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I. WHY A CAMPAIGN TO MAKE A DECISION ABOUT WAR?

THE SITUATION

The issue is war: war which today threatens all life on the planet. Today the world's nuclear arsenals contain the equivalent of **one million Hiroshima bombs.** Every day humanity faces the possibility of extinction. Every day humanity builds five additional bombs in the hope that more weapons will create a safer world.

But sooner or later **the bombs will be used**. It may be an accident, a miscalculation, an error in judgment or an unplanned escalation of a regional conflict. But inevitably, they will be used. The world is not secure. **All life is at risk.**

Meanwhile, basic human needs go unmet in almost every country on the planet. The nations of the world spend **\$1,700,000 every minute on weapons.** Humanity spends more for weapons research than it does for discovering new energy sources, improving human health, raising agricultural productivity, and controlling global pollution. One-half the research and development expenditures of the world and 500,000 scientists are concentrated on weapons of destruction.

THE CHALLENGE

The challenge is to build a world beyond war. No one wants war. Yet the people and the nations of the world have not decided to give up their "right" to use war and the threat of war to get what they want. All people, all nations, face this challenge. In this country, we must use our democratic process to form a new national will, the will to build a world beyond war. We, the people, must make a decision about war. We must decide:

- to continue to use war and the threat of war to settle differences between countries, or
- to reject war as an option and devote our time, resources, and creativity to developing other ways to resolve conflict.

II. WHAT IS THE CAMPAIGN?

"Making a Decision About War" is a campaign to engage the American public in choosing to end war. This campaign parallels the presidential campaign and will provide a forum in which people can move from ambiguity and apathy to clarity and conviction about the need to end war. It is a way to ensure a future where our talents, resources and technology are used to preserve the earth and make a better world for all people.

The campaign provides a new way to participate in the government of the United States. Mortimer Adler states in his book, *We Hold These Truths*, "...the government of the United States is not in Washington, not in the White House, not in the Capitol.... The government of the United States resides in us, we the people. What resides in Washington is the administration of our government."

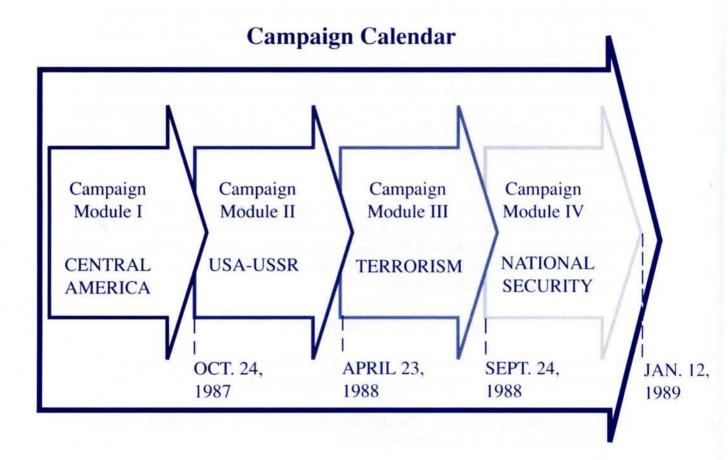
We, the people, must passionately participate in making a decision about war. Deeply held and widely shared public decision comes from an intensive process of thinking and talking about differing ideas. This requires a dialogue that is so active, effective and highly charged that it leaves none of the participants untouched or unchanged. "Making a Decision About War" is designed to generate this dialogue.

Four critical ideas define the focus of the campaign:

- **Times have changed**. We have the ability to destroy the world or to save it. A decision is required: Will we end war or will we end life?
- **People make the decision**. The ultimate responsibility lies not with the President or with the Congress. It lies with the people.
- We must answer the tough questions. For example, what are the real solutions in Central America? How will we coexist with the Soviet Union? What can be done about terrorism? How will we provide real security?
- Each of us builds our own personal conviction. Active, open dialogue involving all points of view is the best way to facilitate this process.

A campaign paper has been developed to engage people in dialogue about these four points. (See Appendix A.) In cities and towns across the country, thousands of people are using it as they talk to friends and neighbors, co-workers, community leaders, and public officials. The structure of the campaign consists of a series of four educational modules.

Each module focuses on one of the questions which must be answered as we build a world beyond war. Shown below is the Campaign Calendar which outlines the sequence of the modules.



Each module includes the following:

International Satellite Television Presentation

Each module will begin and conclude with an International Satellite Television Presentation. It will summarize the existing module of the campaign as well as present an overview of the question to be addressed in the next one. The program will be educational and motivational in nature.

Intensive Grassroots Activity

The most important aspect of each module is its intensive grassroots activity. These efforts will focus on answering critical questions related to the issue of the module. Thousands of individuals across the country will actively reach out into their communities and involve people with varying points of view in this open dialogue. Based upon the results of this dialogue, a common action will be taken by individuals participating in the campaign.

Task Force Research Program

As part of the movement's research and educational effort, a task force will be convened which includes representation from the entire national movement. The purpose of the task force is to conduct in-depth research, both nationally and internationally. This group will help the entire movement draw conclusions regarding the issue under investigation.

National Decision Satellite Television Conference

All campaign participants will hear a report from the task force via national satellite television. The task force will present the conclusions drawn and action recommended as a result of its intensive study.

National Action

After the National Decision Satellite Television Conference, the action recommended by the task force will be implemented by the entire movement as a way of impacting the national decision-making process. Culmination of this national action will coincide with the launch of the next educational module.

Support Programs:

USA-USSR Book Project

For the first time, Western and Soviet scientists together have written about the threat of continued war and the need for global thinking. Two years in the making, *BREAKTHROUGH*, *Emerging New Thinking*, was published simultaneously in both the United States and the Soviet Union. (See Appendix B.)

Iowa/New Hampshire Project

Beyond War volunteers in Iowa and New Hampshire are airing radio ads with the theme "War Doesn't Work Anymore." As voters, they are talking with journalists and the presidential candidates, to inject the issue of ending war into the national dialogue. An office has been opened in Des Moines to facilitate this effort in Iowa.

Beyond War Award Ceremonies

During the 18-month campaign, "Making a Decision About War," the Beyond War Award will be presented twice. The 1987 recipient is the Peace Corps and its 120,000 former and current volunteers.

III. WHY WILL THE CAMPAIGN SUCCEED?

TIMING

Times are ripe for change. The majority of Americans are deeply concerned about the threat of war, the loss of values in our society, and the prospects for their children's futures. Equally important, they are ready for a new phase of social activity and responsibility. This is the generation that can and must end war.

The 1988 presidential election is the first since 1960 in which an incumbent president is not running for re-election. This allows issues, rather than personalities, to be the dominant factor in the electoral process. We now have a unique opportunity for a national dialogue about the basic direction of our country's policies.

The Soviet Union is also in the midst of historic change. A new generation of Soviet leadership has created the possibility for a fundamental change in the superpower relationship.

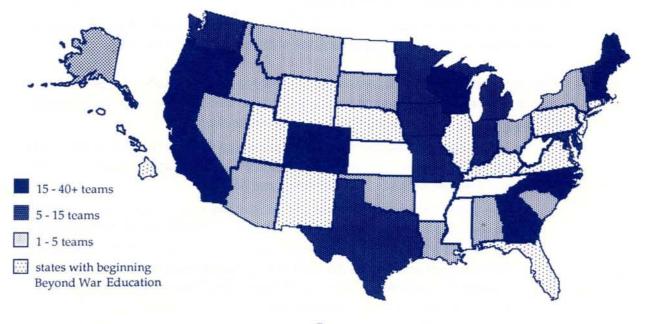
RESOURCES

Beyond War brings unique resources to this campaign.

1. Active grassroots involvement

The strength of Beyond War is in the hundreds of teams participating throughout the United States in the ongoing educational activity of the movement. A team typically consists of 5 to 15 people working together on a chosen task. Since July 1987, "Making a Decision About War" has been the focus of these teams.

The development of teams of committed individuals has grown over the past four years from a relatively small group of people in Northern California to committed volunteers in 38 states. This growth was accelerated in 1984 when 27 families moved from Northern California to 15 locations around the country to launch Beyond War as a national movement.



2. Leadership team

Beyond War has, over the last four years, developed a leadership team of people who have a deep understanding of the principles of Beyond War and who have assumed responsibility for the ongoing growth of the movement.

An important aspect of the movement's activities is an individual's in-depth education on the principles of Beyond War. Leadership development takes place through on-the-job training, seminars and courses. This focus has enabled the movement to develop skilled leadership throughout the country. Included in this leadership team are 400 men and women who work as full-time volunteers. Many are business and professional leaders who have made career changes to devote their time and talents to the Beyond War movement. Others have taken leaves of absence or sabbaticals from their jobs for three months to a year to work full time with the movement.

3. Widespread base of financial support

The activities of Beyond War have been financially supported by thousands of individuals across the country. Donations during 1986/87 totaled \$1,790,000; 17,511 people contributed an average of \$102. Additional gross revenue is generated from program fees, sale of educational materials, seminars and course fees.

Because of the volunteer nature of the movement, budget figures are understated relative to the real resources used. For example, the 1986/87 budget of \$2.3 million would have been more than \$10 million if salaries were paid to the National Staff.

Less than 2% of the total budget is used for salaries and less than 1% is spent to obtain financial support. Clearly, the large base of dedicated volunteers makes it possible to leverage every dollar contributed for maximum effectiveness.

4. Modern communications technology

During the last three years, Beyond War has developed expertise in using computer and satellite technology to communicate with large numbers of people.

The Beyond War Award, presented annually to an individual or organization who has made a significant contribution to building a world beyond war, has provided the opportunity to master satellite television technology.

- In December 1984, the Award was presented to the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), in the first two-way television satellite link between San Francisco and Moscow.
- The 1985 Award was presented in a ceremony that connected seven nations on five continents by live two-way television. The heads of state of India, Sweden, Tanzania, Mexico, Greece, and Argentina received the Award in their respective capitals. An audience of 33,000 people attended 151 "downlink" locations in the United States. In addition, 50 million viewed the ceremony live in the recipient countries.

• In 1986, 20 million people viewed the presentation of the Award to the heads of state of the Contadora Group - Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela. In the United States, 40,000 people attended the ceremony in 157 locations.

The Beyond War National Meetings and National Leadership Seminars have used satellite technology in an interactive way.

In the fall of 1985 and 1986, National Meetings linked together Beyond War volunteers in many locations across the country via satellite. These sessions were designed to communicate strategy to the entire movement simultaneously.

National Leadership Seminars held each summer provide a means for the leadership of the movement to meet for an extended time (3-5 days) for strategy formulation and leadership development.

- In 1984, 75 people attended the National Leadership Seminar. The following year, the number of participants increased to 380.
- By 1986, the movement had grown to the point where satellite technology was used to involve all the leadership. That summer, 840 people participated.
- In July 1987, "Making a Decision About War" was launched at a 3-day National Leadership Seminar. More than 2700 Beyond War volunteers participated in 73 "downlinks."

IV. WHAT WILL THE CAMPAIGN COST ?

"Making a Decision About War" will cost approximately \$4.8 million. This includes both Program Cost at the national level and Operating Cost at the local and national levels during the 18 months of the campaign.

PROGRAM COST - National

International Satellite Television Presentations \$1,200,000 There will be four presentations over the 18-month period. The cost for each will be approximately \$300,000. Funds will cover such items as: research, development, and production of a one-hour video program; satellite transmission costs; studio rental; and travel expenses.

National Decision Satellite Television Conferences

There will be three National Decision Conferences during the campaign. Each will cost approximately \$50,000.

Task Force Research Programs

There will be three task force groups during the 18-month campaign. The cost for each task force is estimated at \$80,000, which includes travel and living expenses during the research phase.

Support programs

Beyond War Award Ceremonies	400,000
Iowa/New Hampshire Project	300,000
USA-USSR Book Project	50,000
TOTAL NATIONAL PROGRAM COST	\$2,340,000

OPERATING COST - Local and National

This includes the costs of local "downlinks," educational materials, travel, facility rentals, telephone, and postage. (See next page for details.)

TOTAL CAMPAIGN COST

To put this figure into perspective, \$4.8 million is less than 3 minutes worth of global military spending.

Note: During the 1987/88 fiscal year (July 1, 1987 - June 30, 1988) \$3,000,000 of this cost will be incurred. This represents a 25% increase over the prior year budget. The balance of \$1.8 million will be spent in the first 6 months of fiscal 1988/89.

\$4,790,000

150,000

240,000

\$2,450,000

"MAKING A DECISION ABOUT WAR" CAMPAIGN COST July 1, 1987 To January 31, 1989

PROGRAM COST - National	12 Months 1987/88	6 Months 1988/89	18 Months Total		
International Satellite Presentations (4)	\$600,000	\$600,000			
National Decision Satellite Meetings (3)	50,000	100,000	150,000		
Task Force Research Programs (3)	160,000	80,000	240,000		
Support Programs					
Beyond War Award Ceremonies (2)	200,000	200,000	400,000		
Iowa/New Hampshire Project	300,000		300,000		
USA-USSR Book Project	50,000		50,000		
TOTAL NATIONAL PROGRAM COST	\$1,360,000	\$980,000	\$2,340,000		
OPERATING COST - Local and National					
Local Programs					
Duplicating and Printing	300,000				
Facility and Equipment	30,000				
Educational Events	250,000				
Media	50,000				
Depreciation	30,000				
Seminar Costs	150,000				
Postage and Supplies	110,000				
Telephone	75,000				
Travel	100,000				
Total	1,095,000	550,000	1,645,000		
National Programs					
Seminars	30,000		30,000		
Newsletter	120,000	60,000	180,000		
Administrationprinting, postage,	260,000	130,000	390,000		
supplies, legal, accounting, facilities, equipment	nt				
Reserve Contingency for future programs	135,000	70,000	205,000		
Total	545,000	260,000	805,000		
TOTAL OPERATING COST-Local and National	\$1,640,000	\$810,000	\$2,450,000		
TOTAL CAMPAIGN COST	\$3,000,000	\$1,790,000	\$4,790,000		

V. HOW CAN YOU PARTICIPATE ?

Your participation is essential. There are three things you can do to help ensure the success of "Making a Decision About War."

- 1. Involve yourself in the campaign. Attend the National Satellite Television Conferences and the International Satellite Television Presentations. Continue the discussion/dialogue with friends, neighbors, and co-workers. Participate in the National Action.
- 2. Involve others in this campaign. Invite them to join with you, and thousands of other people around the country, in this important dialogue.
- **3. Contribute money.** All contributions are tax deductible. Make your check payable to Beyond War and mail to:

Beyond War 222 High Street Palo Alto, CA 94301-1097

Attn: Campaign Funding

Making A Decision About War THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1988 ELECTION

Times Have Changed

Science and technology have given us the tools and a choice.

TO DESTROY CIVILIZATION

With nuclear weapons we can destroy civilization.

Nuclear weapons have made war unwinnable.

Any war can lead to nuclear war.

Military strength no longer provides security.

The plain fact is: war doesn't work anymore.

TO BUILD A WORLD BEYOND WAR

Agricultural technology can feed the world.

Ecology enables us to understand complex systems.

Medicine can meet the basic health needs for all people.

Psychology provides understanding of the root causes of hate and violence.

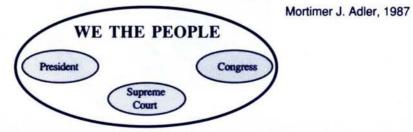
Communication technology provides the tools to bring the world together.

A Decision Is Required

Who Decides?

In a democracy such as ours, change requires participation.

"...The government of the United States is not in Washington, not in the White House, not in the Capitol...the government of the United States resides in us, we the people. What resides in Washington is the administration of our government."



"...people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than are governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."

Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1959

What Do We Need To Know?

Are we willing to answer the tough questions?

What are real solutions in Central America? How will we co-exist with the Soviet Union? What can be done about terrorism? How will we provide for real security?

Are there other tough questions?

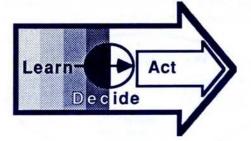
What are the principles to which we must absolutely hold ourselves in order to answer these questions?

Ends and means must be consistent. We must demand consistency in our national and international behavior. We must stand for equal opportunity to satisfy basic human needs. We must resolve conflicts without the use of violence. Others?

We, The People, Must Decide

"The process.....(of deciding).....must proceed by way of a dialogue that is so active and effective and highly charged that it leaves none of the participants untouched and unchanged. At the conclusion of such a dialogue no participant is quite the same person he or she was before the dialogue began. This condition presupposes that people will leave themselves sufficiently open to hear other viewpoints as well as to present their own viewpoint."

Daniel Yankelóvich, 1985



"I know of no safe repository of the ultimate power of society but the people. And if we think them not enlightened enough, the remedy is not to take the power from them, but to inform them by education."

Thomas Jefferson, 1820

Are we ready?

Are we willing?

APPENDIX B

USA-USSR Book Project

BREAKTHROUGH: Emerging New Thinking

For the first time, Soviet and American scientists and scholars have jointly written a book defining the terms of survival in the nuclear age. *BREAKTHROUGH*, published simultaneously in English by Walker Publishing Company, New York, and in Russian by Progress Publishing House, Moscow, is unique in literary and scientific circles. It not only shatters old mindsets by its content, but it breaks new ground through the challenging process of joint USA-USSR authorship. "War is the issue for this generation and global thinking is the challenge," states the prologue to *BREAKTHROUGH*. Two years in the making, the book is the result of thousands of hours of cooperative effort undertaken by Beyond War and the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace Against the Nuclear Threat. Initial endorsements include:

"An impressive and immensely valuable product of Soviets and Americans trying to surmount the mountains which separate our cultures....Our differences are real, but this book, and the collaboration which produced it, are the only way to thread through them to produce a world in which all our children can live in safety." — William Colby, Former Director, CIA

"The publication of this book is in itself a remarkable event. The views expressed in it make it even more remarkable. It gives American readers an opportunity to acquaint themselves with some of the best and freshest thinking in the Soviet Union. It gives Russian readers an array of facts and arguments they have not usually encountered in Soviet works. A surprising milestone!"

> Professor Alexander Dallin, Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, Stanford University

"This book is a fascinating first of its kind...what can be more important than a collection of essays by both American and Soviet scholars who tackle the problem [of nuclear war] and, meeting on common ground, enlighten us all, and give us hope." — Isaac Asimov, Writer

"A promising and welcome beginning..."

 Dr. Robert Conquest, Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford Univesity

"BREAKTHROUGH is the story of an extraordinary and exciting adventure in cooperation and collaboration.... Your children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren will thank you for seriously exploring this idea."

- Mary Louise Smith, Former Republican National Chairman



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