak on political matters. Having replied that he would speak on matters concerning humanity and that it would be for others to decide whether this was illegal, Barnaby addressed the meeting uninterrupted.  
West Germany - in the lock at the entrance to the Kiel canal they were tied up alongside a Soviet ship from Latvia; the Everyman III crew spoke with officers and passengers, who wished them success in their mission, and gave them some leaflets and badges, which were gladly accepted. In Kiel they were greeted by the Lord Mayor and M.P. for the district.  
Copenhagen - where there was a 250 strong march in support of the crew's voyage.  
Stockholm - where there was a great deal of interest and excitement before they left on Wednesday 17th October, bound for Leningrad.

### The attempts to land in Leningrad

Everyman III arrived in Leningrad late on the night of Friday 19th October. They were boarded by Health and Immigration officials. The boat had been escorted by Soviet naval vessels all day but no attempt had been made to board or stop them. They were given an anchorage 2 miles from Leningrad.

On Saturday they saw representatives of the Leningrad and Soviet Peace Committees and were moved into the harbour. The crew had a long and full discussion on board a passenger ship with about 50 people from Leningrad and Moscow.

On Monday they were told that they would not be permitted to land. The crew stated that they would attempt to land the following morning and would not co-operate with any attempt to make them leave. On the Tuesday morning the crew attempted to land but were gently blocked from doing so by about 50 soldiers. A tug came alongside and began to tow them out. As they were passing a group on the quay Alan White (Russian interpreter) addressed them through a loud hailer. When the group was out of earshot he dived overboard in an attempt to swim back, Barnaby Martin and Lawrence Beck joined him in the water. They were soon picked up and put back on board.

To prevent their being helplessly towed out of Soviet territorial waters and as an expression of their determination, the crew then opened 3 sea-cocks. The Russians soon spotted this, plugged the holes and started to pump out. The crew were then ordered into the cabin and their hands tied, but were otherwise well-treated.

Everyman III was taken to the island Kronstadt, a few miles off Leningrad and tied alongside a naval vessel. The crew were kept tied up - except for meal times - for 1½ days before being freed on the understanding that they would not repeat their attempt to sink their boat. During this time Everyman III received a heavy pounding against the side of the navy boat. They were moved to two other points later on and were altogether held for 8 days.

The Russian had done a good deal of work to repair the damage to the boat caused by the pounding and opening of the sea-cocks. On Wednesday 31st they towed Everyman III out of Soviet waters and the crew sailed her to Stockholm.

Of their treatment in the Soviet Union Barnaby Martin said, "In 1961 I was one of the San Francisco - Moscow marchers, we were in the Soviet Union 3 weeks. It is unfortunate that this year they behaved more like the French government did to the marchers last year."

## EVERYMAN III

Issued by London Office  
4th November, 1962

6, Endsleigh St.  
W.C.1.  
EUS 1377

Statement of the crew of Everyman III in Leningrad, 22nd October '62

After months of negotiation with Soviet authorities, we have come openly to Leningrad, intending to speak to the Soviet people about nuclear tests and the arms race.

We arrived in the port of Leningrad at 1920 on October 20 and were welcomed by the Soviet and Leningrad Peace Committees, with whom we had a meal and a friendly meeting lasting 8 hours. During this meeting we discussed our points of view thoroughly. The members of the Committees were sympathetic to our aims, but felt that their responsibility was limited to the arrangement of this meeting. We are grateful for their assistance, and our future activities are not the responsibility of these Committees.

On October 22nd at 1430, we were informed by a representative of Inflat and two immigration officials that our entry into Leningrad had been refused.

We have openly declared for a period of over two months that we are determined to speak to the Soviet people about our concerns and ideas, and we have not changed our minds. This action is a continuation of the voyages of Everyman I and Everyman II, which sailed into the Pacific to protest against nuclear tests by the United States.

We have distributed leaflets and spoken with thousands of citizens of England, Belgium, Holland, West Germany, Denmark and Sweden, during our voyage from London. Throughout our trip, we have pledged ourselves to take similar action in the Soviet Union.

Therefore, if the decision of the Immigration authorities is final, we wish to announce our plans, which are:

1. At noon on Tuesday, October 23rd, the crew of Everyman III, carrying leaflets, will step onto the dockside and walk into the city of Leningrad, to distribute our leaflets and talk with the people.
2. At the same time, we will fly between the masts of our boat a banner, similar to that we have flown in other countries, saying "No Tests, East or West."
3. We will not co-operate with any attempt to stop our activities, or to remove the boat from the port, until our mission is accomplished.
4. Our actions will throughout be conducted in a spirit of friendship and goodwill. At no time will we resort to violence in word or deed.

A fuller statement of our policies is contained in the attached leaflet. We are available at any time for further discussion.

Signed:

Peter Archbold

Lawrence Beck

Joel Børn

Erwann Chetaigné

David Coverley

Neil Haworth

Barnaby Martin

Raymond Messenger

Jean Neveu

Earle Reynolds

Alan White

Bryson Sneddon

ED 718-22-299

EVERYMAN III

Issued by Max Maxwell  
and Jeffrey Hurford  
October 24th for  
IMMEDIATE RELEASE

6, Endsleigh Street  
London W.C.1.  
EUSTon 1377

CREW OF EVERYMAN III WILL PERSIST

We have now heard that the ketch Everyman III, that sailed to the Soviet Union in protest against nuclear tests, has been towed from Leningrad Harbour by a Soviet ship.

Whilst being towed from Soviet territorial waters, three members of the crew dived overboard in an attempt to swim back to Leningrad. They were picked up by a police launch and returned to the Everyman III.

Last year one of the crew, Barnaby Martin, similarly tried to swim ashore, when the San Francisco to Moscow Walkers for Peace were refused permission to land in France.

Before they left Britain the crew stated many times that they would "persistently attempt to sail in and land". In a personal Statement the skipper, Earle Reynolds - an American Quaker and Doctor of Anthropology at the Hiroshima Women's College, Japan - said, "Even if they refuse us entry, we shall press home our attempts to land until we are physically stopped."

EVERYMAN III MODELS PRESENTED AT SOVIET EMBASSY

A delegation from the Everyman III project committee had a 45 minute interview with the Soviet Charge d'Affairs this morning (Wednesday 24th). The delegation consisted of Hugh Brock, editor of Peace News; Donald Groom, of the Friends Peace Committee; Jeffrey Hurford, secretary of the Everyman III project; Max Maxwell, office secretary of the World Peace Brigade and Franco Perna, European youth secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The members of the delegation spoke of their deep disappointment over the Soviet refusal to allow the twelve pacifists on board Everyman III to land.

However, as an expression of their goodwill to the Soviet people, three models of the Everyman III were presented on behalf of the crew and project committee, to the Charge d'Affairs and he was asked to send these to a children's hospital in Leningrad.

Mr. Satreken explained that he had received no special information from Leningrad concerning Everyman III and that as the crew had not been given visas he was unable to help. He laughingly suggested that perhaps Everyman III should sail back and go to Cuba.

ED 718-27-298

EVERYMAN III

6, Endsleigh St.  
W.C.I.  
EUSTon 1377

Press Release No. 9  
Issued by Max Maxwell  
and Jeffrey Hurford  
October 21st. For  
Immediate Release.

M. 10. 62

Everyman III in Leningrad

Everyman III with her crew of 12 pacifists who are on a protest voyage against nuclear tests and war preparations, arrived at Leningrad about noon Saturday Oct. 20th.

Everyman III is skippered by Dr. Earle Reynolds, who lectures on anthropology at Women's College, Hiroshima. He has done considerable research on the effects of the atom-bombing on the children of Hiroshima.

He and the crew were met by representatives of the Leningrad Peace Committee, and it was announced that a delegation from the Soviet Peace Committee was on its way.

Our contact in Stockholm later informed us that he had received the following telegram,

DETAINED PENDING MEETING OF SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE

we had this information at 7 p.m. Saturday 20th, we have since been unable to contact either the Leningrad Peace Committee or any of the crew.

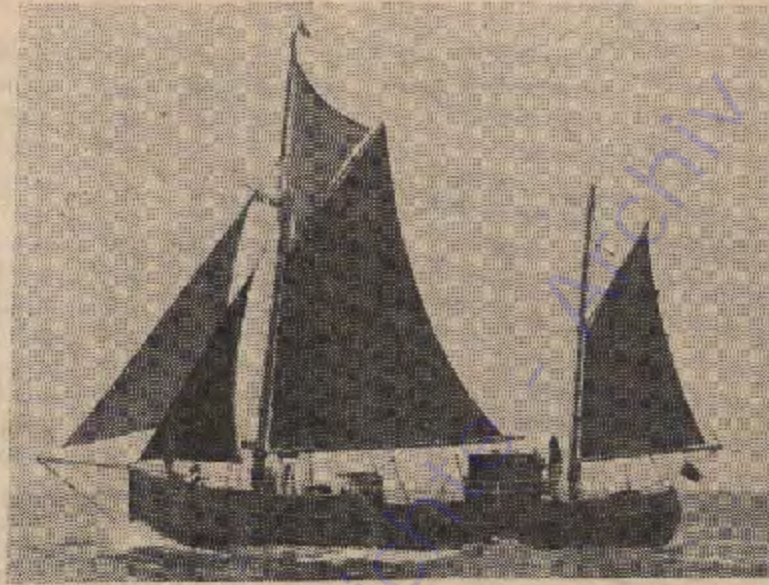
Now that they have reached the U.S.S.R, the crew will be determined to achieve direct communication with the Soviet people. They will not be satisfied with talking to officials or speaking at meetings with a pre-selected audience. They will seek every opportunity to express their views to members of the Russian public.

To facilitate their by-passing the official channels of communication they have with them 50,000 leaflets in the Russian language. These call upon governments to end nuclear tests immediately and to begin disarming; they call upon people to refuse military service and to oppose all war preparations.

A copy of this leaflet and a crew list are attached.

ED 718-27-299

**EVERYMAN III**



*London*

*Leningrad*

*Moscow*

**VOYAGE AGAINST  
NUCLEAR TESTS**

Institut für Zeitgeschichte / Archiv

We are sailing our boat, *Everyman III*, to Leningrad and Moscow because we believe that we must act against nuclear weapons tests by each nation. We are sailing in protest against the current series of tests by the Soviet Union.

## **NO TESTS EAST OR WEST**

Our voyage is part of a project started in the United States. The Americans among us helped their colleagues to sail *Everyman I* and *Everyman II* toward and into the U.S. testing zones in the Pacific. Eleven people were arrested for this action against nuclear tests, and five of them are still in prison. These voyages are in the tradition of several earlier projects: The voyages of the *Golden Rule* and *Phoenix* in protest against United States tests in 1958; an attempt to enter the French testing ground in the Sahara in 1959; and a voyage by the *Phoenix* to Siberia in 1961. The owner and skipper of the yacht *Phoenix*, Dr. Earle Reynolds, is also the skipper of *Everyman III*.

The crew of *Everyman III* includes men from many nations. We speak as ordinary human beings concerned about the danger to humanity of radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons tests. All nuclear tests in the atmosphere produce fallout which, scientists believe, kills and injures people, especially children, all over the world. The incidence of cancer and leukaemia is rapidly rising. There seems little doubt that this is caused by nuclear tests. Children for many generations to come face injury and deformity as a result of nuclear explosions now taking place. We believe that it is gravely wrong for governments to impose these risks on the peoples of the world.

## **END THE ARMS RACE**

We are even more concerned because each round of nuclear tests speeds up the arms race. The very existence of mankind is threatened by the prospect of nuclear war. So long as nations possess nuclear weapons, civilisation is in danger of destruction. War could be started by an accident or miscalculation. It could grow from a minor war, or a conflict area like Berlin or the Congo. More nations will soon have nuclear weapons, and the risk of war will be greater.

If war comes, our civilisations will be destroyed, our ways of life and ideals will be impossible. No nation can survive a full scale thermonuclear war.

Hydrogen bombs, rockets, bombers, tanks and other weapons do not bring security. Instead, every new weapon, every increase in the military programme of any country, places everyone in greater danger than before. In the nuclear age, weapons can not protect us. No defence system can stop a full-scale attack with nuclear armed rockets and bombers. We can hope to be free from the threat of destruction only if the world achieves complete and general disarmament.

## **BEGIN DISARMAMENT NOW**

The endless discussions of our diplomats and military specialists, have

not yet produced a single positive step toward disarmament. All nations make proposals for disarmament that would be to their own advantage. Each government blames others for the failure to reach agreement, and insists that its own weapons are for defence only.

We believe that the most hopeful way to achieve disarmament is for one nation to take the lead—to set a powerful moral example for other governments.

***We ask each government to:***

- Stop all nuclear weapons testing immediately.
- Stop relying on military deterrence; announce that it will never prepare for, undertake or threaten any kind of war.
- Begin disarmament now, and continue to disarm regardless of what other nations do.
- Begin programmes that will ensure that people now working in military industries or serving in the armed forces will have useful jobs after disarmament.
- Begin generous, non-military aid programmes to the poorer nations of the world.

**DEFEND FREEDOM WITH NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE**

In rejecting war we advocate a method of defence which is practical in the modern world. This is the method of non-violent resistance, which was used by Mahatma Gandhi to help free India; in Norway and Denmark against the Nazis; and today in the southern United States of America to gain equal rights for negroes. This is a positive method of defence which does not cause fear in the minds of others, but helps to solve the conflicts between different groups of people. People practising non-violence do not threaten or injure or kill others. Instead, they voluntarily accept suffering themselves, if it is necessary.

All peoples should study the most effective forms of non-violent resistance for defending themselves against oppression. We urge all peoples to train and organise themselves for non-violent resistance, so that they will be prepared to defend their freedom and values if it becomes necessary.

**ACT FOR PEACE**

In order to encourage your government to act for peace and for the sake of mankind, we ask you to find relevant actions to express your opposition to war. To this end, some people are refusing to do military service, refusing to work in arms factories, refusing to pay taxes that will be used for military purposes. Many thousands of people in many countries are protesting against the military policies of their own governments. We hope millions of people in every country will join in these protests. This is the surest way to bring about disarmament. When enough people refuse to support war and preparation for war, complete and general disarmament can become a fact.

## ABOUT THE CREW

The crew of *Everyman III* is made up of men who, in their own countries, work for peace. We have all protested against our governments' military policies. Some of us have been imprisoned for taking part in non-violent but illegal demonstrations for peace, or for refusing to serve in the armed forces. We will never support a war against our fellow men. We do not support the threats of our governments to kill the people of other nations. We believe that wars can best be avoided by people refusing to fight, and by opposing all armaments and threats of war.

## ACT FOR PEACE NOW!!

---

This leaflet has been prepared for distribution in all places visited by *Everyman III*. It has been printed in the language of each country.

*Everyman III* is supported by thousands of people in many countries. The voyage is sponsored by:

### **WORLD PEACE BRIGADE FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION**

6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

### **COMMITTEE FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION**

325 Lafayette Street, New York 12, New York

### **CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT**

2 Carthusian Street, London, E.C.1

### **COMMITTEE OF 100**

13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4

### **FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE**

Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1

### **WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL**

88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England

**EVERYMAN III IS NOW ON HER WAY.  
PLEASE HELP HER TO FINISH THE VOYAGE  
AND WITH NO DEBTS AT THE END  
—£1,250 IS STILL NEEDED.  
DONATIONS TO WORLD PEACE BRIGADE.**

EVERYMAN III - REVISED CREW LIST

PETER ARCHBOLD - British, aged 25. He is married with a baby boy, and is a painter and a chef. He fasted for one week against USSR nuclear tests and collected 1,000 signatures to a petition which he will take to the Soviet Union. He is a supporter of CND and a member of the South-west Committee of 100.

LAWRENCE HECK - from Sydney, Australia. A sculptor and welder, he designed the Everyman badge. A student of yoga and admirer of Krishnamurti. In Sydney he was founder and President of a CND group. He has taken part in demonstrations in London and has been a member of the Students' Committee of 100. He is an experienced dinghy sailor. In Australia he was active in connection with equal rights for Aborigines and the Aboriginal Cooperative Movement.

JOEL BØGH - from Denmark, aged 20. He did two years' alternative service as a Conscientious Objector and has just finished an engineering apprenticeship. Has taken part in demonstrations against weapons in Copenhagen, where he also formed a CND group. He owns a small dinghy and has extensive sailing experience. Sponsored by Aldrig mere Krig, the Danish War Resisters' International affiliate.

ERWANN CHATAIGNÉ - from Nantes, France, a computer operator, is 28. Served 5 months gaol for demonstrating in solidarity with French conscientious objectors, sentenced to 10 days gaol in August, 1962, but has not served the sentence. Sponsored by Action Civique Non-Violente.

DAVID COVERLEY - British, aged 27, a maintenance engineer, formerly an engineer in the Merchant Navy. An experienced sailor, he has sailed his cutter, Celeste, to France, Belgium and Holland.

KEITH HAWORTH - co-ordinator, American, aged 31, has a degree in political science. Co-secretary of the Committee for Non-Violent Action, which sponsored this project. Served a 6 month prison sentence for entering a rocket base in Nebraska while demonstrating against the United States military programme. He is married and is a Quaker.

BARNABY MARTIN - co-ordinator, aged 23, from Richmond, Surrey. Secretary of the World Peace Brigade for Non-Violent Action, which sponsored this project. Refused military service, took part in the San Francisco to March for Peace in 1961. As a result of demonstrations on the March he was deported from France and East Germany; sentenced to two days' gaol in West Germany but did not serve any time. Demonstrated with Michael Scott in Tanganyika against racialism.

RAYMOND MESSENGER - British, from London, is the ship's engineer. He is a member of the Committee of 100 and is a qualified professional engineer.

JEAN NEVEU - from Angers, France, aged 33. Professional translator (Spanish, English). Organised campaign for alternative service for conscientious objectors in the Western Department of France, and helped Algerian refugees. Organised and took part in the San Francisco to Moscow March for Peace while it was in France. Sponsored by Action Civique Non-Violente.

RAPHAEL REYNOLDS - Skipper of Everyman III, aged 52; American now living in Hiroshima, Japan, he is a Quaker. Professor of Anthropology at the Hiroshima Women's College, has conducted research into the effects of radiation on children surviving the Hiroshima bomb. Sailed his yacht Phoenix into the US nuclear test zone in the Pacific in 1958, was arrested but won the legal case after two trials and two appeals; sailed Phoenix to Nakoda in Siberia in 1961 in protest against the last series of Soviet nuclear tests. He is married with two children.

FRYSON SNEEDON - from Coventry. A trainee for the Merchant Navy, fulltime participant in the Campaign Caravan, has taken part in Committee of 100 sit-downs.

ALAN WHITE - from Birmingham, technical translator, Russian-English. Active CND supporter and member of the Committee of 100.

GRÜNING

ED 718-27-302

7.10.1962

Herrn  
Hans-Hermann Köper

5 Köln  
Wallrafplatz 2

Lieber Hans-Hermann!

Wahrscheinlich hat Dir Wilhelm Ude schon angekündigt, daß ich Dir etwas über "Everyman III" für ZIVIL schicken werde. Wenn nötig, kannst Du natürlich kürzen usw.

Redaktionsschluß hast Du, soviel ich weiß, jeweils am 15.; dann müßte es gerade recht kommen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen  
Dein

Richard Kühn

Everyman III - eine Reise gegen Atombomben-Versuche

Die Ankunft des Segelschiffes "Everyman III" in Leningrad ging durch die Presse der ganzen Welt. Jeder, der lesen kann, wurde wieder einmal aufmerksam gemacht darauf, wie schädlich und verbrecherisch diese Versuche sind. Aber das genügt nicht. Die tapfere Besatzung schreibt dazu:

"Wir segeln mit unserem Schiff "Everyman III" nach Leningrad und Moskau, weil wir glauben, daß wir gegen die Atombombenversuche aller Staaten etwas tun müssen. Unsere Fahrt ist ein Protest gegen die laufende Versuchsserie der Sowjetunion.

**OST ODER WEST: KEINE VERSUCHE!**

"Unsere Reise ist Teil eines Unternehmens, das in den USA begann. Die Amerikaner unter uns halfen ihren Kollegen, mit "Everyman I" und "Everyman II" in die Mex US-Versuchszonen im Pazifischen Ozean einzusegeln. Elf Personen wurden wegen dieser Aktion gegen Atombombenversuche festgenommen; fünf sind noch im Gefängnis. Diese Reisen setzen die Tradition früherer Aktionen fort: Der Reise von "Golden Rule" und "Phoenix", die gegen die USA-Versuche 1958 protestierten; einen Versuch, das französische Versuchsgelände in der Sahara 1959 zu betreten; und die Reise der "Phoenix" nach Sibirien 1961. Der Besitzer und Kapitän der Jacht "Phoenix" ist auch der Kapitän von "Everyman III".

"Die Mannschaft von "Everyman III" besteht aus Männern aus vielen Nationen. Wir sprechen als normale Menschen, die sich über die Gefahren des radioaktiven Abfalls aus den Atombombenversuchen für die Menschheit Sorgen machen. Alle atomaren Versuche in der Atmosphäre erzeugen Radioaktivität, die, wie die Wissenschaftler glauben, Menschen in aller Welt, besonders Kinder, töten und verletzen. Die Zahl der Krebs- und Leukämie-Fälle steigt schnell an. Es gibt kaum Zweifel, daß

von atomaren Versuchen herrührt. Kinder vieler zukünftiger Generationen werden auf die Atomexplosionen hin, die jetzt stattfinden, krank und verstümmelt zur Welt kommen. Wir glauben, daß Regierungen einen sehr ~~schwerwiegenden~~ schwerwiegenden Fehler begehen, wenn sie den Völkern der Welt diese Gefahren aufbürden.

**BEEENDET DAS WETTRÜSTEN!**

"Wir machen uns noch mehr Sorgen darüber, daß jede Runde von Atomversuchen das Wettrüsten beschleunigt. Das Vorhandensein der Menschheit ist durch die Aussicht auf einen Atomkrieg direkt bedroht. Solange es Staaten gibt, die Atombomben besitzen, besteht die Gefahr, daß alle Kultur und Zivilisation zerstört wird. Der Krieg kann durch einen Unfall oder Berechnungsfehler ausgelöst werden. Er kann aus einem Kleinkrieg erwachsen oder in einem Konflikt-Gebiet wie Berlin oder dem Kongo entstehen. Bald werden mehr Staaten ~~Atomare~~ <sup>Atomare</sup> Waffen besitzen und die Kriegsgefahr wird noch größer sein.

"Wenn es Krieg geben wird, wird unsere Kultur zerstört werden; unsere Lebensweise und unsere Ideale werden undurchführbar sein. Kein Volk kann einen totalen Wasserstoff-Bomben-Krieg überleben.

"H-Bomben, Raketen, Bombenflugzeuge, Panzer und andere Waffen geben keine Sicherheit. Im Gegenteil: Jede neue Waffe, jede Vergrößerung des Rüstungsprogramms irgendeines Landes erhöht die bisherige Gefahr für jeden Menschen. Im Atomzeitalter können Waffen uns nicht schützen. Kein Verteidigungssystem kann einen totalen Angriff mit Atombomben-Raketen und -Flugzeugen aufhalten. Wir können nur dann hoffen, von der Drohung der totalen Zerstörung frei zu sein, wenn die Welt zur vollständigen und allgemeinen Abrüstung kommt.

**BEGINNT DIE ABRÜSTUNG SOFORT!**

"Die endlosen Diskussionen unserer Diplomaten und Militärfachleute haben noch keinen einzigen positiven Schritt auf die Abrüstung hin hervorgebracht. Alle Staaten machen <sup>nur solche</sup> Abrüstungsvorschläge, die ihnen Vorteile bringen sollen. Jede Regierung schiebt der anderen die Ver-

wortung dafür zu, daß kein Übereinkommen erzielt werden konnte, betont, daß ihre eigenen Waffen nur der Verteidigung dienen.

"Wir glauben, daß der aussichtsreichste Weg, die Abrüstung zu erreichen, der ist, daß ein Staat vorangeht, - um den anderen Regierungen ein kraftvolles moralisches Beispiel zu geben.

Wir fordern alle Regierungen auf:

- alle Kernwaffenversuche sofort zu stoppen;
- sich nicht mehr auf militärische Abschreckung zu verlassen und bekanntzugeben, daß sie keine Art von Krieg mehr vorbereiten, führen oder mit ihr drohen will;
- mit der Abrüstung jetzt zu beginnen und weiter abzurüsten e e Rücksicht darauf, was andere Staaten tun;
- Programme aufzustellen, die den Leuten, die z.Zt. in der Rüstungsindustrie arbeiten oder beim Militär sind, nützliche Arbeitsplätze in der Zeit nach der Abrüstung sichern;
- großzügige nichtmilitärische Hilfsprogramme für die ärmeren Länder der Welt zu beginnen.

VERTEIDIGT DIE FREIHEIT DURCH GEWALTLOSEN WIDERSTAND!

Gleichzeitig mit der Ablehnung des Krieges befürworten wir eine Verteidigungsmethode, die in der modernen Welt durchführbar geworden ist. Das ist die Methode des gewaltlosen Widerstandes, mit der Gandhi geschlossen hat, Indien zu befreien; die Norweger und Dänen gegen die Nazis benutzt haben; und die heute in den Südstaaten der USA gebraucht wird, um die Gleichberechtigung der Neger zu erringen. Es ist eine positive Verteidigungsmethode, die andere nicht ängstigt, sondern Konflikte zwischen verschiedenen Menschengruppen lösen hilft. Wer gewaltlos Widerstand leistet, droht nicht damit, andere zu verletzen oder umzubringen. Stattdessen nimmt er freiwillig Lei-

den auf sich, wenn es nötig ist.

Völker

"Alle ~~Völker~~ sollten die wirksamsten Formen gewaltlosen Widerstands studieren, um sich gegen Druck zur Wehr setzen zu können. Wir fordern dringend alle Völker auf, sich für gewaltlosen Widerstand vorzubereiten und zu organisieren, so daß sie, wenn nötig, ihre Freiheit und ihre Ideale verteidigen können.

<sup>die</sup> TUN ETWAS FÜR DEN FRIEDEN!

Um Ihre Regierung zu ermutigen, für den Frieden und das Wohl der Menschheit zu handeln, sollten Sie geeignete ~~Maßnahmen~~ ~~entwickeln~~ ~~Maßnahmen~~ entdecken, Ihrer Kriegsgegnerschaft Ausdruck zu geben. Zu diesem Zweck verweigern manche Leute den Wehrdienst, weigern sich, in Rüstungsfabriken zu arbeiten oder weigern sich, Steuern zu zahlen, die für militärische Zwecke verwendet werden. Viele Tausende von Menschen protestieren gegen militärische Maßnahmen ihrer eigenen Regierungen. Wir hoffen, daß sich ihnen Millionen Menschen in jedem Lande anschließen. Das ist der sicherste Weg zur Abrüstung. Wenn genug Leute sich weigern, für Krieg und Kriegsvorbereitung etwas zu tun, kann die vollständige und allgemeine Abrüstung Tatsache werden.

DIE MANNSCHAFT

"Die Mannschaft von "Everyman III" besteht aus Männern, die in ihren eigenen Ländern für den Frieden arbeiten. Wir haben alle gegen die militärischen Maßnahmen unserer Regierungen protestiert. Einige von uns haben im Gefängnis gesessen, weil sie an gewaltlosen, aber verbotenen Friedensdemonstrationen teilgenommen oder den Kriegsdienst ver-

weigert haben. Wir werden nie einen Krieg gegen unsere Mitmenschen unterstützen. Wir unterstützen die Drohungen unserer Regierungen, Bürger anderer Staaten umzubringen, nicht. Wir glauben, daß Kriege am besten dadurch vermieden werden können, daß die Menschen sich weigern, Waffen in die Hand zu nehmen, und daß sie jede Aufrüstung und Kriegsdrohung bekämpfen.

T U N U J E T T E T W A S F Ü R D E N F R I E D E N

Diesem Aufruf braucht man nichts hinzuzufügen. Nur eins bleibt zu sagen: Der Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer in der WRI e.V. begrüßt und unterstützt die Fahrt von "Everyman III" und schließt sich dem Aufruf seiner tapferen Besatzung voll und ganz an. Wer für "Everyman III" direkt etwas tun will, wende sich bitte an Hans-Konrad Tempel, Hamburg-Volkendorf 1, Waldreiterweg 35. GGg

EVERYMAN III

London - Leningrad - Moscow Voyage Against Nuclear Tests

We are sailing our boat, Everyman III, to Leningrad and Moscow because we believe that we must act against nuclear weapons tests by each nation. We are sailing in protest against the current series of tests by the Soviet Union.

## NO TESTS EAST OR WEST

Our voyage is part of a project started in the United States. The Americans among us helped their colleagues to sail Everyman I and Everyman II toward and into the U. S. testing zones in the Pacific. Eleven people were arrested for this action against nuclear tests, and five of them are still in prison. These voyages are in the tradition of several earlier projects: The voyages of the Golden Rule and Phoenix in protest against United States tests in 1958; an attempt to enter the French testing ground in the Sahara in 1959; and a voyage by the Phoenix to Siberia in 1961. The owner and skipper of the yacht Phoenix, Dr. Earle Reynolds, is also the skipper of Everyman III.

The crew of Everyman III includes men from many nations. We speak as ordinary human beings concerned about the danger to humanity of radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons tests. All nuclear tests in the atmosphere produce fallout which, scientists believe, kills and injures people, especially children, all over the world. The incidence of cancer and leukaemia is rapidly rising. There seems little doubt that this is caused by nuclear tests. Children for many generations to come face injury and deformity as a result of nuclear explosions now taking place. We believe that it is gravely wrong for governments to impose these risks on the peoples of the world.

## END THE ARMS RACE

We are even more concerned because each round of nuclear tests speeds up the arms race. The very existence of mankind is threatened by the prospect of nuclear war. So long as nations possess nuclear weapons, civilisation is in danger of destruction. War could be

started by an accident or miscalculation. It could grow from a minor war, or a conflict area like Berlin or the Congo. More nations will soon have nuclear weapons, and the risk of war will be greater.

If war comes, our civilisations will be destroyed, our ways of life and ideals will be impossible. No nation can survive a full scale thermonuclear war.

Hydrogen bombs, rockets, bombers, tanks and other weapons do not bring security. Instead, every new weapon, every increase in the military programme of any country, places everyone in greater danger than before. In the nuclear age, weapons can not protect us. No defence system can stop a full scale attack with nuclear armed rockets and bombers. We can hope to be free from the threat of destruction only if the world achieves complete and general disarmament.

#### BEGIN DISARMAMENT NOW

The endless discussions of our diplomats and military specialists have not yet produced a single positive step toward disarmament. All nations make proposals for disarmament that would be to their own advantage. Each government blames others for the failure to reach agreement, and insists that its own weapons are for defence only.

We believe that the most hopeful way to achieve disarmament is for one nation to take the lead -- to set a powerful moral example for other governments.

#### We ask each government to:

- \* Stop all nuclear weapons testing immediately.
- \* Stop relying on military deterrence; announce that it will never prepare for, undertake or threaten any kind of war.
- \* Begin disarmament now, and continue to disarm regardless of what other nations do.
- \* Begin programmes that will ensure that people now working in military industries or serving in the armed forces will have useful jobs after disarmament.
- \* Begin generous, non-military aid programmes to the poorer nations of the world.

## DEFEND FREEDOM WITH NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

In rejecting war we advocate a method of defence which is practical in the modern world. This is the method of non-violent resistance, which was used by Mahatma Gandhi to help free India; in Norway and Denmark against the Nazis; and today in the southern United States of America to gain equal rights for negroes. This is a positive method of defence which does not cause fear in the minds of others, but helps to solve the conflicts between different groups of people. People practising non-violence do not threaten or injure or kill others. Instead, they voluntarily accept suffering themselves, if it is necessary.

All peoples should study the most effective forms of non-violent resistance for defending themselves against oppression. We urge all peoples to train and organise themselves for non-violent resistance, so that they will be prepared to defend their freedom and values if it becomes necessary.

## ACT FOR PEACE

In order to encourage your government to act for peace and for the sake of mankind, we ask you to find relevant actions to express your opposition to war. To this end, some people are refusing to do military service, refusing to work in arms factories, refusing to pay taxes that will be used for military purposes. Many thousands of people in many countries are protesting against the military policies of their own governments. We hope millions of people in every country will join in these protests. This is the surest way to bring about disarmament. When enough people refuse to support war and preparation for war, complete and general disarmament can become a fact.

## ABOUT THE CREW

The crew of Everyman III is made up of men who, in their own countries, work for peace. We have all protested against our governments' military policies. Some of us have been imprisoned for taking part in non-violent but illegal demonstrations for peace, or for refusing to serve in the armed forces. We will never support a war against our fellow men. We do not support the threats of

our governments to kill the people of other nations. We believe that wars can best be avoided by people refusing to fight, and by opposing all armaments and threats of war.

A C T F O R P E A C E N O W ! ! !

---

This leaflet has been prepared for distribution in all places visited by Everyman III. It has been printed in the language of each country.

Everyman III is supported by thousands of people in many countries. The voyage is sponsored by:

WORLD PEACE BRIGADE FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION  
6 Endsleigh Street, London W.C.1

COMMITTEE FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION  
325 Lafayette Street, New York 12, New York

CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT  
2 Carthusian Street, London E.C.1

COMMITTEE OF 100  
13 Goodwin Street, London N.4

FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE  
Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1

WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL  
88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England

Note to translators:  
Please add your own national organisation(s).

1) → ZIVIL : Everyman in Tempel

2) → UNO : VNO-Plan

3) → VNESCO : Fdler

Gony Smythe (Brand; Af. Leis unv.  
→ FR, Antwort)

Presseerkld. Persien  
Brand

Kdv. DDR (→ unter d. Hand)

ILCOP : Entsch, Was

5) Tel → Krahé : Anarbeitung Versorgungsfragen, wie

## London - Leningrad - Moscow Voyage Against Nuclear Tests

To port organisers  
From the coordinators

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

6 Endsleigh Street  
London W.C.1.  
EUSTon 1377

(26.8.63 lude) ~ 9.62

Dear Friend,

I enclose the report issued by Earle Reynolds, our skipper, after the 500 mile voyage from Wales to the Thames. In some ways it is depressing, because it is clear that the boat needs more work on it than previously expected. In addition it is clear that there is a real possibility that the voyage will not be able to take place in its present form because of the lateness of the season and the consequent danger from storms. We are also concerned that we may arrive in Leningrad too long after the end of the test series. However, now that we have at last a competent skipper with us we can be confident that the necessary work will be done as soon as possible and that the voyage will be conducted as wisely and effectively as could be hoped for.

There are certain very unfortunate effects of the present situation. (1) Each port must be aware that it is possible that the boat will not be able to visit their country or not visit the town that was hoped for. This could occur if the project had to be cancelled, if it became impossible to continue from some point for a number of possible reasons, or if the necessity of speed required a change in route. The effects of the developing situation may well bring some serious disappointments and we are very sorry for these. (2) Whatever arrangements are made at any time should not be tied to particular arrival times. Reading recent letters, I realise that I have not explained clearly enough the problems about forecast of arrivals. Any guess that is made could be several hours or several days wrong. This boat is not like the big passenger liners which can be reasonably sure of accurate arrival times. We will never be sure. Bad weather, engine problems, political problems, health problems, could all prevent the boat arriving on time. The boat may be days late at any port. There is no way in which an accurate time of arrival can be given. Any guess must be regarded as a statement of the ideal situation which is almost certain to be wrong. If the wind is favourable we might arrive hours early, if it is in the wrong direction we might be hours late, if it is too strong, it might be unwise to leave port at all. I know that this means that no meeting can be announced in advance and this makes the whole job of organising difficult. It really means that the type of activity planned must be something that can be done whenever we arrive - or the following morning if we arrive during the night. This fact makes the organisers work difficult, but the fact must be faced and we must all prepare for delays. It is quite possible for one nation to make difficulties for us over customs matters, or about health regulations, or in obtaining fuel for the engine. Some of the crew may be sick, or a storm may make sailing dangerous. So many things that can happen to a little boat will alter the whole schedule completely and even ruin the project.

It may be wise to hold up any printing that has yet to be done until we have more definite news for you. Printers could be prepared to go ahead on short notice, but should perhaps be asked to wait for word from London to you before starting work.

We are desperate for money to get the boat properly fitted. If you are able to raise money from supporters, please do so. We welcome any help you can give. There is still time for you to send us a volunteer if we do not have one from your country, and we would welcome more representatives of other nations.

Although we are working now under a great strain and aware that we are in danger of loosing the whole project, we are more than ever determined to see that everything is done that can be to enable the boat, Everyman III, to challenge the Soviet people on the issue of nuclear weapons tests and also on the whole question of armaments. We are very grateful for the work you have put into preparations and regret that the burden has become greater than was at first expected.

Best wishes

STATEMENT ON EVERYMAN III PROJECT

Earle Reynolds

Sept. 14, 1962

26.8.63 *ude*

I have been asked to write a short statement, summing up the situation as I see it, and summarizing the recommendations made and conclusions reached in the Project Committee meeting of Sept. 12.

I arrived in London on Sept. 5, to act as skipper of Everyman III. I expected to find a sea-going sailing boat, in London, essentially ready for sea - since the sailing date was set for Sept. 15 - with a crew aboard or chosen and ready to come aboard in a few days. I knew, naturally, that intensive work and preparation would be necessary in the 10 days before departure, and that there would be, as there always are, many decisions yet to be made, and many problems to be met.

Of course, as you know, conditions were not as I anticipated, and it was necessary to meet that new situation. First I had to see the boat, and then bring her around from Wales. In addition, a new problem arose, in that there was not enough cash available to get the boat out of Milford Haven. This was solved by use of personal funds. Also, Everyman III is not a sailing boat, but a fishing - type motor boat, with auxiliary sail. Unfortunately, I have had no experience in diesel engines.

Because of the lack of adequate sails, and absence of spare sails, it seemed logical to think in terms of the use of the big diesel engine, as the prime mover. This, however, requires a man who can operate and repair the engine.

Also, the use of the engine is preferable, in the present situation, because of the time element. The voyage will be made into high latitudes in late fall and possibly early winter weather. An engine is, of course, assuming proper operation, faster and more reliable than sails.

In the new assessment of the situation, the following points seem relevant:

1. I believe we all realize the consequences, not only to the crew and boat perhaps, but also to our objectives, of a failure of our ship to reach our destination.

The Boat

2. Therefore, based on my best experience, my inspection of the ship, and the conditions I found on the four day trip down from Wales, I presented to the Committee a list of the items I feel necessary in order to give the voyage a better than even chance of success, from a sailing point-of-view. I stress that this list is only of items of primary importance, not items merely desirable, or nice to have on a yacht. Such a list would include several hundred items.

The Crew

3. Likewise, I offered a list of men I think essential to this voyage, as follows:
  - a. Skipper.
  - b. Mate, with less experience and qualifications, but able to carry on when skipper is asleep, or in an emergency, if skipper is incapacitated.
  - c. An engineer fully qualified to operate the diesel on board, and make usual repairs at sea, and also operate a small gasoline battery charging generator.
  - d. An assistant engineer, bearing the same relation to the engineer as the mate does to the skipper.
  - e. Two men with sufficient experience (one for each watch) to be a positive help in running the ship.

Thus I think it essential to have 2 teams of 3 men each (skipper, 1 engine man, and 1 A.B.; and mate, other engine man, and other A.B.) who, operating watch and watch, can keep the ship going 24 hours a day.

\*\*\* over \*\*\*

- f. Highly desirable, but not classed as essential in the present circumstances, is an experienced sea-cook.
- g. If a radio is shipped, it will be necessary to have aboard a qualified operator, with license. One man will do.

The qualifications of the remainder of the ship's company, from a sailing point-of-view, are not critical. Special abilities, such as facility in speaking Russian, or carpentry or electrical skills, would make an individual man more valuable on board, naturally.

#### Schedule of Departure

4. It was decided, at the committee meeting, that the deadline for departure would be Oct. 3, and that departure after that date would be inadvisable, due to the lateness of the season. I concur.

It was pointed out that, even under perfect conditions, arrival in Leningrad would be after Oct. 20, the presumed date of the official end of the Soviet test series.

It was also pointed out that a "non-stop" voyage, omitting the intervening ports, would still require at least 4 re-fueling stops, so that essentially no time would be saved by this procedure.

It was estimated that a voyage of 2000 miles, estimating 20 sea days and only 12 days in port (for all five ports, Ostend, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm) would mean an arrival in Leningrad in early November. This makes no allowance for delays due to red-tape, accident, or weather, a rather optimistic assumption.

#### Finances

5. Without elaborating the situation, it seems that the financial picture is not critical, but the prospects are bleak.

#### Ship's Papers and Personal Clearances

6. Ship's papers are not yet available, and requirements for entrance of yachts and individual crew members with various countries have not yet been determined. (Note: So far as we know, all necessary steps for securing the ship's papers have been taken - it is a matter of time until they are issued. Entry requirements have been checked with the various consulates, and no advance clearances are required. N.H. 15/9/62).

#### Conclusion

7. My feeling is that if the above conditions are met --
- A boat ready for sea by Oct. 3.
  - A crew qualified as described and papers, permissions, and clearances in order --

The chances of a successful voyage, from a sailing point of view, are reasonably good, say, 60 - 40 chances. To be more optimistic than this would, I believe, be unrealistic and irresponsible.

However, I wish to emphasize, as I did at the meeting, that my recommendations are not an ultimatum. I came to London to sail Everyman III to Leningrad. I hope to do so, if it is humanly possible. I realize and appreciate the extensive preparations and considerable investment of time, money and personal involvement which have already been put into this project. I realize the importance of this action to the cause of peace.

Therefore, under whatever circumstances of boat condition, crew and schedule the Project Committee decides to send the boat out, I wish to be aboard, if I am wanted. And I would expect any other crew member to be aboard, as I am, on his own responsibility.

ED 718-27-314

~9.62

London

Leningrad

Moscow



EVERYMAN III

This is Everyman III, the boat which we plan to sail next month from London to Leningrad and Moscow in protest against the resumption of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union. This will be the continuation of the voyages of Everyman I and Everyman II which sailed toward and into the Christmas and Johnston Islands test zones in protest against the United States' nuclear tests.

Help buy this boat!

Everyman III is 48 ft. long and 15 ft. across. The registered tonnage is 14.23. There is a main cabin below the deck with berths for at least 14 and a smaller cabin with two berths and a chart table. She was built in Granton, near Edinburgh, in 1950 as a fishing vessel and her 84 h.p. diesel engine was fitted in 1954.

THE FUTURE OF EVERYMAN III

Everyman III will carry an international crew of 15, with supplies and equipment needed for the 2,000 mile voyage to Leningrad. The crew will probably include several men from Britain, one from each of several western European countries, and two from USA. We hope that it will be possible for an Indian, an African and a Japanese to join the crew also.

After this voyage Everyman III may have to be sold to pay off the debts of the project. However, some ideas have been put forward for the future use of Everyman III if we can afford to retain ownership: —

Everyman III has been purchased by the World Peace Brigade and is now registered in the name of Hugh Brock, Chairman of the Everyman III Project Committee, members of which are Horace Alexander (Hon. Treasurer), Neil Haworth, Barnaby Martin (co-ordinators), Stuart Morris, Allen Skinner, Donald Groom, Jane Buxton, Tony Smythe, Jon Tremain, Franco Perna, Inez Randall, Nigel Young, Maurice Heary.

1. Make a voyage around England (and nearby Europe perhaps) carrying on a campaign against war in coastal ports.
2. Assist in challenging the US submarine base in Holy Loch.
3. Carry an exhibition against war, showing the uselessness of militarism, which would be set up in ports around Europe.
4. In summer visit beaches crowded with holiday-makers and face them with the need to protest against nuclear tests and weapons.
5. Sail to the USA with an international European crew demanding the removal of all US bases from Europe. (A boat can be sailed right into Washington.) A very firm challenge could be made with the actual boat which voyaged against the USSR tests and military system.

Everyman III cost £2,700. It will cost several hundred pounds more to refit and equip the boat for this voyage. Additional funds are needed for other expenses of the project.

VOYAGE AGAINST NUCLEAR TESTS

We ask you to accept Everyman III as your boat — your protest against nuclear weapons testing — your

instrument for communicating with the people of the Soviet Union. Also needed: —

To EVERYMAN III, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. EUSton 1377.  
 I wish to support the voyage from London to Leningrad.  
 I enclose £ : s. d. (Cheques should be made payable to Everyman III).  
 I can give voluntary/paid help in the office.  
 Please put me on the World Peace Brigade mailing list.  
 Cross out where not applicable

1. Applications from men able to take charge of the boat itself. We need the best skipper available in the international peace movement.
2. Applications for crew membership. All interested persons should apply immediately. Sailing experience is not necessary for all crew members.
3. A competent Russian-English interpreter.
4. Office staff: (a) capable people with organising ability are needed to assist the co-ordinators, Barnaby Martin and Neil Haworth, and later to manage the office during the voyage. Should be available immediately for an indefinite period. (b) A competent office secretary, either part or full time is needed now.
5. Volunteer workers — skilled and unskilled.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

- Helga und Hans-Konrad Tempel  
Hamburg-Volksdorf 1  
Waldreiterring 35, Ruf 603 62 04

Irm de Ondarza  
Karlsruhe  
Lammstrasse 16, Ruf 22 8 63

Liebe Freunde!

Wieder einmal geschieht etwas auf internationaler Ebene. Wieder einmal können wir eine Aktion ankündigen, die neu und pionierartig ist. Wieder einmal müssen wir S i e um Ihre Mitarbeit und Unterstützung bitten.

Unzählige Male haben wir gegen die amerikanischen und französischen Atombombenversuche aktiv protestiert und die Menschen in den westlichen Ländern zum Widerstand gegen die Militärpolitik ihrer Regierungen aufgerufen. Jetzt wollen wir uns mit der London-Leningrad-Moskau-Regelfahrt erneut auch an die Bevölkerung eines östlichen Staates wenden und zugleich an ihre Regierung appellieren, alle Atomversuche sofort und notfalls einseitig einzustellen. Wie schon einmal - beim Amerikanisch-Europäischen Marsch (San-Franzisko-Moskau) - gehen wir davon aus, dass auch "drüben" Menschen wohnen, die bereit sind, zu hören, unabhängig zu prüfen und zu handeln. Wie damals sind wir auch jetzt davon überzeugt, dass kommunistische Regierungen in ihrem Machtbereich bereit sind, einer Gruppe von Menschen Gelegenheit zu geben, das zu fordern, was sie bereits von ihren eigenen Regierungen, z.T. unter beträchtlichen Opfern gefordert haben.

Uns wird noch immer gelegentlich vorgeworfen, dass wir uns in unseren Aktionen einseitig gegen den Westen richteten und damit der kommunistischen Politik ungewollt Vorschub leisteten. Oft werden unsere Aktionen von östlicher Seite falsch dargestellt und uns wird ein Lob gezollt, das wir so lange nicht wünschen, wie auch dort dieselben Verbrechen durchgeführt werden, die wir im Westen bekämpfen.

Helfen Sie, dass dieses Projekt zu einem überzeugenden Beweis unserer totalen und unteilbaren Abrüstungsforderung wird. Versuchen Sie vor allem, Freiwillige zu gewinnen, sammeln Sie Geld und gewähren Sie aus Ihrer Gruppenkasse oder Ihrem persönlichen Konto einen nennenswerten Patenschafts-Anteil. Wir haben uns DM 3000 als Ziel gesetzt. Teil-Patenschaften für den oder die deutschen Teilnehmer sind für Spenden von DM 50 an zu erwerben; Sie - beziehungsweise Ihre Freunde - gewinnen damit das Anrecht auf einen persönlichen Erfahrungsbericht "Ihres" Freiwilligen.

EVERYMAN III - Jedermann III - braucht mehr als gute Wünsche und frischen Wind.

EVERYMAN III wird aufbrechen, koste es, was es wolle.

EVERYMAN III soll auch in I h r e m Namen segeln!

Wenn die Mannschaft, an Bord geht, muss sie wissen, wer zu ihr steht. Werden Sie helfen?

Konten:

Postscheck Hamburg 28 28 95  
Neue Sparcasse 73 / 60 34 0  
(beide unter H.K. Tempel)

~ 9.622

ED 718 - 27 - 316

EVERYMAN III

LONDON----LENINGRAD----MOSKAU

Segelfahrt gegen Atombombenversuche

EVERYMAN III - ein schweres zweimastiges Segelschiff von 16m Länge mit einer Mannschaft von 15 Personen - führt die Reihe der Proteste fort, die in diesem Jahr von den beiden Booten Everyman I und Everyman II begonnen wurden. Im Zusammenhang mit der Wiederaufnahme der amerikanischen Testserie wurde nacheinander mit Everyman I und II der Versuch unternommen, in das Testgebiet bei den Weihnachtsinseln zu segeln. Beide Boote wurden gestoppt, und die Mannschaften erhielten mehrmonatige Gefängnisstrafen. Der Anlass für die Fahrt von EVERYMAN III sind die neuen sowjetischen Tests. Wegen der verschiedenen Schwierigkeiten kommt eine Segelfahrt in die sibirischen Testgebiete nicht infrage; stattdessen soll Moskau über Leningrad auf dem Wasserwege erreicht werden.

Die Route:

Das Segelschiff soll LONDON etwa am 10. September verlassen und wird auf seiner Fahrt voraussichtlich folgende Zwischenhäfen anlaufen: Ostende, Rotterdam/Amsterdam, Hamburg, Kopenhagen, Stockholm, LENINGRAD. Durch das russische Kanalsystem soll dann MOSKAU angelaufen werden.

Der Aufenthalt in den west- und nordeuropäischen Häfen wird etwa 24 Stunden betragen. Diese Zeit ist für eindrucksvolle Veranstaltungen zur vasseren Publizierung des Projektes bestimmt.

Die Gesamtdauer der Fahrt - einschliesslich eines Aufenthalts in Moskau - wird bei reibungslosem Verlauf auf etwa 3 Monate geschätzt.

Die Verantwortung:

Die Verantwortung für das Projekt wird gemeinsam von der WELTFRIEDENSBRIGADE und dem Committee for Nonviolent Action in USA, das Everyman I und II startete, getragen. Die Warresisters' International, das Komitee der IGO und die Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in England haben ihre Unterstützung zugesagt; weitere Organisationen, die sich aktiv gegen jeden Test in Ost und West wenden, mögen folgen.

Alle notwendigen Entscheidungen werden von einem Projekt-Ausschuss getroffen, der sich in England gebildet hat, in dem Hugh Brock, der Chefredakteur von "Peace News", den Vorsitz führt und dem die beiden schon feststehenden Mannschaftsführer Neil Hayworth (USA) und Barnaby Martin (Eng.) angehören.

BRITAIN:

Operation PORTON against Germ Warfare. Saturday, June 29th. A March will be organised from Salisbury, followed by a walk on to property controlled by the War Office and attached to Porton, an establishment devoted to preparations for chemical and germ warfare. Porton is protected under the Official Secrets Act. Last year a senior Scientist working there, Geoffrey Bacon, died from pneumonic plague (a variety of the Black Death). International support welcome. Information: Committee of 100, 13 Goodwin Street, London N.4.

State Visit of Queen Frederika of Greece. A special committee, "Save Greece Now", has been set up to co-ordinate demonstrations which, during the royal visit from July 9th, will seek to draw attention to the lack of democracy in Greece, the plight of political prisoners and the rôle of NATO in making an unpopular régime respectable. Information: Save Greece Now, 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4.

Protest March Glasgow/London. Starting Saturday July 13th and ending in London Saturday 7th September. The March will be to draw attention to Polaris bases and spread the ideas of the anti-nuclear movement, and compare heavy expenditure on war with meagre expenditure on welfare and unemployment. Information: George Williamson, 4 North Frederick Lane, Glasgow C.1.

C.N.D. The C.N.D. will be carrying on a peace campaign throughout the summer, including intensive campaigning in selected areas, an anti-civil defence campaign, an imitation of the Fallex exercise, "Fallex 63", sometime in September; and also activities in connection with the next General Election.

Youth C.N.D. The Youth C.N.D. has launched its "Project 67" - an international holiday scheme and pen-friend service with peace groups in other countries. Information: C.N.D. and Youth C.N.D., 2 Carthusian Street, London, E.C.1

CANADA/U.S.A.

26th May Quebec/Washington/Guantanamo Peace Walk left Quebec City

24th August arrives Washington D.C.

Information: C.N.V.A., 325 Lafayette St., N.Y. 12, or Canadian Com. of 100 C/o Daniels, 5601 McLynn Avenue, Montreal 29.

10th June Toronto, Ontario/Rome, N.Y. Walk begins. Information: Toronto Com. of 100, P.O.Box 413, Terminal A, Toronto 1, Ont.

4th-6th July Demonstration at Griffiss SAC base, Rome, N.Y. Information: C.N.V.A. or Canadian Committee of 100, addresses as above.

INDIA

The Delhi/Peking March continues with increased understanding between the marchers and the Indian peace movement.

CANADA:

Summer Programme

Canadian Friends' Service Committee/ at Grindstone Island Peace Centre, Portland, Ontario, includes a Seminar on "Creative Alternatives to the Arms Race", 5-13th July, and a Training Institute on the "Applications of Non-Violence To-day", 7-16th August 1963. Information: Peace Education Secretary, C.F.S.C., 60 Lowther Avenue, Toronto

FRANCE:

W.R.I. Study Conference, Château de Charbonnières, Authon-du-Perche, Nr. Chartres, 24th-31st August. Theme: "Non-Violence and Socio-Economic Change". Speakers include: Theodor Ebert, Gene Sharp, Jean Lasseur, Pierre Martin. Information: W.R.I.

Action Civique Non-Violente, Conference in Lyon. 5th-8th September work sessions for group leaders with international participation. Theme: "Non-Cooperation with the Preparation and use of Atomic Armaments". Centre Oecuménique de Travail - 176 rue Pierre Valdo, Lyon.

Also - 1st-20th August. Work Camp for young people at Lyon with Non-Violent Training.

Information: Marie Faugeron, 106 rue Sadi-Carnot - Vanves (Seine)

HOLLAND:

International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Woudschoten, Zeist, Nr. Utrecht. International Conference 29th July-4th August. Theme: "Freedom in Community". There will be discussions on religious liberty, conscientious objection; A.B.C. warfare; race relations; freedom from hunger, etc. Information: I.F.o.R., 3 Hendon Avenue, Finchley, London, N.3.

International Peace Bureau (I.L.C.O.P.) Annual Conference 1963 at Oosterbeek, Nr. Arnhem. 19th-24th August. Theme: International Implications of Regionalism". Discussions on Pan-Africanism, Western European Union, both in relation to disarmament, the cold war and world economic development. Information: Hon. Secretary, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1.

SWEDEN:

An International Seminar was held at Lund - May 30th-31st in connection with the Anti-nuclear Marches which took place on June 2nd.

U.S.A.

Peacemaker Training Programme in Non-Violence. In N.Y.C. the second week in August and in the Catskills at Bearsville, N.Y. the following week. Theme: "Radical approach to non-violence and its application to contrasting problems of city and country. Information: Victor Richman, 601, W.115th Street, N.Y. 25.

Peace Newspapers and PeriodicalsEnglish Language

- Peace News 5 Caledonian Road, London N1, England  
Most important peace newspaper in the world. Weekly  
Cost: Six months: Students and new readers, 10 British shillings  
regular - British Shillings 17 40
- Peace Packets Housmans (the Peace News Bookshop)  
5 Caledonian Road, London N1, England  
A collection every six weeks (eight times a year) of the  
best of the latest materials from various organizations.  
Cost: £1 (one British pound) a year
- Peace Pamphlets Peace News 5 Caledonian Road London N1, England  
Sent to subscribers right off the press.  
Cost: 10 British shillings a year.
- Liberation 5 Beckman St., New York 38, N.Y. U.S.A.  
(Can also be ordered from Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road London N1)  
Monthly magazine (12 a year) for non-violent revolution.  
Cost: four dollars a year.
- 2nd.*  
*Commentary*  
*on news actions*
- War Resistance 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middx. England  
Four times a year. Paper of the world pacifist  
headquarters, the War Resisters International  
Cost: 3 British shillings a year.
- The Peacemaker 10208 Sylvan Avenue Cincinnati 41, Ohio, U.S.A.  
Every three weeks approximately. Reports actions and  
views of radical civil disobedience, tax refusal, etc.  
Cost: Two dollars a year.
- Our Generation 911 St. James St. West, Montreal 3, Quebec, Canada  
Against Nuclear War (Can also be ordered from Housmans - address above)  
Four times a year. Peace research journal of  
Canadian Universities Campaign for "Nuclear Disarmament"  
"SANITY"  
Cost: three dollars a year. Students two dollars.
- W.R.L. News War Resisters League 5 Beckman St. New York 38, N.Y. U.S.A.  
Monthly of American pacifist organization.  
Cost: For a donation of two dollars a year.
- I.F. Stone's Weekly 5618 Nebraska Avenue N.W. Washington 15, D.C. U.S.A.  
Weekly by independent journalist giving comment and  
information on main world events and Washington.  
Cost: ten dollars a year outside of North America.
- Fellowship Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. U.S.A.  
Twice monthly magazine of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.  
Cost: Three dollars a year.
- The Nation 333 Sixth Avenue New York 14, N.Y. U.S.A.  
Radical Liberal weekly with frequent articles on peace  
campaigns and the arms race.  
Cost: 10 dollars a year. 18 dollars for two years.
- Sanity 2 Carthusian St. London E.C. 1, England  
Youth Against the Bomb monthly newspapers of the Campaign for "Nuclear D.  
Cost: each 10 British shillings a year

KAKKIN NEWS

KAKKIN - KAKI (Nat. Council of Peace + Against All Weapons)  
Kozato Building, 2-9, Minamisaikuma-cho,  
Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Peace Newspapers and Periodicals

Scandinavian languages

Pax Kristian Augusts Gt. 19 Oslo 13, Norway  
Monthly except summer. High quality magazine. pacifist. (WRI)  
Cost: 15 Norwegian crowns a year.

Pacifisten Lisa Mathiasen Nylandsvej 104 Silkeborg, Denmark  
monthly of the pacifist "aldrig mere krig" (WRI)  
Cost: 12 Danish crowns a year.

Fredsmissionaren Gökålund, Sweden  
Monthly of the Svenska Världfredsmissionen (WRI)  
Cost: 10 or 12? Swedish crowns a year.

Freden Jungfrugatan 30 Stockholm 4, Sweden  
Twice monthly by editor Bertil Svahnström and Jarbro Alviing  
Cost: 10 Swedish crowns a year

German Language

Die Friedenslandschau Hamburg 13 Bernstr. 6 Dr. Th. Reichaltscheff  
Monthly magazine of Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner (WRI)  
Cost:

Der Antimilitarist Vienna 12 Spittelberggasse 16 III/12  
Newspaper of Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner in Austria

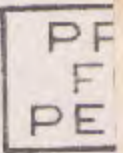
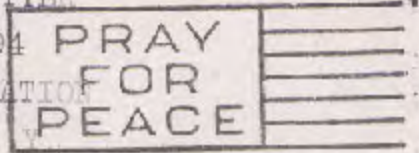
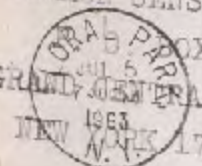
*Liberté*

French Language

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv

COMMON SENSE LETTER

70718-27-319



27.8.63 Grüng.

PRINTED MATTER

Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer  
G.D. Grüning  
Schlossstrasse 22,  
6 Frankfurt (Main)  
Germany

Institut für Zeitgeschichte

COPY

COPY

COPY

June 5, 1963.

Mr. Nikita S. Khrushchev  
Chairman, Council of Peoples Commissars

Dear Sir:

Disarmament is a will-of-the-wisp!

The Soviet Union renders an actual disservice to the cause of peace by demanding disarmament--specifically "general and complete disarmament."

Why? Because disarmament is not the realistic road to peace, the proper goal of the peace forces.

Disarmament puts the cart before the horse! As a matter of fact, disarmament is an ideal straw-man and whipping-boy for the forces really OPPOSED to peace.

The disarmament campaign confuses the issues, serves as a diversion, stimulates pacifist attitudes, apathy, passivity and the slavish notion that under no circumstances must there be violence. As history has conclusively shown, a peace movement based on pacifism always falls apart as events near a critical juncture. The class interest of the pacifist becomes strikingly clear to him at this time and he decides that "justice" requires him to fight for the side that represents his class interest. (Pacifism is a bourgeois philosophy; the working and exploited classes will have none of it.)

Agitation for the banning of the use and testing of nuclear bombs is a specific facet of the general disarmament program. Nations may agree not to use or test this means, or any other beastly means, of warfare (like germs, poison gas and chemicals), but if they are really effective means these agreements will be broken by one or another nation a short time later--as long as the basic tensions between nations continue to exist.

What should be the goal of the peace forces? What is the realistic road to peace? The answer is: Do away with the tensions that cause war--war that causes armament, the opposite of disarmament.

What causes these tensions?

These tensions are caused by aggression, imperialism and exploitation.

What are the basic tensions in the world today? They are:

1. The tensions between capitalist countries.
2. The tensions between a capitalist country and its colonies and countries dependent on it.
3. The tensions between the capitalist and the socialist countries.
4. The tensions created by the export of counter-revolution.

If we want peace we must reduce these tensions. Reducing the tensions will automatically reduce the armaments and increase the probabilities of peace.

How do we go about reducing the tensions? It's simple, although seemingly paradoxical--by fighting--by fighting against every manifestation, however small and innocuous it may seem, of aggression, imperialism and exploitation anywhere in the world, but especially in our own home area. By fighting the warmakers hammer and tongs we reduce the ability of the warmakers to make war.

The people must fight against those in capitalist countries who are creating tensions with other capitalist countries over markets, spheres of influence, colonies, sources of raw materials, foreign countries in which to invest capital, etc. World War I is a classic example of these kinds of tensions leading to war. The conflict between the Common Market bloc versus the United States and the British Commonwealth is a present day example of a situation which could lead to war.

The people must fight against those in capitalist countries who are creating tensions by suppressing the colonial and dependent nations--for surely they have a right to freedom and to develop without interference. The bloody seven-year French-Algerian war is a striking example of these kinds of tensions leading to war. Relations between Cuba (a dependent country) and the United States came to such a crisis that a world nuclear war was avoided only by the breath of a hair.

The people must fight against those in capitalist countries who are creating tensions between capitalist and socialist countries by starting cold wars which could easily become hot wars. Socialist countries surely have a right to exist. Here the guilty parties are always the capitalist countries which cannot breathe freely as long as a single socialist country continues to exist. If we want peace, we must fight against U-2 flights, against ringing the Soviet Union with aggressive air and naval bases, against trade practices designed to choke the economy of socialist nations, against the occupation of China's Formosa, Quemoy and Matsu Islands, against the policing of the Straits of Formosa by the United States Seventh Fleet, against the whole concept of NATO, SEATO, etc.

The people must fight against those in capitalist countries who are creating tensions by exporting counter-revolution. Counter-revolution may be fomented by the open use of troops or by more subtle means, such as the giving or withholding of money, trade, arms, etc. Surely a country has the right to change its government without interference from foreign countries; surely a country has the right to keep the government it has without revolution being fomented by foreign countries. The United States interfered recently in Guatamala, Cuba, Viet-nam, Laos, Jordan, Iraq, the Dominican Republic, China and many other South and Central American countries; England in Iraq and Laos among others.

This course of action for the peace forces is the only way to fight for peace that will bring real, not illusory, results.

I suggest that you launch a movement along these lines and rally the whole world in a big way to fight for it! Drop the disarmament slogan! Drop pacifism! Drop chasing a will-of-the-wisp!

Respectfully yours,

(Name and address)

Institute for Peace and Justice

## AUTONOMICS

BIONOMICS

ECONOMICS

ISONOMICS

Release No. 10  
Aug. 17, 1948UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS FOUNDATION  
101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.Revised Edition  
Sept. 23, 1950

## Solution for Peace in the Atomic Age

IT HAS been found through careful analysis and experience that the malpractice known as Politics leads in sequence from Provincialism to Monarchy, Monopoly, Credit and Taxes. These factors in turn lead to War and Poverty as confirmed by centuries of history. Likewise, it has been discovered and confirmed through research and application that the practice of Economics leads in sequence to Universalism, Sovereignty, Sharing, Currency and Revenue. These factors in turn lead to Peace and Prosperity.

1. Economics can be substituted for Politics by separating Politics from Government through the medium of education. Cultural or educational development is no more a matter of commerce and government than is construction management. Therefore, it does not belong directly under the jurisdiction of government, if there is to be maximum freedom of education. Much is said about freedom of the press, a privilege greatly abused, while the freedom of education, especially in economics, is being ignored and neglected.
2. Universalism can be substituted for Provincialism by allowing free immigration everywhere and trade between all countries, nations and states on an economic basis.
3. Sovereignty can be substituted for Monarchy by not surrendering individual autonomy to a political representative. To do so inevitably results in misrepresentation, as is proven by history. Nomination and election by political parties must be superseded by selection on a merit basis. This privilege must be reserved for each individual member of society and must never be assigned to any politician, group or gang. The selective system of progressive advancement is the backbone of private enterprise and the very life of public service.
4. Sharing can be substituted for Monopoly by distributing dividends, instead of wages, according to a scientific evaluation of individual capabilities. Thus, all workers can become partners in the cooperative production of wealth. This provides total freedom of enterprise and places income from production on par with the price of consumption. Friction between labor, management and capital may thus be entirely eliminated.

5. Currency can be substituted for fiat credit by separating the Banking and Credit System from the Currency Depositories. These depositories must be wealth accounting stations where only currency or production shares may be registered and cancelled out. Banknotes and coins which are transferable without registration or cancellation must be discredited or withdrawn from circulation. The present checking system may be utilized, expanded and extended to everyone and every transaction without any disruption of operations.

6. Revenue can be substituted for Taxes by transferring the natural resources, belonging to society in general, to individuals utilizing them at an annual rate sufficient to provide the essential one-third revolving fund. This fund will stabilize the balance between land, labor and capital necessary for the reproduction of wealth without borrowing, loaning or taxing money into circulation to maintain prosperity. Since more than one-third of the national income is now from taxation, a one-third revenue collected for the natural resources would be a relief because it will place the burden on those benefited and profiting from the use of these resources.

¶ Contrary to popular belief, the real enemy of any man or nation resides within and not without. The conflicts of life are not due to race, creed or nationality as we are led to believe. The incitement against races, creeds or nationalities to prejudice one group against another is only a smoke screen cast in front to hide the inherent larceny within the soul of man, his stupidity and ignorance, the real causes of his troubles and negligence of preventing them.

¶ No one of any race, creed or nationality is immune against the foe within—political hypocrisy, provincial bigotry, monarchial tyranny, monopolistic greed, credit usury and the urge to tax or confiscate the property of another without limitation and representation. A sincere desire to achieve peace and prosperity requires that these evils shall be eradicated from our souls or else inevitably pay the penalty through war and poverty.

¶ The atomic age will either usher in a better world without politics, provincialism, monarchy, monopoly, credit and taxes or else destroy civilization. Civilizations have been destroyed before and have retrogressed to savagery and barbarism. The choice is between Economics and Politics. Shall it be economic cooperation or being blown-to-atoms because of continued stupid and dishonest political malpractices? The world needs less political Pied Pipers, Robin Hoods, Santa Clauses and scientific medical quacks, time-twisters, rain-makers and atom-smashers. Mankind urgently needs more teachers of humility, integrity and industry so that there may be cooperation and peace through freedom and justice.

**BIONOMICS**  
*Democracy*



**ECONOMICS**  
*Autonomy*



**ISONOMICS**  
*Autocracy*

Release 19

UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS FOUNDATION  
101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Second Edition  
Sept. 15, 1950

February 10, 1949

### Peace and World Government

World Government cannot become a reality until there is economic order in the home and community first. When this happens, world government is automatically an established fact. Certainly, people who do not act in harmony at home will not be very cooperative with so-called "foreigners." Those who do not know how to cooperate cannot build anything worthwhile.

A peace offensive, based on universal sovereignty and economic order, is the only real defense against atomic or any other type of warfare. Economic defense costs absolutely nothing. It does not require extensive armaments, military force and political bribery. The world could be at peace tomorrow if political leaders had the economic knowledge necessary to back their moral convictions with courage to set the right example.

The "United Nations" are anything but united, except in disagreement. World government is impractical only because its sponsors do not have the foundation on which to build a constitutional and institutional peace structure. It is certain that "power politics" will not provide peace, nor will a static emotional desire for peace ever succeed without dynamic mental and physical action.

The right approach to peace is economic psychology. There must be a meeting of minds on a universal plan which is economically sound and acceptable to all nations, without fear, prejudice or friction. While there is political chaos, dissatisfaction, poverty and crime within nations, it is unreasonable to expect order, harmony, prosperity and justice among nations. The psychological approach must provide a thoroughly planned and executed miniature model which may be voluntarily put into operation by any small social or individual unit. This model may be carefully studied and tested for defects, before using it as a workable sample for world federation.

The steps to be taken in the construction of such a model are:

**Elimination of**

1. Political Chaos
2. Provincial Slavery
3. Monarchical Autocracy
4. Monopolistic Greed
5. Credit Usury
6. Confiscatory Taxation

**Incorporation of**

1. Economic Order
2. Universal Freedom
3. Sovereign Autonomy
4. Sharing Wealth
5. Currency Circulation
6. Social Revenue

This structure can withstand the abuse of fools and serve the wise. It shall be a republic, uniting social democracy and individual autocracy, wherein the individual is on a par with society, thereby preserving the sovereignty of all.

**THE PEOPLE INCORPORATED**

**UNIVERSAL SOVEREIGNTY**

**CONSTITUTION**  
**SOCIAL DEMOCRACY**

**ORGANIZATION**  
**UNION REPUBLIC**

**INSTITUTION**  
**INDIVIDUAL AUTOCRACY**

**WORLD GOVERNMENT**

**TRIBUNAL AUTONOMY**

BIONOMICS

*Philosophy*



ECONOMICS

*Physiology*



ISONOMICS

*Psychology*

Release No. 18  
February 19, 1949

UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS FOUNDATION  
101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Second Edition  
Sept. 15, 1950

### Civilization with Humanity

The institution of economic order depends mainly upon developing and applying the practical psychology essential for its establishment and operation, universally. While only one-third of the people may be reached by reasoning, even under best conditions, the other two-thirds may be made to follow emotionally and of physical necessity. Reforming people is usually a waste of time. The best thing to do is properly educate the young to what is morally right or wrong, so that reform becomes unnecessary. "An ounce of prevention is worth pounds of cure."

In a world where some are lambs but the wolves are in the majority, the objective of mankind should be to breed and raise men and women, rather than instinctive wolves, foxes and pigs. In the final analysis, nothing is accomplished, culturally, unless the civilization of man is improved. By removing the basic causes of fear, avarice and greed, more lambs and less wolves can be bred and raised.

The desire and urge for progress are of the heart, but without knowledge of the mind and strength of the body, there cannot be achievement of any sort. The solution of all problems must come from the mind. Emotionally, people are always ready for Utopia, nor is the philosophy lacking. However, none but a political charlatan and demagogue would promise a better world unless the psychology of economic order were developed and ready for use. Great advances have been made in the psychology of economics since the time of Machiavelli to supersede politics. This technology should be investigated and utilized for improving the welfare of mankind. The aristocracy of tomorrow shall be the administrators, legislators and executors of peace, progress and prosperity.

For most people it is always impossible or too late to shelter and make happy those they love in a world continually in the midst of chaos, depression and war. It has been so for centuries, due to the lack of an established economic order. This state of confusion, depression, frustration, starvation, ruination, stagnation and damnation will remain as long as the evil forces of political and provincial hypocrisy, bigotry, monarchy, monopoly, credit and taxation, now controlling man's destiny, are tolerated. The aim of a political gangster and racketeer is forever to upset the apple cart, no matter where, when or how it is to be done, and loot is everlastingly the objective.

The plans and specifications offered by this foundation are the result of scientific knowledge and practical experience. They are applicable to the issues of today, and may be put into operation by anyone, without any political coercion or regimentation.

AUTONOMICS

BIONOMICS

ECONOMICS

ISONOMICS

Release No. 13  
Dec. 15, 1948

UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS FOUNDATION  
101 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Rev. Edition  
Oct. 29, 1951

Specification for a Better World

The birth of civilization can take place only in an environment of economic order and cooperation among the people. It cannot be conceived under the stress and strain of chaos, confusion, instability, insecurity and the threat of war. To establish economic order and cooperation, the following specific changes must be instituted:

1. Eliminate the political-racket by separating politics from government through economic education. Economics is the science of government and coordination essential for good living.
2. Abandon provincial bigotry and prejudice by being tolerant toward all races, creeds and nationalities. Allow free immigration and trade between all countries, nations and states on an economic basis.
3. Abolish the one-man government monarchy-racket by installing a tribunal commission representing science, engineering and economics on a selective instead of an elective basis. The people thus retain their sovereignty. Promote sovereignty everywhere by not surrendering individual autonomy; and thus preserve the dignity, liberty, independence and freedom of man, universally.
4. Eliminate the monopoly license or privilege fee-racket by opening the doors of competition and opportunity for enterprise. Monopolistic practices should be reduced to a minimum by allowing the competitive, cooperative and coordinative impulses to function freely. Abandon the wage-racket by paying dividends to all workers on a merit basis, thus sharing the income equitably according to equality and extent of capital or labor invested. Labor investment is based upon a scientific evaluation rating of individual capability. Thus, capital and labor are co-workers and co-partners in the cooperative production of wealth.
5. Eliminate the credit money-racket by issuing currency-money which is not transferable without accounting. Credit banking must be separated from the currency depositories so that the currency circulated cannot be inflated or deflated through arbitrary manipulation. Banknotes and coins which are transferable without registration or cancellation must be discredited or withdrawn from circulation.
6. Abolish the political tax-racket by substituting a scientific system of social revenue, derived from consumption or use of the natural resources to compensate for the facilities and services provided publicly. The revenue collected from individuals for the natural resources, belonging to society in general, must be limited to an annual rate sufficient to provide the essential one-third circulating fund. This revolving fund will stabilize the balance between land, labor and

capital necessary for the reproduction of wealth without borrowing, loaning or taxing money into circulation. A scientific social revenue system will not penalize productivity nor needlessly deplete the natural resources.

The cooperative-commonwealth of nations is possible only after a regional model is founded and functioning successfully in operation at home. The six-point program specified can revitalize and restore the economic stability and balance of any business, state or nation, through the application of the "Golden Rule" formula and occupational evaluation chart developed by this foundation.

#### QUESTION AND ANSWER SUPPLEMENT

1. How do you propose to separate politics from government? By educating people to the fact that politics is the art of misrepresentation, maldistribution, misgovernment and criminal waste. The political system is a parasitic weed, superimposed upon the economic structure, obstructing the normal peace, progress and prosperity of the people. Political dogmas are a cancerous growth which can and have destroyed the constitutional body of many nations. What political racketeers cannot achieve through bribery and corruption, provincial and theological bigotry, monocratic and bureaucratic tyranny, material and labor monopoly, credit usury and confiscatory taxation, they do through exploitation of human weaknesses by stupefying the people with tobacco, liquor and sex perversion, and finally, if necessary, destroying them by military force to gain their living without work.
2. What causes bigotry and prejudice? Political chaos and maldistribution. What is free immigration and trade? Inasmuch as the world belongs to everyone, the people should be free to trade and go wherever they please on an equal basis provided they live justly, by giving as much as they take.
3. How does the selective tribunal commission function compared to the elective system? Selective officials are professionally trained and progressively advanced on a merit basis, and they may be removed from their positions any time they fail to serve the public. The elective or "spoils" system is full of corruption. Officials win and hold their positions through bribery even though they are entirely incompetent and unfit. The welfare and destiny of a nation should never be entrusted to political speculation and gamble.
4. Would not dividends be just as unfair as wages or salaries? No. When all workers receive dividends on a merit basis from top to bottom, salaries cannot be out of proportion to wages, because dividends replace both. Earnings and profits should be divided proportionately among the workers, who produce it, according to their respective material and labor investment.
5. Would government or public credit-money be more economically sound than private or banker's credit-money? No. Credit is a liability whether it is public or private. Government credit is banker's credit in the final analysis. Don't be misled. Credit-money is the root of all evil. All credit depreciates the value of currency, unless credit and currency are accounted for separately. Only currency should account for existing wealth or goods and commodities on hand and services rendered. When goods, commodities and services are bought and paid for, the currency should be cancelled out of circulation. Thus, credit would not glut the market to water the value of currency.

Should greenbacks or coins be used? No. Only checks or tickets, which are registered, cancelled or destroyed when the transaction is completed, are necessary. Currency-money cannot be deflated or inflated, unlike credit-money which remains in circulation although it has become worthless because there are no goods on the shelf. For small transactions, existing accounting registers which issue charge tickets, may be used instead of cash registers. Most transactions can be handled through the prevailing checking system.

Is it possible to borrow capital wealth? Yes. However, borrowing must be held down to a minimum and then only for emergency. If you must have a loan it should be 100% currency—100¢ dollars, and not 70% credit—30¢ dollars. Lending should not be necessary where there is economic order. Only the disorderly are in lock under economic conditions.

6. Would government issuance and control of credit-money eliminate the need for taxation? No. The social government, like the individual, cannot pay its expenses or debts with credit L.O.U.'s without depreciating the value of currency. However, it can collect revenue for the natural resources, belonging to all the people, from individuals who use these resources and thereby abolish taxation. Thus public expenses may be paid for out of social revenue as advocated by Henry George. The public expenditures must however, be limited to public income, and reallocated for the services rendered. The people should no longer permit the continuance of taxation without limitation and representation. Equity without equality is not only unconstitutional but it is adjudged a crime in all courts of justice.

Is a revolving social fund or income necessary for maintaining the circulation of prosperity, without borrowing or taxing? Yes. Capital is essential for the operation of public or private enterprise. This fund should, however, come from those who now freely monopolize the natural resources or else pass on the cost, rather than from workers unduly laboring to carry the added burden of taxation. The annual social revenue circulated for public expenditures provides an ample revolving fund for stabilizing the flow of prosperity.

Institut für  
 Wirtschaftswissenschaften  
 der Universität  
 zu Köln

## THE STATUS QUO

by Bert Taylor, Founder—General Welfare Movement  
Chorley, Lancashire, England

*The opinion of one whose official career depended on it.*

¶ Established system, shield of control by minority, has become the master of man. It is built on Greed. Its products are Poverty, Misery, Crime and Sin. It has perverted life for selfish ends. Established system is the embodiment of man's inhumanity to man. Its principle is—the masses must be kept on the verge of shortage or they will not go to work. This is the cause of the worldwide battle of grab versus would-grab from which frustration, stagnation and starvation arise. Any surpluses the masses might acquire are filched through rents, rates, taxes, unearned incomes and an intolerable burden of needless and senseless debt.

¶ Control by minority, guardian of monopoly by the few, is in unstable equilibrium. It is preserved by keeping the people poor, ignorant, inarticulate, at loggerheads and on tenterhooks. An imaginary value is given to the figures-on-paper-medium now functioning as money. Money has to be borrowed into existence and interest paid on it as long as it is in circulation. Scarcity of money, deliberately engineered by the controllers of the money system, causes the masses throughout their lives to be short of needed goods and services, the evil being aggravated by the manipulation of exchanges in all lands. Governments condone the money system, the price system and the wage system for the political system has to follow in their wake. All in authority in Government, Finance, Business and Press uphold this silent conspiracy in order to preserve their livelihood. Professions conform, for illness is necessary to the medical profession, crime to the legal profession and so on. Preventive measures are taboo for the living of millions depends on the continuation of sin and disease.

¶ Woe, evil and wrong are maintained; artificial scarcity, starvation and war are preserved. Governments may not interfere, for System and Precedent remain enthroned and upon them depends the security of the ruling minority. Kings, Presidents, Ministers of State hold office as puppets, for only by enslavement of all can established system reign supreme.

¶ It would be easy to produce all the people desire and give them all they need. Were this to be achieved, established system, control by minority and monopoly by the few would break down, but the long era of domination and servitude would be over.

¶ Authority will therefore go on until evolution brings changes in the hearts of men. Then will come Spiritual Change. It will be followed by Material Change. Reorganization of established system will be begun. Independent principals will address mankind; key men will work for all countries, all subjects, all viewpoints; good works will be made known, good causes linked throughout the world; the public will have the means of self-expression through the linking of organizations to which they now belong; universal public opinion will be mobilised and its power demonstrated; control by minority will be put in balance by the free expression of true public opinion; there will be global co-operation for the building of the new world; lateral association of world friendship leagues will lead to a Union of Mankind; and the people, speaking at last with a corporate voice, will influence those in authority to build a new and better life for all.

# CHARTER OF ECONOMIC ORDER

COPYRIGHT 1957 EWC

## ORGANIZATION

### Article I — TITLE

#### ECONOMIC WELFARE COUNCIL AND CLUBS

**A** SELF-SUPPORTING non-profit cooperative membership institution and association which may be incorporated or registered within any country, state or community. Founded at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July Fourth, Nineteen Hundred Fifty-six, A.D.

### Article II — PURPOSE

**T**HE DEVELOPMENT, promotion and establishment of Economic Order by maintaining a natural and normal balance between income from land and other natural resources, materials, labor and capital through free competition, cooperation and coordination of all factions and factors.

### Article III — AIM

**I**MPROVING the Economic Welfare of Mankind through application of justice based on truth and right in fact.

### Article IV — OBJECTIVE

**C**REATING a condition of lasting Peace, Progress and Prosperity by establishing an autonomous, cooperative commonwealth for the people of all states and countries through freedom of opportunity for enterprise and initiative to achieve individual sovereignty, contentment and happiness.

## CONSTITUTION

### Article V — SHARING

**Sec. 1** No congress, president, governor, union, association or person shall have the authority to designate the place or control the hours and form of employment, nor determine the compensation of labor, except as a direct employer, employee, co-partner or co-worker, within any enterprise, industry, association or firm.

**Sec. 2** The equity or compensation shall be governed automatically through free competition of individual equality or capability without collective interference or compulsion.

**Sec. 3** The economic rating of land, labor and capital shall be proportionately related to the total wealth or income produced in any country, state, place, organization, association, institution or firm.

**Sec. 4** The individual compensation shall be in direct ratio to the land, labor and/or capital investment of any participant. The median compensation shall be equal to the consumption price of goods, commodities and services essential for a balanced standard of living.

**Sec. 5** Public and private landholders, labor and capital shall receive their proportionate share of revenue, rent, dividends, wages, salaries, fees or interest warranted by their initial economic ratings.

### Article VI — CURRENCY

**Sec. 1** No congress, president, governor, financial trust, board or person shall have the authority to issue fiat token bills and coins as money.

**Sec. 2** The money in circulation shall be currency checks and tickets or vouchers issued by the people, as firms and individuals, for exchanging and transferring wealth on hand or deposit. These voucher checks and tickets shall be used solely as a medium of accounting.

**Sec. 3** The checks and tickets shall not be transferable nor negotiable without registration and cancellation at a local depository or accounting station after each transaction; thereby maintaining a perpetual inventory of the wealth produced, consumed and on hand.

## Article VII — REVENUE

*Sec. 1* All the manifold foreign and domestic compulsory local, state and national taxes, tariffs, duties, tolls, fees, premiums, dues and other deductions shall be abolished.

*Sec. 2* Communities, states and countries shall derive their social income for public expenditures solely from land revenue. This will provide a permanent revolving fund for building, operating and maintaining public improvements, institutions and services; thus accelerating and increasing the circulation of wealth and stabilizing prosperity.

*Sec. 3* The public or social revenue shall be payable only by landholders. The rate shall be one-third of the gross income of preceding year divided by its land area, in any community, state or country.

## Article VIII — SOVEREIGNTY

*Sec. 1* The sovereignty of each person shall be valid and respected in all states and countries regardless of birthplace, race, nationality, creed or citizenship, without discrimination.

*Sec. 2* No congress, president, governor, agency, bureau or person shall have the authority to issue licenses and permits for any form of social or individual enterprise or venture. All registrations for identification, statistical and precautionary purposes shall be voluntary, without charge or fee.

*Sec. 3* The people of any state or country shall be free to trade voluntarily with another on an economic basis without interference or restrictions. Any person shall be free to enter or leave a state or country without permission.

*Sec. 4* No congress, president, governor, agency, bureau or person shall have the power or authority to conscript anyone for any purpose. Where and when needed beyond normal requirements or in event of emergency, paid volunteers, local, state and national guards shall be enlisted to preserve and protect life and property, at the expense of those involved.

## INSTITUTION

*PREFACE.* The principal function of the Council and Clubs shall be the dissemination of knowledge, relating to the incorporation and operation of the following economic systems and methods, essential to the equitable distribution of wealth according to the equality of those producing it. Application of the scientific principles and formulas prescribed and specified shall be followed; thereby preventing maldistribution and other malpractices, which create chaos, poverty, stagnation and war through waste, stealth or crime.

## Article IX — SYSTEMS

*Sec. 1* Sharing shall be substituted for monopoly in any form.

*Sec. 2* Currency shall be substituted for fiat credit money.

*Sec. 3* Revenue shall be substituted for confiscatory taxation.

*Sec. 4* Sovereignty shall be substituted for tyranny in any form.

## Article X — METHODS

*Sec. 1* Dividend compensation shall replace fixed wages and interest.

*Sec. 2* Production shares (S) shall replace dollars (\$) etc., as the monetary unit to eliminate currency depreciation and needless conversion of monies.

*Sec. 3* Land revenue shall replace all forms of taxation.

*Sec. 4* Voluntary cooperation shall replace arbitrary manipulation, coercion, compulsion and conscription.

Article XI — PRINCIPLES

- Sec. 1 Enterprises and industries shall revert automatically to the developers, producers and distributors of wealth for their effort.
- Sec. 2 The creators of wealth shall determine its distribution and also the form and value of currency issued according to the material, labor and capital incorporated.
- Sec. 3 Land and other natural resources, materials, labor, capital, goods, commodities and services shall be available to anyone paying the revenue, rent, dividend, wages, interest, fee, price or charge.
- Sec. 4 Economics shall supersede politics as the science of coordination governing the consumption, production and distribution of wealth.

Article XII — FORMULAS

- Sec. 1 The ethics and mathematics of the Golden Rule shall be followed. Ethically, do unto others as you would have others do unto you. Mathematically, A:C::B:D.
- Sec. 2 The computations shall be based on a schedule of ratings indicating the value of land per acre, labor per hour and capital per share.
- Sec. 3 The formula for Sharing to end wage and other forms of exploitation shall be

$$\frac{\text{Income} \times \text{Investment}}{\text{Expenditures}} = \text{Dividend}$$

- Sec. 4 The formula for Currency to end fiat credit usury shall be

$$\frac{\text{Income}}{\text{Workers} \times \text{Hours}} = \text{Share}$$

- Sec. 5 The formula for Revenue to end confiscatory taxation shall be

$$\frac{\text{One-third} \times \text{Income}}{\text{Acreage}} = \text{Revenue or Rent}$$

Article XIII — DEFINITIONS

- Sec. 1 Economics is the science of coordination essential for maintaining equilibrium in the exchange, transfer and distribution of wealth.
- Sec. 2 Wealth is any form of natural resource, material, labor, capital or product.
- Sec. 3 Justice is equity in balance with equality.
- Sec. 4 Truth is reality in harmony with the facts.
- Sec. 5 Right is a course of action reached by common consent of those involved.

GOVERNMENT

Article XIV — By-Laws

- Sec. 1 Natural and normal universal laws shall supersede all arbitrary and compulsory codes, rules and regulations.
- Sec. 2 Economic By-Laws formulated and adopted by the Council and Clubs in assembly or by proxy shall govern.
- Sec. 3 There shall be a single standard interpretation of vice and virtue whether related to society or individual, poor or rich, female or male, in matters public or private.

Article XV — FUNCTIONS

- Sec. 1 The function of any government shall be to coordinate the economic distribution of wealth. There shall not be duplication in the conduct and transactions of any governmental agency or its functions within the same country, state or community.

*Sec. 2* No government shall interfere with or monopolize cultural development nor compete with or subsidize construction, manufacturing and agriculture.

*Sec. 3* Directing and governing any organization shall be by the membership through their duly appointed administrative, legislative and executive official representatives from culture, construction and commerce.

#### Article XVI — MEMBERSHIP

*Sec. 1* Any person subscribing to the Charter of Economic Order or specifically to the Objective, Aim or Purpose of the Council and Clubs shall be eligible for membership.

*Sec. 2* Any person who shall have contributed to the development, formulation, modification or ratification of the Charter of Economic Order shall be a Charter Member.

*Sec. 3* Any person who shall participate in the administrative, legislative and executive activities of the Council and Clubs shall be an Active Member.

*Sec. 4* Any person who shall have contributed \$1,000 or more in shares toward the establishment, promotion and operation of the Council and Clubs shall be a Life Member.

*Sec. 5* Any person who shall have received a citation or achievement award for contributing spiritually, mentally or physically toward the development, promotion and establishment of Economic Order shall be an Honorary Member.

*Sec. 6* Any person directly engaged in the development, production and distribution work of the Council and Clubs shall be a Staff Member.

#### Article XVII — OFFICIALS

*Sec. 1* The principal Coordinator and Consultant of the Council and Clubs shall be an Economist qualified by cultural training and experience as a Doctor or Specialist in the art and science of Economics and Autonomics.

*Sec. 2* The Board of Officials shall be an Executive President, Secretary and Treasurer; Legislative Governor, Tribunist and Senator; Administrative Sociologist, Publicist and Diplomat.

*Sec. 3* The officials shall be advanced on an evolutionary basis. Their tenure shall be ten years unless replacement is necessary because of discharge, resignation or death.

*Sec. 4* The duty of these officials shall be to control, operate, conduct and transact the business of Council and Clubs in accordance with the Charter of Economic Order.

#### Article XVIII — PRIVILEGES

*Sec. 1* All members shall have an opportunity to register their votes indicating their desire for economic practices and to appoint those best qualified by economic training and experience for positions in the development, management and government of public and private enterprises.

*Sec. 2* All members shall be entitled to receive the publications and services of the Council and Clubs.

*Sec. 3* All members shall be privileged to attend the annual conference of the Council and the monthly meeting of Clubs in assembly, or to consult privately with officials pertaining to economic welfare.

#### Article XIX — DUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

*Sec. 1* Annual Dues, ending December 31st, except for Life, Honorary, Charter and Staff Members shall be Twelve (\$12) Dollars or Shares.

*Sec. 2* Financial contributions in excess of the regular dues shall be from life memberships, donations and bequests.

#### Article XX — RATIFICATION CERTIFICATE

*Note:* Economic Welfare Clubs and other organizations desiring to adopt the Charter of Economic Order may do so by having ten Charter Members execute the Ratification Certificate, available on request from the Economic Welfare Council, 100 N. La Salle St., Chicago 2, Illinois.

# ANALYSIS CHART OF ECONOMIC OCCUPATIONS

G. Szmak, Ec. D., Industrial Economist

© 1963

Economic Surveys and Systems

ED 718-27-328

## THE PEOPLE INCORPORATED

