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11/06/1964-30/12/1964

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PLEASE RETAIN ORIGINAL ORDER

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UN ARCHIVES

SERIES 0892

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Har 18

30 December 1964

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Thank you for your kind letter of 26 November. I regret the delay in acknowledging it owing to my recent illness.

It was a pleasure for me to entertain President Macapagal and you on the occasion of your recent visit to the United Nations. I am also most grateful to you for the gift sent with your letter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Mr. Rufino G. Hechanova Secretary of Finance Ministry of Finance Manila, Philippines

cc - Permanent Mission Mr. Lemieux

m. harsinha



The Secretary of Finance



November 28, 1964



The Honorable U Thant Secretary General United Nations 1st Ave. and 42nd Street New York, New York

My dear Mr. Secretary General:

I would like to extend my personal thanks to you for your gracious hospitality to President Macapagal and his official party on the occasion of his recent State Visit.

Please accept the enclosed gift from the Philippines
as a small token of my deep gratitude and esteem.

Very sincerely yours,

RUFINO G. HECHANOVA

MRS. JONATHAN BINGHAM 1221 30TH STREET N.W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007 85. Heroonal

Dear U Thant -

Wwwere delighted to hear from Lucien that you have mended so thoroughly and are going off for a little tropical rest.

Am taking the liberty of jotting down a few easily answered questions in hopes that you may find time to jot down a few answers. If you don't feel like it, never mind. I'll wait till I see you, perhaps on Saturday, January 16.

- 1) Was the Thooriah newspaper the one your father was interested in?
- 2) Did he ever stress the Lord Buddha's wonderful advice to the inhabitants of Kalamas?
- 3) What year did World of Books die?
- 4) Did you ever write poetry or fiction for it or any other magazine?
- 5) During what years was Alex Josey in Rangoon?....
- 6) Did you help U Khant land his wartime job with the Ministry of Forestry and Mines?...
- 7) When the Government of Burma limited holdings of arable land to fifty acres per person, did this entail personal loss for you and Daw Their Tin?

Dear U Thant -

8) On your trip to Russia, did you also meet Podgorny?

9) How fast were you able to get UN Peacekeeping Forces to Cyprus?

Many thanks in advance and we hope you have a healthier and easier New Year
Best wishes -

1) Was the Theorian newspaper the one your fatner was interested in?

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3) What year did World of Books die?

t) Did Vou ever write poetry or fiction for it

5) Durting what wildles Alastocala Rangoon

6) Did you help U Khant land his wartime job with the Ministry of Forestry and Mines?...

7) When the Covernment of Surma limited holdings of arable land to fifty scres per person, did this entail personal loss for you and Daw Thein Tin?

THE TWELFTH ANNUAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE

OF THE
BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY

December 21 to December 24, 1964. Daily at 4:15 p.m.

A LINE HORS

21-24 Dec: Council Chamber,

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Convocation Euilding, Arts & Science University,

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Rangoon.

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TEROPE IVE-ALOUS

PROGRAMME

Monday, December 21, 1964.

Council Chamber; Convocation Building, Chairman: Professor Aung Than

- 1. Presidential Address: The Relation between the Sangha and State and the Laity by Professor Aung Than.
- 2. Burmese Cosmogony and Cosmology by Dr. Ba Han.

Tuesday, December 22, 1964.

Council Chamber: Convocation Building, Chairman: Professor Myo Min.

- 1. The Two Maunggan Gold Plates by U Tha Myat.
- 2. Multiplicity of Malapropism in my mother tongue by U Lu Pe Win.

21-20 Dec: Council Chamber

Wednesday, December 23, 1964.

Council Chamber: Convocation Building,

Chairman: U Tha Myat

- 1. Studies on Let-htok-gyi (Holarrhena Antidysnterica) by U Pe Than.
- 2. Floatation of Monywa Copper Ores by U Tin Tun.

Thursday, December 24, 1964.

Council Chamber: Convocation Building,

Chairman: Professor Khin Mg. Nyunt.

- 1. Bilugyun Sample Survey, 1962 by U Thet Lwin.
- 2. Report of the 1953-54 Agriculture Census by U Saw Win.

Didly at 4:15 P.H.

THE YEAR THE

TITTA BUSICIO

STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE CONFERENCE

Professor Aung Than (Chairman)

U Tin E

U Tin Hla U Tin U

Dr. Tha Myint Professor William Paw Professor Maung Shein

Professor Nyi Nyi (Secretary)

DOK POST The Secretary-General, United Nations, New York, N. Y., nd ausned etulio U. S. A. sirpan: Professor the win. finds) 'name come ros and mother towns Professor William . #301 Professor William BIR HIT T To esserout (Secretary)

Fin Tur.

no furthe action CVN/at

19 December 1963

Dear General Eisenhower.

I acknowledge with many thanks your kind letter of 14 December and I note that you will be leaving Gettysburg for southern California to stay there for the winter.

I shall be very happy to renew my invitation to you to luncheon at United Mations Headquarters in the middle of May and I look forward very much to having you here.

With the compliments of the season and all good wishes for the New Year to you and Mrs. Eisenhover,

Yours sincerely,

1 mant

General Dwight D. Eisenhover Gettysburg Pennsylvania

cc - Mr. Lemieux

Photographic registration of the contraction

na maja pada nagawa k

December 14, 1963

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

Thank you very much for your invitation to luncheon at the United Nations Headquarters. I assure you that it would be a great privilege and honor to accept. The fact is, however, that my wife and I are just leaving Gettysburg for southern California to stay there for the winter. Consequently, it would be impossible for me to join you during the winter months. Should you feel inclined to renew the invitation sometime after mid-May, I would make every effort to be present.

I assure you of the compliment that I feel in your invitation and extend to you my very best wishes for a fine holiday season. .

Duj sir Vember

His Excellency U Thant The Secretary-General The United Nations New York City, New York

9 December 1963

Dear General Eisenhower,

The last time we met was under tragic circumstances.

At that time I mentioned to you how happy we would be if you could accept my invitation to attend a luncheon at United Nations Headquarters. I wonder if any date in the first half of January would be convenient to you. If so, it would give me great pleasure to have you as my guest.

I look forward to hearing from you very soon.

Meanwhile, I remain, with profound esteem,

Yours sincerely,

H Tonni

General Dwight D. Eisenhower Gettysburg Pennsylvania

cc - Mr. Lemieux V

Dear Mrs. Stewart,

I regret the delay in acknowledging feceipt of your letter of 16 November. I was certainly not aware that the behaviour of my German shepherd was a source of annoyance to other dog owners in the area and I am grateful to you for bringing this matter to my attention. I have already taken steps to ensure that this situation will not recur.

I regret the inconvenience you may have been caused and hope that you and your neighbours may now resume your walks without apprehension.

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Mrs. Jean H. Stewart Random House, Inc. 457 Madison Avenue New York 22, New York



RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

16 November 1964

THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE

Mr. U Thant Bella Vista Palisade Avenue Riverdale, New York

Dear Mr. Thant:

I am a neighbor of yours who enjoys taking my male dog down Palicade Avenue beyond your place where he can enjoy running in the meadows. This, however, has become a hazardous venture which I no longer dare undertake, because of your German shepherd, who not only comes charging down to the fence but comes right out into the road to challenge us. He is obviously a trained watchdog and unfriendly toward strangers, both dogs and humans, who may innocently be walking past on their way to the city park property beyond you. I am afraid of him and of what he would do to my dog. I now have either to give up the walk or drive way past your property and then let my dog out.

It occurred to me that with your many other activities you may not be aware that this is happening, so I decided to write you. I have spoken to several other dog-owners who are upset about your dog, and we all would very much appreciate it if you could confine the dog so we can safely walk by. He would probably stay in if your outside gate could be closed (though he could very easily jump it if he wanted to).

I have the utmost respect for your position and for the consuming responsibilities it involves; and I hate to bother you with this trivial domestic issue! However, it would add considerable peace of mind to those of us who are concerned if you would be good enough to do something about this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Jean H. Stewart

File.

Saturday Review 380 Madison Avenue New York, N.Y. 10017

Norman Consins Editor

100/10 N

November 27, 1964

The Horofter

The Hon. U Thant Secretary-General United Nations New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Secretary-General:

As C.V. I'm sure has already reported to you, I have a profound sense of appreciation for your message to the Waldorf last Wednesday. I was proud and grateful for your comments, so luminously conveyed by C.V. I am forever in your debt.

Sincerely,

NORMAN COUSINS

NC:d

25 November 1964

Dear Mr. Jones,

Thank you for your kind letter of 20 November.

I really feel that it was my privilege to have the opportunity to meet you and your associates at luncheon the other day. I have always felt that it was a pity, however, that although your organization has its headquarters across the street from the United Nations, we have not been able to get together more often.

I hope that from now on we may be able to do so.

I am glad to know that you intend in the next issue of your internal publication, to include a photograph of the United Nations Special Fund Exhibit as also a picture of Mr. Watson and myself. I shall be grateful if, in due course, you could send me a copy of the relevant publication.

Bith renewed good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Mr. Gilbert E. Jones
President
IBM World Trade Corporation
821 United Nations Plaza
New York 17, N.Y.
Mr. Tavares de Sa
cc - Mr. Lemieux
Registry

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

25 November 1964

My dear Hla Maung,

Thank you for your personal and confidential letter of 17 November. I am grateful to you for thinking of my problems during these difficult days. I am also deeply appreciative of the assurances of support by the Prime Minister of Libya. So far we have been only groping towards a way out. The problem has so many aspects and the situation changes so rapidly that it would be difficult for someone away from Headquarters to take any initiative which might be helpful.

I hope, however, that if a well conceived initiative is taken at this end which promises to be a step in the right direction, even if it does not solve the problem immediately, we may count on the support of the Prime Minister and the Government of Libya.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

U Hla Maung Resident Representative UN Technical Assistance Board Tripoli, Libya

cc - Mr. Lemieux

8 uson CVN/nt 23 November 1964 Dear Mr. Lawrence, Thank you for your very kind letter of 19 November. I much appreciated your kind words and your good wishes. It is very kind and thoughtful of you to invite me and the members of my family to be your guests at a performance of "What Makes Sammy Run". My daughter may wish to take advantage of your kind offer and I shall be in touch with you in this connection in due course. With renewed thanks and all good wishes, Yours sincerely, U Thant Mr. Steve Lawrence 729 Seventh Avenue New York 19, N.Y. cc - Mr. Lemieux

November 19, 1964 His Excellency U Thant United Nations Headquarters New York, N. Y. Dear Mr. U Thant: I have just returned to my office from the United Nations We Believe Luncheon and I had to write and tell you how effective your speech was and how impressed I was with it. It was an honor meeting a distinguished gentleman such as yourself. May I take this opportunity to wish you an abundance of health and strength so that you may continue serving humanity in the finite, as effectively as you have in the past. Before I left, I remember you saving that your daughter is a fan of mine. May I extend an imprintion to you and your family to be my guests at a performance of "What Makes Sammy Run" at your convenience. I can be reached at the above address or by phone at JU 6-2090. Once again, it was an honor meeting you. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you soon. Most respectively, STEVE LAWRENCE SL/jt

23 November 1964

Dear Mr. Watson,

I very much appreciated receiving your kind letter of 17 November. I should say that it was a privilege for me to have the opportunity of meeting you. Although your offices are across the street, I am sorry that our paths have not crossed for so long. I hope that from now on we may meet more often.

I am also deeply grateful to you for your kind words about my work as Secretary-General and, even more, for your faith in internationalism.

With warmest personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Mr. Arthur K. Watson Old Orchard Road Armonk, New York 10504

Mr. C.V. Narasimhan cc Mr. L. Lemieux

November 17, 1904

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

Yesterday's luncheon was a perfectly delightful affair. R was an honor and privilege to have the opportunity of spending so much time with you.

All of us who believe in internationalism recognize full well the outstanding job you are doing as Secretary General. You not only have our fervent prayers for great success but also our complete support and backing. On behalf of my associates and myself, our deepest thanks.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely yours.

U. Thant Secretary General of the United Nations New York, New York 10017

21 November 1964

My dear Oo Thein,

Thank you for your kind letter of 12 November. It was good to hear from you. As requested by you, my office is arranging to send the Society for Improvement of Youths, under separate cover by surface mail, a complete set of volumes on "Science and Technology for Development".

I hope you and my other friends in the Y.I.S. are in the best of health and spirits. I send you all my best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Oo Thein Honorary Secretary Society for the Improvement of Youths 325 Phayre Street Rangoon (Burma)

cc - Mr. Lemieux / Registry



လူငယ်များကြီးပွားစရးအသင်း FOCIETY FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF YOUTHE 325. Phayre Street, Rangoon.

The Society for the Improvement of Youths in Rangoon(Burma) held a debate on UN Day (24-10-64). In this picture, six junior members are seen on the stage with the Chairman in the centre (U Kyaw Myint)

251 Thoto Studio 25 STREET RANGOON.

တီငက္၏သမြားဂိသစေနအဆင္မႈ SOCIETY FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF YOUTHS 325, Phayre Street, Rangoon.

Dated the 12th November 1964.

TO U Thant, Secretary-General, United Nations, New York.

Dear U Thant,

This letter is to send you greetings from the YIS and its members. Since you went away from Burma in 1957, our meeting with you had been so few and far between. But the YIS and its members

always remember you.

Your recent return to Burma was very good tiding for the YIS, but we could meet you just for a few minutes. There was hardly any time to talk over matters of mutual interest. There is also one regret felt by the members that you could not drop a single line to us. Of course we have to satisfy ourselves that you are a very very busy man of the world, so that you have very little time at your disposal to write to us.

Well, friend. The YIS never failed to take active interest in the work of the UN of which you are its titular head. So far as I am concerned, my interest in the UN was initiated by you when you left with me a legacy of many account its titular head. when you left with me a legacy of work connected with UN information service in Burma. That was late in the year 1953. Today, I am one of the known persons among non-officials who takes been interest in the affairs of the UN. I assure you that this will continue to be what the

you are the UN Secretary-General or not.
You must have read the YIS report on its participation in the UN Day celebrations. This report was dated 27th October and addressed to you. I am to bring home the fact that the YIS has never failed to take active part in all the celebrations connected with

the UN.

Now I send you a note dated the 5th November 1964 which relates to the YIS participation in the International Co-operation Year (1965). The note speaks for itself and entails a lot of hard work. In a way, the YIS as a non-governmental organization in Burma the only NGO, so to say, gives active support to the UN at all times On the UN Day (24th October 1964) a debate among the

junior members of the YIS took place. As you are already aware, the subject discussed was "Although the achievement of equal rights for men and women is one of the purposes of the UN, the grant of such equal rights be postponed until such time as women's qualifications prove equal to those of men." The debate took place in our own premises in Phayre Street. Just look at the photograph taken on that occasion with U Kyaw Myint in the Chair and six speakers on the dais

The poster drawn by a member of the Youth Club by the name of Maung Moe Iwin hangs behind the dais. Mou could well see your own picture on this poster. This poster was hung outside the YIS premises for public view during the UN Week and this aroused much public interest I wish to make a request from you while you are UN Secretary-General. It would be a good idea if you could donate a set of good UN books to the YIS Library. Perhaps the eight volumes of "Science and Technology for Development" would be too costly. There may be others less costly. I leave the matter to your entire discretion. But please donate something while you are at the UN. The YIS tion. But please donate something while you are at the UN. The YIS wants to take advantage of the honour of your kind donation.

Please be kind enough to reply if you feel free to

do so. We are all happy and well.

YOURS SINCERELY,

(Kyipwayay Oo Thein) HONORARY SECRETARY

allain



လူမယ်များကြီးပွားရေးအသင်း

၃၂၅၊ ပန်းဆိုးတန်း-ရန်ကုန်မြူ။

Society for the Improvement of Youths, 325, Phayre Street, Rangoon.

Telephone: 13047. 12465.

5-11-64

REPLY BY THE SOCIETY FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF YOUTHS, RANGOON, BURMA, IN ARREST TO THE CIRCULAR LETTER DATED THE 29 JUNE 1964 FROM THE DIRECTOR OF THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS DIVISION, OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION, UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK, CN SUBJECT OF PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Society for the Improvement of Youths (founded in the year 1926) is a non-governmental organization in Burma which has for its main object the full development of youth which has for its main object the full development of youth physically, intellectually, economically, socially and morally. This Society is unique in the sense that it supports the principles and objectives of the United Nations. Apart from the normal activities as a youth serving organization, the Society teaches young people about the United Nations, celebrates annually the UN Day, the World Health Day, and the Human Rights Day. For this reason, this organization is receiving the recognition and help of the UNIC of Burms.

The Society for the Improvement of Youths has much

The Society for the Improvement of Youths has much pleasure in submitting the following plans and programmes

for its participation in the ICY.

1. As recommended by the Committee for the ICY, it is proposed to adopt the symbol for the ICY and a rubber stamp will be made for the members of the organisation to imprint on their letters and envelopes.

 Interest emong young people will be aroused by let-ting them hold researches of the co-operation and the contributions which the Government of Burms and the voluntary organizations have made and are making to international co-operation in the United Nations spheres.

As the Society for the Improvement of Youths hes several contacts with fellow youth organizations in various parts of the world, an exchange of views by correspondence in such fields as culture, economics, education, science and social welfare will be encouraged so that international understanding will result.

As young people have a role to play in the building of a peaceful world, the Society for the Improvement of Youths will conduct essay contests, debutes, group discussions, lectures, etc., on the theme of the ICY, viz. "PEACE AND PROGRESS THROUGH COOPERATION".

Public discussions on international co-operation will be held during the ICY between the lending

will be held during the ICY between the leading Burmese citizens and the foreign citizens residing in

21 November 1964

Dear Mr. Hemmarskjöld.

I wish to thank you for your letter of 10 November 1964 (ref. KH/329-64) in which you inquired about the Edna Martin rug used by the late Secretary-General in his apartment in New York. I am looking into the matter and will advise you as soon as I have definite news in regard to your request.

Yours sincerely,

J. Rolz-Bennett Deputy Chef de Cabinet

Mr. Knut Hammersk, Wld European Free Trade Association Secretariat 52, Chemin des Colombettes Geneva, Switzerland

cc: Mr. Nerasimhan

Mr. Turner Mr. Veughan

Mr. Thomas

Mr. Lemieux

EUROPEAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION

SECRETARIAT

32, Chemin des Colombettes

Ref. Nº KH/329-64

Geneva, 10th November, 1964.
Tel. (022) 34 90 00
Telex 22660

Dear Mr. Rolz-Bennet,

Please forgive me for approaching you in a strictly private matter. - I have been told that there is still a rug in the United Nations stores made by Edna Martin belonging to the United Nations which was used in the dining-room of my uncle, the late secretary-general. I have also been told that it might be possible for me to acquire this rug for matter it is rug for matter it would very much like to do so, not the least for sentimental reasons. Would you be so kind to confirm whether this would be possible and whether a sum of \$400 plus transport costs would be an acceptable price. (I have never seen the rug myself).

With my best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Knut Hammarskjöld

Mr. José Rolz-Bennet,
Deputy Chef de Cabinet,
Executive Office of the Secretary-General,
United Nations,
N e w Y o r k .

Dish

15 Willow Bend Drive Penfield, New York 14526

Honorable U Thant
The Secretary General
United Nations
New York City, New York

My dear U Thant:

It was indeed an honor and a privilege to meet with you on November sixth. Realizing how busy you are with world affairs of signal importance, I am grateful for the intimate chat you allowed me.

Mrs Ray regrets she was unable to join us; she was busy enrolling the children in school after two years in Burma.

We shall always remember our Burmese days with great fondness for your people and with joy for the beauty of your country.

If, sir, there is any way Mrs Ray and I can contribute to your comfort and happiness in America I trust you will give us the opportunity. Particularly I have in mind a period of quiet and meditation on the Massachusetts shore.

We look forward to other opportunities to meet you and your family informally.

Faithfully yours,

17 November 1964

Dear Mr. Gardner,

I want to thank you for having sent me a copy of your latest book which I am going to read at my earliest convenience. Amidst your multifarious duties it is certainly a pleasant surprise for me that you could find time to work on a book of such mubstance and magnitude.

I shall certainly look forward to seeing you during the forthcoming session of the General Assembly.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Mr. Richard N. Gardner
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
for International Organization Affairs
United States Mission to the United Nations
799 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

United States Mission to the United Nations

November 17, 1964

Dear Mr. Secretary-General:

I want you to have an early copy of the enclosed volume, which describes the efforts of the United States under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations to promote the common interest in peace and welfare through the United Nations system.

As you may know, I shall be full-time at this forth-coming General Assembly and I look forward to seeing you then.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Richard N. Gardner
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
for International Organization Affairs

whenth Garden

His Excellency U Thant

Secretary-General of the United Nations

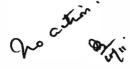
BELLA RAVDIN 72, HATISHBI ST. HAIFA

של. 82063 .ל

P.O. Box 6116

Haifa, the 8th Nov.64

Mr. U. Thant, Secretary General, United Nations, New- York, U.S.A.



Dear Sir,

Re: Mr. Bo Min Gaung, Burma

As member of the Israel Section of "Amnesty International. I hereby ask you to help me establishing a contact in Burna with the former Minister, Mr. Bo Min Gaung, who has been arrested in August 1963.

I am interested to help him & his family & seeking release, as "Amnesty International" is working with success all over the world. The contact given to me in Rangoon, Dr. M. K. Kiaing, does not reply & time is passing by. The Israel Section of Amnesty International has been established on Human Rights Day, the 10th Dec. 1963.

Thanking you in advance & looking forward hearing from you, I remain, respectfully,

for "Amnesty International"
Bella Prodice
Bella Ravdin.



AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

a movement for freedom of opinion and religion

1 MITRE COURT BUILDINGS · TEMPLE · LONDON E.C.4
TELEPHONE : CITY 6633 TELEGRAMS : AMNESTY, LONDON

Chairman of the International Executive: SEAN MACBRIDE, S.C.

Secretary of the International Executive: PETER BENENSON



The AMNESTY movement consists of people of all nationalities, politics, religions and social views who are determined to work together in defence of freedom of the mind.

Its principal object is to mobilise public opinion in defence of those men and women who are imprisoned because their ideas are unacceptable to their Governments. Present estimates show that there are something like a million such prisoners scattered in more than forty countries.

The AMNESTY movement has been formed so that there should be some central, international organisation capable of concentrating efforts to secure the release of these "Prisoners of Conscience" Essentially an impartial organisation as regards religion and politics, it aims at uniting groups in different countries working towards the same end—the freedom and dignity of the human mind.

Groups of members in different localities and countries make themselves responsible for three "Prisoners of Conscience" one chosen from the East, one chosen from the West and one from the newly-independent states. Each group pleads, privately and publicly, for the release of its adopted prisoners. Until the prisoners are released the group does whatever it can to focus attention on his situation, to relieve his conditions and that of his dependent family.

PATRONS OF "FUND FOR THE PERSECUTED"

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Great Britain · Professor Martin Buber, Israel · Roger Baldwin, President of the International League for the Rights of Man, U.S.A. Pablos Casals, Puerto Rico · Danilo Dolci, Sicily · Professor Erich Fromm, New York and Mexico · Lt.-Gen. Sir Brian Horrocks, Great Britain · J-F. Lalive, Switzerland Professor Salvador de Madariaga, Spain · Yehudi Menuhin, Great Britain · Professor Gunnar Myrdal, Sweden · Pablo Neruda, Chile · Professor Robert Oppenheimer, U.S.A. · Alan Paton, South Africa · Abbe Dominique Pire, Nobel Prize winner, Belgium · Mr. Walter Reuther, International President of the United Automobile Workers, U.S.A. · Dr. Albert Schweitzer, Gabon · Sean MacBride, S.C., Secretary General of the International Commission of Jurists · Professor Z. K. Matthews, South Africa Philip Noel-Baker, M.P., Nobel Prize winner, Great Britain · Professor Giorgio La Pira, Mayor of Florence, Italy · Professor Julius Stone, Australia.



SECRETARY GENERAL

Dear he Bannister,

I want to theme you for your kind letter of the Provocation commying to me the quetings and good wishes of the medius of your branch of Burns Star Association.

(at me take this opportunity of extending my women's greatings and host wishes extending my women's greatings and host wishes to the mentions on the occasion of your lemmal

Anostrato (U THANT)

In J. Barnister.



BURMA STAR ASSOCIATION

(REGISTERED UNDER THE WAR CHARITIES ACT 1940)

MANCHESTER, SALFORD & DISTRICTS BRANCH

"Westwood"
25, Errwood Road,
Levenshulme,
Manchester, I9.
England

Ist November, 1964

Dear Sir,

On the I4th November, I964 the Manchester, Salford and Districts Branch of the Burma Star Association is holding its Annual Dinner and Dance at the Grosvenor Hotel, Manchester.

Members of all three Services who served in the Burma Campaign will be present including our disabled comrades, ex-POW's and Chindits. On such occasions our thoughts undoubtedly turn to those years spent in your country. Tragic and difficult though they were, much of the severity was offset by the happy nature of your people and their disposition towards us.

As Burma is, and will always remain so much in our hearts, will you sir, please accept on behalf of your country the sincere greetings and good wishes of all members of this Branch, and our hope that under your guidance the United Nations will continue to preserve peace in the world.

Yours respectfully,

Bannister, P.R.O.

Secretary-General United Nations Council Washington, D.C.

U.S.A.



HAROLD J. McNally
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

October 30, 1964

U Thant, Secretary-General The United Nations Secretariat New York, New York

Dear U Thant:

You may be surprised at the letterhead on which I write you. After seventeen years as a professor at Teachers College, Columbia University, I left to undertake the task of organizing and developing a Department of Educational Services with this Company. They are the publishers of the well-known World Book Encyclopedia. We are living in Hinsdale, Illinois, and my office is here in Chicago. You know well the challenge of undertaking a different kind of work; I am finding it most stimulating.

Early in November I shall be attending a conference of one of our Advisory Boards in Bermuda. One member is Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak. I understand that he is to see you in New York before leaving for Bermuda, and that he will be flying on Pan American Airways, flight 131 on Thursday, 5th November.

I shall also be on this flight. Will you tell Mr. Spaak that I shall look for him, and will be pleased to travel with him to Bermuda? I believe he will be alone, and that he may welcome companionship on the flight.

My family is well. Janet will graduate from Syracuse University this June with a Bachelor of Fine Arts Degree, Douglas is a freshman at Columbia College, and Judy is still in high school. Marya and I send warm regards with great admiration for the distinguished manner in which you are handling the responsibilities of the Secretary-Generalship.

Sincerely yours,

Harold J. McNally

Director of Education Services

HJMcN:gs

Sts personal



310 East 70th Street New York 21, New York October 27, 1964

Dear U Thant:

It was very kind of you to take so much trouble in answering my letter and to give me such a frank appraisal of the questions I had raised.

Your task is indeed a difficult one and I agree with your view that neither you nor the United Nations should pass judgment on the internal affairs of individual countries. Unless this rule is followed there would be chaos. The dilemma is that the dividing line between domestic affairs and international relations is very fuzzy and most of us would like to see certain moral and human standards upheld. As you point out, a single standard should be applied in such judgments but here, too, numerous complications enter.

I did not intend this letter to be an additional intrusion on your time but an expression of my appreciation for your views. I also want to assure you that I will respect the confidential character of your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Blum

His Excellency U Thant, Secretary-General The United Nations

Now York 17 Now York

New York 17, New York

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PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

26 October 1964

Dear Doctor Blum,

I want to thank you for your kind letter of October 23, and the noble sentiments which prompted it. I feel, however, that a brief observation on my part is called for regarding certain assumptions underlying your letter.

First of all, when I asked the new Russian leaders to permit Khruschev to make a public statement I had only one purpose in mind: to set the record straight and to clear the air of speculation. It is not the function of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to invoke the democratic spirit in non-democratic societies nor can he, in his conscience, discriminate in the selection of objects for his appeal. It is certainly not for the Secretary-Ceneral nor the World Organization itself to pass judgment on which country or countries are undemocratic or despotic. If the criterion of democracy, as we understand this concept, is to be applied, I am afraid more than half the membership of the United Nations will not stand the test. This basic character of the United Nations not to identify itself with political ideologies and not to pass judgment on the political or economic pattern of its Member States, is so widely misunderstood that it is often labelled as "communist front" on the one hand (example - resolutions on South Africa) and "American stooge" on the other (example - Congo operations).

I agree with you that double standards must end. The application of a single standard, in my view, does not mean the focussing of our attention and wielding the big stick only on those societies which we detest. Our assessment should be impartial and objective

Doctor Robert Blum 310 East 70th Street New York 21, New York whether the countries involved are Burma or South Viet-Nam, Ghana or Guatemala, Nepal or Nicaragua, Poland or Paraguay. Even many intelligent and knowledgeable people are apt to accuse some one of using a double standard when they themselves want to pick and choose.

As you are no doubt aware, I have my own personal beliefs and convictions. I believe in democracy and I detest dictatorship in any shape or form. I cannot apply this personal conviction to the discharge of my official functions under the Charter. Even so, I cannot obviously make a distinction between Sukarno or Somoza, Newin or Novotny. But this is not my function. Nor is it the function of the United Nations to pass judgment on which country is democratic or not, whether people are happier in Formosa than in China, and so on. When I criticize the Government of South Africa for its policies of apartheid, I do so only on the basis of the numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The United Nations operates as any other organization operates; once decisions are taken, its Chief Executive (Secretary-General) has to implement these decisions and not otherwise.

I apologise for the apparent rough edges in this letter but I hope you understand the spirit in which it is written. For obvious reasons, this letter should be treated as purely personal and confidential, and not meant for any use or quotation.

Hope this sees you in the best of health.

With warmest wishes,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

310 East 70th Street New York 21, New York October 23, 1964

Dear U Thant:

Yesterday you raised your voice to ask that Khrushchev be permitted to give publicly his version of the events leading to his departure from office. Unfortunately, such an appeal to the democratic spirit will probably go unheeded unless we are to witness the spectacle of a communist-style confession.

But, why do you limit yourself to what has just happened in the Soviet Union? Arbitrary acts by government and the political prisoners they create abound in the world today. The fact that Khrushchev was head of one of the big powers makes the manner of his removal more spectacular and important but no more undemocratic or despotic than the similar actions taken elsewhere. I am thinking of the numerous Afro-Asian countries where political injustices are plentiful but that have surrounded themselves with an immunity to criticism that is protected by ready charges of neo-colonialism and imperialism and by the assiduous courtship of other countries.

I think of U Nu and the time I first met both of you together in San Francisco. A fine man, with many friends in Burma and abroad, he was swept out of office and into custody along with his colleagues, not to be heard of since. Often I have felt guilty at my own silence, but each time that I have been tempted to raise my voice and express my sympathy to these men or their families who were so kind to me on many occasions, I have been advised that outside protests would do more harm than good. So, I have said nothing.

Burma is, of course, not alone. There is also Indonesia where some of the ablest men in the country have been detained for years, without any opportunity to defend themselves. The list of African countries practicing the same kind of arbitrary rule is a long one. Somehow, all this gets overlooked and excused, and the same is true of China, probably because all of these countries are in the Afro-Asian world and were once the victims of white imperialism. It is time for this double standard to end.

Perhaps what I am saying is that I am glad when you speak out on Khrushchev or on South Africa, but you do not go far enough.

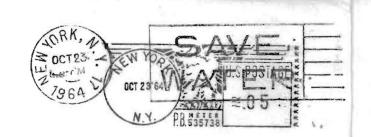
Please forgive me if I seem to be adding to your burdens, but I know that you would want me to write frankly.

With warmest personal greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Robert Blum

His Excellency U Thant, Secretary-General The United Nations New York 17, New York Robert Blum - 310 East 70th Street New York 21, New York



His Excellency U Thant, Secretary-General The United Nations
New York 17, New York

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Continued are Burns or South Virtnam, Share or South Virtnam, Share or Poland Paragray. Even may intelligent and knowledgeable people are apt to accuse some one of using a double standard when they themselves want to pick and choose.

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Will want wishes,

Yours much,

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Sy personal

Copenhagen, 16th of October, 1964.

To The Secretary General of United Nations,
Mr. U Thant,

New York



Dear Sir,

Being the representatives of "Amnesty International", Danish section, we take the liberty to write to you in connection with a matter, which we have been asked to investigate into. It concerns Mr. U NU formerly prime minister of the republic of Burma.

According to information received by us Mr. U NU has been kept imprisoned in his country since 1963 due to his political attitudes, which are not those prevailing in or acknowledged by the government of Burma at present.

The case has been passed on to us from England, and it is on this occasion that we venture contacting you and asking you politely if you will inform us as to the background of Mr. U NU's confinement or advise us what influential persons we should contact in order to gain information about Mr. U NU, or, perhaps, how we could establish communication with himself.

We enclose a printed letter, from which you may learn that "Amnesty International" is a non-political organisation, which works for political and religious freedom of all countries.

We hope to receive your reply to our question.

We remain, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

£ AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Alice Bes

Danish section

Mrs. Alice Bentzen teacher Norgesgade 56, 5. Copenhagen S Denmark.



AMNES TY INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

a movement for freedom of opinion and religion

1 MITRE COURT BUILDINGS • TEMPLE • LONDON E.C.4

TELEPHONE : CITY 6633 TELEGRAMS : AMNESTY, LONDON

Chairman of the International Executive : SEAN MACBRIDE, S.C.

Secretary of the International Executive: PETER BENENSON

The AMNESTY movement consists of people of all nationalities, politics, religions and social views who are determined to work together in defence of freedom of the mind.

Its principal object is to mobilise public opinion in defence of those men and women who are imprisoned because their ideas are unacceptable to their Governments. Present estimates show that there are something like a million such prisoners scattered in more than forty countries.

The AMNESTY movement has been formed so that there should be some central, international organisation capable of concentrating efforts to secure the release of these "Prisoners of Conscience." Essentially an impartial organisation as regards religion and politics, it aims at uniting groups in different countries working towards the same end—the freedom and dignity of the human mind.

Groups of members in different localities and countries make themselves responsible for three "Prisoners of Conscience" one chosen from the East, one chosen from the West and one from the newly-independent states. Each group pleads, privately and publicly, for the release of its adopted prisoners. Until the prisoners are released the group does whatever it can to focus attention on his situation, to relieve his conditions and that of his dependent family.

PATRONS OF "FUND FOR THE PERSECUTED"

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Great Britain · Professor Martin Buber, Israel · Roger Baldwin, President of the International League for the Rights of Man, U.S.A. Pablos Casals, Puerto Rico · Danilo Dolci, Sicily · Professor Erich Fromm, New York and Mexico · Lt.-Gen. Sir Brian Horrocks, Great Britain · J.-F. Lalive, Switzerland Professor Salvador de Madariaga, Spain · Yehudi Menuhin, Great Britain · Professor Gunnar Myrdal. Sweden · Pablo Neruda, Chile · Professor Robert Oppenheimer, U.S.A. · Alan Paton, South Africa · Abbe Dominique Pire, Nobel Prize winner, Belgium · Mr. Walter Reuther, International President of the United Automobile Workers, U.S.A. · Dr. Albert Schweitzer, Gabon · Sean MacBride, S.C., Secretary General of the International Commission of Jurists · Professor Z. K. Matthews, South Africa Philip Noel-Baker, M.P., Nobel Prize winner, Great Britain · Professor Giorgio La Pira, Mayor of Florence, Italy · Professor Julius Stone, Australia.



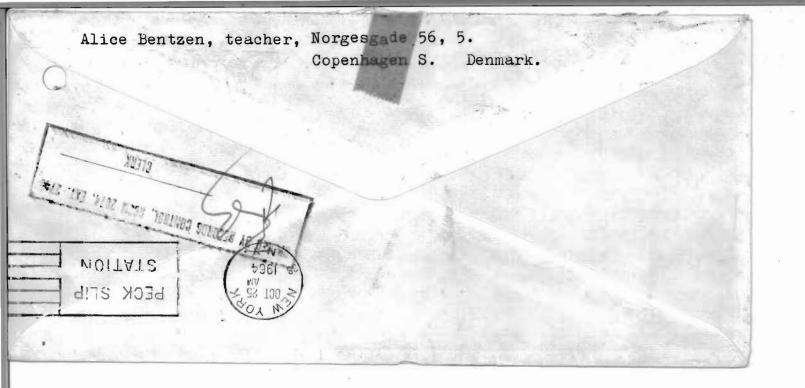




The Secretary General of United Nations
Mr. U Thant.

United Nations Secretariat Building
New York City
U.S.A.

do pluison.



UNITED NATIONS



N'A TIONS UNIES

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST
SALA SANTITHAM
RANGKOK, THAILAND.

TELEPHONES: 24635-9 CABLE: ECAFE BANGKOK

Perme file

15th October, 1964.

My dear 4 Thank, of thank you for your kind letter of 16 th Saptomber.
Please forgive me for the delay is writing to you and have been away on duty in the Philippines to inaugurate and service the United Nations ECAFE Trade Promotion Training Centra, and in Western Samoa to make my first official call on the name member of ECNFE. I was received in audience by President Macapagal of the Philippines and by Chief Malieton Tanumafilie, Head of State of Western Samon I had very good discussions with them on U.N. ECNFE matters, and they both Sand their warmest personal greatings and best wishes to you. It was indeed a great pleasure for cer to have Aye Aye and Dr. Tyn Myint U with cur in Banghok Ray are a most charming young couple, and they have undered themselves to all of us. We were disappointed that their stay in Bangkok was so

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST SALA SANTITHAM
BANGKOK, THAILAND.

TELEPHONES: 24635-9 CABLE: ECAFE BANGKOK

_2.

We do very much hope that they will be able to come back again to Baughot you and Mrs. Thank in the new future It is indeed a great pleasure and honour for custo work under your able Ceadership, and we are all very grateful to you for your sympathatic understanding of the problems of the smaller underdevaloped countries and for championing their cause your inspiring leadership in the Mrs. Nyun and children join Age Age and Dr. Tyn hyint U the very best of health. Do please let us know the family requires anything from Banghot et any time. We shall be very hafty to be of service to them With best wisher and wa personal regards

your sincerely,

Statement of Account

 Purchases made in Bangkok (as per vouchers attached)

Voucher A 4,607.00

Voucher B 1,094.00 Ticals 5,701.00

2. Cash advanced to Aye Aye

6,000.00

3. Cash paid to Mrs. Tha Dok on behalf of Aye Aye

1,200.00

Total Ticals 12,901.00

Or US\$

620.24

(at the official exchange rate of US\$ 1 = Ticals 20.80)

MESSRS. LIANG SENG HENG CO. No. 53, Spanhun, Bangkok Telephone No. 24969

Gold Article Weight Ticals percentage Ten Bangles 90% 91.700 gr. 2,638.00 7.600 gr. 265.00 One Brooch (Royal Barge) 90% 19.800 gr. One set Buttons 731.00 90% 90% 1.600 gr. 65.00 One pair Earings 7.900 gr. 272.00 One Brooch (Coloured) 90% Two Hair Pins 90% 22.000 gr. 636.00 4,607.00 Total cost

MESSRS. LIANG SENG HENG CO. No. 53, Spanhun, Bangkok Telephone No. 24969

One set Buttons 90 % 18.200 644.00

One pair Earrings 90 % 7.100 450.00

Total cost 1,094.00

7

SG.,

INITED NATIONS
1964 DCT 13 PN 6:25

SVN24 NEWYORK 29 NL PD 13 1800EDT VIAWU MR AND MRS ORVILLE MORRÎSON GLEN RIDDLE (PENNSYLVANIA)

THANKS FOR KIND INVITATION TO DINNER ON 19 OCTOBER TO HONOUR CLARENCE PICKETT FOR WHOM I HAVE THE HIGHEST REGARD.

REGRET INABILITY TO ATTEND DUE TO PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENT.

APOLOGIES.

U THANT

COL 19

3800 512

EOSG

Mr. and Mrs. Orville Morrison Glen Riddle Pennsylvania

Thanks for kind invitation to dinner on 19 October to honour Clarence Pickett for whom I have the highest regard. Regret inability to attend due to previous engagement. Apologies. U Thant

U Thant, Secretary-General

WU CO76 (A259)

(THIS MESSAGE RECEIVED DIRECT FROM SENDER VIA WU TLX)

TLX PD GLENRIDDLE PENN OCT 13

HON AND MRS U THANT, UNITED NATIONS

YESTERDAY FOLLOWING MY RETURN FROM A LONG TRIP TO THE PACIFIC
COAST I LEARNED THAT OUR MUTUAL FRIEND CLARENCE PICKETT WILL

BE 80 YEARS OLD NEXT MONDAY OCTOBER 19. AS YOU KNOW CLARENCE
PICKETT IS EMERITUS EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE
COMMITTEE AND ACCEPTED FOR UNITED STATES THE NOBLE PEACE PRIZE
MARGUERITE AND I HAVE THEREFORE ARRANGED DINNER FOR CLARENCE AND
LILLY AT THE WARWICK HOTEL PHILADELPHIA 6:30 PM OCTOBER 19
ALL OF US WOULD BE DEEPLY HONORED BY YOUR PRESENCE. WE
APOLOGIZE FOR THIS BEIATED INVITATION. IN THE MEANWHILE BOTH
OF US SEND YOU OUR SINCERE BEST WISHES PLEASE ADVISE

MARGUERITE AND ORVILLE MORRISON GLEN RIDDLE PENN.

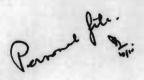
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TELEGRAPH IINIT

The New York Times

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

UNITED NATIONS BUREAU
UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.
PLAZA 8-0254



October 8, 1964

Dear Mr. Secretary-General:

I want to thank you for the great kindness you showed me today. I feel greatly honored that you were willing to take such action on my behalf and I shall always be grateful.

The job of covering the United Nations for a great newspaper is exacting and I am most appreciative of your good opinion. I value it also as a mark of the friendship between us of many years standing.

With best wishes and renewed thanks,

Yours sincerely,

Thos. J. Hamilton

U Thant, Secretary-General, The United Nations.

30 September 1964

Dear Professor Arnoni,

Thank you for your kind letter of 25 September inviting me to contribute an article for the forthcoming fifth anniversary issue of The Minority of One. For a variety of reasons, of which pressure of work is only one, I very much regret my inability to contribute such an article.

As you know, I have always had great respect for the work you are doing, and I enclose a cheque for \$50.00 as a token of my support for your work. I would request youtho keep it, as before, as an anonymous contribution.

With kindest regards and all good wishes,

Tours simerely,

U Thant

Professor M.S. Arnoni Editor The Minority of One P.O. Box 544 Passaic, New Jersey

THE MINORITY OF

Independent Monthly Publication, Dedicated to the Elimination of All Thought Restrictions Except for the Truth

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad."—GEORGE ORWELL

Vol. I, No. 1

THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC.

Address for subscriptions and correspondence: P.O. Box 544, Passaic, N. J.

Editor: M. S. Arnoni

December, 1959

September 25, 1964

BOARD OF SPONSORS:

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MAIN OFFICE:

77 Pennington Avenue P. O. Box 544 Passaic, N. J. PR 8-1539

NEW YORK RRANCH.

154 Nassau Street New York 38, N. Y. CO 7-1740 His Excellency U Thant Villa Bella Vista 200 31st St. & Palisades Ave. New York, New York 10063

Your Excellency:

In this rather lonely task of mine, I have often been thinking of our past correspondence and gaining encouragement from the thought that a man of your dedication to peace thinks my efforts worthwhile. And it is possible that subconsciously the request which will follow is motivated by a desire to hear another good word from you. Specifically, what I wish to request is that Your Excellency write an article for the forthcoming fifth anniversary issue of The Minority of One. This issue will be the December, 1964 issue, much enlarged and with contributions from outstanding intellectuals.

I, of course, fully appreciate how busy you are and with all my enthusiasm for having your contribution, I would understand if this proved impossible. We would need the article before the end of October. I would appreciate if Your Excellency informed me whether we may count on such an article.

With profoundest admiration and respect,

MSA:SS

N.J. Simon.



St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur: U.P., (India), 25.9.'64

The Rt. Hon'ble U.T. Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, Washington, D.C. U.S.A.

Hob' ble Sir,

I lived near Wakema on the banks of the Lyne river. During my boyhood days I have seen you and Mr. Hu. You may remember my Dad - J.G.Simon, B.E.S., Ist. class, Ex-Principal of the Inter College in Pegu. He resides at Leikpyegan quarters. If I may say so, I was educated in Judson College affiliated to Rangoon University at the time of Dr. Hela Bu in 1941.

I: joined the British army as a Lieutenant from 1942-1946. I was attached to the Burma Intelligence Corps. After retrenchment, I returned to India. From 1947-1964 I still reside here. I am still a confirmed bachelor and related to Prince Taw Paya Gyi.

We were shocked to get the sad news of your son's demise. Though TIME will heel all wounds, please convey our sympathy to Daw Their Tir, and also Mrs. Tyn Myint.

/contact

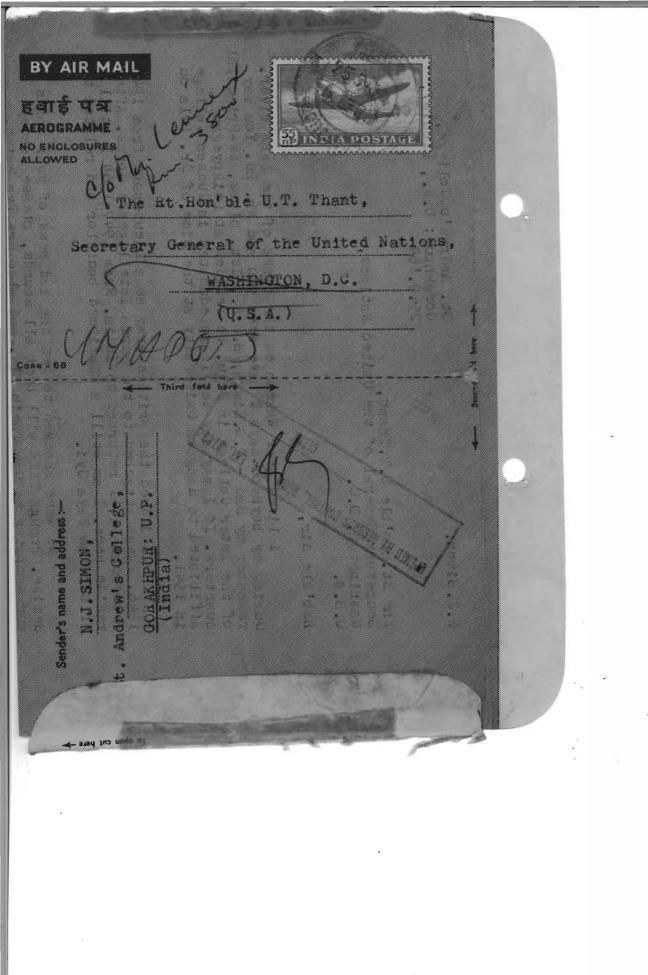
Also I shall not mind a post under the kind control of C.V. Narasinhan, U.N.Chef-de-Cabinet. Please/Dr.Reninger about me.

Your term may close on November 3, 1966. Till then please see a post for Mr. S.A.A. Zaidi in your Secretariat or the U.N. Library of Congress. Whatever, it may be. But, I am sure, you will hold many more years to come in office on the same capacity too.

With respectful greetings.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most humble servant,

(N.J. SIMON)



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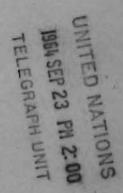
ETAT

HIS EXCELLENCY MR U THANT SECRETARY GENERAL UNITED NATIONS NEWYORK

DEEPLY TOUCHED BY OUR KIND WISHES ON THE OCCASION
OF OUR MARRIAGE THE QUEEN AND I WISH TO EXPRESS TO
YOUR EXCELLENCY OUR HEARTFELT THANKS
CONSTANTINE R.

COLL MR U THANT R.

-SENT CA 11// 1255P EST UNATION 222422



SVN22 NEWYORK 66/64 PD 17 1655EDT P1/52/50 VIAWU

H.E. M. DIMITRI S. BITSIOS

PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF GREECE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

69 EAST 79TH STREET

NEW YORK, (N.Y.)

MAY I ASK YOUR EXCELLENCY TO SEE YOUR WAY TOWARDS CONVEYING
TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HELLENES, WITH PROFOUND RESPECT,
OUR MOST SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THE OCCASION OF HIS MARRIAGE
TO H.R.H. PRINCESS ANNE-MARIE OF DENMARK TOMORROW. IN
EXPRESSING OUR GOOD WISHES FOR HIS MAJESTYS PERSONAL WELFARE
AND

P2/14

HAPPINESS MAY WE BE ALLOWED TO SHARE THE JOY OF THE PEOPLE OF GREECE

U THANT SECRETARY-GENERAL UNITED NATIONS COL 69 79TH TELEGRAPH UNIT



KYI NYUNT, PRESIDENT INTERNATIONAL UNION OF SOCIALIST YOUTH

Socialists dedicated to the principles of freedom, equality, justice and solidarity
PROTEST against the arbitary arrest of Comrade Kyi Nyunt,
President of the International
Union of Socialist Youth.
We DEMAND his immediate release.

GENERAL NE WIN
CHAIRMAN OF REVOLUTIONARY
COUNCIL

RANGOON BURMA

AIR MAIL



INTERNATIONAL UNION OF SOCIALIST YOUTH

Teinfaltstraße 9 — Vienna I — Austria

Telephone: 63 27 31 — Telegrams: IUSY WIEN — Teleprinter: 01/1783 — Bank Account: Arbeiterbank Wien 6860

Our Ref.

Vienna, September 23rd, 1964.

Personal

Dear Sir,

This is to inform you that the President of the International Union of Socialist Youth, comrade Kyi Nyunt, was arrested mid August, 1964, on unspecified political charges by the Revolutionary Council of Burma.

We have made formal approaches to get an explanation of his arrest and we have demanded his release. No reply has been given by the Revolutionary Council.

In the recent Bureau and Executive Committee meetings of our International we decided to launch a protest campaign demanding the release of the IUSY President. The enclosed postcard is one of the methods employed in this campaign which will gradually demonstrate to the Revolutionary Council of Burma how concerned Socialists all over the world are at the arrest of the IUSY President.

This information is now sent to you at the request of comrade Kyi Nyunt before he returned to Burma in July to attend to some family matters. We will also in future inform you on the development of this deplorable violation of the political and personal rights of our President.

The General Secretary U Thant, The United Nations New York USA

Yours sincerely,

Sture Ericson General Secretary

1213/63

21 September 1964

Dear Arthur,

Your kind letter of 16 September with which you enclosed an aide memoire on the question of financing peace keeping operations. I have read the paper with much interest.

I have no doubt that Ambassador Adebo will give your proposals very careful consideration.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Mr. Arthur S. Lall 205 Willard Way Ithaca, New York Personal

21. Wash 12 th Streets New York Ny 10014 Tel: OR 53839.

September 16, 1964

Dear h. Thank,

I have been trying to apply my mind to the question of a compromise some mainly for the procedures for payment of the cost of future U.N. peace keeping operations. By implication this question also touches on the matter of the sanction for such operations.

I have had a long discussion about this question with Adebo, and also talked about it to a few others. Adebo asked me to put down my ideas on paper. I have done so, and am enclosing the note for your personal information. I have sent a copy to Adebo.

I return to Ithaca on the coming Sunday. Meanwhile if there are any questions on the attached note I could come over and try to elucidate, if you so wish. In any case I am available to you at any time even from Ithaca, for anything you think I might be able to do.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR S. TATI

ASL/cg

H.E. U. Thant Secretary-General United Nations My adhers in Ilhacea is:

205 Willard Way Iltaca, N.y.

PAYMENT FOR PEACE KEEPING BY ARTHUR S. LALL

- L. Among the Organs of the U.N. normally the Security Council considers those situations which could lead to the deployment of peace keeping forces. This is not only in accordance with the scheme of the Charter; it is, in a power sense, even more realistic today than it was in 1945. In 1945 it was still conceivable that world peace could be established against the wishes of the Soviet Union (which was not a nuclear power). This is no longer the case. Agreement to preserve world peace is a stark necessity today. A two thirds majority vote of the General Assembly against one or other of the two Super Powers could conceiveably be mustered in certain circumstances, but to try to embark on an enforcement exercise on the basis of such a vote would spell world war and the destruction of the U.N. For these reasons, it is essential to bring home to the great powers their responsibility to maintain the peace. This is a task that the General Assembly should not neglect.
- 2. There is the growing fact of the General Assembly and there is the generally accepted principle that in any system of political organization taxation should be voted by the most widely representative body.
- 3. Having regard to the two foregoing basic factors, it is desirable to bring into operation, when levies of a financial character for peace keeping operations, are to be imposed on member States, both the Security Council and the General Assembly.
- 4. There are, however, cases when full procedure to ensue this will not be necessary. These are:
 - (a) When the situation clearly concerns a limited number of

states and they are willing, or can be persuaded by the Security Council or the Secretary-General, to assume the entire responsibility for the finances for peace keeping. Saudi Arabia and the U.A.A. financed the observation functions in Yemen - not strictly peace keeping but in some ways analagous to some of the peace keeping operations undertaken by the U.N. The transitional arrangements for West Trian in which the U.N. was so closely involved did, among other things, keep the peace in the area, and again were paid for by the two countries directly involved.

- (b) When voluntary contributions are available to meet the cost of the operation. e.g., the present Cyprus operations.
- 5. The next category will be of cases in which either or both the sources of funds mentioned in paragraph 4 above cover a part (and it could be a very substantial part) of the cost. In this case the problem of assessment will be relatively simpler than when the full cost has to be met from assessments.
- that the financial needs are more of a ways and means character than substantive. For example, there might be a clear case of aggression when certain countries, or a certain country, would be asked to bear a considerable part of the cash costs involved. In such a case it will be largely a matter of finding the money to meet expenses pending collection from those adjudged finally responsible.
- 7. Finally, there will be the case of a levy all around. In a sense this is considered the normal case, and it is the one which is

attracting the most attention, but it might turn out to be the type that will least frequently arise.

- Orderly procedure would base itself on the reasonableness of air ascerting first the views of those countries which would be directly responsible for deciding what peace keeping measures were to be taken in the circumstances of a particular case. It is suggested therefore that the procedure for financial arrangements should be iniated in or before the Security Council. In those cases in which the expenses are to be met by the parties concerned or by voluntary contributions the procedure will be completed in the Council itself. In other cases the Security Council should consider the question of the appropriate assessment perhaps only the principles of such assessment and make its recommendations to the Ceneral Assembly. It would be for the Assembly to accept or reject the recommendations of the Council. In the unlikely event of rejection, the Security Council should recommendations.
- 9. On the matter of procedure in the Security Council the following two suggestions are offered:
- (i) The Security Council should consider meeting in private session when negotiating the scheme of assessments.
- (ii) If the Council fails to reach agreement recourse should be had to the spirit of Article 28.2 of the U.N. Charter: the Council should meet, preferably in private, at the Minister level and strive to fulfill its responsibilities.

10. If this procedure is conscient tously followed it will very rarely prove necessary to cater to cases in which the Security Council fails to make recommendations to the General Assembly. In such an eventuality the procedures adopted should not be such as would provoke or encourage any undermining of the effectiveness of efforts to reach agreement in the Council. We must never forget that basic and realistic reasons make such agreement even more essential today than when the Charter was written. If there is to be an emergency procedure it should be on the lines of the General Assembly nominating or electing on an equitable geographic basis, a dozen representatives to negotiate with the Council on the question of assessment. Whenever necessary such negotiations should be conducted at the Minister level. These meetings should be private.

- Assembly should make a provisional assessment for a one or two month period, during which efforts to reach agreed recommendations, along the lines suggested above, should continue. If agreement cannot be reached the peace keeping effort will have to be reconsidered. But the must be a commitment by all members to pay in full the provisional two month assessment of the General Assembly.
- 12. It is more important to consider how peace keeping operations will be initiated and directed. This is primarily the responsibility of the Security Council. But the Council might fail to act. If the occasion is one of emergency, and if the Security Council ceases to be seized of the issue, then the Assembly can act under the Uniting for Peace resolution.

In such cases the procedure for financial assessment might begin with a meeting of the Council at Minister Level, and then go on to negotiation between the Council and the Assembly as suggested in paragraph 10 above, with the possibility of a provisional assessment as suggested in paragraphII. Two other suggestions are offered: the first is that the 13. Security Council should consider recommending to the General Assembly the setting up of a reserve fund for peace keeping operations of say 30 million. This fund should be assessed to the members of the United Nations on the same scale as the normal annual assessment. It should be drawn upon with the sanction of the Security Council, except that in the circumstances set out in paragraph 12 up to two month's expenses, on a provisional basis, may be authorised by the General Assembly. The Security Council might also consider drawing up rules to govern use of a certain fraction of this reserve -- say up to 10 or 15 per cebt -- by the Secretary General pending sanction by the Council. It should not prove impossible to draw up such rules.

14. The second suggestion offered is that the Security Council should take up de novo the task of working out the agreement or agreements stipulated in Article 43 of the Charter. The cold war has passed its peak. Moreover, the disarmament discussions at Geneva have indicated that both sides are now willing to pay some attention to this Article of the Charter. Both realise the importance of the role of peace keeping in a world which is preparing for and should embark on measures of disarmament. Besides, there is a Charter obligation to negotiate the agreements provided for in

Article 43. It would be timely to start afresh on this negotiation.

- It might be argued that the scheme presented in this paper 15. is incomplete because it leaves us, in the event of disagreement in the Security Council, with only a provisional assessment by the General Assembly, for not more than two months. Such a view, however, would be a misreading of this paper. What is proposed is that during the two month period when the peacekeeping action is being financed on the basis of the General Assembly assessment, the Security Council should reconsider the question and try to resolve its disagreements. Theoretically it could be asserted that the disagreements might still not be resolved. On a realistic basis the answer to this view is that if the great powers in all circumstances refuse to reach agreement, then the U.N. has reached the end of the road. However, the implication of this paper is, that if the Security Council reconsiders the issue and again fails to reach agreement, the matter can go again before an Inter-Organ Negotiating Committee. If that fails the General Assembly can again make a provisional assessment for two months and so on.
- However, it is most unlikely that events would have to develop as in paragraph 15 above. This paper gives the maximum opportunity for the Security Council to reach agreement. It deploys the procedures of private meetings, of meetings at Minister level, and of private negotiations with a representative group nominated or elected by the General Assembly. It is urged that we should give these extensive procedures a full opportunity to iron out basic differences.
- 17. This note deals with procedures for further cases. There is every indication that agreement for the future will assist in getting some ad hoc solution for the problem of paying for past peace keeping ventures.

16 September 1964

Dear Dr. U Ba,

Thank you for your kind letter of 7 September. I have obtained the equipment which you asked me to get for you. It costs almost \$52.00. The relevant bill is attached.

I am sending it to you through Mr. William Cummings, the Resident Representative of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board, who is now in New York on home leave and is returning to Rangoon shortly.

Since the equipment costs approximately kyats 250, I should be grateful if you could leave the balance of kyats 150 with my brother, U Thaung.

In due course kindly acknowledge the safe receipt of the equipment.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Dr. U Ba 91-B Windermere Road Rangoon Burma

cc: Mr. Cumnings
U Thoung

15 September 1964

PERSONAL

My dear Ambassador,

I duly received your letter of 24 August 1964 enquiring about your brother. I intended to telephone you from Geneva during my visit in connexion with the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. Unfortunately my stay was so short and I had such pressure of work that I could not call you.

I regret to inform you that I did not get any suitable opportunity to raise the matter of your brother with the authorities and especially with the top people in Rangoon. I can only hope that political developments in the coming months may produce a more favourable climate.

With kindest regards,

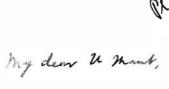
Yours sincerely,

U Thant

His Excellency Mr. M.A. Rauf 334 Cortleigh Boulevard Toronto 12, Ont. Canada

cc: Mr. Lemieux







EMBASSY OF INDIA BERNE

24th August 1964

I was hoping to hear some news from Burma regarding your visit there. The newspapers did not have anything more than your interview which of course had to be non-committal. Of course, you must have talked with Bogyoke about many international matters and to discover the trend of Burmese policy. These are deep matters which I cannot ask you about. But if it is not indiscreet I have been very anxious to know whether there was a discussion about the release of the prisoners who have now been in custody for 2½ years. My own impression from a distance is that the Revolutionary Council is firmly in power, its international relations are fairly stable and therefore there is no point in keeping the Ministers in custody. Of course this is a view from far away. Did you get the impression that they are likely to be free soon? When I was there nearly two years ago, I was told that the Army was seriously considering this matter.

I am retiring at the end of August and I am intending to go to Canada for three or four months. After that my programme is uncertain but of course I will go back to India. At the beginning of this year I had asked for a visa to go to Burma but it was gently hinted that perhaps there may be some difficulty. If Raschid is released, I would like to see him as he is my only brother much younger than myself. I shall be very happy to hear from you if you can spare the time particularly your impressions whether the people are happy and what is your estimate of the work of the Army. I know that you are very busy with Cyprus and Vietnam and I suppose Congo.

After two weeks my address will be :-

334 Cortleigh Blvd., Toronto-12, Ont.

With very best wishes,

(M.A. RAUF)

His Excellency U Thant, Secretary General, United Nations Organisation, New York. (U.S.A.)

15 September 1964

PERSONAL AND

My dear

I regret the delay in acknowledging your Secret-Personal letter dated 9 August 1964.

I am grateful to you for bringing to my attention the matter mentioned in your letter. However, I believe that we will not be able to use the facilities in question. What we have in mind is that a number of countries should earmark troops and logistic support, etc., on a stand-by basis, to be available at very short notice to the United Nations for peace-keeping operations. There will be no concentration of all these troops at one point until a peace-keeping operation is actually undertaken. Pending that, the troops will be part of their respective national forces.

I hope that this explains the situation adequately. I also hope that you are getting on well in Libya.

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

U Hla Maung Resident Representative of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board P.O. Box 358 Tripoli, Libya

ec. Mr. Lemieux

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BOARD SPECIAL FUND

OFFICE OF THE RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE & DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL FUND PROGRAMMES IN LIBYA

TELEPHONE: 42441 42442 - 42435 P. O. BOX 358 TRIPOLI LIBYA

CABLE ADDRESS: UNATIONS TRIPOLILIBYA

SECRET - PERSONAL

9 August 1964

My dear U Thant,

I notice from press reports that the proposal to set up a permanent United Nations Peace Force has again become active, following a proposal by the USSR. I do not of course know what the position is, or what the prospects of setting up such a Force are. However, an idea occurred to me which I thought I might pass on to you for it may prove useful in case the proposal is considered actively.

As you know, both the United States and Great Britain maintain bases in Libya - the United States a very large and well-equipped Air Force base just outside Tripoli. As you also probably know, the Libyan Government had early in the year requested both the above Governments for evacuation of their bases and negotiations are now on foot. Nothing definite has occurred so far, but if strong pressure continues it might eventually lead to a phased withdrawal from both the bases.

The idea that occurred to me is that should any positive developments result in regard to the setting up of a United Nations Peace Force, based permanently at some convenient location, there would be certain substantial advantages in exploring whether it would be possible to negotiate with all the Governments concerned for taking over the United States Air Force base near Tripoli for the purpose. It would of course be eminently suitable from all points of view, for not only could all the facilities that now exist be used but Libya politically, geographically and historically is eminently suited to act as host country to a United Nations Peace Force.

I do realize of course that there are many elements involved, and that much negotiation would be required with the three countries concerned. It may just be a wild idea, but I thought I might pass it on to you.

I shall of course be glad to do anything I can at this end should you consider it worthwhile exploring the above idea and should circumstances make it practical.

Yours sincerely,

U Hla Maung

Resident Representative of the Technical Assistance Board

U Thant Secretary-General United Nations 14 SEPT. 64

C.V. NARASIMHAN

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HIS EXCLLENCY
MR. G. P. MALALASEKERA
CEYLON HIGH COMMISSIONER
CEYLONCOM
LONDON (ENGLAND)

YOUR LETTER OF 10 SEPTEMBER. I HAVE ALREADY WRITTEN ON 4 SEPTEMBER REGRETFULLY DECLINING YOUR KIND INVITATION FOR 18 OCTOBER.

U THANT SECRETARY-GENERAL UNITED NATIONS

cc Ceylon Perm. Mission
Mr. L. Lemieux

C.V. NARASIMHAN, CHEF DE CABINET

Thom the High Commission Ceylon High Commission,

EXPRESS AIR MAIL

September 10, 1964.

My be a Thank,

I hope that you got my earlier letter asking you to preside at the Public Meeting which is to be held in the Town Hall, Chiswick, on the afternoon of Sunday, October 18th, in connection with the Buddha Relic which is being brought for enshrinement in the London Buddhist Vihara by our Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike,

Since we want this occasion to mark a new beginning in the fellowship of Faiths, it is proposed to invite speakers of various religions to give short talks on the topic "Religion in the Service of Peace". This should be a subject dear to your heart.

When I mentioned to some of my colleagues here about my invitation to you, several of them wanted to send you telegrams supporting my request. I assured them that there was no need for any pressure on their part because I told them I was sure you would understand the significance of the occasion and that if there is any possibility at all you would agree to come and preside over the Meeting. In spite of this, however, I believe some of them did send you messages.

contd...

EXPRESS AIR MAIL









EXPRESS DELIVERY

In case of non-delivery return to:The High Commissioner for Ceylon,
13, Hyde Park Gardens,
London, W.2.

His Excellency U Thant, Secretary-General, United Nations Organisation, New York 17, N.Y. U.S.A.

CVN/st

4 September 1964

2000 (Street St.

My dear

I am most grateful to you for your letter of 26 August informing me of the establishment of a Theravada Buddhist Vihara in London. I am also deeply gratified to learn that the Prime Minister of Ceylon is bringing an authentic relic of the Lord Buddha to be enshrined in the Vihara on 18 October 1964.

I only wish I were in a position to accept your kind invitation to preside over this ceremony. Unfortunately I have just returned from a brief visit to Geneva and the pressure of work is so great that I am afraid it will be impossible for me to get away from Headquarters at the time that you have mentioned.

I would like, however, to wish the ceremony every success.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Mr. G.P. Malalasekera Ceylon High Commissioner 13, Hyde Park Gardens London, W.2, England From the High Commission





Ceylon High Commission, 13, Hyde Park Gardens, London, w. 2.

August 26, 1964.

My dear a Thank,

You may be surprised to get a letter from me, but, if so, I hope it is a pleasant surprise. Though you are far away from me physically you are hardly ever far from my thoughts, because your work in so many ways impinges also on mine. When I read of your fleeting journeys through this part of the world I am often tempted to try and see you even for a couple of minutes. But I have so far resisted this temptation since I know how busy you always are.

I am writing this on a subject which I know is close to your heart. There is a tremendous and ever-growing interest in Buddhism in Europe, and in this country in particular. I have lectured in many centres and seen this for myself.

On the Full-Moon Day of May this year a Theravada Buddhist Vihara was established

contd..

- 3 of many nations and many faiths will participate. The ceremony of enshrinement is fixed for Sunday, October 18th. Before the ceremony the Relic Casket will be on public exhibition at Chiswick Town Hall, and from there taken in procession to the Vihara. Elaborate arrangements are being planned for this procession. The organisers wish to have a public meeting in Chiswick Town Hall immediately before the procession, say, at 4.00 p.m. on the 18th October. It is in order to invite you to preside over this Meeting that this letter is It will not be a big Meeting but a very representative one. In making this request, I recall to mind how, immediately after your son's tragic death, you travelled to Canada to give a lecture there. I also recall the day when I was summoned to be given the privilege of proposing your name in the Security Council as Secretary-General of the United Nations. I was at the time in Philadelphia outside an operating theatre where my wife had been on the operating table for five hours. The surgeons had not contd...

DR. H. F. V. LODHIA.

M. B., B. S., D., M., F.C.C.P., F.I.C.A.

September 14, 1964.

My dear U Thant,

Please accept my heartfelt thanks for taking a personal interest in my case. I just had a letter from Mr.Narasimhan telling me that you personally asked him to look into the possibilty of securing a suitable position with UN or any of its agencies.

I wanted to write to you earlier, but did not do so because I know that you are probably the busiest person in the world today. You cannot therefore imagine my sense of appreciation when I received Mr.Narasimhan's letter. I cannot find words to thank you enough. I hope and pray that I will succeed in getting a post under you.

Please convey my warmest wishes and respects to all at home.

With best wishes and prayers for your long and successful life,

Very sincerely yours,

Hope wine



Dear Mr. Secretary General,

I would like to

take advantage of the

privilege of our acquaintance

to wish, on the accasion of

our new year, a very happy

year to you and your

family, and I have expecially

in mind the unusual

burdens which you now bear.

Let us hope that

all these afflictions will

be speedily and peacefully

overcome. I am certain
that with your help
They will be
My husband joins
me in these wishes.

Sincerely,
Mreforeth Karje

HOS Earl 54 Atreet

Man Jork W, Man Jork

Bambay . 7 September, 1964

Dear limbs and Aunt Thank, Please forgive me for not thanking gift It has taken out a long time to settle down and I am getting around to my letter writing only how. It was very kind of you to have remembered me. The breedet is so beautiful that I have wear it very often and I'm rather ashamed to thank you for it so touckly. yours sincerely,

Kala.

W/

The Senetary General United Nations New York.

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The Specific Characteristics

The Burma Socialist Programme Party

Approved by the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma

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Published by the Central Organising Committee of the B.S.P.P.

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property from the path, so that my purpose provides a charge

THE BURMA SOCIALIST

September 4, 1964

THE SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS

OF

THE BURMA SOCIALIST PROGRAMME PARTY

- 1. The Burma Socialist Programme Party (B.S.P.P.), led by the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, is the political party of all the working people, regardless of their race or religion. The B.S.P.P. strives to build, by the Burmese Way to Socialism, for the entire citizenry—regardless of race or religion, and including the workers in the field or the factory, the working intelligentsia, intellectuals and artistes and those who work in the public service—a society of affluence and social justice, free from the haunting anxietles for food, clothing and shelter.
- 2. The success of the B.S.P.P. in its striving depends on the unity of all the working people, regardless of their race or religion, which must be forged on the anvil of the Burmese Way to Socialism. Relentless effort must be made to forge that unity so that the goals set by the Burmese Way to Socialism may be reached.
- 3. The Revolutionary Council and the B.S.P.P. shall keep on making that effort to promote and protect that unity, a unity both aware and alert, of all the working people of all races and religions. Simultaneously, while preserving that unity with vigilance, means will be found and pursued to constantly advance the Burmese Way to Socialism.
- 4. It is fitting, therefore, that the Revolutionary Council and the B.S.P.P. should, from time to time, expound and explain to the working people of all races and religions, towards whose unity all efforts are bent, the programme that is being pursued and the ideology which lights the path, so that any possible misunderstanding or misconstruction may be cleared away.
- 5. That the B.S.P.P. denounces feudal landlordism and capitalism goes without saying. It also goes without saying that the B.S.P.P. is against those parties which represent the feudalists and the capitalists. That there are vital differences between the B.S.P.P. and the Social Democratic parties, which call themselves "Socialist" but are in fact rightist deviationists on the one hand, and the Communist parties which embrace Marxism-Leninism on the other, will, however, bear elucidation.
- 6. In the following specific characteristics, the vital differences between the B.S.P.P and the rightist Social Democratic parties and the Communist parties of the world may be clearly seen:

Social Democratic party	Communist party	The Burma Socialist Programme Party
The Social Democrats arbitrarily discard the texts and treatises on Marxism-Leninism and rely entirely on those by the bourgeols reformists. A Social Democratic party seldom has a clear-cut ideology for its base. Inconsistency makes for confusion in its thinking. Reformism, bourgeols par-	I. Members of a Communist party generally depend on Marxism-Leninism as the source of their knowledge and thought, the arsenal of ideology, the guide to their action, the repository of their hopes. The official ideology of a Communist party is Marxism-Leninism with materialism as its basis.	I. The B.S.P.P., however, studies alike the texts and treatises of the Marxist-Leninists and of the non-Marxist-Leninists. In no area, political, economic or other, is the study restricted. What is good and useful for the human society in the Union of Burma will be extracted in its essence, adapted and applied.
llamentarism, class compromise, individual subjectivism, sectarianism, narrowminded pragmatism devoid of philosophical perspective, and such characterise the confusion that is called a Social Democratic party.		The official ideology of the B.S.P.P. is constituted of the Burmese Way to Socialism and the Philosophy of the Burmese Way to Socialism which the Revolutionary Council has adopted. The System of Correlation of Man and his Envi-
		ronment, or, in other words, the Correlation of Mind and Matter, which the Revolutionary Council has deeply considered and clearly proclaimed, forms the guide to action of the B.S.P.P To put it in yet another way, the
		B.S.P.P. is guided by a Philosophy of Humanism based on the system of dialectical objective-realism. This Philosophy, because of its humanism, is one that can be most conducive to the welfare of all the work-
		ing people of the Union, regardless of their race or religion.
		In the world outlook of the B.S.P.P. there is a corre- lation of man and his mate- rial environment. The envi- ronment provides the condi-

THE PROPERTY.

Social Democratic party	Communist party	The Burma Socialist Programme Party
		sentient man (the citizenry decides, invents and act This world outlook of the B.S.P.P., therefore, cannot provoke conflicts and antagonisms on such problem as which matters mos mind or matter.
A Social Democratic party permits its members freedom of faith and worship. However, it would draw no clear borderline between religion and politics, often deliberately mixing the two. Abuse of religion in promoting the cause of the party is not uncommon.	2. A Communist party has neither religious faith nor worship. The rules of the party forbid its members such faith or worship.	2. The B.S.P.P. gives full free dom of conscience and rel gion to those who believ and worship, and to non believers and free-thinker alike; all of them unite I working for the improvement of their mundane life. This freedom is express provided for, for candidat members of the B.S.P.P. i section 16 (a) and for fumembers in section 17 (a of Chapter IV of the Const tution of the Party.
might have professed to be the party of the working people, but in real fact it now draws its strength from the various classes and strata of society where bourgeois habits linger. In the time of Friedrich Engels a Social Democratic party would proclaim that its programme was guided by the ideology of the working classes, but the correct class consciousness of the party faded as the reformists gained in influence over the party. Today it would be difficult to define with any consistence the philosophy of the Social Democrats.	3. A Communist party, it is said, is the party of the workers, especially the industrial workers. A Communist party accepts the Marxist-Leninist philosophy as that of the workers.	3. The B.S.P.P. is the politic Party of all the working people of the Union Burma, of all races are religions, including the pasants in the field, the working poor, the progressive in ligentsia and intellect More explicitly, all citic save those who live by exploitation of their fermen, find a welcome the B.S.P.P. Thus, the B.S.P.P. there was that its Philosophy that reflects the welfare an interests of all the working people of the Union, barring the exploiters.

Social Democratic party	Communist party	The Burma Socialist Programme Party
4. In the matter of political leadership a Social Democratic party has no clear-cut class orientation. The result is that the leadership falls into the hands of the bourgeois gentry who use the working class as a stepping stone.	4. A Communist party holds the view that socialism can be constructed only under the leadership of the party and the working class which acknowledges allegiance to the party.	4. The B.S.P.P. firmly believes in this matter of politica leadership, that a socialist society can be achieved only by the working people who make their homes in the Union — regardless of race or religion — uniting in harmony and social justice.
Reformism, based on bo- urgeois parliamentarism, is the system of government which a Social Democratic party accepts.	A Communist party accepts, the "dictatorship of the proletariat".	It is a matter of faith and a guide to action with the B. S. P. P. that the rule of the working people must prevail.
5. (a) A Social Democratic party is vague in its view of progress in the history of human society.	believes that the history of human society shows constant advancement towards a classless society in which the state has withered away. That society will move on in eternal progress. That society is also the party's goal.	5. (a) The B.S.P.P. holds the belief, in this matter of progress in the history of human society, that the material world and the society of man are in a state of constant flux, appearing and disappearing, rising and falling, waxing and waning, dying and being born anew, always on the move and in the grip of ceaseless change. In brief, the B.S.P.P. believes in the laws of dialectics, <i>I.e.</i> , the laws of motion and change of all phenomena. However, it is also believed that the lot of man in his society can and must be improved by his working together with fellowmen in fruitful co-operation. If men work together for their betterment, progressive development will result. If men fail to make such brave efforts, the human society will slide back into the age of darkness

the human society moves

forward or slides back depends on the quality of men and their endeavours.

Social Democratic party

Communist party

The Burma Socialist Programme Party

(b) The Social Democratic parties are enamoured of reformism by way of the bourgeois parliamentary system.

(b) The Communist parties generally hold the expositions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and such leaders of world communism, in their treatises, essays, doctrines, utterances and predictions, as the absolute, complete and infallible truth.

Lenin seemed to have encouraged this total acceptance by saying: "The Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious......" (Marx-Engels Marxism, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, p.85.)

Yet, the very same Lenin wrote on Marxism in "Our Programme" as follows:

"We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of the science which Socialists must further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an independent elaboration of the Marxist theory is especially essential for Russian Socialists, for this theory provides only general guiding principles, which in particular, are applied in England differently from France, in France differently from Germany, and in Germany differently Russia."

(Marx-Engels Marxism, p. 139.)

(b) In the outlook of the B, S. P. P., however, no economic, political, or social treatise is infallible. It is human to err, and the treatises, essays, doctrines, utterances and predictions of men can have meaning and relevance only in the context of the time and place in which, and the motives with which, they are written or made. They can never be so absolute and complete as to make improvements unnecessary. The search for, and the development of, ideologies, systems, and programmes which will better promote the welfare of society must always continue. The B. S. P. P., while undertaking the tasks in hand, will not hesitate to adopt and apply a new system which may be found to better serve the interests of the Union of Burma.

Social Democratic party	Communist party	The Burma Socialist Programme Party
	Yet, despite what Lenin had stated, the majority of the Communists fail to abandon their dogmatism.	
(c) The Social Democrats do not have a philosophy framed on an objective view of the realities of life. They allow themselves to be guided by their own obsessions so that their words and deeds often show a wide divergence from the realities of the life of the people.	(c) The Communists (especially the Communists of Burma), on their part, tend to be swayed by their materialistic determinism on all things inanimate and all beings animate. They thus fall into devaluing the role of man and of his mind. Those Communists (especially the Communists of Burma) who are impressed to the point of dogmatism by the following excerpts from Marx and Lenin, fall into the extreme of vulgar materialism which belittles man's mind and mental factors.	(c) In the eye of the B.S.P.P. man is more that mere matter. He is a being who is endowed with feeling, intelligence and the creative power to think Thus he cannot be regarded as a robot, or an animator a mass of material molecules. Kindness, compassion and goodwill for fellowmen should therefor be nourished, practised and developed for the good of man both in his self-seeking role and his role as a sharing member of society. The term which the B. S.P. P. will ur failingly apply when under
	Marx did say: "It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks. Matter is the subject of all changes." (Quoted by Stalin in his "The Problems of Leninism, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 953, p. 722.)	taking a task is whether will be conducive to the welfare of the human society Man shall never be sacr ficed, nor his interests in jured, in the pursuit of an dogmatic theory.
	And Lenin wrote: "The world picture is a picture of how matter moves and of how 'matter thinks'." (The Problems of Leninism, p. 722.)	
	Note: The above quotations do not indicate that Marx and Lenin disregarded the spiritual life of man. They were, in fact, fully aware of it and gave recognition to it, as the following excerpts will show:	

Social Democratic party	Communist party	The Burma Socialist Programme Party
	Lenin said: "Man's con- sciousness not only reflects the objective world, but creates it."	>**
	Again, "From living perception to abstract thought, and from this to practice,—such is the dialectical path of the cognition of truth."	
	Also, Lenin pointed out "that it would be stupid to deny the role of fantasy, even in the strictest science." (Philosophical Notebooks, pp.212, 171 and 373.)	
	"Theory becomes a ma- terial force," Marx also observed, "as soon as it has permeated the masses."	
	(Marx-Engels Marxism, p. 406.)	

- 7. The facts laid out in paragraph 6 clearly mark the special characteristics of the B.S.P.P.. A close study of the characteristics will reveal the sharp and vital differences between the Burma Socialist Programme Party, led by the Revolutionary Council, and Social Democratic parties of the world which profess to be "Socialist" on the one hand, and Communist parties which place their total faith in Marxism-Leninism on the other.
- 8. These then are the role of the B.S.P.P. and the meaning of the Burmese Way to Socialism, both elaborated and attuned objectively to meet the real needs of the Union of Burma.

sides to the Mary Ohn at Sarpay Beikman Press (Heg. 0032) 361 Prome Road, Rangoon

THE SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BURMA SOCIALIST PROGRAMME PARTY

B.S.P.P. G-5/P-2/9-64 - 20.000



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FORWARD OUT OF THE TRENCHES

An old strategical rule says that those who stay in the trenches will sooner or later be beaten. To move forward — and sometimes backwards — can momentarily be more dangerous. In the long run, however, it is much safer. Mobility, flexibility, adaptability are the only safe methods to achieve the goals and to expand the area of influence.

In the years after the split in the European Socialist labour movement the attitude of Democratic Socialists towards totalitarian communism was marked by bitterness and frustration. The traitors of common cause were fought with all democratic means available. With the exception of Russia, where communism held dictatorial control, the Democratic Socialists were successful in this ideological, organisational and political battle. The ruthless destruction of the workers' liberties and the bloodstained political methods deployed in the Soviet Union, sharply drew the line between the Marxist-Leninists and the Social Democrats.

When after the second World War Stalin installed communist puppet regimes in the Eastern and Central European countries which his armies had occupied, the Democratic Socialists once again were shocked and drew the line sharply and deeply although it had been temporarily crossed during the decade of common fight against Hitlerism and fascism. Fellow Social Democrats in East and Central Europe were outlawed and jailed, if not shot, by the Communists. Some managed to escape to the West.

The military take-over of a communist regime in the gigantic China after several decades of political chaos had a strong psychological effect on pessimistic minds all over the world.

Skilled communist propaganda imprinted the image of a monolithic and continuously expanding communist force and this propaganda reduced Democratic Socialism to a mere progressive tendency in a dominantly capitalistic Western bloc. Never true, although widespread, the disappearance of this image has had a strong impact.

Thinking people everywhere now realize that communism has totally flopped as an ideology, that it has proved a miserable economic doctrine and that it has failed in spite of refined collective brainwashing to gain the confidence of even a considerable minority of the peoples it has controlled.

A collapsing and injured communism should not be allowed to withdraw to mend its fences and to lick its wounds. Now is the time for ideological and political attacks from the Democratic Socialists.

In East and Central Europe, outside the Soviet Union, live 120 million people. After the Hungarian experience of 1956 they know that violent revolt will not lead to liberty. But they are now feeling a new ability, a new strength, to push the communist rulers towards granting more personal freedom and towards practicing a less dogmatic economic policy. These 120 million people do not want to become instruments in the hands of any Western power or ideology. Their first concern is the attainment of more liberty and a better life for themselves and for future generations. The Hungarian experience of 1956 also taught the West that a restoration of the old private capitalist order has very few spokesmen among the peoples in East and Central Europe. The production system they will choose when given the freedom to choose will be that of radical Democratic Socialism. We must realize that Communism was more than a dismal episode in the history of Europe. It made a strong imprint on the economic structure of a considerable part of the continent and it accordingly created very specific political conditions, we now must accept.

Democratic Socialists working in freedom and without personal experience of communist suppressions and power manipulation must now leave their defensive trenches of the past. We must try to establish working contacts with the scattered and still unorganized Social Democratic majority among the 120 million men and women who are now trying to break the chains of the horrifying past decades.

The means we use, when penetrating the cold war curtain, dividing Europe, must vary from case to case. Our aim is the political subversion of the stumbling communist systems. We want a gradual — but quick — restoration of political and other liberties for the peoples now under communist rule. To take action in this field can be branded as a dangerous policy. But to remain politically entrenched is today even more dangerous.

IUSY is trying to develop methods and means to reach not yet organized Young Socialists in East and Central Europe.

IUSY President arrested

"I am going back to my country, Burma, today ..." These were the words of the IUSY President, Kyl Nyunt, when he addressed the IUSY European Leaders Conterence in Sönderborg, Denmark, July 13—14, 1964. Since mid August Kyi Nyunt is kept, in a Burmese prison by the ruling Revolutionary Council. The charges are unspecified. We here reproduce some paragraphs of the speech Kyi Nyunt made in Denmark a few hours before he boarded the plane for Burma.

"I am sure that you as young European Socialists fully agree with the policy, which is followed by the IUSY Secretariat of concentrating most of its work to countries outside of Europe. It is, of course, a fact that most of our income is derived from our European member organisations, and they are, moreover, still those who are organisationally strong. However, it has never been difficult inside IUSY to agree, when the basic solidarity of young Democratic Socialists has been the reason for a decision.

Among young Democratic Socialists there will never be a split between the rich and the poor countries. This is, what is now happening among the communist youth organisations. We Democratic Socialists are basing our cooperation on a feeling of solidarity. Our idealism is of much higher quality than that of the communists, and our policies in this time of disintegrating power blocs are more attractive and more valid than ever in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In a world-wide organisation like IUSY there is always a danger of regionalism. Asians stick together, Africans stick together, and efforts are made to form groups inside Europe. This is positive only as long as the aim is to promote the overall development of IUSY, not only that of the particular region. If, one day, we find a strong European group inside IUSY, determined to get maximum influence for its own organisations, then we will find that on that very same day IUSY is finished as a world-wide International.

Thus far the European organisations have behaved with great understanding for the problems of the organisationally weaker IUSY organisations on other continents. I am convinced that this conference will also be outward-looking in its decisions, and that in the true spirit of IUSY solidarity it will aim at the strengthening of the whole organisation and not only of the European part of it.

I am going back to my country, Burma, today. My country like almost all other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, is now undergoing basic changes in the form of society, in its

economy, and in the cultural sphere. We young socialists of the developing countries have joined IUSY, because within IUSY we found friends and young people who have the same goals and ideals as we have.

IUSY's policy of non-alignment, its condemnation of the Cold War and the division of the world into power blocs, and its consistent support of the people struggling against colonialism and imperialism has won the respect of youth in the emerging countries. This has been a most convincing policy and it must be continued. Now, under the conditions in the world today, where great possibilities exist for IUSY, your assistance and your practical solidarity are needed even more than in the past.

It will be so, because you will find many people in the industrialised countries, even among our party friends in the Democratic Socialist parties who will tell you that Asian and African Socialists are not real Socialists. In the course of the years IUSY has strengthened its organisational and political ties with the socialist movements in the developing countries. IUSY has fully



recognized that European Socialism does not fit the present problems in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Socialism will have to follow new roads in these continents. In this you have to stand up and support us, your solidarity will be tested.

In the history of IUSY there are many examples of how the Asian IUSY members have not hesitated to take a courageous political stand in support of European IUSY members. Now, for some time this will be reversed. I know we can count on you, and I am going back to Asia to tell people whom I meet there about your solidarity and about the great things we can achieve, if we stick together."



Last year the IUSY President visited New York, where he was invited to talks with the UNO Secretary General, U Thant, with whom he had been previously acquainted. Kyi Nyunt reasserted IUSY's full support for the UNO and received words of appreciation expressed by his countryman on behalf of UNO.

IUSY and Socialism in Africa

African Socialism during the last years has been an attractive subject for ideologically conditioned Socialists in Europe. This ideological analysis should not be overemphasized, as the need for a real study of the material and practical side of Socialist implementation in African societies grossly overweighs the need for an ideological quest.

The African contributions to this debate have also mainly stressed practical issues, if they have not been too lopsidedly influenced by the European 19th century debate. However, knowing some of the basic facts about the present social emergency situation, the discussion about African Socialism has sometimes given the impression of an illusory juggling with political principles and concepts, which are of little direct relevance in Africa, today. Those wanting to play politics in Africa must use African cards and accept African rules.

African rules.

The IUSY policy for Africa has developed organically. IUSY was always among the first to lend international support to the national liberation movements of the various African territories. The present leaders of independent African states have not come to know IUSY through delegations which are flattering guests of the grandiose offices in which they now reside. The present leadership of Africa know IUSY from the time when they were exiled and lived under almost subhuman condi-tions. They know IUSY from the time when they were fighting to attract the world's attention to the problems of their suffering peoples. They know IUSY as a stimulating and militant supporter of any initiative aiming at a weakening of the colonial control of their homelands. The position of IUSY in Africa is strong today, because the leaders of Africa do not easily forget the hard years of struggle which brought them to power them to power.

This militant IUSY policy was not always to the liking of all sections of the world-embracing Socialist family. Once, not very long ago, IUSY lent unreserved support to the FLN struggling for Algerian independence. At that time certain other Socialists attacked IUSY. Today, everybody, including those opponents, knows that they were wrong and IUSY was right.

were wrong and IUSY was right.

IUSY has now to make a statement on African Socialism, confirming a policy which our past actions have so clearly demonstrated. This statement is caused by an article published in the Socialist International Information, Volume XIV, no 10, May 10, 1964, by the fulltime expert of the Socialist International on developing areas, Robert Rauscher. We disagree with most of Rauscher's conclusions put forward in this article. We hope and believe that also the majority of informed Socialists, engaged in the activities of the Socialist engaged in the activities of the Socialist International will disagree with Rauscher's opininos on African Socialism. Maybe, this would suffice as IUSY's standpoint.

The article, however, emanates from responsible quarters in the international Socialist movement and we, therefore, want to add a few short comments. refrain from making direct quo-

tations, in order not to add to the damage already done by Rauscher, and will only express positive counter-state-

ments.
IUSY believes that the fullfledged Social Democracy of the present Western European brand is only one of the sects of the worldwide Socialist family. Any bigotry and intolerance practiced by devoted members of this sect will face denunciation from IUSY.

IUSY is wholeheartedly convinced that there exists a common political and ideological basis for cooperation between the leading politicians in Africa and other Socialists in other parts of the world.

IUSY accepts without hesitation African Socialism as Socialism and fully recognizes the clear differences in the Socialist approach in Africa, and policies practiced in Russia, Cuba, and the Peoples Republic of China. (On this point it seems as if Rauscher is totally

IUSY believes that the Socialist International, when making a closer investigation and after more serious scrutiny, will find quite a number of stimulating and genuinely socialist practices being implemented in Africa. So-cialist snobbery does not promote understanding, when efforts are made to approach African politicians. The intellectual's reading in London probably needs to be mixed with the red dry dust



This young man from the United Arab Republic could teach some writing 'experts" a few facts about African Socialism.

of an African village road to get a meaningful and constructive direction.

There exists a very valuable book on the subject of African Socialism. It was written by Fenner Brockway and published in 1963 by "The Bodley Head," London. Its title is simply "African Socialism". The exposé which the MP of Africa presents in this book does certainly not satisfy the highflown ideologist, but for those who are interested in facts, it is an extremely good source of information.

Fenner Brockway finds the general trend of Socialism in Africa based on the co-operativisation of agriculture, on a network of publicly-initiation lage industries, on state initiative and ownership of impressive national proj-jects for irrigation, electricity, dockyards, and transport, on some public participation in the ownership of private industries and their incorporation in overall economic plans — all this accompanied by the enthusiastic expansion of education, health and housing, and the dedicated work of armies of voluntary workers. Fenner Brockway takes great pains to explain why, at the present stage of economic and social development in the African societies, personal and political freedom has a different weight than in the industrialized countries of the world. He ends his book writing on "an African socialism evolved from African conditions, distinctive in pattern and philosophy, but integrally socialist because progressively, it will give to the people the wealth they create, equality in everything which makes for human fulfilment and the fraternity of a co-operating society. How soon it will also embody all that we mean by liberty will depend upon the advance which is made in the coming together of conflicting elements and the sense of security which grows from stable conditions.

Thinking people everywhere must wake up to what is happening in Africa today. It is now the most important, fascinating and significant scene of social — and socialist — transformation."

IUSY shares fully these views of Fenner Brockway. Our International is open and flexible. We embrace many approaches to Socialism. We are not mainly anti-capitalist or anti-communist. We are mainly Socialist, and our first aim is unity in policy and action of young Socialists in all countries.

The golden age of socialist bridge-building is now. Never before has man had such a wealth of means in material and technology to fulfil the inborn desire to get to know the fellow man on the other side. By using strong new political steel and strengthened organisational concrete it is possible for our generation of young Socialists to overcome barriers which older generations thought uncrossable.

Socialist isolationism will be defeated and the strong structures of bridges like IUSY will carry an ever increasing traffic of world embracing socialist cooperation.



Kyi Nyunt opening the Rome IUSY Bureau meeting, March 1964. At his side the Vice President, Horst Seefeld, and the General Secretary, Sture Ericson.

Kyi Nyunt

The Executive Committee of the International Union of Socialist Youth — dedicated to the principles of equality, freedom, justice and solidarity — meeting in Berlin in September 1964, is convened in the shadow of the absence of its President com. Kyi Nyunt.

We are shocked at the unqualified action of the Revolutionary Council of Burma which found it necessary to deprive a long standing fighter for the freedom and independence of Burma and for the liberation of all suppressed under the yoke of colonialism and imperialism, of his personal liberty, human-rights and the ability to exercise his responsibilities as leader of our International.

We strongly protest against the arrest of com. Kyi Nyunt on unspecified political grounds and demand from the Revolutionary Council his immediate release.

UAR protest

Kyi Nyunt's Egyptian friends in Budapest, Hungary, on September 22nd, 1964 sent the following telegram to the Government of Burma.

"We, the Union of Democratic Egyptian Students and the Organisation of Democratic Egyptians in Europe, condemn and protest against the illegal and antidemocratic actions carried against Kyi Nyunt, IUSY President, a well known fighter for Democracy and Peace, and a supporter of national independence and Human Rights.

We condemn the Burmese authorities for the illegal imprisonment as the result of his national activities and ask for his immediate release.

We, as democrats, consider this action as dangerous attacks on the international democratic movement".

RELEASE!

The campaign for the release of the IUSY President is now registering its effects. Tens of thousands of young Socialists on all continents have voiced their protests. Many Socialist parties, personalities and also heads of governments have spontaneously joined this protest. The international press has been giving full coverage to the campaign.

Those IUSY member organisations who have not completed the first stage of their actions are requested to continue the distribution of the "protest" post cards. Personalities should be called to partake in this action also. Your regional committees can also be effective in issuing statements and directing these to Burma. Protest cards and additional information can be obtained from the IUSY General Secretariat.

OUR STANDPOINT

Extracts from the Ceneral Secretary's report to the IUSY Executive Committee, 1964

The basic feature of IUSY policy is that it is independent. Our policy is in the ideal case an amalgamation of views prevailing inside all of our member organisations and it can always be derived from the general political line laid down in the IUSY Declaration of Principles.

- From this follows that IUSY policy is not necessarily identical with that of the individual member organisations. We continuously protect our international from being used for the furthering of any national interests or the interests of any other
- political body.

 As a political instrument IUSY is fully in the hands of the young Socialists of the present. This independence and the continuous passing over of responsibility to new generations of young Socialists secures dynamics and prevents IUSY from getting stuck in dogmatic ideological mudpools.

Our policy is also our greatest organisational asset. There are examples of organisations which have all the resources you can think of. Yet the organisational results are not forthcoming because they have the wrong policy or — which is sometimes the case — they lack a policy.

Our attraction as an international or-ganisation lies in our policy. It is our policy which makes us unique and which makes an increasing number of youth organisations all over the world willing to offer us close and dedicated coopera-

Spain

The Franco government in Spain has celebrated 25 years of peace this year. The regime was established after a war which killed more than one million Spanlards and forced another million to seek political asylum abroad. Franco came to power as he said proudly himself "not through the hypocritical way of elections, but through the strength of bayonets". Moreover, in these 25 years there has not been a single day in which no man was arrested or killed or tortured for political reasons in Spain. It has been said in Spain that it is not 25 years of peace that are celebrated. It is 25 years of a class victory.



The Spanish Young Socialists have during the last year built an extensive organisational network among the young Spanish emigrant workers. IUSY Assistant Secretary, Miguel Martinez and the new member of the IUSY Control Commission, Manuel Simon, inform the IUSY Vice President, Horst Seefeld, about the German network.

We do not hide our opinions. We do not have one policy in Asia and another in Europe. We declare openly that our purpose is political. It is obvious to anyone that we exist because of our policy.

Growing security

Since the formation of IUSY, 18 years ago, a main issue at all our political gatherings has been our concern about gatherings has been our concern about the risk of a devastating world war. During the last year there has been no real threat of an open world conflict. The main contenders of the Cold War have exercised increasing restraint and are slowly developing formulas on how to live and let live in the atomic age. The day may still be far away when the nuclear war-heads of the intercontinental missiles are removed and the stockpiles of destructive energy are being used for of destructive energy are being used for peaceful construction, but we can to-day observe an obvious willingness to seek political solutions in place of military show-downs.

Power-politicians in East and West are increasingly thinking in terms of "conciliation" and "negotiation" instead of the sterile concepts of "brinkmanship" and "retaliation". Let me quote one of the powerful of our time. "Weapons do not make peace. Men make peace. Peace comes not through strength alone, but through wisdom and patience and restraint". These were the words of President Johnson three weeks ago. Chairman Krushchev has said similar things recently.

Cold War dogmatists represented by leaders like Mao Tse Tung and Senator Goldwater, seem unlikely to command enough power at present to stop the main trend towards negotiated co-ex-

As young Socialists we give our unreserved support to any step leading the world closer to a lasting peace and leading it away from the brink of nuclear war.

The Spanish people enjoys to-day a peace in fear and without freedom. The Spanish people have the privilege to live in political, economic and cultural serf-dom under their fascist masters. The Spanish people show their appreciation of the peace Franco has given the country, in such a way, that they at present escape in one of the largest mass exodus Spain has ever known. During the past four years, according to the official figures 710.000 workers have left their homes, their families, their villages and towns, looking for work and for conditions under looking for work and for conditions under which it is not a shame to be a worker. These figures are estimated by some people as half of the real ones. Between 80 and 90 % of these social refugees are younger than 35. The Socialist revolt against Franco's

The Socialist revolt against Franco's perverse peace is spreading inside Spain. It is underground. It is brutally suppressed by the political police. But it is spreading. One million young workers abroad provide the Free Labour movement of Spain with a chance that existed never before, during the 25 years of fascist regime. These workers are learning. They are now being trained to be able as soon as possible to take the lead in the struggle as possible to take the lead in the struggle against fascism, and more positively in the struggle to build a Socialist Spain. The IUSY campaign for a Free Spain has brought considerable material sup-

port to our comrades fighting Franco's fascism from inside. We are proud of achieved results, but we are not satisfied. Too many IUSY organisations have not participated fully and have not come forward with the practical support which is the main objective of our campaign. But the work continues and the very fact that our new Assistant Secretary, Miguel Martinez, has some personal experience with Franco's prisons makes it sure that future pressure from the IUSY General Secretariat will be put on inactive member. Secretariat will be put on inactive member organisations in connection with the IUSY Campaign for a Free Spain.

Asia

On the Asian continent expansive communism dominates the political picture. Communist China has the ambition to become a world power and exerts tremendous political, economic and military pressure on its neighbours. The military build-up at the Tibet borders constitutes a constant threat to the stumbling Democracy in India. The small countries in South East Asia have either to find a political way of being accepted by the big brother in the North or to be faced with effective military insurrection promoted from Peking. The USA is trying to challenge China for hegemony in Asia and to demonstrate its ability to defeat communist expansion. Sofar this policy has brought no real success as it does not, as such, appeal to the population in the areas where the military show-down takes place.



This picture from the General Secretary's visit to South Korea last spring shows the riot police waiting for a student demonstration, which they beat down efficiently with their batons. The leading Socialists are in prison.

The farmer of Indo China has the same goal in life as farmers anywhere else. He wants to market his produce in peace, he wants better food, better clothing, better housing, less disease and more education. The conflict about hegemony and princi-ples between world powers which is fought in his ricefields is an obstacle to his strivings, and it kills members of his family. The people of Indo China is the grass that suffers in an elephants fight.

The confrontation of Indonesia and Malaysia is another aspect of the same measuring of strengths to find a new power balance after the formal expulsion of the colonial system in Asia.

Neo-colonialism is a persistent reality in Asian countries. The masses of the

In Calcutta the General Secretary met with a group of young socialists hunger striking in order to get a judicial inquiry of the police killing of one of their comrades during a school demonstration.

people are now being mobilized for the re-construction of their countries. Through state control of the economy and through centralized governments various socialist trends hove evolved.

In the struggle for national independence, leadership was often in the hands of democratic socialists. However, after attaining political idependence social instability remained. The independence leaders were not robust enough when leading statements and were according handling statepower and were accordingly in many cases removed by strong-handed and opportunistic politicians who enjoyed military backing. This was the main factor that led to the paralyzing of the Asian Socialist Conference.

The measuring process in order to find a new power equilibrium, the flexion of political, economic and military muscles in Asia today is of paramount importance for the future of our world. From this aspect the disarray of Asian Socialism is utterly tragic.

Latin America

Latin American radicalism has in the last years been dominated by the rise of the Castro regime on Cuba. Originally being a popular revolt the Castrolte movement came increasingly under the control of communists. Cuba, which for a while was the islands of Hope for the suppressed masses in Latin America, this Cuba has now degenerated into a communist loudspeaker broadcasting all day and all night slogans and propaganda. Havana is to-day a centre of export not only of cigars, but of political murder and civil war under a false revolutionary label.

Communism is not basically attractive to Latin Americans. The Castroites try to make up for this fact by using violent anti-yankeeism as an instrument of infil-

The indigenous communists, of whom a

majority is tending towards the Peking line, are convinced that the misery of their peoples represents the real "revolutionary potential".

But the communists do not concentrate

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