
Box 1: A. Overview, 1961 - 2006; B. Challenges and Lessons Learned, 1991 - 2010

Box 2: Turn Toward Peace, Midwest Regional Office, 1961 - 1970: Ed Doty, Chicago Area Coordinator, and Jack Bollens, National Staff in Chicago


Box 10: Internes/Fellows Program: 1961 - 2006

Box 11: Democracy & Peace: 1965 - 2006

Box 12: Bayard Rustin and Project South Africa, 1984 - 1991

Box 13: Strategies of Change: But What Can I Do?

A. Citizen: Form A Citizen Peace Effort with Community Peace Centers, Peace Education in Churches and Responses to Crises, 1961 - 1971

B. NGO's: Engage Voluntary Organizations in work for a World Without War 1965 -1990


Box 14: Strategies of Peace:

A. Individual: Civilian defense, Gandhian Satyagraha, Conscience and War -- witness

B. Society: global civil society, aiding transitions to democracy, extending the democratic peace in time among democracies and geographically

C. Government: American Peace Initiatives Strategy

Box 15: Newsletters (Communique, American Purpose and Democratic Values)


Box 18: Finances

Box 1: A. Overview

We live in a country distinguished from many others by its wealth, size, diversity, technological capability, and most of all, by the idea that formed it. The idea that the people shall rule because of the innate dignity of every person has been progressively realized in our experience of building and sustaining our political community. Such a political community must address the problem of war. Such a country has a significant, perhaps the key role to play in progress toward peace.

Robert Pickus, New Approaches to Peace, 1991

I. Organizations and Executive Directors

1. 1961 - 1967, Chicago Area Turn Toward Peace(TTP), Edward Doty, Coordinator, Jack Bollens, National Representative, Turn Toward Peace

2. 1967 - 1970, Chicago Area Turn Toward Peace, Jack Bollens, Executive Director


5. 1982 - 2006, World Without War Council - Midwest, Robert Woito, Director

(see organization materials, staff lists, perspectives, strategies of change and program Boxes 2 - 9 for each period above)

II. Chairpersons, Board of Directors (see newsletters and Board notes)

1961 - 1965, Chicago Area Office of TTP coordinated by Jack Bollens

1965 - 1970, Mrs. Charles A. Bane & Mr. Murray H. Finley, Co-Chairman (1965)

1971 - 1977, Carl Shier, United Automobile Workers

1977 - 1981, Herbert E. Neil, Jr., Vice President, Harris Bank

1981 - 1983, Terry Rynne, Rynne Marketing Group, Author Gandhi & Jesus

1983 - 1987, Kale Williams, Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities
1987 - 1988, Dennis McCann, Theological Department, DePaul University

1988 - 1991, David Sallach, Swiss Bank, Computer Science, University of Chicago


1997 - 2000, Kale Williams, Loyola University, Department of Urban Affairs

2000 - 2006, Rev. C. Theodore Roos, United Church of Christ

(Organizations for Identification purposes only, see full board lists, Boxes 2 - 9)

III. National Offices (precursors, national offices, key persons)

1. American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), 1951-1957

   Robert Pickus and Kale Williams worked for the AFSC in this period. Kale Williams was the Chicago regional AFSC director and became the World Without War Council, Inc. National Board Chairman 1967 - 2010; Robert Pickus was the Chicago AFSC Peace Secretary and a member of the AFSC working group that produced *Speak Truth to Power*, 1955--a foundational document challenging deterrence theory with a non-military alternative.

   (Supporting Document: *Speak Truth to Power* and the October 1955 issue of *Progressive Magazine* which contains a summary, opinion leaders criticisms and a response)


   Turn Toward Peace was organized in New York in 1961 with substantial involvement by the New York Friends Group and Robert Gilmore. The Chicago office of Turn Toward Peace was one of several regional offices. The New York Friends Group and the Robert Gilmore Archives provide documents of the origins, funding, program and participating organizations of Turn Toward Peace. The archives of Robert Gilmore, the New York Friends Group, and Turn Toward Peace are part of the Swarthmore Peace Collection. See also Center for War/Peace Studies, Global Perspectives in Education and the Norman Thomas archives also part of the Swarthmore Peace Collection.

3. Robert Pickus

   National President, World Without War Council Inc.. The national office was located in Berkeley, California, 1967 - 2010 with New York a second national base 1971 - 1981. Robert Pickus’ personal papers are primarily archived at the Hoover Institution as are
those of the World Without War Council of Northern California, James Madison Foundation, and World Without War Council Inc..

(Supporting documents: To End War, 1971, American Initiatives Project Prospectus)

4. Lowell Livezey


(Supporting Documents: National Overview Document drafted by Robert Woito)


These indexes provide documents on the formation of and the existence of the National Office, Berkeley, divided by 1) Organization, 2) Perspective, 3) Strategy of Change and 4) Programs as are the Midwest Archives. The indexes offer a detailed listing of National Office Programs and can help locate Midwest Office activities within the larger national effort. The James Madison Foundation activities, Washington, D.C., 1985 - 1992, are also included as ordered by George Weigel. The James Madison Foundation was headed by George Weigel until 1992, then Robert Pickus became President.

(Supporting documents: Indexes)


“The James Madison Foundation, which is an extension of the work of the World Without War Council and an expression of the intention of the American Peace Society, has been founded in the conviction that a marriage between the concepts of national interest and national purpose is essential today.” American Purpose, A Report and Commentary on the Peace, Freedom, and Security Debate from the James Madison Foundation, January 1987, Volume 1, Number 1.

“American Purpose, Our Purposes,” Vol. 1, Number 1 is provided here to amplify the intention above; the complete collection of American Purpose, George Weigel editor, is provided in Box 15, Newsletters, Midwest Archives, Swarthmore Peace Collection.

With George Weigel’s move to the Ethics and Public Policy Center in 1991, Robert Pickus assumed the Presidency of the James Madison Foundation, 1992 - 1910. The
James Madison Foundation archives under George Weigel and Robert Pickus’ leadership are at the Hoover Institution.


George Weigel worked as a scholar in residence at the World Without War Council of the Pacific Northwest (Seattle) from 1979 to 1981 when he relocated to Washington, DC. He is by far the most prolific author to develop an interpretation of World Without War Council ideas and to apply them in world politics. His magnus obis in this field is *Tranquillitas Ordinis, The Present Failure and Future Promise of American Catholic Thought on War and Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press 1987). This book “attempt(s) to re-orient the war/peace debate within American Catholicism, and in fact wherever the issues of ethics and foreign politics are engaged,” *American Purpose*, Vol. 1, No. 1, page 8; he is also the author of *American Purpose*, 1987 - 1992. He has remained throughout his career to date (2010) an interpreter of the Catholic “Just War” tradition. The Council work focused on where the just war tradition and the pacifist tradition meet in developing alternatives to war. George Weigel is also the author of *Witness to Hope*, the biography of Pope John II.

George Weigel’s papers are collected at the Library of Congress.

(Supporting document provided here: *Tranquillitas Ordinis*)

8. World Without War Council of the Pacific Northwest

This office was initially formed as a regional office of Turn Toward Peace. The staff and board compiled a distinguished record from 1961 to 1991 and then became the Center for Civil Society to work on democratic peace strategies. The archives are at the University of Washington, Seattle, Wa..

IV. Related National Contacts in Other Organizations (agreement not implied)

1. Charles Bloomstein, Center for War/Peace Studies

2. Harold Guetzkow, Northwestern University, Peace Research

3. Max Kampelman, National Security Advisor, Executive Branch, Board of Directors, United States Institute of Peace

4. Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph Institute

(the above four were conscientious objectors in World War II, 1941 - 1945)
5. Ruth Adams, Editor *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*

6. Lincoln Bloomfield, MIT, Assistant Secretary of State

7. Larry Diamond, Hoover Institute, National Endowment for Democracy

8. Raymond Gastil, Batalle Institute, Seattle, Freedom House, New York

9. Carl Gershman, President, National Endowment for Democracy

10. Frank Herbert, Science Fiction Writer, see World Without War Game

11. Kent Hill, National Association of Evangelicals, United States Agency for International Development

12. Victoria Holt, Stimson Center

13. Kenneth Jensen, United States Institute of Peace

14. Penn Kemble, AFL - CIO

15. Joshua Muravchik, American Enterprise Institute

16. Arch Puddington, Freedom House

17. Diane Rativich, Teachers College, Columbia University

18. Albert Shanker, American Federation of Teachers

19. Philip Siegelman, American Political Science Association

20. Ruth Wattenberg, American Federation of Teachers

21. Homer Jack, Unitarian Universalist Association

22. Douglas Bond, Albert Einstein Institute

(no supporting materials provided)

**V. Executive Directors biographical Information** (provided here or requested)

1. Edward Doty (documents requested)

2. Jack Bollens (documents requested)
3. Lowell Livezey (Lowell’s career is documented in the Swarthmore Peace Collection)

4. Karen Minnice Egerer (documents requested)

5. Robert Woito

VI. Distinguished Internes/Fellows (see Box 10)

VII. Brochures (samples here, see also Chronological boxes 2 - 9)

VIII. Basic, Consistently Used, Brief Materials

1. Three Definitions of Peace, Benjamin Seaver

2. But What do you Do?

3. Turn Toward Peace policy framework

4. Seven Roads to a World Without War

5. Distinctive Elements

6. Preface, by Robert Pickus to Albert Camus’ Neither Victims Nor Executioners

7. American Initiatives in a Turn Toward Peace

8. Peace and the Elections 1972 (and similar election year statements through 1996, see also Box 16 & 17)

IX. Program Focus (see boxes two through nine)

1961 - 1965: Crises and Community Peace Centers

1965 - 1977: Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War; specifically Labor, Religious and Public Institutions Educating for Peace


1982 - 2006: Overview, Idea development, Transnational Civil Society engagement, Strategies of Peace, melding ideas from various places on the political spectrum

X. Foundational Documents (provided here or in publication boxes 16 & 17)
1. Turn Toward Peace Policy Framework, 1961, Robert Pickus


3. Definitions of World Politics: Is there a body of thought adequate to make ending war a credible objective in the eyes of governmental decision-makers charged with national security, national interests goals?

4. Vietnam Peace Proposals - distinguishes peace proposals designed to replace war with political processes to resolve the conflict from those that maintain that peace requires the military victory of the just side, 1967

5. Preface by Robert Pickus to Camus' Neither Victims Nor Executioners, 1968


7. Peace Education in Churches, Lowell Livezey, 1974


11. Project South Africa, national brochure, Seattle office kit, 1987


XI. Stalwarts (12 who helped for more than 20 years with a hint of their contribution - supporting documents here)

1. Lucy Dougall, War and Peace In Literature

2. P. Wesley Kriebel, (retired, Dept. of State, Bureau of International Affairs) diplomat in residence


4. Byron Miller, Midwest Board, A.T. Kearney management standards, multi-cultural voice
5. Sherry Minert, staff and board, NGO management standards


7. Herbert Neil, Jr., Board Member, Professional Economist

8. Terrence Rynne, Board Member, author *Gandhi and Jesus*, management by objectives implementer

9. Rev. C. Theodore Roos, Board Service, Peace and International Relations in Churches, especially the United Church of Christ

10. Nancy Starr, Quaker, National/New York colleague, Project South Africa, Midwest component of national programs

11. Kale Williams, American Friends Service Committee, Professional Civil Rights (Open Housing) Leader, National Board Chairperson, Midwest Board Service

12. Brunhilda Hoehl, Volunteer, self-proclaimed Druid in Residence

XII. Program Overview (see boxes 2 - 9 for complete listing and documents)

1. Internes/Fellows Program, see Box 10
2. Churches and a World Without War, see especially Boxes 2 - 5
3. Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War, Box 2
4. International Conflict and American Organizations (ICAO), see Boxes 4 - 9
5. American Jews and American’s of Palestinian origins; A dialogue aimed at establishing the conditions for a stable peace in the Middle East
6. Midwest Conference for a United States Institute of Peace
8. Project South Africa, led by Bayard Rustin with staff by Nancy Starr, Charles Bloomstein, Walter Naegle, Noah Pickus, and David Peterson; Axel Kolb, Midwest staff
10. World Without War Publications, see Boxes 16 & 17

XIII. Evaluative Instruments (documents provided)


5. The International Human Rights Quotient: An Organizational Assessment Tool: enables you to assess your institutions understanding of, work to advance, and ways to overcome obstacles, Robert Pickus and George Weigel

6. 101 Ways to Resolve A Crises: It is not the best time to start; it is the worse time to do nothing.

7. Organizational Typology: The World Affairs Field: Identifies nine types of mainstream organizations (Religious, Business, Labor, Professional, Youth, Women, Scientific, Civic, and Ethics) that address world affairs and then eight types of organizations focused on world affairs (Arena, Advocacy, Functional, Special Purpose, Research and Study, Formal Educational, Related Education, and Overview Organizations)

8. Vietnam Peace Proposals, Robert Woito, editor, distinguishes proposals capable of resolving a conflict from those that seek the victory of one side and the surrender of the adversary.

9. Democracies and Dictatorships, EDP (Extending the Democratic Peace), 2001


XIV. Special Recognition

1. Nominees for outstanding achievement...
Board of Directors: Byron Miller, Sherry Minert, Herbert E. Neil, Jr., Rev. C. Theodore Roos, Terry Rynne, Carl Shier and Kale Williams

Special Contributions: Terry Rynne, Management by Objectives Program and Sherry Minert, Organizational Management

Executive Director: Lowell Livezey build on the foundation in the mainline Protestant Religious Institutions, specifically the United Church of Christ and the Northern Illinois Conference of the United Methodist Church and launched with Timothy Zimmer the North Suburban Project and began the tradition of an annual human rights day program. Lowell also launched a peace education in schools program.

Board Chairman: Kale Williams (both national and Midwest)--Kale has an extraordinary ability to listen to every voice in a heated discussion, to summarize the areas of agreement and disagreement and to discover a way forward and did so in nearly every meeting for forty plus years.

Persistence: The Rev. C. Theodore Roos became active with the World Without War Council and the Peace and International Relations Committee of the United Church of Christ, Chicago in the 1960’s and continues in 2010 to engage his Church (the Northfield Community Church) and his retirement community in applying the commandment “thou shalt not kill” to world politics in public programming.

2. Outstanding Intern/Fellows:

For starting the interne program and claiming to be paid in full, Ed Doty.

For organizational development and management skills and applying them to a wide range of organizations, Sherry Minert.

For impact on world politics: Axel Kolb, see Project South Africa.

For organizational abilities and intellectual clarify: Timothy Zimmer, see North-suburban Project.

For intellectual achievement, Joseph Slovenic's contributing an American Initiative toward a uniform military financial accounting system with specific initiative acts to get there from here.

For persisting in thankless tasks: Bennett Caplan, attempting to engage local labor organizations in work for a world without war.
For conceptualizing and developing a crucial content area: Janet Mackey, Terrorism and Self-Determination: A Tragic Marriage we Could help Decouple.

For his career devoted to nonviolent conflict resolution in the field: Douglas Bond

For her career in Washington focused on peacekeeping and genocide prevention: Victoria Holt

For her career in building a non-governmental organization and public service agency, the Vietnamese Association of Illinois: Ngoan Le

For her career in strengthening global civil society: Karen Egerer

For her career in environmental law: Katrina Severin

For her focus on women and development: Kavita Ramdas

For her clarity and Middle East Conflict focus: Deborah Gerner

For their work in Africa development with the Agency for International Development: Victoria Singer and Walter West.

For his work through the European Peace Center and in conflict resolution in Sri Lanka: Augustine Nicholescu.

3, Outstanding Volunteers

**Brunhilda Hoehl** -- For over twenty years Hilda’s hearty laugh, white gloves, and devotion to duty and young people, provided a spark every office needs and rarely finds -- 1975 -- 1995

**P. Wesley Kriebel** -- After a career in the Department of State, Wes provided insights into diplomacy, thoughtful evaluation of specific events, and wisdom we failed to fully appreciate -- 1985 - 2006

**XVII: Claims to Specific Programmatic Achievements**

1. As a Regional Office...the Midwest Office

**A. defined the subject** with categories that made ending war a plausible goal: The annotated bibliographical categories of the 1982 edition of *To End War* reduced to one page became the nationally used definition of the field. The 2,400 annotated entries an introduction to the substance.
B. offered a “developed peace context” in each edition of To End War and Extend the Democratic Peace; the concepts were drawn from Turn Toward Peace’s policy framework of which Robert Pickus was the principal author. A developed peace context was offered as a framework of assumption and belief that guided our daily work, interne/fellow seminars, policy statements, and crises response and issues work.

C. applied those concepts to specific conflicts and issues(illustrative list): Elections in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam peace proposals, Conscientious Objection to War, ABM, Conditional Amnesty, U.N. Special Session on Disarmament, Arms Control and Disarmament Issues, Middle East Conflict, South Africa, World Hunger, World Economic Development, UN Reform, SALT, Law of the Sea, Boat People, Genocide Prevention, Central America, Nonviolent Transitions to democracy, Pluralizing the Soviet Union, the Gulf War, Afghanistan and Iraq and 9/11.

D. engaged Non-Governmental Organizations: In the Midwest region, the Metropolitan Association of the United Church of Christ and the Northern Illinois Conference of the United Methodist Church; nationally the Catholic Church, the Episcopal Diocese of Northern California, and the National Association of Evangelicals. The 1965 Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War defined all non-governmental organizations as potential participants in work for a world without war.

E. organized regional conferences and programs contributing to the establishment of the National Endowment for Democracy (American Initiatives Project was launched with Midwest funding, featured an Is there a Way out Conference as part of it, and held a human rights program whose keynote speaker advocated democracy as the solution to the civil war in El Salvador and was murdered there within 30 days and the U.S. Institute of Peace (Midwest Conference for the U.S. Institute of Peace).

F. conducted weekly seminars in the Interne/fellows program: Each year two or more college graduates engaged in a training program with a syllabus, work assignments, and weekly seminars, many of which went on to distinguished careers in world politics, for example Doug Bond, Albert Einstein Institute and Program in Nonviolent Sanctions, Harvard and Victoria Holt, Stinson Center and Commission (headed by Madeline Albright) on the Prevention of Genocide.

G. sought the moral basis: A commitment to finding working resolutions of moral & ethical questions characterized our work throughout most fundamentally in the tension between pacifist and just war traditions resolved in developing non-military alternatives to war but also conscience/political obligation, rich/poor, intervention/non-intervention and human rights dialogues.

H. both open and focused intellectual content: Programs involved a wide range of political views seeking to meld truths from various parts of the political spectrum rather than strengthen one pole. American foreign policy leaders were challenged but not demonized; threats to national security were acknowledge, not minimized or denied; developing non-military strategy of meeting legitimate national security concerns remained the focus.
B. were sustained by continuity in leadership: Twelve Stalwarts gave more than 20 years of their vocational lives to help sustain this work, four 40 plus (Sherry Minert, Herbert E. Neil, Jr. Rev. C. Theodore Roos and Kale Williams).

C. retained a distinctive, compatible regional expression of a national organization: The Midwest office survived in a region inhospitable to visionary goals yet made the transitions from national interest diplomacy, to interdependent economies, to globalization while remaining focused on the institutions and understandings essential to a world without war.

8. Contributions to Others Achievements

For now, however, the realists have won the battle, their are eight civilizations for whom getting to know each other better, means tolerance, not community is a virtue. (Huntington). Failing that we are offered a balance of power among major powers (Mersheimer), or an end to the history of ideological conflict among those who accept the modern, secular world (Fuyuyama). Against these forecasts of perpetual, violent strife, our claimed achievements are modest but nonetheless significant.

1. Conscience and war: Much of our work was centered in religious institutions either to engage them or to deepen their engagement. See also Allan Blackman’s Face to Face with Your Draft Board, a guide to the personal appearance for people who had been turned down in their request for Conscientious Objector’s status (63,000 sold); see also Moral and Ethical Thought on War, To End War, each edition. This work contributed to many individuals preparing for their meeting with their draft board having explored their conscience and able to defend their resolution of the question: Are you a conscientious objector to war. The stance of the organization that there are credible and realistic non-military alternatives to war, contributed to an on-going, working resolution of the pacifist and just war traditions which meet in their recognition of the needs for such alternatives.

2. An interne/fellows program: We graduated more than 80 graduates, many of whom went on to careers in world politics (some proud of the experience others left us off their resumes--it takes explaining if you worked for a World Without War Council); see syllabus and list in Box 10. All of them encountered a commitment to the values and institutions that constitute representative democracy, were made aware of the great resources a democracy society has in its civil society, free press, adversarial political process, and independent judiciary. Their careers in other organizations are identified where known in Box 10.

Short cut to the problem of war: This course is not about individual’s murdering each other or even small group violence. It is about the legitimate use of organized, mass violence in war. Can that be abolished? It has been within every State.

3. Engagement of Non-Governmental Organization and assessments of them: See Community Peace Center, Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War conference (1965), engagement of the Chicago Metropolitan Association of the

Fr. Len Hoffmann and Edward Von Merrienborg (sp) worked from the Midwest office under Lowell Livezey’s leadership with National leadership to deepen the engagement of the Catholic Church, specifically from Chicago The National Federation of Priests Councils. The Berkeley office engaged the Diocese of Oakland in drafting guidelines and then worked with Sr. Helen Garvey, Sr. Marion Cotty, and Sr. Margeret Green in continuing programs, resource development and outreach. In the 1980’s George Weigel of our Seattle Office wrote Tranquillas Ordinis, The Current Failure and Future Promise of American Catholic Thought on War and Peace and later the biography of Pope John II (Witness to Hope). George Weigel’s affirmation of the Just War tradition (See Lesson’s Learned) was challenged by Terrence Rynne, Midwest Board Chairman, in Gandhi and Jesus--continuing the dialogue over developing alternatives to war.

The National Office, led by Robert Pickus, engaged the National Council of Philanthropy (NCOP) in a series of regional conferences one of them in Chicago. The aim was to increase the Donor Community’s giving to agencies helping prepare America for the impact of globalization here as well as the impact on other countries.

Under the Historian’s project, a regional seminar was held in Chicago to assess the citizen peace effort. A product of that program was the Advices and Cautions statement.

4. Provided an antidote to fragmentation: While welcoming the challenge pacifist and just war witness against war can provide, the Midwest office placed that witness in a typology of organizations capable of having an accumulative impact on the country. The Overview of the Field was expressed in Assembling the Mosaic, a Guide to the World Affairs Field, whose title became a City of Chicago program involving over 1,000 Conference attendees from many countries each of which was given a complimentary copy by Chicago’s Office of Cultural Affairs. Assembling the Mosaic included organizational management standards,

5. **Lead in establishing the U.S. Institute of Peace and the National Endowment for Democracy** and outreach through the World Movement for Democracy: See Peace Academy, Midwest Committee for the U.S. Institute of Peace, and American Initiative Project, Paul Douglas

6. **Reached for a mass audience** through leaders of non-governmental organizations: The peace ballot/peace platform program led by Mary Liebman, engaged over 50000 people in 1976 in recommend specific next steps for the then published platform. Every four years the Midwest Office continued to publish Strategy of Peace statements combining next step foreign policy ideas with goals that constituted the conditions in world politics essential to a world without war.
7. Identified, defended, and encouraged courageous individuals and organizations in totalitarian States to help them, see Raising the Current, SOS (designed to save Saharov, Orlow, and Sharansky), KOR. See also work on religious liberty.

8. **Focused public attention** on specific problems through other organizations such as Americans Talk Peacekeeping, Cambodian Famine Relief, Emergency Task Force for Indochinese Refugees, Voice of Freedom in Vietnam, and others.

9. **Developed of a Democratic Peace Strategy**, see *Democratic Values, American Purpose* (national), and *Extending the Democratic Peace* (2001)

10. **Engaged in Track II** (Government is Track I) Diplomacy: See Project South Africa, Exchange programs with the Soviet Union, Committee to Promote Trust (Soviet Union), KOR, Solidarity, Catholic Church (Poland)

11. **Identifying, developing and advocating nonviolent solutions to regional crisis**: See Poland, Czechoslovakia, South Africa

   Our claim to deserving your attention is just this: in a time of maximum peril, this voice attempted to realistically assess the predicament, and found the possibility of a non-military way out in the societal and leadership capacities of the country in which we were citizens. American leadership needed to receive a constructive response from allies and adversaries if progress toward peace was to be achieved.

**Box 1: B. Lessons Learned & Challenges**

1. Ending war is a morally rooted, necessary and possible task, but not in forty years as we once claimed; war is not in the nature of human beings, States, or world politics; war is not inevitable.


“Heraclitus’s argument for change--eternal motion as the dominant metaphysical reality--usually wins in the short run, for the waters are ever running and, as he put it, you cannot, therefore, step into the same river twice. But any exploration of purported new currents in life drives us back to Parmenides and the unchanging. Much has changed, but people who are engaged in work for peace tend to take the continuities in human experience to lightly. Most leave the endeavor before learning the hard lessons, or, if they do learn them, find them reason enough to abandon a task whose true dimensions are now apparent. It is especially important to keep these hard lessons in mind amid the recent hopeful changes in the Soviet Union and world politics. Seasons of hope and despair regularly attend the tides of human yearning for peace.
We have yet to find a sure road. Can we learn anything from a survey like this of “New Approaches”? ...My short list of lessons to be learned by those attempting to travel new roads to peace follows.

(1) Those who try to go beyond Thucydides, do not. Real progress will come not from any sudden break in human history, but from thoughtful reflection on it. It will come by adding to the realists’ understanding of international politics, not by trying to find some path to peace that avoids traversing the fields of power. Everyone entering into serious work for peace should be required to read, and be examined on, the first chapter of Hans Morgenthau’s Politics Among Nations—whatever later use they may make of these ideas.

(2) Tranquillitas ordinis. One requisite of progress will be a shift of attention from weapons to the political vacuum that makes them necessary. If all the effort and ingenuity that have gone into arms control, or for that matter, deterrence theory, had focused on the problem of the “tranquility of order”—the achievement of rightly ordered political community—we would be further ahead, because that achievement allows law and politics to flourish as alternatives to war.

(3) In defense of apathy? The increasing role of “non-elites” in foreign and security policy drives some policy makers to consider the virtues of apathy. Although the dangers of ever-increasing numbers of ill-prepared people in the policy arena are apparent, that reality in our country cannot be reversed.

(4) Beyond the nation-state. The fact of transnational forces, problems, and organizations, and the extent of their impact on national and individual life, are obvious central new realities. It is worth noting that, setting aside the politicized transnational organizations at work, most groups in the field trace their beginnings to the United States. The most effective and lasting ideas will seek to relate this new transnational reality to the need of tranquillitas ordinis. The sorry record of the UN in the past thirty years has led may people to reject international organizations as a constructive force in world affairs. Why, they say, turn over decision making to such as these? It is a fair question, but a mistaken stance. The world is gathering; the question is in what frameworks, through what processes, and to what ends, not whether there will be world forums or even most important, functional structures that limit national policy.

(5) Within the nation-state. Approaches that combine a commitment to existing political community with a recognition of the need for new and wider forms of community will lay the broadest base for steps to peace and in the case of our own country, do the least harm. As one educator put it when surveying the pre-collegiate scene, “If global education envisions a world in which the only enemies are ethnocentrism, patriotism, and nationalism, then global education is not something the American people much want or will long tolerate.” But he went on to stress that “civics education and global education are not mutually exclusive.”

(6) Freedom. The ease with which the cry for justice has been wed to work for peace has not been matched in many sectors of the peace movement by a recognition of
the relationship of the growth of democracy to progress toward peace. Too often the American peace movement has not only not been a friend of free societies or people reaching for democracy, it has been an enemy. This is as much a consequence of non-ideological sectors of the movement as it is of the frankly ideological. The lesson to be learned is the danger of political innocence in work for peace. Contact across ideological barriers is necessary and important. When work billed as above politics in fact turned to political -- and anti-democratic -- purposes, the results are counterproductive.

(7) *The politics of eternity.* It is significant that Hans Morgenthau, the man who did so much to advance this country’s understanding of the realities that shape the international arena, drew the title of his last book from an old Quaker imperative, “Speak Truth to Power.” There is a politics of time and a politics of eternity. We must attend to both if we want progress toward peace.

(8) *A return to the words of Chief Buthelezi.* We have a plethora of directions. Finding the right ones and advancing along them is the task. If the United States Institute of Peace accepts an overview responsibility, one that earns it sufficient trust as an honest broker, it can help to build common agendas and encourage necessary assessments. It can promote the synthesis of ideas from different places on the political spectrum and in the intellectual and research communities. My own recent experience attests to the difficulty of the task. Nevertheless, the Institute should have these responsibilities high on its agenda.

“My list is a long one. I forgo completing it here in the interest of encouraging readers to begin drawing up their own. We at the World Without War Council have begun our own “Lessons Learned” lists and would be glad to share them. [See, for example, Gene Sharp’s succinct listing in *Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal* (Chicago: World Without War Publications 1980).] The United States Institute of Peace is steadily gathering the people who have demonstrated some capability in this work. It is time for common reflections on lessons learned.

“We live in a country distinguished from many others by its wealth, size, diversity, technological capability, and, most of all, by the ideas that formed it. The idea that the people shall rule because of the innate dignity of every person has been progressively realized in our experience of building and sustaining our political community. Such a political community must address the problem of war. Such a country has a significant, perhaps the key, role to play in progress toward peace.”

2. *Lesson Learned: Expect Surprises, Robert Woito*

Be prepared for surprises: During the period of this organization existence (1961-2006) there were at least these surprises:
A. Despite nuclear testing in the atmosphere, the Berlin Crises, the Cuban Missile Crises, daily runs at the fail safe line, and 200 banded geese that triggered the Ballistic Missile Early Warning Systems (BMEWS),... no nuclear weapon was ever used in this period.

B. Genocidal slaughter (Kosovo, Cambodia, Rwanda, Sudan...) did not mobilize significant world reaction or effective response. Never Again? And Again, And Again...

C. North Vietnam defeated the United States in a war.

D. Democide: Dictatorships killed more people in peace time internal to their countries than died in wars in the 20th Century. Countries with more than 10 million Deaths by Government are China (Mao Tse Tung), Soviet Union (Lenin, Stalin), Nazi Germany (Hitler) and China (Chang Kai Chek). See R.J. Rummel, Deaths by Government (New Brunswick: Transaction Books 1995) See also, Richard Snyder’s, Bloodlands, Europe Between Hitler and Stalin (New York: Basics Books 2010, documenting 14 million deaths by governments between 1933 and 1945 by decree (not in war) in Poland, Belarus, the Balkans and the Ukraine.


F. Dictatorships (theocratic, secular -- Marxist-Leninist, Fascists, Baathists..., military) are not bound by domestic law and are not bound by international treaties when their survival, ideology, or well-being are at stake.

G. There are contending dooms; last seasons was nuclear war; this, environmental catastrophe; next may be anti-matter/matter collision or a virus without an anti-dote.

H. If there was a time in world history when the abolition of war appeared both feasible and necessary it was the period of this organizations existence. Despite 45 years of thoughtfully conceived, intense effort (1961 - 2006), the society capable of offering the needed leadership is not engaged; neither is the pacifist world, nor national nor global civil society. Despite all, we remain hostage to any sect that acquires state power or access to weapons of mass destruction. Robert Pickus ended his career as a pacifist witness to a possible dream as clarified above. And yet, as he said, change is also a reality. But change to what remains the surprise awaiting the next generation.

I. For insisting that work for peace must take account of the United States of America’s legitimate security concerns, propose realistic non-military ways to resolve those crises and issues, and for refusing to demonize Presidential decision-makers including Lyndon Johnson and George Bush, one cheer for the World Without War Council - Midwest. The surprise was that so few people were willing to recognize the existence of deeply rooted conflicts and propose non-military ways to conduct them in a democracy. We were at least in the needed debate.
J. That most self-identified peace groups refuse to offer a strategy of peace in a crisis, or in world politics preferring instead withdrawal from a conflict, surrender to an adversaries will, or even, joining coalitions that wage war against the United States of America.

3. Lessons Learned: There will always be war to deal with threats that cannot be ignored such as 9/11 and to enforce international treaties or world law.

George Weigel, “The Morality of War” (Commentary magazine (July-August 2003 (entire article provided)

“...Even prior to that action [Operation Iraqi Freedom, 2003], advocates of the universal application of soft power were suggesting that the use of armed force at the dawn of the 21st century threatened to vitiate an entire century’s laborious efforts to erect a world order in which law, diplomacy, and politics would become the normal means of resolving conflict. No sooner had this idea been repudiated on the battlefield that it was immediately resurrected in the wake of Iraq’s liberation, when many of those who had been opposed to the war in the first place now argued that only the UN had the moral authority to oversee the reconstruction of Iraq’s political, economic and cultural systems.

“Set aside the curious notion that the self-consciously amoral, realpolitik calculations of France, Russia and China (to name three veto-wielding members of the UN Security Council) constitute a superior moral authority. The fact remains that legal, political, and diplomatic means of resolving conflict, morally and politically desirable as they may be, are not always adaptable to threats that cannot be ignored. German and Japanese ambitions in the 1930’s, genocidal ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, an Iraqi regime bent on developing nuclear weapons. A millennium and a half of Western reflection suggests, furthermore, that armed force can and does contribute to the rule of law in international affairs by demonstrating that lawbreakers will pay for their aggression and will not be permitted to destroy the minimum conditions of order in politics among nations.

“How could it be otherwise? Imagine a world that had “evolved” to the point where there really were effective legal and political institutions and instruments for resolving conflicts among nations. Even in that world, the rule of law would not be self-vindicating. Human nature being what it is, someone would inevitably break the rules, and would do so at times and in ways that could not be handled by diplomacy. Even in such a world, then, the sanction of proportionate and discriminate armed force would have to remain available, precisely so to vindicate the rule of law. “Hard power” and “soft power” are two dimensions of the morally serious exercise of power.

“The war that began on 9/11 is, in many respects, a war against deeply entrenched fantasies. The notion that soft power and hard power are antinomies is one such fantasy, on a par with the claim that the Security Council as presently constituted is an in-
herently superior moral authority. What Americans learned on 9/11 is that the world is too dangerous to allow these fantasies further sway. It is past time for all those who wish to think about world politics in moral categories to learn that same lesson.”

4. Lessons Learned: There are or can be developed nonviolent ways to resolve every conflict.


“Understanding Gandhian satyagraha has helped me understand and embrace Jesus’ call to discipleship...following Jesus in his nonviolent Way of suffering, death, and resurrection. As a result, I understand what it means to be saved in a whole different way. It is to be united with Him in the work of lifting up those whom society has left behind and in carrying on the work of building the kingdom. This understanding has given me a whole new understanding of the Mass. The Mass is not just an act of worship, an expression of a vertical relationship with God, nor is it only a meal that builds our horizontal relationship with our sisters and brothers. Even more important, in my life, the Mass is a summon to action, to live as Jesus did.

“When I hear the words “this do in remembrance of me,” I am riveted. My back stiffed with resolve and my spirit and imagination are stirred. I think of the cloud of witnesses who have followed the nonviolent way, resisting oppression, caring for the poor and the sick, the outcast and the imprisoned, reaching out to “the enemy,” confident in the love that possesses them, I think also of Gandhi’s contention that it really is ahimsa that holds the world together--that violence is the rupture of the normal fabric of life--parents caring selflessly for their children, teachers engaging their students, people helping other people--that the daily round of human caring is real, not the maya of violence. Nonviolent action is the norm, not the exception.

I think also of how badly the world needs this message and this witness--how en-meshed our culture is in the belief in violence, how national security and the “nation” now command our deepest loyalty, how at risk we are because of our false idols.

The “this” in “Do this in memory of me” for me now means: “Do this way of acting that I have shown you. Do this way of resisting evil and returning good for evil that I lived and taught. Do it even if it is hard and stirs up resistance. Do it filled with love, because you know that you are loved.” The Eucharist is now, for me, the call to follow Jesus’ Way, united with him in his sacrifice and supported by a community of believers. It it the bread of life--sustenance for the journey, the Way that leads us outward and forward toward the suffering world.”

5. Lessons Learned: Extending in time the peace between democracies and nurturing transitions to democracy in dictatorships offers a non-violent strategy to achieve a world without war. Democracy is a precondition of a just society (but no guarantee) and a necessary condition of a world without war safe for free societies.
Robert Woito, **Extending the Democratic Peace** (Chicago: World Without War Publications 2001)

The idea that democratic states do not war on each other originates in Immanual Kant’s peace classic *Project for a Perpetual Peace* (1795). Contemporary scholars, Doyle (1983), Russett (1993), Lipson (2003) have accepted the peace among democracies as the closest thing to a law that exists in political science. Lipson maintains the reason democracies do not war on each other is they accept international law and enforce treaties between them. Dictatorships do not abide by domestic law, come to power and hold it through violence, and reject the enforcement of international law when their survival, ideologies, or significant national interests are at stake.

The credibility of a peace among a community of democracies derives from the fact that there is a 1) peace among the expanding members of the European Community for the first time in a millennia. 2) Wars, violent crises in this period were attempted to be resolved through democratic processes (see Vietnam Peace Proposals), Bosnia, Kosovo, the road map to peace in the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Congo, Iraq, and Afghanistan which suggests both the intention and the difficulties of fulfilling it. 3) Democracies in regional conflicts such as Costa Rica have played significant roles in aiding transitions to democracy in El Salvador and Nicaragua. 4) For the first time in history there is a majority (122 out of 192) of democratic states in world politics. But only 35 out of the 122 states are consider consolidated democracies, that is, states in which there is no alternative way to achieve and exercise legitimate political authority. 5) Some thirty of the transitional democracies (a fifty year process) began their transition with nonviolent revolutions against dictatorships as diverse as the Philippines, Poland, South Africa and South Korea. 6) Democracy has provided proof against famine (Amatai Sen), and both mobilized resources and through the involvement of national and international non-governmental organizations, implemented proposed solutions to humanitarian crises that can be rethought if needed. 7) Have lead in creating an International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization that provide complex, agreed to yet changeable procedures for adjusting monetary exchange rates and trade disputes on a routine basis. 8) Between 1948 and 1974 many human rights declarations and treaties were drafted, ratified, and not enforced. Between 1974 and 2006 more than 30 countries made transitions from dictatorships toward democratic governments committed to the enforcement of human rights and held to their commitment by civil society organizations and citizens.

The intellectual challenges to democracy, democratic transitions, and to peace among democracies is the content of the *Journal of Democracy*; the practical application the work of the World Movement for Democracy. The claim is that democracy can become universal when adjusted to the cultural, national, and intellectual traditions in each country as it is among North Atlantic countries and within civilizations. Germany, Great Britain, South Korea, Taiwan and the United States have foundations partially funded by government whose purposes is to promote democracy. The Organization of African States now (2010) claims democracy as the goal of all African States. A World Movement for Democracy seeks to implement strategies for consolidating democracy in
countries in transition, and to defend democrats in peril in dictatorships, for example, Aung San Suu Kui and Morgan Tsvangirai, arguably the elected heads of state in Myanmar (Burma) and Zimbabwe, respectively. The success of Transparency International, a corruption monitoring and reporting institution funded in part by the European Union, is one example of how nongovernmental agencies can improve the work of making governments responsive to their citizens. At the governmental level, a Council of Democracies has been inaugurated to facilitate democratic countries participation in multilateral institutions and can act outside of them if necessary, addressing common problems and seeking to extend the rule of law to dictatorships.

Each of us believed however briefly we were on the right track. Some of us still do. But we point in different directions as illustrated above. Conceptually we leave a rich legacy, but the new age requires reinterpretation. Organizationally we entered most of the arena’s in which a democratic society seeks to apply its moral and ethical values to political decision-making. A few more committed staff, a lot more eloquence, administrative sophistication, utilization of the world wide web...we never reached critical mass...

Challenges


A Challenge:

“All pacifists are critical of the use of violence. Most pacifists reject all violence as morally wrong both in their personal life and in social, national, and international affairs. They affirm the moral principle “thou shalt not kill.” But differences arise in discussion of the expected consequences of their witness for that moral truth. Will the results be harmony among individuals, justice in society, and peace in the world? Or, as critics claim, can the result be the dismemberment of your country as well as murder of innocents, political oppression, social injustice, and appeasement of terrorists? Does the rejection of one side’s violent weapons in a war help the other side’s military and political victory? How can something which first strikes one with great moral force still lend itself to significant, pernicious personal and social results?

Critical pacifists accept the challenge to match their moral commitment with desirable consequences. They join with non-pacifists in finding nonviolent solutions to the problems posed by questions such as these in domestic and world politics.

• **Domestic** (the problems of individual, small group, revolutionary and resistance violence):
A. **Personal**: Are there situations in which my own use of violence is essential to my survival or that of my family members? To my personal integrity?

B. **Police**: Does every political community prescribe rules for and permit the use of violence by police when others threaten or use violence? Should not a police officer be authorized to shoot to kill someone who threatens him or her with a gun? Cannot even a wounded person with a gun kill a police officer?

C. **Political Order**: Will there always be sects or small groups prepared to use violence to threaten different forms of political order essential to family life, education, commerce, and the pursuit of happiness? How can one prevent them from doing so?

D. **Injustice**: Does state-sanctioned injustice (low wages, dramatically unequal distribution of wealth, reinforced by the unequal administration and enforcement of laws) compel perceived victims to symbolically or actually protest with the threat or use of violence?

E. **Right of Revolution**: The Declaration of Independence states succinctly the case for revolution and was intended to legitimize violence against British rule. There are many citizens of oppressive governments suffering similar or much worse “train of abuses.” Various claims to achieve some form of justice inspire Jihadists, Baathists, Bolsheviks, and Fascists to use violence to achieve power and impose their rule. Is the right of revolution an invitation to endless violence?

• **World Politics (the problem of the organized mass violence of war):**

A. **Survival**: What can replace the threat or use of organized mass violence in war which for millennia has been the ultimate arbitrator of international conflict? How else can a political community survive and permit the pattern of life it encourages to continue? Where are the Melians? The Carthaginians? (Killed, down to the last person, by the Athenians and Romans, respectively.)

B. **World Community**: Given the absence of a world political community and the immense difficulty of creating an effective one across cultural, religious, ideological and other lines of division, does the ability to project power depend on hard military power as much as soft diplomatic and other instruments of persuasion?

C. **Terrorism**: Does the potential acquiring and use of weapons of mass destruction (biological, chemical, and nuclear) by terrorists organizations pose a threat to every form of political order that can only be met by a strategy in which violence is one component?

D. **Irreconcilable Conflicts**: Does there exist in domestic and world politics a number of conflicts so basic and fundamental that dialogue concerning their resolution is invariably dishonest? Is violence inherent in different racial, ethnic, national or even gender identities, or in religious prophets and the different cultures that formed to honor their teachings and secular ideologies? Or only in claims to the same land?
E. Justice: Given fundamentally different conceptions of justice, are historical processes and interpretations of experience multiplying definitions of the good, or are they reducing them to one clear concept that is capable of being implemented in this generation without provoking violent resistance?

In sum, stating the questions our successors need to address based on our experience, is the most modest of accomplishments. There are other claims to your attention.

**Warning: Things Could get Worse**

A new age symbolically began 9/11/2001 with new challenges. If the world is gathering as claimed above, it is also falling apart. Historically the Peace of Westphalia (1648) ended the 30 war in which Europe lost half its population. The formula for peace included each State’s suppression of its internal militia and preventing sub-national armies from making common cause across State lines. The 9/11 Commission identified nine remote areas from which future attacks by non-governmental organizations could be launched. Eight civilization on one planet with different religious traditions and economic resources that touch only at the edges had one set of problems; but eight civilization that touch each other at the fundamental level of gender, racial, ethnic, religious...identities and can do so every minute of every day and allow every organized opinion possible access to weapons of mass destruction with equivalent economic resources...that is a challenge of a different magnitude. So also the next generation faces the possibility of climate change, a greying world (increasing life expectancy/decreasing birth rates) and many more. A former U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency head, Fred Ikle’s titles his assessment *Annihilation from Within* (New York: Columbia University Press 2006). Ikle identifies internal terrorists sects, super-brain computerized robots, and undetectable biological weapons as all capable of annihilating us from within. Martin Rees’s *Our Final Hour, A Scientist’s Warning: How terror, error, and environmental disaster threaten humankind’s future in this century* (New York: Basic Books 2003) asks you to choose between annihilators but offers hope in the possibility of life on other planets.

Camus’ pacifist classic, *Neither Victims Nor Executioners* draws a terrible dividing line between those who justify the use of violence and those who refuse to do so. But at the beginning of the twenty-first century those who refuse violence have no agreed to strategy of peace capable, even conceptually, of replacing the legitimate functions war now fulfills. Given weapons of mass destruction possibly in the hands of non-state terrorists, the absence of such a strategy means governmental leaders will prepare for and wage war. Or is there a synthesis, sketched above, which yet offers a possibility?

The question of enforceable agreements between tyrannies and democracies is enlarged when mass violence is initiated by a religious sect with the support of governments. Who among us, did not ask 9/11/2001 -- St. Francis, do you have a non-violent alternative to that? Work toward a world politics where States prevent their territories from being used by non-governmental organizations to attack other States is a founda-
tion of any world order. It is still possible and realistic to work from the base of a world without war among democracies to extend in time that peace, and to extend geographically the number of democracies. The rediscovery of Gandhi’s strategy of nonviolence can help internal to states and a strategy of American peace initiatives acts could produce agreements where they cannot be negotiated between States. Such a world would still need the minimum of coercive international organizations such as the U.N.’s Security Council and the maximum of voluntary, functional ones like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Consultation among the G7, G20, the OCED, the United Nations, the Community of Democracies as well as bi-lateral diplomacy could possibly fulfill war’s legitimate functions while resolving conflicts between national interests.

A Legacy

The work of the World Without War Council - Midwest, a regional office of the World Without War Council, Inc., submits these archives to the Swarthmore Peace Collection in the expectation that they will be available in perpetuity and selectively on-line. Our intention has been to document a sustained effort over more than 40 years whose purpose was to prepare the United States for leadership capable of determining whether a world without war could be achieved in that span of history. Having failed we expect other, abler minds and hands, to take up the task because war both meets legitimate security concerns and threatens our continuation. It is not a necessary evil if there are realistic and credible alternatives.

If there are utopia ideas in the body of thought represented here we hope you will replace them; you will make some people very angry in part, we suspect, because there are utopian element in their own thought that turn them away from what is in the last analysis, the only way out of our predicaments: a realistic, credible and effective strategy of peace. With perhaps more than a touch of arrogance, these achieves are the best place to start to develop a strategy of peace.
Box 2  Chicago Area Turn Toward Peace 1961 -1970

But I have always held that, if he who bases his hope on human nature is a fool, he who gives up in the face of circumstances is a coward. And henceforth, the only honorable course will be to stake everything on a formidable gamble: that words are more powerful than munitions.

Albert Camus, Neither Victims Nor Executioners, 1946

I. Organization

1. Basic Turn Toward Peace brochure from National Office
2. Overview of Turn Toward Peace, National & Short Introduction
4. A Description of the Chicago Area Council of Turn Toward Peace, 1965
5. Secretary of State of Illinois, Certificate of Official Recognition, May 12, 1966 with approved by-laws and IRS 501(c)3 application; By-laws Chicago Area Turn Toward Peace, Inc.
6. Board of Directors, 1966
7. Budget, 1966
8. Budget, 1969
10. Board of Directors, Correspondence and Minutes, 1965
11. Board of Directors, Correspondence and Minutes, 1966 - 1970
12. National Collegium; The Core Group, Memos from Sherry Minert and Anne Stadler, November 1969
13. Don Dewees memo on work to be done February 1970 to June 1970 including work by Jack Bollens and Sherry Minert

II. Perspective

2. Chicago Area Turn Toward Peace, Overview, 1965
3. American Initiatives in a Turn Toward Peace, 1961


5. World Order Models Project, Marver H. Bernstein, 1965

6. “Our Country, Right or Wrong,” A discussion paper by Edward Doty, 1966


III. Strategies of Change

1. Handbook of Community Peace Centers, Turn Toward Peace, 1962

2. A Progress Report on Ten Tasks for Turn Toward Peace, Robert Pickus, September 1962


4. Peace Education and Action Program with the Churches of Metropolitan Chicago, proposal of the Executive Board of Chicago Area Council of Turn Toward Peace, Rev. C. Theodore Roos

5. The War/Peace Field in Education, Robert Freeman, Center for War Peace Studies

6. War, Peace and Local Churches, Some Suggested Activities and Projects, Staff

7. Peace Education and Action with the Churches of Metro Chicago, Don DeWees, Program Chairman & Development Strategy with Jack Bollens & Don DeWees

8. Roads Not Taken

IV. Programs

1. Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War, January 9th and 10th, 1965

2. Pilot Project on War/Peace Issues, St. Paul’s Church, October through November, 1965
3. Morality and Modern War, October 1, 1965


6. Students and a World Without War, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle, April 23, 1966

7. Toward a World Without War, John Kenneth Galbraith, discussion initiator, October 10, 1966

8. Vietnam and the American Religious Community, Metropolitan YMCA, January 16, 1967


10. Women Mourn on Mother’s Day, May 10, 1970

V. Continuing Programs

1. Peace Interne Training Program, Edward Doty’s syllabus is in II. Perspective, item two above.

2. Bibliographical and literature lists

3. Newsletters -- Communique

See also National Program Index in Overview, Box 1

See also Publications listed separately

Lord, Let me be an Instrument of Thy Peace

St. Francis of Assisi

I. Organization

Introductions

1. Brochures: Midwest and National (*If there were...*)

2. Presentation Booklet Introduction, designed by Byron Miller

Lowell Livezey Reorganized Midwest Office

3. Lowell Livezey offered Executive Director’s position, beginning September 1, 1970, $10,000 salary (to be raised); Midwest Relationship to National, Midwest Board Memo., June 17, 1970


5. Lowell Livezey memo to all Council people: Projected Midwest Program, October 1, 1970

6. Getting Reorganized: 1971 -- Executive Committee Memo., Indochina, Education, & Mass Media program development, minutes


8. Lowell Livezey/Board of Directors, Agenda, Minutes, Memo’s, 1973

9. National Staff (Collegium) meeting, 1971 & Council Leadership, 1972, 108 people listed -- all offices and various roles


National/Midwest Office Program Planning
12. Program Funding, Organizational Development and Budget, Lowell Livezey, February 2, 1971

12. An Intensified National Thrust, Robert Pickus, 1/23/73

13. Post-Vietnam Peace Program, Northern Illinois Conference, United Methodist Church, 1974 - 75

14. Lowell Livezey’s Director Report 1974: Overview of Council Programs, 8 pages (A redefinition of American support for a new international system, the Council’s role in “institutionalizing the citizen peace effort” in educational, religious and other voluntary organizations and the strategy for doing so).

**Staff/Funding/Engaged Organizations**


16. Program & Funding Relationship with the Northern Illinois Conference of the United Methodist Church. 1971 - 1977

17. Program & Funding Relationship with the Peace and International Relations Committee of the United Church of Christ, 1971 - 1977

18. Individual Fund Raising, National Advice; Letters of Support

**Board Minutes & Finances**

19. Board Agenda’s, Minutes, Memo’s, 1975

20. Board Agenda’s, Minutes, Memo’s, 1976/1977

21. Roads Not Taken

22. Dunn vs. World Without War

23. Budgets & Finances, Foundation Requests 1975

24. Budgets & Finances, 1976

**Lowell becomes Executive Vice President of a National Office in New York**

25. Lowell’s Move to New York, Robert Pickus, November 18, 1976 & Lowell’s farewell address to the Midwest Council, June 1977
II. Perspective

1. Distinctive Elements in the Council’s Approach, Robert Pickus


11. Shalom Education, Cathy Good


15. Holt Ruffin, “Don’t Neutralize America,” The Princetonian, October 26, 1974

16. Tim Zimmer, “That Person should be the Next President who...,” Worldview, September 1976
III. Strategy of Change

(the defining documents for this period are “Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War”, Box 2, IV.1 above and Lowell Livezey’s Executive Director’s Report, Box 3, 1.4 above)

1. The Professions: A Brief Annotated Reading List (understand, then engage them)

2. Guidelines for Peace Ministry, Rev. C. Theodore Roos, Peace and International Relations Committee, Chicago Metropolitan Association, United Church of Christ, 1971 & Selected Church related resources.


4. Televised Images of War and Peace, James Capo, Council Staff and National television program proposed by Barry Head


7. Signing-On, the Engagement of the Diocese of California (Episcopalian)—involved Diocese wide discussion Guidelines successful in the National Office (See Guidelines, Publications Box 14)


10. “War, Peace and your Church: Where do you Stand?: An Assessment Tool” by World Without War Council staff

12. Guidelines for a Commission on Peace Ministry, Northfield Community Church 1971

13. The Conscientious Objector and Our Church School, Betty Pigel, Director of Religious Education, First Unitarian Society of Denver -- first through 9th grade suggestions.


15. Work on Specific Issues:

   A. Goals and Next Steps Project: Lowell Livezey, 1971 & Letters to Candidates


   C. *Next Steps toward World Peace*: An Agenda for a Department of Peace, 1972 by Tim Zimmer and George Washington Peace Academy proposal, Mary Liebman, 1975

   D. World Without War Issues Center statements (see publications)

   E. *The War in Indo-China*, Tom Ireland

   F. *The Amnesty Issues*, James Finn, and Amnesty Kit, World Without War Issues Center, Berkeley

   G. *Disarmament Dilemma: Is General and Complete Disarmament Dead?* & Plan for Promoting Issues Center Statement on Disarmament

   H. *Development*: Life On $100 a year

   I. *Draft Repeal*, Lowell Livezey

   J. *Crisis in Pakistan*, Issues Kit, Timothy Zimmer

19. The Religion and Peace Resource Center
20. Where Do You Stand?. Conscience and War and the Church, A Self-Survey
22. Five Year Plan, Center for Adult Learning, Archdiocese of Chicago, 1972
23. The Bishops’ [Methodists] Call and Our Response, Tim Zimmer
25. The Problem of Peacekeeping, Robert Woito

IV. Programs

1. Overview of Fourteen Programs, Lowell Livezey & Staff, February 2, 1971 and six session series Christian Perspectives on War and Peace, Northfield Community Church, starting January 1971 with Brief and National Newsletters
2. Getting Started, The War/Peace Discussion Group, Wilmette Congregational Church, February 6, 1971
3. An International Consultation on the Middle East, Tim Zimmer, June 28, 1971
4. Peace and the Elections, 1972 - continuing program
5. North Suburban Project, First Congregational Church, June 4, 1972 and follow-up meeting August 10, 1972
6. Mikva-Young Debate, Unitarian Church, Evanston, September 24, 1972
7. A World Without War?, week-end retreat, Glenview Community Church, Christine Mitchell and Chris Wagner, October 20, 1972
9. Rockford District Social Concerns Committee, United Methodist Church, Cathy Good, December 10, 1972

10. Americans Talk Peacekeeping, Lincoln Bloomfield, January 1, 1973

11. Shalom Is..., New Forms, Rev. Eleanor Allen, Cathy Good with others, 1973-74

12. The Cross and the Sword, Christian Attitudes toward War and Peace, January 7 through February 18, 1973, Glenview Community Church

13. Teaching about War and War Prevention, Glenbrook South High School, March 24, 1973

14. The Churches and World Community, April 28 - 29, 1972

15. Community Organizations and a World Without War, Glenview Public Library, April 14, 1972

16. Decision-Makers Simulation Game, First Congregational Church, June 24, 1973

17. Glenbrook Community Conference on a World Without War, First Congregational Church, March - April series, 1973


19. Ministries for Peace, Theological, Political and Practical Dimensions, Loyola University, July 8 - 13, 1973

20. The Bishops’ Call for Peace, Central United Methodist Church, Skokie, September 16, 1973

21. The Bishops’ Call for Peace and the Self-Development of Peoples, Evangelical Theological Seminary, Naperville, November 3, 1973


23. A Positive Approach to Peace and Justice, First Congregational Church, Elmhurst, September 27, 1974

24. Creating a Human Future Conference, April 3, 1976 on world problems of food, population, ecology, and war

25. U.N. Peacekeeping Forces, Indar Jit Rikhye, Pleasant Ridge School, October 18, 1974
26. Creative Conflict, First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Council staff -- Cathy Good Abbott, Roger Hansen, Rebecca Kutz, and Lowell Livezey, March 8, 1974

27. Shalom, To Heal a Nation, First Congregational Church, Des Plaines, IL, March 17, 1974

28. Peace and the Ministries of the Church, Christian Life Center, LaGrange, February 16 - 18, 1975

V. National Programs Organized in the Midwest

1. Peace and the Elections, 1972


VI. Correspondence

1. 1975

2. 1976

3. 1977

See also Publications and national World Without War Council Overview

I. Organization

1. Basic Brochure
2. Staff
4. Fund Appeal Letters and Results
5. Illinois Humanities Council grants
7. Program Description, 1980 and 1981
8. Chicago Metropolitan Association, United Church of Christ, continuing program, Bruce Peterson and Misty Gerner Adams, Internes
9. National Programs with Midwest Components
11. Management by Objectives Programs, 1980
13. Mission Statement
14. Board of Directors materials
15. Lowell Livezey memo on archives with Swarthmore Peace Collection on “what to keep”, 1981

II. Perspectives

4. A Personal Note on the Council and Disarmament, Robert Pickus, March 14, 1978, see also U.S. Response to the Arms Race and Robert Pickus’ speech to the International Non-governmental Organization gathering at the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament (reprinted from Freedom at Issue, September-October 1978)
6. 101 Ways you Can Help End the Famine in Cambodia, Robert Woito (see publications)

III. Strategy of Change [programs in this period focused on the world affairs field as a whole, on improving American competence in world affairs and dialogue with gov-
ernment officials while developing a body of thought considered adequate to the problem of war]

1. Typology of Voluntary Organizations
2. Organizational Map Project to increase awareness of the mosaic of organizations and to promote dialogue across lines of division
4. International Conflict and American Organizations (ICAO)
5. U.S. Foreign Policy: At Issues in Illinois, A Series of four public forums mapping out the argument about law, disarmament, community, and development

IV. Programs

2. U.S. Response to the Arms Race: Choice Points
3. U.S. Foreign Policy: An Overview, Department of State publication with Council developed self-survey
5. Labor and World Affairs: Bennett Caplan engaged as a labor interne: Can regional offices of labor unions be engaged in world affairs?
7. International Conflict and America Organizations (ICAO) programs were held Fall, 1978, Karen Minnice and Doug Bond staffed them.
8. U.S. and World Community Interne program, sponsored by twenty-five leaders of world affairs organizations built around a Council developed syllabus, meeting weekly.
9. American Initiatives Project: Are there unilateral initiative acts which would clarify by acts U.S. intention yet produce reciprocation from an adversary such as the Soviet Union? Jack Bollens, then George Weigel and Robert Pickus, with Midwest component, 1979 - 1985.
10. Middle East Dialogue between American Jews and Americans of Palestinian ancestry on the goals essential to a stable peace in the Middle East, monthly meetings, 1977
13. The Helsinki Accords: A Key to Ending the Cold War?, December 10, 1979; a conference with Andrew Young, former Ambassador to the U.N. and Dante Fascell, Vice Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, speakers.
12. Cambodian Famine: 101 Ways to Help, with the stated recognition that sending aid to a dictatorship usually means that at least 80% of the aid goes to the Army.
13. The Public Effort for Peace in America, an assessment by Historian’s which became the basis for the Advices and Cautions Statement by the Council’s national leaders, Robert Pickus and George Weigel: What kind of citizen peace effort is needed?
17. Middle East Dialogue, Jahlil Jahshan, University of Chicago, David Shaham, New Outlook, Tel Aviv, May 29, 1978
18. “Prospects for Peace in the Middle East Negotiations,” University Club, Alfred I. Atherton, November 9, 1977

See also Publications, annual calendars, and the Midwest Office occasional newsletter
Box 6 & 7: July 1981 through December 1995, Robert Woito


I. Organization

1. Brochure
2. Mission Statement
3. Board of Directors & Board Responsibilities
4. Board Meetings and Minutes
6. Income and Expenses
7. Foundation Requests
8. Annual Fund Appeals
10. Summary Program Description, 1992
12. Project Democracy Foundation Fund Raising
13. Robert Pickus, Templeton Award Nominee
14. Audited Financial Statements
15. Income Summary 1986 - 87
17. Expense detail, 1988 - 1989
18. Bradley Foundation, 1992
20. National/Regional Tension

II. Perspective

1. American Purpose, Our Purpose, Vol. 1, Number 1, George Weigel, January 1987 (see separate listing of all issues through Spring 1996, Volume 10, Number 1)
2. To End War, An Introduction to the Ideas, Contexts, and Work that can help, Robert Woito (New York: Pilgrim Press 1982) [See Publications Box]
3. Seven Roads to a World Without War, revised by Robert Pickus, 1992
4. Michael Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs,” Parts 1 & 2, Philosophy and Public Affairs, 1983. See also Bruce Russett, Gasping the Democratic Peace and Charles Lipson, Reliable Partners and an anthology from MIT Press Democratic Peace reviving the idea that democracies do not war on each other because they abide by treaties between them among other reasons: Michael Doyle’s essay is reprinted in Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism (New York: Norton 1997 [books not provided]
6. Robert Pickus and Allan Blackman, Conscience and War Kit, revised 1991
7. Carl Gershman, *Universal Democratic Values*
19. The Oslo Accords between Israel and a team representing the Palestinian People, 1991
27. United Nations Charter
30. Environmentalism, two critics--Gregg Easterbrook and Bjorn Lomborg

### III. Strategy of Change

1. Project South Africa, brochure (see Box 12 for Project South Africa detail)
3. New Strategy of Change Statement, Robert Pickus, Norman Foundation Grant Request, Skaggs Foundation request provides overview
6. American Initiatives Project, One Page, Midwest seminar on Nuclear Non-Proliferation, lists of Initiatives and Midwest developed *Uniform Reporting of Military Expenditures*

7. Project Democracy, Executive Summary, program description, weekly report, newsletter, collegial organizations

8. Crisis: Bosnia 1994

9. Project Democracy: China University in Hong Kong

10. Project Democracy: Mexico

11. Project Democracy: Poland (Civil Society in Transition)

12. Project Democracy: Romania (Romania Freedom Forum)

13. Project Democracy: Russia (Trust Group, SOS (Sakharov, Orlov, & Sharansky))


15. Pluralism vs. Multiculturalism and the Common Good

16. Crisis: Illinois Committee to Save Bosnia

17. Northern California Consultative Group: Regional Model for Inter-Organization Cooperation

18. Roosevelt University, Scholars for Democracy, Central European Students training to aid transitions to democracy in their homeland

19. Emergency Task force for Indochinese Refugees, Claude Waker, Ngoan Le

20. Democracy in India, S.R. Hiramath and Anand Kumar (booklet out of print)

21. Historians’ Project (National Origination, Chicago component below)

22. State Dept./Independent Sector Project (National origination, Chicago component below)

23. Organizational Map Project (National Origination, Chicago component)


25. 1995 Project

**IV. Programs**


5. Seminars for Scholar, Niles West High School, David Sadoff speaking on nuclear arms issues, May 2, 1984; Gautam Gosh, William Jacobus and Robert Woito had speaking engagements at Evanston Township High School, Sunshine High School, Saint Gregory’s High School, Ancona School and Grace United Methodist Church in Lake Bluff.


8. Department of State, October 10, 1985 -- State Department, Independent Sector (see Research below for nine actionable proposals)
9. Grinnell College, Robert Pickus and panel, America’s Response to the Arms Race, an attempt to engage the college community with George Drake, College President, 1985
10. In 1986 the Council’s Midwest Director, Robert Woito, spoke at the second annual U.S. Institute of Peace Conference, Iowa City, at the DeVry Institute, Chicago, Fourth Presbyterian Church, Winnetka Congregational Church, Crystal Lake and at a League of Women Voters meeting in Rockford.
12. Bayard Rustin’s 75th Birthday Party, May 6, 1987, a fundraiser for the A. Philip Randolph Institute and Project South Africa and a celebration of Bayard Rustin’s lifelong commitment to nonviolence and to representative democracy.
15. Leonard Mosala and Raymound Louw, series of speaking engagements in Chicago including the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, Project South Africa, December 14, 1989

V. Research

1. Definition of the Field
2. Peace Research Achievements
3. War as an Institutions: Asoka Day
4. Reading Person’s Filter, 1987
5. Research Program
6. Democracy and Peace
7. Transitions to Democracy
8. Democracy and Liberty: An Annotated Bibliography by Kurt Taylor Gaubatz
9. Organization Profiles from various directories (see Organizational Map Project)
10. Country Profile from Europa Yearbook
11. What Direction for American Foreign Policy, 1992
12. Genocide Detection, Jeffrey Heller
13. The Department of State and its Relations with Non-Governmental Organizations and Comment on the Nine Actionable Proposals (see IV 8 above) by P. Wesley Kriebel

I. Organization

1. Basic Brochure
2. Midwest Office brochure
3. Midwest, Board of Directors
4. Board Meetings and Minutes
5. Board Strategic Plan, August 22, 1995
6. Income and Expenditures, various years
7. Audits
8. National Board Meetings and National Program Descriptions
9. Accumulated Loans & Lifetime Achievement Award, Robert Woito, 1995
10. Fund Appeals
11. Program Overview
12. Grant Request, United States Institute of Peace, denied
13. Dissolution
14. Successor Organization?

II. Perspective

2. The Council’s Core Beliefs, Robert Pickus, post 9/11/2001
4. Internal War, Robert Woito
5. Ten Balances for Weighing U.N. Reform Proposals, Bruce Russett
7. Those 9-1-1 Calls, Free Advice for a New President, Robert Woito, March 2001
11. R.J. Rummel, Eliminating Democide and War through An Alliance of Democracies
13. FCNL, “Developing an Alternative to War,” “Disarmament or Re-Nuclearization” and “Reflections on 9/11”.
14. Suggested Reading for the Foreign Service Written Examination, U.S. Department of State
17. Douglas Brinkley, Democratic Enlargement: The Clinton Doctrine
18. Can the United Nations Keep the Peace?
   Ethics and Public Policy Center, “Islam and the Prospects for Democracy,” Khale Abou
   El Fadl, Sohail Ashmi, Amar-ul Huda, and Zainab Al-Suwaij
21. Joanna Regulaka, Project Director, Local Democracy in Poland
   Court,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1998
24. Joshua Muravchik, “What Use is the UN?,” April 1996
   and Good Global Governance essay
27. Lincoln Bloomfield, “Rethinking International Governance”
   g to their Achievements in Child Health, Nutrition, Education, Family Plan-
   ing, and Progress for Women*, 1996

III. Strategy of Change

1. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, September 2002,
   President George Bush with A Response Kit including “Out of the War on Terror: A
   Democratic Peace Strategy”, by Robert Woito
2. World Movement for Democracy with bi-annual meeting outline, Durban, South Af-
   rica, 2004
3. American Foreign Policy the Needed Debate, June 1996 with Foreign Policy Per-
   specitives, 1996: Perspectives, Obstacles, Overcoming the Obstacles, Choices
4. Foreign Policy Questions 1998
5. Internal War, 1995
7. Immigrants and Citizenship; Choices for America, with Proposals for an INS Bay
   (San Francisco) Area NGO Citizen Initiative, 1995-2005, A National Program with
   Midwest Participation
8. Extending the Democratic Peace, mailing to Peace & Conflict Resolution profes-
   sionals
9. *The International Immigrant*, with distribution list to over 250 outlets
12. Democratic Values, Statement of Purpose
15. Elections 2004
16. Fellows Program, Syllabus 2003
17. Organizational Map Project, March 10, 1997
IV. Programs

1. Perspective?
2. Extending the Democratic Peace, 2001, with Organizations Aiding Transitions to Democracy and Specific Tasks in Aiding Transitions to Democracy
4. Immigrant & Citizenship: Choices for America
7. Iowa Peace Institute, January 1996, Programs
10. National Association of Evangelicals, Revised Guidelines
11. Democratic Values, Newsletter March 1996 - 2004
12. Governance in World Politics, June 28, 1997
14. Conscience and War: Nine Programs for the 1990’s
15. Interne/Fellows Meetings, April 12, 2003 through May 22, 2003, Chicago; Americans & World Affairs Fellows: A San Francisco Bay Area Training Program, March 31, 1998 which divides political cadres by the Old Left, the New Left, Neo-Liberal, Neo-Conservative, New Right, Old Right, and Libertarian
17. E Pluribus Unum, Immigrants and American Unity, 1997
Box 10: Interne/Fellows Programs, distinguished fellows, awards

I. Overview
   1. Sources of Interne/Fellows
      A. Liberal Arts Colleges
      B. Seminaries
      C. Northwestern & University of Chicago
   2. Inter-Organizational Interne Program, 1978 - 1985
   3. MacArthur Foundation Request for Interne Program, denied

II. Interne/Fellows Syllabus Development
   1. Turn Toward Peace, New York, Ted Olsen
   2. Turn Toward Peace, Chicago, Ed Doty
   4. World Without War Council - Midwest, Robert Woito,


IV. Distinshed Graduates whose Achievements are Known

V. Outstanding Interne/Fellow: Axel Kolb

VI. Bibliographical Resources
   1. To End War, 1982, 18 subjects, 2,400 item annotated bibliography
   2. Department of State, Recommended Readings to Pass the Qualifying Test

VII. Ideas that did not become Continuing Programs
   1. Engagement of Religious Institutions through Guidelines
   2. Annual NGO Peace Prize to compete or supplement the Nobel Peace Prize

VIII. Ideas that did become Continuing Programs
   1. Annual Human Right Day Program, December 10
   2. Department of Peace, became the United States Institute of Peace
   3. Democracy defended & extended became the National Endowment for Democracy

1. Organization
   A. Program Description
   B. Project Democracy Planning
   C. Working Committees: Mexico, Poland, Romania, South Africa, Vietnam
   D. Global Chicago
   E. National Endowment for Democracy
   F. World Movement for Democracy

2. Perspective
   A. Perspective on the Connection between Peace and Democracy
   B. The Global Spread of Active Nonviolence
   C. Why Democracy Helps Development

3. Strategy of Change
   A. Democrats in Peril
   B. Democratic Courage Awards
   C. Country Focuses:
      a. China:
      b. Mexico
      c. Poland: Poland In Transition
      d. Romania: Romanian Freedom Forum
      e. South Africa (See Box 12 Project South Africa)
      f. Vietnam: Democracy in Vietnam?

4. Twenty Successful Transitions from Dictatorships toward Democracy with nonviolent means, 1974 - 2001
   a. Portugal, 1974
   b. Spain, 1975
   c. India, 1977
   d. Philippines, 1986
   e. South Korea, 1987
   f. Hungary, 1988
   g. Chile, 1988
   h. Poland, 1989
   i. Czechoslovakia, 1989
   j. East Germany, 1989
   k. Bulgaria, 1989
   l. Romania, 1989
   m. Russia, 1991
   n. Mongolia, 1991
   o. El Salvador, 1992
4. Special Challenges
A. Internal War: A Citizen’s Primer
B. Genocide
C. Global Civil Society
D. Transitions to Democracy
E. Independent Judiciary
F. Independent Journalism
G. Corruption: Transparency International
H. Intervention: With what means?
I. Right to Emigrate
J. Dictatorships: Military, Theocratic, Sects (Bolshevik, Fascist, Maoist, Baathist, Al Qaeda, Taliban....)

5. Programs (see program sections, Chronological Boxes)

6. Bibliography


Acton, Lord, “The History of Liberty in Antiquity” and “The History of Liberty under Christianity”


Doyle, Michael, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs," Philosophy and Public Affairs, l1, nos. 3 - 4 (summer and fall 1983)


Lipson, Charles, *Reliable Partners, How Democracies have made a Separate Peace* Princeton University Press 2003

Muravchik, Joshua, *The Next Founders, Voices of Democracy in the Middle East*, Encounter, 2009

National Endowment for Democracy: http://www.ned.org


Russett, Bruce, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, 1993


United States Institute of Peace: http://www.usip.org


I. Organization

1. Basic Brochure, 1984
3. Correspondence:
   A. Raymound Louw, Member of the Management Committee, Project South Africa to Nancy Starr, Chairwoman, U.S.A. Executive Committee, September 9, 1988. The U.S. links [have} never been better demonstrated that during the recent, and now on-going, campaign by the embattled freelance and other journalists against a gov-ernment attempt to stifle them with severe restrictions.”
   B. Nancy Starr, The New Executive Director will have an extra-ordinary opportunity to...Letter of February 17, 1989
4. Midwest Working Committee for Project South Africa, 1989
5. Grant Request to Grinnell College, Alumni Service Program: To create ten working committees to establish similar programs in ten other African countries to aid transi-tions to democracy. (rejected)

II. Perspective

2. Rustin, Bayard, The Collected Writings of Bayard Rustin, Devon Carbado and Donald Weise (eds.)(San Francisco: Cleis 2003)
4. Rustin, Bayard, “Our Next Step in South Africa: without democratic structure, the eradication of apartheid might lead to a system equally abhorrent,” Newsweek, Oc-tober 20, 1986
5. Rustin, Bayard, Down the Line
democracy-building groups (and their private supports here[in the U.S.]) can ensure,Philanthropy, July- August 1988

III. Strategy of Change (descriptions of organizations in South Africa seeking linkages
with counter-part organizations in the United States, Sullivan principles applied to
business linkages)

1. “But how do we link?”, Walter Naegle, Executive Director, Describes four different
kinds of linkages: 1) Contact and Support; 2) Informational; 3) Technical; and 4) Fi-
nancial and Material with tasks involved in each, 1986
2. Nancy Starr, “an invitation...to support those courageous South Africans working
nonviolently for democratic change by linking them with American groups capable of
providing material, technical, and moral assistance?” 1988
3. Project South Africa, Overview of thirty-three, March 1, 1988 by David Peterson
4. Detailed Descriptions of South African Organizations involved in Project South Africa:

A. Walner Township Development Project
B. Women’s Informal Training Institute
C. Zimeleni Furniture and Upholstery Co-Operative
D. Foundation for Entrepreneurship Development
E. Gadpalelwe Pre-School
F. Alexandre Art Centre
G. Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre
H. Pietermartizburg Agency for Christian Social Awarenes
I. Interchurch Media Programme
J. Programme for Technological Careers (Protec)
K. Kruersdorp Advice and Self-Help Centre
L. Hireleng-Secuaba Community Programme
M. Avril Elizabeth Home for the Mentally Handicapped
N. Umptapo Center
O. Johannesburg Central Advice Office
P. GADRA - Grahamstown Area Disaster Relief Agency
Q. Institute of Race Relations -- Human Awareness Program
R. Union of Jewish Women
S. The Valley Trust
T. Wesley Centre of Concern
U. Association of Law Society

5. World Without War Council - Midwest Office involvement in Project South Africa, Alex
Kolb, Citizen of Germany staff

A. Midwest Linkage Facilitators (fifty - nine)
B. Links in Progress
IV. Programs (find dates...)

1. Noah Pickus, Chicago, American Jewish Committee host, 1987
2. Bayard Rustin, Center for Group Identity and Pluralism, May 1987
4. Leonard Mosla, Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, Kale Williams, host, 1987
5. Raymond Louw, editor Rand Daily Mail, Chicago, 1987
6. Axell Kolb, Program Report

V. Application

A. see Freedom House’s Annual Survey of Freedom, developed by Raymond Gastil in consultation with World Without War Council staff and many others.
B. Journal of Democracy, published by the National Endowment for Democracy
C. World Movement for Democracy, bi-annual world conferences focused on the democratic agenda, Global Civil Society
D. World Community of Democracies, 10th Annual Conference of governments, 2010
E. Consolidated, Transitional, & Thwarted Democracies, Dictatorships, 2002
F. China, Mexico, Poland, Romania, South Vietnam (see above)
Box 13: Strategies of Change (see chronological boxes 2 - 9)

A. **Voices in the Wilderness**: Demonstrations, Civil Disobedience, Protest
   (See Acts for Peace. 1958 - 1961 archives at the Hoover Institute)
   b. Everyman Voyages, 1959
   c. Munitions Factory, Maryland, Vigil and Protest, 1960
   d. From San Francisco to Moscow Walk for Peace, 1960, Brad Lyttle, see *You Come With Naked Hands*

B. Crisis Response, Conscience and War, Coalitions of the Committed, Community Peace Centers
   1. **Handbook for Community Peace Centers Working in Cooperation with Turn Toward Peace**, Joyce Mertz, Editor, Robert Gilmore and Robert Pickus, Contributing Editors, Alfred Hassler and Homer Jack, Advisory Committee
   2. Program Areas (detailed in the handbook above):
      A. National Roster Program
      B. Opinion Leaders
      C. Voluntary Organizations
      D. Speakers and Discussion
      E. Film and Tape
      F. Art and Display
      G. Focus on National Decision Makers
      H. Public Demonstration and Symbolic Acts
      I. Conscientious Objection
      J. Children’s Peace Education
      K. Public Meetings and Events
      L. Policy Proposal Panel
      M. Literature
   3. Turn Toward Peace Policy Framework
   4. American Initiatives in a Turn Toward Peace

C. **Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War, 1971 - 1981**
   1. Voluntary Organizations and A World Without War, Conference, 1965
   2. Lowell Livezey, Voluntary Organizations
   3. Chicago Metropolitan Association of the United Church of Christ
   4. Northern Illinois Conference of the United Methodist Church
   3. North-suburban Project, Timothy Zimmer
   4. Peace and the Elections, 1972
   5. Peace Ballot/Peace Platform 1976
   6. Peace Education In Schools: Global Education
7. Midwest Conference for the United States Institute of Peace, 1985
8. Is there a Way Out Conference, Northwestern University, 1982


1. National Council on Philanthropy, Chicago Meeting
4. Engaging New Constituency and Deepening the Engagement of Others:
   A. National Association of Evangelicals
   B. Episcopal Diocese of Northern California
   C. Northern Illinois Conference, United Church of Christ
   D. Chicago Metropolitan Association of the United Church of Christ
5. Typology of Field: Engagement by Sector, for example, Business
4. Historians’ Project, Chicago Component
5. The State Department, Independent Sector Project
6. International Conflict and American Organizations (ICAO)
7. The State of the Citizen Peace Effort
8. Aegis (American Educators in Global and International Studies?)
8. American Peace Initiatives Project
9. Good Global Governance
10. The All of It.
Box 14: Strategies of Peace: Individual, Societal, Governmental

Even those who see the threat and use of military power as the essential requisite for security or freedom in today’s world should recognize the utopian elements in their position and reserve at least a part of their energies for the work Camus asks us to undertake.

Robert Pickus, Camus Preface

I. The Individual: Conscience and War -- Civilian Based Defense & Gandhian Satyagraha

1. Concept: The commandment thou shalt not kill is the bases of moral commitments in every religion. The primacy of conscience to clarify and apply that commandment sustains that commitment. An individual acting on his or her conscience, can refuse to participate in the organized mass violence of war, can refuse to kill.

In the United States, the primacy of conscience is recognized and expressed in the opportunity to become a Conscientious Objectors to war. Some conscientious objectors to war, however, recognize that their refusal to use or authorize the use of the instruments of war, is just theirs. When their own and other political communities resort to war, these conscientious objectors have developed nonviolent means of resistance expressed in Gene Sharp’s words with Civilian Defense and in Mahatma Gandhi’s with Satyagraha. In short, when skilled diplomats avoid the evil decree of war, when legitimate security concerns are manifest at Pearl Harbor or on 9/11 or in less dramatic ways, the peacemaker will need to answer this question: Do you have a credible and realistic non-military means to meet your countries (and others) legitimate security concerns? If not, you should ask yourself, because others will, which side are you on? Or how will you clarify that you are witnessing for an impossible ideal expressed

2. Programs: Peace Education in Churches, see esp. boxes 2, 3 & 4 and also the Peace/Interne Program, and continuing Conscience and War programs throughout the Council’s history.

see especially: Conscience and War Kit, Robert Pickus (editor) and East Bay Draft Information and Counseling Service, Berkeley office.

3. Publications

The Abolition of War, Gene Sharp (Chicago: World Without War Publications 1979)

Conscience and War Kit, Robert Pickus editor, 1961 - (up-dated continuously)

Civil Disobedience but not Insurrectionary Violence, Robert Pickus, essay, 1971

Face to Face with your Draft Board, A Guide to Personal Appearances (Berkeley: World Without War Publications 1969 - 1972), 63,000 copies sold


Gandhi and Jesus, The Saving Power of Nonviolence, Terrence Rynne (Maryknoll: Orbis Books 2008)

Albert Camus, Neither Victims Nor Executioners (Berkeley: World Without War Publications 1967) with a Preface by Robert Pickus applying Camus’ themes to the peace movement of the 1960’s.

II. Society: Extend the Democratic Peace strategy

1. Concept

Democratic Peace theory maintains that [consolidated] democracies rarely threaten war or war on each other. The claim is that their procedures and institutions daily conduct and nonviolently resolve conflicts. Charles Lipson, Reliable Partners suggests that this is because they enforce international treaties between them.

Would a world of nearly all democratic states be a world without war? Would a world composed of free societies also be a disarmed world because each State in each culture will have developed their own internal conflict resolutions institutions and law is enforceable between democratic States? Or will sects (Bolsheviks, Fascists, Baathists, Jihadists, Imperialists…) always organize and seek to gain control of States and when successful, impose their will on whom they can through violence?

A democratic peace strategy seeks to extend in time the peace among democratic states and to extend geographically the number of states that are in transition to becoming consolidated democracies. Consolidated democracies are those States in which their is no alternative means of gaining governmental legitimacy. Extending the Democratic Peace (page 84) identified in 2002 35 consolidated democracies, 91 countries in transition to democracy, four thwarted democratic transitions (Algeria, Burma, China, and Columbia), and sixty-seven dictatorships.
2. Programs (many done under the leadership of or in cooperation with other organizations)

A. Dominican Republic, election observers, 1966, Committee for Free Elections
B. Vietnam Peace Proposals, Robert Woito (editor) includes proposals for free elections in South Vietnam to enable the people of South Vietnam to determine their political future and United States initiatives proposed by Robert Pickus to clarify the United States’ commitment to a non-military solution and to maximize the chances of North Vietnam’s reciprocation.
C. Convention Peace Corps, 1968 Democratic Convention, Negotiations Now, United Automobile Workers, contacting delegates on behalf of a peace platform that included a unilaterally initiative (in place) a cease fire a political process to decide the political future of South Vietnam, and international mediation extending through a second election to assure that the victors in the first election do not murder their opposition.
E. Annual Human Rights day programs focused on civil and political rights, originating in Chicago 1971 and conducted annual into the 1990’s
F. Emergency Task Force for Indochinese Refugees, Chicago; sought in the aftermath of American defeat in Indochina, to rescue, resettle and aid the adjustment of Indochinese refugees expressing the right to emigrate often in small boats on the South China Seas,
G. SOS (Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Orlov, and Nathan Shransky) through the Center for Democracy in the USSR, New York; Should scientific exchanges be suspended until the rights of these three are respected?
I. National Endowment for Democracy, 1983 - The endowment was established from many currents of thought and organizational support, most significantly President Ronald Reagan (see Westminster Address). One of those currents of thought was a paper given at a Council & JMF sponsored event by Charles Frankel entitled Democracy Abroad.
   The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) was established in 1983 with Carl Gershman, its President. The endowment is a Quasi-Autonomous, Non-Governmental Organization which receives an annual appropriation from Congress. The endowment is based on the democratic tradition, considers democracy a non-violent form of conflict resolution, and, when adopted to national, cultural, and religious experience and belief, capable of becoming universal. Robert Pickus, George Weigel, and Holt Ruffin, Council national Staff, played significant roles in establishing NED; each are important colleagues of Carl Gershman.
J. United States Institute of Peace, 1985 - The Midwest Council had for fifteen years developed and worked with advocates of the George Washington Peace Academy. The Council co-sponsored with 50 other organization a Midwest Conference for the International Peace Academy at which Robert Pickus and Senator Paul Simon gave major speeches. The resulting institute reflects many voices; its programs give public
visibility for ideas concerning preventative diplomacy, non-violent conflict resolution, international and national mediation of conflicts and post-conflict nation building.

K. **Foreign Students**: Conferences where held between 1980 and 1995 that sought to clarify foreign students potential contribution to democratic transitions in their homelands. See Boxes 6 & 7

L. **Project South Africa, 1984 - 1991**: Bayard Rustin lead, Philip Randolph Insititue the Sponsore, with leadership from David Peterson and Noah Pickus as Executive Directors, Nancy Starr staff in New York with fifteen active linkages between Chicago area non-governmental organizations and similar organizations in South Africa coordinated by Axel Kolb, Chicago Interne. See also Project South Africa, Box 12.

M. **El Salvador Human Rights report**, Holt Ruffin, shared with Prodemca (for democracy in Central America), 1987


S. **Visa: Family Travel to the Soviet Union to visit other members of their family**, 1987, giving currency to the Helsinki Accords, Daniel and Tamara Horodysky


U. 1989: Request from four leaders in Solidarity to the World Without War Council President to help find election observers.

V. **Democracy Transcendent, A Discussion of Universal Democratic Values**, Carl Gershman, NED President, opens a round table discussion of universal values which adapted to different cultural settings make democracy potentially universal; included in the discussion are leaders of Chicago’s Polish, Lithuanian, African American, and Jewish Communities aiding transitions to democracy than underway in many countries, 1989

W. **Education for Democracy, A Joint Project of the American Federation of Teachers, the Educational Excellence Network, and Freedom House**, agencies with which the World Without War Council, Inc. (National) had long working relationships.


fundamental goal of peace-minded people should be the transformation of the Soviet Union into a more open and democratic society.”


BB. *Poland in Transition: New Roles for the Civic Society*, Kale Williams, moderator, roundtable discussing “their organization('s) roles in the transitions now underway and to look at the challenges that lie ahead.” (Chicago; World Without War Publications 1991)

CC. *The Soviet Union on the Brink, and Inside Look at Christianity & Glasnost*, Kent Hill (Portland: Institute on Religion and Democracy 1991) The “Siberian Seven” who sought to emigrate from the Soviet Union to express their Christian religious beliefs, pp. 31 - 39; see also *Turbulent Times for the Soviet Church, The Inside Story* also by Kent Hill. Kent came to the Council through the Consultation at the National level with the National Association of Evangelicals.


EE. *Internal War, A Citizen’s Primer, Robert Woito (ed.)* (Chicago: World Without War Publications 1993) A reader suggesting ways to resolve internal or civil wars,

FF. George Weigel, American Purpose, October/November 1993, lead article: The National Endowment for Democracy, Investing In Peace and Freedom

GG. NED funds a Curriculum Guide for Civic Education in Poland among hundreds of other projects aiding transitions to democracy.


II. World Movement for Democracy formed, 1999, NED the Secretariate, monthly electronic newsletter, resources, bi-annual conferences, democrats in peril identified and defended all designed to aid transition to democracy and to establish peace among them.

JJ. *Civil Society in Central Asia*, M.Holt Ruffin and Daniel Waugh (eds.) prepared by the Center for Civil Society International, Seattle and Central Asia, Caucasus Institute, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press 1999)

KK. *Extending the Democratic Peace*, Robert Woito (Chicago: World Without War Publications 2001) Extending the democratic peace among democracies and aiding transition to democracy is offered as an alternate route to a world without war.


MM. Center for Civil Education, supporting village level democracy in China 2005

NN. National Endowment for Democracy, supporting civil society organizations on every continent in 2006; NED made 207 grants to Non-governmental Organization’s (NGO’s) in Africa alone in 2006.
(see also James Madison Foundation national newsletter, *American Purpose* and Midwest Office newsletter, *Democratic Values*)

3. Resources
   A. Council Staffed

   a. International Human Rights Day Kit
   b. International Human Rights Quotient
   c. 1978 Calendar focused on Human Rights quotations with 365 events identified held to advance, mark, or institutionalize civil and political rights.

B. Council advocated with others, helped develop, supported
   b. *National Endowment for Democracy, 1983 -
   c. United States Institute of Peace, 1984 -

III. Government: American Peace Initiative Strategy
1. Concept:
   The word “initiative” has been badly abused in political discourse; it has become synonymous with almost any action taken outside negotiations. It is meant here in a specific and limited sense: a “peace initiative” is a non-military act taken outside of negotiation, which is designed to induce reciprocation from other States, and is capable of being combined with other steps into an overall strategy.

2. Program

   1. American Initiatives Project. Precis’ & One Page Introduction
   2. American Initiatives Project Prospectus, The Need, the Concept, and the Programmatic Steps
   3. American Initiatives Project: A New Course for American Foreign Policy
   4. Midwest Component: American Initiatives Project
   5. Memo to Those Writing Initiatives
   6. Advisors and VIP Responses to the Program

3. Administration

   1. Initial Development of Program, Jack Bollens
   2. Administrative Arrangements
   3. Comments and Criticisms
5. SAIS Briefing Seminar, October 1, 1981
7. Progress Reports 1982
10. Additions to the Project Advisory Board

4. Toward a Peace Initiatives Strategy

1. Toward a Peace Initiatives Strategy
2. American Initiatives in a Turn Toward Peace, Robert Pickus, 1961 and four initiatives
developed in the American Initiatives Project, 1982
3. The Case for American Initiatives, George Weigel, August 13, 1981
4. Policy Statement on Arms Control and Disarmament, World Without War Issues Cen-
ter - Midwest
5. The World Without War Council and it’s Interest in U.S. Initiatives, Lowell Livezey,
1981
6. The U.S. Response to the Arms Race, Does American Have a Peace Strategy?, A
Conference sponsored by the World Without War Council, the U.S. Arms Control and
Disarmament Agency and the City Club, San Francisco, June 4, 1982
7. Working Session, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington,
DC, April 27, 1982
8. Initiative Papers in hand, August 10, 1982
egy, George Weigel, 1983
10. Alternative Strategies for Peace: Is There a Way Out?, Northwestern University,
June 11, 1983
11. Dept. of State/NGO Leaders Conference, September 1983

5. Overview

Illustrative Listing of Initiative Ideas

A. Illustrative Initiative that Fits the “Memo to those Writing Initiatives”

Uniform Reporting of Military Expenditures with specific initiatives toward utilization,
Joseph Slovenic

B. Initiatives to End a Specific War: Vietnam

Vietnam Peace Proposals: Sixteen Linked Initiatives, Robert Woito, editor

C. Toward a Peace Initiatives Strategy
b. Peace and the Elections, 1972
c. Peace Ballot, Peace Platform, 1976


e. To End War, 1970, 1971, Chapter 14

f. To End War, 1982, Chapter 19

g. Extending the Democratic Peace, Chapter 21

D. Specific Initiatives (National office leadership)

a. Overview: Illustrative Examples of Initiative Policy Proposals

b. Zonal Disarmament, William Epstein

c. Nuclear Weapons Free Zones, United Nations, 1977

D. McCloy-Zorin Accord, 1962 with implementing initiatives

E. Gore proposals for a 12 year phase out of MIRV’s ICBM’s, 1982

F. Uniform Reporting of Military Expenditures with specific initiatives toward utilization, Joseph Slovenic

G. Information Arms Control, Davis Bobrow

H. Swords to Shields, Proposal for a Joint Strategic Defense Initiative, George Weigel

I. George Weigel and Robert Pickus to Kenneth Adelman, head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: The Strategic Defense Initiative in a Mutual Security framework

J. U.S./U.S.S.R. Crisis Control Center, Center for a Preservative Defense

K. From Deterrence through Offensive Threat to Defensive Military Forces, Center for Preservative Defense

L. Universal Nuclear Waste Disposal, Robert Pickus

M. The Binding Triad, A U.N. Reform Proposal [a weighted voting system designed to connect voting rights with responsibility for implementation], Richard Hudson, 1989

N. Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, Kennedy initiated limited test ban treaty, Strategy of Peace speech, June 1963 (unilaterally halting testing in the atmosphere would resume on a one for one basis if the Soviet Union resumed testing in the atmosphere,

O. U.S. Declaration of a no first use of nuclear weapons to begin progress toward a treaty, Raymond Gastil

P. The Freeze as an Initiative? How to make it part of a strategy, Robert Pickus

Q. U.N. Charter Reform, Leach Commission, Brian Urquart proposals, Campaign for U.N. Reform

R. Free Flow of Scientific Information, Robert Rosenberg

S. Philadelphia II: Places Constitutional Change on the Presidential Election Year Ballot as a step toward world government, Mike Gravel, July 1996

T. Promoting Democracy, Michale A. Samuels and William A. Douglas [early advocates of a National Endowment for Democracy]

U. Professional Civil Service for International Organizations, Robert Pickus

V. Journalistic Freedom, The Right to Travel, to ask Questions and Report Violations

W. Ambassador to the Non-Governmental Organizational, Domestic and International, Robert Pickus

X. Court of Man, Prosecution of Violators of International Treaties in Domestic Courts, Gideon Gottlieb

Y. International Human Rights Initiatives, International Human Rights Kit, Robert Woito
Z. Article 21, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Right of Representation in Government, World Movement for Democracy

AA. Pluralizing the Soviet Union [or other totalitarian or authoritarian States]; A Precondition for Peace, George Weigel

BB. Angola and Namibia: An Initiative for Regional Peace, John Hutchinson, April 1978

CC. Central America, Oscar Arias’ Initiative, 1980’s

DD. Reconsat (Reconnaissance Satellite) Initiative Proposal, Provides Information on risks

EE. Making Cross-Border Threats Transparent, Davis Bobrow and Stephen Hill

FF. Vietnam: Applying an American Initiatives Strategy to End the Vietnam War, Robert Pickus, 1967, sixteen linked initiatives

GG. International Youth Exchange, Charles MacCormack -- How Exchanges could promote both citizenship and world community

HH. United States/Soviet Exchange: How they can be made more effective, Sarah Carey, 1983

6. Researching Peace Initiatives

2. American Peace Initiative Research Articles, A Collection
3. SALT II: How to Actually Limit Arms
4. Sources of Initiative Ideas: Building a World Community, A Peace Platform for 1976
5. Arthur Delkman’s suggestion for combing the initiative project prospectus with the above platform’s goals and next steps initiatives.
7. Pluralizing the Soviet Union, Aaron Wildavsky, 1981
8. Antarctic Law and Politics, F.M. Auburn
10. Intervention: The Anti-Interventionist Tradition, Herbert Hoover (1874 - 1964)
11. Computer Simulations for Decision-Makers in International Affairs, Harold Guetzkow and Don Ward, December 1979
14. United Nations Reform suggestions, Norway
15. Peace Brigades International

7. Constructive Criticisms

a. Holt Ruffin, Ten Challenges Initiatives Don’t Overcome
c. George Weigel: academics and peace advocates think their idea is so good it should be implemented unilaterally.
Box 15: Newsletters (Communique, American Purpose (National) and Democratic Values)

1. Midwest Newsletter, 1976 - 1987 (lead article):
2. Midwest Communique, 1964 - 1975 (see Boxes 2, 3 and 4)
D. June 1976: Marnie Clark, editor, Council Helps Open New Doors
E. Fall 1976: With Your Help, Lowell Livezey, Executive Director report
F. Spring 1977: Council to Strengthen National Program [with Lowell Livezey’s move to New York and national responsibilities]
H. Fall 1977: Sixteen Program on Council’s Program Tree
I. Spring 1978: U.N. Special Session on Disarmament: Global Sideshow or Impetus for Progress toward Disarmament?
J. Winter 1978: Council and UNA to Sponsor Conference: Arms Race at the Turning Point?
K. Spring 1979: Joint Interne Program Announced
L. Winter 1979: Conference to Explore U.N. Reform
M. Fall 1980: Elda Maynard, editor, New Internes Accept Challenge
N. September 1980: Historian’s Search for an American Peace Design
O. June 1982: Washington Views Initiative
P. November 1982: Catherine (Kaki) Woods, editor, Human Rights Conference
N. August 1983: Is there a Way Out? Conference held
O. November 1983: Council Expands Interne Program
P. May 1984: An American Strategy of Peace
Q. February 1985: U.S. Institute of Peace authorized
R. September 1985: Board Sets Program Objectives
S. February 1987: Board Sets Program Objectives
T. May 1987: Special Issue on Bayard Rustin and Project South Africa

3. National Newsletter

Perspective on a World Without War, Anne Stadler, editor, May 1970 (a complete set of this national newsletter is available in the World Without War Council of Greater Seattle archives, University of Washington)

4. World Without War Issues Center (Midwest)

A. February 1978: What is the Issues Center?
B. June 1978: U.N. Special Session on Disarmament
C. December 1989: Special Edition, Gene Sharp, Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal [For this essay, Gene Sharp was the winner of the Ira D. and Miriam G. Wallace Awards Competition sponsored by the Institute for World Order, 1979 - 1980]
D. June 1982: Second U.N. Special Session on Disarmament, Preparation Begins

5. American Purpose, George Weigel, Editor, James Madison Foundation

Volume 1
January 1987 # 1: American Purpose, Our Purposes
February 1987 # 2: A Question of Witness
March 1987 # 3: Light from the East: Peace, Freedom, and the Civil Society
April 1987 # 4: Teaching the Young, by Robert Pickus
May/June 1987 # 5: Idealism without Illusions
July/August 1987 # 6: Calhoun's Heirs, or the Balkanization of American Foreign Policy
September 1987 # 7: American and the World: A Bicentennial Reflection
October 1987 # 8: The New Left, the Old Left, and the Peace Movement: A Cautionary Tale
November 1987 # 9: Sink the U.N.?
December 1987 # 10: A Seasonal Meditation with thanks to William Faulkner

Volume 2
January 1988 # 1: Oscar Arias at the Nobel Awards Ceremony: The Speech that might have been
February 1988 # 2: Of Sound-bites, Blintzes, and the Making of a President
March 1988 # 3: Between the Summits
April 1988 # 4: Debating Human Rights with the Soviets: The View from Zeeland
May 1988 # 5: Stirrings from Under the Rubble
July/August 1988 # 6: Religion and Peace: The Shape of a New Activism
September 1988 # 7: The Travail of American Pacifism
October 1988 # 8: Ponderables
November 1988 # 9: The Democratic Prospect
December 1988 # 10: The First Human Right [religious liberty], At the Season of Peace

Volume 3
January 1989 # 1: Free Exchange: From “Understanding” to Pluralization
February 1989 # 2: Postcard from Israel
March 1989 # 3: The Heart of the Matter, Then and Now
April 1989 # 4: Paleo-Cons, Neo-Cons and the Democratic Prospect
May-June 1989 # 5: Lies, Damned Lies and The Nation
July-August 1989 # 6: Remembering Flanders Field
September 1989 # 7: Present at the Re-Creation
October 1989 # 8: Hegel on the Potomac
November 1989 # 9: Still Blind, On the Road to Damascus
December 1989 # 10: Ruminations on the Eighties

Volume 4
January 1990 # 1: “Daddy, who was Peter Fechter?” [First person killed attempting to
escape over the Berlin Wall]
February 1990 # 2: Realism Reconsidered
March 1990 # 3: Peace for Peace
April 1989 # 4: Reclaiming a Revolution
May-June 1990 # 5: Notes for the Continuation of History
September 1990 # 7: Winning
October 1990 # 8: Reality Check: The Gulf Crisis and Related Matters, Viewed from Washington, Jerusalem, and 16th Century Salamanca
November 1990 # 9: Moscow on the Brink
December 1990 #10: Appomattox Courthouse, in Paris

Volume 5
January 1991 # 1: “Peace on Earth,” Revisited
February 1991 # 2: The Anti-American Use-of-Force (Military-or-Otherwise)
March 1991 # 3: Winning the Peace, Further Observations on the Gulf, including the problem of the “dettingen te deum,” the vindication of the Just War tradition, and the end of Vietnam
April 1991 # 4: Defining the Moment, The Gulf War (through February, at least) and American Political Culture
September 1991 # 7: The Coup...De Gras for Communism (old-fashioned and “reform”), the U.S.S.R., and Conventional Realism
October 1991 # 8: For the Integrity of the Church for Freedom of Faith, Ten Years of the Institute on Religion and Democracy
November 1991 # 9: Psychobabble and the Peace Conference
December 1991 # 10: Religion and Peace, An Argument Reconsidered

Volume 6
January 1992 # 1: Why the New Isolationists are Wrong
February 1992 # 2: The Tranquillitas Ordinis Debate: Memoir with Prescriptions
March 1992 # 3: The Post-Communist Hangover
April 1992 # 4: Just War after the Gulf War
May - June 1992 # 5: The Summer of our Discontents: I. Notes on the End of the Fifty-Five Years’ War
July - August 1992 # 6: The Summer of our Discontents: II. Notes Toward the Redefinition of “American Purpose”
September 1992 # 7: After Three Years: The “Final Revolution” and the Continuation of History
October 1992 # 8: What Kind of a People are We? What Kind of a Nation shall we be? Note on the Making of a President, 1992
November 1992 # 9: Waiting for Augustine: Islam and the West

Volume 7
January 1993 # 1: The Vision Thing, Revisited
February 1993 # 2: The Challenge of Peace Ten Years After “The Challenge of Peace”
March 1993 # 3: The Vatican and the Worlds of this World
April 1993 # 4: After the Twin Towers Attack: Terrorism and America
May-June 1993 # 5: Hawks and Doves Revisited: History, Strategy, and Morality in the Bosnian Crisis
July-August 1993 # 6: The New Human Rights Debate
September - October 1993 # 7: National Endowment for Democracy: Investing In Peace through Freedom
November 1993 # 8: Missing
December 1993 # 9 Missing

Volume 8
January-February 1994 # 1: For Peace in Europe: The Case for NATO Reconstruction
March-April 1994 # 2: Wirth’s Law, Havel’s Woodshed: And Other Notes on the Current Disarray
Summer 1994 # 3: Not Decadent Beyond Repair: A Response to the East Asian Critique of American Democracy
Winter 1994 - 1995 # 4: Five Years After the Revolution

Volume 9
Summer 1995 # 2: Arguments as Old As America, A Conversation with Elliott Abrams
Autumn 1995 # 3: In Remembrance of Things Past, V-E Day, V-J Day and All That
Winter 1995 # 4: The Pope at the U.N.

Volume 10
Spring 1996 # 1: Just War after the Cold War, An Argument for Re-engagement, George Weigel last issue as editor
Autumn 1996 # 2: Blessed are the Peacemakers, Elliott Abrams, new editor

Volume 11
Spring 1997 # 1: The Importance of Ideas, A Conversation with George P. Shultz, Elliott Abrams, Editor

B. May 1996: *Will the Dayton Accords help Bring Peace to Bosnia?*
C. June 1996: *American Foreign Policy: The Needed Debate*
D. October 1996: *Envisioning Disarmament: An Intellectual Exercise*
E. March 1997: *Keeping Our Heads about the United Nations*
F. April 1997: *The Chemical Weapons Convention: Yes...And*
G. September 1997: *The Kennan Sweepstakes Winner: [After Containment] Democratic Enlargement*
I. July 1998: *Two Billion Destitute People*
J. September/October 1998: *Kosovo, Where Christians Kill Muslims and Lesson Learned (undated)*
L. June 1999: *Kosovo: Lessons Learned about Self-Determination*
M. February 29, 2000: *Asoka Day: An Opportunity to Examine the Institution of War and to Consider the Conditions of Peace*
N. July 2000: *No Soft Way to A Democratic Peace*
O. October 2000: *American Foreign Policy in an Election Year*
P. March 2001: *Free Advice for a New President: Those 9-1-1 Calls*
Q. November 2001: *War in America, Afghanistan and the University of St. Francis*
R. December 2002: *Between a Soft Place and Iraq: Why U.S. Peace Initiatives are also needed*
S. August 2003: *Democrats in Peril, Aung Suu Kyi (Burma) and Morgan Tsvangiraiv (Zimbabwe)*
U. February 2004: *World Politics in a Presidential Election Year*
Box 16 & 17: World Without War Publications

War is waged by men; not by beasts, or by gods. It is a peculiar human activity. To call it a crime against mankind is to miss at least half of its significance; it is also the punishment of a crime. That raises a moral question, the kind of problem with which the present age is disinclined to deal. Perhaps some future attempt to provide a solution for it may prove to be even more astonishing than the last.

Frederic Manning, The Middle Parts of Fortune

1. Top Ten, An Interpretation
A. Vietnam Peace Proposals, Robert Woito, editor (published in 1967, available in 2010 from a reprint bookseller for $35.00)
B. Robert Pickus, To End War (New York: Harper & Row 1971)
C. Allan Blackman, Face to Face with your Draft Board
D. Albert Camus, Neither Victims Nor Executioners with Preface by Robert Pickus
E. M.K Gandhi, All Men Are Brothers [only edition with the dates added to each quote by Timothy Zimmer]
G. Gene Sharp, The Abolition of War
H. Lucy Dougall, War and Peace in Literature
I. Anne Stadler, The World Without War Game
J. Lucy Dougall & Holt Ruffin, Raising the Curtain
Honorable Mention: Internal War & Extending the Democratic Peace

2. In Brief: Two Pages at most
A. Definition of world politics focused on ending the organized use of mass violence between states: Bibliographical categories of To End War, 1982
B. Twenty Ways World Politics Touches your Life, Extending the Democratic Peace (EDP)
C. Three Definitions of Peace, Benjamin Seaver
D. Advice and Cautions, Summary, two pages
E. Arms Control Treaties/Conventional Arms Reporting, EDP
F. The Global Agenda, 2991, two page, EDP
G. Standards to Judge Proposals for Global Governance, Robert Pickus
H. The World Bank. EDP
I. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, two pages, EDP
J. Consolidated, Transitional, Thwarted Democracies and Dictatorships with standards for becoming a consolidated democracy, EDP
K. International Monetary Fund, EDP
L. World Trade Organization, EDP
M. Global Warming: A Real Problem, EDP
N. A World at War in 2002, EDP
O. Twenty Nonviolent Transitions from Dictatorships toward Democracy, two pages, EDP
P. An American Initiatives Strategy, EDP
Q. Characteristics of Democratic Governance
R. Aiding Transitions to Democracy, Specific Tasks, three pages, EDP
S. World Movement for Democracy, 3 pages, EDP
T. Preventative Diplomacy, two pages, EDP
U. Prizes, Awards, and Firing Squads, two pages, EDP

3. Short Items, by Robert Pickus unless otherwise noted
A. Ideas: Contending Context and a Context to End War
B. Personal Involvement: But What Can I Do?
C. Organizational Tools: Organizational Assessment Tools
D. Keeping Up: Reading Persons Filter
E. Regional and International Non-Governmental Organizations: Evaluating an Organization
F. Substantive Questions: To End War, 1982 Questions at the end of each chapter
G. Conscience and War: Conscience and War kit
H. International Human Rights Quotient: An Intellectual Assessment, Robert Pickus and George Weigel
I. Three Definitions of Peace, Benjamin Seaver
J. Interne/Fellows Syllabus, 1996, Robert Woito

4. Ending Wars & Aiding Transitions to Democracy
C. Middle East: Conditions for Peace in the Middle East, Chicago committee of American Jews and Americans of Palestinian ancestry in tentative agreement
D. Kosovo: Where Christians Kill Muslims
E. Internal War, 1992
E. Terrorism and Self-Determination: A Tragic Marriage we Could Help Decouple,
F. Democracy in Vietnam?, Roundtable Discussion
G. Poland In Transition, Kale Williams, Moderator, 1991
H. Bosnia, A Framework for Peace, Robert Woito, 1991

5. Organizational Engagement Guidelines
A. Northern California Psychiatric Association, Committee on Conflict Resolution and Alternatives to Violence, 1969
Protestant; United Church of Christ, see Ted Roos in Stalwarts
Catholic: Archdioces of Oakland
Episcopal: Episcopal Diocese of California
National Association of Evangelicals, Peace, Freedom and Security Program Guidelines,

3. Promotional Flyers, Plans and Results
A. To End War, definition of the field
B. Promotional Flyers
C. Promotion Plan
D. Results

4. World Without War Publications: Books

ABM and a World Without War, Robert Pickus, 1969
All Men Are Brothers, Life and Thought of Mahatma Gandhi as Told In His Own Words, compiled and edited by Krisha Kriplani, dates of each quote added by Timothy Zimmer, 1972
Americans and World Affairs, Directory of Organizations and Institutions in Northern California, Marguerite Green, Editor, 1988, Berkeley
Decision at Richmond, June 1788, transcript of Virginia Convention to Consider ratifying the United States Constitution, Robert Byrd, editor, Chicago, 1986
Extending the Democratic Peace, Robert Woito, Chicago, 2001
Face to Face with your Draft Board, Allan Blackman, Berkeley, 1969, 1972 editions
Gandhi, His Relevance for Our Times, G. Ramachandran & T.K. Mahadevan, editors, Berkeley, 1971, with permission of the Gandhi Peace Foundation
International Human Rights Kit, Robert Woito, editor, 1977, Chicago
Neither Victims Nor Executioners, Albert Camus, Berkeley, 1968. 1977. 1980, reprinted with the permission of Dwight McDonald who translated Camus’ essay from Combat 1946
Peace Bishops and the Arms Race, Can Religious Leadership help in Preventing War?, George Weigel, Chicago, 1982
The Power to Keep Peace, Today and in a World Without War, Lincoln Bloomfield, Berkeley, 1972, reprinted with permission of MIT Press
The Year of the Phoenix: Gandhi’s Pivotal Year: 1893-94, T.K. Mahadevan, 1982
To End War, An Introduction to Ideas, Organizations and Current Books, Robert Pickus and Robert Woito, Berkeley, 1970
War and Peace in Literature, Lucy Dougall, editor, Chicago, 1982
Wolnosc i Pokoj (WIP), Documents of Poland’s “Freedom and Peace Movement,” Llech Chorozucha and Holt Ruffin, Seattle and Berkeley, 1989
World Without War Game, Anne Stadler and Beverly Herbert with Frank Herbert, author of Dune, Roy Prosterman and James Leonard, Berkeley, 1971

5. Booklets, Kits, Articles and Reviews

Amnesty: A Membership Survey, 1973

Arms Control and Disarmament, A Policy Statement by the World Without War Issues Center, Chicago 1977


A Christmas Fantasy, Robert Woito, revised by George Weigel, December 10 1980

A Council Point of View, Timothy Zimmer, 1972


An Appeal for Freedom to Travel Between the United States and the Soviet Union for Millions of Relatives on the Occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a program of VISA, a project of the World Without War Council of Northern California, Daniel and Tamara Horodysky, Berkeley, 1988

Annotated War/Peace Bibliography and 1967 Literature List, Robert Woito, Berkeley, 1967

Arms Control and Disarmament, Human Rights, World Economic Development and International Organizations, Kits prepared for U.S. Foreign Policy at Issues in Illinois Conferences, Chicago 1977

An American Strategy of Peace, Toward a Constructive Foreign Policy in 1984 and Beyond, William Jacobus, Chicago, 1984

Being There, Lucy Dougall and Holt Ruffin, Visits by Citizens of the Soviet Union and of the United States to each other, Seattle, 1991

“Beyond the Challenge for Peace: Questiones Disputate.” George Weigel, Center Journal, Winter, 1983

Bosnia, A Framework for Peace, Robert Woito, Chicago, 1991

Breaking the Doctrinal Gridlock: Common Security and the Strategic Defense Initiative, George Weigel, This World, 1987

Bridges to the Soviet People, Holt Ruffin, Freedom at Issues, March/August 1988

Building a World Community, A Peace Platform for 1976, with the results of the peace balloting, Robert Woito, Chicago, 1976


The Case for Unilateral Disarmament, Erich Fromm, Acts for Peace, Berkeley, 1960

Chicago Area Organizations Concerned about World Affairs, A Pilot Directory, Karen Minnice, Chicago, November 1978

The Churches and a World Without War, Lowell Livezey, Chicago, 1971

Citizen Responsibility, Conscience and War, Robert Pickus, Berkeley, 1990

Conscience and War Kit, Robert Pickus, 1958 with updates through 1996


A Critique of Challenge of Peace: God’s Promise and Our Response, the second draft of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops Pastoral Letter of War and Peace, George Weigel, 1982
The Democratic Revolution, A Report from a Conference Sponsored by the National Endowment for Democracy, Lech Choroszucha, May 1989

Development and Peace Research Kit, Sr. Helen Garvey, SNJM. 1972

Development and Tendencies within the Peace Movement, Robert Pickus, Berkeley, 1968


“Don’t Neutralize America,” Holt Ruffin, October 1974


Goals and Next Steps in 1979 World Without War Issues Center, Chicago with What approach to Specific Issues Makes Sense?


Internal War: A Citizen’s Primer, Caitlin Devit, editor, Chicago 1992


Judaism and War, Robert Pickus, editor, 1961 with updates

The Just War Tradition and the World After September 11, George Weigel, 2001


On Peace, Jews & Beth El, Robert Pickus, June 1972

Peace Education: Being Different When it Counts, Helen Garvey, Berkeley, November 1975

Peace and Justice Education, Sister Kathleen Pillon & Sister Helen Garvey, National Catholic Education Association, 1978

Peace and Revolution: The Moral Crisis of American Pacifism, Guenter Lewy, reviewed by Holt Ruffin in Crisis, June 1988


Outline of a Presidential Speech to be Delivered in Conjunction with the Opening of the Geneva Negotiations, George Weigel, February 1985

A Primer on Pacifism after the Fall of the Taliban, Allen Blackman, June 2002


Reflections on Moonies, Catholics, Peacemakers, Robert Pickus, The Catholic Voice, April 1976


Swords into Plowshares, Guidelines, Diocese of California (Episcopal), World Without War Program, Robert Pickus, Holt Ruffin, Michael Cavanaugh

Proposal for a Five Year University, Task Force on War and Peace, Paul Ekman, 1982

Teaching in a Multi-World, Sr. Helen Garvey, National Catholic Education Association, Peace Studies Program, Berkeley, October 1978


U.S. Foreign Policy: Goals and Next Steps Toward a World Without War, Turn Toward Peace, 1963

The War/Peace Field in Education, Robert Freeman, Berkeley, 1975


World Disarmament Kit, 1977, Robert Woito (ed.), Chicago

World Hunger Crises Kit, 1976, Robert Woito (ed.), Chicago

Scientific and Professional Organizations, War/Peace and the Public Policy Process: A Select Bibliography, Berkeley

World Without War Council’s Approach to Draft Counseling, Robert Pickus and Jim Zwick, 1980[, Berkeley

World Education in the Classroom, Irving Epstein and Sr. Helen Garvey, Berkeley, 1981

6. Film Series (nine hour long films archived at the Hoover Institute)

Oregon Educational Television featuring Robert Pickus with accompanying study kit, Working for a World Without War in Your Community, May 19, 1967
Box 18: Finances

Ramen, Rice, and Beans, You’ll Live
Maybe even feel grateful for the experience

One intern/fellow to a prospect

I. National Overview

2. Summary of Income and Expenditures, All Offices [and Office of the President], July 1, 1980 -- June 30, 1981

II. Midwest Office

1. 1961
2. 1962
3. 1963
4. 1964
5. 1965
6. 1966, 1/1-6/30 $8,197.34
7. 1967
8. 1968
9. 1969
10. 1970
11. 1971
12. 1972
13. 1973
14. 1974
15. 1975
16. 1976
17. Annual Audit, Year Ending 1977, Charles M. Bernstein, CPA
18. Annual Audit, Year Ending 1978
19. Annual Audit, Year Ending 1979
20. Annual Audit, Year ending 1980
21. Annual Audit, Year ending 1981
22. Annual Audit, Year ending June 30, 1982
23. Annual Audit, Year ending June 30, 1983
24. Annual Audit, Year ending June 30, 1984, Dorothea Grieco, CPA
47. Summary of Income and Sources excluding sublease income and loans

III. Legal

1. Chicago Area Turn Toward Peace Inc., Secretary of State, Illinois, signed by Jack Bo-lens, February 27, 1967, Annual Report, with 26 members of Board of Directors
   1. IRS Letter granting exemption from income tax.
   2. Lease, Fine Arts Building, June 1991
By the rude bridge that arched the flood
   Their flag on April's breeze unfurled
Here once the embattled Farmer stood
   And fired the shot heard around the world.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, Concord Hymn

“World War II could have been prevented if only the democracies had united before the war.”

Robert Pickus, 1940

“Our war resistance is justified only if we see that an adequate alternative to violence is developed.”

Bayard Rustin, 1942

Even those who see the threat and use of military power as the essential requisite for security or freedom in today’s world should recognize the utopian elements in their position and reserve at least a part of their energies for the work Camus asks us to undertake.

Robert Pickus, Camus Preface, 1967

Our claim to deserving your attention is just this: in a time of maximum peril, this Midwest voice attempted to realistically assess the predicament, and found the possibility of a non-military way out in the societal and leadership capacities of the country in which we were citizens.

See pages 17 - 28, Box 1: B. Lessons Learned, 2010
War is waged by men; not by beasts, or by gods. It is a peculiar human activity. To call it a crime against mankind is to miss at least half of its significance; it is also the punishment of a crime. That raises a moral question, the kind of problem with which the present age is disinclined to deal. Perhaps some future attempt to provide a solution for it may prove to be even more astonishing than the last.

Frederic Manning, The Middle Parts of Fortune

But I have always held that, if he who bases his hopes on human nature is a fool, he who gives up in the face of circumstances is a coward. And henceforth, the only honorable course will be to stake everything on a formidable gamble: that words are more powerful than munitions.

Albert Camus, Neither Victims Nor Executioners 1946

We live in a country distinguished from many others by its wealth, size, diversity, technological capability, and most of all, by the idea that formed it. The idea that the people shall rule because of the innate dignity of every person has been progressively realized in our experience of building and sustaining our political community. Such a political community must address the problem of war. Such a country has a significant, perhaps the key, role to play in progress toward peace.

Robert Pickus, New Approaches to Peace, 1991

Lord, Let me be an instrument of thy Peace, St. Francis