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## THE PEACE MOVEMENT AS A "GOVERNMENT IN EXILE" FOR HUMANITY

A working paper by Alfred Hassler for the Inaugural Congress of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace. January 1964.

In January 1963, at a meeting in the Hotel Russell in London, I spoke briefly about the revolutionary changes that have occurred in our world and that affect the work for peace, the fact that in the present context no government of any major power speaks for the deepest needs of humanity, and that consequently any world peace movement that is to have any validity must become in a sense a "government in exile" for humanity, speaking to all governments on behalf of the disenfranchised human family. Subsequently the substance of these remarks was reproduced and made available to the participating organizations in the Confederation. I have been asked now to elaborate on them, at least briefly, in terms of what the policies and principles of such a "government in exile" might be.

I have previously made a somewhat longer statement of the thinking that brought me to this conclusion, for presentation at the biennial conference of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation last August in the Netherlands. Copies of that paper, "Of the Making of Peace," are available on request. The brief comments that follow are intended to be only suggestive in nature, and are placed within the context of the International Confederation.

1. The Confederation has been formed with certain specific and quite limited objectives in mind: improved communication among existing peace groups leading to a growing awareness of each other's point of view and understanding of each other's actions; the coordination of some peace activities where that is possible; the stimulation of new peace groups in countries where such activities do not now exist; and the establishment of means of improved communication and understanding with the peace groups in Communist countries which do not share the same standards of "independence" that are established for the Confederation affiliates. All of these are good objectives, necessary to a growing peace sentiment in the world, and must be pursued.

Beyond these, however, is the question of the longer-range view that the Confederation takes of itself and its task, and the eventual impact that it will make on the cause of peace worldwide. The temptation will be almost irresistible for it to operate exclusively in conventional political fashion, within national contexts: making suggestions to governments regarding disarmament and allied matters; bringing pressures to bear on governments by whatever methods are available to the national affiliates, etc. I am convinced that while these too are necessary, they are not in themselves adequate to the profoundly revolutionary nature of our times, and it is this question of how the Confederation reacts to the new situations that exist with which I am concerned in this paper.

2. When I refer to the "profoundly revolutionary character" of our society, I have in mind four specific aspects in which changes have occurred so extensive as to warrant the adjective "revolutionary." Briefly these are:

a. The revolution in weapons, which has made war unacceptable in any rational sense, and so has deprived the state of its ultimate recourse. Diplomats and military men alike have recognized this in part, and give lip service to it,

but they have not fully faced its implications. In the very midst of asserting the impossibility of resorting to war, they contrive ways of adapting war to present conditions, in the sense of limited wars, the use of deterrence, etc.

b. The revolution in communication and transportation. It is not possible any longer for any substantial group of human beings to be kept unaware of the advantages that other men have: whether of economic comfort, political freedom, superior educational or medical services, or whatever. Discontent therefore is inevitable where great inequities exist so that the problems of each become the problems of all.

c. The revolution in production. Here again, while authoritative voices have emphasized that we have now moved into an era in which we have the physical capacity to supply all human needs for all men, the implications of this still are hardly recognized. Governments and people alike go on battling over political and economic ideologies that in fact are largely archaic and inadequate. This is not to say that we have moved into a total economy of abundance, but that we are on the verge of moving into it, and that ideological and political forms that are predicated on the assumption of an economy of scarcity are consequently no longer appropriate.

d. The revolution in science and the scientific method. Probably none of us outside the scientific world entirely comprehends the extent of this revolution. It has been pointed out that more than 90% of all scientists who ever lived are now alive. Science is no longer the slow painstaking exploration resulting in the occasional discovery, but the mobilization and organization of vast resources of knowledge and techniques to deal with specific problems. Science has moved to an emphasis on "the problem-solving approach." It is no longer a question of whether a thing can be done, but how it should be done and how long the doing will take.

4. The implications of these four developments for a world torn apart by the struggle for dominance in material possessions and wracked by hunger and disease are almost incomprehensible. For the peace movement they mean the need for reexamination of our total approach in the light of such changes. Their very statement reflects the fact that the profound needs of men are not being met now by organized governments. Rationally these new resources should be mobilized to meet those needs, and the nationalism and militarism that stand in the way should be set aside. To the extent that the world peace movement articulates and visualizes this situation, give substance to the needs and potentials of man, it becomes a government in exile for humanity. What would characterize such a movement?

a. It would provide a focus for individual identification with the existence of a world community, in being and to be, for persons from all parts of the world and all racial, religious and national indentifications.

b. It would provide a statement and elaboration of the Utopian "vision of the end" set against the deadening hopelessness of present feelings about war and international relations.

c. It would represent a rejection of and opposition to all movements and policies, of governments or any other groups, that create and condone exploitation of man by man, political or economic imperialism, tyranny of all sorts, and the division of man from man by racial, religious or political lines.

5. I do not profess to know what the organizational answers are. I have written elsewhere of the need for an "Order of Humanity," to which all men who are spiritually citizens of the world community can give their assent and support, and through which they can speak their aspirations to the political and economic power-elites who now hold our civilization in great peril. A serious move to develop such an order would, I believe, stimulate an unprecedented flow of creative ideas of program and principle that might rejuvenate the movement's somewhat sagging enthusiasms and provide a means for transcending its various vested interests in traditional positions and methods.

It is too vast and complex a program to rush into without painstaking exploration and examination. What I hope the Confederation will do now is to create the machinery for that exploration.

#### ADDENDUM

What is the role of a peace movement in 1964?

1. To define the meaning of justice. A society in which every human being has an opportunity to develop his own capacities and potential, to pursue happiness unencumbered by organized exploitation or repression by governments or groups, including corporate business structures, and which the distribution of both natural resources and the fruits of man's productivity will be designed with the well-being of all men in mind.
2. To define community. The society of men on earth, unencumbered by national, political, ideological or racial or religious boundaries.
3. To define loyalty, as to that which advances the world community and the well-being of men and not to that which tends to divide them.
4. To assert the conditions of peace:
  - a. A conscious commitment to the struggle for both justice and community,
  - b. through means that renounce war and work through nonviolence and reconciliation.
5. To find ways of dramatizing both the ends and the means of its enterprise, so as to recruit the loyalty and participation of men of all conditions and geographical locations; to lift their vision, enlarge their loyalties, and thus create a force that can speak to the archaic anarchy of national governments in relevant political, economic, social and spiritual terms.
6. To organize resistance and protest of those acts and attitudes that perpetuate injustice, nationalism, exploitation, imperialism and war.