

# Conference Proceedings



## World Youth Peace Through Communication Conference

Castlegar, British Columbia, Canada  
August 27th - August 31st, 1985

# **World Youth Peace Through Communication Conference**

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## **Conference Proceedings**

Produced by the  
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**World Youth  
Peace Through Communication  
Conference**

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## LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1985, a conference under the title "World Youth Peace Through Communication" took place in Castlegar, B.C. The conference was one of many activities taking place around the world in commemoration of the United Nations Proclamation of 1985 as International Youth Year.

For five days, 130 youth delegates, representing 15 countries, grappled with what may be the greatest threat to their future - the danger of nuclear war. A panel of experts from Canada, the United States of America, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics gave focus to the discussions, while as many as 2 000 people observed the proceedings.

To supplement the program, participants had access to films and displays and during the evenings enjoyed performances reflecting the different themes and cultures represented at the conference. Following the formal proceedings some participants took advantage of a trip to Christina Lake, Grand Forks, and the Expo '86 site in Vancouver.

Although the statements of panelists, summaries of dialogue sessions, resolutions adopted by the delegates, as well as other material are reproduced in this booklet, to adequately describe the event in such a short space is impossible. Nor is it possible to capture on paper the emotions and concerns felt by participants, the friendships that developed between panelists, delegates and their hosts during the conference, or the feeling one experiences watching local young people holding hands with young people from different countries and singing "We Are The World."

During the conference, the nuclear and conventional arms race, increasing militarization of society, abuse of human rights, east-west, north-south tension dominated the discussions with spirited exchanges taking place between delegates, panelists and the audience as to causes, effects and consequences.

Towards the end of the conference, there seemed to emerge a consensus that for humanity to survive there was a need for greater communication and interaction between the people of the world. This would hopefully effect fundamental changes in people's attitudes, which would ultimately be reflected in the pursuit of sounder policies by the world's government. Furthermore, there emerged a realization of the fact that in the nuclear age preserving and strengthening peace should not be left solely to governments, but was everyone's responsibility.

The conference, as an event, had a great impact on all those involved. But perhaps more important was the feeling one had that people left the conference more aware of the pressing challenges humanity faces, more appreciative and respectful of the diversity of the human mosaic, and more committed to the struggle for peace and justice for all. Although many conferences on the nuclear issue take place around the world, this one had certain distinguishing features. In accordance with International Youth Year guidelines, the Castlegar conference was organized by young people for young people, although everyone was welcome to observe the proceedings. Most of those involved in the planning and execution of the conference were doing so for their first time. That everything went so well, is a testimony to the capability and potential of the human resources in the Kootenays. Also, whereas most such events take place in large urban centres, this conference was held in a small community, a departure most participants seemed to welcome. The international nature of the conference made it more interesting for participants and the local community. There was even an unannounced appearance by the Indian High Commissioner to Canada, His Excellency Major H. K. Makhnoha, who reflected the feelings of many when he expressed his hopes that conferences such as this would stir the world's governments to move words to action, with respect to ending and reversing the nuclear arms race.

While all of these features gave the conference a distinctive flavour, its success was due to the collective efforts of all involved.

The young people who constituted the organizing committee volunteered much time and energy in planning and running the conference and post-conference activities.

The organizing committee was in turn helped by many local individuals and organizations. In this regard, special recognition has to go to John J. Verigin, Honorary Chairman of the U.S.C.C. and that organization's various committees for providing invaluable council as well as moral and logistical support.

The delegates, through their discussions, provided not only a unique window on the diversity of the world's viewpoints and cultures, but also an insight into the hopes, fears, and dreams of young people everywhere. Special thanks have to go to Pearson College and World Canada Youth for contributing to the conference's international nature.

The American, Soviet and Canadian panelists who travelled long distances to share their knowledge and experience on conference themes and were invaluable resources during dialogue and question and answer sessions.

The conference chairpersons, moderators, facilitators, audio visual personnel, and support staff, all local people, did a great job in carrying out their responsibilities.

The support of the area's municipal councils, regional districts, and provincial and federal representatives, also helped translate the conference from an idea into a reality.

Not to be forgotten, are those people who hosted conference participants in Christina Lake, Grand Forks, and Vancouver and made their stay pleasant.

All of these people, by virtue of their participation in, and support of the conference, demonstrated their common desire to work for a more peaceful and just world. A world in which war is no longer a policy for solving disputes, a world in which human and natural resources are utilized for humanity's service and not its destruction.

In conclusion, the organizing committee would like to express their appreciation to all those who contributed in whatever way in making the "World Youth Peace Through Communication Conference\*" possible: Planners and participants, sponsoring and endorsing organizations, the different departments of the Canadian Government, as well as non-governmental institutions and organizations, and last but not least, the people of the Kootenays for their support, interest and hospitality.

Conference Co-ordinator

John J. Verigin, Jr.

P. S. With special thanks to those who laboured in putting this booklet together.

**Wednesday  
August 28, 1985**

**Theme: *Identifying the Problem***



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### **THE HISTORY AND MECHANICS OF THE ARMS RACE**

#### **THE PROBLEM**

The nuclear era began forty years ago when the United States first tested nuclear weapons and then used them in the war against Japan to destroy the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Though it was generally conceded at the time that these weapons were the deciding factor in ending the war, nuclear weapons have not been used militarily in any subsequent conflict. They have, however, been the basis for our political/military policy of deterrence.

Proponents of deterrence point out that there has been no nuclear war since 1945 and therefore deterrence has worked. Detractors of this theory suggest that the states with nuclear weapons have produced enough nuclear weapons to destroy the world many times and that deterrence has done nothing to stop this buildup but, in fact has established the conditions for our eventual destruction.

#### **THE EARLY DAYS**

In carrying out the policy of nuclear deterrence in the United States it has been necessary for our leaders, for political reasons as well as for military planning purposes, to answer two questions:

- (1) "How many nuclear weapons do we need?" and
- (2) "Where will these weapons be targeted?"

The answers to these questions constitute what is known as our strategic doctrine.

The establishment of strategic doctrine was easy in the early days of the nuclear era. We had used our entire arsenal of nuclear weapons against the Japanese, and the answer to the question of how many weapons we needed was: Enough nuclear weapons to discourage the Soviet Union from attacking us. The answer to the second question, where to target these weapons, was also easy because in the beginning all the nuclear weapons were assigned to the Air Force. The Air Force planned to deliver these weapons in their bombers in the methods used during World War II. In other words, we would use nuclear weapons to destroy cities and military targets. The goal in attacking cities would be to destroy the population and the industrial capacity of the opponent. Targeting weapons in this manner is known in the nuclear era as countervalue. They could also be used, if desired, to prevent damage to the United States, by destroying the enemy's military forces and installations. Targeting weapons in this manner is known today as counterforce. Clearly these two methods of targeting focused on the damage that would be inflicted on a potential enemy.

In addition to establishing a strategic doctrine to determine how the weapons would be used militarily, it was necessary to establish criteria for when they would be used. Political leaders then, as now, only speak of the deterrent use of these

weapons - they are designed to prevent wars. It has fallen on military leaders to develop the plans to use the weapons.

The first plan to use nuclear weapons developed in October of 1945. The potential enemy was the Soviet Union. The plan called for destroying the will of the Soviet Union through the use of twenty well-placed atomic bombs. In those days the purpose of this plan was to provide protection for the United States through the use of nuclear weapons. We thought that these twenty bombs would essentially "disarm" the Soviet military if the Soviet Union attacked us.

The making of these early plans for the use of nuclear weapons was naive by modern standards primarily because there were two aspects of nuclear weapons planning that were not included. The first was that of facing an enemy that also had nuclear weapons. We had a monopoly and did not have to consider that question. In addition, we had not clearly thought out the implications of a war that did not include the use of nuclear weapons - a war that was soon to be known as a conventional war. We had not calculated what role nuclear weapons might play in a conventional war. This fact complicated our planning because it soon became clear that if we fought wars and did not use these weapons, but continued to build them, it was going to be difficult to determine how many of them were necessary. The first was the acquisition of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union in 1949. The second was the Korean War.

The Soviet Union's explosion of its first nuclear weapon forced our thinking to change because we had to deal with the question of how best to plan a war against a potential enemy that had nuclear weapons capable of destroying the United States. In other words, we were not facing an opponent who also had a deterrent arsenal. The major question that this event would eventually raise was: Would we strive to maintain an arsenal superior to that of the Soviet Union? We also had to decide whether we wanted to use counterforce or countervalue targeting. This decision has often been based on political and economic considerations as much as it has on military requirements.

The Korean War was the first test of the question of whether nuclear weapons would be used in a war in which one side did not have them. This im-balance raised moral as well as military

questions. We had no policy for the use of these weapons other than to deter war against the United States. We viewed the Korean War as a failure of that policy. Nuclear weapons might still be an effective deterrent against nuclear war, and nuclear weapons might still prevent a conventional attack on the United States, but the Korean War made it clear that nuclear weapons did not deter a conventional attack against our allies. Here was the dilemma: we had a lot of nuclear weapons but if we were going to fight wars and not use them, how could we justify building them, and if we built them how many did we need if we weren't going to use them?

## THE EISENHOWER ERA

When President Eisenhower came to office in 1952, he and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, decided to establish a national policy that would specify certain circumstances where we would actually use nuclear weapons. The Korean War, which had begun by aggressive action on the part of the North Koreans, had just ended. Eisenhower looked back on that event and observed that we had lost many lives and spent a lot of money but had not used our ultimate weapon. Such restraint should not be perceived by the rest of the world and especially the Soviet Union as being characteristic of our future conduct. Therefore, the United States established the doctrine of "massive retaliation". We told the world that in future wars where aggression was initiated against the United States or its allies, the aggressor could expect to be subject to retaliatory nuclear attack. There was a dual purpose to extending the doctrine of massive retaliation to attacks against our allies; in addition to attempting to make our alliances meaningful we wanted to discourage our allies from building nuclear weapons. (This policy of protecting our allies with nuclear weapons is known as the "nuclear umbrella". It would create problems eventually). The policy of massive retaliation was not inconsistent with the policy of deterrence - it expanded on it. The doctrine incorporated the belief that if deterrence is to be effective it must be accompanied by a willingness to use the weapons if deterrence fails. At this time, early in the Eisenhower administration, the United States was still vastly superior to the Soviet Union in nuclear delivery vehicles which were limited to bombers.

President Eisenhower and his military advisors believed that a nuclear war in the final analysis would be like any other war, therefore under this doctrine we began to build nuclear weapons that could be used as weapons had been used in previous wars. First, we needed long range nuclear weapons. These weapons would consist of long-range missiles (the technology for these two systems was developed during the Eisenhower administration). These weapons were called strategic weapons and because of their different basing modes and delivery systems were known as the "strategic triad".

Next came weapons that were stationed in Europe to attack the Soviet Union and the satellite countries. These forces were comprised of shorter range bombers and missiles (eventually submarine missiles were also assigned to the European command for targeting) and called theatre nuclear forces or intermediate nuclear forces. Finally, because as previously stated, President Eisenhower believed that nuclear war would be like any other war, we built tactical nuclear weapons consisting of such items as land mines, artillery shells, anti-aircraft weapons, torpedoes, depth charges, etc...

Late in the Eisenhower administration the doctrine of massive retaliation began to lose its credibility when the Soviet Union put the first satellite into orbit thereby demonstrating a capability with rockets that would allow their use against the United States with nuclear warheads. These missiles would give the Soviet Union the ability to massively retaliate against the United States. Therefore, was our doctrine still credible, particularly in reference to defending our allies with nuclear weapons? Despite this question, Eisenhower stayed with this strategic doctrine for the remainder of his administration.

### **FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND ASSURED DESTRUCTION**

When President Kennedy came to office with Robert McNamara as his Secretary of Defence, he initiated a review of the doctrine of massive retaliation. It was decided that changes were necessary. The first change was required because they recognized that it was no longer possible to protect the United States completely from an attack by the Soviet Union. It was known as the doctrine of "damage limitation". Under this doctrine we targeted

our nuclear weapons to reduce the damage the United States would incur from Soviet missiles, that is, we targeted our missiles and bombers against their missiles and military facilities.

We also initiated the doctrine of "flexible response". This latter doctrine was almost exclusively directed toward a European war and therefore became NATO doctrine. Under flexible response we would answer a Soviet Union attack, wherever and however it took place, and in a like manner. If they attacked cities we would attack cities, similarly if their attack was limited to military facilities we would limit our attack to military facilities. If they only used tactical nuclear weapons we would only use tactical nuclear weapons. This doctrine was more credible than massive retaliation because it postulated a war in which the United States would not necessarily be faced with the question of using our strategic weapons if our allies are attacked, that is, whether we would be willing to trade New York for Paris. Flexible response remains the military doctrine of NATO today.

The problem with these two doctrines as the President and his Secretary of Defence soon learned was that they did not answer the question, "How much is enough?" All that was necessary to justify building weapons under these criteria was more targets. In addition, we were building all three varieties of nuclear weapons, strategic, intermediate and tactical, as fast as we could. Secretary of Defence McNamara was determined to do something to control this buildup. He came up with the doctrine of "assured destruction". Under the doctrine of "assured destruction", we would limit our nuclear forces to that level necessary to inflict unacceptable damage on the Soviet Union in a second strike posture, that is, after absorbing the full force of a Soviet first strike. All that was necessary to determine an appropriate size for the nuclear forces was to define unacceptable damage. We arbitrarily decided that the destruction of 30-35% of their population and 60-70% of their industrial capacity would represent unacceptable damage. Now that we had a formula we could work with to determine how many weapons were necessary: knowing roughly the destructive capability of their nuclear forces, how many of our weapons would not work or might miss their targets, and estimating the effectiveness of their defensive forces, we were able to state on any given day whether our forces were

capable of inflicting unacceptable damage. Using this criteria, Secretary McNamara was able to put a limit on the size of the strategic nuclear forces. For instance, the Minute-man missile force was capped at 1000, and the Polaris submarine force was limited to 41 submarines. The determination of the proper number of strategic bombers was a more fluid concept depending on funds available to build and maintain these forces.

There was one rather large loophole that could be used to justify almost any number of new weapons under the doctrine of "assured destruction" which was that the military was allowed to estimate a buildup of Soviet nuclear forces both offensive and defensive, in determining how many weapons we needed. Because of this loophole, the number of nuclear weapons in the arsenal continue to grow even after achieving an assured destruction capability.

As the 60's ended two events took place that challenged the use of the doctrine of assured destruction to determine appropriate force size. First came the technological capability of multiplying the warheads on our missiles (MIRVs). Next came the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with the Soviet Union. The introduction of MIRVs challenged the concept of unacceptable damage in this manner: if there were enough forces to inflict unacceptable damage what added effect was achieved by multiplying the warheads? Multiplying the warheads on the missiles incorporated and improved technology such that the destructive force of the missiles that were "MIRV'd" was also multiplied.

The ABM Treaty limited to token numbers the defensive forces that could be built to protect against ballistic missile attack. The ABM Treaty caused problems for the assured destruction criteria because our plans called for countering Soviet advances in defensive forces with an increased number of offensive forces. We could no longer factor into our plans a growing defensive capability on the part of the Soviet Union. Assured destruction could no longer be used to justify building new weapons because as a result of MIRVing and the ABM Treaty we had many more weapons than were necessary to achieve the goals of that strategy.

## PARITY

Because no formula seemed capable of

providing a logical limit on the numbers of nuclear weapons that were necessary, we began late in the Johnson administration to think about talking with the Soviet Union to establish negotiated limits on our nuclear arsenals. Our negotiators met in Geneva for the first of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). The idea was to negotiate limits on these weapons, but the Soviets soon made it clear that negotiations would only work if the United States accepted the concept of a parity of forces - the Soviet Union was not going to negotiate themselves into a position of inferiority. This decision to accept parity would not come easily for the United States. Although the SALT talks began in the Johnson administration, the decision to accept parity would not be made until the Nixon administration.

President Nixon and his Secretary of Defence James Schlesinger conducted a review of our strategic doctrine early in his administration much like President Kennedy had done before. They concluded that the best way to use the surplus of weapons that had been created by the introduction of MIRV'd missiles and the ABM Treaty was to expand the target base and establish a "strategic reserve". The target was expanded by returning to the idea of destroying military sites in addition to industrial areas and population centers. This "new" doctrine was termed "counterforce" targeting. Once again, as with the doctrine of flexible response, counterforce would allow the United States to answer an attack by the Soviet Union at any desire level of response.

Our policy for the use of our weapons under the doctrine of assured destruction had been to use all of our nuclear forces in a massive first strike. We did not plan to hold any strategic forces back because the necessary size for such a reserve force could not be determined under the assured destruction philosophy. We did have a reserve force, but this force was the weapons that were down for overhaul, all of the "ready" weapons would go on the first strike. The establishment of the strategic reserve allowed us to assign any numbers of weapons to this category and essentially removed any limits on our building program.

Clearly the doctrine of counterforce justified the weapons we already had and allowed for the addition of many more, however, it also for the first time included the concept of arms control as an aspect of strategic doctrine. President Nixon

decided that an attempt would be made to limit the further buildup of nuclear weapons by accepting parity with the Soviet Union and negotiating meaningful limits on these weapons. The SALT process would place limits specifically on strategic weapons but those limits would be followed by negotiated limits on intermediate and tactical nuclear weapons. Also, because it was thought that the Soviet Union enjoyed an advantage in conventional forces, the talks for limiting nuclear weapons would be accompanied by negotiations to establish limits on conventional forces.

Soon in this era of negotiations the doctrine of "parity" replaced any strategic doctrine as a means of justifying our nuclear forces, that is, new weapons were not justified by comparing our forces with the existing and projected nuclear forces of the Soviet Union. No longer did we justify our weapons because of their destructive capabilities.

At this time the Soviet Union was in a building program designed to close the gap that existed between our nuclear forces and theirs. Americans reacted in alarm to this buildup and called upon their government to match it by an extension of the doctrine of "parity" known as the doctrine of "strategic sufficiency". Under strategic sufficiency we had to build forces to keep pace with the Soviet's program. This logic was compelling because an asymmetry of forces existed. Some of our military and political leaders were unwilling to allow the Soviet Union to have superiority in any category of weapons. As a consequence, under the doctrines of "parity" and "strategic sufficiency," our requirements for nuclear weapons have become very confused.

The SALT I Interim Agreement was signed in 1971. This agreement put an upper limit on the strategic forces of both sides that roughly amounted to the numbers of launchers for strategic weapons that existed or were planned at the time of the agreement, that is, it was a freeze on strategic forces. It focused on launchers as the units that would be limited because of the belief that the numbers of launchers could be verified by national technical means. It can be seen that the limits incorporated in this treaty had no foundation in logic. A logical approach would have been to limit the number of launchers according to the destructive power of the weapons they carried, not according to the current arsenals and building plans. Also, the agreement allowed the weapons to be modernized as long as

their size did not change substantially. Worst of all, the agreement allowed for MIRV'd weapons. In essence, the agreement did almost nothing to stem the arms race.

While these loopholes in SALT I allowed us to continue building weapons, we went on to negotiate the second effort to negotiate a limit on strategic arms known as SALT II. SALT II put lower limits on the numbers of launchers than had been allowed in SALT I and added sublimits on MIRV'd weapons. The Senate never ratified this treaty but both sides say they are essentially following it.

SALT II also has failed to stop the nuclear weapons buildup. SALT II allows for additional modernization, and does not cover many weapons systems that are being built by both sides because the treaty only covers "strategic weapons". Under SALT II the excuse of modernization is used to justify the building of nuclear weapons. When all of these methods of justification fail we build new weapons that are not covered by the treaties such as new defensive weapons known as "Star Wars" or anti-satellite weapons. It appears that nothing will be able to satisfy our appetite for building weapons related to nuclear war.

Over the years it has been a little more difficult to follow the justification the Soviet Union has used for their nuclear weapons buildup. They, of course, are not required to answer the questions of their political constituents. Soviet military writing indicates that they do not accept the idea of limited war. Our military plans envision a war that starts as a conventional war and escalates to a strategic nuclear exchange. Their planners appear to see the firebreak as existing between war and peace and once that is breached anything goes. In following this theory, the Soviets have built a vast arsenal of strategic, intermediate and tactical nuclear weapons. Their arsenal is often viewed as simply being responsive to the United States. This view may be simplistic, but it is true that all major innovations have begun in the United States. Clearly, their vast arsenal of nuclear weapons also has no justification in logic.

## THE ARMS RACE

What are the numbers associated with all of this? In the days of assured destruction we thought that 300-500 weapons delivered on the Soviet

Union would be enough to destroy 30-35% of their population and 60-70% of their industrial capacity. Roughly the same numbers applied to the damage that the Soviet Union would inflict on the United States with a similar number of weapons. Today we have almost 11,000 weapons we can deliver directly on the Soviet Union. They have about 8,000 they can deliver on us. We have an additional 19,000 tactical, intermediate and reserve weapons bringing our total to about 30,000. They have an additional 12,000 weapons bringing their total to about 20,000. Together, we have 50,000 weapons when we only need about 500 a piece to achieve any conceivable military objective.

These force numbers are even more startling when we look at the destructive power of the weapons. Since the beginning of the nuclear era the destructive force of nuclear weapons has been measured in equivalent tons of TNT. The Hiroshima bomb was equivalent to approximately 13,000 tons of TNT or as it is more commonly referred to, 13 kilotons. The destructive force of the current arsenals is approximately 18,000 megatons of TNT. That number is a peculiar number, eighteen thousand, million, tons of TNT. That quantity is hard to grasp. It is a little easier to understand when put in the terms of the recent "nuclear winter" theory. This theory states that if a sufficient number of nuclear weapons were exploded, so much dust and dirt would be put in the air that the sunlight will be reduced by about 90% and the temperature of the earth will be reduced by 60 degrees rendering the planet uninhabitable for plant life, animal life and eventually human life. The threshold of destructive power necessary to induce this phenomenon was calculated to be 100 megatons - less than 1% of the combined current arsenal. In fact, just one Trident submarine armed with Trident II missiles will have more destructive force than this threshold.

What we face today is an uncontrolled arms race. When the Soviets build a weapon such as their most advanced missile, the SS-18, we are not satisfied until we match it with some weapon such as the MX. When we build a weapon like the sea-launched cruise missile, which is outside of any arms control agreement, the Soviets move to match it.

In addition, this arms race has taken place outside of the democratic process. Certainly, our Congress voted for the weapons necessary to

implement the doctrines of massive retaliation, assured destruction, sufficiency, etc., but they were not involved in the establishment of these doctrines. In addition, many of the decisions made on weapons systems takes place wholly within the Pentagon. In the decision making process Congress only has a yes or no vote. For instance, there was a bitter debate within the Navy as to whether it was wise to proceed with the larger TRIDENT submarine. Detractors said it would be better to build a larger number of smaller submarines to disburse the weapons. Congress was not aware of the debate or of its substance. Congress was only allowed to vote on whether to have the TRIDENT submarine or not to have it, no vote took place on the alternatives.

## CONCLUSION

Historians note that those periods of time that have been identified as arms races have in almost all cases led to war. That is the real dilemma facing us today - we are in an uncontrollable arms race. Those institutions that we have depended upon in the past have failed to stem this tide. The current situation threatens not only our lives but the existence of our planet.

What can we do?



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### **EAST - WEST PERSPECTIVES**

I want to thank the organizers for inviting me here, especially the Verigin family, father and son. I am impressed by the way they have done this and I am impressed by Castlegar and the West Kootenays. I have never been here before; that was one good reason for coming. I am impressed by the spirit and the ideals of the Doukhobor community and I am glad to spend these two days here. We are talking about youth, but I guess two thirds of you in this room would not consider yourselves to be young people. I don't consider that to be a bad thing. While I agree that those of us who are not youthful,

are not going to run the world in the year 2000, the fact is that most of you in this room are still going to be around for the next 5, 10, or 15 years, whether you are 20 or whether you are 50 or 60. Responsibilities for peace and world order cannot simply be shrugged off on to the shoulders of young people. We are all responsible. I am glad to see a number of people from the community and surrounding communities in the audience today and I would urge you, as well as those of you who are in front here, to take some part. I assume you are allowed to ask questions too, and that is really a conference about peace amongst people of all ages.

I should say a bit about the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, of which I have been the Director for a few months, six or seven, after spending 32 years inside the government. The Institute is responsible to Parliament, and is funded by Parliament. It is a Crown Corporation, but it is independent of the government. Our Board of Directors is made up of 17 people who are nominated by groups across the country and then appointed by the government. They have been acceptable to leaders of both opposition parties so we cannot be accused of being a Conservative or Liberal or whatever board. That has advantages because we can say what we think. It has disadvantages because the board is representative of Canadian opinion and Canadian organizations and Canadians like yourselves who do not agree on the answer to these issues. There is not agreement, there is not consensus on what are the best defence and foreign policies for Canada. Captain Bush was eloquent, and personally I agree with him, but there are a great many people who do not agree with him whether they live in Castlegar, British Columbia, or in Prince Edward Island. The government of this country is now a Conservative government, with one of the largest majorities in Canadian history, and most of those members were not elected on the basis of the views which you will hear today, although I would not wish to say that the Canadian Conservative Party holds the same view, for example as the Republican Party of the United States. We are not Americans, we have different views. We have different views of the world, different perspectives on peace and war, whatever party we belong to, but the fact is that the government was elected by many Canadians who believe, for example, in a strong defence. One of their promises

was to increase the defence budget. So we all have to accept that these issues are not settled by Captain Bush or me speaking for half an hour on a platform. The Institute represents a cross-section of Canadian views and our job will be to try to make clear what the issues are, to try and clarify the debate to increase public understanding of what it is all about. If you have questions about the Institute and would like to know more about it, I am here and my colleague Beth Richards is here and we will be glad to try and give you some information. I would also like to say hello to the students from Pearson College who are here, from a number of different countries and I would hope that the citizens of this community and surrounding communities who do not know anything about Pearson College would have the opportunity to speak to them, ask them something about it in the workshops, because if you want a really good example of peace through communication, there it is. There are 200 students from 50 countries who live two years together and I think we can learn something from them about that experience. Now, you have asked me to say something about East-West perspectives, which is a contradiction in terms, isn't it, because there are two perspectives: one is East and one is West. My friend Mr. Plekhanov, will give presumably a perspective based on his experience and his culture and knowledge of Soviet policy. I spent three years in the Soviet Union from 1980 to 1983 and I was much influenced and impressed by that three years. Most of us do not have such opportunities, although some of you here visit the Soviet Union from time to time, and many of you speak some Russian, but most of us do not. One of the major causes of conflict today is ignorance and misunderstanding on the part of citizens of both countries, not just of North America, but of both West and East, ignorance about the life and ways of thinking, the culture of the other. You cannot live in somebody else's country for 2 or 3 years, if you are at least curious and intelligent and open and tolerant, without being influenced by what you learn and what you see. While I am no expert on Soviet affairs, I am extremely interested and concerned about the causes of conflict and will be writing and speaking about those causes in future years. Captain Bush left off by saying arms control is not the answer, something else is the answer. I think he meant the reduction of tensions, detente we used to call it, or reduction of conflict. Well, how do

you do that, how is that going to happen? There are many ways it is going to happen or not happen, but I agree with him, that arms control is not the answer at the moment. It is one aspect of the answer, but the real answer lies in political attitudes, in prejudice and in a long history of rivalry. So what is the problem? Our task, those of us here this morning, is to identify the problem. Perhaps we can call it "How to achieve a just and lasting peace". This problem has a short term and a long term dimension. The short term dimension is how to prevent a catastrophic war. The long term aspect, if we ever get to it, is how to stop or abolish war, as a means of settling disputes between nations. I speak of war rather than violence, for war is a social phenomenon, which has to be organized, usually by governments. You can't go out, those of you sitting here today, and declare war on somebody; it has to be done by a government, it has to be organized. Violence is a human tendency and maybe we will be able to control it, but I don't think we are ever going to abolish it. Now, there are steps in between war and violence, like terrorism, of which we read more and more and of which you have had some experience in this part of British Columbia. Now we don't really know how to classify or how to describe terrorism, but clearly the greatest threat to our common future is nuclear war. Now for most people who live today, nuclear war is not their immediate concern. I guess it is not your immediate concern. You don't wake up thinking about it. But, if you live in parts of Africa or Asia, and we should not forget that about 1/3 of the people of the world now living are either Chinese or Indian, for a lot of those people especially those that live in Africa, the main threat facing them is famine or poverty. They don't go to bed thinking of nuclear war, but they go to bed thinking about what they are going to eat tomorrow. But the point is that the nuclear war would make their condition very much worse even if most of them survived. So, the greatest threat to everybody's future is nuclear war. There was a time when the Chinese, the leaders of China, said no, that is not the case, China would survive a nuclear war. We have 800,000,000 people and after a nuclear war we would still have 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 so China would be okay. I was in China with Prime Minister Trudeau a year and a half ago, and they told us "We don't say that anymore. If there is a nuclear war, China would be as much hurt as everybody else."

So let us say that governments now, almost all governments, give priority to avoiding nuclear war, even if most of them can't do much about it and if their peoples really don't think about it because it is not their concern. The UN Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 agreed unanimously that "removing the threat of a world war is the most acute and urgent task to the present day. Mankind is confronted by a choice. We must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation.." Now what I am talking about is, how do you do that? Well, the fact is that more than 90% of the total number of nuclear weapons now are under the control of just two governments. You know who they are. One is the United States and the other is the Soviet Union. More than 90%, probably about 95%. This figure is not going to change very much, no matter how many other governments acquire control of such weapons. So obviously, those two governments bear the overwhelming responsibility to control the use of such weapons and ultimately, as they have agreed, to eliminate them. Now the reasons these two countries control all those weapons are fairly obvious. One of the questions earlier was what would happen if there were no nuclear weapons, how would you describe a super power? The United States is the most powerful country in the world, whether it has nuclear weapons or not. Its' gross national product is twice that of the Soviet Union. The gross national product of the Soviet Union, that is, the total wealth of that country, is 1/3 more than the next most powerful country, which is Japan. We are not talking about military power, we are talking about wealth, economic power. So the United States and the Soviet Union are in a class by themselves, and that will be the case for a long, long time. In addition, the Soviet Union is the largest country on earth. The Soviet Union is twice the size of Canada. You think you have a large country, they are twice our size. There are 11 time zones. Now size is not, by itself, that important, but the Soviet Union controls up to 1/2, sometimes in some cases, 3/4 of world reserves of commodities like gas or coal so, potentially, although it is not a wealthy country compared to the United States, it is a very powerful country. So that is a natural rivalry between these two leading powers which has nothing to do with something called Communism or something called Capitalism. They both emerged from the last war determined never to

be caught again by aggressive enemies, in one case Germany, and in the other case Japan, and therefore determined, that (two of the greatest mistakes made in human history were to attack the Soviet Union and to attack the United States, but those mistakes were made) never would happen again, so they remain strong in order to deter any other combination of states, but especially each other, from aggression. They both in fact saw each other then as enemies, or at least as adversaries, and they still do, even though neither has any territorial demands on the other. The United States does not want any Soviet territory. The Soviet Union does not want any American territory. There are no traditional causes of war of that kind. I expect this rivalry to continue, in part because each great power fears as much the influence of each other on the politics of the world, as they do their rival military power. Personally, I think there will be further agreements on the control and reduction of nuclear weapons. I agree with Captain Bush that they are not going to happen soon, but I think there will be more agreements because such agreements are in the mutual interests of both great powers. They really have no option. They have to do something to control the nuclear weapons race. Everything he said makes sense and is going to make sense increasingly to the American people and to the Soviet people. It is too bad that there isn't someone here to give you the other point of view, the point of view of President Reagan. I am not going to give it to you but it is too bad there isn't someone here to do that because that is the point of view that prevails there. Nevertheless, I think they are going to reach agreements. I don't think we can expect that there will be an end to the political rivalry. It's difficult to imagine there will be no more Afghanistans, or no more Nicaraguas. And that is the rivalry. Right now there is a rough balance of military power between the two alliances, East and West, a rough balance, although economic power is three times greater on the Western side, if you count Japan, three times greater, but there is a rough balance of military power. Now as long as each side regards political change anywhere in the world as a potential subtraction or addition to its own military power and political influence, then the danger of conflict will remain. Why does the United States regard Nicaragua as a great threat? Nicaragua has what, 2,000,000 people? Who is it threatening? Why does the Soviet Union regard the

situation in Afghanistan as a threat? Who is Afghanistan threatening? But that is not the way they look at it. The way they look at it is that if they lose control, the other side will gain control. So in my view, the main challenge is not arms control, but conflict control, so that political change, which is going to happen anyway, can take place outside the super power context. I mean by this, that we ought not to impose on the other people and countries our own view of what is legitimate or democratic or revolutionary. Does it matter to a Chinese peasant whether the regime in Peking calls itself Communist or something else? What matters is that the regime help him to live better, not worse. Of course, in world of 160 states, there are very many different kinds of regime, some of which are not all that popular with their own citizens, but that is a different story. But whatever kind of regime they are, they must learn to accept peaceful change, both within and without their borders, and to avoid linking such change to the politics of East-West rivalry. Now the concept of non-alignment makes sense in most parts of the world and has nothing to do with Socialism or Capitalism. But there are bound to be parts of the world, especially those near the borders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., where that is difficult, because there are vital interests at stake. The United States has two neighbours, Mexico and Canada. The Mexicans are non-aligned but they are non-aligned in one direction. They are careful. Canada is clearly aligned. The Soviet Union has 10 neighbours and they vary from alignment to non-alignment or neutrality, but they are all, very conscious of the great power next to them. Now third party mediation, such as the Contadora process in Central America, is the best way of finding acceptable solutions in these cases, providing both sides want them. If Nicaragua is going to survive in the way it wants to survive, it's going to do so through some kind of third party mediation. This conference is about peace through communication. To act in favour of peaceful change is to set an example and thus to communicate it to others. I hope you will consider how to do this, whether it be in your community or by urging your governments to settle disputes peacefully. This is not pacifism. Armed forces are necessary to defend against aggression and to maintain internal order if necessary. But most wars may no longer be won in the old sense. Look at poor Iraq and Iran! They are

trying to win a war in the old sense and they are killing each other but neither side is winning. There will always be conflict of some kind, whether it is internal or external, and whether it is in your own communities, and a matter of how you settle disputes, or whether it's a matter of how you control violence between states. Do you think current television programming helps us to learn to settle disputes peacefully? Do you think the movies you see at your local theatre help us to learn to settle disputes peacefully? We don't have to import all this stuff, we don't have to show it, we don't have to show that we could have won the Vietnam war, if we just had Rambo. Anyway, these are local and provincial and national and international concerns, and to deal with these kinds of conflict in ways that go beyond war, is our common responsibility in the nuclear era.



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### SOVIET VIEWS ON DISARMAMENT AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Thank you Mr. Chairman. Ladies and gentlemen, this is my first visit to the West Kootenays which I think is, in my case, a slightly more forgivable fault than in the case of Ambassador Pearson, but we have both corrected our faults now. So there's parity there.

It is so nice to be here. This is one of those places in the world where the very thought of war seems so ugly and irrational. It is also a special place because of the Doukhobors.

You know, when I was preparing to come

here, I thought, 'This must be one of those places where the old cold war battle cry 'The Russians are coming' would ring hollow.' For the younger part of the audience who may not know how that battle cry originated, I might say that there was an American movie about 20 years ago called "The Russians Are Coming". It was about a Soviet submarine that got stranded on the rocks off Cape Cod, Massachusetts. The crew went ashore and the local population got so scared that it almost led to war. People thought that it was a Russian invasion.

Anyway, I thought "The Russians Are Coming" didn't scare anyone here because the Russians came here more than 100 years ago and they were pacifists who were expelled from Tsarist Russia because they refused to fight in a war.

Well, of course, British Columbia has a reputation of tolerance and broadmindedness, but you know, I'm discovering that even here, paranoia has nine lives. A friend of mine here from among the Doukhobors told me a story. He invited a colleague of his, a non-Russian Canadian to his home and they sat down for dinner. Well, the Doukhobors have a way of pickling cucumbers, they add beet juice to the marinade which makes cucumbers look reddish, and that colleague of that Doukhobor friend of mine got suspicious when he looked at those cucumbers. He asked, "Well, why are they red?"

The topic of this conference is very important. The arms race is getting out of control and we are at a time in history when we have a chance to realize the madness of that arms race, to understand the reasons for it and to work out the ways to stop and reverse it and find ways of dealing with the problems of the world more rationally and more peacefully.

It has been said here before that the nuclear age is imposing a logic of its own on the arms race and on the very idea of using violence as a way of solving political problems, because such traditional notions as military victory or military superiority have lost their meaning with the advent of nuclear weapons and strategic parity.

And now we are confronted with another discovery - the nuclear winter phenomenon. Scientists have found out that even in case of a "limited" nuclear war, even in case some country launches a disarming first strike at another and the retaliatory blow is very weak, the smoke and dust from the nuclear explosions will spread out across the world, and the planet will freeze for lack of

sunlight. So there's no way now that you can inflict the unacceptable damage to the other side without inflicting unacceptable damage to yourself.

This logic of the nuclear age is quite persuasive, but as Albert Einstein said at the dawn of the nuclear age, "Nuclear weapons have changed everything except our way of thinking." Really, the world is too much weighed down by obsolete thinking about the meaning of security, the role of force, the role of weapons, about military victory. I recall a cartoon which I saw in an American magazine, picturing a group of U.S. Generals and Admirals standing around a globe with very perplexed looks on their faces and saying "Sure we can annihilate the Russians 20 times but, if the Russians can annihilate us 25 times, then we're gonners." It is funny, but you know, it's operational logic for many people and for those who believe in military superiority.

It's easy enough to prove that the nuclear arms race is a race to oblivion, that it's a mad race, that there must be alternatives to it. But there is another side of the question, and I think it has been addressed to some extent today already. I am talking about the nature of conflict in today's world, in particular of East-West competition.

When you discuss the problems of the arms race with cold war advocates, you often hear this reference, "Well, you know it's bad enough that we have built all those weapons, but they are necessary because the Russians are so threatening, because there is that East-West rivalry, it's inevitable." The nuclear arms race is portrayed as a natural expression of that competition, of that rivalry. Let me give you a Soviet perspective on that.

From the moment of the October Revolution in 1917, we have advocated peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems. The meaning of the Revolution of 1917 was the birth of a new society, whose economy and political system would be organized differently from the capitalist West. But the very fact that Russia would organize it differently was seen in the West as a threat. Again this is a centuries old human trait: If other people live differently from you, then they must be dangerous. Thus, we have had to devote attention to our defence to maintaining potential which would prevent aggressions against us. We had to maintain military forces not because Communism is inherently militaristic or expansionist, but because the West

was denying us our right to live in peace as a country with a social system different from the Capitalist West. The inner meaning of East-West competition is that socialism is trying to prove that it is a system more advanced and humane than capitalism. For that, we don't need wars - we need peaceful co-existence.

But it took some time before peaceful co-existence became a reality. In 1918, we were invaded by Western powers from all sides and part of our territory was taken away. In 1941, we were invaded by Germany, and that was cost us 20 million lives and hundreds of cities destroyed. Then, scarcely the Second World War ended, we were confronted with the nuclear arms race. When atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, that was not so much one of the last salvos of the Second World War as the first salvo of the first Cold War.

It is fully documented now, on the basis of the published documents of the U.S. Government that Washington viewed the nuclear bomb as a way to intimidate the Russians, to pressure them. As President Truman said "To make them play ball" and playing ball, of course, had quite a sinister meaning to us, it was not at all as sporty as it sounds. The Soviet Union was expected to bow to the American will.

So, to safeguard our independence, we had to take part in the nuclear arms race. We were not the first to build the atomic bomb. We built it four (4) years later than the United States. We've never dropped an atomic bomb on anyone. That privilege belongs to the United States. In the 1950's, we were behind America in the nuclear delivery vehicles which were then primarily the intercontinental bombers. The U.S. had the huge intercontinental bomber fleet, we only had a few such bombs. Sure enough, we were the first to test the intercontinental ballistic missile, but up until the late 1960's, the advantage of the United States in the numbers of those missiles was so great that you couldn't really talk of parity. And, at each round of the arms race, there's been an attempt to gain an advantage over us, to keep military superiority, so that the United States could impose its will in various political conflicts around the world. We in the Soviet Union don't agree with the idea of the two super powers being equally responsible for the arms race. We don't buy that proposition, because we know the history of the nuclear arms race all too well.

Let me say a few words about the economic side of the arms race. We don't think that the arms race is a good way to boost economic growth or to modernize the economy technologically. One of the arguments advanced in the United States in favour of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) is that even if SDI might fail to give the United States an impenetrable shield against missiles, then at least it will boost technological development in the West.

But there are much better, safer much more effective and humane ways of boosting scientific-technological progress than developing weapons. As far as we in the Soviet Union are concerned, the arms race is a sinister thing, because it costs money and resources. If it hadn't been for the arms race, the standard of living in our country would have been much higher than it is now, we would have a better health system, a better education system and so on. For us, the top priority is what we call peaceful construction which means improving the standard of living and the quality of life, building a society which gives its members the greatest opportunities for free development of their human potential.

That's why the Soviet Union has been actively promoting all kinds of initiatives to stop the arms race and to make peaceful co-existence a permanent and all pervasive reality in international relations between East and West and around the world. And, in fact, in the 1970's there was a period of Detente I when both sides, East and West, made a serious attempt to agree on key issues of security, trade, political relations. I think we can call it Detente I because I'm convinced that there will be Detente II. It was an important undertaking, even though if you go now into the documents on the birth of Detente, you can see a lot of things that were very imperfect about it, some expectations, some plans.

For instance, if you read the memoirs of Henry Kissinger, you will see that to him and Nixon, Detente was a way of "peacefully containing the Soviet Union." That is, trying to change the Soviet Union's foreign and domestic policies. In fact, he admits that the end was the same as in the Cold War, it's just the means that were different. Well, that was one of the faults of Detente I and it helps to understand why the U.S. turned away from Detente.

If the idea was to contain the Soviet Union peacefully, rather than to live with the Soviet Union peacefully, then of course, it's easier to

understand why, for instance, there was such an outcry in the United States when the USSR and Cuba helped Angola repel aggression from South Africa. It turned out that the U.S. continued to look on the world as a big chess board where any political change ought to be seen in terms of East-West zero-sum game. But political change and political conflicts in the world must be judged and dealt with on their merits, rather than in black and white East-West terms, in the terms of competition between "the two super powers."

The Cold War mythology was discredited enough in the 1960's it seemed, and to see it revived now, in such a crude form, is really frustrating. I mean, one would expect a great nation like the United States to be more mature. But still, the fact is that there has been retrogression in American thinking on the matters of war and peace, on the matters of international relations, back to the times of the Cold War. It's 1950's thinking all over again, with some modification, but basically 1950's thinking.

Why has it taken place? Well, you have to keep in mind that there's only one nation in the world that claims for itself a right and even a duty to tell the world how to live, and that's the United States. It's now again openly advancing the claim to world supremacy and backing up that claim with a drive for superiority. Washington complains about lack of support in the Third World, accuses developing countries of getting too anti-American, withdraws from UNESCO, puts pressure on the UN and so on and so forth, which is quite a change from earlier times when the United States was somewhat more broadminded and more tolerant of differences in the world, more tolerant of those people who want to live differently from the Americans.

Another important reason why there has been this retrogression to Cold War thinking has to do with the military industrial complex. The other day, I read an American newspaper about the profit figures for the last four years. And it turns out that while in the non-military manufacturing sector of the American economy there have been net losses, in the military sector there have been net profits by some estimates 4%, by other estimates up to 20%.

Well, when you see those figures it is easy to see why there is that momentum in favour of new systems of weapons being invented, and introduced into the arms race. And of course, to back that all up, you've got to shout at the top of your

lungs "The Russians Are Coming".

The question is where will it all lead and how should we, how do we, in the Soviet Union view the prospects, do we get despondent over this? No, we don't get despondent. We are aware of the dangers, but we don't get despondent because we are convinced that Cold War II, which is unfolding now, goes against the nature of things and that the world will not really stand Cold War II. Of course, there is no guarantee that peace will be kept. It's quite possible that there will be a nuclear war. The threat of nuclear war is becoming more ominous because of all those shifts in strategic thinking. But we are convinced that the threat can be averted. Of course, it will be averted only if a lot of people get involved in the peace movement going on, and if they act on behalf of their understanding.

I think current U.S. policies can be reversed. In analyzing prospects for such a reversal, one has to ask the question: "How does Washington evaluate the results of its policies in the last few years." I don't think that there have been many successes for the United States as a result of those policies. The idea of gaining military superiority over the Soviet Union remains a pipe dream. There's no way that the United States can achieve that. The Soviet Union is powerful enough, it has great technological and economic potential, and it should be clear to the Americans that if they want to spend another trillion dollars on the arms race, the only result will be greater waste and greater danger of war but they will not get military superiority.

If we were able to prevent the United States from maintaining their superiority, in the 1950's, it will be easier to prevent them from regaining it in the 1980's and 1990's. And I think the fact that parity, the military parity is there, and that it is firm enough, I think that fact is becoming more and more evident. Another result of the policies of Cold War II has been the loss of U.S. prestige around the world. Also, the differences between the U.S. and its allies have become greater on key issues of security and international politics, which can hardly be counted as a success of U.S. policy.

If you look at the results of the economic policies of the Reagan administration over the past few years, they do not look like a great success either. Of course, there has been quite a substantial economic upturn in the United States in the last few years, but it has been achieved at the expense of the

economic stagnation in other Western countries in Europe, also in Canada, I would imagine. The budget deficit, created to a large extent by the huge increases in the military budget, has reached monstrous proportions becoming a threat to the economic condition in many countries including America itself.

What else have the policies of Cold War II led to? A very important and healthy result has been the emergence of the new mass peace movement in the world - both in the East and in the West. This movement is now much better equipped with knowledge and expertise than before. It is very broadly based involving people from all classes and social groups, it involves people from all political views, from Conservatives to Communists. Whether they are in the East or in the West, whether they are upper class or working class, their basic commitments and goals are the same. This is an increasingly powerful force which is only beginning to make itself felt.

There has been some slack in the activity of the peace movement over the past year or two and the Cold War advocates are already celebrating that as a major victory, but I think they are wrong. The tasks of the peace movement have not been solved. The natural instinct of people for self-preservation and the belief that people can change governmental policies, can save themselves from extinction - all those impulses are far from spent.

I think that there has been some realization in the ruling circles in the United States, that they have got to change something in their policies. But they have only changed their tactics and rhetoric. They agreed to start the Geneva talks, but their basic approach, the idea of getting military superiority over the Soviet Union, has not changed. Therefore, the talks in Geneva have so far failed to bring results. They have not reached the stage where they could really begin work on a joint approach to the problem of the arms race. The positions of the two sides are too different.

Why are they different? They are different because the Soviet Union refuses to believe the maxims of the Cold War. We don't think that the events of the last decade justify the return to the Cold War policies. We are not going to pursue the policies of the Cold War. We are going to struggle for Detente. We can call it Detente, or any other word, but there are certain principles, and goals

which must be steadfastly held to and defended, which are acceptable to both East and West.

One has to recognize, for instance, that there can be no winners in a nuclear war and therefore, that everything must be done to prevent it. Of course, now you have President Reagan saying that he believes the same but it is one thing that he says and it is another thing that he does, because the SDI is based on the idea of achieving a victory in the nuclear war.

Another important principle, is the principle of common security. You know, people have believed for millenniums that the way to achieve one's own security is to make the other side as insecure as possible, so if your potential adversary is scared and very much impressed by your own might, that makes you secure. Now in a nuclear age that is no longer true. The only way to provide for security in a nuclear age is by including the other side's security as a consideration of your own security. Thus, you have got to pursue your policies not at the expense of the other side but together with the other side so that there can be a consensus between the two of you. That is the only way to deal with the problems of arms control. That is the only way to achieve progress in Geneva.

Unfortunately, we have in recent years been confronted with quite a different approach on behalf of the U.S. Government. It apparently believes that some advantages can be gained over the Soviet Union at the negotiating table and to back up that strategy of extracting unilateral advantages from us, there is the nuclear build-up, there are new Trident submarines, the B-1 bombers, the SDI and so forth, "To make the Russians play ball" as President Truman used to say.

Another important thing is to pay attention not just to the nuclear arms race, but to the conventional armaments as well. Conventional disarmament must go hand in hand with nuclear disarmament. There is a special negotiating forum on conventional weapons in Vienna. It hasn't been very effective but the East and West are talking there, because if winding down the nuclear arms race is accompanied by an intensified conventional arms race, it would be a really great folly. We must make efforts to ban the use of force, that's played too great a role in international politics. And the Soviet Union and its allies have proposed a very practical and specific idea of how we can deal with the problems

of the use of force.

The Warsaw Pact proposed in March 1983 that NATO and Warsaw Pact conclude a treaty on the non-use of force. It would not be just a reiteration of the non-use of force provision of the United Nations charter. It's a concrete proposal which involves practical measures designed to enhance security on both sides, to enhance mutual confidence, and to reduce the tensions between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, not only in Europe, but also in other areas, including those areas which the West has been particularly sensitive about the last few years. Regretfully, practical dialogue on our proposal has not begun. But we are prepared to wait and further elaborate on that proposal because we think that it is in the interest of both sides.

Let me point to some other peace initiatives put forth by the Soviet Union in the last few years. Of course, you heard about the most recent one. We unilaterally stopped the testing of our nuclear weapons and peaceful nuclear explosions as well. We stopped all nuclear explosions beginning on the 6th day of August, the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. Now, of course, from Washington there is a predictable cry that this is propaganda. Okay, let's call it propaganda, but that can only give good meaning to the word because when you stop exploding nuclear devices and call it propaganda, then I'll say "more such propaganda." I would welcome such effective propaganda on the American side. We in the USSR were very much disappointed to the point of disbelief, when the response to our invitation to join us in the moratorium on testing was "come see our tests." Well, we've seen enough of them, I mean, it is really not a big show.

Another important issue which also involves doing something rather than simply proposing something, was our moratorium on testing anti-satellite weapons. Now, anti-satellite weapons are one of the elements in this very dangerous space weapons race which the world may stumble into in the next few years, in fact is already entering. We adopted such a moratorium unilaterally in 1983 and we're still observing it. We think that this is a practical way of inducing the United States to join with us in preventing the militarization of space. To allow space to become the next frontier of the arms race would be costly. It would destroy the existing mechanisms of arms control, and it would destroy

the ABM Treaty. It may even destroy the Test Ban Treaty of 1963, because there have been reports that the United States plans to test some of those nuclear devices which are part of SDI. If that happens, that could undermine the Test Ban Treaty of 1963. We are determined to prevent the arms race in space and by giving this example of a moratorium on testing the anti-satellite weapons, we are opening the way to negotiations on this subject.

We have also unilaterally stopped deployment of medium-range ballistic missiles in Europe which in the past few years were such a contentious issue between East and West. We've done that and we're hoping that the United States will follow suit.

There have been numerous other things. I would also emphasize our commitment never to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Our no-first use pledge was made in 1982 and we remain committed to it. The Soviet Union will never be the first to use nuclear weapons, and there have been corresponding changes in our nuclear doctrine in the way our troops are trained and so on.

Thus we remain committed to Detente and disarmament. We are going to be very persistent in our efforts to achieve these goals. We are going to come up with new proposals and we think that we have a majority of mankind on the side of this kind of policy. That doesn't necessarily make people who agree with that pro-Soviet. I think it means that those people are pro-human and that's the most important thing. We think that the folly of Cold War II can be exposed, that it will be exposed. There will be more and more people in the West joining the ranks of those who think that there must be a return to Detente, or rather a movement forward to a new Detente, and that the nuclear arms race can and must be stopped and that really we deserve, this planet deserves, a better fate than being incinerated or covered with a thick layer of dust and soot which would turn it into a big refrigerator.

That's the main reason why we are optimistic. We are aware of the dangers created by the arms race and tension. But we place our faith in the powerful instinct for self-preservation which exists in mankind. And, of course, the role of young people in the peace movement has always been important. It was the young people that helped expose the folly of the first Cold War by taking part in the movement against war in Vietnam, and in today's

peace movement the young people are very active. It is only natural because the young have special stakes in the future. They want to live long. They want to live well. And the idea of a threat of nuclear war, of a new costly and dangerous arms race is not a very attractive proposition to them.

In conclusion, I would like to commend the organizers of this conference for putting together this forum, so that we could discuss these important issues and help young people understand what's going on.

Thank you very much!



PERRY, Thomas L, M.D.,  
Professor, Faculty of Medicine,  
University of British Columbia

### CONSEQUENCES OF NUCLEAR WAR

Thank you Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen. I consider it a great privilege to be invited to speak at this conference for many reasons. In Vancouver, we think that we are the peace capital of North America, we think that we are more peaceable than other people because it is so beautiful there. Well, when I walked around after the coffee break and I saw the lovely community you live in, I can now begin to understand that you are going to give us some competition. And it is really wonderful to feel something happening not in the big city.

The second thing that makes me very pleased to be here is I consider it a real privilege to

be invited to a conference that is organized to a considerable extent by Orthodox Doukhobors. Since I emigrated to Canada 23 years ago, I have heard lots about the Doukhobors. I have learned a little bit about them, and knowing that they are people who were in the peace movement before my grandfather was born, it makes me feel very good to be in Doukhobor country. This is certainly the place where we ought to be talking about good relations.

Finally, I consider it a real honour to be asked to speak on the same platform with Sergey Plekhanov and to be involved in a conference where you have asked other people from the Soviet Union. I think that one thing I must tell you at the very beginning was that I was born one year before the Russian Revolution, and I was brought up as a child. I was educated or shall I say miseducated (in the same way about 10 of you who asked questions after the last lecture) seem to me that you demonstrated that we were all brought up to think that the Soviet Union is an evil place, their system evil, they are hateful people, they are an evil empire, although the term was not used when I was a kid. But this is the only way we were brought up and I learned differently a while ago, quite a long time ago, and I want to tell you that the reason I am speaking here today, the reason I am alive today, is solely because of tremendous sacrifices that Sergey Plekhanov's countrymen made. In the Second World War, I was a combat soldier, at that time in the American Army serving in Eastern France and I thought we were having a terrible time. We were being bombed and shelled and we were being shot at, and living in muddy fox holes. I thought to myself this is really awful and how I am ever going to survive this? How am I ever going to get home to see my wife? And then it finally dawned on me that we, the Canadians, the British, and the Americans and the French were facing exactly 1/10th of the German combat troops. Ninety percent of the German combat troops were on the eastern front and I feel that I owe my life to Sergey Plekhanov's countrymen, and damn it, if we were allies in those days, and we could be friendly in those days, I think it is absolutely essential that we become friendly again...(applause)... Forgive me for getting away from what I was assigned to do. I have been given the unpleasant task of telling you about the consequences of nuclear war, not a particularly nice thing to do when you are already hungry for lunch. But I have to do that, and maybe it is just as

well that the program does contain something of this because it seems to me, as I talk to people in Vancouver, as I listen to people who have been interested in peace all over, and as I argue with people who disagree with me, that there is a tremendous lack of knowledge still as to what would happen to us in a nuclear war. It seems to me that if we really understand fully how bad it would be, we will find ways of getting over the irritations that make us unfriendly to the Soviet Union or maybe make Russians, or Soviet people unfriendly to the West. Very briefly, let me go over some facts for you. I will do it rather rapidly and I will be happy to talk to people this afternoon, in the dialogue session further about it. We need to know that nuclear weapons kill in several ways. The energy that is released by a nuclear explosion or a typical nuclear explosion, is about 35% blast injury. In other words, there are tremendous gusts of wind. About 50% is heat injury and the remainder, a much smaller fraction is radiation injury. If nuclear weapons are used on cities or anywhere where people live, enormous numbers of people will die immediately from the blast effects. That means buildings will collapse on them, they will be hit by flying masonry, flying broken glass. They will be seared to death by the tremendous heat, and actually, the number of people who would be killed by radiation is very much smaller. Basically, what it works out at is that if you are in a city, it doesn't make a bit of difference if you are in a bomb shelter or not in a bomb shelter, if you are within an area where the atmospheric over-pressure from the blast is 5 pounds per square inch or greater, you will die. You will die either of the blast or of the heat, the radiation isn't going to bother you because you are going to be dead already. It is true that long lasting radiation from ground explosions drifting to distant parts will give trouble also. For instance, were there nuclear weapons exploding over Spokane, Wa., the long lasting radioactivity might well drift over this valley. Let me move rapidly to what would happen or what sort of casualties we can expect in Vancouver. In Physicians for Social Responsibility, we have used figures from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute as to the sort of nuclear war that would be likely to take place in the mid 1980's. A nuclear war in which perhaps 1/3 of the nuclear arsenal of the Soviet Union and the United States were used. And the Stockholm International Peace

Research Institute has published maps which show where nuclear weapons would likely be dropped. It so happens that in my city, Vancouver, we are allegedly targeted with 3 one mega-ton weapons. One mega-ton is about 70 times the explosive power of the bomb that ruined Hiroshima and maybe 50 times that of Nagasaki. We have three of these scheduled for us. If you look at what the casualties would be, it works out that a single one mega-ton weapon would kill, in Vancouver, 400,000 people outright. That means they will be dead in 10 minutes. Another 300,000 people would be so badly injured that they will all be dead at the end of four weeks. So a single one mega-ton bomb would kill 700,000 people. We have about a million in our community in Greater Vancouver and 3 one mega-ton bombs placed around would do in almost all of us. What are the figures for Canada? I think Canadians ought to know what would happen to our country. Some experts at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology have calculated that in the event of a nuclear war, between the Soviet Union and the United States, Canada as a close military ally of the United States, will certainly be attacked. MIT experts estimate that somewhat less than 2% of the Soviet arsenal might be exploded on Canadian cities. That 2% will be enough to kill within four weeks somewhere between 13,000,000 and 14,000,000 people. Because of the major attacks on military targets in the U.S. and the fact that the wind carries the radioactive fallout northeast, a substantial number of Canadians would later die from the radioactive fallout from explosions that have taken place in the United States. The best general calculations before the nuclear winter concept came up, where that in the event of your average size nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the United States, 20,000,000 of the 25,000,000 Canadians will die. It doesn't matter a bit whether they are in bomb shelters or not, 20,000,000 of 25,000,000 will die and this is the sort of thing we are facing. The estimates for an average size war for, let me give it for North America, for Western Europe and the Soviet Union, the estimates are that something of the order of 180,000,000 people will be killed in North America, that something in the order of 400,000,000 would be killed in Europe west of the Soviet Union and that in the Soviet Union something in the order of 170,000,000. The reason not quite such a large proportion of the Soviet people would perish is

simply because the country is enormous and the density of population is less. Not only would a nuclear war do this to those of us living in these developed countries, but enormous havoc would be wreaked on people living in the third world. The estimates without taking into account the nuclear winter concept, are that something in the order of 1,000,000,000 people in the third world still starve to death. Why will they starve to death? Well, because the United States, Canada, and France are three of the five major grain exporters in the world. Australia and Argentina export lesser amounts. Simply cutting off the grain exports from France, the United States and Canada, is going to lead to 1,000,000,000 people dying. Alright, what about the nuclear winter? Captain Bush has referred to it and Geoffrey Pearson, and Sergey Plekhanov have mentioned it. What is this nuclear winter business? Well, scientists first in West Germany and then in the Soviet Union and almost at the same time in the United States, have studied what would happen, with the enormous amounts of soot injected high into the atmosphere from fires, particularly fires over cities. Fires fueled by burning oil, burning plastics and so on, and also to a lesser extent fires from forest fires. What would happen to the soot that would go up? What would happen to dust thrown up by ground explosions? Usually, military targets have ground explosions. If there is a nuclear war, there would be ground explosions on military targets, air explosions over population centers, and the estimates are that enormous amounts of soot and dust would be injected high into the atmosphere roughly to the area of the tropopolis, the place where the troposphere stops and the stratosphere begins. Something in the order of 12 to 14 kilometers above the surface of the earth. Or thinking about it in another way, if you fly to eastern Canada or you fly across the Atlantic or Pacific, you are flying something in the order of 11 or 12 kilometers above the earth's surface, so the soot and dust would be injected higher than that. The soot particularly involves tiny, tiny particles and they are so high up that rain will not wash them out of the atmosphere and obviously they circle around the globe. The estimates are that in a major nuclear war, within somewhere between one week and two weeks, there will be an enormous drop in temperature. The drop in temperature depends a little bit on where you are, and on how many nuclear weapons were used.

Let me give you figures for an average size, but not a big nuclear war, but an average size nuclear war. The estimates are that for southern Canada the temperature will drop to something in the order of -30 degrees Celsius from whatever it is. This means that where we have a nuclear war today, two weeks from now, it is going to be in the order of -30 Celsius here even though your calendar tells you it is still early September. And you need not worry about your tomatoes ripening, what you need to do is worry how the devil you are going to cut wood fast enough to keep yourself from freezing to death and this is something that would happen all over the world. I think that Mr. Plekhanov brought out an important point when he indicated, if one side is the aggressor and the other side is attacked, and the aggressor side never has any nuclear weapons falling on them, they will still be subject to the nuclear winter because the air circulation often has an odd way of going around and around. In other words, were the United States to achieve the nuclear superiority which some leaders of the United States hope to do, and were they to launch a nuclear war, and were the Soviet Union not to respond, or were it unable to respond, people in Canada will freeze to death and people in the United States will freeze to death and surely this knowledge which is now generally agreed to by scientists ought to bring us to our senses, that we can't do it. Now you may ask is there any disagreement about the nuclear winter hypothesis. There are some disagreements but the disagreements are simply about how cold will it get and exactly how long will it stay that cold and they depend a little on how many nuclear weapons you think will be exploded. They depend on whether you use one dimensional or three dimensional atmospheric circulation models, it depends a little bit on whether the nuclear war occurs in the winter months in the northern hemisphere in which case effects on the southern hemisphere would be less than if it had occurred in the summer months in the northern hemisphere. But there is no disagreement at all that there will be a nuclear winter in the event of a nuclear war and there is also no disagreement that even a baby nuclear war with one hundred mega-tons used on cities only, in other words, imagine a baby nuclear war between Iraq and Iran and suddenly these weapons are used on the oil terminals at Carg Island, can be enough to drop the temperature so cold in Canada that most of us will

freeze to death and there will be no crops growing. I think all of us should know that this is generally agreed on by scientists. The National Academy of Sciences in the United States, a very prestigious body agrees to this, although they think it would not drop quite as cold as the original proponents of the hypothesis. The Royal Society of Canada has studied it carefully and has come out to the same conclusion. Nobody disagrees anymore. Now the third thing that I want to talk to you about today, because it really is intimately related with the consequences of nuclear war, is I want to make the point that bombs whether they are nuclear or conventional, kill a lot of people before they ever explode and I think that this is an area that we ought to be much more concerned about, and I hope that many of you will be participating in the workshop this afternoon that I have been invited to talk at, I want to show some slides to give you something of the details. But let me quote, I think Geoffrey Pearson quoted an American president, let me quote one also. More than 30 years ago, in the days of the Cold War, President Dwight D. Eisenhower said,

"Every gun that is made, every war ship launched, every rocket fired signifies in the final sense a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed, the world in arms is not spending money alone, it is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the houses of its children".

This is something that those of us in the peace movement, I don't think are talking enough about. Let me tell you, let me give you a couple of figures about how people really live in this world, because those of us who live in British Columbia, you know sometimes we think we have things rough with our unemployment. Or the people in the Soviet Union may think that they have things rough because of having to waste money on military expenditures, they can't build all of the apartment houses and things they want to. But how do people on this planet really live? How many of us are there? Well, the answer is about 4.5 billion, it is probably a bit over that, these figures are for 1981. Of this 4 and 1/2 billion, 1 billion of them live in poverty, real poverty, like none of us have ever seen. There are only 4,500,000,000 people in the world right

now. One out of every 10 people is literally starving, seriously malnourished or starving to death. So it is not just in the Sudan and Ethiopia where you saw these appalling pictures on TV last year. There are places all over the world where people are equally hungry where children, their bones show the same way, where they have the same bloated bellies. There are 814,000,000 people on the planet, adults, who don't know how to read and write. Why? Because they are stupid, of course not. They don't know how to read and write simply because there are no schools for them. There are 120,000,000 school children at the present time on this planet, who have no schools to go to. I think that this is a disgrace and I think that we should feel just terrible that we permit something of this sort to go on. Now, how are we spending our money? What are we spending on armaments? The best figures that I can get, or that the world as a whole is spending about \$8,000,000,000 US dollars this year. These are figures that come from many sources, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War accepts this as being a ball park figure, \$8,000,000,000 US dollars. The United States is spending \$313,000,000,000 of that, the Soviet Union is spending a lot of it, many other countries are and Canada is spending \$9.4 billion Canadian dollars. That sounds like a drop in the bucket, but it is a lot of money. Geoffrey Pearson asked you a rhetorical question today. If you were asked, "Do you want to increase defence spending or do you want to decrease defence spending in Canada?", and he didn't really tell you, I don't think exactly what he wanted to do. I personally think that we should decrease the spending because there is no possible way in a nuclear era that we are going to defend ourselves in Canada from anybody by putting money into armaments. Well, what could be done with some of this money, and would it be done, if the money weren't being spent for armaments? Well, I think perhaps the best single example of how, from my field as a physician, the best single example of how a small amount of money, relatively small amount can do enormous good was the campaign of the World Health Organization to abolish small pox. This was a 10 year campaign. The results of it are that there are no small pox anywhere in the world today and there will be no more small pox. This disease is wiped out for good. Your children, your grandchildren don't need small pox vaccinations

anymore because there is no small pox. What did it cost to do this? It cost the equivalent of what we are spending in four hours on the arms race. The amount that has been spent this morning since we started, and by the time I wind up, that amount of money is the equivalent of everything it took to wipe out small pox for good. To solve some other health problems would be rather difficult. For instance, let's take an important one, and those of you who come from Guatemala and Panama, from Jamaica, from other third world countries, will know something about this. It turns out that 2 billion of the 4.5 billion people living on this planet don't have clean sanitary water to drink, essentially their drinking water comes from rivers and streams polluted with human feces and absolutely full of bacteria, viruses and various parasites. So 2 billion out of 4.5 billion or 44% of all of us on the globe, drink filthy water and that filthy water in turn accounts for 80% of the illnesses that these 2 billion people have. What would it cost to wipe this out? The World Health Organization has done careful studies and they have come up with a figure that if we stop the arms race for 18 days each year for 10 years, and spend that money sensibly towards constructing a permanent safe water supply, for everybody who hasn't got it, it would be solved. Or put it another way, if we stop the arms race for 180 days, that means six months from now until the end of March, or the beginning of March, whatever it is, if we did that and all of that money went into providing a safe water supply, then immediately you have eradicated 80% of the illnesses of 44% of all human beings. And I think it is a frankly shocking disgrace that we are not doing things like that. Now one of the things that one learns is that the amount of money which is going into armaments is enormous compared to what is going into foreign economic aid. Let me call to your attention that the developed countries of the world, this means the USA, Canada, almost all of the European countries, the Soviet Union, Australia, New Zealand and Japan, these in general are considered the developed countries. They are spending 5.1% of their gross national product preparing for war. They are spending 0.3% of their gross national product on foreign economic aid. Now I think one of the things that those of us in the peace movement ought to be asking our governments, including the Canadian government, including the Soviet government, including the American government, is why the devil should you

not begin using some of this money for socially useful purposes: to combat illiteracy, to combat the endless diseases that kill millions of people that could be taken care of. Supposing we were to ask the government of Canada and the government of the USA and the government of the Soviet Union to reduce their military budgets by 20%. Is that going to endanger their security? I doubt it. And, let's say that they took 1/2 of that money and invest it wisely in their own countries for socially useful purposes and 1/2 of it they spend in third world countries, what would the effect be on the third world? It would essentially triple the amounts of money that's available for socially useful projects in the third world. And let me finish up with a last couple of minutes to ask the question, "Is this just, in the arms race, particularly in the nuclear arms race, is this just hurting people in the third world? Are they the only ones who are suffering from it? Am I being very altruistic and unselfish in calling your attention to how people live on most of this planet?" The answer is no. It is hurting us very badly right now. So let me just refresh your memory with a few things that you should know about. What are things like in British Columbia right now? Well, the unemployment rate for Canada as a whole is 12%. The unemployment rate for British Columbia is 15%. In April, 1985, there were 243,000 people in this province on unemployment insurance. There were 258,000 people who were on welfare. What it adds up to is 501,000 people are either on welfare or are on unemployment insurance. In other words, one out of every 5 people in British Columbia is really having a bad time. In Vancouver, in my city, there are 300 families who rely solely on food given to them free in food banks otherwise they would be starving to death. And I ask you, does this closing down of David Thompson University Centre, the social cutbacks in British Columbia, the laying off of teachers, does this have anything to do with the arms race? Of course it does. I don't like our Social Credit government, but it is not entirely their fault. A great deal of it is because we in North America are squandering our riches. The reason that British Columbia is suffering is because lumber is, and wood products are our major export and because the mortgage rates are high in Canada and high in the United States, people are not building houses, therefore, they don't buy our lumber and therefore, a lot of our people are unemployed. And anybody who

thinks that a new government in British Columbia or a new government in Canada is going to make life marvelous for us, is out of their mind. And if we want to have a better life ourselves, as well as wanting people in the rest of the world to have it, then we bloody well better start working much harder than we are to convince our country, Canada, to convince our government to pursue policies which will help bring back the detente which Captain Bush and Geoffrey Pearson and Sergey Plekhanov have called for.

Thank you.

**Thursday  
August 29, 1985**

**Theme: *Disarmament and Peace Initiatives  
of Governments and Non-Governmental  
Organizations***



STARK, T. James,  
President,  
Operation Dismantle,  
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

### THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I am very pleased to have the opportunity to speak to so many young people from all over the world. When I was asked to accept this invitation, I turned my mind naturally to thinking of increasingly long ago when I too was a young person, and thinking that since this conference is called Peace Through Communication, I should try to remember how I felt and thought when I was a young person, in the hopes of getting my message through. I hope to be able to do that this morning.

But before getting into the substance of my

speech, I really must take a moment to say how impressed I am at this unique conference. I would like to congratulate all those who organized it. But in particular, I would draw your attention to a young man that I have known for the past few years, a man who came up with the idea for this conference and who saw it through to completion in spite of working for three solid months as a full time lobbyist in New York at the United Nations for Operation Dismantle. I think it would be appropriate to have a nice round of applause for John Verigin Jr. While I am at it, I might point out that as a result of that lobby, Mr. Verigin Jr. and Mr. Verigin Sr., who was also instrumental in getting that program together, will be jointly receiving an award, the Hanna Newcombe Award, from Operation Dismantle this fall. I am going to try to get the money out of Operation Dismantle's budget to actually hire John Verigin to work for us in Ottawa in the near future, but that remains to be seen.

Albert Einstein, whose theories gave rise to the nuclear bomb, once said that, "Nuclear weapons have changed everything except our way of thinking, and thus we drift towards unparalleled disaster." I think it is very important for everyone to realize here that in the area of world peace, my parents' generation failed utterly to deal realistically with this new and terrible weapon. My generation also failed in large part, mostly by avoiding and denying the very existence of such an incomprehensible problem. But with new technologies threatening to drive the arms race permanently beyond any hope of control, the generation of the young people at the front here today simply cannot afford to fail. I want to begin by saying here that I wouldn't have come all this distance to speak to you if I didn't really believe that you young people here represent a generation that will finally learn to say no to this nuclear madness and learn to insist upon survival, because that is really the only choice you have.

Now I have been asked to speak on "The role of non-governmental organizations, (or NGO)." I must confess that when I was 18 or 19, and if I read that title, I would have said "Hmm, that sounds boring to me." So I will share a few opinions with you.

The arms race is about power! Politics is about power. And like it or not, the peace movement, the new, growing, robust peace movement, is about power. And you young people have power.

You and I and the individuals of all

nations have the power to change the course of the human history, to stop the drift towards nuclear annihilation. We have the power to assure the survival of planet Earth. We have the power to construct the foundation of a safe and just and creative and prosperous world for all time hence. But I seriously doubt how many of you here can really believe that you have such awesome power, particularly as individuals.

I believe we do and that you do, and I believe the vehicle through which you and I are acquiring this power is the non-governmental organization. If you come to believe this, then my subject isn't exactly boring anymore, is it? In fact, it is arguably one of the most exciting developments of the twentieth century. This conference is called "Peace Through Communication". The message I will try to communicate to you today is that you are being empowered, empowered through non-governmental organizations, to change this world. Indeed, if you don't believe that you have any power to change things, I really have difficulty trying to imagine why you would waste any of your time trying to change anything. And if you do believe that you have some power to bring about change, then I suggest that you have no choice but to take responsibility for this very big world on your very young shoulders, and use that power that you do have and devote what time you can afford to the complete elimination of war and to the construction of a durable peace among all nations and peoples.

Now, I want to give you a few examples of this process of empowerment.

Back in the late 1970's and early 1980's, Canada's former Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau used to say, "I would really love to move on the issue of disarmament but there is no constituency out there, there is no real demand from the Canadian people." So we at Operation Dismantle asked ourselves, "How do we best use money sent to us by our members to empower the Canadian people, to give them a means to show Mr. Trudeau that Canadians want action from their government!" And we decided to ask municipal councils, the governments of cities and towns, to conduct referendums on disarmament alongside their local elections.

Now to make a long story short, our opponents, and we seem to acquire a lot of them over the years, they said, you know, disarmament is

an international issue, it's not within the jurisdiction of a municipal council, of a city or town government. We had to fight and win court battles in the Supreme Courts of four provinces, including the province of British Columbia. And for our improbable idea, we had to endure a certain amount of criticism from many quarters, including in fact some other peace groups. But we succeeded, and as a result, millions of Canadians from 193 cities and towns across Canada voted in our referendums. And they voted overwhelmingly for disarmament. And Mr. Trudeau got the message.

We didn't stop the arms race by doing that. And we haven't yet made Canada a nuclear weapons free zone. But due to these referendums, and due to many other actions by the almost 1,000 peace groups in this country, Trudeau did do something. He went on a world peace and disarmament tour and he set up a new government financed Peace Research Institute in Canada.

We educated a lot of people through these municipal referendums. And I can say that as a result of our efforts and the efforts of many other non-governmental organizations in this country, there is not a single politician in this country at the federal level from any party, who is not very nervous about being caught on the wrong side of the disarmament issue. They have become very sensitive to the peace movement and to the many people that we represent. The power of ordinary people, through the ideas and efforts of non-governmental organizations, have forced these changes through. And you can believe that the many non-governmental organizations in this country have just begun to fight.

Now non-governmental organizations in some countries are free to challenge their government's policies in more direct ways. Huge demonstrations, as you surely know, have been mounted in Western Europe against the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles. And they are having an impact on the policies of governments there. In my view, it would be equally useful and helpful if Eastern Europeans and Soviet citizens would march not just "for disarmament", which they do now, but specifically against the deployment of SS 20's on their side of what we might call the ideological border.

In Canada, many demonstrations were mounted against the testing of the American cruise

missile over our territory. When that did not work, many organizations, led by Operation Dismantle and including the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ, the Orthodox Doukhobors, who are your hosts today, decided to go even further. We took the Canadian government to Court, all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada. We sought a judicial injunction against the testing of the cruise missile in this country.

We lost, as you may know, but we did what we believed was right, we gave our government some sleepless nights. We sent them a very clear message about just how angry we were, and although we failed to stop cruise missile tests for now, our case resulted in a completely new constitutional reality in Canada, where, for the first time in our country's history, cabinet decisions by our government can be challenged in the courts. And thanks to the ground broken in this first case, a new legal challenge is now being prepared. We are going back to court. It is not being organized by Operation Dismantle this time. It is being organized by the churches of British Columbia, and this case, if it is successful, will make Canada a nuclear weapons free zone.

Now it is clear that no individual can mount a big demonstration and no individual can afford the vast expense of court battles. But by banding together in non-governmental organizations, we can have the resources and the power to confront our governments on bad policies, to make them sweat a little bit, to apply pressures that ultimately force change.

Let me give you another splendid example of the role of non-governmental organizations.

Back in the late 1950's and early 1960's, it was learned by scientists that the tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere were putting toxic substances, cancer-causing substances, like Strontium 90, into cow's milk, and into mother's milk. The women of America, the mothers of America, rose up and said "not with our babies you don't." Their actions as citizens, through non-governmental organizations, compelled John F. Kennedy to unilaterally stop the testing of nuclear bombs in the atmosphere. And it was a great credit to a great nation that they did that.

It is also important to realize that the Soviet Union did not write off this American move as propaganda. They responded eventually by saying,

"Okay, us too, we will stop testing in the atmosphere." And the British did it too, and as a result, we ended up with a Partial Test Ban Treaty that forbids the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. And the world has been a safer and better place ever since because of that.

Let me go on to give you the latest and perhaps the best example of how ordinary people, through non-governmental organizations, can bring about progress towards disarmament and peace. Last year, the Centre for Defence Information in Washington, D.C., launched a campaign that involved many organizations, including Operation Dismantle, although our role was very small. Their objective was to achieve a mutual superpower agreement to end all testing, including underground and in the water, all testing of nuclear weapons by August 6, 1985, the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. It was a noble and constructive goal, and although we at Operation Dismantle gave our wholehearted support to this effort, we judged that the prospects for success of this campaign were uneventful.

We, at Operation Dismantle, were dead wrong. I think to the astonishment of most informed observers, the Soviet Union not only agreed to this proposal, they went on to announce that their nation would stop all nuclear weapons testing on a unilateral basis for a period of months, I believe 5 months, in the hope that the U.S.A. would respond with a similar commitment and end the era of nuclear explosions on the Earth.

Now the Reagan administration immediately wrote off this Soviet move as being more propaganda. We know, I think everyone here should know, that both these governments have immense and ingenious propaganda machines at their disposal. But it doesn't take a great deal of intelligence or education to tell the difference between mere propaganda and something that is concrete and substantial and constructive. Even a child can tell the difference between someone who says, "Well, I might be willing to negotiate a possible exchange of candies with you," and someone who says, "Here, have a candy, and maybe someday you might like to give me one of yours."

I can say without fear of contradiction that this Soviet move is the most important arms control development since the SALT II treaty six years ago. Perhaps Admiral Carroll of the Centre for Defence

Information put it even better when he wrote in the *Globe and Mail* a couple of weeks ago, that this Soviet move is the ONLY significant arms control development since the SALT II treaty six years ago.

Now I trust that these examples, perhaps in particular this most recent one, make an eloquent case for the usefulness and necessity of non-governmental organizations, even when they disagree with the policies of the government of the country where they are based. That is a hint for those who might want to take that hint.

Non-governmental organizations should be allowed to flourish in all nations, to compete with each other for the hearts and minds of people, to put ideas forward, even ideas that seem impossible or improbable at first. As an avowed believer in democracy, I have great faith in the common sense and the essential decency of humankind, and it is not hard upon that belief to assert that the people are always right.

Let me make this crystal clear. In my view, there are no labour rights, no women's rights, no political rights for parties, no religious rights, no minority rights, no children's rights, no rights at all unless we first possess the right to life itself. No one ever gave any nation the right to threaten the existence of all life on earth with extinction. Yet according to the nuclear winter theory, as few as 500 or 1,000 out of the 50,000 nuclear weapons that exist today will wipe out all life on earth or at least all human life on earth.

With regard to the nuclear and general arms race, not all governments are equally to blame. And there are a few, like completely disarmed Costa Rica, who I think you must say has no blame at all in this picture.

But what I am getting at is this. In my view, it is absolutely necessary to recognize the central truth that the arms race is conducted by governments and is opposed by the people. Hence, the obvious and essential need to empower people if the arms race is ever to be stopped and reversed, and with that, the need to find a workable technique or techniques to empower people.

I brought with me today a pamphlet that I picked up from the Centre for Defence Information. It reads, "Centre for Defence Information represents your interests." I brought it because I think that it is a very good example of what NGO's are all about.

We usually assume that governments are

supposed to represent the interests of the people. They are supposed to represent the interest of the people, and of course they do: they do represent the interests of the people in many respects, and often quite well. But sometimes they can't and sometimes they just plain refuse.

Governments are not just in the business of representing the interests of their own populations. Governments often have their own interests as governments to defend and protect and advance. And governments are always subject to pressures from their own bureaucrats, from corporations, from military establishments, and from foreign governments, pressures that are often stronger than the pressures from their own populations.

Thus, it is vital to have NGO's. And from this we can see the emergence of a definition of what NGO's are supposed to be doing. Non-governmental organizations are to represent the interests of the people when the governments of nations do not do it, cannot do it, or simply will not do it.

Indeed, in this day of global communications and potential global destruction, we may have to consider or conclude that a system of 160 or so completely sovereign nations is becoming obsolete, and consider the possibility of constructing new global institutions, or reforming the United Nations in such a way that it can represent the interest of humankind as a whole. But short of that possibly idealistic goal, I would assert that we have certainly reached the day when the human family as a whole should at least, as a bare minimum, be allowed to communicate to governments our demand for peace through a world wide referendum on disarmament.

Those of you who know me or know Operation Dismantle will know that we have spent over 8 years in pursuit of a world referendum on disarmament, and in fact that was the purpose of John Verigin's three months of lobbying at the United Nations this spring. The Centre for Defence Information is a non-governmental organization and our allies like the U.S.C.C. will be given credit for prompting the governments of nations to give a voice to all the world's people. And I think that you ought to be able to see that no government, indeed no collection of governments, can defy the expressed will of the entire human race except at its own great peril.

Victor Hugo once said, "Invasions of

armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come." In my view, such is the most important role of non-governmental organizations, apart from the education and other things they must do, to develop and launch ideas whose times have come.

In conclusion, let me assure you that I am not anti-government; indeed I believe that the idea of law - and of course it takes governments to make laws, and to make laws work - is perhaps the most ingenious creation of humankind thus far. It has given us an alternative way of resolving conflict, an alternative to sword fights in the streets or indeed wars between countries.

I would recommend you not be anti-government per say. But when governments fail, or in areas where governments themselves are the problem, people have to look long and hard at the non-governmental organizations that can and do represent their interests. They have to join them, support them with their dollars or rubles or yen or whatever, and find a few hours to do some volunteer work, because it is in these organizations that we acquire the power to make changes that we feel must be made.

In the final analysis, we will always have doubts about our power to challenge governments, as individuals or as non-governmental organizations, or indeed as groups of non-governmental organizations. At those moments of doubt, I would remind you of a belief that I have, a belief that I hope you will come to share, for your own sakes, if not for anyone else's. It is this: "The governments of nations are not the most powerful force on earth. The hydrogen bomb is not the most powerful force on earth. We are."

And we, the people, through our non-governmental organizations, and I would add, in co-operation with all good and decent governments, we are going to dismantle the threat of annihilation and we are ... (applause). And while doing that, and after having done that, we are going to construct an edifice of peace that must endure for a million generations.

Thank you very much.



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### **CANADA'S ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT PROCESS**

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Mr. Chairman, may I express the appreciation of the Department of External Affairs for this opportunity to take part in today's portion of the discussions on the arms control and disarmament process and the Canadian Government's role in it. Your conference brings together a rather diverse group and highlights one of the major requisites for the development of any sort of agreement, which is communications. But there are various forms of communication which can be developed. It is useful therefore to recognize that the most important

contribution which communication can make to the peace and disarmament issue is to clarify issues and intentions. In other words, to make our thinking and our actions more transparent and therefore more understandable and less threatening on an international scale, thus increasing confidence between nations. In this regard, I returned on Sunday evening from a conference sponsored by the government of Sweden in which this aspect - increased transparency between nations who make up the Conference on Security and Disarmament in Europe (CSCE) - was the central theme. Representatives of both East and West as well as the Neutral and Non-Aligned Nations all agreed on the role that improved methods of verification might play in this regard. Of course, for many years the Government of Canada has been a leading nation in the research and development of verification techniques as they apply to arms control negotiations particularly in terms of Europe.

Instead of going into great detail regarding the process of parochial views which have been developed, let me very simply list the three foundations for peace upon which Canadian security policy has been based over the last 30 years. They are:

- (a) deterrence of war through participation in the collective defence arrangements of NATO and NORAD;
- (b) pursuit of verifiable arms control and disarmament agreements;
- (c) commitment to the peaceful settlement of disputes to resolve the underlying economic and social causes of inter-national tension.

It is a reduction of international tensions which was a prime moving force of the Canadian Government and lead to Mr. Trudeau's initiatives to increase and improve communications internationally and particularly between the super-powers. Canadian Government objectives and priorities in this regard have remained the same. The resumption of the Geneva talks between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as the coming summit discussions between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev are indications of a significant improvement in bilateral

communications between the two. While no one would claim these events to be solely as a result of Canadian initiatives, nevertheless it seems reasonable to suggest that Canada's consistent efforts in this regard have been contributing factors in concert with like minded nations to the establishment of a more compatible atmosphere for negotiations.

At another level, the Canadian Government has continued to increase its efforts in support of the United Nations whose multiple efforts to strengthen the world community through the World Disarmament Programme and other activities have been significant. Canada has also shown a priority concern for new initiatives to improve the dialogue on north-south issues. The Canadian tradition has been one of strong leadership and support on United Nations issues.

Evidence of that can be seen in the financial support Canada has always provided and still provides to the United Nations. For example, our total contribution to the system, in 1982, amounted to approximately \$275 million dollars, of which \$75 million was legally obligatory assessments and \$200 million voluntary. Contributions of a similar magnitude placed Canada, last year, in 6th place among major contributors, ranking after only the US, Japan, the FRG, Sweden and the Netherlands, and well ahead of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and France. In addition to this, important resources and efforts were allocations by Canada to both the Commonwealth, la Francophonie as well as other multilateral institutions.

In addition to our commitment to the United Nations process, which is not as effective as might be desired but is nevertheless absolutely essential in terms of ultimate objectives, there are a number of multilateral Arms Control and Disarmament (ACD) activities in which Canada plays its role in a number of ways. In the bilateral Geneva discussions to which I referred earlier and in the forthcoming summit, Canada in concert with our allies, will continue to be fully informed on the strategic aspects as in the past and consulted on those infringing on security and arms control aspects in Europe.

In others - notably the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) negotiations in Vienna - we participate as a member of NATO in an Alliance to Alliance format. Finally, in discussions in the United Nations in New York (which celebrates its 40th

anniversary this year), in negotiations within the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva which is just concluding its 1985 discussions in Geneva this week, and at the Stockholm meeting of the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CCSBMDE) which is about to begin deliberation in September, we operate in our own right although, of course, in co-operation with like-minded countries including many of the Neutral and Non-aligned (NNA) countries.

This means that at the moment, in addition to the infrastructure in Ottawa which deals with ACD related matters, Canada has a relatively widespread team actively engaged in these issues. Ambassador Douglas Roche undertook the responsibilities of our Ambassador for Disarmament in 1984 and is heading the Canadian Delegation to the Third Review Conference of the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty in Geneva this week. Ambassador Stephen Lewis heads our Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York and is responsible for our activities in the UN context. As many of you will know, Ambassador Lewis has provided effective leadership in stimulating discussions aimed at improving the United Nations in this year of its 40th anniversary. In Brussels, Ambassador Gordon Smith, having served as Deputy Minister for Political Affairs in Ottawa, has just arrived to co-ordinate Canadian participation in alliance ACD activities. Tom Hammond (formerly Director of both the Defence Relations and Arms Control and Disarmament Divisions of External Affairs) is Ambassador in the MBFR Delegation in Geneva. Ambassador Alan Beesley, formerly our Ambassador for Disarmament, is resident in Geneva and leads the Canadian Delegation in negotiations within the Conference on Disarmament (CD) which will be reporting its results to the General Assembly in October 1985. And finally in Stockholm, Ambassador Tom Delworth heads the Canadian Delegation to the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CCSBMDE). This conference falls within the framework of the Conference on Security and Disarmament in Europe (CSCE) a product of the 1975 Helsinki accords.

The role of Canada in these forums is a respected one. Our representatives are, by and large, moved by the same idealism that motivates all

people who desire a disarmed world but an idealism tempered by a pragmatism that recognizes that that kind of world will only be brought about by painstaking and serious negotiations.

While one could go on to outline the priorities which the Canadian Government accords to issues such as a Comprehensive Test Ban, the prevention of an arms race in outer space and a universal ban of chemical weapons, it seems to me that it would be appropriate rather to provide a broad outline of some of the more salient issues facing us all today. These will serve to focus and temper the approach of the Canadian Government to the arms control and disarmament process generally. While the attention grabbing headlines are nuclear oriented, it seems prudent for groups truly interested in arms control and disarmament to recognize and discuss all aspects of the issue.

In the United Nations's "1985 report on the world social situation", (E/CN.5/1985/2 of January 23, 1985) there is a chapter on "Conflicts and Militarism." It makes the following points which should put various disarmament efforts into perspective:

(a) World War II claimed the lives of 35 million people and possibly up to 60 million.

(b) Since then, there have been about 150 armed conflicts, big and small.

(c) These have claimed the lives of 16 million people and possibly as many as 20 million. This means there have been between 33,000 to 41,000 violent deaths a month, every month for 40 years.

(d) It is estimated that three out of every five fatalities were civilians.

(e) In 1983, a total of 40 separate armed conflicts, major and minor, were identified. These involved 75 countries, 4 million soldiers (including soldiers of eight countries fighting on foreign soil), and the loss of at least one million lives (possibly even several times that number).

(f) Most of the armed struggles have occurred in the poorer countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America and the majority of casualties have been from the developing region.

(g) There has not always been a strict adherence to the rules of war. Clear violations include the use of chemical weapons.

(h) The total number of men and women serving in the regular armed forces throughout the world in 1983 is estimated at about 29 million.

(i) The geographic deployment of armed forces is different from the geographic distribution of conflicts and casualties. In 1983, the combined strength of NATO and WPO accounted for two-fifths of the total of 29 million regular military personnel. The concentration of military equipment was greater. In regard to nuclear weapons, the concentration within the two major alliances is almost total (95 percent of the war-heads).

(j) It is estimated that world military expenditure reached \$750 - 800 billion for 1983 and that the total spending likely exceeded \$800 billion in 1984. Bill Epstein has referred to a trillion dollars in 1985 figures but that figure is still to be verified.

(k) About 80 percent of the total was spent on conventional forces and weapons.

(l) The major part of total world military expenditures in 1983 was by six countries (China, France, USSR, UK, USA and FRG). Expenditure by developing countries came to about one-quarter.

The UN Study goes on to outline the nuclear danger in these terms:

"Since the Second World War and in spite of all the tensions and conflicts, there has been no war between two powers possessing nuclear weapons. The possibility, however, exists that at a time of tension between the two largest military powers, a secondary conflict could lead to their both becoming directly involved, with the ultimate risk of a nuclear exchange. The entire international community therefore has a strong interest in a lessening of tensions between the two

major alliances and in preventing or curtailing all conflicts, and in agreed reductions in nuclear arsenals."

This, I believe, brings us full circle to the purpose of this conference - peace through communication - and Canada's active role in ensuring that the abilities to communicate are improved. Improved understanding will result in increased transparency of international actions and in the process will build confidence between nations. Confidence building in terms of the Stockholm Conference of which Canada is an active participant, is a government priority. Improved communication is an essential aspect of the process.



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### RESULTS AND EXPERIENCE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Dear comrades, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a well-known fact that the genesis of wars goes back far into the preclass history of mankind. It was only after society had divided into antagonistic classes, after states had taken shape and after the permanent institutions like the armies and their control agencies had been brought to life that war assumed a socio-political content and became a tool of politics.

At scientists' estimate, about 15,000 wars have been fought over the past five millennia. There have been seven-year, thirty-year and even hundred-

year wars. Canada, too, was an arena of a seven-year war in 1756-1763, as you all know. There were holy and "phony" wars. Wars were resorted to as a means of capturing slaves and lands, gaining wealth and power... Wars were won and lost in endless succession, and the bloody whirligig kept rolling.

Then came the 20th century. History is fond of paradoxes. On the one hand, ours is an age of militarism. On the other hand, our age has generated mighty anti-war forces which give us grounds to hope that the above-mentioned bloody whirligig will be stopped at last. Socialism has developed into a global factor and is having an even more important role to play in the international arena, other progressive forces and movements have also gained in scope and influence. All this has curtailed the possibilities of imperialism.

On the other hand, new dangers have arisen. They are connected with the scientific and technological revolution, which has led to a breakthrough in weaponry and warfare techniques. The advent of weapons of enormous destructive power has posed the fundamental question of whether nuclear war is a suitable means to any political end.

The only answer to this question is that in a nuclear conflict there can be neither winners, nor losers.

From the very outset of the nuclear era the Soviet Union has been making every effort to stop the stockpiling of nuclear weapons, to end military rivalry. The Soviet Union seeks no military supremacy. We are for maintaining an equilibrium of armed forces at the lowest possible level.

The massive anti-war movement has assumed an unprecedented scale which indicates a qualitatively new stage in its development. This applies, above all, to the Western European countries where the deployment of new American nuclear missiles began in November, 1983.

Under new circumstances, ever greater masses of people representing numerous political, trade union, public, youth, religious and women's organizations and movements are seeking ways of reducing tensions and joining the ranks of fighters for their fundamental right - the right to live. They conduct marches under the mottoes: "Peace Will Triumph Over War", "Star March Against Star Wars".

Peace champions are doing great work. Think of Britain, for instance. Such anti-war

organizations as "Mothers for Peace", "Schoolteachers for Peace", "Labourites for Peace", "Movement for Nuclear Disarmament" and others have appeared there one after another. The fighters for disarmament took active part in blocking the American nuclear missile base in Greenham-Common.

The movement not to pay the part of the income tax which goes into military spending has been launched on the British Isles - in Derbyshire, if I am not mistaken. At the peace champion's estimate, the government takes eight pounds a week out of every working Britisher's pay for the purpose. There are nearly 170 anti-war and peace-making organizations in Britain altogether.

The movement against nuclear madness is gaining in scale in the F.R.G. A "big council" was held by the West German anti-war organizations in Cologne, with all the main groupings of the peace movement represented there. The discussion centered on Washington's plans for the militarization of space. In the final document these plans were described as "a new threat to the existence of mankind".

I should like to make a digression here. Worried by such a turn of events, Washington hastened to turn to Edward Teller, the inventor of the hydrogen bomb and one of the "fathers" of the "strategic defence initiative". He called on the Western European governments to take an active part in the SDI. Teller said that if Britain, France, West Germany and Japan joined the U.S.A., the making of Star Wars a reality at an early date would be more than likely, and success guaranteed. This being so, the speaker went on to say, we shall be able to safeguard peace for our children and grandchildren. I have no comment to make on this speech except that Teller deliberately passed over in silence the fact that Washington had allocated 70 billion dollars to the research part of the Star Wars programme alone. Just come to think of it, 70 billion! At a preliminary estimate, the programme proper will cost \$1,000 billion to carry out.

The above-mentioned Cologne conference resolved to conduct, this November, a "peace information week" which is to culminate in a mass manifestation against the militarization of outer space and against the deployment of the Pershings on the country's territory. The participants of the conference noted its importance as part of new anti-

war action planned for 1986 which has been declared by the U.N. the International Year of Peace.

It would be in place here to recall what Perez de Cuellar, the U.N. Secretary-General, said in a recent interview, and namely: "If all the member-states were determined to stick to the letter - let alone the spirit - of the U.N. Charter, the organization would be able to function quite successfully." And, I shall add, to live up to the hopes invested in it, primarily the hope for staving off the war threat - an objective recorded in the U.N. Charter. This is exactly where the watershed between the leading powers - the permanent members of the Security Council - lies. This watershed showed as early as in 1946, at the first session of the General Assembly. The U.S.S.R. submitted to that session a proposal for the universal reduction and regulation of armaments and for a ban on the production and use of atomic energy for military purposes. However, the American "Baruch Plan", hatched in the self-same year of 1946, was aimed at preserving the U.S. atomic monopoly. That was a clash of two policy lines which have persisted all through the forty years of the U.N.'s existence.

The anti-war movement is taking a clear-cut shape in Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, and Northern European countries. Mass "peace marches" on the U.S. military bases in Greece were held in mid-July, 1985. . Almost at the same time, people marched to and held a meeting at the railway station of Bologna, Italy, where an explosion had taken tens of lives a few years ago.

Addressing the meeting, the Mayor of Bologna said, "We condemn those who commit heinous crimes in Italy and we advocate democracy, progress and world peace." He stressed further that the meeting took place on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the barbarous bombardment of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the U.S. B-29 planes and called for an all-out opposition to the nuclear threat. May I remind you that an international conference of nuclear-free cities will be held on Bologna in March, 1986.

The campaign to end the arms race is not restricted to the confines of Western Europe. Recent developments point to the ever stronger anti-war sentiments on the U.S. As far as we know, the same is true of Canada.

According to the papers, its conclusion is to enlist the cooperation of as many working people

as possible and of the trade unions, above all, in tackling the arms race limitation problem and it has condemned the deployment of the U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

I should also like to say a few words about the activity of the forces seeking to undermine the anti-war movement in various countries. The fighters for peace and justice are persecuted by special services in the Netherlands, Italy, Belgium, Britain and other countries. Activists of the anti-war movement have been put on trial in Kansas City, U.S.A. We see on television, from day to day, how police deal with the participants of peace marches and meetings. The limbs of the law use water guns, truncheons and even specially equipped helicopters against the unarmed demonstrators.

At a recent Moscow International Film Festival, I happened to see the American movie "Blue Thunder". Its makers gave this poetic name to a police helicopter which, thanks to its superior fire power and extra-strong armour plating, emerges victorious from a fight versus an ultra-modern F-16 fighter plane. The implication is that such a monster is needed by the powers-that-be for suppressing any demonstration, anti-war ones included.

The United States' junior partners in Western Europe are also trying to solve this problem. According to Der Spiegel, West German authorities also have some "surprises" in store for the anti-war movement participants:

(1) The Messerschmitt Boelkow Blohm concern has developed a unit for launching special rockets - known there as "flying boxing gloves" - at demonstrators. Such a rocket knocks out the person it hits (its flying speed is 70 meters a second) and emits vomit gas.

(2) The Bettel Research Institute in Frankfurt on the Main has developed a pneumatic gun hitting demonstrators with compressed air charges. The same institute is now designing a "sound energy" weapon. High-power stationary loudspeakers to be installed in places where anti-war demonstrations are traditionally held will emit sounds no human being can bear.

And so on, and so forth....

A characteristic feature of the peace movement today is that experts of most various professions and specializations, medical doctors

included, take part in it. Some of the retired Western high-ranking military officers are also active in it. I mean, in particular, the Italian General Pasti, the West German General Bastian, the Greek General Kumanakous, the US Admiral Laroque and some others.

It would be naive to think that a movement so extensive in scope can be masterminded by any single international or national centre. Nevertheless, certain quarters in the West are still trying to impress it on the public, through the mass media, that all popular actions against the war danger and against a nuclear conflict are "Moscow inspired".

We make no secret of the fact that we have always supported and will continue to support peace fighters in our country and abroad. Our country welcomes and admires the peace marches, the meetings in support of peace and life held in various parts of the planet. The Soviet people have always been and will remain on the side of these forces. Our peaceable stand is clear. Here is just one example: A Soviet export gas pipeline stretching from Siberia to Western Europe went into operation last year. Judge for yourselves: It is peaceful energy rather than tanks and nuclear missiles that the East supplies to the West!

"Do Soviet peace champions arrange demonstrations and meetings?" you may ask.

Yes they do! The latest manifestations took place in July-August, at the Moscow Youth Forum. Those were mass manifestations.

"Do Soviet people ever demonstrate against their government?" the question may arise.

No, they do not, because our government has always been fighting against war, for peace and disarmament, because about a hundred Soviet proposals in this field have been submitted to the United Nations. Our government is ready not only to stop the arms race and to reduce arms, but to eliminate all weapons, nuclear ones above all.

Some people ask "Why doesn't the Soviet government reduce its nuclear weapons unilaterally so as to compel the other nuclear powers to follow suit?" This would allegedly give peace fighters in other countries a strong case for disarmament.

I should like to remind you in this connection that the U.S.S.R. has already withdrawn part of its troops from Central Europe unilaterally, but the U.S. and its allies have not followed its example. The U.S.S.R. has unilaterally pledged itself not to be the

first to use nuclear weapons, and again the U.S.A, and its allies failed to reciprocate. The U.S.S.R. has unilaterally "frozen" the deployment of its missiles until November, which brought no response from the West either. Finally, in his latest statement made during the 12th Moscow Youth and Student Festival, Mikhail Gorbachev called on the U.S.A, to join the U.S.S.R. in imposing a moratorium on any nuclear explosions beginning August 6th. Washington's reaction to that is common knowledge - it has answered in the negative. What's more, the White House has the nerve to invite Soviet observers to Nevada where another nuclear explosion has been done. What's the meaning of this? Mind you, no less than four tests of a new-type bomb have been conducted on that proving ground since 1980, the *La Monde diplomatique* reports.

In Japan and at the 12th Moscow Youth Forum, I happened to talk with some of the survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki tragedy. "The great French scientist Frederic Jolliot-Curie" the artist Miyagi told me, "made a brilliant discovery in 1939 - he found a new source of energy." After the war the scientist took part in the first World Peace Congress in Paris. Along with others, Joliot-Curie then said "No!" to the atomic war threat. Today, the Gold Peace Medal bears the scientists name. And now certain quarters in the West are trying to lull the public into complacency by asserting that Star Wars are still in research stage. Well, the atomic bomb was also a product of research done as part of the Manhattan project!" A very apt remark, indeed.

Let me say in conclusion, that the sweeping scope of the fight against the arms race, for peace, shows that people of all walks of life, in all regions and on all continents are concerned over the fate of our planet. The anti-war movement is becoming an ever more influential factor of international relations today. It is irreversible and it is bearing tangible fruit.

Thank you.



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## ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Yesterday at lunch, I had an opportunity to explain how delighted and pleased I am to be here. Actually, I was supposed to have left last weekend for Geneva for the third review session of the non-proliferation treaty, but I just couldn't miss out on this good opportunity. In the first place, because the originators and initiators of this conference is the Doukhobor community and I remember as a boy some of their trials and tribulations here and in Tzarist Russia and the Soviet Union too. I believed it was my duty and that of all good Canadians to support this community which is part of the main

stream of Canadian life today. How could I stay away from a conference that is sponsored by somebody whose basic tenet is the renunciation of violence and war and whose prescription is for peace through communication, all things I believe in. Then also, I must confess I wanted to make sure that the United Nations point of view was presented.

I think it is most appropriate to have this conference and it is most timely during the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. I am very proud of the fact that I myself have celebrated forty years with the United Nations, although some of my wealthy lawyer classmates in Calgary tell me that all I have done is spent all of my adult life as a failure working for disarmament.

The primary purpose of the United Nations as you all know is the maintenance of the International Peace and Security and to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The United Nations today is under increasing criticism and attack. Former Secretary General Kurt Waldheim has written, "The United Nations goes through its paces and in a workaday routine that is increasingly ignored or condemned and that threatens to become increasingly irrelevant in the real world. Its vitality is being sapped." Perez de Cuellar, the present Secretary-General has more recently said that the state of multilateral relations in the world today is approaching international anarchy. The chief critic of the United Nations today, I regret to say, is the good and great friend of Canada to our south, the present administration of the United States of America.

The United Nations Charter did create a framework for a complete system of international peace and security. It laid down the principles of conduct for states; it established the institutions and the procedures of the peaceful settlements of disputes and for enforcement action for breaches of the peace; and it provided for the establishment of what is known in common parlance as an international police force, armed forces to be made available to the Security Council to maintain and preserve or restore international peace and security. Its objectives are those common to all people of goodwill: disarmament, decolonization, economic and social development, human rights and so forth.

The results however, I regret to say, are very far short of the goals. There have been some hundred and fifty conflicts since the founding of the

United Nations, and Article 51 of the United Nations Charter which provides that each nation has the right of individual or collective self defence in the case of armed attack until the Security Council can take action has been abused rather than used. Almost every conflict that has involved one of the major powers has been an abuse of Article 51 rather than a compliance with it. They have stretched the meaning of armed attack so that it is beyond all recognition. They have not reported their actions to the Security Council, and this applies to both superpowers, not just one.

Why have we failed this way? Certainly, as was mentioned by one of the previous speakers; The Cold War destroyed the unity of the great powers -the five founding powers of the United Nations - that had existed during the war. From the very beginning, the United States and the Soviet Union could not agree on an international police force to be made available to the Security Council. Instead of co-operation between the major powers, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, we had confrontation. And because the United Nations was not working as well as it could have because it did not have an international police force, each superpower created regional or partial instead of collective or universal security arrangements. The NATO and the Warsaw Pact agreements were intended to improve the security of their regions, but these partial security arrangement served to undermine the global security authority and function of the United Nations.

What are the obstacles of peace and progress? You have heard them before in one way or another. First, there is the prevailing deep-seated fear and mistrust between the two superpowers. Each believes and fears that the other is trying to undermine its system. The arms race itself helps to increase tensions and then there is the policy that is known as extended deterrence. Deterrence itself was intended originally to mean that a nuclear attack could be deterred by the threat of massive nuclear retaliation, based on the mutual assured destruction. Then the United States extended that deterrence doctrine and said it would use nuclear weapons or reserve the right to use them, first in case of any armed attack by conventional or other weapons on the United States or any of its allies. Extended deterrence has led to abuse of the whole concept of deterrence so it is no longer simply to deter nuclear

war but it is a means of threatening to wage war with the most destructive weapons in the case of any armed attack on the United States or its allies even with conventional weapons. Then too, there is the question of domestic dynamics. President Eisenhower, in his farewell address, summed it all up when he warned about the undue power of the military-industrial complex and he added something which most people don't remember and no scientist I know ever quotes, he warned against the undue influence of the scientific-technological elite. They are the ones who dream up all of these horrible new weapons; they have the scientist's gleam in their eyes, that if they could just go one step further, they would be one up on the other side. Well, you never are one up on the other side except for a very, very short period of time. Nevertheless, these domestic dynamics, in the United States you can call it the "military - industrial - scientific complex" and in the Soviet Union the "military - bureaucratic - scientific complex." The two superpowers are mirror images of each other in many ways, though not in all ways.

Nevertheless, despite the Cold War and all of these difficulties, the United Nations has many accomplishments to its credit. In the Middle East, in Cyprus, in Lebanon, in Kashmir, in the Congo, to mention a few cases, it provided ad hoc peace keeping forces which could operate only with the consent of the parties and they received the consent of the parties, in each case. These are not coercive forces, but rather, are buffer forces between two contending parties. Even today, the United Nations is a channel of communication in many areas of conflict where the United Nations has not been able to send in ad hoc peace keeping forces, and I need only mention Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and the Middle East. The United Nations is in contact with both sides in each case and is a constant channel of communication. I don't have to mention in detail the accomplishments of UNICEF that has saved tens of millions of children from starvation, disease and death. In decolonization, we've had what is perhaps our greatest success. United Nation membership has increased from 51 to 159 members in 40 years and very soon the few remaining colonial territories will be members. In health, the World Health Organization has eradicated smallpox from the earth, no mean achievement. In refugee and famine relief, we have helped and saved tens of millions. In population control, we are beginning to establish

guidelines and rules that may be able to achieve that. The same in environmental protection. I could go on and mention other important achievements, but I won't. All of this is a beginning, much progress has been made, but much remains to be done. We've laid the foundations and we have established the guidelines for progress.

The most important problem, however, is preventing a nuclear war. Unless we can solve that problem, all other problems will become irrelevant. I repeat, unless we can solve the problem of the prevention of nuclear war, every other problem in the world will become irrelevant. And our main tasks, in order to move in that direction at present, is to reduce the dangers and risks of war, to improve international security and to reduce the cases of tension and conflict. We must also understand to take into account the limitations of the United Nations. At present, neither the Security Council nor the Secretary-General has the capability to impose solutions on any country in the world, on any parties, to any conflict. The United Nations can achieve a cease fire, it can set up peace keeping operations with the consent of the parties and it can stop hostilities, but it cannot force, or enforce or impose a political solution and everybody should understand that.

There are a number of things it can do, however, to prevent conflict and war and I'll run through them quickly. First of all the United Nations must be prepared to take preventive action in case of emerging political crises. That requires early warning machinery and early action by the Secretary-General even before the Security Council, the organization responsible for peace and security, can take action. The Secretary-General is available as a permanent channel of communication between conflicting parties. He must be given authority to send personal representatives to visit conflict areas and to send fact-finding missions and he should make greater use of his authority under Article 99 to bring conflicts and crises, in their development stage, to the attention of the Security Council. Then there must also be greater use of the Security Council by parties to a dispute and earlier action. There are too many disputes that are not even brought to the United Nations and the Security Council should initiate early consultations with the parties and send fact-finding missions in good time, as well as create peace keeping forces at an early

stage. There must be greater readiness on the part of the nations and of the organization itself to become involved in the peace-making process, that would permit sending good office missions, observers or a UN representative, or a representative of the Secretary-General, to areas of tension and potential conflict before they reach the point of armed hostilities. Perhaps most important of all, the permanent members of the Security Council, in particular the superpowers, should make their actions conform to their obligations and they should live up to their obligations under the Charter, and this requires earlier and better communication and consultations.

I would now like to discuss disarmament and arms control at some length, because of its importance. It is the most important of all preventive measures to reduce tension, and to avoid conflict. During the period of growing detente from 1959 and 1979, the world saw the conclusion of nine multilateral treaties, meeting with many parties, including such important ones as the Partial Test Ban Treaty, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Biological Weapons Convention, to name just three of them and thirteen bilateral U.S. - Soviet agreements including some that we thought were very important at the time, such as the 1972 SALT I Agreement, the A.B.M. Agreement of 1972, the Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement of 1973 and the SALT II Agreement of 1979 which has never been ratified.

Despite these achievements, however, we must not that the entire world's military expenditures amounted to about one hundred billion dollars in the year 1959. Today, the world is spending one trillion dollars a year, ten times as much. Even allowing for inflation, this is a staggering increase. It's three times the total Canadian gross national product. Canada is a big, rich country. It has one of the highest standards of living in the world. It is probably the seventh economic power in the world and the world today is spending three times our gross national product on armaments, which is a terrible waste, because the armaments either have to be used, which is the worst thing that could happen to them, or they have to be junked because they become obsolete so quickly. The number of nuclear weapons today, as you've heard before, is some fifty thousand, equivalent to more than one million Hiroshima bombs. The two Superpowers have

some 95% of them. In the early 1960's, there were less than three thousand strategic weapons; the United States had seventeen hundred, the Soviet Union had twelve hundred. Today, because of MIRVs, there are about twenty thousand strategic weapons. The United States has ten thousand to eleven thousand and the Soviet Union has some eight to nine thousand strategic warheads. By 1995, because of cruise missiles, that number could easily double. Even today, as you've heard, that number is sufficient, although, I could quote higher figures, to wipe out the Soviet Union 57 times and to wipe out the United States some 35 times. You can't wipe out a country more than once but that's the equivalent that they have. To call it overkill is an understatement..

Despite those inflated arsenals and notwithstanding all the arms control agreements, the nuclear arms race is proceeding today at the fastest and the most dangerous pace in all history. There are new, more destabilizing weapons because of their greater accuracy, greater size and larger numbers due to MIRVing. There are, for example, the MX, the Trident II (D5) and the cruise missiles on the United States side. There are similar things on the Soviet side - SS18's and I9's and SS 20's, and 24's and 25's, the new typhoon submarine and they are also working on cruise missiles. And, what is more, even worse, these weapons, particularly cruise missiles, and if they develop the smaller midgetman mobile missiles, will be unverifiable and we may have passed the point of no return in being able to verify disarmament agreements for these weapons. Perhaps worst of all, we are moving towards outer space weapons, "Star Wars", anti-satellite weapons, ballistic missiles defence and so forth. The danger of proliferation is also growing, because so long as the nuclear powers say their security depends on their possession of nuclear weapons for deterrence, how can they tell smaller countries that have equally acute or even more acute political problems (and there are plenty of such countries in the world) that nuclear weapons are necessary for us but not for you.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 created a dual obligation. The non-nuclear countries agreed they would never acquire nuclear weapons or manufacture them (that's called horizontal proliferation), in exchange for the undertaking by the nuclear powers that they would

stop their vertical proliferation, meaning the further acquisition and development of nuclear weapons by them. Article 6 of the NPT, and you'll be hearing more about that in the next few weeks, provides that each party (and each party includes Canada, too, and I don't think it is discharging its obligation sufficiently) undertakes to pursue negotiations "in good faith", for a "cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date" and for nuclear disarmament. In other words, the priorities are clear and I disagree with Jim Bush when he spoke about reversing the arms race, as the first priority is to stop the arms race and then reverse it. It's like reversing a car, first you must bring it to a halt. The non-nuclear powers who signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty have all lived up to it, everyone that has signed it. (There are some who haven't signed it and are free to do what they want). France and China are not parties. The only nuclear parties are the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom, but France has promised to behave as though she were a party and China now says, which it did not say before, that it agrees with and will support the goals of the treaty. But, clearly the three nuclear parties, every one of them, is in breach of its obligations. In fact, when the United States says it wants deep cuts first, but not a test ban, which is called for in the preamble of the treaty, when it says it wants deep cuts but not a nuclear freeze or a moratorium on underground testing and refuses to resume negotiations for a comprehensive test ban, that is contrary to its commitment which is, in the first place, to pursue a cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date.

I agree with what has been said by some of the earlier speakers that, during the past 40 years, mutual nuclear deterrence has unquestionably helped to prevent a global war involving the superpowers but, deterrence will not work indefinitely. It remind me of the story of the man who fell off an 80 story building and after he passed the 40th story in his fall he says, "so far, so good." Well, so far, so good for deterrence, but it isn't going to last. I don't believe either the Soviet Union or the United States is crazy enough to initiate a nuclear war, or any nuclear attack, because they know it is suicidal. Even if one of them had a first strike capability, which nobody can achieve, the "nuclear winter" would make any nuclear attack suicidal. The main danger is not of a deliberate war by intention, but an accidental war, by accident, miscalculation,

panic, desperation, inadequate command, control and communications, equipment, human or mechanical breakdown, sheer lunacy (and Hitler was not the last lunatic in charge of a government, we can all think of several more even today). And perhaps, the worst of all, the escalation of some local or regional, conventional or even nuclear war, if nuclear weapons spread, as I am sure they will if the nuclear powers do not live up to their obligations.

The current state of the world is a mess. The IRNF (Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces) and the START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) were broken off, by the Soviet Union. The Comprehensive Test Ban Talks, the bilateral ASAT Talks (the Anti-Satellite Weapons Talks) and bilateral talks on conventional weapons, chemical weapons and one or two others, such as on the Indian Ocean, were unilaterally broken off by the United States. So neither power is without blame.

In addition, the current bilateral talks in Geneva on outer space and nuclear weapons are stalemated and let me say frankly, in my opinion, there is no possibility of making progress in nuclear disarmament, unless SDI (Star Wars) is halted. Why? Because, say that either the United States or the Soviet Union is going ahead with it, or both powers, neither side will reduce its offensive weapons. The reaction will be to build up the offensive forces in order to overwhelm the defensive forces and that's what undoubtedly will happen. There will be a dual arms race in both offensive and defensive weapons and it will mean the end of any real hope for nuclear arms control. The only reason the superpowers could achieve the SALT I agreements establishing ceilings on offensive weapons, was because they agreed to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (the ABM Treaty) which provides that the development, the testing and the deployment of ballistic missile defenses, or anti-ballistic missiles or any component of them is prohibited. If the parties abide by the ABM Treaty, then SDI cannot go beyond research, but that unfortunately is not the situation. The US keeps repeating that SDI is a dedicated program, dedicated to testing and deploying these weapons. While claiming that this stage is devoted only to carrying out research, a number of statements make it clear that SDI is central to their entire policy. If the ABM Treaty is breached or abrogated, we can abandon hope for nuclear disarmament.

As regards the multilateral negotiations, they too are all stalemated, contrary to some statements this morning that they seem to be making progress. The alleged progress is done with mirrors. It's not real progress, rather it is like Zeno's paradox where the rabbit always comes closer but never catches up with the turtle. The current Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference will be the first where there has been no progress whatsoever on nuclear disarmament or nuclear limitations during the previous 5 years. Similarly, at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, at the Vienna talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions, and at the Stockholm Conference, there is no progress. The negotiations amount to rhetorical shadow boxing rather than substantive negotiations. If the Stockholm Conference could make progress, it's possible that the Vienna talks might also do so, but I see no progress in the foreseeable future at the Conference of Disarmament.

At the multilateral deliberations, as distinct from negotiations, in the United Nations, in the First Committee, in the Disarmament Commission and in the General Assembly, we have much talk, many resolutions, and no action. What we need is not more resolutions in the United Nations, but more resolution - the will to achieve agreement. Instead, each superpower accuses the other of seeking nuclear superiority and a first strike capability, and verification is used today more as an obstacle or a hindrance to agreement than it is for facilitating an agreement. In my 40 years in the work of disarmament and peace, I have learned that any time a country did not want to make an agreement, it stressed and tended to exaggerate the difficulties of verification. But whenever countries wanted to make an agreement, verification posed no obstacle. For example, there are no provisions for effective verification in the Biological Weapons Convention or in the Seabed Treaty and the verification in the SALT I and II treaties is by national technical means, which is quite adequate. Surveillance satellites can see something the size of you hand by photography in clear weather, by infra-red at night time and by radar through clouds. The best up-to-date survey of the question of verification shows that nearly everything is readily verifiable, except possibly cruise missiles on submarines and ships and chemical weapons. Anyone interested can read the article on verification in the March 1985 Scientific

American by Kostas Tsipis and two others. But we are still exposed to the old refrain about the inadequacies of verification as excuses for not making disarmament agreements.

To return to our discussion of the United Nations, despite the criticisms and attacks on the United Nations, neither the Organization nor its Charter is outdated. What is outdated is the concept of national security. There can be no national security in the present world without international security, without common security. The security of the Soviet Union and the United States and of the rest of the world, depends on the ability of its own security. The way to international or common security is for the United States to assure the Soviet Union of its security and for the Soviet Union to assure the United States of its security. But, there is another aspect to this problem of international security and that is the question of development. There will never be any new international, economic order while the world continues to devote one trillion dollars a year to military expenditures which I have already described as the most wasteful form of governmental spending. The United Nations, a few years ago, undertook an expert study under Inga Thorsson of Sweden of the relationship between disarmament and development. The study came to the unanimous conclusion that "the world can either continue to pursue the arms race with its characteristic vigor or it can move consciously to a more sustainable, politic and economic order. It cannot do both." There is an indissoluble triad of disarmament, development and international security. It is not possible to make much progress in any one of these three fundamental fields without some parallel progress in the others. Another expert study by the United Nations on the link between disarmament and international security also reached the unanimous conclusion that there cannot be any substantial disarmament without substantial improvement in international security nor could there be much progress on international security without substantial progress towards disarmament.

The Final Document of the United Nations First Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 stated that "Mankind is confronted with a choice: We must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation." Since there is this interlinkage, this indissoluble interlinkage between disarmament, development and international security, no far-

reaching progress can be made in any of them without progress in the other two. And progress towards a solution can be achieved only by multilateral action. The superpowers can not do it, nor can the industrial powers of the world. Only an international multilateral process can deal effectively with the complex of problems. The United Nations is the sole forum and is absolutely indispensable for carrying out the multilateral process in all three fields. The United Nations reflects and registers the views of the entire world community, but more important, it provides not just the forum, but the mechanisms for collective action. As Geoffrey Pearson said in answer to a question yesterday, if the United Nations did not exist, we would have to invent it.

It is not necessary to reform the United Nations, or to amend the Charter, but it is necessary that we make it work better. How do we do that? What is required first of all, is what is set out as the theme of this conference, namely, more communication and real dialogue, which can lead towards political, military and economic detente. Progress is not possible towards peace without communication. Whether it is between parent and child, or husband and wife, or between neighbours or neighbouring countries, in the absence of dialogue and real communication, no progress is possible and no solutions can be found to any problem. So communication is the number one precondition. Second, there must be genuine and serious negotiations, bilateral, regional and international and in all three fields, political, economic and military. From my own experience, during the forty years of the United Nations, most of the negotiations were not serious nor were the proposals made by either side, as each side knew in advance that its proposals would have to be rejected by the other side. There was no real attempt to meet the genuine negotiations.

Turning now to the things that we have to do, well we certainly have to do everything we can to press for banning all outer space weapons because their development and deployment could mean the end of nuclear disarmament. I regret to say that despite all of the lengthy hearings and I am told, more than 1,000 submissions to the Special Joint Committee, the great majority of which opposed Canadian participation in SDI, the Canadian government is now still sitting on the fence. As

regards to the comprehensive test ban, I think it is the single most important, most feasible, most verifiable measure that can be taken, to halt or slow down the nuclear arms race. It is most important because with a comprehensive test ban, with one stroke we could solve most of the problems of both the vertical and horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. Here again, I regret to say our country does not support the neutral and non-aligned resolution calling for a moratorium leading to negotiations for a complete test ban. It has been a long time neutral, non-aligned position and it is now also the official Soviet position. Concerning the nuclear weapons freeze, that is a must in order to start the process of nuclear disarmament. It calls first for stopping the nuclear arms race, then going on to reductions. In my opinion and that of hundreds of experts, all elements of the nuclear freeze are verifiable, including the cessation of production which is the most difficult one. The easiest things to verify are testing and deployment so those could be stopped immediately, even prior negotiations by each side unilaterally agreeing to do it simultaneously. But again, I don't see that happening soon and I regret to say that not only did Canada vote against it last year, but unless some unforeseen miracle happens, which I do not expect, or unless the public becomes so active and makes enough noise so that they can be heard in Ottawa, then Canada will vote against it at this forthcoming session of the General Assembly too. With respect to the use of nuclear weapons, since that would be suicidal for any country that initiates it, whatever the course, we ought to press our government to press the United States to join China and the U.S.S.R. who have both made unilateral pledges not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. These weapons are not usable and not compatible with human survival, so let's not subscribe to a policy that is based on and would assure mutual destruction. If all the nuclear powers agree to no first use, that would be tantamount to a complete ban on the use of nuclear weapons. It is certainly worthy of our support.

Finally, another step that could strengthen the United Nations and increase international security is an International Satellite Monitoring Agency, which was first proposed in 1978 by France, but neither the United States nor the Soviet Union, who have a monopoly in this area, supports it. Nevertheless, it was one thing that the Canadian Standing

Committee on External Affairs and National Defence did support at their 1982 hearings. The Committee on Disarmament and Security recommended to the Canadian government we should pursue and support an international satellite monitoring agency. It is important for three reasons: It could help the United Nations in crisis management; it could detect from the satellites troop movements or unusual ship or plane movements in advance; secondly, it could enhance the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations because surveillance by the international organization, could monitor compliance with any cease-fire. That is properly the job of the international organization, but we haven't got the means at the present time. Let's give them the means and then it could also be very useful in verifying disarmament agreements because at the present time, only the United States and the Soviet Union have this capability and there is no independent means of verifying or disapproving their charges of violations against each other. The problem is not so much about the cost or the technical difficulties of such an international system. The question is one of political will.

Who wants disarmament? From where I sit and in my years of experience, not one nuclear weapon state has been really completely credible. In their proposals for disarmament, as I said before, each one of them continues to make proposals which it knows the other one is bound to reject or will reject. They have to find ways and means of working out proposals that are of common interest to both sides and this can be done as it has been done before, but I don't think it is going to be done unless we have a renewal or revival of detente. But then who does want disarmament? It is all of the smaller powers, the neutral and non-aligned countries and the people, the people of the world, they all want it. As Dag Hammarskjold once said, "The United Nations is the "summit" for all except the superpowers and the nuclear powers." We ought to make it the summit for all, but it is not yet. The smaller powers, through the United Nations and individually or directly, can influence the great powers; they can have a moderating and catalytic effect on their policies and actions. The time for peace and disarmament has not only come, it is long overdue.

- Now I come to my final point and my task was made infinitely easier by Jim Stark this morning. The

role of the United Nations and the future of the world depend on the role of the public. Public opinion and pressure can generate the necessary political will on the part of governments particularly the super-powers. We have to generate sufficient will on their part so that they will take meaningful action for peace and disarmament and not engage so much in posturing. Public relations is alright, but it isn't going to save the world. They have got to take the meaningful measures. Now the final document of the First Special Session in 1978 for the first time in history laid down a number of principles saying we must inform and educate the public, in order to mobilize world public opinion in favour of disarmament because there is no political will for it. The Second Special Session in 1982, which was a failure because by that time we had the renewed Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, nevertheless set up the World Disarmament Campaign. I suspect very few of you here have heard of it, but the World Disarmament Campaign's task is to do exactly that, to inform and educate the public and to mobilize world public opinion. If anybody wants to know anything about it just write The Department of Disarmament Affairs United Nations, New York and ask about it. There is a lot of literature on it. In each country you have got to do what Jim Stark and others have said, you've got to work on your own Members of Parliament, on your own Government. You've got to not only write letters and phone them and meet with them in groups, you've got to call also the media, the press, the radio and T.V. and object to some of their programs and urge better programs. The important thing is we have to do it with persistence. If you write letters to your MP or your government, you will get a reply drafted by some bureaucrat that is a tranquilizing document. Don't be put off by that. Send another letter asking a hard, sharp question, pointed question so that they can't answer in generalizations. If you don't get a good reply to that, send a third one and get all your friends to send them too. If you pursue it with real persistence, that's what counts. It takes time, but it does have influence. There is no other way. There is no panacea. There is no royal road to peace and disarmament. You've got to do it with commitment and persistence. And it does work. You've heard already examples of this. It was public opinion that got the Partial Test Ban Treaty. It was the mothers, chiefly of America, but of

other countries too, who raised hell about testing in the atmosphere; there were all sorts of groups, but the Voice of Women Strike for Peace led the campaign and helped get the Partial Test Ban Treaty. Then in the Vietnam War, it was also the kids of America who forced the U.S. Government to stop and you heard also that Trudeau's peace initiative was in part generated by the strong opposition to cruise missile testing. This I know for a fact because I played some role - a modest one, very modest one - in both his Strategy of Suffocation in 1978 and in his Peace Initiative in 1983. He apparently thought it was too late to get out of the cruise missile testing, but he did undertake this wonderful end run, his Peace Initiative, which you heard about before.

We have a long way to go, but there is hope. The rallies which each year assemble in Vancouver. I addressed the first one in 1982 and I think there were 50,000 there. In 1983, 1984, 1985, they were much larger. I have been told up to 100,000 and they play a role. So do the huge rallies in Europe where hundreds of thousands and millions are marching. Action by so many NGO's and new groups that didn't even exist a few years ago - Physicians for Social Responsibility, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, the churches, the lawyers, the academics, the students, the teachers, the artists and others. In the period of 1982 to 1984, the number of NGO's in Canada interested in peace and disarmament doubled from some two hundred and fifty to some five hundred. Now that's progress too, and that will have an impact.

If you will it and even more important, if you really work for it, it is no dream. Although the hour is late, we can still avert a nuclear war. We can create a better world and for those goals an effective United Nations is indispensable.

**Friday  
August 30, 1985**

**Theme: *Beating the Nuclear Threat***



SHERMAN, Elizabeth,  
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### **CONVERSION OF MILITARY INDUSTRY TO CIVILIAN USES**

Good morning, I am very happy to be here. I would like to ask you a question before I begin my talk about conversion this morning. Before this conference, how many in the audience have heard about economic conversion? That's a goodly number. Very good. Most of the time when we talk about conversion, people think that we're having a religious experience. That's not what we're going to be talking about this morning. My purpose here is to expand your understanding of the meaning of "economic conversion" and hopefully to convince you in whatever way possible to become a part of a

world wide movement, whose aim is to re-orient our cultures and our economics from war to peace. What is economic conversion? And why is it a realistic goal worth pursuing? Economic conversion is a process. It is a method that is intended to transform industries to produce socially useful goods. Conversion involves democratic planning for alternatives to military production, planning which involves workers and ordinary citizens in charting the course for their communities and their industries, for full employment and for production which responds to social needs. For example, workers in the ship yard, reliant on naval contracts, could produce prefabricated housing, offshore wind turbines, electricity generating plantships and our group, the South Shore Conversion Committee, is working very hard to make these possibilities a reality. For our ship yard, which, in spite of the current enormous military buildup in the United States, finds itself now on the brink of a shutdown. And I will elaborate on this a little bit later. Economic conversion also means investing in the future, helping workers and communities restructure declining industries for healthy growth and employment.

So, economic conversion has other applications, beyond the notion of beating swords into plough shares. Still, economic conversion has implications for peace and that is the idea that I wish to concentrate on today. How to go about posing alternatives to what many of us are now calling the military economy. Why is economic conversion a goal worth pursuing? Basically, there are three reasons. Economic security, world peace and development. First, in the United States, we are witnessing the debilitating effects of concentrating the lions' share of our public resources on military spending. As is well known, dollars for military spending are coming directly at the expense of the least fortunate in our society, those most in need of income maintenance and rehabilitative care. Of course, the vast majority in our society also suffer from public cuts and education, health care, recreation and a clean environment. For example, this year alone, the United States will spend close to \$500,000,000.00 on defence or defence related projects. At the same time, job training programs, initiated by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act under the Carter Administration, has been slashed from what was really a very small

amount, 11 billion dollars, to under the Reagan Administration, 3 billion dollars to train workers in the United States for productive employment. Second, the concentration of money, scientific research and development, know-how and productive capacity on military projects means far less is directed towards improving the productivity and modernization of civilian production. Other countries, like Japan, who are spending a very small amount on the military are instead guiding their resources towards the development of goods and services designed to enhance the quality of life, not destroy it. As civil production is permitted to die off, in its wake, what develops are serious problems of unemployment for large segments of the work force and their families.

Our organization has witnessed the militarization of shipbuilding at the expense of commercial shipbuilding. Research conducted by the International Association of Machinists and Aero-Space Workers of America, shows that civilian production is more beneficial from an economic and employment point of view than arms production. Their studies demonstrate that, although arms expenditures are going up, employment in the defence sector is actually declining. In 1970, there was 24,000 IAM members working at the McDonald-Douglas plant in St. Louis; McDonald-Douglas for those of you who don't know, is the second largest defence contractor in the United States, involved in aero-space production. By 1982, the employment of 24,000 workers was more than halved to 11,000 workers, although prime contracts to that firm had doubled from 1.4 billion to 2.8 billion. In short, military spending will not suffice as an engine of growth and job creation. Third, military spending prevents development. The Brant Commission issued two reports under the auspices of the United Nations, stating emphatically that the arms race was consuming resources that could spur the development of the economy and culture of the emerging nations. Incredibly, military spending around the world is now more than 25 times the total sum that is spent for development assistance. Every minute, 1.8 million dollars is used up in the world for military purposes. During that same time, 30 children die of malnutrition, hunger and related diseases. Today, we are the unwitting victims and accomplices of the largest military buildup in human history. The world therefore is faced with a choice. Either they continue the arms race and its present

pace, or try to create a more balanced world order. We cannot have it both ways.

Since the goals of development and the military buildup compete for the same resources, more than ever, people are asking if these resources could be used in a more rational manner than for the manufacture of increasingly costly and destructive weapons. Economic conversion is one way to respond to the uncertainties many people have about the social impact of a reduction in arms spending. Disarmament should never be impeded by fears of unemployment and regional decline. Along with disarmament negotiations, national plans and mechanisms for converting the military sector must be firmly established. Has conversion been tried? Has it worked? I would like to mention just a few attempts of economic conversion that have encountered varying degrees of success. One point you should remember to begin with, is that the obstacles to conversion are political ones, not technical ones. Therefore, they can be overcome through political change.

The first attempt at a strong conversion plan took place in England. Lucas Aero-Space is the largest defence contractor in the U.K. and under a labour government in the mid-seventies, there were decreases in military spending. What did those decreases mean? They meant layoffs at Lucas Aero-Space for many, many-workers. In England, the unions fight unemployment and a delegation from the Aero-Space plants went to Tony Benn who was then Minister of Defence in England and said, "We're not going to tolerate the layoffs of our workers", and Tony Benn then responded by saying, "come up with something else. Is there anything else your workers can build besides Aero-Space bombers? If you can, let us know." So, inspired by this challenge, the Lucas workers went back to their members and said, "The government is challenging us to come up with socially useful products, let's get right to it," so they formed what was called the "Lucas Combine Committee" and they came up with over 100 products that were socially useful, that could enhance the, quality of life for hundreds and thousands of people in England and actually around the world and they presented it to the government. These were plans that had been conceived by workers on the shop floor. Now, there were difficulties with the Lucas Plan, number one because it was not backed by the Trade Union Hierarchy, the TUC, which is the

equivalent of the United States AFLCIO. There were great doubts whether workers on the shop floor or ordinary citizens could actually plan for production which had ordinarily been the domain of management and then of course, labour government was voted out, the more conservative government was voted in and Lucas Aero-Space, a corporate plan that was designed by the workers did not go forward.

Nonetheless, conversion caught fire around England and around the world and has inspired many people as a method for using the resources and the workforce for productive goods. In England, the Municipal governments have actually gone forward with conversion. The greater London Council, which is the Municipal government for London has designed a conversion plan and has set up the Greater London Enterprise Board which actually helps workers to plan for socially useful production. A second example I'd like to mention has taken place in Sweden. The metal workers union there, working with other members of the community and within their parliament, has focused its energy on conversion and has successfully forced the government to implement civil production at military firms. So, in fact, at firms where military products were being produced, they are now engaged in civil production at the initiative of the work force in the community. In addition, the Swedish government has made possible state subsidies which were provided to ease the transition to civil sector production. They found that the transition could be handled in a smooth way and that only a small portion of the machinery and the plant in the defence sector was completely oriented for military production. So the opportunities for complimentary civil production were quite positive.

Finally, I would like to say a few words about the project that I am working on. In our region of Massachusetts, south of Boston, I live in a Maritime community. Over 6,000 workers and the economy of our region, which is called the South Shore, is dependent on a vibrant ship-building industry. Because of over production world-wide, strong competition from far eastern ship-building companies and the conditions in the capitalist ship-building market, the ship-building in the commercial sector has virtually collapsed. The 27 shipyards in the so called ship-building base of the United States now depend entirely on the military, on the navy for

work. What does this mean? First, it means that locally, there are many calls for more spending on defence. In fact, General Dynamics has maintained that since they have been unable to get more contracts for the rapid deployment for ships, they are going to close our shipyards. What has been the response? I submit to you that there are only two answers. One is economic conversion, and the other is a greater military buildup. The delineation of this argument is becoming quite acute and quite real in our community. I have seen and heard local public officials stand up and castigate our Senators, Senator Kennedy and Senator Kerry for being too pro-peace, maintaining that if only our Senators would support Star Wars, then surely President Reagan would give us more navy work. Is this the answer to unemployment? No. Secondly, this competition for navy work means that the workers suffer. How does that happen? Ship-building unions can be played off one another, while the employer in Maine or California can say to the workers, "You're working for \$10.00 an hour; if you take \$7.00 an hour, Quincy, Massachusetts won't get the contract." There are 10 shipyards competing. There is one contract. How low can you go? These are the answers that we are trying to provide.

There are other products. One that we are pushing very hard for is called an ocean thermal energy conversion plantship, an Otec plantship. It is a huge facility. If three of them were built in a shipyard, it would employ 27,000 people. This plantship generates electricity, through the changes in the term thermal temperature of the ocean. It is a floating facility that generates electricity via cable inland. In a world that is increasingly dependent on oil and nuclear power, a non-polluting source of energy that uses no resources and does not pollute the environment is crucially needed. This is a technology that was invented in the United States, at John Hopkins University in Baltimore. Has it been produced? Yes. Where? In Japan, where now, it provides all of the electricity for the island of Karu. We maintain that if the government of the United States can build a 3 billion dollar Trident submarine, with 25 times the capacity of the Hiroshima holocaust it can certainly spend 500 million, not billion for the Otec plantship.

Our purpose is to establish strong support for conversion throughout our region and throughout the country, for that's what it will take, a national

commitment to disarmament and conversion as two sides of the same coin. Finally, how are we building this coalition? Suffice it is to say, that locally we are doing a great deal. We are writing articles, we are making speeches, getting political support and media attention, we are linking ourselves with other organizations like nuclear freeze campaigns, and we are building our own organization. At the national level, we are working with most of the ship-builders unions and with other groups striving to promote conversion in other industries, through the International Economic Exchange Program. We are supporting two bills now in the U.S. Congress, one by Ted Weiss of New York, the other by Nicholas Mavroules of Massachusetts, which calls for conversion and alternative use planning involving the workers and community at every single defence plan and facility in the United States, we're working very hard with the machinist unions to see that these bills are passed.

In conclusion, I want to remind you that the struggle for economic conversion, especially among the defence workers, is a difficult task. Obviously, workers have more to lose than their chains. We hope to demonstrate that a better quality of life for our citizens and for the citizens of the world community can be attained by redirecting the military industrial behemoth to the fulfillment of people's needs through democratic planning. To achieve this, I am reminded of a sign that was raised by the workers of the Bremen shipyard in West Germany, when their shipyard was closed down. They had fought a long fight for conversion, but in the end they failed. Nonetheless, they raised this banner as they watched people from all over the world come and strip their shipyard of its machinery during an auction. As it was unfurled, we learned our lesson from their message. It read, "If you fight, you may lose, but if you don't fight, you have already lost."

Thank you.



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### **DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT**

First of all, I'd like to thank the organizers and sponsors of the conference for the privilege to be here with you and to take part in this very important international event which is going on under the title, "Peace Through Communication." This is very important to my mind because communication between peoples of different political views, cultures, peoples of different ideologies, etc., is a very important factor in the overcoming of psychological stereotypes of the Cold War and, due to this, is very important to strengthening peace.

We are discussing here very important

questions, very important problems, problems which are vitally important for our common future. And among those problems, I think, I believe is the problem of the interaction between the arms race and development, or disarmament and development. It's just the same thing.

The theme of my presentation is, as it was told, "Development and Disarmament."

The first question is, "What is development?" It is, of course, a very complex, theoretical question. It seems to me that we haven't enough time to discuss it, so I can but give you my impression, my understanding of it.

I think that one of the most important aspects, one among others, is the increasing capacity of the human society to solve the problems which are before society. Of course, the arms race decreases our capacity to solve the problems. The arms race which is growing really at full gallop, the production of new and more sophisticated weapons systems are leading - as we have discussed before - to the substantial growth of the danger of war. But the arms race leads also to the growing difficulties for the solutions of the various social and economic problems which are becoming more and more acute for us - for all of us. The main point is, that the arms race eats up more and more material and intellectual resources which are vitally needed for such solutions. The more or less rough measure of the resources which is devoted to spending for military purposes is usually, the specialist's use for such a measure (the volume of world military expenditures or military spending). According to the data provided by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute - one of the leading international western institutes which deal with disarmament problems - the world military expenditures now, in the middle of the 80's are 4 or 5 times more in real terms than at the end of the 40's. So for about 40 years, the volume of military spending is growing 4 or 5 times. But the growth of military spending was not smooth. There were periods when it was more or less constant, the volume of resources devoted to military purposes, and there were periods of a more or less fast rise up of it.

In the present decade we can see a period of fast growth of world military expenditures. And what is the reason for it? A lot of western experts believe that this growth is the direct result of the realization of the present military programs in the United States of

America. For example, the SIPRI experts, in their last yearbook, "Armament or Disarmament", they give us such an idea, they face the fact, which has become quite evident, that if one excludes the American military expenditures from the world military expenditures, then the overall tendency will be the reverse. Well, each of you can try to do it by yourself.

In December of 1979, the then President of the United States, Jimmy Carter, proclaimed the five year programme of military build up which was based on the annual growth of the US military budget by 4.5% annual rate in real terms. The policy of the present American administration has led to the growth of the American military expenditures with annual rates between 7% and 11%. During the first period of the Republican administration being in office, US military expenditures have grown from 213 billion dollars in the beginning of the 80's, up to 300 billion dollars now. The negative impact of military preparations on social and economic development is diverse and multi-faceted. Some of the mechanisms and manifestations are rather old, some are not, and some are only in the process of formation. But their cumulative effect is more and more strong, is more and more painful to our development.

About half of the world population lives in terms of poverty. About 10% of the world population hasn't enough food and are near death due to hunger. These statistics are terrible, terrible indeed. These statistics cannot but pose a question first of all of moral and ethical nature. The question is, "Does mankind have a right to use such an enormous amount of material, financial and intellectual resources for the development and production of the means of destruction when millions of children annually die from hunger and diseases?" Can mankind throw away resources which can save them from death?

A lot of scientists and specialists are saying that the arms race kills people even when missiles are in the silos, even when the weapons are not used. And we in the Soviet Union believe mankind hasn't the right to do this. I can present you the official position of my government. Comrade Gorbachev, a few weeks ago said, "Human conscience cannot resign itself to the fact that tens of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are dying because of hunger and diseases, live in

illiteracy and poverty." And this position reflects the emotions of all Soviet people, of course. In contemporary academic monographs and in research papers, in the documents of the most competent international organizations, there are a lot of facts and figures which show with great credibility that the cessation of the arms race and the beginning of real disarmament can and will be the key factor in the elimination of all these social and economic troubles.

The experts on the Brandt Commission, in their first report came to the conclusion that even half of the one percent of the world military expenditures will be enough to finance all the expenses needed to buy the agricultural equipment which can provide the agricultural production of food for self sufficiency in the least developed countries to the beginning of the 90's.

The problem is, "How can we do it? How can we help these people in the developing world?" Dr. Perry proposed here, from his point of view, a reduction of 20% of military budgets of the leading military countries and transferring these resources to just developing countries. I can only welcome this proposition. It is really a very good proposal and I hope it will be realized some time. But I would like to tell you that during the last 30 years, the Soviet Union was, and is now striving for the cessation of the growth of arms and military expenditures, for its decreasing and using some part of saved resources as the economic aid for the developing countries. For example, in 1973 we proposed such an idea before the United Nations, that the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations have to reduce their military budget by 10% and use the saved money for economic aid. Our proposal was blocked by western governments, first of all by governments of the NATO countries. About one year ago, we proposed at the Stockholm Conference that the participating countries will freeze their military budgets or spending. There was no positive answer to this proposition. In the meantime, during 1977-84, the common military budgets of the NATO member countries grew at 30% in real terms. The great concern is caused by the fact that the developing countries with growing force are spending greater sums of money in the arms race. Their military expenditures, for example, have grown from the beginning of the 70's more than two times and have reached in 1983, 113 billion dollars in

constant prices of 1980. The negative aspect of this is more or less evident. According to some sources, each dollar spent for military purposes in less developed countries decreases their internal investment by 25 cents. As a result the rates of economic growth is reduced, the inflation curve goes up, material resources are diverted from the crucial social and human needs.

But the negative impact of military spending is not the privilege of the developing countries. The arms race has a global negative impact in the economic field. During the last year, researchers came to the conclusion that the growth of military expenditures decreased the rates of economic growth in all the world, but also in the western countries. It also decreased the standard of life in those countries. For example, during the period from 1981 to 1984, the federal expenditures on social needs in the United States were cut down 110 billion dollars. These are recorded figures. Simultaneously, the military budget rose to 300 billions dollars and these records are not the only records of the Republican administration. For example, the number of poor people in the United States (according to official statistics) during last year, has increased by 30% and is now about 35 million. There are about 23 million illiterate people, about 8 million unemployed, etc. There are now about 30 million unemployed persons in western countries. It is scientifically proved that investments into military branches of economy create much less work places than equal investments into the civil branches of the economy. According to American reports, for example, the investment of one billion dollars into the development and production of B1B bomber creates 20-22 thousand new working positions. Meanwhile, if the same sum of money was excluded from the US military budget, then decreasing of taxes and growing consumption according to US reports, would lead to the creation of the 112 thousand new work places. And this phenomenon is quite natural. The point is that military production is now concentrated in the most capital consuming and capital intensive branches of industry with high technology and relatively low levels of labour consumption. That is why the creation of one new working place in military oriented branches of the economy needs much more capital than in the civil oriented branches. That is why the rise in military spending prevents solving unemployment. The

arms race is also among the main reasons for growing inflation. The historical experience demonstrates that the growth of military expenditures is often accompanied by the inflationary processes because it leads to the increasing of the amount of money which is in circulation in the economy without the appropriate growth of the production of goods. The relationship between disarmament and development is sometimes a point of controversy. Some people try to disapprove the idea of negative social-economic impact of the arms race with the help of American development in 1983-84. In that period, the unemployment and inflation in the USA decreased and the rate of economic development increased. And it was said this took place in the same period of time when American military expenditures grew considerably.

What is our Soviet point of view of this problem? We think that first of all, the economic cycle in the United States in the period of 1983-84 was in the rise phase. But that is not the main aspect of this problem. It is very important to note that the growth of military expenditures in the United States leads to the enormous growth of the budget deficit. In 1979, for example, the budget deficit was about 30 billion dollars and in 1983 this went up to over 100 billion dollars. This rise of the budget deficit leads to the growth of the interest rates of American banks. The last results in the serious growth was the flow of the European money to the United States. All this chain has led to the failure in overcoming the crisis of development in most of western European countries. But it provided the United States with the possibility of financing the program of military build up with European money. The financial system in the west is in danger now. It is a kind of time bomb, and can lead to financial disaster. This is the point of view of many western specialists and experts. Massive use of resources for military purposes worsen the global economic situation. At this point the results obtained by scholars in my country do not differ substantially from results obtained by many in other western countries. I should like to give you one example. In 1983, a group of Japanese scholars published the results of their forecasting of different alternative variants of the development of the world economy obtained with computer simulations. One of the problems they have studied was the possible result of a 10% decrease of the volume of military expenditures. And they have come to the conclusion

that in the case of industrially developed countries, if they would do it, the rate of world economic growth would increase by about 1%, a substantial growth and the volume of world trade would grow to more than 120 billion dollars and the growth rate in developing countries would be twice as high as now. The fact that the arms race and arms spending creates a lot of obstacles in the solutions of different socio-economic problems challenging mankind and hinders its development is not new. But these very problems were not considered up to now as possible sources of crisis development for the whole world.

Now there are concepts in scientific circles and academic circles of the so called global problems. We usually use this term in describing energy problems, environmental problems, raw material problems, food problems, which are common problems for all mankind and all forecasts I know of from the beginning of the 1970's published, show that if these problems on environment, raw materials, etc., aren't solved in the near future, within the decade, then the result will be serious economic disaster for all the world. We all know that in some places in developed or in industrially developed countries, the environment is being destroyed, maybe even irreversibly and the tendency is more or less dangerous. Take for example, the energy problem; about half of our energy used or consumed in industrial countries is produced by oil, but the oil resources are limited and a lot of specialists forecast that there will be no oil in some decades, and then we will have to use other sources of energy. Well, there are other sources of energy and there will be, but the cost of the so called transition period will be enormous and to solve this energy problem, even here in industrially developed countries, will take a lot of money and the only sources of this money can be obtained from real disarmament. This is a fact we all know. The food problem is another example. We have been told a lot about the situation in developing countries, but I would like to stress once again, the situation in developed countries will also be very dangerous from an economic, environmental, and energy point of view, if the arms race will not be stopped, if there will be no real disarmament. You know we have a question, "What will happen to our civilization as a whole if there will be no new war, but if the arms race will continue as it is developing now?" Well, I think mankind has enough wisdom and that there is enough pragmatism in

decision making to avoid a nuclear war, at least I hope this is so. Nonetheless, mankind is challenged already with a choice: the continuation of the arms race or active large scale common action aimed at overcoming raw material, energy, food and ecological crises. There is no third alternative. If the arms race is to continue, it can, and will, lead within a decade or decades to a global, economic crisis, the likes of which mankind has never seen.

Thank you for your attention.



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### YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE NUCLEAR SHADOW - WORKING THROUGH DESPAIR

The nuclear shadow falls on you and it falls on me. It extends throughout the western world and it extends throughout the eastern world; it reaches into the northern hemisphere and it reaches into the southern hemisphere. It crosses all boundaries of space and of time and it crosses even that sacred line which divides outer from inner reality. Everywhere on planet Earth people are living in a dark time but as Theodore Roethke has so eloquently said, "In a dark time, the eye begins to see."

When lights are dimmed, objects cast shadows and the eye begins to actively perceive

forms. If, at this moment, we were to dim the lights in this room, we could sit silently together and watch the shadows move across the floor, the walls, and the ceiling. I wonder what forms each of us would see.

When I was a child, I would often lie alone in my bed at night staring at shadows such as these until the shadows came to life. Evil men and ghosts and witches and monsters would appear. They would lurk in corners, crouch between chairs and fly across the ceiling. I would watch, wide-eyed, terrified and fascinated as the forms continuously shifted and changed. I was never quite sure of what those shadows were. I never knew their names and I never spoke to them. Eventually, feeling exhausted and very lonely, I would cry out and my father, who was a marvelous story-teller, would sit down beside me and patiently describe the happy adventures of fairies and princes and unicorns. As I listened, I would glance occasionally at the shadows. All the sinister forms would disappear and my bedroom would become a magical place inhabited by friends. And I would know their names and I would speak to them. When the story ended, my magical friends and I would yawn and say good night and close our eyes, looking forward to a night of peaceful dreams and a bright tomorrow.

As I stand here now, I am like a four year old again. Sinister forms surround me and I want to cry out in hope that a story-teller will come, but, as I wait, I feel a need to focus inquiringly on the sinister forms. I feel a need to identify the nuclear shadow, to call it by name, and to find the courage to talk to it. So, as we wait together for the story-teller, I will describe to you what my eye is beginning to see and I will ask you to think with me so that together, we may come face to face with the nuclear shadow.

The term "nuclear shadow" bothers me. It has appeared often in titles of recent films and articles about the nuclear threat. The content of these articles is usually a reporting of the impact of the threat - especially on young people. Research studies conducted in many countries (including Canada, the U.S.S.R. and Finland) indicate that a high proportion of young people fear a nuclear war and suggest that this fear influences their decisions about daily life and about planning for the future.

I do not question the results of these studies; however, I do feel uncomfortable that no attempt is made to meaningfully define the term "nuclear

shadow". The assumption is made that we know

My quest, I guess, is for "the truth" and, in the next few minutes, I will simply search through my own head for any clues which may lead us in that direction.

### **COMING FACE TO FACE WITH THE NUCLEAR SHADOW**

The clues listed below are nothing more than thoughts written down as they come to me:

#### **(I) - FROM A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH A 15 YEAR OLD GIRL-**

She came to see me because she was suffering from tension, headaches, stomach problems and fainting spells. These physical complaints seemed "stress related" and, as she spoke about them, she sounded exhausted - "burned out". Her lifestyle was hectic - like that of a 40 year old, hypertensive executive - filled with meetings, deadlines, pressures, and coffee. She had no time for fun and could think only of striving to accomplish something while there was still a world. Her best friend had suicided the previous winter. She talked about her friend and about death. She talked about her dislike of this decade - of all the superficial things and the waste and the greed and the violence of the 80's. As she walked toward the door, she turned around and said to me, "I don't blame them for what they are doing. I just have to move faster and faster." Her words struck me. Suddenly, I realized that "they" is "we" and, suddenly, I began to see human forms in the nuclear shadow.

#### **(2) - FROM THE SHADOW PROJECT EXPERIENCE OF A FEW WEEKS AGO -**

At midnight on August 5th people in more than 300 cities around the world picked up buckets of paint and brushes and prepared themselves for a sleepless night. They worked until dawn, painting human shadows on the streets and sidewalks. These people were participants in the largest ever international art project for disarmament. The Shadow Project was organized to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Forty years ago on August 6th and August 9th, atomic bombs exploded over these quiet

Japanese cities. Seconds after the blast, men, women and children near ground zero were vaporized. ALL THAT REMAINED WERE THEIR SHADOWS.

I view these human forms, permanently etched into the pavement, as the signature of the nuclear shadow. The signature, it seems, is written on the declaration of World War II. Many people now talk of August 6, 1945 as the day World War II was declared - as the beginning of a global nuclear war. Since that day, there have been more people killed in wars, there have been more resources allocated to building armaments, there has been more human suffering, there has been more devastation of land, water and air - than in any other time span in human history. As I think these thoughts, the nuclear shadow becomes even more distinctly the human shadow and it becomes not a threat but a recognition of the already unleashed destructive side of human nature.

On August 6, 1985 people in cities as diverse as Rotterdam (Holland), Perth (Australia), Porto Alegre (Brazil) and Brooklyn (New York, U.S.A.) awoke to find ghost-like silhouettes painted on their sidewalks. These 1985 shadows were images of living creatures. The shadow project participants had painted, not the death images of 1945, but rather, themselves, their children, their grandchildren, their pets and their favourite wild animals and birds. The project organizers, in fact, emphasized that these shadows were of the living and stressed that we could choose to wash them away. Still, many people I talked with in Toronto found these shadows eerie - and disturbing.

The originators of the project, Alan Gussow and Donna Grund Sepach, made the following statement of purpose:

"The goal of the shadow project is to lift the mysterious shroud which surrounds the technology of the nuclear arms race and to place the human factor - 'life and death' - at the center of the disarmament debate."

The highly emotional reactions I've noticed suggest that the purpose is being achieved - that the project has served to increase our awareness of human factors.

(3) - FROM READING A BOOK ENTITLED "GAIA: AN ATLAS OF PLANET MANAGEMENT," EDITED BY NORMAN MYERS -

When I picked up this book, I realized instantly that it was no ordinary atlas. It describes a living planet at a critical stage of development. It describes planet Earth at a point when one species, the human species, threatens to disrupt and exhaust its life support system. It presents a clear picture of human forms, in conflict with each other and disrespectful of other species, devastating land, water and air, depleting elements, and destroying civilization. It does so courageously and it proposes that we face our own actions and redirect our course.

For me, the most dramatic illustration in the book appeared in a section entitled "The Long Shadow." The text of the section is brief and so beautifully written that I cannot resist reading it now:

'Today, the rise of human numbers casts a shadow over planet Earth. We have reached a total of almost five billion people, and we are plainly failing to feed, house, educate, and employ many of these in basically acceptable fashion. Worse, the human community is projected to reach at least ten billion before the population explosion fizzles out into zero growth early in the 22nd century.'

The problem does not lie only in sheer outburst of human numbers. It lies also in an outburst of human consumerism. One billion over-affluent people enjoy lifestyles that impose a grossly disproportionate pressure on our planetary eco-system. This consumerism is powered in turn by a sudden expansion in technological know-how, enabling us to use and misuse ever-greater stocks of natural resources, even to use them up. In fact, rather than a "population crisis" or a "resource crisis", we should speak of a single "over-arching crisis:" the crisis of humankind. The shadow stems from all of us, and it will darken all our lives.

On land, we plough up virgin areas, even though most of them are marginal at best. Soil, one of the most precious of all resources, is washed or blown away in billions of tonnes every year. To compound this tragedy - large tracts of productive cropland are paved

over each year, or "developed". Deserts expand, or rather degraded lands are tacked on to them, at a rate threatening a third of all arable land in the next 75 years. Forests in the tropics are chopped down with a zest that will leave little by the middle of the next century. As the forests fall, species in their millions lose their habitats, many of them disappearing forever.

In the oceans, we ravage one fishery after another. We cause dolphins, seals and other marine mammals to follow the sad track of the great whales. We pollute the seas, just as we poison lakes and rivers in virtually every part of the world. We use the skies as a dustbin and we desecrate our landscapes with growing piles of refuse, some of it toxic. In the atmosphere, we disrupt the carbon dioxide balance, triggering climatic dislocations that will upset agriculture worldwide.

Not surprisingly, this overtaxing of the Earth's ecosystem leads to breakdowns of other sorts. As more people seek greater amounts of declining resources, conflicts erupt: more people have been killed through military conflagrations since World War II and all the soldiers in that war. In fact, its breakdown in our social systems, our economic structures, and our political mechanisms that generate the greatest threat of all. The shadow over planet Earth will never be deeper and darker than when it is lengthened by a mushroom cloud', (p. 18)

Norman Myers has provided a vivid description of what it is that my eye is beginning to see. And I will move from his description directly to a brief quote from another book which I sense is, also, no ordinary book. On the first page of STAYING ALIVE: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF HUMAN SURVIVAL, Roger Walsh makes the following statement:

"For the first time in millions of years of evolution, all the major threats to human survival are human-caused."

That statement sums it up. It cuts through the complexity of the outer world and makes it seem possible to confront the confusion of the inner world.

Roger Walsh moves on from that statement, in a style which retains this priceless simplicity, to ask basic questions such as: What can I do? He suggests that, for each of us, there is some special task which we can discover and accomplish by moving back and forth between work in the world and work in ourselves.

This moving back and forth involves working through despair and it can take us far beyond it.

### THE GREAT WORK

There is work to be done. When I hear the word "work", the four year old in me surfaces again and I want to "play". So I suggest to you that we play now with the idea that young people in the nuclear shadow are summoned to perform "The Great Work" - Alchemy - the ancient art of transforming lead into gold.

The four year old in me has cried out and the story-teller will be here soon. Until he appears, I ask you to imagine that you are an alchemist and that the vessel in which you work is none other than planet Earth.

As an alchemist sealed within this magnificent vessel, you are engaged in a process of personal and global change. You recognize no sharp distinction between what is mental and what is material. You are becoming gold and you are making gold.

You are ready to move beyond probabilities to possibilities. You are aware of a natural evolutionary process and you are striving to understand the laws of nature. You seek not to interfere with nature but rather to co-create (perhaps with God) the World.

Within this vessel, you are now engaged in the first stage of the change process.\* This first stage is "the nigredo" - a time of separation and division - a time of lead dissolving to blacken the solution. The sun (consciousness) has been eclipsed by his shadow (unconsciousness) and planet Earth is experiencing a dark time.

In nigredo you are beginning to see. You are beginning to suspect that opposites are alike. You are beginning to understand that the shadow of the sun is attached to the sun. You are beginning to understand that neither the sun nor his shadow can vanish. Where there is darkness, there is light; where there is light, there is darkness.

In Jungian Psychology, this stage is discussed as part of the process of personal change. The term "shadow" refers to that side of our personality - that part of ourselves (as individuals, as nations, and as a species) which we hate, fear and try to conceal. As we repress it, we project it onto the outside world and see demons, distrustful people, and enemies. The more we try to repress it, the more dangerous it becomes. Eventually, it breaks through the "persona" or "mask". It breaks through the other side of our personality - that part of ourselves we have constructed out of the social messages about what we should be. When the shadow breaks through we have the chance to face our destructive side. It is like the child who throws a tantrum and breaks things. When we acknowledge that it is part of us, we can learn to reveal that side without horrific outcomes. We can learn to communicate our feelings and our needs to others. We can learn to work our way through conflicts without declaring wars.

You are beginning to see connections between the actions of everyone and everything. You are beginning to suspect that there is something you must do.

As you move through this first stage, you find yourself searching for a message about what it is that you must do. Toward the end of this stage, you will see a star appear in the black sky. That star will lead you into the second stage - into a realization of your own special task in the change process - into an understanding of your own special mission on planet Earth.

I will stop playing with this idea now because the story-teller has arrived. He is beginning to whisper a wonderful story about the star into my ear. If you ask him to, he will whisper an equally exciting story in your ear. I am listening carefully to his tale for I wish to make it my reality. I wish to follow my star as, I believe, each of us is meant to do.

If each of us becomes an alchemist and moves beyond the dark time - beyond despair, in his or her own way, just think of what the future will be. Just think of what you can do and of what I can do and of what we can accomplish together. As a group of alchemists, can we not work together (each in our

own special way) to revise our planet into what now, only from a great distance appears to be - the Planet of Peace?

As we continue to focus on this vision of our planet from 240,000 miles in space, I will read the words of the man who has been fondly described as the philosopher of the United Nations and its prophet of hope. He has served the United Nations for over thirty years, most recently as Assistant Secretary-General in charge of economic and social services. Robert Muller has witnessed a wide range of crises, conflicts, and disasters. He has stood in the shadow and he has moved beyond despair. When he asks himself the question: "Could I despair?" he says:

'Obviously, it was a highly imperfect world, in which two thirds of humanity still lived in utter poverty while hundreds of billions of dollars were being squandered each year on frightful armaments. It was a highly immoral world, a largely non-spiritual world, seemingly abandoned by God to an unknown fate in the universe. I had seen all its evils, injustices, contradictions, and follies during a World War and during my 33 years of diplomatic service. Could I despair? Should I give up? Was the universe an immense nonsense?

No, because I was human, that is, endowed with the highest privileges and perceptions of any living species on this planet; it was up to me to sharpen these admirable instruments called doing, seeing, hearing, thinking, feeling, dreaming, hoping and loving; could focus my attention and love from a flower or a person to the universe and God; I would profit from the incredible expansion of my hands, arms, legs, eyes, ears and brain through science and technology; I could seek, know and feel in myself the entire universe...for I was part of it and it was part of me...and last but not least, I was the master of my cosmos, it was up to me to guide it, to uplift it, to give it confidence and joy, to keep it in an endless, wondrous, inquisitive, searching, loving and hopeful mood. If I visualize myself as a little being on the surface of our whirling planet Earth, among billions of other humans, I am not more than a tiny speck. And yet that speck can embrace the heavens, the earth, humanity, the past,

present and future! It can be and it is an active actor and receptor of the entire universe. To be this "fullest being" is our cosmic task on earth, our sacred, spiritual duty. And to do that, I don't have to wait until the whole world is perfect. Indeed, can contribute right away my peace, goodness and happiness to the human family.'

(New Genesis: Shaping A Global Spirituality, p.166)

Now I will say "good night" and peacefully close my eyes to gaze upon my star and your star and all the billions of stars in the black sky which will guide us beyond despair and toward a bright and peaceful future.

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### POSITIVE VISUALIZATION FOR THE FUTURE

Thank you and I too appreciate the opportunity to be invited to speak in this beautiful setting here, to what I consider to be an inspiring conference. I have listened to the questions that the young delegates have asked and I find them thoughtful and introspective and quite penetrating of the issues that you are trying to grapple with here. So, I can appreciate being here. I would like in your mind to make a giant leap from the considerations of the problem to the possibility and to the hope and to the vision for the future. I don't think there is any question that our environment has been issuing

warnings and we can read about them in newspapers and see them on television, read research reports, hear the talks that you have heard at this conference, and I am sure that you have talked to each other and shared your fears and your hopes for the future here. Our environment is definitely issuing the warnings. The formation of a positive vision for the future without these weapons and without this threat is a more abstract matter than talking about the weapons themselves. To generate a positive vision for the future we have to begin to deal with abstractions, such as our attitudes and our motivations and new ways of thinking, and for the positive vision to have any real value for us, it must be capable of being lived. It must be based upon the real experience of people and it must be possible to achieve it. I would add that the vision must be worth living for and it must be worth dying for.

It must be that important. If those conditions are met, then the positive vision for the future will challenge us enough to develop our own strength and our own power sufficient to meet this threat to our future. Now to even form a vision, to put a positive vision out there to motivate us and to pull us forward, we have got to first build some agreement about what it is that we see. What is the reality that we are involved in here? And we are shifting now from concrete things like numbers of weapons and the extent of destruction to the abstract, the vision, so communication is more difficult, we are dealing with abstract symbols. We have some negative symbols that are really not abstract. We have Hiroshima, and we have the mushroom cloud as negative symbols of destruction. We have one positive vision that can actually match those symbols of destruction, and it is the same vision that Dr. Dineen put up (...if I could have that slide now). It is the vision of the Earth from space. Now this is the most important symbol we have today; it is the positive symbol of what we are striving for and it is important to stop and think about it, to think and take in the beauty of it, the white clouds, the blue seas, the reds and the browns of the land masses and to see it as a jewel suspended in space and to see that the real beauty on the planet is the people who inhabit the planet, and think about how, as you have gotten to know people at this conference, or as you get to really know a person, that when you get down to what is really important, you have the same values. You have the same hopes and dreams for the future. And so what that

vision symbolizes is beautiful, it is worth preserving. It is worth everything we can give for it. In 1948, a British astronomer, Sir Fred Hoyle made this statement:

"Once a photograph of the Earth taken from the outside is available, a new idea as powerful as any in history will be let loose."

Well, we got that photograph in 1969 from the U.S. Apollo moon mission. Now, what does that view of Earth from space imply? How can it effectively serve as a symbol for a positive vision of the future? Well, I said a moment ago that to really formulate this vision, we have got to build an agreement about what we see. What is the reality we are responding to? Reality has got to be the starting point. We have to know where we are before we can chart a course towards where we are going. It is just like coming to this conference, you have to know where the conference is, but you have to know where you are when you start, to get here. We have got to know what our real situation is, what is really happening around us. And, it is bigger than just the weapons, that is why we refer to this symbol; it is everything that we love on this planet. It is our heritage that we bring forward, all the many heritages that are here in the room. It is the biggest view that we can possibly take in, it is what we are willing to live for and to die for. So, the view of Earth from space symbolizes the most important single, all important encompassing truth about reality that there is, which is, that we are one interconnected, interdependent life system, and we are living on one planet. Another way of stating what reality is, is that we are one, and that is the kind of experience that you have when you get to know people as you do in this conference, you get an intimation of how much the same we are, whom we share visions and our concerns with, our points of view, what we hope to accomplish. But, the depth of "we are one" is not widely understood and it is not really accepted. It is critical that we do come to understand it if we are to survive this threat. It is the reality of "we are one", it is not abstract, it is a demonstrable truth. You can get a feel for it when you contemplate the Earth from space. There is only one Earth. There is only one life support system you see there, there is one humanity on that planet and it is totally isolated in space, so all there is from a physical

interrelationship standpoint on this planet, all there is, is right there. Now modern science has validated the symbol and the statement that we are one and I'll just refer to three disciplines quickly. Physics has demonstrated that all matter from subatomic particles to the galaxies in space is part of an intricate web of relationships. Ecology has given us the understanding that all parts of a living system are interconnected and that actually greater stability results from increased diversity and biology now tells us that in a world of survival of the fittest, the fittest is now seen as the species which contributes to the well being of the whole system. So together, these discoveries give a new depth to the meaning of one and when we accept the depth of reality of one on this planet, then immediately the reality of war comes in for scrutiny, for a close hard look. If we are one, then we are warring with ourselves, like cutting off our own legs or our own hands or ultimately committing suicide. It is true that war has been used in recorded history to acquire, to defend, to expand, to impose, and to preserve, it has been the ultimate arbiter of conflict between nations and war and the preparation for war has become intrinsic to our culture. But now we are taking a hard look at reality and we are saying, "What is the reality of war in this new environment?" An environment where, for the first time, we have the capability of destroying ourselves and our life support system. I say to you that war has become obsolete; now to say that war is obsolete does not say that it is extinct, because there are wars going on right now. It means that war is no longer effective, it is outmoded, and what do I have to support that statement? Well, I ask you to just think about our situation. We cannot fight a full scale nuclear war between the super powers because civilization as we know it and possibly life itself will be destroyed. We cannot fight a limited nuclear war because of the potential for escalation and because of the threat of nuclear winter for the entire globe. We cannot fight a conventional war among the non-superpowers without potentially involving the superpowers. The growing interdependence among nations has produced such a complex web around the globe and the superpowers are depended on too, are committed to defend various parts of that web. So today, right now, war is obsolete. Now how much time we have to face that reality is the question. In terms of our survival, the two most important aspects of reality are that war is obsolete

and there we are, one. That is the hard core reality, the important aspects of it in dealing with this problem. Now our perception of that reality will determine our vision for the future, and it will determine our response to that reality. Perception is individual and it is subjective. Many things affect our perception; for example, our attitudes...are we pessimistic or optimistic? Our motivation...am I out for myself or am I out for something that is beyond myself? Perception affects the way we think and it affects the way that we act, so what we do have is a model of correct perception. What is the perception that will formulate a correct and realistic vision for the future that will match the threat? I comment to you the perception of Albert Einstein who said in 1946:

"The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything, save our modes of thinking and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophe."

What we have in 1946 is the pre-eminent scientist of this century, saying that everything has changed, everything in our environment. Einstein is referring to the new technological ability to destroy ourselves. That is what can be called a major discontinuity in our environment. A discontinuity implies a lack of a logical sequence or an organic sequence; it is a giant leap. Atomic weapons were a giant leap; a giant impact on our environment. The challenge now, as Einstein implies, is to match our changed environment by radically changing our mode of thinking. Only by changing our mode of thinking can we generate an adequate response to match the life threatening discontinuity in our environment. It requires a giant leap by use in our minds. Now how can we describe that, how can we describe this giant leap, this new mode of thinking? Our mode of thinking is what we identify with, for example, think to yourself where your primary loyalty lies. Is it yourself, is it your family, your race, your religion, your ideology, your nation? Our primary loyalty is what we identify with, and that identification will determine our values and our attitudes, our motivations and our actions. Can I have the next slide please? This chart works from the bottom up and it is an effort to get a hold of what I am talking about in terms of what we identify with and you start with the personnel at the bottom and you go across the bottom and think that as a young baby, you

identify with your body and that is what you protect, that is the limit of what you are willing to go to. As you acquire property all through life, people are often willing to take strong action to defend their property. Then particularly, as you start into school and develop your own ideas, you are willing to identify with your ideas and many people are more offended that their ideas are attacked than if they get hit physically and so that is an example of how identification works and how it causes you to take action based on where you are identified. Then, as you move up the chart to the collective and start with the column that starts "Family Clan Race", you can start: I identify with my family, I am an Allen, and there have been many battles fought between families historically, and then you move into the more larger system of the city, the state and the nation, and we have gone through city state wars, we have gone through state wars and we have certainly, in the world now a nation kind of confrontation because that is the level that humanity is identified with and finally moving through religion, philosophy, and ideology. There have already been comments by the other speakers and by your questions relating to wars that have taken place at that level of identification. Now the dark line, that is what Einstein is talking about, the dark line is where humanity is right now. A giant leap in our minds is needed to cross over that line and to expand our identification so that our identification is with all of humanity. It is with the whole earth and it is with the truth rather than trying to defend our own ideas; it is a real search for truth. That can be very threatening because it can seem like you have to leave your heritage behind or you have to not be an Allen anymore, or not be a citizen of the United States or whatever country you are from anymore, but it does not have to be that way. What it implies is that you move with your primary loyalty to that expanded identification and you take your uniqueness, you take your heritage, you take your unique contribution to the solving of problems forward with you and resolve our situation in that way. You don't have to leave anything behind, it just doesn't work this way. If you work with this personally, if you reach the point of making a decision to expand your identity, you will be surprised at how personal it is, how difficult it is to expand your identity. It is a giant leap in the mind to move beyond the loyalties that you have now. Until recently, we really had not experienced the Earth as

one integrated system. We had limited experience of other peoples and other cultures, so our primary loyalties have been limited to family, to tribe, and race and ideology and nations. Our identification has been restricted and we have often seen those beyond our identification as the enemy and we, I mean humanity in general, has gone to war and killed when we have perceived our primary identification as threatened. Symbolically, this new identification would be to have it as though you were out in space talking to an extraterrestrial being and you are asked where is your home and where is your primary identification and you look back and you say THAT is my home, THAT is my loyalty, THAT is my identification. In our new environment, in the nuclear age, it is limited identification that threatens all of us. We can now see scientifically, visually, that life is interdependent, that we share a common destiny, that our individual well being depends on the well being of the whole system, so we must now make this shift, and put our primary loyalty with all humanity and all life with the whole planet. It is not just a good idea, it is a matter of life and death, it is a matter of survival. So this expanded identification is the new mode of thinking, this expanded identification is the positive vision for the future, symbolized by the view of Earth from space. We can do it, humans have repeatedly demonstrated the ability to change our modes of thinking. As we have matured and as we have acquired knowledge, we have expanded our identification, we've gone beyond the tribe, beyond the clan, beyond the city state, we've expanded; it's a natural progression. Now we have to take the next step and go all the way. Perhaps you read the impression of the Saudi Arabian Prince Sultan, the first Arab to fly in the United States space shuttle earlier this year. His comments in looking back at this view of the Earth from space were:

"Looking at it from here with trouble all over the world, it looks very strange as you see the boundaries and the borderlines disappearing. Lots of people who are causing some of the problems should view the Earth from space."

It may be that we will never eliminate conflict between individuals and between nations. There will always be different perspectives, different approaches, different ideas about how to solve

problems, yet if we have an overriding identification with the whole Earth, it will enable us to resolve conflicts by discovering solutions that will benefit everyone. Diversity will no longer be a cause of war, when we change our mode of thinking, diverse points of view become a source of creative solutions. Now at this point in the talk, we've looked to see what reality is and concluded that war is obsolete and that we are one. We've considered our perception of that reality and concluded that a new mode of thinking is required to match the change in reality that occurred with the unleashing of atomic power, and with the new mode of thinking, we have put forth a positive vision of the world whose human inhabitants identify with the whole world, with all of humanity, and who resolve their conflicts based upon the expanded identification of their primary loyalty to the whole system. Still it is not enough to have a vision. Response in the form of action will come only after a personal decision has been made to reject totally the obsolete and to commit totally to build upon the new expanded identification. Now, decision means to cut away from, to reject forever an option, to close the door on an existing possibility. And as I mentioned earlier, when you personally decide to give up your limited identification, whatever that may be, it will have a tremendous impact on your daily personal life. It is a major life-changing decision. But without those decisions made by individuals, it is impossible to move forward. We're moving into the unknown, we cannot preview everything that will happen in making this leap, but leap we must. We've perceived the reality which is accelerating toward annihilation, yet ironically, the consciousness of this reality has given birth to a new vision and a new opportunity. It gives us the chance to generate an adequate response to this threat, and this response will be born out of the conviction that we are one on this planet. It will be a response that will bring a secure, peaceful future. In a very real way, without the threat that we're facing, as awesome as it is, we would not be compelled to come together and discover a new way to live together. That's what keeps me from being depressed about this situation, it's the opportunity, the calling, the need to respond. Now I would like to leave you with some inspiration, some concrete evidence that the response that we are talking about is possible. I will use the "Beyond War Education Movement" in the United States as an example to

demonstrate what a relatively small number of citizens can accomplish in a short time. The basic tenants of the "Beyond War Educational Movement" are that war, all war, is obsolete, and therefore, we must seek other means to resolve conflicts between individuals and between nations. Further, that the root cause of war is not economics, it is not social systems, it is the way that we think about conflict. So the purpose and the goal of the "Beyond War Movement" is to inform people of the crisis that we face and to provide them with the opportunity then to develop and to demonstrate a new way of thinking that will bring about a world beyond war. Now the "Beyond War Movement" began in 1982, which is not very long ago, as movements go. At the present time, there are more than 8,000 people across the United States and in six foreign countries who are actively involved in building a world beyond war, giving it their primary focus. It includes more than 400 men and women who are full time on the staff. I found out when I came up here, there's quite an active "Beyond War" group here in Canada, it is located in Vancouver, primarily. It is spreading like wildfire here and I saw that there's a booth downstairs, so it's beyond where I was. I would just mention briefly two of "Beyond War's" accomplishments during the past 12 months. In January of this year, ambassadors to the United Nations were invited to a special presentation that was co-sponsored by some of the ambassadors and by Beyond War. Dr. Carl Sagan of the United States and Dr. Sergei Kapitza of the Soviet Union made a joint presentation on the effects of a nuclear winter for the representatives of 72 member nations. Later, "Beyond War" representatives had follow up meetings with the ambassadors. The event was worthy in itself to educate on nuclear winter. I want to tell you about a personal experience I had in one of the follow up meetings that I had with Finland. And I tell you about it because it had a tremendous impact on me in working with the "we are one" reality. I went to the meeting, and I walked in to the room, and I immediately knew that something was wrong. You know how you can do that, the room was full of hostility, and you could feel it, so the discussion didn't go anywhere and I finally just asked, I said, What is going on here, what's wrong?" And after some effort it finally came out. The Ambassador said to me, "Isn't it true that Leningrad and the nearby Soviet naval yards are the primary

nuclear target of your country?" I said, "I'm sure it is true." Well, he said, "When Leningrad goes, Finland goes, so even though we are not an enemy of your country, we are a target of your country." That was a very important moment for me. I realized that I could not disassociate myself from the entire reality that we are talking about here. I could not just talk about "Beyond War" and get anywhere. I had to take all of reality as it is and work within that reality. And so did he, and as we talked, he realized that to hold on to his resentment about the current situation would stop us from developing any new future together. We both really had to listen to each other's point of view or we weren't going anywhere. So we did listen, and we finally did come to understand each other, and we did come to see, ultimately, that we hoped for and were willing to work together for exactly the same future. The other event that I will tell you about is called the "Beyond War Award", which is awarded annually to individuals or groups for making a significant contribution to building a world beyond war. The recipient of the 1984 award was the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. That organization had co-presidents, one in the United States, one in the Soviet Union. With modern technology, we set up what is called a Space-Bridge-Satellite-Transmission. And we had a joint presentation of the award in Moscow and in San Francisco in the -United States. It was a dramatic example of co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States - two sides In a huge confrontation working together to do something positive to show that we can work together. The way the transmission worked is that the audience in Moscow could see the audience in San Francisco, and the San Francisco audience could see the Moscow audience on big screens, and then you could take what's called a down-link, and we could sit in Portland, Oregon, and watch the whole thing happening on the two screens, and it felt like you were in Moscow, and in Moscow it felt like you were in San Francisco. There were 3,000 people in the San Francisco auditorium, and the Gosteleradio in Moscow holds 900, and it was full. Ninety thousand other people watched that event on television, and it was later aired for millions on both United States and Soviet television. The part that struck me about that event was actually the friendships that were developed by the film crews in the Soviet Union and the United States working together, and the other

people working together and sharing their thoughts, dreams, and ideas. And what comes out is that we are the same. And the confrontation that we are in is insanity, so we have to find a way out of it. Now these are examples of what can happen when just ordinary, individual people adopt the new mode of thinking, and make a decision to respond, and then to work together. In the case of the "Beyond War Movement", a person makes a decision to work with others to help build a world beyond war and then that person's decision manifests itself in action, which ultimately has resulted in a very powerful movement in a short time. The decision to change our mode of thinking can only be made on an individual basis, that is just the way it is. I can't make it for you and you can't make it for me. You would have to look into your own heart to see where your identification is limited, where you would say, "I won't go any further than that to try to work this out." That is where you would be limited and that is where you would have to make the leap to a larger identification. And without that enormous change in our way of thinking, we will stay on the path of destruction, but we still have time to choose the other path into the future. Each of us can choose as his or her identification all of humanity where courage and co-operation and good will toward all others are motivating forces that guide our own action. We can still make that choice because time has not yet run out on us. I will amplify that thought and close with a quote from Lawrence Vanderpose from "The Dark

Eye of Africa."

"It is for me no idle coincidence that the most significant discovery in the physical world of this age has been the fact that the greatest and unimaginable power resides in the smallest possible organization of matter, the force which threatens to blow the world asunder resides not in the clouds or in the mountains, but in the invisible heart of the atom. The inner force, too, which, like the power of the atom can either remake or shatter civilization, resides in the smallest unit of society, the individual. The individual is the secret advance base from which the power sets out to invade committee rooms, mothers' meetings, county councils, parliaments, continents, and nations."

Thank you.

Photographs

Observations, Questions, Solutions

Resolutions

Letters

Delegates' Evaluations

Addresses

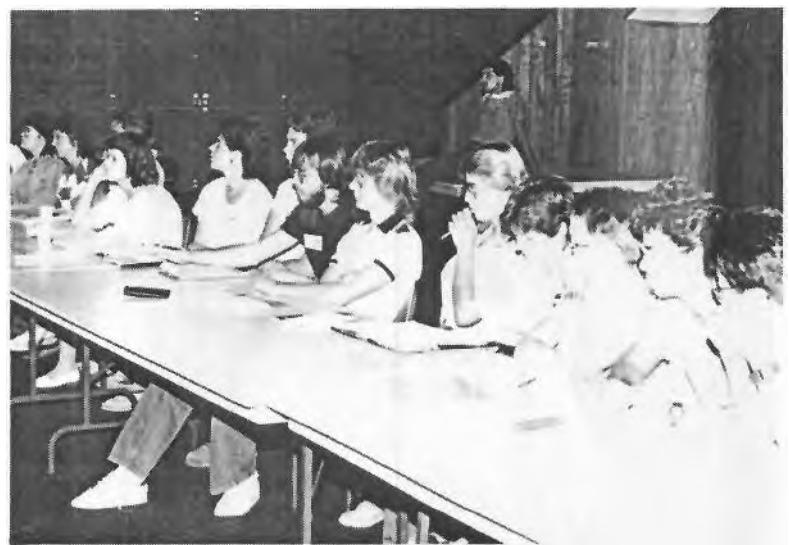
Acknowledgements

*A photo record of the week's events. ...*









## OBSERVATIONS, QUESTIONS, SOLUTIONS -

Workshop Summaries compiled by Jim Terral

*"Do what you can, when you can, how you can."*  
—From one of the workshop summaries

In the afternoons, youth delegates attended Dialogue Sessions with facilitators from the surrounding area. These sessions were planned to encourage discussion of the speakers' presentations, to develop questions for the panel in the evening, and to formulate resolutions for the plenary session on Saturday. Speakers from the morning sessions also circulated during this time and participated in the discussions.

Discussions were described as "spontaneous" and "free-flowing". Delegates grappled with the "logic" of the Arms Race. What causes the arms race? What feeds it and keeps it going? What is the justification for developing more arms? Why do people support the arms race? Sometimes the questions reflected their frustration:

"It seems to me that the USSR is a very peaceful country from what I gathered from Sergey M. Plekhanov. And from J.T. Bush I understand that the US had their nuclear weapons initially in order to come to world peace. I just don't understand the logic behind these two. Having realised the consequences of the nuclear weapons buildup (i.e. the destruction of humankind) why do the superpowers go on with it? If it's a question of superiority, why the Arms Race? Why can't it be something constructive?"

### Changing Our Way of Thinking

In retrospect, it was evident from the beginning that many of the delegates had a view of the problem that is wider and deeper - though perhaps not as sophisticated - than that of many of the speakers. As one speaker indicated, his work was with the problem of war which is a social phenomenon, not violence, which is personal and psychological.

But, as we will see, for the delegates, war is just the social and historical manifestation of violence, violence that begins inside us and works

its way out. Solve the problem of violence and war will disappear. Fail to solve the problem of violence and nuclear annihilation will continue to be just around the corner. As one delegate wrote in the workshop notes, "If the causes of the nuclear threat were found, not only would this problem cease, but many others also would cease: violent crime, sexual abuse, etc."

This observation came from another workshop:

"Getting rid of nuclear weapons by itself will not bring about peace. Peace is not just disarmament. Can mankind address the causes of conflict?"

An answer to that question came from still another workshop:

"Conflicts begin when we define others as 'enemy'. We first kill them in our minds, making them sub-human, using language."

And from yet another:

"Should the peace movement address nuclear disarmament or general disarmament? Is it realistic to think about abolishing nuclear weapons without abolishing war?"

One way to understand this way of approaching disarmament is to see it as a reply to one simple question: Isn't war just human nature? Once you have asked this question, the first place to start looking for an answer is inside yourself.

Sometimes it almost seemed that one question was answered by another question. For example, "Is it necessary to have inner strength in order to help end the arms race?" Well, "how can trust and confidence be built up between nations?" How else if not through inner strength? But then, "Where and how do we get it?"

The following answer came from another workshop, one on Positive Visualization:

"We can be, if we so choose, the inner warriors....our question is one of vigilance within ourselves, to do our best....Peace is found within ourselves and [then] without, by extension of our inner idealism to [outer] realization."

Often questions arose in one workshop and were answered in another. For example, "How can we support a government that spends \$275 million on the UN and \$8 billion on defense?" This question was echoed in a more general form in a later meeting: "How can countries promote peace and then violate treaties, UN agreements, etc.?" Later, one of the delegates made this observation: "Today people spoke of 'governments saying one thing and doing another,' but we are just the same: people say one thing and do another."

So we must begin with ourselves. "People can change and do....It has become a mark of a forward-looking, progressive person to understand other cultures and to incorporate appealing features of those cultures into his/her own life style."

The paragraphs that follow are assembled from quotations and paraphrases taken from summaries of the Dialogue Sessions. They have been reordered to show the kinds of thoughts participants were having about a particular theme. Sometimes I had to shave a little off here or add a word there to make a proper sentence. But otherwise, I have tried to stay in the background.

So it seems that nuclear war is inevitable if we don't change our way of thinking. Politicians, too, will have to change their way of thinking. We have to build "clean" politics with motives which are similar to Ghandi's. This means that individuals must be willing to say "no" to government. One delegate went into more detail on the subject of civil disobedience:

"The Jews, Gypsies and others persecuted by Nazi Germany and occupied Europe faced annihilation. The most effective means for them and concerned others to avert that annihilation was civil disobedience, as exemplified by the occupied Danes' refusal to co-operate with, and active opposition to, the deportation of the Jews in Denmark. Likewise, the people of the world face nuclear annihilation, and many people in third world nations face exploitation, murder, and starvation (e.g. Guatemala, South Africa). These conditions are just as desperate as those of the Jews in Europe in the 1940's. Today, huge power structures exist which perpetrate this injustice and war. Huge efforts are required to bring down or drastically

change these structures. Non-violence is an expedient method of doing this, and should be practised by all who are willing and able."

### Conference Feedback

Dialogue Sessions also provided an opportunity for delegates to examine ways in which they might make their participation in the Conference more effective. For instance, they pointed out to conference organizers that the speakers were up high on the stage and that delegates were substantially lower down on the main floor level. Delegates felt at a disadvantage. Once this feeling had been conveyed to the organizers, the situation was remedied.

At times, communication seemed to have broken down, and the Dialogue Sessions provided opportunities to register one's feelings and to explore solutions. Youth delegates clearly wanted more of a dialogue between themselves and the speakers. As one participant observed, "Many people at the conference are frustrated with unanswered questions: some are bored; others are discussing things among themselves."

Some felt that they needed more background information. "Are MX missiles offensive?" asked one. "Are cruise missiles offensive or defensive." Others felt that the problem was one of attitude. For example, one delegate used a dramatic technique "to show that the guest speakers have their backs to us." Another, using the same technique, dramatized the view that some delegates were deliberately putting the speakers on the spot and doing "a lot of finger pointing."

One participant expressed the wish that delegates had been able to get to know one another before the proceedings actually started. And delegate after delegate asked, "Why aren't Soviet youth delegates here?" No doubt about it; they were missed.

It may seem that the participants were unduly harsh or that they failed to appreciate the rare opportunity they were part of. But not so. As early as the second afternoon, delegates expressed the conviction that conferences such as this were an important part of the solution and the hope that other such conferences would follow. They were getting to know one another; they were coming to understand dimensions of the issue they had not considered

before; perhaps most important, some barriers were coming down, and they were coming to share a mutual respect for one another.

### The Economic Problem

Delegates heard personal stories about oppression of people in Third World countries, and once again the interrelatedness of all human problems became clear. Isn't oppression just another form of violence from within? How can we abolish war unless we establish justice for oppressed people? Clearly, people's basic needs must be met before they can talk about nuclear disarmament. Peace does not occur by eliminating war, but by providing food and good health for everyone.

Actually there were several economic problems that the delegates raised:

1. The superpowers want economic control, not direct physical control, of Third World countries.
2. Foreign control entrenches existing poverty, starvation, and oppression and these rightly take priority over disarmament in the lives of the people.
3. "Peace" between the superpowers is purchased at the expense of "wars by proxy" which are fought in poorer, smaller, less powerful countries such as Afghanistan and Nicaragua.
4. The superpowers and their allies - including Canada -- manufacture and sell arms. This creates economies in the superpowers and their allies that are dependent on the military. It also takes food out of the mouths of the poor. Bombs, both nuclear and conventional, kill many people before they are dropped because funds are directed away from food, housing, technology, and health to build them
5. Finally, proposals to convert military industries and military economies to peaceful purposes face resistance from people who are afraid they will lose their jobs.

What, then, is the role of all countries - not just the superpowers - in achieving security and disarmament? Can we (in the Third World) refuse to have missiles on our territory? What can smaller and

non-aligned countries do about nuclear proliferation if not just stay out of it? How can Third World countries unite to bring pressure on the superpowers? What kind of tactics could such a group use?

What can people in Third World countries do to stop the buying of weapons from superpowers? Can the UN help in some way? Can the UN be empowered to give Third World countries a meaningful voice to help them resist the superpowers?

Participants felt that national governments and the UN cannot step in, but individuals and non-governmental organizations can. They can act, for example, to break the monopoly of multinational corporations in marketing commodities or to prevent damage to the ecology from wars and from weapons testing.

Can the economic motive to produce weapons be changed? If military industries are to be converted to productive uses, people's fear that they will lose their jobs must be addressed.

### Economic Conversion of Military Industries

Many fear that arms control and disarmament will result in a loss of jobs and standard of living. But military facilities and industries devoted to production of military equipment can be converted to peaceful uses. British workers at Lucas, for example, converted from military production to producing dehumidifiers for homes. In San Francisco, conversion was brought about by shipbuilders who own their own shipyard. The Japanese retrained shipbuilders and found them work when the shipbuilding industry slowed down. So conversion is possible. Trade unions support it in the UK. In the US, machinists are for it. Canadian Steelworkers' leadership supports it, but workers fear job loss.

We should find out where our banks, insurance companies, credit unions and other financial institutions invest our money. The peace movement should make conversion an issue in elections. The Canadian peace movement should use the national campaign against Star Wars to bring the issue of military conversion to socially productive uses to the fore. Conversion should be to products satisfying the following criteria:

1. environmentally sound
2. needed and useful, not just profitable
3. public use and services
4. wise use of finite resources

Individuals, as well as trade unions, need education about conversion and can be effective in working towards it.

Peace economics research is needed so that a positive and realistic alternative can be offered.

Which is the most effective way of achieving conversion from military production: general education or working towards a specific project?

### Breaking Down National Borders

Is it unrealistic to think of the whole human race as one family? Participants were quick to point out that "we cannot change the system without a concrete alternative. It's necessary to have a common aim."

How can media coverage of the disarmament issue improve?

Since information and communication are primary vehicles or opportunities to establish understanding and peace, we urge governments at all levels to legislate a percentage of media time and space to cover and make clear the issues. In a positive way we should present the facts and the opportunities for solution of the global problem of peace and war. Such programs should be prepared and presented by research and information divisions of the UN.

A cooperating world community which solves problems non-violently is a necessary goal if we are to avoid annihilation by nuclear or other means. The breaking down of national borders is a necessary step towards this goal. This would not only be helpful in improving economic inequities in the world, but also in improving relations and communication between peoples with differing political and geographic backgrounds.

In the West, the peace movement must deal with people's fear of the Soviet Union. We could

form Canada/USSR friendship association, and work on establishing contact with Soviet pen pals. Student exchanges, especially with the USSR, seem like a particularly good idea.

But we need to do more to change attitudes about differences between peoples generally. We must learn to accept other's ways of living. There could be more exchanges between students of all different countries. Maybe schools could be twinned, say, between a Canadian and an Indian school. In school itself, more could be taught about other peoples and nations. Class discussion could be set up with individuals from the class representing different cultures (e.g. social studies class).

Delegates felt that more conferences like this one and conferences more often in small communities would definitely be beneficial. They wanted to be sure to get addresses of individuals and organizations from this conference so they could network information. They figured that as delegates they could write to their local newspapers telling about the conference. Someone even suggested a non-political, international youth camp for the summers.

There were times when the ideals of world citizenship, unconditional trust, and universal love seemed to be achievable. Clearly we would need a universal language.

Said one:

"An individual can make the decision to follow the principles of inspired religions of the world. That is to follow a way of life that respects others. That is to love thy neighbour as thyself unconditionally."

What would we have to do to become one family? Washington and Moscow could become sister cities. How is it possible to open up countries of the world to other countries? Why not set up a House of Commons in the UN with representatives elected by the entire world?

And another:

"This is an unrealistic resolution but a lovely thought: To write a universal anthem which would be made official by the United Nations and adopted by all governments."

Yet another put it this way:

"A greater friendship between the people of the world. An understanding between peoples of this world who come from different cultures and backgrounds. A respect of different ideas, religions, philosophies and political ideas. An agreement between the citizens of the world to agree to disagree. People can hold their own beliefs without having others forced upon. If we achieve this, we have achieved peace."

Maybe it's not too much to think that we could become one human family. But then, "when we do disarm, what will stop the world from arming again or creating another crisis?" On the face of it, it would almost sound a little cynical. It would be easy to miss, but someone actually did more than just suppose we might disarm. It must have been one of the youth. "When we do disarm..."

## **APPENDIX A: The Workshops**

August 28,1985 - Wednesday

History and Mechanics of the Arms Race  
Social Costs of the Arms Race  
East-West Perspectives

August 29,1985 - Thursday

Developing Human Potential  
Analysis of Current and Past Peace and  
Disarmament Initiatives  
Analysis of the International Movement for Peace

August 30,1985 - Friday

Conversion of Military Industries to Civilian Uses  
Confidence Building Measures  
Positive Visualizations

## RESOLUTIONS

Plenary Meeting  
Resolution #1

Whereas delegates to the World Youth - Peace Through Communications Conference in Castlegar, B.C., Canada consider an increase in communication between people living in countries of different social, economic and political systems to be important, be it resolved that we encourage the governments of these countries to establish cultural and educational youth exchanges and relax visa restrictions to facilitate these exchanges.

Be it also resolved that we recommend the promotion and establishment of institutions for the fostering of international peace and understanding around the world. Specifically, we recommend to the Provincial Government of British Columbia to establish the David Thompson University as a Global Peace Institute.

ABSTENTION: Mossam Antai

Plenary Meeting  
Resolution #2

Be it resolved that conference delegates urge the citizens of countries with nuclear capability to pressure their governments to end the nuclear arms race and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. To facilitate this we recommend that countries with nuclear capability follow the recent Soviet example of a moratorium on nuclear testing and furthermore negotiate a comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Plenary Meeting  
Resolution #3

Be it resolved that conference delegates urge young people to take positive and effective action against those regimes which deny their citizens basic human rights and interfere in the internal affairs of other states. In particular, the conference participants express their solidarity with the Guatemalan delegates taking part in the conference and condemn the existing state of affairs in that country.

Plenary Meeting  
Resolution #4

Be it resolved that conference delegates urge young people to investigate the exploitative actions of trans-national corporations and boycott those companies and organizations that sustain repressive regimes and fuel the arms race.

Plenary Meeting  
Resolution #5

Be it resolved that conference delegates request leaders of the world's religious, spiritual and secular organizations to define their position on the issues of war and peace, and urge them to implement guidelines to help build universal peace and social justice.

Plenary Meeting  
Resolution #6

Be it resolved that where relevant the peace movement make military spending and conversion of military industries to civilian uses, a main issue in elections.

Plenary Meeting  
Resolution #7

Be it resolved that to facilitate better communication between the USA and USSR in the interests of maintaining peace and preventing nuclear war, Washington and Moscow become sister cities.

Plenary Meeting  
Resolution #8

Be it resolved that the delegates of this conference feel strongly about the abuse of human rights. Let it be known that these same people regard the existence of nuclear weapons as a threat to their basic human rights as defined under the United Nations Charter of Rights, to a reasonable amount of safety and security. Therefore, let it be resolved that a petition be written and signed by all participants of this conference stating the above, and sent to the United Nations Human Rights Commission

Abstained: Miles Davenport  
Mossam Antai

Plenary Meeting  
Resolution #9

Be it resolved that a "World Youth - Peace Through Communication Conference" be held annually in different cities or towns of the world and that we, as delegates of this Conference approach our respective governments to support this endeavour, financially and otherwise.

Plenary Meeting  
Resolution #10

Be it resolved that this Plenary strike a committee to write a letter to Premier Gorbachev, President Reagan, and the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Cuillar, with copies to all heads of state, including the resolutions adopted by this conference asking them to do all in their power to take concrete and effective measures to reduce the threat of war and increase international peace and security.



WORLD YOUTH —  
PEACE THROUGH COMMUNICATION  
CONFERENCE

Box 760 Grand Forks, B.C. Canada V0H 1HO  
(604)442-8252



September 18, 1985

Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar  
Secretary General of the  
United Nations  
United Nations Plaza  
New York, NY 10017

Dear Secretary General:

We, one hundred and twenty-one young people from Canada, United States, India, Guatemala, Iran, Thailand, Egypt, Israel, New Zealand, Australia, Nigeria, Jamaica, Western Germany, Panama and Japan —

Representing countries with different social, economic and political systems, and various religious, spiritual, secular and cultural backgrounds —

Having met in a forum under the theme of World Youth - Peace Through Communication, in Castlegar, British Columbia, Canada from August 27 to August 31, 1985 in recognition of the designation of 1985 as the International Year of Youth by the United Nations Organization —

And having listened to and spoken with knowledgeable and experienced individuals in the fields of arms control, disarmament, and related specializations, from Canada, the United States and the Soviet Union

And having discussed amongst ourselves the implications of nuclear weapons, and the doctrines which legitimize them, the history and mechanics of the arms race, the deprivation of human rights caused by the militarization of nations, the effects and experience of the international peace movement, the established and documented link between disarmament and development, and the bearing of all these issues have on the prospects for our common future —

Urgently appeal to you as a human being, and as a person entrusted with heavy responsibilities in the international community to do all in your power, and in the power of the office you hold, in the name of humanity, on the basis of reason, and in the creative spirit of life itself to diligently pursue those negotiations which are already in place, and if necessary, to initiate new processes, in order —

To reduce and eliminate the nuclear madness which threatens our small planet,  
To end the arms race which erodes international security and escalates world tension and,  
To stop the abuse of human rights which degrades human dignity, and.  
To divert money from military budgets towards funding human needs, and,  
To help establish an international order based on peace, freedom, and social justice.

We sincerely entreat you to give your most serious consideration to this appeal as well as to the enclosed resolutions, and fervently hope that you will find the wisdom, the courage, and the fortitude to help translate these ideals into reality - for the youth of the world, and for all humanity.

Respectfully submitted, with the most earnest expectations for an encouraging response.

On behalf of all Delegates at the  
World Youth - Peace Through  
Communication Conference

John J. Verigin, Jr.  
Conference Co-ordinator

Sponsoring Organizations:

1. Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ,  
Orthodox Doukhobors
2. United Nations Association of British Columbia
3. Operation Dismantle Inc.

Endorsed by:

The International Youth Year Secretariat of the United Nations Organization

***The preceding letter was also sent to the following addresses:***

Mr. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev  
General Secretary of the CPSU  
The Kremlin  
Moscow, USSR

The Right Honorable  
Brian Mulroney  
Prime Minister of Canada  
Ottawa, Ontario

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, DC 205000

## DELEGATES' EVALUATIONS

...I was a youth delegate at the conference and the experience was a very important one to me. Besides the speakers, workshops, panel discussions and cultural entertainment (which were all enough to make the conference a rewarding experience in itself), the warmth and hospitality with which we were taken care of and the smoothness with which the conference was run really impressed me. Two other aspects of the conference that were important to me were my introduction to the Doukhobor way of life and the opportunity to hear and speak with representatives of the Soviet Union.....

...I feel more aware of issues and am able to talk to others about them more confidently...feel further resolved to bring issues to attention of others.....

...It was the only thing I've encountered that gave me hope for the peaceful future of mankind. I was also surprised to find out how alike the youth of the world are...I have a better understanding of people around the world. I feel I can now organize a peace movement in my own city...The dance - this made me realize that everyone can get along when they forget about politics, religion, countries, etc

...all such assemblies are stimulating and worthwhile.

...we should have had time at the beginning of the conference to get to know each other. The program was too crowded to have time between to talk with other delegates.....

...it was a great experience to learn about places that really do require our total attention.....

...I feel I am better informed as to the mechanics of the Arms Race...I appreciated the frankness of all the speakers - most seemed knowledgeable and eager to share this with the youth...the different ethnic groups provided an eye-opening perspective of life beyond the maple leaf flag...I was disappointed with the Plenary Session in that we did not form some sort of action committee representative of the conference to promote Peace Through Communication i.e., networking system...made many contacts to obtain additional information through displays presented downstairs...realizing there are many other people in this world that care about the welfare of humankind and I was proud to wear a delegate badge and sit in the front of the Center.....

...what I expected wasn't what I got, but what I got was important.

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