

QUAKER REPRESENTATIVE DESCRIBES WORK IN DIVIDED GERMANY TODAY

SINCE MAY OF 1962 the AFSC has had a Quaker International Affairs Representative in a place of great tension and misunderstanding—Berlin. This representative, Dr. Roland L. Warren, lives in Berlin, but his work is in both East and West Germany, as well as in both parts of that divided city.

He brings to his work an expert knowledge of his subject. Holder of a doctorate in social sciences from Germany's Heidelberg University, Roland Warren is intimately acquainted with the customs and traditions of the German people. He speaks the language fluently and has traveled widely in Europe.

Confidence Is Gained

His first task has been to get to know the real situation in Berlin. He has gradually gained the confidence of East and West Berlin officials, church leaders, and others who are well informed on national politics and international affairs. Roland Warren has now extended his visits to a wide stratum of people in East and West Germany.

Roland Warren expresses Quaker viewpoints and concerns to the people he meets, and keeps in close touch with

German Quakers. The AFSC believes that a QIAR can help people to look at international tensions objectively, and to meet openly and honestly across psychological, ideological, and political barriers. This representative in Germany is an "ambassador of good will," on a roving commission, free to mold his work as seems right to him.

In all his visits Roland Warren states frankly that he wishes to bring understanding, and to gain understanding, of the problems of a divided Germany. He says: "I feel that someone who is friendly and open with both sides, and who does not permit himself to become captured by one-sided over-simplifications, has a wonderful opportunity, on a small scale at least, to dull some of the sharp edge of East-West partisanship. He can help people on both sides realize that their counterparts across the barbed wire and cement-block wall are similar to them in many purely human respects; but realize also that they have corresponding fears, hopes, loyalties, dedication, and, to a certain extent, exaggerated misconceptions of both the good on their side and the alleged evil on the other."

It is essential, Roland Warren be-

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Meeting in the United Nations building in New York are members of an American Friends Service Committee high school seminar. Teen-agers interview diplomats, businessmen, legislators, and civic leaders to learn about important issues and explore approaches to peaceful solutions of conflict at community, national, and world levels. Week-long seminars are held in Washington, D. C., and New York. AFSC regional offices have high school seminars in communities across the country.

Matt Herron



SPRING 1963

PACIFIST REVIEWS INDIA'S CRISIS

MOST OF INDIA'S LEADERS are essentially nationalists. This was the finding of James E. Bristol, director of the American Friends Service Committee's program on nonviolence, after spending three weeks in India in the wake of the Chinese border invasion.

Carrying the concerns of the Peace Education and International Affairs Divisions of the AFSC, the Friends Peace Committee, and the Friends Service Council of England, James Bristol was sent to confer with representatives of pacifist organizations at Sevagram.

"I found that India as a nation and as a people reacted to the invasion just as any other country would have under attack. Many leaders, from government officials to Gandhians told me, 'We must not lose any portion of India. . . . we must protect our land.'"

In search for the real feeling of India, where he had been director of the Quaker International Center, Delhi, from 1957 to 1959, James Bristol spoke at length with approximately 22 leaders including Prime Minister Nehru; Vinoba Bhave, most revered of the disciples of Gandhi; C. Rajagopalachari, India's interim Governor General in the early months of independence; and Jayaprakash Narayan, respected Gandhian leader.

Gandhian Response Told

Speaking at the Peace Education Secretaries' Roundup in Tuxedo Park, N. Y., in a discussion of nonviolent direct action projects, he said that, "When the invasion came, the Gandhians had difficulty arriving at an agreement on how to respond. There was also a shift in position after the beginning of the invasion.

"At first," he continued, "there was the discussion of the possibility of non-violent resistance to the invading Chinese army or of placing themselves, nonviolently, between the two armies.

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... the "other half" of our work ...

Philadelphia, Pa.
March, 1963

Dear Friends:

Spring is the season of hope. In the warmth of its sunlight, man's spirits rise as surely as the green sprouts in the garden. Having weathered the blizzards and the icy winds, we turn with anticipation toward the warmth of summer.

This annual infusion of fresh hope rests, however, on a premise: that beneath the snow and ice has lain the seed, and that life is in it. While the householder and the commuter have been busy meeting the challenges of winter, faithful forces have been quietly at work preparing the way for the fruits of a more generous season.

There is, I think, an analogy here which helps in interpreting the work of the American Friends Service Committee. Our programs of direct service have always tried to alleviate the harshness of life for refugees and other victims of war or prejudice. But along with this has always gone the "other half" of our work—which might be called preparing the ground for new growth and new life.

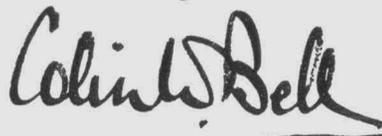
In our programs of International Affairs, for example, we try to nurture life-bearing relationships, to keep open avenues of communication, to explore and extend the areas of trust and respect between differing peoples. This kind of endeavor, now going on in the midst of mankind's darkest winter, is not always easy to describe. A thoughtful conversation or a weekend conference seems less dramatic than feeding hungry children. But such work—such planting of the seeds of peace, if we may call it that—gains drama, perhaps, by the fact that it is now possible for mankind to deny himself the beauty of another springtime.

This issue of QUAKER SERVICE reports on aspects of AFSC work in Germany and at the United Nations in New York. The article on the peace movement in India today reflects the importance of first-hand knowledge in developing a true understanding of the troubles that afflict men and nations in this hour.

These are but a few of the Committee's efforts to prepare a groundwork in which elements of peace may ripen and flourish, unchoked by the tares of fear and mistrust.

The patterns of these programs are time-tested by all those who have ever labored to dispel distrust or dissolve stereotypes. They are the modes of candid conversation, of personal contact, of visitation, of social and cultural exchange, of discussion—indeed of every ordinary gesture of humanity and integrity which admits to the desire to understand and to live in peace.

Yours sincerely,



Executive Secretary

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

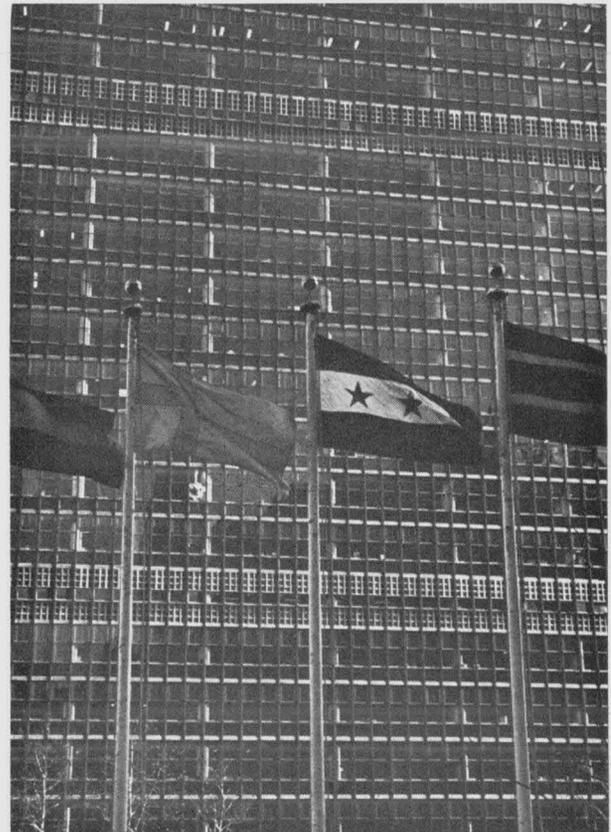
and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

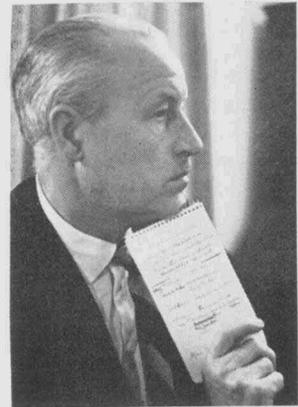
to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

*have resolved to combine our efforts
to accomplish these aims.*

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

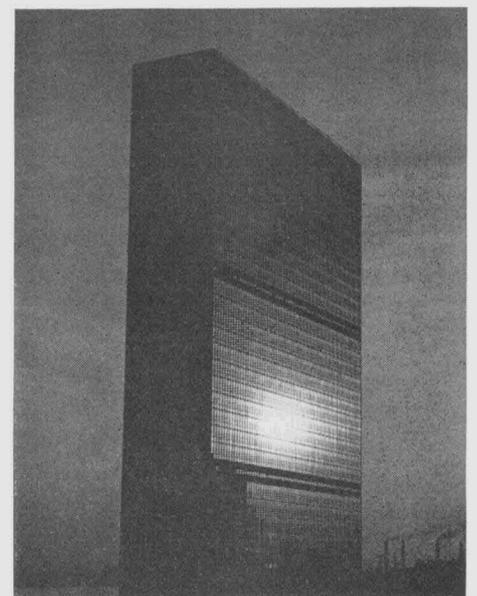


Photographs by Paul Buck



These people are at the United Nations. They are members of the Quaker Program, listening with a receptive mind to Algerians, Yugoslavs, and Nigerians.

But listening is not all. They are sharing Quaker viewpoints; encouraging understanding; attempting to bring opposing sides together. Why listen? Because by listening men begin to understand.



Germany Work Described

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lieves, to have a clear moral commitment and point of view when meeting Germans in both East and West: to be prepared to disagree, on both sides if need be, being scrupulously careful to be honest and to be absolutely open. "I will not concede anything to the Communist which I am not prepared to defend with my Western friends. And likewise, in the West, I will not say anything, or agree to any point, which I feel I cannot justify (to my own satisfaction, at least) to the Communist. We cannot engage in this work and talk out of both sides of our mouths."

In much of the work of AFSC, tangible results can be cited: refugees are fed, clothed, taught new skills; minority groups are given practical help to improve living conditions. The work of a QIAR cannot be measured by these visible results. Friends, however, have always been concerned to come to grips with the intangibles: to heal wounds which divide man from man and nation from nation.

Basic Similarity Exists

In the many meetings Roland Warren has had with Communists, non-Communists, religious leaders, and government officials in East and West Germany, he has found that the man he is talking with is "in his whole attitude and demeanor toward the East-West conflict amazingly like someone I talked to recently on the other side." It is only the vocabulary that is different, the point-of-view, the one-sidedness, that takes as its basis a different side of the dispute. The AFSC has always believed in this basic similarity

of human beings who are so often divided from each other by walls—physical, psychological, ideological.

This program reflects the Committee's belief that the solution to Germany's problems lies in the relaxing of conditioned viewpoints to a point where men can begin to talk easily and freely face to face, without fear and with complete honesty. Roland Warren's work, however small and isolated it may appear in the perspective of Germany's tumultuous problems, is a leading toward reconciliation, toward speaking truth to power, and speaking it with love.

Pacifist In India

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Before I left India, I heard Vinoba Bhave discuss two other 'claims of non-violence.' There was the 'knight' position—to go with courage against evil and use the kind of force necessary but use it with love toward the enemy.

"Secondly, he rejected the concept of nonviolent resistance; in its place he accepted nonviolent assistance for all mankind—for the Chinese and the Pakistanis; the Russians and the Americans; as well as those of his native India. Vinoba Bhave, while still reminding his followers of the self-defeating nature of violence, has been willing to support the government in virtually every way except to use violence," James Bristol continued.

"India, by requesting arms from the United States and Great Britain, and by her belligerency, has removed herself from the leadership of the non-aligned nations. Currently a U.S. mission has been in India studying ways in which this country can bolster her mili-

tary establishment. This indicates that India is gravitating inevitably toward the Western bloc," James Bristol said.

He concludes that Western pacifists idealized the Gandhian movement and India, and viewed the courageous way in which India gained her independence in the late 1940's as a new approach to international problem-solving short of the use of arms.

"We forget," he said, "that India's present militancy is consistent with her history. Despite Gandhi and his movement of nonviolence, the objective for India and Gandhi was nationalistic and directed toward freeing India from British colonial rule," he continued.

"It should be remembered that since India became independent in 1947, she has had an army," he said. "When I was in Delhi in 1959 almost half of the national budget was devoted to defense. A short year after independence found India's troops clashing with Pakistani troops in Kashmir.

"Prime Minister Nehru, close as he was to Gandhi, never identified himself as a pacifist. It seems evident, therefore, in face of these facts, that we expected India to react in a way she never intended to act. Western pacifists must look to themselves for new insights in the nonviolence-versus-war dialogue, rather than toward an idealized India, which was never quite what they pictured her to be."

James Bristol traveled 5,500 miles in his 20 days in India and spent time before his flight to India in England conferring with British Friends, and afterwards, to present his conclusions. It is anticipated that his experiences will be published in pamphlet form by the Peace Literature Service.

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, a Quaker organization, attempts to relieve human suffering and find creative solutions to tensions between individuals, groups, or nations. We believe there is that of God in every man, and that love in action can overcome hatred, prejudice, and fear. Our work is open to anyone regardless of race, religion, or nationality. We depend upon your contributions. Checks may be sent to the American Friends Service Committee at any of its offices.

Return Requested