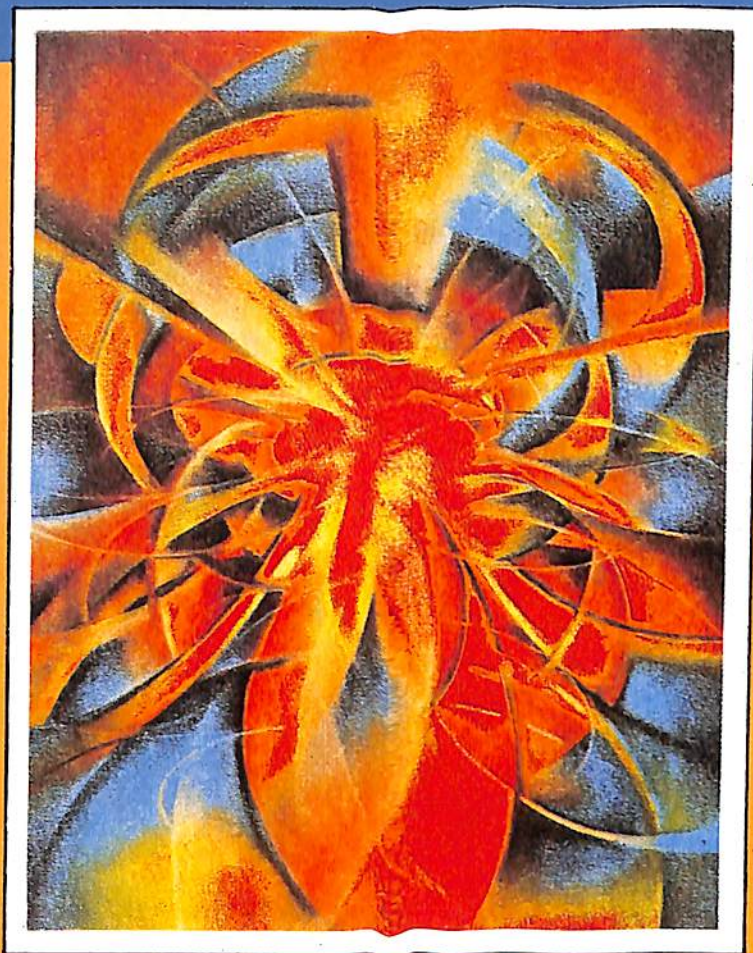


Global Peace and Common Security



Paulos Mar Gregorios

GLOBAL PEACE AND COMMON SECURITY

PAULOS MAR GREGORIOS

**MAR GREGORIOS FOUNDATION
&
ISPCK
1998**

GLOBAL PEACE AND COMMON SECURITY—Published by the Rev. Ashish Amos for the Mar Gregorios Foundation of the Orthodox Theological Seminary and the Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Post Box 1585, Kashmere Gate, Delhi-110006.

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ISBN : 81-7214-467-9

Laser typeset by : ISPCK, Post Box 1585, 1654, Madarsa Road, Kashmere Gate, Delhi-110006.

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website : www.Acpl.com/ISPCK

Printed at : Cambridge Press, Delhi.

Contents

	<i>Page No.</i>
1. European Security : An Outside View	1
2. President Reagan and the Apocalyptic Consciousness	5
3. The Asia-Pacific Region : Its Significance for World Peace with Justice	16
4. Security in the Asia-Pacific Region : New Perspectives	37
5. Comprehensive Global Common Security (C.G.C.S.)	41
6. C.G.C.S. : The Necessary Framework for Promoting Disarmament and Development	44
7. Common Security and a New International Morality	47
8. A Comprehensive System of Security for all Nations	59
9. Common International Security : Some Proposals	63
10. Common Security and Moral-Ethical Values	68
11. Comprehensive Global Common Security : A Programme for Peace Movements	81

1

European Security* *An Outside View*

What do people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who form two-thirds of the people of the world, think about European security and the peaceful co-existence of the hostile European powers? At least among informed and sensitive citizens of the exploited countries of the Two-third World, the attitude is at least ambiguous.

Everyone knows that Europe has originated the two major wars of our century. Peace in Europe is therefore important for the peace of the world. The willingness of European nations to co-exist without unleashing a third world war can only be welcomed by the peace-loving people of the Two-third World.

But our interest is in a peace with justice, not in a peace that makes life easier for Imperialism, Colonialism and economic exploitation of weaker nations. A peace that only gives security to the *status quo* of power distribution in the world cannot therefore be welcomed by our oppressed people crying out for justice.

We are aware that the emergence of the Socialist camp among the nations of Europe and Asia form an important and strong element in the opposition to injustice and exploitation in the world. We are interested in strengthening this opposition, not in blunting its edges by easy ideological, political or economic compromises. If the growing detente between Imperialism and Socialism works in favour of a continuing economic exploitation of our peoples, how can we favour such a co-existence?

How do we read the signs of the times? What lies behind the recent diplomatic moves of American President Nixon, an avowed

* Article written before 1975.

Capitalist and Anti-Communist, in seeking reconciliation with the socialist powers? And how are we to understand the response of the socialist powers? Here a certain amount of frank speaking seems to be in order.

As for Nixon's motives, quite apart from his primary interest in winning the November elections, we see at least three factors.

One is, of course, to get out of the mess in Indo-China with a minimum loss of face. America finds it difficult to admit that its 'big power' is rather ineffective against the strong will of a little nation like the People's Republic of Vietnam to maintain their freedom and dignity. It has been a frustrating and complicated entanglement, and the only beneficiaries have been the big capitalist industrial machine and its military counterpart. It costs many American lives, but so long as they can make money, American Capitalism may not mind too much the loss of lives. For non-Americans however, as well as for many sensitive Americans, the innumerable quantity of Asian lives destroyed by the ruthless aggressor makes them desire the immediate cessation of the war in Indo-China. American destruction in Asia has already far exceeded the sum-total of all previous colonialist or imperialist devastation in Asia in the whole of previous history. In this sense therefore, if a detente between the Imperialist and Socialist powers can lead to an end to the war in East Asia, we should welcome it.

Secondly, America and Western European nations are hungry for markets. The inexorable law of capitalist development demands newer and newer markets for exploitation. If the detente means, as it seems to do, that socialist markets are now to be opened for Capitalist exploitation, of course on the provision that socialist countries would be allowed to exploit the western markets to a certain extent, then those of us who come from the Two-third World cannot be too enthusiastic about this possibility. For the collapse of the capitalist system is an inescapable precondition for establishing peace with justice in our world. And if the socialist countries are going to help that system to survive a little longer, then they are in a significant way betraying the socialist revolution. Besides, once the markets in socialist countries are opened it will not be only capitalist goods that will make their entry. Greed and acquisitiveness, the desire for private property and bourgeois comfort, as well as the

inhumanity that usually enters in the wake of capitalist development. are bound to penetrate socialist society and corrupt it from within. If this is what European security and co-existence means, then for the sake of the people of the socialist countries, and for the sake of the peoples of the world, and for the sake of humanity itself, we cannot be very enthusiastic in welcoming the detente.

Thirdly, America and other western powers are beginning to be afraid of socialist power, and the inevitable course towards socialism along which history is steering the peoples of Asia, Africa and South America. In a genuinely socialist world, it is hardly likely that the West will retain the reins of power in the world for very long. Some of us suspect that a coalition of East and West in the European-American sense could soon become an attempt on the part of American and European powers to retain control of the world. For us this would mean that the socialist world of Eastern Europe which has stood by the exploited peoples of the world in their struggle against the oppressor, is now imperceptibly beginning to change sides. When we hear for example, of Convergent theories which would justify the centuries-old desire for a united Europe dominating the world, we shudder. If peaceful co-existence means a weakening of the opposition to economic oppression and injustice in the world, then we should not be very sympathetic towards such co-existence. The desire for a united Europe cannot be white-washed by pious proclamations that the motive is better to serve the world, or to ensure the peace of the world. We are not generally very enthusiastic about the idea of a united Europe, perhaps because we too are conditioned by our past experiences with an exploding Europe, crusading to save the world.

Peace in Europe is decisive for the peace of the world. But it is important that a united Europe is not an exploiting and dominating Europe for the rest of mankind. We are watching the development in Europe to see how deep the commitment to socialism and humanity is in Europe, both Eastern and Western. Until we see clear signs that the desire for higher consumption in Eastern Europe is properly subordinated to the socialist commitment to a just society with dignity and freedom for all human beings, we may have to keep our judgments about European security and co-existence somewhat in abeyance. There is a challenge today before the socialist nations of Europe to demonstrate to the Two-third World that they are genuinely

committed to the emancipation of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world.

Even when some of us gladly welcome the new developments in signing peace treaties between certain western and Eastern European nations, we have in the back of our minds a certain apprehension as to where all this could lead. But because it is a necessary step forward in the progress towards socialism assuming a greater role in the world, we can be somewhat enthusiastic in supporting these signs of a thaw in the icy opposition to Socialism in certain western European nations. The basic issue, however, is not European security or co-existence, but the progress towards a just society in the world, where all human beings can live together in freedom and dignity.

2

President Reagan and the Apocalyptic Consciousness*

Normally one does not, at least in a political context, discuss the personal convictions of statesmen in matters of faith. The Christian faith of a Margaret Thatcher or the possible atheistic convictions of a Mikhail Gorbachev do not usually have much political significance. In the case of Ronald Reagan, the President of the U.S.A., the matter seems to be different. As *Newsweek*, the American Weekly (November 6, 1985) put it,

“For the first time in American history, the end of the world has become a campaign issue”.

Already as early as April 8, 1985 *Washington Post*, the prestigious American daily warned people about President Reagan’s Armageddon Apocalypticism.

In October 1985, a *New York Times* Editorial said—

“Now Revelation is getting an even bigger press. Some very serious people are worried that President Reagan subscribes to Armageddon prophecy and may even be influenced by it in designing nuclear policy.”

That is the real crux of the issue—the relations between Reagan’s religious convictions and the nuclear policy of the U.S. administration. And at that level, it becomes of deep interest and concern to all people—Americans and non-Americans alike.

Let us make these theological terms clear *e.g.*, Apocalypse, Armageddon and Rapture.

* Fifth Round Table Conference of Theologians and Scientific Experts
“Common Security and Moral-Ethical Values”, Moscow, March 18-20, 1987.

What is Apocalyptic Thinking?

Apocalypse comes from Greek *apokalupsis* which literally means un-veiling or revelation. It is the name of the last book of the New Testament. The Book of Revelation depicts in vivid but horrifying images the end of the world. It is from this book of Revelation (not accepted in the canon of the New Testament books till the 8th century by the Syrian orthodox Church) that we got the Doctrine of the millennium, or one-thousand year messianic Kingdom ruled by Christians, both Jewish and non-Jewish fighting against the Anti-Christ. In fact the early Church had condemned this millenarian doctrine and this was the main reason for the Syrian Church's excluding this book from the New Testament.

Ronald Reagan's mentor in these matters is mainly the Revd. Jerry Falwell, the prince of the electronic church and prophet of the Moral Majority. Apocalypticism or predicting the end of the world is Mr. Falwell's major stock in trade. The novel by Hal Lindsey and C.C. Carlson *The Late Great Planet Earth* sold more than 20 million copies. This book imaginatively reconstructs the end of our planet, and that end has to come through a nuclear holocaust.

Part of the Apocalyptic vision of these millions of American Christians coached by Lindsey, Falwell *et al.*, are the ideas of "Tribulation", "Armageddon" and "Rapture".

What is Armageddon?

Armageddon is also a concept coming from the Book of Revelation (Rev. 16:16). It is the last war—to be fought between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, "on the great day of God the Almighty" (Rev. 16:14). The Kings of the East are to march their armies across the dried-up river Euphrates (now in Iraq) to prepare for this battle in Armageddon, or Har Megiddo, the Mountain of Megiddo, in Israel. Megiddo is actually the historical site of the battle between Israel and Egypt in the days of King Josiah of Israel, who was slain by the Egyptian Pharaoh Neco at the battle-field of the plain of Megiddo (2 Kings 23:29 ff, 2 Chron. 35:20 ff).

It is easy for Jerry Falwell, Hal Lindsey and the Electronic Church to interpret all this in contemporary terms, provided the 5 million or more TV-watchers are sufficiently gullible—which

unfortunately they have been. Jerry Falwell told the *Los Angeles Times* in 1981 that there will soon be a Soviet invasion of the Middle East and continued: "And it is at that time when, I believe, there will be some nuclear holocaust on this earth... And Russia will be the offender and will be ultimately totally destroyed".

What's Your Game, Gog?

Hal Lindsay's non-fiction best-seller *The Late Great Planet Earth* popularized this Apocalyptic vision of Armageddon as the last great battle. Lindsay bases his ideas of the Comecon or Warsaw Pact countries (he calls them "Northern Confederacy" p. 48) on three Old Testament prophecies: Ezekiel 38:39; Daniel 11:40-45 and Joel 2:20. Ezekiel 38:2 identifies, according to Lindsay, the "Gog, of the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal" as Russia.

Both Jewish Chronicler Josephus and the Roman Governor Pliny, identify Magog with the Scythians. And Meshech, is identified by Gesenius and other scholars with the *Moschi*, "a barbarous people inhabiting the Moschian mountains, between Iberia (Georgia), Armenia and Colchis". "Tubal" is identified with the Tibareni, "a nation of Asia Minor, dwelling by the Euxine Sea".

The cleverest of Hal Lindsay's interpretations however, applies to the term "chief prince of Meshech and Tubal". The Hebrew expression is "*Gog erets-ha-Magog nesi Rosh Meshek w-Tubal*". This could be translated, without violence to the text, as "Gog of the land of Magog, the Prince of Rosh, Meshek and Tubal". And it is not far-fetched to identify Rosh with the Rus who lived along the Volga, and who were baptized as Christians a thousand years ago.

So far, Hal Lindsay is on fairly credible ground. In Ezekiel 38:5 and 6, we have a list of allies of God—in Hebrew Pharas (Persia), Kush (Ethiopia), Put (Libya), Gomer, Beith-Togarmah and so on. Lindsay interprets Kush as all the black people of Africa and Put as all North African nations. Gomer and Beith-Togarmah he identifies with the socialist nations of Eastern Europe—specifically according to him Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, Turkmenistan, Armenia and all of Southern Russia. All these under Russian command will advance on Israel.

If you like to listen to Lindsay's amazing eloquence, listen to this—

"In other words, the Russian ruler is to equip his confederates with arms and to assume command".

"If you have doubts about all that has been said in this chapter, isn't it a bit unnerving to note that almost all of the countries predicted as part of this great army are already armed with weapons created and manufactured in Russia"?

"What's your game", Gog?

"We have seen that Russia will arm and equip a vast confederacy. This powerful group of allies will lead an attack on restored Israel. However, Russia and her confederates will be destroyed completely by an act that Israel will acknowledge as being from their God. This act will bring many in Israel to believe in their true Messiah (Ezek. 38:15 ff)".

"The attack upon the Russian confederacy and the resulting conflict will escalate into the last war of the world, involving all nations".

Then it will happen. Christ will return to prevent the annihilation of all mankind". (*The Late Great Planet Earth* pp. 59-60).

The was from the book which sold 20 million or more copies.

And Now, Rapture!

The 11th chapter of Lindsay's exciting book tells you why "true" Christians need not fear the nuclear holocaust. The final scene is dramatic: As cars drive down the highway, some drivers are caught up into the air. As the football game gets quite hectic after a touchdown, the quarterback was caught up. As the philosophy of Religion lecture was going on, suddenly the most biblically pious of the students sitting in front disappear. They are caught up in the final Rapture. As the preacher in a liberal church is going ahead with the liberal sermon, the fundamentalist parishioners in the congregation are all caught up into the air.

Lindsay admits that the word "Rapture" is not in the Bible. (p. 126). Rapture is the name of the "ultimate trip". You want to know how it goes. Let Lindsay tell you in his own words:

"It will happen".

"Someday, a day that only God knows, Jesus Christ is coming to take away all those who believe in Him. He is coming to meet all true believers in the air. Without benefit of science, space suits, or inter-planetary rockets, there will be those who will be transported into a glorious place more beautiful, more awesome, than we can possibly comprehend..."

"It will be the living end. The Ultimate Trip".

(*The Late Great Planet Earth* p. 129)

In an Atom?

How will we be caught up? Read 1 Corinthians 15:52

"In a moment (Greek *en atomoe*), in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet; for the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable and we shall be changed".

(Lindsay, p. 129)

Lindsay just mentions the fact that the words in Greek for "a moment" are *atomoe* and leaves it there. That is clever. Because only by subconscious suggestion and not by any scientific exegesis can you connect "in a moment" with "an Atomic explosion".

Prelude to Armageddon

Lindsay goes on to describe the various stages leading to the Armageddon. The formation of Israel (1948) was the priming of the fuse (pp. 139-140). That set in motion the Arab-Israeli conflict and created the insoluble Middle East problem. So what will happen? Let Lindsay tell you, on the basis of the prophecies of Daniel 11:40 ff.

"At the time of the end the king of the south shall attack him (Israeli leader)". (Dan. 11:40 a)

"We have identified the characters of this passage. The Arab-African confederacy headed by Egypt (king of the south) launches an invasion of Israel. This fatal mistake spells their dooms and begins the Armageddon campaign.... but the king of the north shall rush upon him (the Israeli leader) like a whirl wind, with chariots (mechanized army) and horseman (cavalry), and with many ships (Daniel 11:40 b)..."

"Chart one shows the movement of troops.

"Russia and her allies use this occasion to launch an invasion of the Middle East, which Russia has longed to do since the Napoleonic wars". (Lindsay, p. 142)

After that Lindsay gives you a full account with charts and all, of the Russian strategy of an amphibian attack on Israel. Then Russia will also turn against its ally, Egypt, and betray the Arabs and the Africans, in order to seize the wealth of Israel and Egypt.

Then the Russians will hear a rumour that the New Roman Empire (U.S.A.) has come into an alliance with European nations and "Red China", and are moving in on Russia. In the middle of all this the Chinese will double-cross the West, and march its own 200 million-man army against Russia, the Anti-Christ (p. 147). The Russians with command headquarters on Mt. Moriah in the temple area of Jerusalem, react first by massacring the Jewish people *en bloc*. (see Daniel 11:44-45)

And then, what happens? Read Ezekiel 38:18-22. God's wrath will be turned against Russia:

"With pestilence and bloodshed I will enter into judgement with him, and I will rain upon him and his horses and the many peoples that are with him, torrential rains and hailstones, fire and brimstone."

What does that mean? Let Lindsay tell you—

"The description of torrents of fire and brimstone raining down upon the Red Army, coupled with an unprecedented shaking of the land of Israel could well be describing the use of tactical weapons against them by the Romans (*i.e.* the Ten-Nation Western Alliance). It explicitly says that this force would fall 'in the open field', so apparently this position enables the use of nuclear weapons". (Lindsay, p. 149)

Jerry Falwel, in his pamphlet—*Nuclear War and the Second Coming of Jesus Christ* (1983) advances basically the same interpretation of Old Testament and New Testament Prophecy, with less technical detail.

President Reagan's Mind

What does all this have to do with the nuclear policy of President Reagan?

The evidence is frightening.

The American publisher (*Texas Observer*) and Columnist Ronnie Dugger (Author of book *On Reagan*) has done substantial research on President Reagan's Armageddon views. A resume was published in *The Washington Post Outlook* (Sunday edition) dated April 8, 1984. It begins—

"On at least five occasions in the last four years (*i.e.* 1980-84), Ronald Reagan has referred to his belief that Armageddon may well occur during the present generation and could come in the Middle East. He associates Armageddon with 'the end of the world'. As authorities for his premonition he cites Bible prophecies and un-named theologians.

"None of the president's statements about Armageddon has been precise or detailed. What he has said sounds a good deal like the commentaries of fundamentalist theologians who have made specific predictions of an imminent final battle between good and evil involving the Middle East, nuclear weapons, and miracles predicted in Scripture, followed by the second coming of Christ, a millennium of peace, the end of the old world and the beginning of a new one".

Jerry Falwell reports a conversation he had with President Reagan, during the last election campaign in New Orleans. Falwell was alone in the back-seat of the car with Reagan. Reagan said to Falwell—

"Jerry, I sometimes believe we're heading very fast for Armageddon right now".

According to Falwell, Reagan also said—

"I am not a fatalist. I believe in human responsibility. I believe that God will respect us for making all-out efforts toward world peace, and that is where my commitment lies".

(*Washington Post*, Sunday April 8, 1984, p. C. 4)

Since the conversation was published and the reactions of the people showed considerable apprehension, Falwell has begun to deny that he said that Reagan agrees with him on the interpretation of Bible prophecy.

In October 1983, Reagan was phoning to thank Mr. Thomas Dine, Executive Director of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee, for lobbying to persuade Congress to allow President Reagan to keep the Marines in Lebanon for a further period of 18 months. The conversation was recorded. In the transcript one reads Reagan's words to Dine—

"You know, I turn back to your (Jewish) ancient prophets in the Old Testament and the signs foretelling Armageddon, and I find myself wondering if—if we're the generation that's going to see that come about. I don't know if you've noted any of those prophecies lately, but believe me, they certainly describe the times we're going through".

(*Washington Post*, cited p. C. 4-5)

Since the *Jerusalem Post* published this conversation, on December 6th, two journalists from *People* magazine interviewed Reagan. Reagan denied only that he had said *publicly* that this generation may see Armageddon or the end of the world. It is clear from what he said, however, that he looks forward to "that time" when the end of the world or Armageddon or both would come.

Since the matter of President Reagan's personal views on the Apocalypse has received wide publicity, he is careful not to give the impression that these views would affect policy decisions. These views of his were a prominent matter in the 1984 Presidential election campaign.

As Hendrick Herzberg wrote in *The New Republic*.

"The President's remarks established beyond doubt that he believes that Armageddon is inevitable. The only question is whether the end will come before or after the election".

The *New York Times* editorial also said—

"It is hard to believe that the President actually allows Armageddon ideology to shape his policies towards the Soviet Union. Yet it was he who first portrayed the Russians as satanic and who keeps on talking about the final battle".

It is in this context that we should understand President Reagan's references to the U.S.S.R. as an "evil empire", in his speech to the National Association of Evangelicals in October 1983. In that speech

he characterized the Soviet Union as the "focus of evil in the modern world" and Communism as "another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written".

Has President Reagan's Mind Changed?

It is clear that in the first year of Reagan's presidency, this view of his found further expression. For example, in an interview with *People* magazine on December 6, 1983, Reagan said—

"Theologians had been studying the ancient prophecies—what would portend the coming of Armageddon?—and have said that never, in the time between the prophecies up until now, has there ever been a time in which so many of the prophecies are coming together. There have been times in the past when people thought the end of the world was coming, and so forth, but never anything like this".

It is also clear that President Reagan did not pick up these views just at the time of the last presidential election. Evidence shows that he has held these views at least since 1971.

The *San Diego* magazine of August 1985 (Vol. 37: No. 10) published an article by Senator James Mills, formerly president of the California Senate. There he recalled his personal conversation with Reagan in a restaurant in Sacramento, California in 1971, the first year of Ronald Reagan's second term as Governor of California.

James Mills quotes Reagan as saying at that time—16 years ago—

"In the 38th chapter of Ezekiel, it says that the land of Israel will come under attack by the armies of the ungodly nations, and it says that Libya will be among them. Do you understand the significance of that? Libya has now gone communist, and that's a sign that the day of Armageddon isn't far off".

James Mills raised the question in 1971 how Ethiopia of Haile Selassie could also be among the evil powers, as the prophecy of Ezekial demanded. Governor Reagan replied:

No, I agree that everything hasn't fallen into place yet; but there is only one thing left that has to happen. The Reds have to take over Ethiopia".

After the Ethiopian revolution took place in 1974, Governor Reagan had no further doubts, it is reasonable to assume. It would almost appear that Reagan was expecting something like that to happen. As he said to James Mills in 1971—

“All of the other (*i.e.*, except Ethiopia) prophecies that had to be fulfilled before Armageddon have come to pass. In the 38th chapter of Ezekiel it says God will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, where they’d been scattered, and will gather them again in the promised land. That has finally come about after 2000 years. For the first time ever, everything is in place for the battle of Armageddon and the second coming of Christ”.

When James Mills raised the point that Christ himself had said that no one know when Christ will come again, Governor Reagan replied—

“Everything is falling into place. It can’t be long now. Ezekiel says that fire and brimstone will be rained upon the enemies of God’s people. That must mean that they’ll be destroyed by nuclear weapons. They exist now, and they never did in the past”.

Mills says that Reagan was speaking with great passion, “like a preacher to a sceptical college student”. According to him, Governor Reagan continued—

“Ezekiel tells us that Gog, the nation that will lead all of the other powers of darkness against Israel, will come out of the north. Biblical scholars have been saying for generations that Gog must be Russia. What other powerful nation is to the north of Israel? None. But it didn’t seem to make sense before the Russian revolution, when Russia was a Christian country. Now it does, now that Russia has become communistic and atheistic, now that Russia has set itself against God. Now it fits the description of Gog perfectly”.

Senator Mills, in his August 1985 article, draws the conclusion that President Reagan now sees it as his responsibility to make “the forces of righteousness strong to win the conflict” against the powers of darkness. He says that Reagan sees his responsibilities as the leader of the Western world in terms of the Ezekiel prophecy and his apocalyptic understanding of it—

"Certainly his attitudes relative to military spending, and his coolness to all proposals for nuclear disarmament, are consistent with such apocalyptic views. Armageddon, as foreseen in the books of Ezekiel and Revelation, cannot take place in a world that has been disarmed. Anyone who believes it will come to pass cannot expect that disarmament will ever come about. It is contrary to God's plan as set forth in His word".

"The President's domestic and monetary policies, too, are in harmony with a literal interpretation of Biblical prophecies. There is no reason to get wrought about the national debt if God is soon going to foreclose on the whole world".

"His support of gung-ho non-conservationists (on the environmental question) like James Watt makes sense if seen in that way, too. Why be concerned about conservation? Why waste time and money preserving things for future generations when everything is going to come to a fiery end with this one"?

"It follows that all domestic programs, especially those that entail capital outlay, can and should be curtailed to free up money to finance the development of nuclear weapons in order to rain fiery destruction upon the evil enemies of God and His people".

Conclusion

Let us hope that James Mills is wrong. I wonder whether there are fundamentalist Christians in the world who can by their methods show Reagan that his interpretation of Biblical prophecies is dangerously wrong. Reagan will not listen to this Round Table or to what he regards as "liberal Christians", like, for example, the World Council of Churches or the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A. Even the National Association of Evangelicals in the U.S.A. has little chance of getting Reagan's attention. I hope someone can make him see what is wrong with his reading and interpretation of the Bible. It is a matter of life and death for all of us.

3

The Asia-Pacific Region* *Its Significance for World Peace with Justice*

The Asia-Pacific-Region or APR is a fairly new geo-political concept. We have been used to regarding the North Atlantic as the geo-political centre of the world. In fact the North Atlantic nations dominated the globe after the defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan in the second world war. Who were the founding members of the United Nations in 1945? An overwhelming majority of North Atlantic nations. Because the independent process in Asia and Africa had then not even started.

Who were the founding members of the World Council of Churches in 1948? Again an overwhelming majority of Churches from the North Atlantic countries—with John Foster Dulles pontificating on behalf of the world church! There were so few independent Christian churches outside the North Atlantic countries. My own church was an exception at that time, along with a few others.

This is the situation which has changed substantially in the second half of the 20th century. The North Atlantic countries are a minority in the United Nations; the churches of the North Atlantic are a minority in the World Council of Churches. True the North Atlantic has a lot of money and organising power, and therefore they have much more clout than what would be proportionate to their strength in the world population.

* Article written in 1989.

Why is the Asia-Pacific-Region so important? Are not Africa and Latin America just as important? Important, yes, but not as central. Why?

Look at the following features—

- (a) Who are the Big Ones of Today? Nearly all of them, except the emerging European community, are Pacific Powers. Take the Super Four—U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Japan and China. All four are pacific powers.
- (b) Where does the majority of the world's population live? Ofcourse in Asia-Pacific. More than two-thirds of the world's people are here. Once again, look at a globe with the Pacific Ocean in the centre; the Indian Ocean naturally also comes into perspective—towards your left. If we take the maritime powers of these two oceans together, they are almost 80% of the world's people. That is *where* the markets of the future are. That is also where humanity needs development and justice. George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachoy agree that, that is where history will be made in the near future, because western markets are already saturated and capitalism has to prey upon the Asia-Pacific for its own survival.
- (c) We are living in a world where nations still look to nuclear weapons for their security. As time goes on, developments in electronics and cybernetic targeting make land-based nuclear weapons and delivery systems obsolete. The trend towards space-based defence systems is also now going down hill. The current fashion is to go for a big nuclear navy. SIPRI in Stockholm has just published an important book—*Super Powers at Sea: An Assessment of the Naval Arms Race* (released, May 1989). The major findings of this study are—
 - (1) that the U.S. navy is in the forefront and will remain so for sometime, especially since the Soviets seem unable to put much money into the Naval Arms Race. The Soviet Navy is shrinking, not expanding.
 - (2) Economic constraints plus public pressure will force the U.S.A. also to scale back. A new US aircraft carrier costs \$ 3.25 billion, plus the cost of aircraft attached to

it. A new submarine costs \$ 1.6 billion. Even the U.S.A. cannot afford many of these.

- (3) Naval arms race is nuclear—nuclear-powered vessels and nuclear warheads and delivery systems. Today five Navies (USA, USSR, UK, France and China) together have 16,000 naval nuclear warheads on their ships and submarines.
- (4) There has been no major international agreement for Naval Disarmament or Naval Arms control. There should be one without delay.

Until naval disarmament is effected, and so long as nuclear weapons remain the basis of national security for some nations, the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean will remain the major theatre for the nuclear arms race and for a possible nuclear war. That is why the Asia-Pacific-Indian ocean region becomes more strategically important than the Atlantic Ocean and North Atlantic countries.

- (5) The Pacific region is three million square miles of sea, speckled with 2000 little islands, where dwell a few million people who need protection and care from the international community. Islands like Micronesia, given over to the U.S.A. as trust territory, have been brutally exploited to serve the military interests of the USA and not the interests of the 130,000 people who live there. Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, French Polynesia, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Mariana, Marshall and Baroline Islands, Kiribati, Nauru, Tonga and Yanuatu, and Guam are too small to engage the attention of the world community; but the people of these islands are also human beings.

Soviet Union and APR

In the Vladivostok (1986) and Krasnoyarsk (September 16, 1988) speeches of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachov, the emphasis is on the lessening of tensions in the Asia-Pacific Region, and on the accelerated development of this region in co-operation with each other. He said at Krasnoyarsk—

"We have given priority to the problems of untangling the knots of conflict and confrontation, and to bridling militarism."

Is this hegemonism on the part of the Soviet Union? Gorbachov answers:

"Some people then attempted to question the sincerity and integrity of our intentions and proposals and to make it appear as though the Soviet Union under the cover of peaceful rhetoric was contemplating further expansion... I want to declare with utter responsibility once again: the Soviet Union does not look for any privileges and benefits to the detriment of others and does not count on any advantages at others' expense."

I am by nature somewhat naive. So, I take Gorbachov at his word. At least so long as he remains in power and the New Thinking prevails in Soviet Foreign Policy, there need be no fear of hegemonism. I believe that his actions so far has proved that he genuinely wants to lessen tensions in the Asia-Pacific Region and to arrest the alarming process of militarisation in the region.

Gorbachov often speaks of Soviet interest in a "European Home"; but he also says that the Soviet Union is as Asian as it is European. "We are only at the start of the road into the future of the great Asian and Pacific part of the world. Much is to be done."

The USSR has Pacific military bases in Kamchatka and the Kuril Islands, but these are frozen in winter. It has "logistic facilities" for the Soviet Navy in Vietnam. 20-25% of the Soviet Unions 10,000 warheads are deployed in the Asia-Pacific Region.

The Soviet Navy has 2 air-capable ships, 77 submarines and 80 warships, organized in 4 fleets (Northern, Pacific, Black Sea and Baltic).

Lessening of Conflicts in the APR-China

The People's Republic of China is the most populous nation, not only of the APR, *but* of the whole world. China's policy is of central importance in the region. And that policy, despite some recent setbacks in the democratic process in that country, shows many hopeful signs.

China's foreign policy is an independent one, basically a non-aligned policy. That policy was stated by China's Foreign Minister

(later Vice-Premier) Wu Xueqian, on April 6, 1988, as containing five points:

1. China opposes hegemonism and safeguards world peace;
2. China neither attaches *herself* to, nor yields to the pressures of any big power and decides each case according to its merits;
3. China does not enter into alliance or strategic relations with any big power;
4. The basis of China's foreign *policy* is expanding unity and co-operation with other Third World countries; and
5. China is *ready* to develop economic, trade and technological co-operation with all countries, developed as well as developing on the basis of *equality* and *mutual* benefit.

That is clearly a "non-aligned policy". China seeks to find her way by balancing herself in relation to the three other powers of the Pacific Quadrilateral—U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and Japan. She does not want to live up with any one of these in opposition to the others. There has been however, more anti-U.S. rhetoric after the Tiananmen Square incidents of June 3-4, 1989.

China has improved her strained relations with the U.S.S.R in the last few years. The May 1989 Gorbachov-Deng Xiaoping Summit has marked a high point in the *Soviet-Chinese* detente. This does not mean, however, that China does not entertain fears and suspicions of Soviet expansionism and hegemonism in the APR. But China has shown willingness for a negotiated settlement in Indo-China and has substantially stepped up trade and cultural exchanges with South Korea, (trade grew from \$ 0.02 billion in 1979 to \$ 3 billion in 1988). China has taken a clear position for achieving "independent and peaceful unification of Korea" and supports measures leading to it.

China supports New Zealand's proposal for a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the South Pacific, and approved the Rarotonga Treaty of October 1985, which the U.S.A. still refuses to ratify; China signed that treaty which bans the use, possession, deployment and testing of nuclear weapons in South Pacific, on February 10, 1987, only a few days after the U.S.A. announced its refusal to sign it.

Progress has already been made on the three major issues that cause tension with the Soviet Union—(a) demarcation of the Sino-Soviet boundaries and withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia and Afghanistan; (b) a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean question and the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, despite recent setbacks; and (c) Chinese accusations of Soviet hegemonism, which are now substantially toned down, though not formally withdrawn.

China is still apprehensive of a new US-Japan offensive against her in response to the improvement in Sino-Soviet relations. Were it not for the recent Tiananmen Square incidents, the democratic process in China would have made more rapid progress. The Hong Kong response to that event does jeopardise China's proposed post 1997 policy of "One China with two economic systems". China hopes however that tempers will cool long before the date set for Hong Kong's leaving the British Empire and joining the People's Republic of China.

China's relations with Taiwan and Singapore have also substantially improved in the last few years—with more trade, more free visits to each other. There is even the faint hope that Taiwan will join the People's Republic of China on a basis of autonomy and independence similar to that of Hong Kong.

China is in the midst of a process, begun in the mid-eighties of revamping several aspects of her foreign policy—especially her role in the United Nations, more open-door policy towards other nations in economic co-operation and trade policies, and peaceful resolution of regional conflicts.

China is anxious to have more Japanese investment; but there are three difficulties—(a) balance of trade always favours Japan; (b) Japanese investment in China is still at a low level and not growing fast; and (c) there are still restrictions in the transfer of high technology.

Japan's markets are not accessible to industrial goods from countries like China or India. They want raw materials and semi-finished goods but pay low prices. China sees Japan as being too commercially oriented to enforce justice in north-south economic relations. China has no reason to assess the "Pacific Community"

concepts advanced by either the U.S.A. or Japan as being motivated by much more than one-sided economic benefit. China, however, would like to take advantage of the fact that Japan, the U.S.A. and the European community are in competition with one another to capture the APR markets.

Japan and the APR

I do believe that the policy of the four pacific super powers, especially in their relation to other nations in the APR, has a unique place in forging the future of the region.

From the end of the second World War, Japan has had an average of one Prime Minister per year. This makes continuity of state policy difficult to maintain. Nakasone was the 45th Premier, who came to power in 1982 and ruled longer than others.

One can almost say that Yashuhiro Nakasone brought Japan into the thick of international policies. The state is still torn with accusations of corruption or sex scandals.

Japan has to play the game with U.S.A. as Japan's protector and competitor. Japan has almost no natural resources of her own and can be starved to extinction by other nations in the world. One and a half times the size of the U.K. with a population more than twice as large, she has an economy that works out to about 3:40:57 in terms of agricultural, industrial and services production with no external public debt, low military expenditure (proportionately) and a favourable trade balance. Japan has become powerful through the use of high technology and disciplined management, importing raw materials from abroad and re-exporting the same with technology added.

Japan is feared in the APR by many nations, both as a military threat and as an economic exploiter. Japan's military interests are always kept under cover, so that they may not impede economical advances. Japan is the third largest investor in China, after Hong Kong and the U.S.A. Japan is also the largest aid-giver in the world. For example Japanese Prime Minister Naboru Takeshita, during his visit to China in August 1988 offered concessional loans of U.S. \$ 6.37 billions for the five years 1991-96 for development of China's industrial development projects. Nakasone offered S. Korea \$ 4

billion in economic aid for 7 years. Experienced people say that aid-giving is one way of capturing the investment and commodity markets of recipient countries by donor countries.

The U.S.A. which has been asking western Europe to take a bigger share in the military burden, does not ask Japan to do the same. If Japan becomes a military power, it will be mainly to protect her own economic interests. Even so, a militarized Japan is feared even by the U.S.A., and much more by Asian countries which have experienced Japanese imperialist aggression in the past.

But, without the assistance of Japan and the Philippines the U.S.A. cannot fulfil its self-conceived "leading role" in the APR. Without Japan's help the U.S., cannot bring Vladivostok Krasnoyarsk and other Soviet Siberian bases and Pacific fleets within firing range. So the USA has been generous in gifts of military hardware and technology to Japan. Japan has already exceeded the prescribed limit of 1% of GDP for military expenditure. More than 50% of Japanese people still support the basically 'Pacifist' 1947 constitution. But the militarist wing is growing. Japan now supplies the US with military technology. The role of the emperor cult some fear, has militaristic overtones. In 1980 there was an aborted coup by a wing of the Japanese army. The Yasukuni shrine where the Japanese war dead, including General Tojo, are enshrined, somehow still strikes terror in the minds of some Asians—perhaps unreasonably. An economically prosperous Japan should be a source of pride and satisfaction to other Asian countries; but if that prosperity is based on exploitation and supported by military might, Asians are less likely to be very secure about it.

Gorbachov said in his Krasnoyarsk address of September 16, 1988.

"I cannot help mentioning that the Soviet people, like other close and distant neighbours of Japan, are worried by the stubborn build-up of its military potential within the framework of 'sharing burden' with the United States."

Japan's current five year (1986-1990) militarisation programme will cost 18.4 trillion Yen or U.S. \$ 150 billion, is largely geared to U.S. requirements. Next year Japan will produce and deploy SSM-1 Cruise missiles (range, 150 km). U.S.A. and Japan has many

joint production agreements, including FSX aircraft, and F-16 fighters. Japan seems at present part of the emerging U.S.-Japanese-South Korean "NPTO" (North Pacific Treaty Organisation though there is no such clear treaty). Between the three they have in the Pacific, 1.36 million men, 37 army divisions, 2400 tanks, 2218 combat planes, 529 warships and 76 submarines.

The U.S.A. in APR

The U.S.A. is a Pacific power, though not an Asian power. Even Gorbachov's Krasnoyarsk speech recognizes this—

"We are for broad participation of the United States in the affairs of the Asian and Pacific region, worthy of its position and its political and economic potentialities. But it should be equal, free from great-power manners and power politics tricks which belong in historical dissertations."

So far the U.S. strategy has been to isolate the Soviet Union by lining up the three other Asia-Pacific super powers (U.S.A., China and Japan) against her. Soviet strategy has been the exact opposite—to get China and Japan to co-operate with the Soviet Union in curbing the power and role of the U.S.A. in Asia and the Pacific. Neither side is wholly successful. China does not want to join the U.S.A. in fighting the Soviet Union, nor does Japan want to join the Soviet Union in warding off the USA from the Pacific.

The U.S.A. is a Pacific power. No one can deny that. The question is, "what kind of a role does the USA play in the A.P.R.?"

First, the U.S.A. has about a 1000 nuclear weapons delivery systems and at least 5000 nuclear warheads deployed in the Pacific. About 700 Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBM's) are on board her submarines in the Pacific, including Trident I missiles with 8 multiple targetted warheads on each. Her 8 Ohio-class nuclear powered submarines in the Pacific with 24 SLBM's on each can by themselves practically destroy the earth.

A rapid deployment force of 15 B-52 G. bombers stand ready on Guam Island, each with the capacity of carrying 12 ALCM-B cruise missiles. These can move easily to the blank field in the Philippines and thence to Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. The INF treaty does away with land-based intermediate (1500 km to

5500 km) but not with the SLBM's or Tomahawk missiles now deployed by almost a hundred U.S. ships and submarines. They have a range of 2600 km., *i.e.*, all of coastal Asia is within their range. Seven of USA's 15 aircraft carriers are permanently assigned to the 3rd and 7th fleets operating in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Each aircraft carrier can carry 60 nuclear capable assault planes and upto 200 nuclear warheads.

U.S. missiles and planes are all over Japan, S. Korea and the Philippines. Small wonder then, that China has decided to step up her naval forces and nuclear weapons and carriers. In 1986, China had about 250 delivery vehicles and about 400 nuclear warheads. By next year the number would at least have doubled. 12 missile carrying submarines are to be added, and possibly some super-sonic strategic bombers. Once the INF treaty is implemented, Soviet Union, USA and China would be a formidable triangle in the Pacific. China alone would have land-based intermediate range missiles. But the U.S.A. would still have the upper hand in Pacific nuclear power. Her Pacific Command (PACOM) will dominate half of the earth's surface—some 130 million square kilometres including all of Asia, Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands, as well as the eastern half of Africa.

U.S. forces in the Pacific : 1988

South Korea	41,800
Japan	46,900
Philippines	15,300
Guam	9,200
Hawai	46,900
Total	160,100

Neither the Soviet nor the Chinese navy, nor the two combined, would be an adequate match or check for U.S. naval power in the APR. U.S. forces in the APR encircling Asia, is nearly 50% larger than her forces in Europe—a total of half a million in Asia, compared to 355,000 in Europe.

As far as can be ascertained the U.S. policy in the Pacific consists in the following seven items, and we who inhabit this region have to be aware of these policy intentions:

- (a) to "contain" the communist countries like USSR.. China, DPRK and Vietnam;
- (b) to "control" the Asian market, which by 2000 AD will contain 60% of the world's consumers;
- (c) to "clear" routes for U.S. trade, 40% of which passes through the Pacific.
- (d) to exploit the Pacific Ocean for sea-food and minerals;
- (e) to use as military bases for protecting American interests (U.S.A. has 360 Pacific bases not counting those as American mainland).
- (f) to use it for weapons testing and for dumping wastes;
- (g) to watch, check and counter-act any movements anywhere which challenge American interests.

Those of us who live in the region have to make sure that the interests of the Asian peoples receive priority over the interests of our neighbours across the Pacific.

The Role of Non-Super-Powers

We have so far dealt only with the four Pacific Super-Powers. There are other nations in the Asia-Pacific region who have as many states in their own region as anyone else. When we list the other countries of East-Asia-Pacific and their population, we find that they are almost as numerous as the four super-powers put together. Their total number is about 1600 millions in more than 40 countries of Asia and the Pacific. There is no region in the world which is less conscious of their regional identity as this group which comes to nearly one-third of the world's population. It has been found extremely difficult for our region to have a common consciousness because we have so little shared history and so few economic and cultural relations now (less than in the past).

Because of our disunity as Asian nations, we are not able to pull our weight, proportional to our population. In the international debt crisis, for example, if the debtor nations of the Two-Third World could remain united, it would be possible to make the lender nations to come to a reasonable agreement. Everyone knows that a good portion of this debt money is what had already been taken out

of the Two-Third world countries. We all know that the net flow of wealth has been from the TWC (Two-third World Countries) to the IDC (Industrially Developed Countries). But so long as the IDC are able to keep the TWC divided and fighting each other, there is no way of securing justice in the world.

We also know that the prosperity of the IDC is largely due to this continuous outflow of wealth from the TWC to them. Export of military goods has been a major factor of exploitation. Perhaps, the first step for the TWC is to agree to demilitarize their economies, not to fight each other, and not to buy military goods from the IDC.

In the IDC's also there is need for a determined shift from military production to civilian production. In the last two or three decades, both TWC and IDC governments have managed to concentrate economic power in the hands of military contractors, manufacturers or suppliers, and to make governments themselves financially dependent on the latter. The burden of this shift from civilian to military spending by governments and the enormous increase in government spending, falls squarely on the shoulders of the tax-payers in both TWC's and IDC's. Defence departments assume a growingly larger share of the industrial production and therefore of the political economy.

One clearly sees here the connection between justice and peace. Without demilitarisation and disarmament in both IDC's and TWC's, there cannot be an international economic order or national economies which are more just. One cannot solve the debt problem adequately without a resolute demilitarisation in all countries. In Asia, South Korea, Indonesia and India together are some 150 billion dollars to IDC governments and private banking and financing establishments. But the debt problem is only a symptom of a larger problem—namely that the industrial system as well as the scientific-technological establishment in most countries are so closely linked to the military spending of nations. As Ann Markusen put it—

“Through research overheads on major prime contracts, and through special programs like the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), the (U.S.) government channels substantial resources to a rather small set of large, heavily defense-dependent firms in high-tech. industries like aircraft and missiles, communications equipment and electronics.”¹

She also says—

“Indeed the Reagan administration has acknowledged that its 2.5 trillion military build-up is not only aimed at improving defense preparedness, but is expected to tackle the problem of U.S. economic competence as well.”²

The American tax-payer pays for the military R and D and military capital that leads to the export of U.S. military goods, 840,000 U.S. jobs are dependent on foreign arms sales. In America, the missile and aerospace industry employs 41% of the physical scientists, mathematicians, engineers and computer technicians employed in industrial research.

The combined effort of the TWC's as well as thinking people in the IDC's should now be directed to the demilitarisation and disarmament of the whole world—as a necessary precondition for creating a just peaceful and environmentally healthy world.

I would like to make a statement, which I hope will not offend my readers. Our main difficulty as Asians for sometime has been on the one hand to look to Europe for the basic institutions and ideas of political-economic structuring of our societies. Emancipation from this cultural enslavement and from looking upto the west for ideas and institutions seems another necessary precondition for the acceleration of Asian Renaissance.

The High Priority of Disarmament

Disarmament still remains the highest priority. The signing of the INF treaty in December 1987, and the general detente which has followed in the wake of decisive moves by the Soviet Union should not bill us into euphoria.

Not one nuclear warhead will be destroyed as a result of the INF treaty. It refers only to missiles or delivery systems, not to nuclear warheads. Only land-based intermediate range (1000-5500 km) and short-range (500-1000 km) delivery systems are being eliminated—about 3.6% of the total world arsenal. And while Soviet and U.S. missiles are being disarmed or destroyed. Britain and France not only retain their 400 intermediate range missiles, but actually receive U.S. help to increase that number to 2000.

The Soviet Union has taken a big risk in agreeing to the INF treaty; it is at a disadvantage with zero intermediate range weapons, and a large British-French stockpile of intermediate and short-range weapons that could be used against her. But the risk was boldly and calculatingly taken. For the Soviet Union to agree to Britain and France not being in the I.N.F. treaty meant that the U.S. had an incentive to sign the treaty. Signing the INF treaty was one necessary concrete positive step in order to get the whole disarmament machinery started.

Again the Soviet Union has agreed not to insist on the discontinuance of S.D.I. on the part of the U.S.A. as a necessary condition for signing a 50% strategic weapons reduction agreement. It was a major risk-taking concession that the USSR has made in order to arrive at the much needed second step of 50% strategic arms limitation. Let us hope that this agreement will be signed this year itself.

Even after the 50% reduction by the two leading nuclear powers, the five nuclear powers—USA, USSR, Britain, France and China will still have more than 6000 delivery systems. And no reduction is planned in the total stockpiles of nuclear warheads, which would still amount to 60,000 with a total destructive capacity of about a million times that of the Hiroshima bomb.

The steps needed immediately are the following:

1. The signing and ratification of a comprehensive test Ban Treaty signed by all powers—5 nuclear powers, more than 30 now potential nuclear powers, and the 125 or more non-nuclear powers. The CTBT is a necessary step to stop the present process of new more efficient, more lethal weapons being developed by all nuclear powers, adding both quantitatively and qualitatively to the "terrific" capacity of humanity.
2. Equally important is a *total nuclear freeze*—a treaty by all powers to stop research, testing manufacture, acquisition deployment and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. This would need a huge overhaul of the world industrial system and the world scientific-technological research and development system, including conversion of existing military factories to useful civilian production. Until a nuclear freeze is effected nuclear disarmament would not begin in fact. What is now

being done is the replacement of obsolete weapons and delivery systems by more sophisticated and more anti-human systems.

3. Implementation of the INF treaty should be completed next year. If (a) 50% reduction of strategic weapons are eliminated by the end of the next year, if (b) the CTBT is signed this year and ratified by next year, and if (c) an effective nuclear freeze is agreed upon and implemented, then the next step would be to put a ceiling of 600 warheads and 600 delivery systems for each nation. Even this step would take us to a situation where each of five nations would have the capacity to destroy the world. Once some kind of parity is achieved by the five nations, they should negotiate, along with other nations to move away from nuclear-based deterrents, towards a system of Comprehensive Global Common Security. The achievement of a minimum level mutual parity among the five nuclear states must become the stepping stone to total elimination of nuclear weapons within a system of CGCS.
4. Meanwhile reduction in Conventional Weapons and Forces should make accelerated progress. The Soviet Union has made a unilateral decision to cut its troops by half a million and its arms by 20%. A 1989 UN study revealed 140,000 battle tanks, 35,000 combat aircraft, 21,000 military helicopters, 1100 surface warships and 700 attack submarines. This number has substantially increased in the last 5 years. Few people realize that 80% of global military expenditure is for conventional weapons and forces. A 50% reduction in conventional arms and troops would immediately release enough resources to eliminate global unemployment, poverty, ill-health and illiteracy.
5. Ultimately, the goal is CGCS, with zero nuclear weapons, and general and complete disarmament. This means the formation of a responsible, just and equitable international community based on mutual trust and minimum global and regional (conventionally armed) police forces democratically controlled by the international community.

The Question of Imperialism—Neo-Colonialism

We in the Asia-Pacific Indian Ocean region need to ask ourselves the question: What does the new non-confrontationist foreign policy

of the Soviet Union mean for the world structures of imperialism and neo-colonialism?

For some 60 or 70 years the Soviet Union has been a bulwark of defense in checking the aggression of imperialism. Today we can no longer take that for granted. Historically one can say that if the Soviet power had not risen, the Asia-African peoples would have been at the mercy of the powerful aggressors. Even the great upsurge of national liberation which began in 1947, and has still to become effective in Namibia and some Pacific Islands, would not have succeeded as well as it did, without the counter-power of the Soviets opposing imperial power.

Even Soviet power has not in the past been able to prevent the spread of neo-colonialism, *i.e.* economic colonialism without direct political colonialism. But it is the same imperialist objectives that are perhaps more effectively pursued through neo-colonialism, the system of world economy that had developed since the II World War.

The connection between imperialism and western civilisation is not fully understood by either its victim or its unconscious perpetrators.

As we all know the Roman Catholic. Spanish-Portuguese imperialism of the 16th century was defeated by the rise of the Protestant imperialism of the 18th and following centuries—led by Britain, France, the Netherlands and later the United States. The Latin Nations, Italy, Spain, Portugal and France, now occupy second class status only in world imperialism-neo-colonialism, while the first class position once held by Britain, France and the Netherlands is now taken over by the north European Protestant nations led by the new Protestant nation—the U.S.A., which has taken the lead in new-colonialism-imperialism.

Already by 1789 the USA was sending about 47 ships around the Cape of Good Hope to the "Orient" for selling them gunpowder, opium, alcohol and arms; in return the American ships stuffed themselves with spices, (pepper, ginger, cardamom, cloves etc.) slaves and booty gained by piracy and took these home for consumption in America and elsewhere in the west, and for developing western industrial capital.

Besides this the western powers, including the U.S.A. were free to help themselves to territory in Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. In 1845, U.S.A. bought for a song the Indonesian island of Labuan-abundant in coal deposits. In 1865, U.S.A. seized a good portion of Borneo by force and set-up an American military settlement independent of the Sultan.

Trade with the Orient in the 19th century was very lucrative. Pepper bought in Sumatra at \$ 10.00 to \$ 11.00 a picul (133½ lbs) could be sold back home for \$ 50.00. The same expeditions were also used to ship home booty gained by plunder and piracy, as well as slaves captured by force or bought for a song from Arab dealers.

It is surprising to note that in trade, the U.S.A. without many colonies in the Orient, already in the 19th century outbid the colonial powers of Britain, France and the Netherlands. From September 1832 to May 1834 (21 months), the island of Zanzibar (off Nairobi and Mombaza), then under the Sultanate of Muscat, was visited by 41 ships of which 32 were American; out of the total tonnage of 6560, 5500 was American. There were 7 British ships and a French and a Spanish ship—nine with a total tonnage of 1060, less than 20% was thus European and more than 80% American.

In trade with India and Ceylon, the U.S.A.'s port of Salem (famous for witch-burning also) handled 149 ships from 1800-1842, a high figure for those days. The U.S.A. cooperated with the European powers to penetrate deeply the APR and Indian Ocean markets. They got a near monopoly in the pepper trade; and was second only to the Dutch, but far ahead of Britain and France in coffee and sugar imports from Java. They bought also fabrics, spices, condiments, sandalwood, tobacco, furs and gems. The average rate of trade with the Orient was 300 to 500%. The first American millionaires were created by the Orient trade. The capital for the development of the whole western industrial system also came from this trade and piracy.

There is no need to flood you with statistics. Western civilisation, with its industrial system and its science/technology was financed by the Orient—by the APR and Indian Ocean regions. It is still so financed by neo-colonialism defended by western military power, and largely propelled by the Arms Trade.

A report produced by the prestigious Brooking Institution (US) entitled "*Force without Wars*" says that the U.S.A. used its armed forces on 262 occasions between 1945 and 1975 to gain political objectives, whether threatening to use force or actually using it. The *U.S. News and World Report* of April 11, 1983 stated, that from 1975 to 1983 the U.S.A., has used military force in 44 cases of aggressive military action. In the post 1945 period, the U.S. military forces have been directly involved in 36 major armed clashes in our area.

Spices have now given place to oil at the head of the shopping list of neo-colonial powers. The Persian Gulf countries produce 70% of all known oil reserves outside the socialist world—46% of world reserves.

The oil treasure is worth (at 1980 prices) 11-13 billion dollars. In 1980 USA consumed 900 million tonnes of oil at home while its domestic output was only 430 million tonnes. In 1980 its oil import cost the USA nearly 100 billion dollars—mostly from Saudi Arabia, U.A.E., Indonesia and Iran. Without this oil, the industrial system will come to a standstill and western civilisation would probably collapse. A big share of the money paid out for oil goes, however back to American oil companies. The extraction cost of Gulf oil which sells at \$ 20/25 a barrel, is about 10 to 15 cents a barrel. The corresponding extraction cost in the USA is \$ 1.50 a barrel or ten times as much.

It just so happens that all the money that the west pays to the OPEC countries comes back to its banks and firms as investment. A great deal of the Central American war costs not sanctioned by the U.S. Federal Budget, were met from the manipulation of these multi-million deposits and the international monetary system.

Since war and exploitation are always inter-connected, peace and justice becomes indivisible. And as traditional, the western countries exploit the APR and IO regions for their raw materials—gold and diamond (80.7% and 98% of the world supply comes from the Indian Ocean region). 60% of world uranium, 77.3% of all natural rubber, 76.2% of all tea, 93.4% of all jute, as well as tin (56.6%), antimony (39%), nickel (25.2%), bauxite (18.5%), lead (18%), wool (42%), cotton yarn (26.7%) etc. Our ocean-beds are full of resources for which the west covets.

We provide also a good market for American surplus food, health technology and luxury goods. American firms dominate our economies, whether in Saudi Arabia, India or the Philippines. In 1980-82, U.S. investment in the area was about \$ 250 billion, with a \$ 25 billion profit every year. The U.S.A. without control of the APR and IO regions would be very weak economically and not able to exercise the world hegemony which she so desperately strives for.

Conclusion

Asians have a priority need to extricate themselves from the neo-colonial system which now enslaves them, and into which they are integrated. Some people think that with their new policies, even the USSR and China have allowed themselves to enter the neo-colonial system.

I would put the following priorities of perception and action at the head of the list for Asian-Pacific and Indian Ocean Peace movements.—

1. Recognize the fact that with the New Thinking in the USSR, the first socialist nation of history refuses to take the main brunt of confronting imperialism-neo-colonialism. This means other nations in the APR-IO regions have to take a major responsibility for their own emancipation, and not simply follow Soviet Policy. We have to organize ourselves more effectively to withstand the encroachments of neo-colonialism and their main instrument—the transnational corporations, which have now begun to enter the USSR, China, Poland, Hungary and so on. Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean nations have to grow up and accept adult responsibility.
2. Asians need to do some radical rethinking on three aspects of western civilisation which we now uncritically accept—a secular world view, a science-technology enslaved by neo-colonialism and its industrial system, and an understanding of development which is unsuitable for our cultural heritage. The secular, anti-religions world-view on which modern western civilisation is now based can be countered only if we develop the Asian religions and philosophies in a creative way to generate new ideas and institutions more suited to our needs.

This intellectual-cultural emancipation struggle must form the central thrust of our common search for comprehensive Global Common Security. This religious spiritual, cultural renaissance of Asia, it seems to me, is a desperate need of humanity itself. Humanity looks to Asia with "skeptical hope". APR and IO Christians have to pioneer for this deep renewal of the consciousness of humanity.

3. The struggle for a just world without weapons and the struggle against the industrial system which breeds war, injustice and environmental disruption are inseparable from each other. While we continue with relentless vigour in our campaign for global peace with justice for all and a life-promoting environment, we should continually be on guard against assuming that, that campaign can be brought to success within the present world industrial system and within the western liberal or marxist thought which undergirds and sanctions that system. We should also become aware that modern science-technology is also a prisoner of that system and world need to be developed in a radically different way in order to meet the real and deeper needs of humanity. C.G.C.S for me means a radical questioning of the concept of "development" which we have created in the last 40 years of our neo-colonial enslavement. What constitutes true development for humanity? The answer to that question depends as our prior understanding of what constitutes humanity itself, what its real fulfilment means, both for persons and societies.

* * * *

Christians are not an insignificant minority if we take the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions as an ensemble. Their role and task however, is not "mission" in the western style. That task is primarily to care for that humanity for which Jesus Christ laid down his life. That humanity contains 20% secular people and 80% religious people. Christ cares for all of them and died for all of them. He and Christians in Him, live today for that humanity and its full redemption, along with all life and the whole cosmos.

"Behold, I make all things new." The new must bring out the love of God for all humanity and all creation. The risen Christ

beckons us. The harvest is plentiful, but the labourers are still few—
May God's Kingdom Come—all over the world.

References

1. (in article "The Militarized Economy" in *World Policy Journal*, Vol. III, No. 3, Summer, 1986, pp. 495-516. Ms Markusen is Associate Professor of City and Regional Planning at the University of California, Berkeley).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 497.

4

Security in the Asia-Pacific Region* *New Perspectives*

There is happening today a shift in the centre of global security. It is only at its beginning stage; but it can already be seen clearly.

In this shift, the Asia-Pacific region, while not yet quite the centre of the discussion on global security, comes to occupy a much more significant position than in the last forty years.

The reason for this shift are mainly three:

- (a) There is a clear recognition that in today's world of global inter-dependence, security is no longer a matter for the two leading nuclear powers to settle. We have seen that the concept of national security has become obsolete. Security is a global issue, and is multi-polar, not bi-polar. No nation can have security at the expense of the security of other nations whether great or small. All the nations of the world have a joint responsibility to ensure the security of the globe and of humanity as a whole.

In this shift from bi-polar to multi-polar perception of security, naturally there is a shift from Europe as the theatre of East-West confrontation to Asia, Africa and Latin America where most of the world's people live, and where most of the land-mass of our planet lies.¹

In President Gorbachov's perception the Soviet Union now regards itself also as a Eurasian nation, rather than just a European nation. The Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk speeches leave us in no doubt about this. The land-mass of Eurasia, viewed as a single continent changes our perspective significantly.

* Written in 1989.

The second reason for the shift towards Asia is the recognition that not only the majority of the world's people, but the vast majority of the world's resources—oil, gas, metals and minerals—are also in Asia. Whoever controls Asia has all the three things needed for a market economy system, namely labour, resources and markets. Asia also has technology. Not only Japan, but also Asian Soviet Union, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, as well as China and India are not totally deficient in technology.

It is an important question whether these four elements—labour, resources markets and technology—will be used for exploitation of human beings by other human beings, or for the freedom, welfare, dignity and cultural creativity of all peoples. This is a question to be decided primarily by Asians. The presence of the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam, North Korea, Laos and Kampuchea as socialist states, on the one hand, and Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, etc. as market economy states on the other, make Asia a major theatre for peaceful competition between the rival political economic systems, and in fact a threat to global security, especially if non-Asian powers want to control or exploit the labour, resources and market of Asia.

Third reason for the shift towards Asia-Pacific is the growing importance of the Oceans and therefore the navy in international military strategy. This, let us hope, is only a temporary phase, when nuclear weapons still dominate the world scene. It is well-known that land-based nuclear missiles are extremely vulnerable. The nuclear-military doctrine of security that still prevails, thinks of security in terms of radar-evading sea-launched cruise missiles and submarine-based or sea-and-air launched nuclear missiles (SLBM's) as the most powerful and least vulnerable weapons. Nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered submarines have for some time been deemed the most effective weapons.

About 20,000 nuclear war-heads are at sea today. The idea is that even after land-based missiles have been totally destroyed, nuclear nations would have enough power to destroy the enemy. These 20,000 weapons belong to the five nuclear powers—USA, USSR, UK, France and China. The UK and France both have plans to double their naval or sea-borne strategic arsenals between 1992 and 1996. While we keep talking about eliminating all nuclear

weapons by 2000 or 2010, even China is going ahead. China already has two ballistic-missile launching submarines, and by 1990 may have 10-12 submarines, with a possible 144 warheads. China already successfully tested an SLBM in September 1988.

The new technology concentrates on anti-submarine missiles like the Sea Lance, nuclear depth-strike bombs (NDSB) for use in the ocean, anti-ship cruise missiles, nuclear torpedoes. Is it not surprising that of the 900 nuclear reactors that exist on our earth and sea, only about 456 are on land, while 544 are at sea, powering 80% of submarines and other naval vessels! The major naval vessels of USA and USSR are today nuclear weapons capable. These more than 11,000 SLBM's and 7000 tactical naval weapons (for naval combat) make the oceans the most dangerous potential battleground of the world.

These weapons are not yet, as far as I know, included in the arms control negotiation. Even after we destroy 50% of our strategic weapons, the ocean would be dreadfully packed with nuclear weapons. And SLBM's and SLCM's though sea-based are potential land attack weapons also. The INF treaty eliminates Ground Launched Cruise Missiles, only to add to the arsenal of Sea Launched Cruise Missiles. If the U.S.A. today (*i.e.*, by 1992) eliminates the 256 GLCM's of the U.S. Air Force, according to the I.N.F. agreement the U.S. Navy will in that time add 378 SLCM's on its Atlantic Fleet alone.

We do not have the figures for deployment in the Pacific Ocean, but it is clear that the transition has already begun by which the majority of nuclear weapons will be at sea.

All Asian nations have to be aware that the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean will soon be major theatres for further nuclear deployment, and unless Asian-African nations wake up to this danger, the new spiral in the arms race will go on unabated. The new nuclear war strategy is sea-based, rather than land or space-based. If the Projected SDI estimate of U.S. \$ 115 billion (to 2000 A.D.), was on October 6th last year reduced to 65.1 billion (see *Herald Tribune*, October 27, 1988), we should not rejoice. That money is going to the Navy, and we will all be just as much insecure whether these weapons of destruction are at sea or in space.

It is in this context that the Pacific and the Indian Oceans become so important for world peace. Also Asian nations, if they can resolve their mutual tension and confrontations, can become a united force that counter-balances the weight of the west in deciding the destiny of humanity.

In this context also the three summits in Asia take on an added significance—the Gandhi-Gorbachov summit (1988), the Gandhi-Deng Xiao-Ping summit in December 1988 and the Gorbachov-Deng Xiao-Ping summit (May 1989).

Asia has been divided for some time now, thanks to hegemonistic decision-making by the colonial powers. They have even managed to create major rifts in the past between China and the Soviet Union, as well as between China and other Asian nations like Vietnam and Kampuchea. Once China begins to refuse to play the Western game, there will be a new Asian solidarity in which China, India and the USSR will play leading roles. Japan and other nations now completely or less completely in the market economy camp, should also play a creative role in making the Asia-Pacific region as well as the Indian Ocean region more secure and free from nuclear weapons.

It is in bringing about this new and united Asia into the arena of world decision-making that inter-Asian co-operation can make its most significant contribution. It can also lead to better, more peaceful, more just, and more environment-protecting human societies emerging throughout the globe.

Reference

1. It is a fact that India, the second largest country in the world has more people than Africa and Latin America put together. Asia by itself, without Africa and Latin America, has more than half of the world's population.

5

Comprehensive Global Common Security* (C.G.C.S.)

CGCS or Comprehensive Global Common Security still remains a little understood concept. We shall attempt here a short outline of its main features.

1. Comprehensive Global Common Security means the building up of a real *world community* of nations, in which each nation accepts responsibility to the community, and the community accepts responsibility to each nation.
2. It is a *global* in the sense that no nation falls outside its purview, whatever be its political economic system. Even Albania has to be persuaded to join. South Africa and Israel may offer some initial problems, but these can be overcome, and democratic regimes in these and other countries would make things easier.
3. It is a *comprehensive security* in the sense that it involves more than just security against external military aggression. It is concerned about the security of human beings, of peoples, not of governments and regimes. It takes into account such non-military threats to human security as poverty, under-nourishment, illiteracy, lack of environment hygiene, under-development and international debt. All human beings should be secure from threats of starvation, homelessness, ill-health, unemployment, racial or sexual discrimination, oppression and exploitation.
4. C.G.C.S. means that the community of nations is responsible for the peace, security and well-being of all peoples in each nation; each nation and the community would be bound by proper international law. No nation will need to maintain large-

* Article written in 1989.

scale armed forces for defence against external aggression. Regional armed forces will be stationed and run by the democratically elected authorities of the world community. They will also be responsible for global surveillance and policing in order to make sure that no nation prepares for war against another.

5. C.G.C.S. is based on the notion that nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction (chemical, biological, etc.) would be totally abolished, and their production, acquisition, stock-piling and development would be totally banned. The international authority would use the most modern means for surveillance and inspection. But it would not use weapons of mass destruction for enforcing the law.
6. C.G.C.S. implies that all international conflicts are to be peacefully resolved; the international, regional and national authorities would co-operate to find just and peaceful solutions to conflicts.
7. C.G.C.S. affirms the charter and principles of the United Nations Organisation; it implies also radically rewriting that charter and restructuring the organisation to be more effective. This would mean a federal, democratic, global, political economy, a single framework allowing for plurality of political-economic structures.
8. C.G.C.S. implies a global taxation system, a global and regional judiciary, legislative and executive structures. It would allow free trade and curtail monopolistic practises; it will protect the interests of the poor and the weak, it will democratically place restraint on the use of power by the powerful.
9. C.G.C.S. means an international political economic structure in which every human being is assured the fundamental rights—*e.g.*,
 - (a) the right to work and to choose one's job;
 - (b) the right to live a human life worthy of human dignity, freedom and creativity;
 - (c) the right to be educated and trained for cultural creativity and to have opportunities for exercising that creativity in a responsible way;

- (d) the right to communicate with others and to have access to reliable information;
 - (e) the right of practise one's religion or ideology responsibly,
 - (f) the right to share in the exercise of political-economic power.
10. C.G.C.S. implies the acceptance of political-economic, religious and cultural pluralism; but such pluralism accepts the common responsibility of each political-economic system, religion and culture to work for the common good of all, to engage in creative inter-action, dialogue and co-operation with other political economic systems, religions, cultures and ideologies. Non-uniformity should be balanced by a commitment to the common good of all humanity.
11. C.G.C.S. also means priority to the principle of persuasion over against coercion; co-operation over against confrontation; peaceful resolution of conflicts over war or military solutions; service to humanity over against seeking personal advantage; finding fulfillment in the welfare of others over against gratification of one's own individual or group passions; generosity and compassion over greed and acquisitiveness; honesty and openness over against deceit and dissimulation.

6

C.G.C.S.

*The Necessary Framework for Promoting Disarmament and Development**

I would like to write briefly about what is now an accepted principle in U.N. discussions—namely the Triangular Relationship between security, development and disarmament. The principle was first formulated by the Panel of 15 eminent personalities (New York, April, 1986) convened by the U.N. It was adopted by the UN Conference on the relation between disarmament and development (Aug.-Sept. 1987). I shall try not to repeat the many good things in Mr. Muchkund Dubey's paper here on "The Relationship between Disarmament and Development." Mr. Dubey played a major role in the preparatory work and the conduct of the 1987 UN Conference.

In fact one of the major achievements of that conference was the recognition of "non-military threats to security", including such factors as underdevelopment and international debt.

For clear thinking on the triangular relationship between disarmament, development and security, one distinction is essential—that between general and complete disarmament as a comprehensive programme on the one hand and the urgent need on the other hand, to eliminate and legally ban nuclear weapons altogether from earth, sea, air and space. The latter is an urgent and top priority. It is obvious that a nuclear war will make issues like disarmament and development pointless—since there will hardly be any human race left to disarm or develop.

* Written in late 1987.

While recognizing the pertinence of this distinction, we must contend however, that we have to remain idle till all nuclear weapons are eliminated and banned, and only then begin developing alternative structures for comprehensive Global Security—so necessary a basis for all three points of the triangle—disarmament, development and real security.

When we use the adjective “comprehensive” to qualify “global security” we mean the principle that all *people* have a right to live in security without the threat of starvation, ill-health, homelessness and unemployment, and not merely the threat of war; we mean also security from the possible disruption of the human environment; we mean to emphasize that security is not for nations or governments, but for people.

Security is thus inseparable from just and equitable development of all societies; and such development can take place only if nations co-operate in science/technology, culture and social production using all the human and material resources available to humanity, such co-operation is impossible if some nations are armed to the teeth and regard some other nations as their enemies. Neither is it possible when some nations or groups within nations are using their scientific/technological, economic and military power to dominate and exploit peoples in their own land or in other lands.

The major source of insecurity in our world today is the confrontation between two political-economic and socio-cultural *systems*—not mainly or merely the confrontation between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as the leading nuclear powers. But both these systems have become global; to some extent the two systems co-exist in almost every nation—the “free enterprise” or market economy system and the “socialist” or centrally planned system. Of course the proportional of respective power and the domination of one over the other vary from country to country. The fundamental purpose for which the nuclear weapons exist is to defend the free market system, to boost that system through large-scale investment of the tax-payer’s money in non-productive military production in order to extract quick and large profit therefrom, and to harass and vanquish those who are considered enemies of the system.

Here comes the role of New Thinking. Previously, it was customary for people with socialist orientation, and by that I mean

not just communists, but many others including myself, that power confrontation was the only way to face this oppressive, exploitative, militarily oriented market economy system. That was the basis on which the struggling first socialist nation of the world, the USSR, made enormous sacrifices and prodigious efforts to build up a nuclear military system which can stand up to the military power of the market economy system.

The challenge today is before both systems. To socialist nations the challenge is to give up the idea of confrontation and to move towards co-operation with a hitherto hostile political economic system—not just peaceful co-existence, but *co-operation* with ideological opponents, for the interests of global community. Co-operation in art and culture, in science/technology and education/research, in the peaceful use of space, in the non-violent resolution of international conflicts, and in conserving and promoting a life-supporting environment.

7

Common Security and a New International Morality*

It is indeed a very great pleasure for me to welcome all the participants to this fifth Round Table Conference (Moscow, 1987) on Common Security and a New International Morality, organized by the Working Presidium of the World Conference: Religious workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe. (Moscow, May 1982)

At that historic conference five years ago, we issued three appeals—one to the Leaders and Followers of All Religions, another to all governments, and a third to the Second Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on Disarmament (1982). Among the seven common dangers we identified in 1982, the first two were:

- “(a) the priority mistakenly given to narrow national interests and national security instead of to common interests and to the security of the whole of mankind”;
- “(b) the erroneous idea of security as resting on force of arms, either nuclear or conventional, and striving to ensure one’s own security by destroying others; the false idea that greater amounts of weapons produce greater security”.

These are some of the issues which we want to discuss in greater detail, and with the help of competent experts, in this our fifth Round Table Conference. We want to deal with three clusters of issues:

1. New assessment of the development of weapons of mass destruction partly or wholly based in space;
2. The need to reduce the stockpile of nuclear weapons immediately, resolutely and substantially;

* Written in 1987.

3. Common International Security and the basis for a New International Moral Order.

I. Space and Star Wars

My task is only to introduce these topics in a very elementary manner. We have held one of our first Round Table Conferences on April 2 to 4, 1984 specifically on the issue of space without weapons. There we worked out a draft treaty to be signed by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on banning weapons in space. Experts from both countries agreed on the draft. The official treaty however still remains unnegotiated and un-drafted.

In this connection, and *apropos* the televised "Star Wars" speech of President Reagan on March 23, 1983, (four years ago), Frank Blackaby of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) says in the SIPRI Yearbook (1986);

"The Strategic Defence Initiative was an idea which came to the President from a small group of outside advisers, and it was launched with virtually no consultation with the State Department or the Pentagon. It was very much a personal vision of the President. The more elaborate rationales now presented are *ex post facto* rationales—the arguments of those who, presented with a *faith accompli*, look for ways of fitting the S.D.I. idea into their own framework of thought".

(SIPRI Yearbook 1986, p. 82)

It is true that President Reagan sprang a surprise on most of his closest advisers. According to Blackaby, the Pentagon's chief scientist, Richard De Lauer, learned about the proposal 9 hours before its public announcement. The Secretary of State was given two days' notice. Even President Reagan's own Chief Scientific Advisor George A. Keyworth II, was given only five days' warning before the President announced his decision.

There are three significant facts behind this surprise character of the Star Wars Speech. Why was this idea not discussed, before announcement, either by the scientific community in the U.S.A. or even by the U.S. Department of Defence? It was a California lobby of some of President Reagan's closest friends, who also financed his political campaigns, who persuaded him to make this surprise announcement as a justification for a 10% increase in the U.S.

Defence budget. They also happened to represent those interests which would directly benefit from this increased military spending. They were the spokesmen for the Aerospace Industry in the U.S.A. It was clear to President Reagan that the idea would have been strangled at birth by his national security advisors and the scientific community if they had been given a chance. The idea was important to the Aerospace Industry, and therefore it had to be pushed through.

The second dominant interest of President Reagan was that of Biblical prophecy. He believed, and perhaps still does, that there has to be a final apocalyptic war (Armageddon) in Israel, which would lead to the destruction of the Soviet Union and its allies, and would usher in the end of the world. We will have another paper on this subject at this Round Table.

The third fact, to which also Barnaby draws our attention, is the difference between Star War I and Star War II.

Star War I, which was the unthought-out proposal of 1983, was for a space shield that would cover the entire United States and their allies. This comprehensive space shield idea has now been totally discredited. First, the most efficient shield would provide no more than 90% protection. There will be technical problems which will allow 10% of a massive multi-megaton missile launch to break through the shield—enough to destroy a whole country. A space-shield is also ineffective against cruise missiles or submarine launched ballistic missiles. A comprehensive shield is beyond the economic power of the U.S.A. The net result has been that Star War I, the idea of a comprehensive space shield, has now been abandoned.

Star War II is a totally different conception. It has nothing to do with a comprehensive shield against missiles. Star War II is for selective defence of missile sites or silos, command-control centres, and other key military installations. Former Secretary of Defence Robert S. MacNamara has plainly stated that this selective S.D.I. is associated with offensive forces and strategies. MacNamara's words in this connection are worth listening to. What he says is that when announcing the S.D.I. in 1983, President Reagan had made it clear that a selective S.D.I. would be considered aggressive by the Soviet Union, and so that would be universally unacceptable. But that is precisely what is now happening, according to MacNamara:

"After the President said, 'I call on the scientific community of the U.S. to design an impenetrable shield to render important and obsolete offensive forces', he went on to say that if that is not achieved and instead the United States develops a partial defence and adds that to the offence, the Soviets may consider that aggressive 'and no one wants that'. Now that is what we are doing, and that is exactly the way the Soviets are interpreting it".

(Statement of Robert MacNamara at SIPRI International Conference on Space Weapons and Security, June 1985, SIPRI Yearbook 1986. p. 85).

The only way that S.D.I.—II can make sense is in a scenario where the U.S.A. makes the decapitating first strike wiping out command and control centres, military installations and ground-based missiles in the U.S.S.R. In this scenario, the U.S.S.R. retaliates with what is left, *i.e.*, mostly submarine launched SLBM'S and Cruise-type missiles. Against these the partial shield of S.D.I.-II would be, say, 90% effective. The scenario thus envisages a first-strike offensive by the U.S.A. and only in connection with such a first strike S.D.I.-II can make sense. Frank Blackaby, the director of SIPRI, reputed for his impartial and objective judgments, as well as Robert MacNamara agree with this assessment.

Here in this Round Table we should discuss not only this S.D.I.-II, but also new developments in Directed Energy Weapon—Laser Beams, which are already developed, as well as others yet to be developed, such as Particle Beams and Kinetic Energy Weapons.

We must also take into account the fact that the Soviet Union can agree to a substantial reduction of the present nuclear stockpile only if S.D.I.-II is scrapped. With S.D.I.-II deployed in space, the Soviet Union will have justification to keep a large number of warheads and missiles in order that 10% may get through the space shield. If the space shield does not exist, both sides can agree to substantial reductions.

The Soviet Union argues that it is unable to do its economic planning adequately without settling the issue of S.D.I. If the U.S.A. wants to go ahead with S.D.I.-II, then the Soviet Union must make plans to invest enough on its defence budget to take care of the First strike strategy with which S.D.I.-II is integrally related. On the

other hand, if S.D.I.-II will not be there, the U.S.S.R. can reduce its military expenditure and go on to raise the standard of living of the civilian population in socialist countries.

II. Nuclear Freeze and Reduction

Our situation is that despite many proposals, no concrete first step has as yet been taken towards disarmament or even reduction of nuclear stockpiles. Why is this?

There are several possible reasons. One, is that nations want to keep their stockpiles until negotiations for reduction actually become effective. At that point, some nations seem to think, even out-dated and obsolete weapons can be used as bargaining chips.

Another reason may be, that if space shields are going to go up, and if only a small percentage of launched missiles are likely to break through the shield, then there is virtue in numbers, and it is good to make your stockpile at least ten times as big as it would otherwise be, *i.e.*, if the space shield were not there.

A third reason may be that the interests of those who benefit from the arms race and arms trade, do not want any steps towards disarmament; they are also able to influence the decision making process in certain countries to go according to their interests.

Whatever the reason may be, there is growing discontent in the world, that despite two special sessions of the U.N. General Assembly on Disarmament, despite many negotiations, parleys and talks, despite mass demonstrations involving millions of people, no first step has as yet been taken towards disarmament.

It seems to me that it is the responsibility of this Round Table to examine the reasons for this state of affairs. There was some hope that Intermediate Range Nuclear Missiles could be removed from Europe as a first step. The recent Gorbachov proposals received a favourable first response from Reagan. But subsequently all kinds of new conditions for the removal of these missiles are being advanced—linking them to Theatre Nuclear Weapons, to conventional weapons and forces, and so on.

Even if the removal of medium range missiles from Europe becomes a reality, it would be only a hesitant first step. For these missiles could then be deployed elsewhere, and the stockpiles could

remain unreduced. And the periodic addition to the stockpiles now going on would not be arrested.

It seems therefore necessary that while we support the proposals for removal of Intermediate Range Missiles from Europe, we should also support the demand for creating Nuclear Weapons Free Zones not only in Europe—from Atlantic to the Urals—but also elsewhere, like for example in the Indian Ocean, in the Pacific and so on.

Even the creation of Nuclear Weapons Free Zones would not be adequate as a convincing first step. The essential first steps are two:

- (a) an immediate total freeze and Comprehensive Test Ban, and
- (b) a 50% reduction of all nuclear weapons of all ranges.

We need in this Round Table to consider these first steps, make them more precise, and ask religious forces all over the world to press the demand for these first steps.

We should welcome the fact that General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov has already expressed the willingness of the Soviet Union to become a non-nuclear power, to refrain from a first strike, and to permit on site verification of weapons reduction.

But we should also note the fact that nuclear weapons modernisation programmes are currently in full swing. Some statistics given in SIPRI Year book 1986, should open our eyes to the alarming situation.

Nuclear Warhead Stockpiles

U.S.A.

U.S.S.R.

(estimate)

1. Strategic Nuclear Warheads (1986)

I.C.B.M.'s	2,330	6800—13,000
S.L.B.M.'s	6,500	2300—4,000
Bomber systems	5,093	440—930
	13,923	9540—17,930

2. Theatre Nuclear Forces—Landbased

Air craft-borne		
N. Weapons	2,800	3,783
Missiles	2,039	2,485—5,627
Artillery-borne	2,422	2,700
A.D.M.—special	210	—
	7,471	8,968—12,110

3. Theatre Nuclear Forces—Naval

Aircraft carrier brone	1,000	988
S.L.C.M.'s & Cruise Missiles	100	828
A.S.W. systems	1,756	310
Naval S.A.M.'s	100	150
	2,956	2,276
Grand Total	24,350	20,784—32,316

It is this enormous stockpile that we need to get rid of. If we do not have an immediate freeze, this stockpile will grow larger. If we do not have a freeze, according to the 1985 N.I.E. estimates, the number of Soviet strategic warheads alone would grow to 32,200—41,695 from the present estimate of 9,540—17,930, (S.I.P.R.I., 1986 p. 54).

I need not adduce any further statistics to press the demand that a nuclear freeze, a test ban treaty, and 50% overall reduction are the inevitable first steps. It is also important to scrap all weapons modernisation programmes (such as the NATO 1979 and 1983 decisions about weapons and systems in Europe and similar WTO decisions). There should be a freeze also on conventional military R and D.

III. Common International Security—Some Proposals

I would like to make clear first that the term Common Security is differently understood by different people. Those who want to distinguish between Common Security and Collective Security sometimes apply the first to the security of a group of *some* nations, and the second to that of *all* nations.

'Common Security' as a concept is more recent than that of "Collective Security" advanced at the time of Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. The new concept of Common Security is offered as an alternative to Deterrence. It is often put forward as a choice between Mutually Assured Destruction, and Mutually Assured Survival—a misleading distinction since the purpose of both is survival.

In our Round Table Conference, it may be useful to keep the distinction between Common Security and Collective Security.

Common Security, as an alternative to Deterrence, would then apply largely to the N.A.T.O.—W.T.O. confrontational situation, while Collective Security would apply to the security of the more than 160 nations of the world. The second distinction is that Collective Security is based on the idea of using the collective forces of all nations of the world together (or some) against a single aggressor, while Common Security seeks to avoid war and the use of force altogether.

In the W.T.O.—N.A.T.O. situation, Common Security as a concept means that the two political-economic systems with their enormous military power, move from deterrence and confrontation to detente and mutual co-operation. The two military systems exist for the protection of the interests of the two political-economic systems—NATO for the Market Economy or Capitalist System and WTO for the Centrally Planned or Socialist System.

The concept of Common Security rests on the assumption that war and preparing for war are inimical to the real interests of both sides, and that security is best assured if they would trust and co-operate with each other in an atmosphere of peaceful, healthy competition between the two systems.

This perspective appeals to socialist countries, but does not appeal to those who are now benefitting from the unjust Market Economy and from the arms race and the arms trade. Hence the concept itself would be resisted by these beneficiaries which include much of the western mass media.

Common Security, however, need not be limited to the NATO and WTO countries. We could think of Common Security as a global concept, not substantially different from Collective Security.

While deterrence as a concept refers primarily to the NATO—WTO confrontation, Common Security, its alternate, need not be so confined, but could apply to all nations—nuclear and non-nuclear, market economy or centrally planned economy. Shall we then call the concept Global Common Security, and proceed to lay down certain fundamental principles for such Common Security for all nations of our planet.

1. Freeze all weapons research and development. So long as the technological power of humanity is applied to war, the threat

of war cannot be removed. Emerged and Emerging technologies like Laser, Fibre Optics, Directed Energy, Kinetic Energy, should be immediately diverted to peaceful purposes beneficial to humanity. Private corporations and agencies should be legally forbidden to do any war-related R and D.

2. Freeze all manufacture, exchange by trade or other means, and deployment of all weapons and delivery systems—by an international convention.
3. Agree, in the same international convention, on a time-bound (say 10 to 12 years) plan for the elimination by stages of all nuclear weapons by all nuclear states.
4. In the same international convention, agree on a ban on nuclear weapons—making them illegal as biological weapons were once made illegal. Provide, however, for an internationally and democratically controlled monitoring and verifying system for nuclear, biological and chemical weapons as well as emerging and emerged new weapons technology. The monitoring and verifying system should keep surveillance over civilian nuclear and other high technology establishments.
5. Devise an international system of imposing effective economic trade and communications sanctions on confirmed and persisting offenders, so that they can be deserved without the use of military force.
6. Convene, as soon as possible, an international global Conference on General and Complete Disarmament and Demilitarization, and come to a global agreement on the reduction and minimalisation of conventional weapons and forces, as well as on the use of the military for civilian rule.
7. Set up, in the same Conference, an effective International Court of Justice, with power to order sanctions on offenders, or to set up machinery for peaceful resolution of conflicts. International conflicts which cannot be settled by mutual negotiation should always be brought to this court. The setting up of this court will be part of a global treaty agreeing to the non-use of force in the settlement of international conflicts.

8. In the same conference, legislate to forbid research, manufacture and trade of arms as well as resort to the use of force for the settlement of international conflicts.
9. Provide for the participation of people's representatives in the Court and in other peace-keeping machinery.
10. Agree on plans for international mutual co-operation in science, technology and culture to promote the welfare of humanity as a whole, to explore space and the oceans to the same end, and to make advanced technology available to all who need it.

Our Round Table should discuss these tentative proposal and improve them, in order that the religious peace movement become more precise in their demands.

IV. Towards a New International Moral Order

Morality has, unfortunately, till now been limited to the personal realm. It is the job of the religions, as well as of others interested, to work out a morality that applies to corporations and nations also. At the religious section of the International Forum of Peace Forces held in Moscow last month, some preliminary proposals were made to articulate the fundamental principles of a New International Moral Order. The following ten principles are presented to facilitate the Round Table's work in this area, and to serve as a starting point for discussion.

1. All nations are sovereign, free and equal, but are also responsible to each other and to the global community of nations. Each nation should therefore pursue its own interests only in the context of the interests of the whole of humanity.
2. Nations are today becoming increasingly interdependent in matters of political economy, science-technology, trade, environment, communications and the nuclear peril as well as other spheres. This inter-dependence should be positively channelled to create inter-national structures of global co-operation in all areas of human endeavour.
3. Security of nations should not be dependent on military might or threat to use or actual use of force. No nation should imperil the security of other nations in the pursuit of its own national

security. All nations should co-operate in assuring the security of each nation.

4. War and militarisation, like slavery and serfdom, should be abolished in all countries. War is not a necessary consequence of human nature, nor is it a necessity of history. Children should be taught that war is evil. Their toys and their books should instead of promoting the war instinct in them, foster ideas of peace and internationalism.
5. Nuclear Weapons are evil, anti-human. It is a moral evil to make, buy, sell, keep, exchange, deploy, use or threaten to use them. They should be legally banned and totally abolished.
6. Research on new technologies of war should also be banned like Laser Beams, other Directed Energy Weapons, Kinetic Energy Weapons, Enhanced Radiation Weapons, etc. There should be a concerted international effort to deploy existing science/technology as well as new research for solving the problems of poverty, ill-health, ignorance, environmental deterioration and lack of housing, clothing and transport, which affect the under-privileged.
7. Space and the High Seas including Ocean bottoms, should remain the common property of humanity, controlled by a democratic international authority, and should be kept free from all weapons of mass destruction. They should instead become the major arena of democratic, international, scientific-technological, cultural and communicational co-operation, and promote a sense of global belonging and loyalty among all peoples and nations.
8. Competing socio-economic and political systems should be allowed to co-exist and co-operate in an atmosphere of healthy mutual co-operation, mutual trust, and friendly competition.
9. International treaties agreements and conventions including the Charter of the United Nations, should always be respected; no nation should violate these unilaterally; they should be developed further as a basis for the new international polity that is emerging.
10. Terrorism, whether private or state, is an evil. It victimises the innocent; creates distrust and insecurity; renders human society more violent and inhuman.

It will be very good if our Round Table could spend some time to refine, supplement or modify these proposals.

It remains for me only to thank the organisers of this meeting, Buddhist, Muslim and Christian, for their efficient work and generous hospitality. God bless you all.

8

A Comprehensive System of Security for all Nations*

Mikhail Gorbachov's seminal contribution to the debate on Common Security was published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on September 17, 1987. (See English Text in *Mainstream*, September 26, 1987).

For us in India, with our conflicts with Pakistan and others, the concept of Common Security should be of central significance. What does the concept itself mean? What is the mechanism that needs to be set up in order to effectively assure Common Security? Gorbachov has something to say which is relevant to us in India, as well as to the whole of humanity.

Common Security is a new concept and should not be assimilated to old nations like Collective Security. Gorbachov uses the term "the establishment of a comprehensive system of inter-national security". He invites the world public to join him and the Soviet people in refining the concept first presented to the CPSU in 1986.

Gorbachov begins by listing some elements of the new situation of humanity which drives it to seek new solutions. I develop these thoughts in my own terms.

1. We have today the technical, technological and communicational capacity to solve some of the global problems which only a few years ago seemed insoluble. Several socialist countries have solved problems like unemployment, starvation, ill health and homelessness. Human problems have now become humanly solvable.
2. At the same time the level of armaments has become frighteningly high. We have come into a Trillion-dollar military

* Written in 1987.

expenditure era. It is now abundantly clear that even the richest country of the world cannot afford this spending without incurring the risk of economic collapse and destruction. The game of one-up-manship in the arms race is over, because no one can really afford it. If not out of goodwill, just out of economic pressure, disarmament must begin. We must learn to live without weapons of war.

3. The invention of nuclear weapons has brought a new revolution in the nature and history of human warfare. Nuclear wars inevitably will mean racial suicide. Humanity can neither start nor regulate nor limit a nuclear war. But as the borderline between conventional war and nuclear war grows increasingly fuzzy, any conventional or local war runs the risk of leading to a nuclear holocaust. This means the only realistic vision of the future is a world without either nuclear or conventional weapons—a world without war.
4. Modern Science and the Technology based on it have given us the capacity to radically raise the standards of living of human beings everywhere. Unfortunately, however, this instrument is largely unavailable for this noble purpose of eliminating poverty, ill-health and ignorance; because anti-human forces like War and Profit now control the best part of Science/Technology. If by abolition of war and by regulating profit-making we can release science/technology from its subservience to these forces, we have now a real possibility of entering the 21st century without want, ignorance or large scale ill-health, and without war or weapons.
5. These four factors need a triggering factor to make them work in the right direction. The realistic and statesman-like proposals and initiatives of the USSR under Gorbachov's leadership have now pulled that trigger. The elimination of Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) would be only a first step. It must be followed by a 50% reduction in strategic or Long Range nuclear weapon systems, by the middle of 1988, as Gorbachov has proposed.

The main question to which Gorbachov addresses himself is—how do we make the shift from depending on weapons to

ensure national security even while disarming (not before disarming as Mrs. Thatcher seems to hold). Gorbachov suggests the following:

- (a) We will continue using the existing institutions and machinery for keeping peace, in the framework of the UN Charter.
- (b) We cannot mentally envisage the shape of an effective new international framework for peace and security for all nations, so long as our means of mass annihilation remain in place. Their very presence will distort the emergence of the new pattern. So it is necessary first to eliminate nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction in a very short time-frame, so that we can get to work on an alternate security system.
- (c) Meanwhile we can begin now to take positive steps—*e.g.*, a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, a no-first-strike agreement, substantial reductions in nuclear and conventional arms and armed personnel, making non-proliferation effective both horizontally and vertically, working out an agreement on a mechanism to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war by accident or intent, and so on. These 'bricks' are the materials with which we have to build the alternate system. Add to these other items like scientific-technical-cultural cooperation and exchange, international medical cooperation to prevent the spread of the most dangerous diseases like AIDS, developing plans for conversion of the economy from military to civilian production, the strengthening of institutions like the International Court of Justice, whose writ must run in all nations, creating a World Space Organisation, renovation of the Security Council for more effective functioning including having meetings in the areas of tension, strengthening the arm of the UN Secretary General, re-education of the masses to rectify false enemy images, and other confidence-building measures. Only thus can we pave the way for the alternate security system.

It is clear that General Secretary Gorbachov's vision will become more precise only after some concrete steps for disarmament have been decided and implemented. Meanwhile, it is the responsibility of peace-loving forces all over the world to do intensive

work to put some details on the idea of common security. International Common Security has not yet become a specific and detailed programme or plan as yet. The building of confidence will to a large extent depend on the extent to which the alternative programme becomes more specific and therefore more credible.

9

Common International Security *Some Proposals**

First I would like to make clear that the term "Common Security" is differently understood by different people. Those who want to distinguish between "Common Security" and "Collective Security" sometimes apply the first to the security of a group of *some* nations, and the second to that of *all* nations.

"Common Security" as a concept is more recent than that of "Collective Security" advanced at the time of Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. The new concept of Common Security is offered as an alternative to Deterrence. It is often put forward as a choice between Mutually Assured Destruction, and Mutually Assured Survival—a misleading distinction, since the purpose of both is survival.

In our Round Table Conference, it may be useful to keep the distinction between Common Security and Collective Security. Common Security as an alternative to Deterrence, would then apply largely to the N.A.T.O.—W.T.O. confrontational situation, while Collective Security would apply to the security of the more than 160 nations of the world. The second distinction is that Collective Security is based on the idea of using the collective forces of all nations of the world together (or some) against a single aggressor, while Common Security seeks to avoid war and the use of forces altogether.

* This is a part of a speech delivered by Metropolitan Mar Gregorios at the Fifth Round Table Conference of Theologians and Scientific Experts on "Common Security and Moral-Ethical Values" in Moscow USSR, March 18-20, 1987.

In the W.T.O.—N.A.T.O. situation, Common Security as a concept, means that the two political and economic systems with their enormous military power, move from deterrence and confrontation to detente and mutual cooperation. The two military systems exist for the protection of the interests of the two political economic systems—NATO for the Market Economy or Capitalist System and WTO for the Centrally planned or Socialist System.

The Concept of Common Security rests on the assumption that war and preparing for war are inimical to the real interests of both sides, and that security is best assured if they would trust and cooperate with each other in an atmosphere of peaceful, healthy competition between the two systems.

This perspective appeals to socialist countries, but does not appeal to those who are now benefitting from the unjust Market Economy and from the arms race and the arms trade. Hence, the concept itself would be resisted by these beneficiaries, which include much of the western mass media.

Common Security, however, need not be limited to the NATO and WTO countries. We could think of Common Security as a global concept, not substantially different from Collective Security.

While deterrence as a concept refers primarily to the NATO—WTO confrontation, Common Security, its alternative, need not be so confined, but could apply to all nations—nuclear and non-nuclear, with a market economy or centrally planned economy. Shall we then call the concept Global Common Security, and proceed to lay down certain fundamental principles for such Common Security for all nations of our planet.

1. Freeze all weapons research and development. So long as the technological power of humanity is applied to war, the threat of war cannot be removed. Emerged and emerging technologies like Laser, Fibre Optics, Directed Energy, Kinetic Energy, should be immediately diverted to peaceful purposes beneficial to humanity. Private corporations and agencies should be legally forbidden to do any war-related R and D.
2. Freeze all manufacture, exchange by trade or other means, and deployment of all weapons and delivery systems—by an international convention.

3. Agree, in the same International convention, on a time-bound (say 10 to 12 years) plan for the elimination by stages of all nuclear weapons by all nuclear states.
4. In the same International convention, agree on a ban on nuclear weapons—making them illegal—as biological weapons were once made illegal. Provide, however, for an internationally and democratically controlled monitoring and verifying system for nuclear, biological and chemical weapons as well as emerging and emerged new weapons technology. The monitoring and verifying system should maintain surveillance of civilian nuclear and other high technology establishments.
5. Devise an International system of imposing effective economic trade and communications sanctions on confirmed and persisting offenders, so that they can be deterred without the use of military force.
6. Convene, as soon as possible, an International Global Conference on General and Complete Disarmament and Demilitarization, and come to a global agreement on the reduction and minimization of conventional weapons and forces, as well as on the use of the military for civilian rule.
7. Set up, in the same Conference, an effective International Court of Justice, with power to order sanctions on offenders, or to set up machinery for peaceful resolution of conflicts. International conflicts which cannot be settled by mutual negotiations should always be brought to this court. The setting-up of this court will be part of a global treaty agreeing to the non-use of force in the settlement of international conflicts.
8. In the same conference, legislate to ban the research, manufacture and trade of arms as well as the use of force for the settlement of international conflicts.
9. Provide for the participation of people's representatives in the Court and in other peace-keeping machinery.
10. Agree on plans for international mutual cooperation in science, technology and culture to promote the welfare of humanity as a whole, to explore space and the oceans to the same end, and to make advanced technology available to all who need it.

Towards a New Moral Order

Morality has, unfortunately, till now been limited to the personal realm. It is the job of the religions, as well as of others interested, to work out a morality that applies to corporations and nations also. At the religious section of the International Forum of Peace Forces held in Moscow last month, some preliminary proposals were made to articulate the fundamental principles of a New International Moral Order. The following ten principles are presented to facilitate the Round Table's work in this area, and to serve as a starting-point for discussion.

1. All nations are sovereign, free and equal, but also responsible to each other and to the global community of nations. Each nation should therefore pursue its own interests only in the context of the interests of the whole of humanity.
2. Nations are today becoming increasingly interdependent in matters of political economy, science and technology, trade, environment, communications and the nuclear peril as well as other spheres. This interdependence should be positively channelled to create international structures of global cooperation in all areas of human endeavour.
3. Security of nations should not be dependent on military might or threat to use or actual use of force. No nation should imperil the security of other nations in the pursuit of its own national security. All nations should cooperate in assuring the security of each nation.
4. War and militarization, like slavery and serfdom, should be abolished in all countries. Children should be taught that war is evil. Their toys and their books should, instead of promoting the war instinct in them, foster ideas of peace and internationalism.
5. Nuclear Weapons are evil, anti-human. It is a moral evil to make, buy, sell, keep, exchange, deploy, use or threaten to use them. They should be legally banned and totally abolished.
6. Research on new technologies of war should also be banned like Laser Beams, other Directed Energy Weapons, Kinetic Energy Weapons, Enhanced Radiation Weapons, etc. There

should be a concerted international effort to deploy existing science and technology as well as new research in solving the problems of poverty, ill-health, ignorance, lack of housing, clothing and transport, which affect the underprivileged.

7. Space and High Seas including seabeds should remain the common property of humanity, controlled by a democratic international authority, and should be kept free from all weapons of mass destruction. They should instead become the major arena of democratic, international, scientific and technological, cultural and communicational cooperation, and promote a sense of global belonging among all peoples and nations.
8. Competing socio-economic and political systems should be allowed to co-exist and co-operate in an atmosphere of healthy mutual cooperation, mutual trust, and friendly competition.
9. International treaties, agreements and conventions should always be respected; they should not be unilaterally violated by any nation; they should be developed further as a basis for the new international policy that is emerging.
10. Terrorism, whether private or state, is an evil. It victimises the innocent; creates distrust and insecurity, renders human society more violent and inhuman.

10

Common Security and Moral-Ethical Values*

The Fifth Round Table Conference of Religious Workers and Scientific Experts on *Common Security and Moral Values* met at the Danilow Monastery in Moscow at the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church. It was organized by the Working Presidium of the 1982 World Conference: Religious Workers for saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe. The 100 participants from 35 countries in five continents broke up into three discussion groups and presented reports to the plenum, which have been edited by the Working Presidium into this comprehensive report.

I. From Confrontation and Deterrence Towards Common Security

1. For too long now people are suffering because of attitudes and arguments of confrontation and defensiveness. Defence and deterrence make sense only where there is opposition and distance with fear of each other. How can we have peace when we seek to protect our own interests at the expense of others? How can we have peace where anxiety and mutual suspicion rule?
2. If we are all to find security we should all abandon attitudes of fear and suspicion, selfishness and distrust. We should acknowledge our inter-dependence and learn to love and trust our neighbours.
3. We agree in rejecting all narrow concepts of national security. We want to accept other people, and recognize their gifts as

* Report of the Fifth Round Table Conference Moscow March 18-20, 1987.

well as their needs. We seek the common security of all people. We want a world in which all people care for each other. Only so shall persons and peoples find freedom and hope, security in community.

4. Comprehensive Security is a positive concept, not a defensive one. It rejects a selfish notion of security, for a nation to be complacent and untroubled about other people's fears and hopes, caring only for one's own comfort and security in the midst of injustice and suffering all around us. Comprehensive Security demands political, economic and social justice in a context of freedom of thought and expression, respect for pluralism and acceptance of diversity.
5. Comprehensive or Common Security is different from the concept of Collective Security. The latter meant two or more nations joining together to use force against a third nation. Common security means no nation is secure when others are insecure; none is fully satisfied until others are satisfied. When nations care for each other, there is no need for war or the use of force.
6. Common Security is not mere protection from violence and Aggression. We need freedom from want and fear; we need more. We need to care, and also to share. Nations and cultures share one human society; we should share both our natural resources and our human gifts—intellectual, cultural, and spiritual. We must learn/both to respect and to win respect; we must trust and be trustworthy. We must inspire confidence and optimism, but not just for our own family or group or nation or religious community. Other nations and communities should be able to have confidence in us, in our intentions and practices, in our integrity and openness.
7. Security involves risk. That is the way of love. One cannot show love, compassion and trust without making ourselves vulnerable, and taking risks. The alternative is to take the incomparably greater risk of remaining blocked in pride, selfishness and debilitating mutual suspicion.

II. Peace and Justice

8. The concepts of peace and security must be rescued from their negative context of war and defence, the use of force

confrontation and conflict. But their inseparable link to justice needs to be equally emphasized. Peace and security obtained by forcing peoples and groups into economic captivity or political passivity invites frustration and violence. Many of us here come from situations where violent conflict is caused or inflamed by reigning injustice. Racial hatred or contempt, religious discrimination, fanaticism or intolerance, denial of human rights, economic exploitation and enforced poverty, as well as narrow nationalist pride can breed violent protest and peace-disrupting communal conflict. In such situations even the most hard-pressed victims reject peace at any price and prefer to die than to suffer injustice in silence.

9. Justice is not merely a matter of equitable distribution of wealth and fair participation in power. Justice is primarily a moral-ethical reality, that has to do more with responsible and responsive human relations than with the distribution of power and commodities. All human beings have to recognize their need of others and their responsibility to them. We are one human race. We have a responsibility not only to each other, but also to the environment in which we live. We are responsible for conserving and caring for the resources of earth, sea and space. Human rights exist only in the context of human responsibility—to our human neighbours, to our animal and plant fellow-sharers in life, and to all the inherited resources of our planet, including that delicate balance that holds together the bundle of life.
10. It is not so strange that the beneficiaries of an unjust economic system do more violence to the environment than the system's victims do. In fact, the poor and the oppressed care more, both for conserving limited resources and for showing compassion to their weak neighbours. And justice basically means caring. It is not dispensed from on high by State or Court. Both Common Security and Justice can be grounded only in peoples who care for others.
11. Comprehensive Security means more than dismantling ideological and military barriers, and tearing down iron or bamboo curtains installed in the minds of peoples. It is important to break down the so-called East-West barriers and

to establish co-operation between them. It is equally important to bridge the economic, racial and cultural gaps between North and South. These gaps seem to be ever widening in our time. The explosive despair and anger of the victims of hunger, disease, ignorance and poverty can have just as disastrous consequences as the insanely stockpiled nuclear arsenals of a handful of nations. We have seen here the connection between the mad arms race and arms trade on the one hand and the increasingly yawning gap between the rich and the poor in national and international structures. We have seen here afresh the gross immorality of spiralling expenditure on arms and war while millions die-without food or medicine, and go without books or shelter. Common or Comprehensive Security thus demands a salutary reconstruction of industry and agriculture, of education and culture, of health and transport, so that no one is deprived of the means to live a life worthy of a human being. The economy and culture must move from production related to war and profit; it must be thoroughly revamped to provide all human beings with what they really need, and for all human beings to contribute all their gifts and resources for the welfare of the whole.

12. ***Peace for the whole Person and the whole of Humanity—*** True peace, from the religious perspective, must go beyond and deeper than peace with neighbours, and peace with nature. A human person has to be at peace with oneself as well as with the whole of reality. This is the true foundation for Comprehensive Security.
13. ***The Need for Renewal in all Religions—*** Comprehensive security is built on trust and care and hope: these attitudes in turn require a deep, abiding, trusting relation to Transcendent Reality and openness to the whole of reality. Fear, bitterness, hatred, aggression and cruelty are incompatible with the concept of Comprehensive Security or with any religious belief. Religious people should seek peace of mind in accordance with their own best traditions. But no religious tradition can be true to itself if it seeks to inculcate inner peace and spiritual security for persons while preaching of hatred for others and contempt for those who do not belong to one's own religious persuasion. Religious groups have often been guilty of

spreading hatred to others and breeding so-called just wars. Religious leaders have to recognize this and be repentant and self-critical. Religious teachings should once again be renewed in the spirit of the founders of religions who were never narrow-minded or fanatical. An inclusive global compassion for all humanity should become an integral part of the teaching of all religions. Only by such internal renewal can each religion make its best contribution to a Global Common Security for all humanity.

14. ***Religions and the Nuclear Threat***—Representatives of all religions have spoken out in clear and unambiguous terms their opposition to nuclear weapons, the arms race and the arms trade. They have sought to make people aware of the irreparable and catastrophic consequences of a possible nuclear conflict, for the survival not only of the human race, but also of all life on earth. The World Conference: Religions Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe (Moscow, 1982) expressed the view, on behalf of all religions, that nuclear weapons are a curse to humanity today, that the use of these weapons is the gravest possible crime against humanity, and that the threat to use them is also immoral. Hence, we demand the dismantling and destruction of all nuclear stockpiles, the signing and ratification of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and a total ban on all nuclear weapons.
15. In subsequent Round Table Conferences, religious leaders and secular experts have agreed on the need for a nuclear freeze, on the conversion of economies from a war basis to meet civilian needs, on keeping space free from weapons of war, on the global impact of a nuclear winter which could follow any nuclear war in any crowded part of the world, the relation between the arms race, arms trade and militarism on the one hand, and hunger, poverty and injustice on the other. We have as yet been unable to witness a real transition from the outmoded pre-nuclear age military thinking, to a realistic assessment of the problems of an age in which any nuclear war spells doom for all humanity and for all life. While the immorality and senselessness of outmoded policies in a nuclear age seem to be evident to every thinking person, humanity, nevertheless, has yet to acquire sufficient moral power and

find a political strategy to find our way out of the nuclear impasse.

16. If grieves us that disarmament talks have not progressed as they should. There are, however, a few positive developments since our last Round Table Conference a year ago. There has been a positive shift in human consciousness since the Reykjavik mini-Summit of October 1986. The promising sign was that the leaders of the two largest nuclear powers could acknowledge together the need for and feasibility of a total elimination of all nuclear weapons. The recent proposal of the Soviet leadership to delink the question of intermediate range Euromissiles from the total disarmament package and to dispose off all such Euromissiles as a first step to Detente, has found a positive response in many quarters.
17. Alas, the unilateral Soviet moratorium, which was in force for a full 19 months, failed to find a corresponding response on the other side. We are impressed by the fruit of the new Soviet thinking, even if it did not find the necessary reciprocity. It is a clear departure from traditional pragmatic militaristic thinking, a sign of hope about positive changes in the International political landscape as well.
18. The Heads of six nations—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania—have taken bold initiatives on behalf of humanity. They have supported the idea of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and on eliminating and banning nuclear weapons. The Delhi Declaration jointly signed by General Secretary Gorbachov and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India, has emphasized the need to free the world from all nuclear weapons and from all violence and terrorism. Religious circles fully support these moves.
19. The Roman Catholic Church took a special initiative in holding a one-day inter-religious prayer for peace in Assisi, Italy. This common prayer emphasised before the world, both the spiritual basis for the peace for which we strive and the agreement of all religions to work together for peace. We also reaffirm the need for more intensified common prayer for peace at an inter-religious and international basis—a principle which underlay the World Conference of 1982.

20. The meeting of the International Forum of Peace Forces for a Nuclear Weapons Free World in Moscow in February, 1987 was indeed a landmark in the International Peace Movement. Writers, artists, actors, physicians, physical scientists, politicians, political scientists, retired military generals for peace, business circles and religious circles met together to affirm a common mind to rid the world of nuclear weapons.
21. *Star Wars: Arms Race Versus the Human Race*—A previous Round Table Conference in 1984 had given sustained attention to the need for keeping space free from all weapons. At our present session in 1987 three years later, we were able to assess the recent developments in the Star Wars programme.
22. The Strategic Defence Initiative programme launched by the United States in 1983 turned out in point of fact to be a strategy of Star Wars, as it had very little element of defence in it. This programme, in its newer and fundamentally altered form, has left no doubt that it is based on an offensive strategy. The visionary idea of a defensive "space shield", a sort of "Maginot Line" in space, was from the very beginning unrealistic and unfeasible. This idea was, therefore, abandoned and a new concept, namely Star Wars II, took shape in 1985. This no longer spoke about a comprehensive shield to protect the U.S.A. and its allies, but only "zonal" or "point" shields to protect nuclear silos and installations, command and control centres and other strategic points. This concept was part of the strategy to make a decapitating first strike which could destroy most of the "enemy's" retaliatory power and to defend one's own second strike capacity in the face of a limited retaliatory strike from the surviving SLBMs, and air-borne or other missiles of the "enemy".
23. This aggressive nature of this selective or zonal space shield concept seems reflected in the speeches of President Reagan and other senior US officials, as far back as 1983 itself.
24. There appears to be a new Star Wars programme in the process of being evolved which seeks to fit into an over-all coordinated NATO programme, taking into account West European technological developments and regional interests. This type of Star Wars system, it is said, is based on a very large number

of compact, highly automated anti-ballistic missiles launched into orbit. The technical feasibility of this programme is debatable.

25. Even this kind of Star Wars programme has two disastrous consequences. Firstly, it initiates a new and extremely catastrophic state in the arms race which we all agree is completely contrary to the best interests of humanity and, therefore, must be strongly opposed by all people of goodwill.
26. Secondly, we have been warned by competent experts both in the USA and the USSR that if both sides develop highly automated electronic or computer systems for mutual defence, the two systems will coalesce into one integrated system which may completely go out of human control. It is technically possible that such an integrated system may trigger a nuclear war which human beings would not be able to control or stop. The destiny of all humanity is not safe in the hands of computers which possess neither emotions, nor moral or ethical values.
27. This Round Table Conference, therefore, calls upon peace workers everywhere to study these problems in greater detail and initiate a worldwide movement to ensure that space is kept free from all weapons of war and that any star wars programme is totally abandoned. Stopping the arms race from spreading into space is a necessary precondition for a system of International Common Security.
28. We are at a decisive moment of history. It is possible that we may come to a point of no return in the mad arms race. An automated global war system in space may destroy all life on our planet. It should be a matter of deep moral concern to all of us. Now is the moment for peoples and nations to choose life. Later it may be too late.
29. *Towards a New International Moral Order*—This Round Table devoted considerable thought to the question of the values and principles to be affirmed as a foundation for a new International Moral Order within which nations and peoples can fulfil their responsibility to each other and build the structures for a Comprehensive Security for all people on our

globe. This concern for a new moral order to govern international relations has been voiced by statesmen and religious leaders alike including previous Round Tables. It calls for a new thinking in social and political attitudes and approaches, for radical changes in perspectives and orientations, for a thorough re-ordering of priorities. The common threat of nuclear catastrophe that faces us all places all of us, the nations and peoples of the world, before the inescapable imperative of seeking this new order and building it.

30. We affirm above all what we have always affirmed, that life is a sacred and precious gift of God, that human beings as the only ones capable of destroying it, have a very special responsibility to conserve it. The preservation of all life—human life included—is an absolute priority in seeking solutions to all human problems. Eliminating the nuclear threat as well as the threat of ecological catastrophe thus becomes an inescapable moral imperative, with implications for all spheres of human strife and existence—political, military, economic, social, cultural, scientific and humanitarian.
31. The new thinking is not a matter of strategy or tactics. It cannot be seen in terms of a pragmatic adjustment of interests of nations or groups of nations. Neither can it be based on fear of total annihilation. It has to be based on intransigent, enduring moral principles. Moral principles are not a matter of mere legal enactment, or forced imposition, but of commitment on the part of persons and societies to an order higher than narrow or selfish interests. Without such moral principles, neither human persons, nor human institutions like family and nation can endure. Nor, we now know, politics or economics, science or technology, education or culture be divorced from these moral principles. What is new is that we see clearly today the need for a *global humanitarian* moral structure which undergirds national as well as international human relations.
32. Admittedly such a global moral order must allow room for much diversity; it must nevertheless be based on a broad consensus among the nations and peoples of the world. Religions have a special role in bringing about this broad human consensus. They have been traditional stewards of moral

values; they have had a major role in shaping the consciences of persons and societies, and in witnessing to the inviolable nature of moral values and standards. Religions should bring fresh creativity to the formulation and inculcation of new moral principles regulating the life of nations with each other. Religious education programmes should have a substantial element of education for peace and for a new International Moral Order.

33. Our efforts to formulate the basic ingredients of such a broad consensus for a global moral order have yielded only very tentative and preliminary formulations. What is given below is a conflation of the work of our two groups:
- (1) All nations and peoples should unconditionally renounce nuclear weapons as immoral and proceed to eliminate and legally ban them.
 - (2) Outer space and the High seas should be kept as the commons of humanity and as such free from all weapons of war and mass destruction.
 - (3) International conflicts should be resolved by mutual dialogue, negotiation, arbitration, adjudication or by other peaceful means, without recourse to use of military force or the threat to use such force.
 - (4) International treaties, agreements and conventions including the Charter of United Nations should be respected by all parties and never unilaterally violated. There should be mutually agreed machinery for verification of compliance with and implementation of such agreements.
 - (5) All nations are composed of human beings and are therefore, intrinsically equal in dignity. Each nation, as a free and equal member of the community of nations, is responsible to others and to the whole global community.
 - (6) As members of the community of nations, and as participants in the same one human race, nations should co-operate with each other in economic, political, social, cultural, educational and other realms and should develop

structures for international co-operation for the good of humanity as a whole—in science, technology, culture, exploration of space and the oceans, mineral prospecting and other such beneficial areas.

- (7) Peaceful co-operation and healthy competition should be practised between widely differing socio-cultural and political economic systems. Each systems should be allowed to follow its own path of development, regulated however, by some common moral restraints.
- (8) No nation should seek its own security by imperilling that of others. All nations can be secure only when each nation is secure. This means building up the structures of a global and all-inclusive world community and policy.
- (9) Resolute steps should be taken towards substantial reduction of conventional forces and weapons by all nations. Working towards general and complete disarmament is an essential task for creating an alternate system of Common Security without recourse to arms.
- (10) Chemical, toxic and biological weapons should also be totally banned and existing stockpiles completely destroyed.
- (11) The research, development and manufacture and trading of nuclear, conventional and other emerging technology weapons all over the world should be totally banned and compliance should be verified by an internationally constituted monitoring agency.
- (12) Justice and care for the biosphere are essential aspects of a peaceful world. International and national injustices breed violence and conflict. Only in a world where no man, woman or child is exploited or oppressed or denied the basic means of living a life worthy of a human being, can peace flourish.

34. *Proposals and Programmes for Religious Peace Movements*—The three groups have formulated certain priorities for the programmes of religious peace movements all over the world. Here is a conflated summary list of our tasks:

- (a) create public opinion to demand an immediate dismantling of intermediate range nuclear weapons in Europe;
- (b) work with other peace activists, religious or secular, for the creation of nuclear weapons free zones wherever possible—in Europe, in the South Atlantic, in the Indian Ocean area, in the Middle East, in Southern Africa and elsewhere;
- (c) help create strong and organized public opinion, particularly within the nuclear weapon states as well as in nuclear weapons threshold nations, for effecting a time-bound scheme for the total elimination of all nuclear weapons and for banning them completely.
- (d) encourage nations to take more unilateral steps towards conventional and nuclear disarmament;
- (e) promote regional approaches to peace and security, especially in these regions where conflict has already broken out into war or is in danger of doing so;
- (f) build up public opinion in every nation to demand reduction in military forces and weapons and to negotiate a time-bound plan for general and complete disarmament.
- (g) work out, with the help of legal and political experts, the outline of a global international moral order and of the legal structures which should undergird that order;
- (h) integrate teaching about peace and Common Security into religious education programmes of all religions, and give high priority to peace education programmes; which include the demand for justice within and among nations, for a world without weapons of warfare, for caring for the delicate balance that sustains life;
- (i) religious organizations should highlight those aspects in their religious traditions and scriptural teaching which promote peace between communities at national and international levels; they should exercise restraint and refrain from caricaturing other religions, cultures and nations, discourage fanaticism and hatred;

- (j) organize inter-religious meetings in every locality, with the co-operation of secular or academic experts for the promotion of the ideas of common security, a New International Moral Order, the elimination of all nuclear weapons, and the possibility of a world without the weapons of warfare.
- (k) organize media programmes, including cassettes, television, radio, newspapers and magazines and pamphlets to disseminate peace education among the masses.
- (l) promote international, inter-cultural and inter-religious exchanges for improving mutual understanding and awareness of our common humanity.
- (m) demand the designation of a United Nations Year to promote the ideas of Common Security, a New International Moral Order and a World without weapons of Warfare.

11

Comprehensive Global Common Security* *A Programme for Peace Movements*

In the mid-eighties this rather unwieldy phrase was just coming into common use—of course largely among informed peace workers: Comprehensive Global Common Security (CGCS). If I remember right it had its origin in Gorbachevian “New Thinking” circles; some of us had a share in coining the term.

Now that “New Thinking” itself shows every sign of having been largely another indicator of a declining Soviet society, what possible relevance can CGCS have for the future? My brief answer is: every possible relevance, particularly in the post-Cold War situation, when detente and deterrence seem to have disappeared from the peace lingo. To me it seems like a comprehensive goal for all peace movements all over the world to follow. Even regional conflicts can find better solutions under the CGCS umbrella concept.

1. **Common Security**—This phrase affirms the following fundamental principles—

- a. The security of any one nation or a group of nations can never be at the expense of the security of another nation or a group of nations.
- b. All nations are jointly responsible for the security of each nation, and each nation is co-responsible for the common security of all nations.
- c. Common Security is to be achieved without the research, development, manufacture, stockpiling, use or threat to

* Article written in November 13, 1992.

use of any weapon of mass destruction. Such weapons are to be completely eliminated and totally banned; no nation, group of nations, not even the global community of nations, would be permitted to possess or use these weapons of mass destruction. These weapons themselves constitute a threat to human security.

2. Global Security—This phrase affirms the following principles:

- a. Security cannot be only for the privileged or propertied people of the world but has to be available for all human beings and for all human communities. Global security cannot mean security for the global transnational business enterprise or for those who enjoy an unjust or undemocratically held share of power and wealth.
- b. Systems set up for regional security will have to be dismantled and retailored to the needs of global common security.
- c. Global security implies a global community of communities (local, national, regional or otherwise) in which no community dominates, oppresses or exploits others, and in which each community functions as a responsible member of the global community.

3. Comprehensive Security—By this we mean more than territorial security from external armed attacks, though that is part of it. We mean four aspects of security:

- a. personal—security from infringement on or violation of legitimate personal human rights;
- b. security from corporate armed attacks, whether by governments or by private groups of terrorists;
- c. economic security for all—right to work, right to good education and health care; provision for environmentally sound rural and urban housing; right to clean air and fresh water and other essentials of a healthy and balanced life environment; economic security includes security against currency manipulation by governments and international financial, monetary and banking agencies;

- d. **social/cultural security**—This is important, especially for marginalised peoples like the original Natives of the American and Australian continents or the Adivasis and Girijans of India, whose culture has been invaded, overwhelmed and virtually destroyed by the culture of the invader. None of these groups had much of a role in determining the so-called common national, cultural and developmental goals, decided upon by the so-called “mainstream” without any reference to them. It could also apply to traditional cultures which seek to preserve ancient values but are under violent onslaught from a secular technological culture.
4. **The New Concept of Security**—The new notion of security is primarily that of human beings living without fear of each other or anxiety about attacks, on the basis of mutual trust, common care, faithfulness to a common commitment to the whole of humanity and its welfare, and a minimum of policing. The Extended Global Human Family, rather than the Worldwide Law-and-Order State, is the model for the Global Community of Communities as well as for the local community.
5. **The Role of the Military**—The new understanding of Comprehensive Global Common Security reduces to a bare minimum the role of the military and of armaments and armed forces in the keeping of peace and security. In fact, it envisages total elimination and banning, as internationally illegal, of all weapons of mass destruction: nuclear, prenuclear, chemical, bio-toxic, particle or laser beams, radiation weapons, climatological weapons and delivery systems for all these; most conventional or theatre weapons also need to be eliminated, as these have become increasingly inhuman and render human beings confronting them totally helpless.

This in turn means a massive conversion and large scale decentralisation and worldwide redistribution of the military production system in order to provide jobs for the civilian unemployed, and to manufacture what is really useful for human beings. It means also large scale or near total demobilisation of all armed forces in all lands while continuing to use their organized efforts for short and fixed periods to promote tree planting and nurturing,

organic farming, and rural reconstruction, and to help eliminate pollution, unsanitary conditions of life in town and country, ill-health, illiteracy, fresh water shortage and want in the world.

6. **A New Concept of Labour and Wages**—CGCS implies a new concept of labour itself, not as something one sells to someone else for some wages, but as one's privileged human contribution to the life and welfare of the global community of communities and to the local community. Trade Unions and Labour Unions will no longer be preoccupied with fighting for higher wages and larger perks, but with constructing a new society which is just and ensures for every human person a life worthy of the dignity of a human being. Changes in the understanding of labour and wages are fundamental to the developing of a global consciousness and to the transcending of destructive greed and parochialism.
7. **A New Concept of the Human**—We are in the twilight of a new civilisation, and we will soon have to learn to abandon many fondly held old ideas, including ideas of the human shaped by a presumptuous secular humanism which put the human at the centre of all existence. This kind of humanism saw the human as the highest being for whose use all other beings existed, to whom all other beings had to be subject and whose purposes all had to serve. Man is not the measure of all things, *pace Protagoras*. Humanity is the most evolved organism that we know of on this planet. But that does not automatically bestow upon human beings lordship over the created order, as the European Enlightenment of the 18th century so presumptuously assumed.
8. **The Unity of All Existence and of All Life**—The environmental crisis has made us specially aware of how fragile the thread is that binds the human to existence, and how bound up the human is, not only with trees and animals, but also with Carbon-dioxide levels in the atmosphere and Ozone levels in the stratosphere, with Sun and Moon, with oceans and lakes, with wind and rain, with mountains and rivers, with forests and algae. The bundle of life is one; the bundle of existence is also one.

9. **The Unity of All Humanity**—Humanity is one; but we have been conditioned to think of individuals and nations as somehow ontologically and existentially prior to and constituting humanity—a philosophically untenable notion. Neither individual nor nation emerged before the human species had lived and spread for millennia.

The unity of humanity becomes a central theme in CGCS. But unity need not imply uniformity. By no means. The richest unity is the one that encompasses maximum diversity and still does not fall apart. Every human person has his/her own dignity and distinctiveness, and is of value to the whole. The global community as well as the local community respects and cherishes as well as promotes the freedom and dignity of each person as precious and of infinite value. But no person is free from the commitment to the welfare of the whole. This is as axiomatic as commitment to truth, since the whole of humanity is an aspect of the truth, of the whole. Even the right to dissent does not absolve one from the commitment to truth.

10. **Democratic Pluralism**—Pluralism does not mean the mere co-existence of variety. Creative variety enriches culture and is to be encouraged. But, only when variety is held together by a common commitment on the part of all does it become genuine pluralism. That common commitment can have various levels: e.g., the whole of humanity, the whole of life, the whole of existence, the whole of a national society, and so on.

Today, however the pluralistic social commitment has come to involve a much wider and growing range of common convictions: for example, the unity of humanity, the freedom and dignity of all human beings, justice for all, peace and security for all, a healthy and life-promoting environment, meeting on a priority basis the basis needs of all, special care for the marginalised and the handicapped, loving attention to the needs of children and older people, more and more equitable distribution of the social product, saner medical and educational policies and systems, effective checks and balances in the exercise of power, and above all, fuller participation by the people in the socio-political decision making and implementing processes. This is what we call **DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM**, which is a central plank in the platform of CGCS.

11. In a democratically pluralist society, all people would have the same rights, irrespective of the social class, religion, caste, sex, race etc., to which each may belong. The state may not bestow any economic or social privilege on the basis of the religion or caste of a citizen. Any special privileges to backward people, like job reservations, admission quotas, fee concessions etc., shall be based on economic considerations.
12. Market mechanisms have their function within democratically pluralistic societies, but they shall neither dominate society, nor be dominated by a few. Trade, monetary and financing relations, whether national, regional or international, cannot be left to the mercy of the market forces, but should be vigilantly checked by a public body to ensure probity, equity and fairness. International patenting and copyright laws should be rewritten in order to promote maximum research and personal creativity on the one hand and at the same time to prevent undue exploitation in the name of "intellectual property rights".
13. Democratic Pluralism envisages a Global Common Market with a minimum of tariffs and trade barriers. What is needed however, is not a Global Common Market controlled by the Trans-national Corporations, but one what is fully and democratically responsible to the world's people and responsibly controlled by them.
14. CGCS implies that Nationalism and National Sovereignty are fast becoming outmoded concepts. Nations can continue to exist, poly-ethnic or mono-ethnic. The point is that they will no longer be sovereign; they will surrender their sovereignty to a democratic global community of nations, in which they will be the responsible decision makers and implementers, at least in large measure. As time goes on, we may see national structures becoming more and more obsolete, giving up their power to the global community on the one hand and to the local community on the other.
15. The State too must undergo radical changes of structure. As of now most nations are "over-stated". The government has become to some extent a Kafkaesque megalith, unproductive and unresponsive, as well as oppressive. In fact, the political

establishment and the bureaucracy together have become a new exploiting class which wastes or misappropriates the taxpayers' money. This could perhaps be said also about some of the professions funded by tax money? In any case, people are getting tired of the State and its political machinery. They are looking for more dependable ways of doing their political business.

16. Globally, CGCS demands new structures for legislature, judiciary and executive, but structures also for peoples' mobilisation for decision-making and implementation, both centrally and locally. We will indeed, have to start with the one existing structure, namely the United Nations Organization with its Related Agencies. We can be here only very brief in relation to some of the structural changes needed to make the UN an effective instrument of the people of the world.
17. **The Security Council**—The veto has to be abolished; the membership should rotate; all members should be elected by the General Assembly (both houses, see below), care being taken to provide for an equitable balance of interests. There should be clear and indubitable demarcation of the powers of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary General, as well crystal-clear and inviolable rules for setting up and conducting a UN Peace Keeping Operation.
18. **The General Assembly**—At present the General Assembly is representative of governments only. A second House of the Peoples has to be created with proportionate representation of the peoples of the world, say at the rate of one person for 10 million people, with a minimum of one for a nation with at least 5 million people. This body will also work with those NGOs accredited to ECOSOC (but not those affiliated only to Dept. of Public Information). The powers of the two Houses will be clearly demarcated and co-ordinated. Global legislation will have to go through both Houses. A Code of International Law with prescribed enforcement procedures and penalties for violations of law will gradually be developed through UN legislation which will be binding on all members of the community of nations.
19. A New World Court should have jurisdiction over all international disputes referred to it by an aggrieved nation. Its

- decisions will be binding; provisions can be made for appeal to the Security Council or to a similarly constituted representative judicial body. There will be proper democratic procedures to elect competent international jurists as judges in these courts.
20. The Office of the Secretary General will be suitably strengthened for global executive responsibilities, and a more democratic election procedure will be devised for all senior officials in the executive wing.
 21. The income of the UN will come from three basic taxes, one proportionate to the GDP of each member state, another to its military expenditure independently assessed, and the third a pollution tax proportional to the environmental pollution and biosphere disruption caused by activities in that state.
 22. The UN will set up a regime for the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, for the drastic reduction of conventional weapons and troops, and for enforcing conversion of the military production system to projects beneficial to humans.
 23. The UN will also devote its energies, through its related agencies and through its member states, to liberate Research and Development in Science and Technology from its present bondage to the Military Establishment and the Transnational Corporations; and to promote science/technology research in areas of basic human need including alternative and renewable sources of energy.
 24. The people themselves, with their own resources as well as through the UN, will have to develop countervailing power against the oppressive forces in society, including those responsible for bribery and corruption, exploitation, share market manipulation, blackmarketing, crime, violence and terrorism. The development and nourishing of people's power is an important aspect of Comprehensive Global Common Security.
 25. No discussion of CGCS would be complete without adequate reflection on the meaning and significance of human existence, and on humanity's relation to the Transcendent. We have to work out patterns of how we can best do this reflection together as secular and religious people coming from so many different

cultural backgrounds. Global inter-religious and inter-cultural dialogue, not merely on social questions, but also on questions of meaning and purpose, can wake us up from the amnesia of the Transcendent that has fallen upon our civilisation in the last few hundreds of years. There is no reason why peace movements should shy away from this rather delicate but very rewarding task. Even for the International community of communities this search can be relevant at every point—for genuine living together in community is always living from and towards the Transcendent.

GLOBAL PEACE AND COMMON SECURITY is an apt title at this time, when this mere planet earth, a part of the Universe is in a state of hyper-chaos, not merely in Bharat, but the world over. This chaos is due to the fact that the rich are becoming richer, and the poor, poorer—this being brought about by the power-hunger of a few, who have vested interests in destabilizing the world.

Why do we need a Global Common Security? For more reasons than one!!

Alarminglly, and with an aura of fright, will be the end of the world—with fire—emanating, not from the skies, but from a nuclear holocaust, released by the Super Powers, using the most advanced form of mass destruction, and annihilation, based on space age computerized technology, using laser, fibre-optics, Directed and Kinetic Energy—which will reduce the whole earth to shambles, and wipe out the complete population of this fragment of the universe, the earth. Nobody wants this to ever occur, as this will be the end of humanity.

The main theme of this title is two-fold, firstly, to enlighten the readers as to what the Third World War would be like, and secondly to save this planet, earth from complete annihilation.

I am sure the readers will gain some knowledge as to what this planet holds for its inhabitants in the ensuing decades, either 'to live and let live' or be wiped out from the face of this earth!! It will be good reading for those interested in warfare and perhaps members of the services, Army, Navy and the Air Force.