WAGING PEACE SERIES

We wish to introduce you to the Waging Peace Series. As far as is known, the term "Waging Peace" originated with Warren Wells, late husband of Ethel Wells of Santa Barbara, 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 as well as other vital matters. This series is dedicated both as a memorial to him and in gratitude to Mrs. Wells for her continued efforts in this cause.

Just as peace is more than the absence of war, waging peace is more than supporting arms reductions. In addition, it embraces positive steps toward genuine harmony. In this series the Foundation will distribute short booklets stressing ideas for attaining peace. Some publications will be scholarly, others more popular in style—most will combine elements of both. Concepts expressed will include views of many authorities, and will not necessarily be those of the Foundation.

Suggestions for topics and your reactions to this issue are welcome. Quantity lots are available at minimal charge from the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation.

NUCLEAR AGE PEACE FOUNDATION
1187 Coast Village Road, #123
Santa Barbara, CA 93108

Copyright ©1985 Nuclear Age Peace Foundation
First printing, April, 1985

Typesetting and production by Tom Moore

NEEDED: A NUCLEAR AGE PEACE CORPS—
AN ALTERNATIVE TO ANNIHILATION

by

Frank K. Kelly

Booklet 5

WAGING PEACE SERIES

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

THE AUTHOR

Frank K. Kelly, author of this booklet, is president of the University Religious Conference Center in Santa Barbara, where he has helped to provide emergency shelter for homeless people and a program to feed hungry people. He regards the rising numbers of hungry and homeless people as signs of the rising costs of the arms race.

"President Eisenhower once said that money spent on arms is stolen from the poor," Mr. Kelly comments. "The arms race is devouring the resources of the earth at an enormous rate. Even without a nuclear war, the arms competition is killing millions of people through starvation every year."

Mr. Kelly also serves as senior vice president of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, as a director of the United Nations Association in Santa Barbara, and served as a member of the board of directors of the National Peace Academy Campaign.

A former Nieman Fellow at Harvard, he has served in many capacities—as a speech writer for President Truman, as staff director of the U.S. Senate Majority Policy Committee, and as the U.S. Director of the International Press Institute's Study of World News. His proposal for an annual Report on the State of Humanity was endorsed by President Eisenhower, the Secretary General of the United Nations, and many other leaders.

He served as an infantryman and as a war correspondent in World War II. He received a Citation for Merit from Lt. Gen. John Lee for his service in combat zones. He saw the devastation caused in Europe by that war.

He has contributed articles and stories to many publications, including *The Atlantic, The New Yorker, The Infantry Journal, Esquire,* and others. He has published eight books, including *Your Freedoms: The Bill of Rights, Your Laws, The Martyred Presidents, Reporters Around the World,* and *The Fight for the White House.* His most recent volume is *Court of Reason: Robert Hutchins and the Fund for the Republic,* based on his experience as the vice president of the Fund and a Fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

INTRODUCTION

A quarter century ago John F. Kennedy sparked the imaginations of idealistic young Americans with his concept of a Peace Corps. Kennedy provided a framework for the altruistic impulses of citizens of the wealthiest, most powerful nation in the world. Through the Peace Corps, Americans were able to go abroad and work to improve the lot of citizens in poorer countries throughout the world.

In this important essay, Frank Kelly suggests the formation of a new type of peace corps—a Nuclear Age Peace Corps. Kelly's concept would differ from Kennedy's in significant ways.

1. The primary function of Nuclear Age Peace Corps volunteers will be to educate others on the urgent need to reverse the nuclear arms race, using the results of recent reports issued by scientists.

2. The Nuclear Age Peace Corps will spread knowledge of the techniques of peaceful conflict resolution showing how violent conflicts can be averted.

3. The Nuclear Age Peace Corps will be composed primarily of young leaders (clergy, educators, civic leaders, etc.) who will return to their communities to teach others.

4. Training will be accomplished in a series of seminars, and the ordinary work of the Nuclear Age Peace Corps volunteers will go on in addition to their volunteer work.

The Nuclear Age Peace Corps will be built upon these propositions:

1. That the likelihood of climatic change and environmental destruction found in "Nuclear Winter" studies make the **destruction levels of a nuclear war unacceptably high;**

2. That the increasing likelihood of nuclear war occurring by accident or inadvertance make the **risk of nuclear war unacceptably high;**

3. That there are **feasible alternatives to the present course of action, including the expansion of trade, cultural and scientific exchanges between nations;** and

4. That citizens in a democracy have the **right and responsibility to create a better and safer world.**

Frank Kelly has provided a framework for combining education and action, information and compassion. Please give his proposal serious consideration, and send any ideas you might have for improving it to him in care of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation.

David Krieger
March 1985

NEEDED: A NUCLEAR AGE PEACE CORPS: AN ALTERNATIVE TO ANNIHILATION

Einstein's grim statement—"The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our mode of thinking"—must now be reconsidered. In 1985, there are signs that millions of people are changing their ways of thinking—and that includes the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, and other nuclear powers.

The old ways of thinking are being battered and broken by a flood of new information on the biological and climatic effects of a nuclear war. While nuclear weapons continue to be built, the leaders and the people of the most heavily armed nations have been forced to realize that these weapons cannot be effectively used without suicidal results. The 1985 negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviets are now ostensibly aimed at the elimination of these monsters.

It has long been known that the use of nuclear weapons in a full-scale war would kill hundreds of milions of human beings and inflict terrible damage. The General Assembly of the United Nations declared in 1982 that the use of such weapons would be a crime against humanity. A recent scientific report entitled **The Cold and the Dark: The World After Nuclear War**—based on a year's work by more than 200 scientists from many countries—shows conclusively that such a war would not only be a crime against humanity but a crime against life on earth.

Dr. Carl Sagan, one of the contributors to this report, says that such a war "may carry in its wake a climatic catastrophe, which we call 'nuclear winter,' unprecedented during the tenure of humans on earth." Dr. Paul Ehrlich, a noted biologist who also participated in the project, said that such a war would produce "extreme and widespread damage to living systems."

Another participant—Dr. Donald Kennedy, president of Stanford University—asserted: "What our most thoughtful projections show is that a major nuclear exchange will produce, among its many plausible effects, the greatest biological and physical disruptions of this planet in its last 65 million years....That assessment of prospective risk needs to form a background for everyone who bears responsibility for national security decisions, here and elsewhere."

Soviet scientists strongly endorsed the statements by Sagan, Ehrlich and Kennedy. Nikolai Bochkov, director of the Institute of Genetics of the U.S.S.R., declared: "In the aftermath of a nuclear war, the prospects for mankind must obviously be seen in the perspective of a world in which the ecosystems and ecological resources have been disturbed and destroyed. Thus, the biological and sociological conditions would not be such that human beings would be able to maintain themselves as a species."

A. Alexander Bayev, of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said that nuclear war "raises the questions of whether the very survival of mankind is possible, or even whether continued life on earth in the forms that we know is possible." Dr. Nikita Moiseev, deputy director of the Computing Center of the Soviet Academy, disclosed that studies done in the Computing Center in Moscow confirmed the results indicated by Sagan and Ehrlich. Dr. Roald Sagdeyev, director of the Soviet's institute of Cosmic Studies, asserted: "The development of scenarios of the evolution of the biosphere and atmosphere after a nuclear war, which has been taking place over the past twenty years, has now finally given us a very serious model, the results of which have been reported by two independent groups, the group represented by Dr. Sagan and the group consisting of our scientists...."

Yevgeniy P. Velikov, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, concluded: "All kinds of policy positions on local or so-called 'limited war,' counterforce strikes,

'controlled' war, flexible reactions, or prolonged war are concepts that have become, in light of what we now know, totally baseless.... We see that no military or psychological arguments—and there are many of them—can refute these results. I think the only conclusion possible is that our nuclear devices are not and cannot be useful as weapons of war or tools of war; nor can they be a tool of politics. They are simply tools of suicide."

Dr. Walter Orr Roberts, a physicist who is a past president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, said: "It is imperative, in the name of humanity, to accelerate the search for world security in the policy domain.... We must indeed invent and enact policies that covenant a stable future for the planet...."

Dr. Lewis Thomas, chancellor of the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, said that the two studies in climatology and biology "change everything or ought to change everything in the world about the prospect of thermonuclear warfare." Dr. Thomas added: "It is no longer a political matter, to be left to the wisdom and foresight of a few statesmen and a few military authorities.... It is a global dilemma, involving all of humankind."

Donald Kennedy urged that leaders in all countries give more consideration to the resolution adopted by the American National Academy of Sciences, which stated that "science offers no prospect of effective defense against nuclear war" and called upon the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union to "take all practical actions that could reduce the risk of nuclear war by accident or miscalculation" and to intensify their efforts to achieve verifiable agreements leading to arms reductions.

THE NEED FOR A NUCLEAR AGE PEACE CORPS

Publication of **The Cold and The Dark**—along with increasing knowledge of the danger of an accidental nuclear war and the publication of many other reports on

the perils of the nuclear age—underlines the need for the formation of a **Nuclear Age Peace Corps**, composed of specially trained leaders who could aid the people of the United States and other countries in developing ways to end the nuclear threat.

Many leaders in many fields are now aware of the fact that action to reverse the arms race "is no longer a political matter, to be left to the wisdom and foresight of a few statesmen and a few military authorities. . . ." Thousands of peace organizations have come into existence in the last ten years—and these organizations have done much to stimulate changes in thinking by millions of people—but a special corps of peace volunteers is needed to bring the latest findings of scientists to the attention of people everywhere.

Advocates of a "nuclear freeze" have begun to use **The Cold and the Dark** report as an additional argument for a weapons freeze. But there are many millions who are not aware of the full significance of "nuclear winter"—and are not aware of the constructive proposals which have been offered to end the nuclear arms race. If humanity is to survive, there must be thousands of peace advocates working day and night to make everyone conscious of an obligation to promote reverence for life—life in all its forms.

A Nuclear Age Peace Corps would have three basic purposes: (1) to provide a thorough background of knowledge necessary to understand how the arms race threatens the very existence of life on earth; (2) to examine carefully the most promising proposals for ways out of the nuclear dilemma; and (3) to stimulate dialogues with people of all ages on the fundamental questions of the nuclear age.

Participants in the first training program for the Corps would be drawn from city council members, mayors, leaders of civic organizations, teachers, clergymen and lay leaders of religious groups. These participants would be invited to take part in seminars to be held in major cities.

The seminars would be organized by the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation in cooperation with colleges and universities which would be asked to supply faculty members and seminar facilities. There would also be consultation with leaders from peace organizations and the groups which sponsored **The Cold and the Dark** report. These included the American Institute of Biological Sciences, the American Society for Microbiology, the Canadian Nature Federation, Common Cause, the Ecological Society of America, the International Federation of Institutes for Advanced Study, the National Science Teachers Association, and many others.

COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE

The newly established United States Institute of Peace—which was authorized by Congress in 1984—would be asked to aid in developing and funding the Nuclear Age Peace Corps seminars.

When the Institute was approved, the Congress declared that "there is a national need to examine the disciplines in the social, behaviorial, and physical sciences and the arts and humanities with regard to the history, nature, elements, and future of peace processes, and to bring together and to develop new and tested techniques to promote peaceful economic, political, social, and cultural relations in the world."

The Institute has been authorized to develop programs to make international peace and conflict resolution research, education and training more widely available and useful to persons in government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations. It is expected to provide, promote and support peace education and research programs at the graduate and postgraduate levels.

The Institute is also expected to conduct training sessions, symposia, and continuing education programs for practitioners in peaceful conflict resolution (mediators, concili-

ators, arbitrators, negotiators), policy-makers on every level, policy implementers, and citizens and non-citizens who are interested in developing skills in resolving conflicts without violence.

Under the legislation passed by Congress, the Institute has authority to make grants and to enter into contracts with institutions in post-secondary, community, secondary and elementary education (including combinations of such institutions), with public and private educational, training or research organizations and libraries, and with public departments and agencies.

With such a wide range of authorizations from Congress, it is evident that the Peace Institute will have a growing impact on educational institutions and peace-making activities in the United States and other nations. It would be logical for the Institute to be one of the sponsors for a Nuclear Age Peace Corps.

The Congress acted to establish a Peace Institute after a nine-member federal commission conducted public hearings in all parts of the United States. Two thousand persons participated in those hearings. It became overwhelmingly clear to the commissioners—and later to the Congress—that many Americans wanted to see this nation take leadership in developing new approaches to the process of making and maintaining peace.

In recommending the creation of a federal educational institution devoted to peace, the commission found that "international peace and national security require use of a range of effective options, in addition to military capacity, to leash international violence and to manage international conflict"—and asserted that "people can be trained in both simple and sophisticated peace-making skills and techniques."

Members of a Nuclear Age Peace Corps—using materials now available—could learn and then demonstrate that a full range of effective options "to leash international

violence and to manage international conflict" now exist and can be used with public support.

MAKING PEACE POSSIBLE—BECAUSE NOTHING ELSE IS TOLERABLE

The Cold and the Dark report—as well as other reports on the new weapons systems—can produce positive results for the whole human race by making it absolutely clear to leaders and people everywhere that the prevention of nuclear war is not only possible but essential for the continuation of life on earth.

President Reagan's statement that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought" shows that he knows the truth of the human situation. (Similar statements have been made by Soviet leaders and by the leaders of other nations.) Shortly after his inauguration for a second term, the President revealed a change in his own thinking. He told a group of religious broadcasters: "In the last four years I've come to believe that we're all God's children—clerks, kings and Communists. We're all made in the image of God."

The interdependence of life on this planet, long known to scientists, has entered the consciousness of people so deeply that the possibility of nuclear war has become intolerable to conservatives as well as liberals, to people of all religious beliefs and people who are agnostics or skeptics. The revulsion against the policy called MAD—Mutual Assured Destruction—has become so strong that President Reagan's advisors have come up with a Strategic Defense Initiative designed to offer a "shield" against nuclear missiles—a "shield" that nobody knows how to build now but one that might be developed in the next twenty years. This plan offers no hope of ending the arms race in the next decade.

Meanwhile, strategists for both of the superpowers admit there are no defenses now capable of giving any

protection against nuclear missiles. Yevgeniy Velikov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences put it bluntly: "All kinds of policy positions have become, in the light of what we know now, totally baseless...."

Dr. Lewis Thomas summed up the situation in these terms: "Up to now, we have all tended to regard any conflict with nuclear arms as an attempt by paired adversaries to settle such issues as territorial dominance or ideological dispute. Now, with the new findings before us, it is clear that any territory gained will be, at the end, a barren wasteland, and any ideology will vanish in the death of civilization...."

American and Soviet officials have not yet acknowledged that all kinds of policy positions have become "totally baseless" and it is not likely that they will do so. Negotiations between the two superpowers are proceeding in the usual way, with proposals and counter-proposals offered by the two sides with wide differences between them.

It is obviously difficult for many leaders to change their policies or even to consider new intiatives. Before he left office recently, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau traveled around the world in an effort to get political leaders to consider new proposals. He talked with the heads of twenty-four nations. He found these leaders gloomily aware of the rising dangers—but apparently unwilling or unable to contribute much to the development of solutions.

In a speech he gave when he accepted the Albert Einstein Peace Prize, Trudeau said: "Politicians, who once stated that war was too important to be left to the generals, now act as though peace were too complex to be left to themselves.... Any government leader who wanted to master the topic completely would have difficulty in discharging all his other duties.... Hence the temptation to rely on others, be they ministers, ambassadors, chiefs of staff, technocrats or negotiators. In the last analysis, this

means that the nuclear accountants (as NATO Secretary-General Lord Carrington called them) on both sides hold the world to ransom...."

In a recent statement to the Senate Foreign Relations committee, Secretary of State George Shultz made no reference to Trudeau's statements or to the report of the 200 scientists on the climatic and biological consequences of nuclear war, but he did say that "the pace of technological advance now opens possibilities for new ways of strategic thinking—never an easy process."

Shultz told the senators: **"During the next 10 years, the U.S. objective is a radical reduction in the power of existing and planned offensive nuclear arms,** as well as the stabilization of the relationship between offensive and defensive nuclear arms, whether on earth or in space.... **A world free of nuclear arms is an ultimate objective to which we, the Soviet Union, all other nations can agree."** Between 1985 and 1995, the world would remain under the threat of nuclear annihilation.

Can the "nuclear accountants"—the "experts" who attempt to "balance" the offensive and defensive systems of the superpowers—lead us to "a world free of nuclear arms" in 10 years or 20 years or in any number of years? The record of the last twenty years, during which the nuclear arms in the world have increased at a staggering rate, does not indicate that they can do so.

So the time is right for a by-pass operation—an operation to go around the clogged arteries of official channels and to bring the people of the world into a full awareness of what they face and what they may be able to do about it. The attainment of peace in a nuclear age is not "too complex" to accomplish—if they have the aid of a Nuclear Age Peace Corps.

In the seminars, the following topics could be explored:

(1) The full scope of the findings summarized in **The Cold and the Dark** report.

(2) The factors that might lead to an accidental nuclear war—with discussions of ideas designed to prevent its occurrence, such as the late Senator Henry Jackson's recommendation for a U.S.-Soviet Crisis Consultation Center and Genevieve Nowlin's suggestion for a continuous space patrol manned by members of the United Nations.

(3) The recommendations generated by the UN Committee on Disarmament, the special sessions of the General Assembly on disarmament, and the Department of Disarmament Affairs operated by the UN Secretariat. Many of these specific recommendations have high value, but have been generally ignored by the mass media and inadequately considered by officials of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

(4) Recommendations generated by the Fund for Peace, the Center for Defense Information, the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, the Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, and other non-governmental organizations.

(5) Reports from the universities and colleges which have begun to redesign programs and develop sources that enhance their understanding of the nuclear arms race and lead to suggestions for positive steps to end it.

(6) Proposals for expanding economic trade as well as cultural and scientific exchanges between countries with different political persuasions; such exchanges would promote economic inderdependence and social understanding.

(7) Ideas offered by independent leaders with significant experience—including former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, former Ambassador George Kennan, Admiral Gene La Rocque, former arms control negotiator Paul Warnke, the former director of the CIA, William Colby,

and others who are seeking ways out of the nuclear dilemma.

After their participation in these seminars—and passing an examination showing their knowledge of the nuclear situation—the members of the new Peace Corps could carry their knowledge into many organizations and many places. They could speak at meetings of civic organizations such as Rotary Clubs and Kiwanis Clubs, at gatherings of church leaders and women's groups; at committee meetings of both branches of Congress; on television and radio programs; at schools and colleges; in meetings with State Department and White House staff members; and in dialogues with leaders of many organizations in other countries.

New leaders are rising to power in many nations. Military dictatorships have yielded to democratic movements in Brazil, Argentina, and other countries. Similar movements are underway in Korea, the Phillippines, and elsewhere. Members of a Nuclear Age Peace Corps could help the participants in these movements to understand the constructive proposals that might speed up the elimination of nuclear weapons from the earth.

A Nuclear Age Peace Corps could give thousands of people an opportunity to make a creative leap beyond the despair which has afflicted many human beings who have tried and failed to stop the steady growth of the nuclear monsters. Its development would show these people that human beings are not insects trapped on the grinding wheels of the military-industrial systems that dominate the world today.

Dr. Willis Harman, a regent of the University of California and president of the Institute of Noetic Sciences, sees an expanding recognition of human unity which has prepared the ground for a new stage in human development. In his book **Higher Creativity**, Dr. Harman cites two scientific achievements with profound significance: "One

is the unleashing of the power of the atom; the other is major progress toward the unfettering of the human mind. The first—leading to the development of nuclear weapons—almost demands the second, advances in the understanding of deeper human motivations and aspirations, values and perceptions, perversities and potentialities, than any previous society has ever achieved."

"Ultimately, our concerns as individuals are meaningless without an equal concern for our human family," Dr. Harman points out. "It is a peculiar fact of life for those of us alive today . . . that without a near-future breakthrough into a true realization of our familyhood, there will be no future generations. Let us envision utopia, and thus bring it into existence. There is no reasonable alternative."

Formation of a Nuclear Age Peace Corps would be a long step toward human unity—toward a realization that human beings everywhere are linked together in the web of life and must shoulder the responsibility for working with others to bring a final end to the nuclear threat. That may or may not be utopian. But it is evidently an absolute necessity.

SUGGESTED READING

The Cold and the Dark: The World After Nuclear War. A study by 200 scientists, including Carl Sagan and Paul Ehrlich, of the climatic and biological consequences of a nuclear war. W.W. Norton & Co, 1984.

In a Dark Time: Images for Survival, edited by Robert Jay Lifton and Nicholas Humphrey. Harvard University Press, 1984.

The Aftermath: The Human and Ecological Consequences of Nuclear War, edited by Jeannie Peterson. A landmark publication in which a number of authorities appraise the ecological and social implications of nuclear war. Pantheon, 1983.

Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War: A Sourcebook for Health Professionals, Christine Cassel, M.D.; Michael McCally, M.D., and Henry Abraham, M.D. Although it was assembled by and for health professionals, it covers a wide range of subjects. Praeger, 1984.

Toward Nuclear Disarmament and Global Security: A Search for Alternatives, edited by Burns H. Weston. This contains 45 essays by experts with many ideas and proposals. Westview Press, 1984.

The Soviet Union Today, edited by James Cracraft. Contains twenty-six chapters, written by experts but aimed at general readers, on important aspects of the Soviet society. Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 1983.

Waging Nuclear Peace, by Robert Ehrlich. This is designed as an interdisciplinary survey of the issues surrounding nuclear war. State University of New York Press, 1984.

The Fate of the Earth, by Jonathan Schell. A popular and significant book about the predicament facing humanity in the nuclear age. Knopf, 1982.

Living With Nuclear Weapons, by the Harvard Nuclear Study Group. This book tries to be realistic about the current situation and seeks to persuade people to accept the continuing existence of nuclear weapons. Bantam, 1983.