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JAN 8 1965

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Peace Bertrand Russell
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Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

6 January, 1965..

Mr. Cyrus Eaton,
The Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company,
Terminal Tower,
Cleveland 1,
Ohio,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Eaton,

I write to convey my good wishes to you and your wife for the New Year. You may have followed some of our efforts with regard to issues affecting the peace of the world, and I enclose for your attention some recent articles[†]. The work of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has greatly expanded, and we now maintain branch offices in New Delhi, Tokyo, Manila, Auckland, Buenos Aires and Los Angeles. We continue to seek a secure basis for the work of the Foundation through the organisation of fixed sums to be contributed annually. I should be most grateful to you if you would find it possible to continue your support for our work, and I hope I may hear from you with regard to this.

I have followed with great appreciation your own important efforts on behalf of peace, and it is some satisfaction to know that people such as yourself are standing firm in the face of the great opposition we have both come to know. I am sorry that Pugwash seems to be

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following an increasingly cautious course, but we can take heart in the fact that heresies of a few years ago are becoming incorporated in the orthodoxy of the cautious.

With my very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Bertrand Russell

* These are being sent to you under separate cover.



Bertrand Russell outlines a new policy

By our own Reporter

A message sent to the "Guardian" yesterday by Bertrand Russell describes a "rethinking" of his policy in the new situation created by the "partial thaw in the cold war." Owing to changes in Government opinion, he says, it seems more possible than it did to avert nuclear war; and while the thaw persists "it should be assumed that it is possible to induce Governments to take whatever steps are necessary to realise their professed object of avoiding war with weapons of mass destruction."

He would now welcome "partial measures" leading towards disarmament, such as the lessening of military budgets.

A spokesman for the Committee of 100 said last night that Lord Russell's views obviously required a great deal of thought. A statement would be issued within a few days. Canon Collins, secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, also said a statement would be issued soon.

[The text of Bertrand Russell's statement is on page 3]

Bertrand Russell's 'rethinking'

The following is the text of a message sent to the "Guardian" by Bertrand Russell yesterday.

The partial thaw in the cold war demands on the part of workers for peace certain recognition of changing conditions. This has led me to a rethinking of my own policies and those required in this new situation. The basis of the policy of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation follows these important changes.

Our supreme aim is, as it always has been, to avert nuclear war. We have tried various methods—articles and books concerned with dangers of nuclear war, as well as marches, sitdowns, demonstrations, etc. The latter methods were subversive. Our first aim was to persuade populations and, if possible, governments, that nuclear war would be an utter disaster to all nations and that the then policies of the most powerful nations were leading towards this catastrophe. It seems that this first step has been largely achieved.

Concrete measures

The next step must consist in the advocacy of concrete measures designed to diminish the dangers of nuclear war breaking out. This is a different task and is likely to require somewhat different methods. Though possibly less subversive, it will be, in an important sense, partly more radical and partly more concrete than our former work.

Owing to changes in governmental opinion, it seems more possible than it did to avert nuclear war. There is, at the moment, a certain degree of thaw in the cold war. It is, as yet, precarious—c.f. Camp David and U.2. Habits generated during the long years of the cold war have become so ingrained that they are difficult to change. General ignorance fostered by governments and organs of publicity makes the public in many countries hostile, not to peace, but to measures essential for world peace. Those who want peace must emphasise statements by governments and others favourable to world peace and must seek to change policies inimical to world peace—e.g. America versus Cuba

and Russia with regard to East Germany. A great effort must be made to secure publicity for all relevant facts that governments wish to conceal, and, wherever there is acute conflict between East and West on any specific issue, friends of peace should look for compromise solutions possibly acceptable to both sides.

It should also be part of our work to expose punishments inflicted by governments which are unjustifiable and exacerbate international hostility. In this work, while the present partial thaw persists, it should be assumed that it is possible to induce governments to take whatever steps are necessary to realise their professed object of avoiding war with weapons of mass destruction.

In the right

With regard to disarmament, while our ultimate aim should be the transference of armed force to an international authority, we should welcome partial measures leading in this direction—as, for example, the lessening of military budgets, which at present seems possible both in the US and the USSR. Above all, in every possible way, governments and public must be constantly reminded that war would be madness and that even very difficult concessions on both sides are necessary for the permanent preservation of peace. It is not enough to be in the right; it is necessary, also to persuade others that we are in the right.