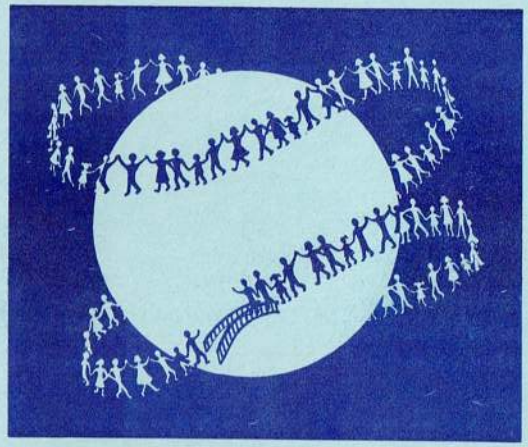
CAN WE CHANGE OUR THINKING?



CHARLES W. JAMISON

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DEDICATION

Waging Peace Series

The term "Waging Peace," as far as known, originated with Warren Wells, late husband of Ethel Wells of Santa Barbara, California, in a letter to President Eisenhower. It was a long-standing practice of Mr. Wells to keep in close touch with key national figures and give them his views on peace issues and other vital matters. This series is dedicated both in memorial to him and in gratitude to Mrs. Wells for her continued efforts in this cause.

In this series, the Foundation will distribute short booklets on a continuing basis. Topics will cover a broad spectrum of ideas in the search for peace. Some will be scholarly in tone. But bridging the gap between the extremes of the technical or scholarly and the informal or popular will be the predominant pattern. Views expressed in these booklets will not necessarily be those of the Foundation.

This format permits convenient bookcase storage and in-depth analysis not suitable for shorter "newsletters." The low-cost word processor method will be used for prompt completion of urgent items and updating changes desired quickly.

Quantity lots at minimal charge will be available for discussion groups and others. Suggestions for topics and your reactions will be welcome.

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Appendix A - Selected Books—1983

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- o When the bomb hit Hiroshima, civilization crossed an awesome divide—power over its life or death.
- o Today, the U.S. and USSR have the warheads to kill every person on earth 4 times. The danger is real.
- o Nobody wants war. But views on how to best attain peace vary widely and are poorly correlated.
- o Advances in science have changed impossibilities to realities beyond the most far-fetched dreams.
- o Our greatest dread is that of a takeover by Soviet dictators with their oppression of human rights.
- o Those supporting missile supremacy regard nuclear war as suicide, yet reject other approaches.
- o Reducing missiles by 75% could still mean death to all living persons and retains violence-oriented thinking.
- o Investing the same money and effort could bring almost unbelievable human benefits.
- o This shows need for movement toward better comprehension of the true interests of the U.S.-USSR.
- o We need to expand interchanges on many more fronts both in the public and private sectors.
- o We need to take strong initiatives in turning every stone for closer understanding—hopefully enduring peace beyond the bomb.

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CAN WE CHANGE OUR THINKING?

1. Can Man Cope with the Nuclear Age?

Nobody wants war. But vast differences exist in views on how to best attain peace. In approaches, Howard Yoder, a well known Mennonite pastor and scholar, presents 15 varieties of religious pacifism. In opposite vein, the U.S. Government plans to spend almost $2 trillion in the next 5 years toward peace through missiles. The USSR has similar goals. And yet, there are already enough warheads to kill every person on Earth 4 times. The SIPRI shorter yearbook 1983 (p. 26) states that the U.S. now has a nuclear stockpile equivalent to 9 billion tons of TNT and the USSR roughly the same or a total of 18 billion tons. Each nation has produced missiles at the average rate of one Hiroshima bomb every 30 minutes for 38 years, day and night, 7 days a week.

To even ask the question whether the world can live without the bomb may be perplexing to millions of people. But upon careful analysis, it appears that nations existing together without the constant threat of killing each other makes more sense than the present pattern. The basic problem appears to be absence of attention on the process of eliminating the need for weapons.

In the realm of science, within the last 50 years, impossibility has quickly become reality in many instances. "Preposterous—impossible," were my exact words when John Kennedy started talking about placing a man on the Moon.

But there is one scientific miracle that dwarfs all others. Until recently, it was assumed that our world order would continue unless destroyed by a power beyond that of man.

Then, one sunny morning, August 6, 1945, the "Enola Gay" dropped "Little Boy," the first atomic bomb ever used in war, on the city of Hiroshima. On

that day, unknowingly, man crossed a great divide—an awesome chasm, receiving power over life or death of civilization.

Albert Einstein, the famed physicist, had written to President Franklin D. Roosevelt concerning his secret of splitting the atom. He mentioned the potential of a bomb with "extreme power." Roosevelt liked the idea and proceeded with its development. Robert Oppenheimer, in charge of the project, pleaded against further steps. Persisting in this thinking, he was dismissed in disgrace as a security risk.

Einstein, also, lived to see the day when he regretted releasing the secret of the atom. By 1964, the Jnited States had 4,000 missiles and the USSR had 2,000. Einstein, foreseeing the growing danger, wrote:

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

One of the world's greatest minds, through probing scrutiny combined with scientific precision, had unfolded a truth far beyond anything ever comprehended by man. He drove his concept to the hilt—even as today top scientists seek frantically to unlock more powerful mysteries of the atom. And then—this same piercing sense of inquiry brought him full circle. He had found deeper truth making the first a horrifying nightmare. Will others also come full circle—as they face the truth?

2. Do We Have But One Choice?

After all, hasn't killing been the ultimate court for settling disputes between tribes and nations since the dawn of time? Bombs are neutral. How many and where they are placed are under control of the human mind. This is simple. Man can cope with this. But

when we get down to the wire on rights between nations aren't we in a much tougher ballgame?

Human nature being what it is, who dares intrude the question of guidance of a sovereign nation by means other than its power of violence? Is there a possibility of continuing life and freedom other than by threat of the bomb?

I already hear the answer of many. In merely asking these questions, one must temporariliy run for cover and let the radiation settle a little before reappearing again in this nuclear world.

To many, even thinking of abandoning protection of the bomb is abhorrent. You can't trust the Russians. Even the risks of a nuclear holocaust are a lesser danger than falling prey to the crushing paw of the Russian bear. Within the USSR if people voice views opposite those of top Soviet leaders, they are in deep trouble. They are placed in insane asylums, sent to labor camps in Siberia, or blacklisted from advancement in their careers. The Soviets would like nothing better than for America to drop its guard so they could take over without firing a shot. We hear the echo of Patrick Henry's famous words, "Give me liberty, or give me death."

3. Will a Phantom Choice Overtake Us?

It has been suggested that both America and Russia reduce their nuclear missiles to a level strictly for defense; and sufficient only to counter blackmail or attack by terrorists. Ironically, a 75% reduction would still leave the equivalent of more than 4 tons of TNT for every living person.

The danger in this choice is that it is still violence-oriented. Thinking still remains in terms of violence and counter-violence. More than that, thinking is still in terms of counting nuclear missiles. With the genie out of the bottle, we are faced with the

constant danger of the same upward arms spiral which now exists. Since the time of President Eisenhower, each top leader in the U.S. and USSR has voiced danger of mutual suicide. President Reagan's State of the Union Message, January 26, 1984, repeats this thought. "A nuclear war cannot be fought and won. The only value in our two nations possessing nuclear weapons is to make sure they are never used."

He next asks the most vital question facing humanity today. "But, then would it not be better to do away with them entirely?" (Emphasis added). Yet, in his actions he relentlessly escalates the arms race. Smaller, faster, more deadly missiles are replacing those of an earlier vintage. Greater elusiveness will soon make verification impossible—bringing to both sides deeper feelings of insecurity and fear than ever before.

4. Does the Negative Have a Place?

By this time many sincere "peace through friendship" advocates are saying, "Why dwell on the negative? This is not support for disarmament." But these morose factors are not to be lightly thrust aside. We must start from where we are, not from where we wish we were. Sometimes it is best to face problems in all their stark reality. To gloss over difficulties by concealing their true nature rarely leads to sound solutions. The deeper the problem, the greater the need to search for sound answers.

5. How Do We Change Our Thinking?

Moving toward life without the bomb means more than breaking new ground. It requires a reversal in thinking deeply ingrained since the time when men fought with clubs. The MX is one of the most deadly missiles ever conceived, yet it has been called by President Reagan the "Peacemaker."

This name is not new for a weapon. In pioneer days it was common parlance for the Colt revolver. The gunslinger quickest on the draw brought peace, as his rival bit the dust with a bullet through the heart. "The fastest gun in the West" had peace—through death and the threat of death, until someone with a faster gun came along.

With the MX or "Peacemaker" as the symbol for the equivalent of 18 billion tons of TNT or 4 tons for every person on this planet, we have a sadder story. With the genie out of the bottle, has civilizaiton already passed the point of no return? Is man now shackled by ball and chain, forever—a prisoner of the monster he created? Must he live in constant fear, in the delicate balance of deterrence as the only assurance of life? Must he nervously ponder, always in danger that if someone pulls the trigger, everyone will be vaporized?

These are the stakes with which both the U.S. and USSR must gamble in betting their chips on more deadly successors to the MX as "Peacemakers" in the continuing upward arms spiral. If the leaders of both nations are seriously interested in survival of the human race, both will begin a vigorous, intensive search for a better way.

As President Reagan has stated, "It takes two to tango." This applies equally to the U.S. as well as the USSR. As long as each accuses the other of being the source of all the problems, it is obvious that no headway can be made. Each distrusts the other. Grounds for such distrust can be removed only through genuine, sincere cooperation, or at least by careful scrutiny of what best fulfills the real welfare of each nation.

Hedging on true effort and shoving forward false gestures by one can readily be detected by the other. Pseudo-cooperation is pointless. Inspiration for improved attitudes can come only from within each

nation. It cannot be pressured by one upon the other. It will take time and patience.

If changes in the modes of thinking along the above lines cannot be made by both nations, we have only one choice. Discussion of other methods then become futile and misleading and, as Einstein predicted, We are headed "toward unparalleled catastrophes."

All parents, their children, and grandchildren (if civilization lasts that long) have no other choice but to live under the constant risk that someone will push the button under severe aggravation, irrational demands, or some unexpected incident more extreme than the shooting down of the 747 passenger plane in September 1983.

Although many computer errors have been detected in advance, this problem will become far more critical with only 6 minutes' flight time from launching pad to target in deployments such as the Pershing II.

More extreme, but possible, like people who shoot presidents just to shoot presidents, we run the risk of terrorists or deranged persons falsely disguising a plane for a bombing raid during a time of tension between nations; the goal, to destroy a key installation to bring a nuclear holocaust.

6. Are Unknowns a Base for Security?

These are unknowns which may or may not happen. The risks will remain grave. No living person can give us sure answers. It is easy to make reassuring statements. But a few samplings expose the uncertainty in these speculations. "The U.S. can fight and win a nuclear war." "The new high frontier will enable us to shoot down missiles before they reach their target." "Hiroshima survived; therefore, U.S. cities can do so." These statements only accentuate

the stark simplicity of the one real answer. No one knows what would happen in any of these events because they have never occurred before.

If a nuclear holocaust did take place, recent results of scientific research give us an added reason for pessimism concerning the outcome. Such research indicates that dust clouds from nuclear explosions would reduce temperatures to 20 below zero in the Northern Hemisphere. Those who were not vaporized in the nuclear blast or killed from ghastly mutilation or radiation would freeze to death.

Regardless of what answers someone pulls out of the air, with continuance of the policy of security through superior missile power, grave danger will continue to haunt us. We urgently need to look for other choices.

7. Can We Afford Perpetual Deterrence?

Assuming it were possible for the U.S. and the USSR to maintain deterrence forever, in open competition, the pattern would mean almost unbelievable sacrifice.

No evidence exists that competition toward more deadly weapons would become less fierce. At present, this sacrifice to hold each other at bay—the waste in resources sorely needed for other purposes—is appalling. The cost of one missile would feed thousands of starving children. Transfer to constructive endeavors of 40% of our top scientists, now employed in building the military arsenal, would bring drastic increase in benefits to private enterprise.

Lowering armaments expenditures would mean a sharp reduction in the estimated $200 billion annual deficit. This is a crucial factor. Release of funds for private industry would aid stability in business and lower interest rates to help many a young family put a

roof over its head. Greater production of consumer goods would generate jobs for millions of unemployed.

8. Wherein Lies the Heart of the Problem?

All the above has been repeated thousands of times, which brings us to the heart of the problem. How do we get the attention of U.S. and Soviet leaders, who are so preoccupied with fanning the upward arms spiral? How can awareness be created in their minds of other major factors that need consideration is contrast to being regarded as almost nonexistent.

This problem is made more difficult since the average Soviet citizen is restricted in his or her right to even murmur about what would be best for the public interest in the USSR.

U.S. Government officials still seem reluctant to give sufficient consideration to suggestions by local citizens. This increases the responsibility of the American public to speak louder and clearer to its elected officials concerning moral, social, economic and foreign policy issues. This can only be properly done if people at the grass root level are well informed.

But far more significant, private groups must take greater initiative in developing recognition of common interests as a foundation for building closer contacts with their Soviet counterparts.

9. Will U.S.-USSR Groups Cooperate?

The title of a book I will discuss speaks for itself: "Organizations Involved in Soviet-American Relations." This handbook, published in June 1983, gives fascinating detail of 131 organizations and educational institutions working for improvements in numerous aspects of U.S.-Soviet relations.

The span of effort in these groups includes: research, exchange programs, citizen education, policy influences, media, treaties, and political action. Special departments or projects are listed for 20 colleges and universities on American and Russian interrelations. The Institute for Soviet-American Relations which correlated this information deserves high commendation for its initiative and accomplishment in this outstanding service.

A very fruitful interchange occurred in September 1982 between U.S. and Soviet editors at Colby-Sawyer Collge in New Hampshire. The Americans were members of the New England Society of Newspapers Editors, co-sponsors with the college. The Russians came from Moscow, Leningrad, Lithuania, the Ukraine, and the New York office of Tass and Pravda. The central theme of the conference involved discussion of more courteous coverage by the media in each nation of news concerning the other country.

The great significance of this joint effort rests in the key influence of the media in shaping emotional reactions of millions of people. It was recognized that belligerent remarks by public figures quoted verbatim often create added impact. Minimizing such practice was agreed upon. Care against fanning the flames by journalistic embellishment was also stressed. The media is sometimes criticized for unduly influencing public opinion. In this respect, the media can help generate good will in contrast to increasing animosities.

Even a more outstanding model of close cooperation in the private sector exists within the medical profession. Bernard Lown, M.D., Professor of Cardiology of Harvard School of Public Health, and Eugene I. Chazov, Director-General of the National Cardiological Research Center, USSR, at first worked together on research projects. James E. Muller, M.D., now Assistant Professor of Medicine at Harvard Medical School, was affiliated as a cardiologist with

two Soviet medical institutions, the First Moscow Medical School in 1967, and the Myasnikov Institute of Cardiology in 1975. He speaks Russian fluently. Dr. Chazov had served as Cardiologist for President Breznev and President Andropov.

These three men were co-founders of International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War. Membership consisting of educational institutions and medical organizations from 43 nations totals 70,000. Dr. Lown and Dr. Chazov are co-Presidents and Dr. Muller, Secretary. He also serves on the Advisory Council of our Foundation. Eric Chivian, M.D., Staff Psychiatrist at M.I.T., is Treasurer. Vice-Presidents include outstanding physicians from Finland, Hungary, Norway, and Japan. Delegates from 42 nations attended its Third International Congress in 1983.

Other existing groups include educators, physicists, lawyers and many other categories. One of the first was the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, religiously oriented. The USA-USSR Citizen's Dialogue arranges rotating visits of groups from one nation to the other. In another unique group Russian and American writers, with approval of both governments, exchange views on a wide range of topics available in magazine form in public libraries in each country.

These thumbnail sketches show what can be done on an international scale by private sector groups. Each would require an entire booklet to partially cover accomplishments. They are an inspiration for the formation of further groups within other occupations and professions.

10. Can We Handle the Crosscurrents?

A serious problem exists in connection with affirmative action by private groups in contrast to military methods. But carefully handled, these two

approaches can supplement each other from the long-range standpoint. Our greatest potential rests in working toward better mutual grasp of interrelated problems even while the arms race continues.

Under present circumstances, neither nation can immediately drop its guard in armaments. Genuine interchange—seeking better understandings—will be necessary as a parallel course to armaments. Only as each begins to see genuine results in peace-oriented endeavors can it afford to drop its false hope in armaments as the ultimate solution.

But, recognizing the awesome danger of 18 billion tons of TNT, we must not linger on that thought. It needs to be only the springboard to move onward to affirmative constructive action of a different kind. The needle on the record player seems now to be caught on "bombs-bombs-more-bombs, faster and more deadly bombs." Caught, as if hypnotized, the leaders of both of these great nations are failing to use the tremendous power for good that lies within their vast domains.

The great chasm which remains rests in the sharply contrasting ideology concerning human rights. Laying aside propaganda and derogatory rhetoric, there still remains a fundamental difference in outlook. A deadlock exists which blocks real progress toward mutual insight. In solving problems in human relations, there is danger from starting first from the widest extremes.

President John F Kennedy spoke with deep wisdom to this problem. He said:

> Both nations seek to advance their own economics and scientific achievements—and would benefit by a much greater exchange and pooling of goods, ideas and personnel between our two nations . . .

11. Is a Two-Way Approach Possible?

How can we deal with the conflict between the arms spiral and meaningful interchange? A Mexican vaquero can ride his mount full speed ahead, suddenly pull it back on its haunches, whirl around and instantly go dashing in the opposite direction. But a shift like this cannot be made by two massive bureaucracies, moving full speed ahead in a gigantic arms buildup. Although idealistic visions of sudden arms reductions have their place, both nations must still struggle up the steep, rocky road in overcoming many centuries of deep-seated patterns.

Intermeshing factors are involved which took years to plan, design, and place in operation. Every flicker of the eyelash has international overtones. One nation interprets something done by the other in the opposite way from that intended. For these reasons, it is difficult for national governments to undertake primary responsibility for a wide range of interchanges and appreciation of the subtle and sometimes slow emergence of benefits.

The initiative needs to rest with non-military governmental agencies and more specifically, the private sector. But, the proposal for a National Peace Academy where students from all nations could meet on a give-and-take basis would be one way in which our government could aim toward better recognition of common concerns.

In view of the extreme Soviet discipline, the starting point must be through the U.S. or not at all. We have the flexibility, the right to speak out, the right to move with freedom that does not exist within the Soviet Union. To say that we will start only after Soviet groups make the first moves represents a failure to face the facts. People in the U.S. would, thus, fail to use opportunities available to them based on a false excuse.

12. Why Not Try Mediation?

A third party mediator deeply concerned in helping both disputants presents an approach which should be used to the fullest. President Carter, during his Administration, served as mediator between Egypt and Israel. His wisdom and insight brought termination of long-standing hostilities between these two enemies. This, of course, also required a real urge on their part to solve complex problems in an amicable way.

Even more recently, Jesse Jackson, without official portfolio, demonstrated a greater power than that customarily issued through governmental protocol. As a citizen volunteer, he mediated the release of Lt. Robert Goodman, a U.S. Navy pilot, held prisoner by Syria.

Jackson expressed a desire to seek Goodman's release immediately upon receiving word of the pilot's capture. He understood the Syrian people, having visited that country many times. He was acquainted with Syrian President Hafez Assad, providing a source of mutual confidence in spite of national antagonisms.

Knowledgeable representatives from neutral non-nuclear weapon nations such as Switzerland and Sweden could serve as mediators without creating fear that they were looking to their own advantage in building a nuclear arsenal.

Producing more missiles generates deeper hostilities. Mediation reduces animosities. Common sense tells us that reducing enmities is a better road toward peace than increasing belligerent attitudes.

13. Can Man Sweep the Bomb from the Board?

This short booklet cannot provide answers to all the problems of peace and war. The intent has been to point the way to meaningful processes to ease tensions, and toward better long-range perception in

affirmative approaches—to change thinking for the best interests of both nations.

Disputes between nations will always persist. They even arise between people trying to work together in the peace movement and committed to non-violent methods.

The real issue lies in the thinking process in the approach to how disputes can be settled to the genuine best interests of the disputants. At bedrock, killing each other was never a basically constructive means of resolving differences even before the bomb hit Hiroshima.

But three names stand high in terms of peace-oriented approaches in this nuclear age. George Kennan, renowned ambassdaor to Russia, even before the end of World War II, emphasized the need for constructive adjustments in contrast to military thinking. The late Senator Henry Jackson strongly advocated a joint U.S.-Soviet Crisis Control Center. Robert S. McNamara has suggested a number of positive steps to reverse the nuclear arms race.

Pleading personally for non-violence and non-use of missiles, (or defaulting by indifference), while firmly supporting a government that is using the threat of missiles to an unthinkable degree constitutes a contradiction that is unwise to allow to continue.

Thinking merely at the level of "Let's stop testing or making more missiles" or "Let's have both nations destroy 75% of their missiles" is a worthy first step.

But the real answer rests in an entirely different kind of thinking process—in working diligently on how to move forward with genuinely constructive insights that will provide focus on affirmative instead of destructive factors when disputes do occur.

The comparison is like trying to change horses while both are in full gallop. Without changing our chief focus beyond preoccupation with merely stopping production or reducing missiles, we are only riding a different kind of "war-horse."

Again someone says, "Impossible—preposterous." We cannot possibly extend our thinking beyond preoccupation with cutting down the volume in potential for destructiveness. We have no time and no one will listen if we try to change our mode of thinking and action to something constructive.

But the fact that we are actually doing this is no secret. The U.S. is selling twice as much wheat as ever before to the Soviets. The USSR has just completed a gas line for providing 1/3 of the natural gas to NATO countries. Why are leaders of these two nations doing this? Because it serves an affirmative peaceful need of both nations at the very moment they are competing fiercely to produce more missiles.

This provides a clear source of hope. Both nations need to recognize various constructive foundations for cooperating with each other. They need to reach out in searching for more ways for beneficial cooperation—toward the mutual best interests of both nations. If they did this the intensive focus on arms buildup would fade, in comparison.

Overall correlation of the many divergent and sometimes contradictory items in the vast mosaic requires careful attention at all times. This is particularly true in moving forward beyond first steps such as the bilateral freeze and preliminary reduction of missiles.

But this same principle of coordination is essential in the evolutionary process of phasing out emphasis on military efforts and the ascendancy of its opposite, the ideology of settlement of disputes by genuinely non-violent methods.

In failing to start, we are left with the hindsight wisdom of Einstein: "We thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophes." It is the soundness of the sense of direction that hangs in the balance, not the issue of which nation has the most bombs or where they are placed. These are but the pawns moved by the minds of men.

By the right approach, man can sweep these pawns entirely from the board. Many potentials still exist for hope and faith in starting the process to move beyond the bomb.

14. Does This Send a Message to You?

What are your reactions to ideas and questions presented? We would appreciate your comments and evaluations. Of special concern, give us questions which may have arisen in your mind. Above all, what is your thinking in approach to the ultimate answers? You may wish to pass your views to others—to friends and organizations to which you belong. You may feel the call to create discussion groups or sponsor a peace-related activity.

The author, Charles W. Jamison, age 78, is a recent convert to the Peace Movement. He holds a B.S. in Economics, University of Oregon; a J.D., Harvard Law School; an M.A., Fuller Theological Seminary; and is a member of the American Bar Association, International Law Section. He was an Intelligence Officer, Headquarters South Pacific, on Guadalcanal in World War II. Impetus in reversing his position from that of an ardent arms supporter came in 1980 through an article by Dr. Howard H. Hiatt, Dean of the School of Public Health at Harvard University. Since September 1982, he has co-sponsored the founding of 3 new peace organizations and has served with 7 peace groups throughout Southern California.

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