The East African red book; handbook and directory for Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Uganda Protectorate, Tanganyika Territory and Zanzibar. Nairobi, Printed and Published by East African Standard, Limited. v. ill. 24 cm.
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A Proposal for a “Council of the Wise”

What is unthinkable becomes thinkable... and then real.

The destruction of civic life in Iraq, the torching of oil wells in Kuwait, and the near-genocidal fate of the Kurdish people all bring home the lunacy and unpredictability of modern warfare. It will not matter to the various victims whether American or Iraqi actions are ultimately held to blame.


International crises are often protracted and tend to mature into multiple disasters. This means that there may be time and energy to begin exploring alternatives to violence. Those directly involved, and those who care, are galvanized into activity; those who wish to avoid armed strife find negotiation more attractive.

But the time available is rarely long enough, and the atmosphere of crisis is neither conducive to calm and rational discussion, nor to seeing the other side’s point of view, nor to patient search for alternatives in which one side’s gain is not the other’s loss.

Suppose that as one aspect of the general crisis in the Middle East is mitigated, others are worsened. Until a general solution is found and agreed upon, we can expect violence to boil up repeatedly -- with horrible consequences for the people living there and, through the devastation of the environment, for the whole planet.

Eventually, someone will have to work out a set of proposals as fair and humane as possible for ending the present violence and the threat of new violence in the Middle East. Once the
immediate crisis is reduced, various forms of regional conferences may at last become possible. But until then, what? If we must leave no stone unturned in the search for a path to peace, who will turn over the stones? In this conflict the United Nations is not seen as an impartial agency. A new instrument of negotiation must be found, or created, as a transitional form of dialogue -- preparing the way for the eventually necessary dialogue between the principal antagonists.

Although many unsuccessful attempts have been made by various third parties to develop negotiations among the antagonists in order to reach an agreement to prevent or end hostilities, we urge another attempt. The distinctive feature of our proposal is this: when negotiation between the principals is impossible or badly impeded, let the process begin elsewhere, among parties not directly involved in the conflict.

We propose the formation of a “Council of the Wise,” to be composed of people from different nations who are internationally recognized and respected for their wisdom, fairness, and knowledgeability. These people would be drawn from Muslim as well as non-Muslim nations. They would be statesmen, scientists, religious leaders, business leaders, Nobel Prize winners, etc.

One important characteristic of the Council is that its members are not representatives of any government. This practically eliminates the possibility that there would be a latent desire for war, or a political calculation that war might be advantageous to some of the members. Such desires and calculations are not always negligible in governments that have the power to wage war.

A second important characteristic of the Council is that its activity is not necessarily invited by the contending parties. To be sure, in the long run its thinking must affect these parties or it is useless. But on a shorter time scale, the period in which the crisis may be deepening and sharpening, the attitude of not waiting for an invitation has the enormous advantage of speed in getting started.

With or without the cooperation of the contending parties, the Council would develop fair proposals which are responsive to the legitimate interests of the various parties whose interests are significantly involved in the conflict. The Council would avoid becoming the partisan of one side or the other. The Council would make itself available to the contending parties to assist in all attempts to establish a constructive negotiating process. Its proposals could eventually become the basis for negotiations among the contending parties. The Council of the Wise would continue its efforts until a stable peace was established in the region.
The Council might, in some instances, not produce a single proposal but rather a number of alternatives that help to clarify the available options and their consequences.

By bringing its proposals before a global public, the Council might contribute to maintaining a world atmosphere as little bellicose as possible. This is an important step toward avoiding renewed escalation of violence. The likelihood of the use of nuclear weapons in the Middle East seems dim at the moment. Nevertheless, the moral extremism fostered by the past proliferation of nuclear weapons plays its role in the creation and use of arsenals of other means of mass destruction. As a result of this massive accumulation of killing power, the military-political situation may change radically from week to week.

The word “negotiation” went through one forty-year transformation when it came to mean negotiate-from-strength, thus justifying the escalatory ways of the cold war. We should not now be intimidated by the seeming intransigence of the antagonists in surrendering this most valuable human capacity to see things from varying perspectives. Let us find the strength to say, “don’t escalate, negotiate.”

Morton Deutsch             Howard E. Gruber

(Morton Deutsch is Edward Lee Thorndike Emeritus Professor of Psychology and Education at Teachers College, Columbia University and Director of the International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution. Howard E. Gruber is Emeritus Professor of Psychology at the University of Geneva and Research Scholar in the Department of Developmental and Educational Psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University.)
COUNCIL OF THE WISE
(ILLUSTRATIVE LIST)

Oscar Arias (Costa Rica)
Nobel Laureate, Peace

Marguerite Papandreou (Greece)
President, Women for Peace

Dame Nita Barrow (Barbados)
Governor-General, Barbados
Former President,
World Council of Churches

Octavio Paz (Mexico)
Nobel Laureate, Literature

Eduard Shevardnadze (Soviet Union)
Former Foreign Secretary

Leopold Senghor (Senegal)
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Jimmy Carter (USA)
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Bishop Desmond Tutu (South Africa)
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Sir Brian Urquhart (Britain)
Former Deputy Director, United Nations

Takako Doi (Japan)
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Vaclav Havel (Czechoslovakia)
President

Lee Kuan Yew (Singapore)
Former Prime Minister

Naguib Mafous (Egypt)
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Ali Mazrui (Uganda)
Historian, Political Scientist

Robert McNamara (USA)
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Anand Mohan (Uganda)
Director, Muslim World League
Member, World Conference
on Religion and Peace

Elie Wiesel (USA)
Nobel Laureate, Peace

Julius Nyrere (Tanzania)
Former President

Ambasssador Olara Otunnu (Uganda)
President, International Peace Academy
June 27, 1991

Dr. Helmut Moser
Universitat Hamburg
Psychologisches Institut I
Von-Melle-Park 6
2000 Hamburg 13
Germany

Dear Helmut:

Enclosed are some materials that you may find useful in relation to the paper you are planning:

1. The first version of "A Proposal for a Council of the Wise."
2. The second version of the proposal.

Let me add some additional information. After the first proposal was typed and xeroxed, Gruber attempted to get it published as an Op-Ed article in the New York Times through some contacts he had. Unfortunately, they never published it. At the same time, I sent the proposal to a number of people I know in different countries -- England, France, Holland, Germany, Finland, the Soviet Union, Japan, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. I also mailed it to a number of people I know in the United States, including some people at foundations. In addition, a number of people who saw the proposal requested copies which they wanted to distribute. One person in particular, a Peace Educator at Teachers College, distributed it widely to people at the United Nations and to leaders of various church groups.
Apart from several letters of encouragement and expressions of support, I received few responses to my distribution except for an interesting phone call. Elie Wiesel phoned me to express interest in it and possible foundation support for it, but he wanted a list of potential members of the "Council of the Wise." By the time I sent him the list (about a week later), the Gulf War was over. I believe we also sent him the revised proposal (which was drafted by Gruber). Unfortunately, we have not heard further from him.

At this point, we are not active in promoting our proposal even though I still believe it is a worthy idea. There is a need for a non-governmental group such as the "Council of the Wise" to provide intellectual, moral, and political leadership in dealing with problems, such as those in the Middle East, which governments seem unable to tackle or solve.

I welcome the publication of our proposal because I hope some one of your readers might have the entrepreneurial drive and skills necessary to bring a "Council of the Wise" into existence.

My best personal regards.

Cordially,

Morton Deutsch
VICTORY WITHOUT PEACE
WAR WITHOUT END

On February 14, we published a statement in the New York Times, "Is There Nothing Left But The Killing?" that called for a halt to the Gulf War.

Today the shooting has stopped, but the dying continues, and the burning oil fires rage on. While we are relieved that few American lives were lost, we cannot celebrate a tragedy. From the Kurdish north to the Shiite south, the people and the land are paying dearly for our military "victory."

It is estimated that Allied bombing and shelling killed and wounded more than 100,000 soldiers and civilians. The near-apocalyptic destruction of much of Iraq's infrastructure jeopardizes the lives of vast numbers of innocent people, particularly children and the elderly: Among the millions of refugees, many still risk death from disease and hunger.

Although Saddam Hussein is the immediate cause of their misery, it is the U.S. which encouraged their disastrous rebellion.

Where is the glory? How will history judge the scale and fury of our assault on a hapless population and an overrated army of conscripts? Rather than celebrate, let us mourn the dead and aid the living.

We urge that all Americans — those who opposed the war, those who remained silent, and those who supported it — look long and hard at what the war has wrought.

> How did we really get into the Gulf War and how could it have been avoided?
> What will be the real costs of the war turn out to be — in human lives, social and economic disintegration, and ecological destruction?
> How is our war-making related to our dependence on oil and a lack of a serious energy policy?
> Why do we continue to send lethal weapons to the Middle East and elsewhere? Are we arming and supporting new Saddam Husseins today whom we will decide to fight tomorrow?
> How serious are we about achieving self-determination for Palestinians and true security for Israel?
> When will we mobilize to fight poverty and inequality at home, and rebuild our nation?
> What exactly is this New World Order that President Bush is talking about? What should it be?

We urge an end of the vast international arms trade, a beginning of true peace in the Middle East, and a recommitment to social justice at home and abroad. We urge those who agree with us to raise these issues in their communities, in the media and with their elected representatives.

Unless we address the causes of the Gulf War, and the war system itself, we have won a hollow victory but no peace.

The search for peace requires continuing commitment. We will be glad to provide you with a list of organizations working on specific aspects of the peace agenda. We welcome your comments and support.

AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR PEACE
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE ROOM 460
NEW YORK, NY 10016

Contributions are tax deductible

The Ad Hoc Committee for Peace is a group of teachers, writers, artists, clergy and others working for peace and social justice. Those signing the statement represent just a few of the thousands who have endorsed our efforts.

IS THERE NOTHING LEFT BUT THE KILLING?

When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, we were outraged. When the United States organized, through the United Nations, the most effective sanctions in world history, we cheered. We thought the age-old dream of meeting violence with something other than violence had finally come true. When the United States released the fury of high-technology war, we were saddened and appalled. It is not too late to prevent our common hopes for a peaceful world from being shattered.

NOW IS THE TIME TO STOP THE WAR

There must be a halt to the fighting before the disaster of a full-scale ground war.

We must begin negotiations while maintaining the embargo authorized by the United Nations until Iraq leaves Kuwait. The costs have already been too high: human, economic, ecological, and moral.

IF THE WAR CONTINUES

There is real danger that -

Chemical, biological, and even nuclear weapons will be used.

Many thousands more Americans, Iraqis, and Coalition troops will die. Civilian injuries and deaths will reach even more unmeasurable proportions.

Terror bombing of Israeli and Saudi civilians will increase.

Militarism and terrorism will rise throughout the world.

More environmental disasters will occur.

Saddam Hussein will become still more of a hero in the Arab and Islamic world.

The Arab world will be swept by a tide of polarizing fundamentalism and anti-Western sentiment. The chance for a just solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will be set back indefinitely.

An extraordinary burden will be placed on our already strained economy. This will threaten essential domestic programs - education, environment, housing, and medical care for the old and the poor.

Racial and social tensions will grow.

WITH THE END OF THE WAR

Appropriate consultations with all parties could occur.

The issues of the region could be addressed, not just those on Saddam Hussein’s agenda.

These include:

- The control and dismantling of weapons of mass destruction.
- Gradual demilitarization of the region.
- The affirmation of Israel’s right to exist within secure borders.
- Justice for the Palestinian people.
- The settlement of border disputes and other grievances.
- Questions of poverty and human rights.

These political objectives are just. The continued resort to war is not. Before our country and the world lose far more than we can possibly gain, we must end the fighting and call upon peaceful means.

OTHERWISE, THERE IS NOTHING LEFT BUT THE KILLING.
We are a group of Japanese citizens who are deeply concerned about the Gulf crisis and its aftermath. The battle itself is over but our concern is undiminished. As there are certain things we would like Americans to better understand, at this juncture, we have chosen to state our views in this manner.

Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait was unjustified, illegal, and opposed by the will of the peoples of the world. Many peaceful ways of bringing it to an end were prospectively available but were being ignored. All these efforts were swept aside, however, by the massive military intervention of the Multinational Forces and their swift victory. The majority of the American people seem to believe that this war was just. In the mood of this apparent "success" the idea seems to be spreading in the United States and among some of the world that justice can be won with military power, that right-wing internationalism and the moral pressure concerning us deeply.

The Spirit of the Japanese Constitution

It is reasonable to assume that few Americans have read the Constitution of Japan. Doing so would help them understand how we have viewed our role in the international community since the end of World War II. Consider these words from the Constitution's Preface: "We, the Japanese people, determine for all time and forever perfectly the foundation of the highest principle of human relationship, and we have determined to promote our welfare and prosperity, to secure the justice and public welfare of the peace-loving people of the world."

And these crucial words: CHAPTER II: THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT Art. 9: "Japanese territory is inviolable on grounds of justice and order. The Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the ends of the preceding paragraph, Japan, as well as the forces, as well as the latter, will no longer be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will no longer exist."

According to the U.S. Constitution, the Foundation of American society, the Japanese Constitution sets down our most cherished national values. Under this Constitution no human being has been killed by Japanese military forces in forty-five years. As citizens, we will not allow our government to suspend our Constitution for political expediency.

Our constitutional clauses requring war are not (as American leaders have claimed) a "constraint" on the contributions Japan can make internationally or a license to evade our global responsibilities. We no longer believe that aiding in the bombing of cities or the shooting of people is ever a worthy "contribution," or a proper exercise of responsibility. Nor is it true that our Constitution does not envisage situations such as the crisis in the Gulf. On the contrary, states positively what attitude all nations, beginning with Japan, ought to take in precisely that sort of situation. We believe that until this position is accepted by all nations, there will be no end to the slaughters of humans and the devastation of our planet.

The Lessons of War

Japanese went to war in 1931. At first, it seemed to the Japanese that it was a just war to establish a "new order" in China, Korea and other parts of Asia, and that victory was certain. In reality, the war lasted fifteen years and the "new order" brought only misery and death to the people of Asia. In the end, the devastation we suffered carpet bombing and live bombing of our cities. The only nuclear bombs ever dropped on humans were dropped on us.

The Japanese learned from the war the horror of killing and being killed. We thought Americans had learned a similar lesson from the Vietnam War. But the mood in the United States today reminds us eerily of the mood in Japan in 1941. We hope that Americans learned from Vietnam that war isn't justifying only when your own people are killed. Yet the airm and ground attack, which was launched despite the fact that the Iraq government had expressed a willingness to negotiate its withdrawal from Kuwait, killed hundreds of thousands of people — not only Iraqis, soldiers but also civilians and non-combatants. We urge you not to listen to those who say that the Gulf War should erase the lessons of Vietnam. The lessons of both these wars are the same.

Prime Minister Kōyō is not the only voice of Japan

The words and actions of Prime Minister Takbase Kōyō do not accurately reflect the views of the Japanese people.

When the Japanese Government tried to lead our already unconstitutional Self-Defense Forces to the Gulf public opinion in Japan was massive. Rallying, meetings and demonstrations were held all over the country. The government was isolated and the first deployment of Japanese forces abroad since World War II was successfully blocked. Now the Japanese government has promised to pay the U.S. $8 billion for the war. There is strong opposition to this as well.

We do not want to contribute to any more killing. We do not want Japan to move closer to translating its economic clout into military power.

We are surprised as the short memories Americans who are our neighbors in Asia are less forgetful. As the saying goes: there is a powerful popular movement to raise money to send commercial airliners to help relocate refugees in the Gulf, rather than risk the government sending Self-Defense Force planes for that purpose. Funds have been successfully raised, and commercial planes have in fact been used.

It should also be noted that the Bush administration has neglected or been quite unhelpful about military support for the restoration of the war ends.

A Better Way

Iraqis across in Kuwait were brutal and wrong. This does not mean, however, that more brutal actions were the appropriate response. We no longer live in the 1940s when the world was filled with Hiroshimas and Tobes. The Gulf War is over. Never in history there has been a greater opportunity for writing international disputes peacefully.

For those who doubt this, we point to South Africa, apartheid is being brought to an end after many years of suffering and sacrifice, without the destruction of the country or bombing of cities. We believe that the Gulf War could have been resolved in a similar way. Sanctions were useful because they were multi-country, and were debated in the U.S. as well. It is tragic that none of the proposals were seriously pursued.

The Lessons of Peace

We who have contributed to this statement possible, are united in the motion of military force as a way of settling international conflicts. The spirit of the Japanese Constitution will be seriously compromised and adopted by all nations. We ask all Americans to try and understand our position. During the Vietnam War, strong links developed between people in the anti-war movement in Japan and the U.S. We feel a similar empathy with those Americans who opposed U.S. involvement in the Gulf War. To help demonstrate our heartfelt support and commitment.

We welcome any comments, questions or requests for further information from readers of this statement. You may reach us by writing to either of the two addresses below.

Thank you.

Concours Citizens of Japan
Us Public Media Center
144 Green Street
San Francisco, CA 94113

Concours Citizens of Japan
205 19-12, Sendagaya
Shibuya, Tokyo, Japan

The authors are: 6 members of Concours Citizens of Japan; other members have informally been in touch with, who are responsible to call of the people alive today. They range in age from primary school children to a group in their 80s, and represent a wide range of backgrounds, including religious, academic, industrial, journalistic, social service, university, and political workers. A number of members are veteran American expatriates and American students. All work together voluntarily with the goal of creating a better understanding between Japan and the United States.
A Proposal for a "Council of the Wise"

What is unthinkable becomes thinkable... and then real.

The destruction of civic life in Iraq, the torching of oil wells in Kuwait, and the near-genocidal fate of the Kurdish people all bring home the lunacy and unpredictability of modern warfare. It will not matter to the various victims whether American or Iraqi actions are ultimately held to blame.


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immediate crisis is reduced, various forms of regional conferences may at last become possible. But until then, what? If we must leave no stone unturned in the search for a path to peace, who will turn over the stones? In this conflict the United Nations is not seen as an impartial agency. A new instrument of negotiation must be found, or created, as a transitional form of dialogue -- preparing the way for the eventually necessary dialogue between the principal antagonists.

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Morton Deutsch

Howard E. Gruber

(Morton Deutsch is Edward Lee Thorndike Emeritus Professor of Psychology and Education at Teachers College, Columbia University and Director of the International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution. Howard E. Gruber is Emeritus Professor of Psychology at the University of Geneva and Research Scholar in the Department of Developmental and Educational Psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University.)
COUNCIL OF THE WISE
(ILLUSTRATIVE LIST)

Oscar Arias (Costa Rica) Nobel Laureate, Peace
Dame Nita Barrow (Barbados) Governor-General, Barbados Former President, World Council of Churches
Willy Brandt (Germany) Former Chancellor
Jimmy Carter (USA) Former President
Takako Doi (Japan) President, Japan Socialist Party
Vaclav Havel (Czechoslovakia) President
Lee Kuan Yew (Singapore) Former Prime Minister
Naguib Mafous (Egypt) Nobel Laureate, Literature
Ali Mazrui (Uganda) Historian, Political Scientist
Robert McNamara (USA) Former President, World Bank
Anand Mohan (Uganda) Director, Muslim World League Member, World Conference on Religion and Peace
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Oscar Arias (Costa Rica)
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Oficina del Presidente
San Jose, Costa Rica

Dame Nita Barrow (Barbados)
Governor-General, Barbados
Former President,
World Council of Churches
Permanent Mission of Barbados
to the United Nations
800 Second Avenue, 18th Floor
New York, New York 10017

Willy Brandt (Germany)
Former Chancellor
Social Demokratische Partei Deutschlands
Erich-Ollenhauer-Haus
5300 Bonn
Federal Republic of Germany

Jimmy Carter (USA)
Former President
The Carter Center
1 Copenhill
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

Takako Doi (Japan)
President, Japan Socialist Party
c/o Japanese Socialist Party
1-8-1 Nagato-Cho
Chiyoda-Ku
Tokyo, Japan

Vaclav Havel (Czechoslovakia)
President
Udejviceho rybnicku 4
16000 Prague 6
Czechoslovakia

Lee Kuan Yew (Singapore)
Former Prime Minister
c/o Prime Minister's Office
8 Shenton Way #14-01
Treasury Building
Singapore 0106
Naguib Mafous (Egypt)
Nobel Laureate, Literature
172 Nile Street
Agouza
Cairo, Egypt

Ali Mazuri (Uganda)
Historian, Political Scientist
Center for Afro-American and African Studies
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109

Robert McNamara (USA)
Former President, World Bank
2412 Tracy Place
Washington, D.C. 20008
U.S.A.

Anand Mohan (Uganda)
Director Muslim World League
Member, World Conference on Religion and Peace

Julius Nyerere (Tanzania)
Former President
P.O. Box 9120
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

Ambassafor Olara Otunnu (Uganda)
President, International Peace Academy
International Peace Academy
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

Marguerite Papandreou (Greece)
President, Women for Peace
c/o International Peace Bureau
41 rue de Zurich
CH-1201
Geneva, Switzerland

Octavio Paz (Mexico)
Nobel Laureate, Literature
c/o Revista Vuelta
Leonardo da Vinci 17
Mexico 03910
D.F. Mexico
Eduard Shevardnadze (Soviet Union)
Former Foreign Secretary
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Smolenskaya-Sennaya Pl. 93134
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Leopold Senghor (Sengal)
Former President
1 Square de Tocqueville
75017 Paris, France

Bishop Desmond Tutu (South Africa)
Nobel Laureate, Peace
Bishop Court
Claremont 7700
South Africa

Sir Brian Urquhart (Britain)
Former Deputy Director, United Nations
131 East 66th Street
New York, New York 10021

Elie Wiesel (USA)
Nobel Laureate, Peace
Boston University
745 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215
February 28, 1991

Elie Wiesel
The Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity
666 Fifth Avenue, 11th Floor
New York, NY 10103

Dear Elie:

Although much has happened since I sent you "A Proposal for a Council of the Wise," I am not sure that it has lost its relevance. As the Gulf War appears to be drawing to a close, there is an urgent need to develop proposals for a just and stable peace in the Middle East. Perhaps a Council of the Wise could make an important contribution in this area.

In any case, I am enclosing a list of potential members of such a Council. I have also enclosed a list of names of people who might serve on a nominating committee for the Council. These nominators would undoubtedly be able to come up with a much better list of potential members of the Council than I could.

I envisage the possibility that were the Council to be formed it would seek consultation with experts in a number of different fields: international law, economics, the Middle East, military affairs, and conflict resolution.

My best wishes.

Cordially,

Morton Deutsch

Encls.
MD:hst
COUNCIL OF THE WISE  
(DRAFT LIST)

Oscar Arias (Costa Rica)  
Nobel Laureate, Peace

Ambassador Olara Otunnu (Uganda)  
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Former President
Council of the Wise Nominating Committee

Roger Fisher - Harvard Law School

Thomas Friedman - New York Times

David Hamburg - President, Carnegie Corporation

William Hyland - Foreign Affairs

Harold Saunders - Former Assistant Secretary of State for the Middle East

Cyrus Vance - Former Secretary of State
February 14, 1991

Dear

Enclosed is a proposal that Howard Gruber and I have developed to start a process that might bring an end to the war in the Gulf. We have sent it to the Op-Ed editor of the New York Times but we have no idea of whether or not it will be published.

I am sending it to you because of your commitment to a peaceful and just world. Please feel free to duplicate and distribute the proposal or to use it in any way that you see fit.

We are in the process of trying to develop a list of people who might serve on the "Council of the Wise" discussed in our proposal. We would very much welcome your suggestions. We would especially welcome suggestions of people from Muslim countries.

Cordially,

Morton Deutsch

MD:hst
Dear Mort,

as Carl Friedrich Graumann told me, he informed you that your paper concerning the Gulf War is to be published in one of this year's issues of the Political Psychology journal I am editing ("Politische Psychologie"). We shall care for a good translation (no costs for you). There were very few social scientist reflecting on this topic at that time. Thus, we would like to suggest to publish the paper as a highly interesting document. Therefore, we need the date when the paper was written, and it would be very interesting to get informations about the reactions to the publication in the U.S. and any other you think useful for the readers. We are keen on any reaction you got. Furthermore, we think about publishing both the final text and the first draft (the January version, as Carl Friedrich Graumann told me). What is your opinion on this possibility? If you agree, please send the first version(s) of the paper, too. If you want to add a commentary from today's point of view, please feel free to do so.

As you may have read, I am a co-editor of the journal "Politics and the Individual" (a leaflet for your information is included). As far as I can see, a broader international audience has not yet had an opportunity to know your paper which, I think, is not at all out of date - quite to the contrary (cf. the most recent developments in the Middle East). In case you would like to have the paper published in P&I, we have agreed at the Executive Editors' last meeting to publish the paper in that journal if you wish so.

Cordially yours,

Schnitz

C.C.: Carl Friedrich Graumann
Dear Mort,

thank you for the revision of your proposal. It is much more "durable" now. I am trying to have it translated (with the help of Helmut Moser in Hamburg) and then published and cumulated. You will hear about it.
As of April 1 I am also professor emeritus, but so far life has not changed a bit. Should it?

With best wishes and regards

Cordially

[Signature]