



**A New Way
of Thinking**

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INTRODUCTION

Deep in the human spirit lies the capacity to reach far beyond ourselves — to accomplish the “impossible.” In one such triumph, we walked the surface of the moon and watched our earth rise over silent craters like a jewel in the blackness of space.

When we see our earth from that perspective, a powerful new vision is planted in our minds; we have but one earth, shared by one humanity. This tiny blue globe is home to all — all people, all life, all laughter, all love, all music, all art. And, tragically, now home to enough nuclear weapons to destroy it all in a matter of minutes.

The totality of that destruction and the power of our new vision of oneness compel us to plumb the depths of the human spirit for the conviction to again accomplish the impossible. We must now end war. The survival of all we love depends on it. Anything less will lead to the extinction of life.

Albert Einstein foresaw our current crisis and challenge in 1946 when he declared,

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

Nuclear weapons have changed our environment totally and forever. But our thinking has remained unchanged. For forty years, we have amassed more and more deadly weapons, thinking we were increasing our security. In fact, this outmoded thinking has created an environment which threatens our very existence. We are drifting toward unparalleled catastrophe.

Our situation is analogous to an experiment in which scientists placed frogs in a container of hot water. The frogs immediately jumped out. But when the same frogs were put in cool water that was gradually heated, they did not jump out. The water became hotter and hotter. The frogs did not move.

They boiled to death. They were unable to register the threat to their survival -- the slow but deadly change in their environment.

We are like those frogs. We have not registered the slow but deadly change in our environment. Since 1945, the temperature has increased steadily from 1 nuclear bomb to 50,000. There are some 40 armed conflicts right now on the planet, each with the potential to mushroom into global destruction. We are at the crisis point but, like the frogs, are not aware of the immediate threat to our survival.

To survive, we must wake up. We can no longer afford to drift. We must see that our environment has changed totally and that a total change on our part is the response demanded. We must realize that the solution lies in changing our unchanged modes of thinking. We must shift from an old mode of thinking which justifies war as necessary for survival to a new mode of thinking which recognizes war as the ultimate threat to our survival. The choice between these two modes of thinking is a choice between life and death, between survival and extinction.

However, we do not see it that clearly. We are swamped with information, much of it conflicting and confusing. We feel helpless when faced with the possible destruction of our planet. The problem seems so big, so complex, so out of our control that our minds go numb, . . . “and we thus drift.”

**“IF THERE IS ONE THING WE CAN
CHANGE, IT IS OUR MIND AND THE
WAY WE THINK”.**

Can we stop this drift? Can we change our mode of thinking? Absolutely. We once thought human sacrifice was essential for the survival of our primitive clan. Our thinking changed and our actions followed. We eliminated the practice of human sacrifice.

We once thought slavery was necessary for our economic and social survival. Our thinking changed and we eliminated slavery. If there is one thing we can change, it is our mind and the way we think.

The transition from an old to a new mode of thinking, though simple in one sense, is difficult in another. Copernicus and other astronomers were baffled trying to model the orbits of the sun and planets as they went around the earth. But then Copernicus broke from the mind set of his day. He saw that the sun and the planets do not rotate around the earth; the earth and the planets rotate around the sun. A simple solution! Yet acceptance of this new thinking was hard won. It required a long and arduous process of education to shift society's total perception of the world.

**“ONLY AFTER WE REJECT WAR AS AN
OPTION CAN WE DISCOVER HOW TO
BUILD A WORLD BEYOND WAR”.**

In the same way, preventing nuclear catastrophe requires a simple but total shift in our perception of the world. To ensure a future for our children and for generations to come, we must see that the world is a single, fragile life-support system. We must break through the age-old mind set that war leads to survival. We must see that war now leads to extinction, that war has become obsolete. Only after we reject war as an option can we discover how to build a world beyond war.

Building a world beyond war will not be easy. It is a monumental challenge. It requires changing our deepest assumptions about ourselves and what we believe we are capable of being. Through the ages, humanity has longed for a world beyond war yet never believed it to be possible. Now it has ceased to be an impractical dream. It has become a necessity, an imperative if we are to survive.

The process of building a world beyond war involves three steps — the same three steps we apply in every field of human endeavor when change is required: knowledge, decision, and action. The first step is to gain KNOWLEDGE about our environment. The future of the world depends on enough people perceiving that we live on one earth and that our choice today is bet-

ween global life and global death. In a world that can be destroyed many times over, there are only those two possibilities.

With the choice stated this starkly, we must then make a DECISION to choose the path which leads to global life. Decision is key. We know we can change our mode of thinking. The real question is: Will we? The future of the world depends on enough of us making this crucial decision and using it as a standard against which to measure our thoughts and actions as if the fate of the earth depended on us — for indeed it does.

Individual decisions transformed into societal change through ACTION, the final step in the process. Once we wake up to the fact that we are drifting toward unparalleled catastrophe, we understandably want to scream for everyone else to help put the brakes on. And the temptation is to tell them how to do it, but that will not work. The only way to build a world beyond war is for people first to understand the problem and then to work *together* to find a solution. Therefore, the required action is to build understanding that the world is beyond war through an educational process that does not impose the specific steps of the solution, but rather develops a mutually agreeable solution as part of the process.

Beyond War is not unilateral disarmament; rather, it is unilateral initiative. Beyond War is not beyond conflict; rather, it is resolution of conflict in creative ways without resorting to violence. Beyond War is not a specific program of political or military action; rather, it is a new mode of thinking which will profoundly enlighten all our actions. Beyond War is not unrealistic; rather, it is the fundamental, pragmatic solution required to arrest our drift toward unparalleled catastrophe.

The Beyond War movement is a gathering of those people who see the danger in our drift, who are willing to change their thoughts and their actions, who are courageous enough to face the “impossible” and dedicated enough to transform it into the possible, and who will work together with others to build a world beyond war.

CHAPTER ONE

KNOWLEDGE

SURVIVAL AND CHANGE

We live in an age rich in information. Yet we lack the understanding required for survival. It is not more facts that we need, but rather the wisdom to make sense out of the information already available. To understand our current crisis more clearly, it helps to step back and gain the largest possible perspective. To gain that perspective, we look back to the beginning of life. As we do that, we discern several fundamental principles that have governed survival and change from the beginning.

Some four-billion years ago life emerged from the primordial mist that enveloped the earth. Literally the descendants of star dust, these primitive life forms grew in complexity and diversity. They spread over the seas, the land and the air. And, all the while, three principles of survival and change were silently at work.

First, survival is the goal of all life. Everything that lives wants to survive — the blade of grass pushing defiantly through the pavement, the tree growing out of the granite cliff. From the single-celled amoeba to the trillion-celled human, from the sponge to the elephant, all life is driven to survive.

Second, the future belongs to those with a fitness for change. Those species which can respond to changes in the environment survive. Those which cannot change do not survive. And, third, it is the environment that dictates the nature of the change required.

The dinosaur exemplifies these last two principles. Dinosaurs ruled the earth for millions of years as the largest, most powerful species. But when the environment changed in some way, as yet not fully understood, the dinosaurs died out. At the same time, other species with the ability to change survived. No species, however successful in the past, is guaranteed a permanent place in the hierarchy of life. Survival must be continually earned by an ability to adapt to changes in the environment.

Some one hundred thousand years ago, *homo sapiens*, literally "man the wise," appeared and the principles of survival and change moved into the mental dimension. For the first time, living organisms were no longer restricted to an endless cycle of instinctual, preprogrammed responses to their environment. It was the beginning of consciousness. We could think. We could wonder. We could ponder new possibilities. Human survival no longer depended solely on genetic evolution — we could evolve new ideas instead. Those humans able to adapt their thinking to new environments were more fit and survived.

And survive we did. Our numbers grew and primitive societies evolved. Driven by our will to survive, we sought a means of defense against marauding enemies. Weapons and armies were developed. War became intrinsic to human culture and began an evolution of its own: the club, the spear, the bow and arrow, the crossbow, the gun, the cannon, the machine gun, the aerial bomb. We developed more and more destructive weapons in the hope that each new advantage would make us invulnerable. But with the development of atomic weapons, everything has

changed. All humans, no matter who they are or where they live, are now totally vulnerable. The survival of our entire species is threatened.

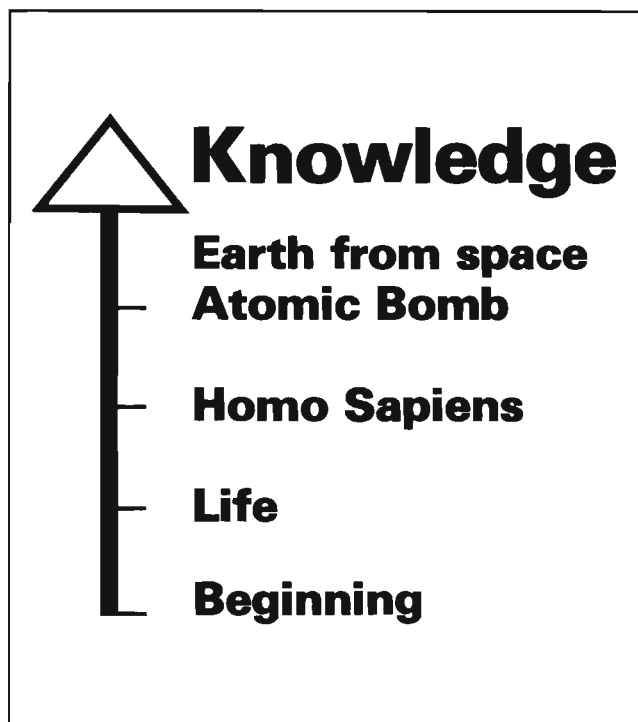


Figure 1: The TIME LINE provides knowledge by giving the largest possible perspective on our current situation. We are still subject to the three principles of survival and change which have governed life from the beginning:

1. Survival is the goal of all life.
2. The future belongs to those with a fitness for change.
3. The environment determines the nature of the change required.

To survive, we must come to understand the change demanded by our nuclear environment.

The three principles of survival apply to us, just as they have to all life before us. We are not exempt. Our environment dictates the change we must make to survive. We can no longer think that war leads to survival. We must realize that war leads to extinction. We must end all war.

We can only end war when we change our view of the earth and see it as it really is. We live on one planet with one life-support system. We all breathe the same air, drink the same water. We are part of one human family. The view of Earth from space, first seen in 1969, is a powerful symbol of this unity. It allows us to better understand ourselves, our relationship to one another, and our relationship to the whole. It gives us the knowledge required for our continued survival.

If we are really convinced of our peril, we will succeed in perceiving and making the change dictated by our new environment. Then we will not only survive, but flourish in a way that humankind has dreamed of for thousands of years. We will flourish or die depending on our courage, our strength and our wisdom in dealing with this self-inflicted threat to life.

WAR IS OBSOLETE

War as a survival mechanism is an old mode of thinking, deeply rooted in our ancient survival patterns, but made obsolete by our new environment. It is Stone Age thinking in a nuclear world. With the development of nuclear weapons, we can no longer fight any war without risking annihilation of all life, ourselves included. War has become omnicidal. War has become obsolete.

War is obsolete in the same sense as the cavalry. For centuries, the horse-mounted cavalry was a critical element in the armies of all major military powers. With its speed and versatility, the cavalry could wheel and pivot, attack suddenly at weak points were discovered, and pursue a demoralized enemy who had broken ranks. The cavalry was supreme, the epitome of bravery, gallantry and military effectiveness.

With the development of the machine gun, the cavalry charge became suicidal and obsolete, but it did not immediately become extinct. As late as 1939, when Hitler invaded Poland his tanks were met by eleven Polish cavalry divisions; the Poles were slaughtered. As with the cavalry, war has become suicidal and obsolete before it has become extinct.

One can argue about the time when war became obsolete. Perhaps it was on July 16, 1945, with the first man-made cosmic explosion at Alamogordo, New Mexico. Perhaps it was on August 6, 1945, when 75,000 men, women and children died at Hiroshima, proving that people would use these awesome weapons of mass destruction on civilian populations. Perhaps it was three days later, when Nagasaki proved that Hiroshima was not an isolated anomaly. Perhaps it was sometime in the 1950's when a second nation, the Soviet Union, gained a credible nuclear arsenal. But, regardless of when war first became obsolete, it clearly is obsolete today.

All war is obsolete — full-scale nuclear war, limited nuclear war, conventional war between the superpowers, and "small" wars.

FULL SCALE NUCLEAR WAR IS OBSOLETE

We cannot fight a full-scale nuclear war. A full-scale nuclear war would destroy civilization as we know it and would threaten life itself.

Former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara estimated that only 400 nuclear weapons would be required to eliminate the United States and the Soviet Union as meaningful civilizations. Today there are 50,000 nuclear weapons worldwide, and current plans will add tens of thousands more. The nuclear arsenals of the superpowers currently contain the equivalent of four tons of TNT for every man, woman and child alive on Earth, enough to kill each of us many times over.

The potential ecological consequences of a full-scale nuclear exchange are almost unimaginable. While no one knows exactly what would happen, scientific studies have given an indication of what is likely to

occur. One of the most recent predicted that detonation of even a small percentage of the world's current nuclear arsenal would usher in a devastating "nuclear winter." Ash and dust from the nuclear explosions and from the resultant fires would block out the sun, causing subzero temperatures for months. Photosynthesis would cease. In the ensuing ecological collapse, humans might well disappear from the face of the Earth.

This study also puts to rest the illusion of a "successful" first strike by one superpower against the other. Even if the other nation could be entirely destroyed by a first strike and never fire in return, the explosions necessary to achieve this would create a cloud of ash and dust which would circle the globe and plunge the world, including the attacker, into a deadly nuclear winter. The "winners" would die a lingering death from cold and hunger.

"Global war has become a Frankenstein to destroy both sides. No longer is it a weapon of adventure — the shortcut to international power. If you lose, you are annihilated. If you win, you stand only to lose. No longer does it possess even the chance of the winner of a duel. It contains now only the germs of double suicide."

Gen. Douglas MacArthur, 1961

LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR IS OBSOLETE

We cannot fight a limited nuclear war. Even a limited nuclear war could trigger a "nuclear winter" and threaten the extinction of humanity.

It is also highly probable that a limited nuclear war would escalate into a full-scale nuclear war. We have been unable to negotiate a halt to the arms race during 40 years of relative peace and rational thinking is one of the first casualties of war. What chance do we have of reaching agreements to limit the conflict with our avowed enemies during the few days before the war escalates?

There is no guarantee that a limited nuclear war would not escalate into full-scale nuclear war. The stakes are too high to gamble.

CONVENTIONAL WAR BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS IS OBSOLETE

We cannot fight a conventional war between the superpowers. Such a war would likely escalate into a nuclear war. Escalation from conventional war to limited nuclear war to full-scale nuclear war could result from attempts by the side which was losing to regain the advantage. Or it could result from a breakdown in command, control and communications during the heat of battle. The risk is increased by our growing military dependence on satellites, computers, and other sophisticated technology which cannot be adequately battle-proven without bringing on Armageddon.

Conventional war and nuclear war have become one and the same where a direct confrontation of the superpowers is concerned. We have nuclear artillery shells and depth charges. Seventy percent of our *conventional* forces are nuclearized.

It is often said that if we reduce our reliance on nuclear weapons, we will have to vastly increase our reliance and expenditures on conventional weapons. That is not true. Even if we eliminated all of our current nuclear weapons, if conventional war broke out between the superpowers, there would be nothing to keep us from rebuilding our nuclear arsenals; and there would be tremendous pressure to do so. The nuclear secret is out. There is no way to put the genie back in the bottle. To survive, we must reduce our reliance on both nuclear and conventional weapons. We must increase our reliance on peace.

"Atomic war would erupt in Europe within a few days of any Soviet invasion and general [unlimited], nuclear war would follow in a matter of days."

Gen. Bernard Rogers, 1983.
Supreme Allied Commander in Europe

"The NATO doctrine is that we will fight with conventional weapons until we are losing. Then we will fight with tactical nuclear weapons until we are losing. And then we will blow up the world."

Morton Halperin
Former Asst. Secretary of Defense

SMALL WARS ARE OBSOLETE

While most people agree that a direct war between the super-powers must be avoided at all costs, there exists a general feeling that "small wars," like those in Afghanistan, El Salvador, and Lebanon, cannot be prevented and constitute an acceptable risk.

This thinking overlooks nuclear proliferation. Today, India and China are nuclear powers. Israel and

South Africa either have secret nuclear weapons or could build them in a matter of months. And, over the next ten to twenty years, a dozen more countries are expected to develop nuclear capabilities, including Pakistan, Argentina, Brazil, Iran, Iraq, and Libya.

Thinking that small wars are acceptable also overlooks the fact that a war between the superpowers is most likely to start from a small, local conflict. The Cuban missile crisis was a nuclear near-catastrophe which grew out of two local disagreements: the establishment in Cuba of a leftist government and the stationing of American nuclear missiles in Turkey.

The growing interdependence of nations has produced a network of "vital interests" that the superpowers have pledged to defend at all costs. As the United States and the Soviet Union continually jockey for position in Asia, Eastern Europe, Africa and Latin America, there is an ever-increasing risk of a direct superpower confrontation. It is only a matter of time before this global interdependence and ambition, coupled with national pride and human irrationality, cause a local conflict to escalate into conventional war between the superpowers, which would lead inexorably to one final, full-scale nuclear war.

Small wars exist and will continue to exist until we change our mode of thinking or blow ourselves up. Because each small war has some chance of escalating into the ultimate disaster, there are only those two possibilities. Continuing to wage war *guarantees* our inevitable extinction. Our only salvation is to abandon all war and to do it quickly.

"War in our time has become an anachronism. Whatever the case in the past, war in the future can serve no useful purpose. A war which became general, as any limited action might, could only result in the virtual destruction of mankind."

Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1957.

EVERYTHING HAS CHANGED

It is difficult for the human mind to grasp that, in our new environment, war is no longer a viable option. We have always held war in reserve. No rational person wants war. Yet there it is, just in case we need it. We try to avoid war, but if other means fail to resolve a conflict to *our* satisfaction, we resort to war.

To survive in our new environment, we must now reject war — in all its forms, absolutely, forever. We must make this total, seemingly risky shift in our thinking because we have no other choice. Since the unleashing of the atom, everything to do with war — security, strength, survival, and power — has changed irrevocably. Only our thinking is still the same, rooted in 10,000 years of waging war.

Even our language is obsolete. If something can destroy millions of people in a fraction of a second, is it merely a "weapon"? If a brief nuclear exchange

can destroy the entire life-support system of the planet, is it merely a "war"? Or is this "omnicide," the killing of everything?

Our actions, proceeding as they do from our thinking and limited as they are by our language, are also obsolete. They no longer work. In the past, the possession of more destructive weapons increased our strength, power and security. Today that is no longer true. We must recognize that the possession of nuclear weapons does not give us useful power: nuclear weapons did not get our hostages out of Iran; nuclear weapons have not kept the Soviets out of Afghanistan nor have they enabled the Soviets to impose their will there; nuclear weapons have not made Poland free; nuclear weapons did not win the war in Vietnam; nuclear weapons have not resolved the conflict in

Lebanon. In instance after instance, there is incontestable evidence that we are living in a very dangerous illusion. We must accept the reality that nuclear weapons do not manifest useful power; they are not the solution to our problems.

We also must accept the reality that conventional weapons are not the solution. In each of the above instances, neither nuclear nor conventional weapons resolved the conflict. And in each, there was the danger of the conflict mushrooming into the extinction of our species.

The possession of weapons must be seen for what it is, a *temporary* strategem on our path to a world beyond war, and treated accordingly. Far from viewing weapons as a temporary measure, our current thinking places our ultimate faith in them, so we are not really seeking other possibilities and will not find them. In an ironic twist of fate, we decrease our strength, our security, and our power as we continue our pre-nuclear survival strategy in the nuclear age. Instead of a plan for Mutually Assured Destruction, we need a plan for Mutually Assured Survival.

INEVITABILITY

Hiram Maxim, the inventor of the machine gun, thought he had invented the weapon to end war: "Only a general who was a barbarian would send his men to certain death against the concentrated power of my new gun." But send them they did. In World War I, tens of thousands of men were mowed down in a day by the weapon that was supposed to end war.

Orville Wright said, "When my brother and I built and flew the first man-carrying flying machine, we thought we were introducing into the world an invention that would make further wars practically impossible." He was wrong too. Far from ending war, airplanes increased the ability to maim and kill. In fire-bombing raids on London, Hamburg, and Tokyo, the airplane wrought previously unimaginable levels of destruction. In a single night, March 9, 1945, twenty-five percent of Tokyo was destroyed, 80,000 people were killed, and over 1,000,000 were left homeless — again by a weapon that was supposed to end war.

History shows the folly of hoping that each new, more destructive weapon will end war. And yet we dare to hope that this time it will be different. Nuclear weapons are so much more destructive, the consequences of their use so much greater than anything before, that we cannot believe they really will be used. We cannot imagine the end of the world.

The fact that four decades have elapsed since Hiroshima and Nagasaki without another world war has reinforced the belief that nuclear weapons are useful for maintaining the peace -- that deterrence works. But the real question is not whether nuclear weapons have postponed World War III. The real question is whether they have eliminated its possibility forever. It can only happen once.

World War III is not just a possibility. On our current path, it is a mathematical certainty. Each small war, each threat of the use of violence, each action based on our old mode of thinking has some small chance of triggering the final global holocaust. And, as with any probabilistic outcome, continually repeating the experiment *guarantees* the outcome: it is inevitable.

We are playing nuclear roulette, a version of Russian roulette in which the entire world is at stake. In Russian roulette, if you keep pulling the trigger, it is inevitable that you die. It does not matter if the gun has six chambers and the chance of being killed is one in six each time, or if the gun has sixty chambers and the chance of being killed is one in sixty each time. The smaller probability prolongs the game, but the outcome is the same — certain death. The only cure is to stop playing the game, to put down the gun.

We have played nuclear roulette with the world too often. Every American President since Harry Truman, with the possible exception of Gerald Ford, has considered the use of nuclear weapons at least once during his presidency. President Truman threatened their use in 1946 against the Soviet Union, in 1948 over the Berlin crisis, and in 1950 in Korea. President Eisenhower did the same in 1953 in Korea, in 1954 in Vietnam, and in 1958 in both the Middle East and China. President Kennedy considered the use of nuclear weapons in 1961 over another Berlin crisis. And, in 1962, the Cuban missile crisis was a near miss — in Russian roulette, the equivalent of the hammer striking a bullet that does not fire. Presidents Johnson and Nixon both considered the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. In what is now known as the 'Carter Doctrine,' President Carter threatened to use 'any means necessary, including military force' to halt possible Soviet expansion in the Persian Gulf region. President Reagan reaffirmed the United States' commitment to this doctrine. While Soviet threats are not as well documented, it is reasonable to assume that Soviet leaders have behaved similarly.

To survive, we must stop playing this suicidal game which guarantees inevitable global death. Our environment dictates that we change our thinking and act on the knowledge that war — all war — is obsolete. The only way to survive Russian roulette is to stop playing — to put down the gun. In the same way, the only way to survive nuclear roulette is to stop playing — to move beyond war.

WE ARE ONE

The view of Earth from space has made a profound imprint on the human psyche. It symbolizes the new knowledge, the change in thinking dictated by our environment if we are to survive: WE ARE ONE. It is a symbol of hope, of possibility, of unity.

When we step back, we can see our planet as it really is: shining, fragile, and beautiful; one whole, interdependent globe, with one life support system. There is not one life support system over the United States and another over the Soviet Union; our life support systems are one and the same.

As early as 1948, the noted English astronomer Sir Fred Hoyle predicted that "Once a photograph of the earth, taken from space is available ... an idea as powerful as any in history will let loose." Twenty years later, Hoyle's prophecy was realized as men looked back and saw the earth, our home, from the new perspective of space:

"When you go around it in an hour and a half, you begin to recognize that your identity is with that whole thing. And that makes a change."

"You look down there, and you can't imagine how many borders and boundaries you cross, again and again and again, and you don't even see them. There you are — hundreds of people killing each other over some imaginary line that you're not even aware of, that you can't see. From where you see it, the thing is a whole, and it's so beautiful. You wish you could take one person in each hand and say, 'Look at it from this perspective. What's important?'"

"You realize that on that small spot, that little blue and white thing, is everything that means anything to you. All of history and music and poetry and art and birth and love; tears, joy, games. All of it on that little spot out there that you can cover with your thumb."

Russell Schweickart
Apollo IX Astronaut

The view of our earth from space has given us new meaning of "one." We live on one planet and the survival of all humanity, all life, is totally interdependent. Our future requires a new mode of thinking based upon this reality.

THE UNITY PRINCIPLE

New discoveries in the sciences validate the knowledge that we are one, that everything is interrelated in one unified system. Nothing is isolated. "No man is an island." This unity principle is manifested in every aspect of our existence.

Physics

In modern physics, matter is not seen as autonomous particles acting and reacting against one another. Rather, matter exists as a network of relationships, more like a wave than a particle. All matter in the universe is connected like a circle of fine thread. If any part moves, it sends a wave all around the cir-

cle, back even to the part that started the movement. In this image, the actor is also acted upon, and things are so interconnected that any observation affects the nature of whatever is being observed!

Lift your little finger and the stars move — ever so slightly, but they move. When the stars move, you are affected — ever so slightly, but you are affected. The same law of gravity that governs planetary motions and the formation of galaxies is present down to the subatomic level. The unity principle is present in its very name, the law of *universal* gravitation.

From the viewpoint of modern physics, everything is inextricably related to everything else. Similarly, no one and no nation can exist in isolation. The concept of an individual or a nation acting separately is an illusion. As in physics, the actor is always acted upon: we are part of one unified whole.

Ecology

Ecology has given us an understanding of the unity and interconnectedness of all life. The ecosphere surrounds the earth like the skin on an apple. This thin layer of cloud and wind, stream and sea, soil and stone, is home to every form of life and binds them together in inextricable union.

It is one life support system. If we disrupt the ecosphere in one place, it creates unpredictable and usually undesirable effects in another. On the island of North Borneo, prior to 1955, malaria infected 90% of the people. A pesticide similar to DDT was sprayed to kill the malaria-carrying mosquitoes. It eliminated the mosquitoes and, in an unforeseen side effect, also killed the flies that infested the houses. At first this was welcomed as an extra benefit. But then lizards began to die from eating pesticide-laden flies. Next, cats died from eating the lizards. With the cats gone, a large rat population emerged from the jungle, teeming with typhus-carrying fleas, and overran the village.

While this situation was resolved without an epidemic of typhus, the lesson is universal. Life on earth is like one gigantic organism, with the various species and organisms constituting the various organs and cells. Life is one totally interconnected whole. If, in our attempts to solve a problem, we neglect that unity principle, we create a new and often more serious problem.

Ecology also teaches us another lesson about the unity principle. The ecosystem derives strength from its diversity, the many different species and the differing genetic makeup of individual organisms within a species. When such a diverse system is faced with environmental stress, it has more ways to respond and adapt to the change, increasing the chance of survival.

Conversely, minimal diversity leads to instability and death. Monoculture crops are genetically identical, selected and bred for high yield. Because the crop has no genetic diversity, it is extremely vulnerable to pests, diseases, and climatic changes. In the Irish potato famine of 1845 to 1850, one million people died when potato blight devastated the one-crop system. Similar-

ly, in 1970 a corn blight destroyed one-fifth of the United States' corn crop.

The advantages of diversity in our ecosystem are obvious. Diversity permits the flexibility and responsiveness to change required for survival. We must come to see that the same principle applies to the social dimension as well. Diversity of culture is currently viewed as threatening and divisive when, in fact, it is essential. By combining our diverse viewpoints we can obtain a more accurate picture of the reality we face. Only then will we find creative solutions to our problems.

We are all part of one ecosphere facing the ultimate threat to our common survival. Let us welcome our diversity and focus that enormous wealth of collective creativity on solutions to ensure that common survival.

Biology

Biology has revealed that "survival of the fittest" has new meaning. No longer is the evolution of life seen solely as a bloody battle between competing species where the fit are the biggest, strongest, and most aggressive species. Rather, the most fit are now seen as those which contribute to the well-being of the whole system.

As evidence, the most widespread form of life on earth is clawless, with no bark and no bite — the green plant. Through photosynthesis, green plants fuel the whole system of life. That is useful! It is so useful that there have to be more green plants than all other life forms combined; otherwise the system would run out of oxygen and energy. In the intricate web of life, contributions to the whole are rewarded quietly but inevitably. We humans would be wise to consider the implications of this principle for our continued survival.

"Up to now we might be counted among the brilliant successes, but flashy and perhaps unstable. We should go warily into the future, looking for ways to be more useful, listening more carefully for the signals, watching our step, and having an eye out for partners."

Lewis Thomas, 1980.

Chancellor, Sloan-Kettering Cancer Institute

Psychology

Psychology supports the unity principle by enabling us to better understand the projection of our "shadow side" upon an enemy. We now know that it

is natural for humans, beginning in childhood, to claim positive qualities such as kindness, honesty, and loyalty for ourselves and those like us; but to deny in ourselves and project onto "outsiders" negative qualities such as treachery, cruelty and hostility.

Carl G. Jung states the problem and its solution very clearly in *Man and His Symbols* (Doubleday, New York, 1964, p. 85):

"We should give a great deal of consideration to what we are doing, for mankind is now threatened by self-created and deadly dangers that are growing beyond our control. Our world is, so to speak, dissociated like a neurotic, with the Iron Curtain marking the symbolic line of division. Western man, becoming aware of the aggressive will to power of the East, sees himself forced to take extraordinary measures of defense, at the same time as he prides himself on his virtue and good intentions."

"What he fails to see is that it is his own vices, which he has covered up by good international manners, that are thrown back in his face by the communist world, shamelessly and methodically. What the West has tolerated, but secretly and with a slight sense of shame (the diplomatic lie, systematic deception, veiled threats), comes back into the open and in full measure from the East and ties us up in neurotic knots. It is the face of his own evil shadow that grins at Western man from the other side of the Iron Curtain. ..."

"But all attempts [to resolve the problem by moral and mental means] have proved singularly ineffective, and will do so as long as we try to convince ourselves and the world that it is only they (i.e., our opponents) who are wrong. It would be much more to the point for us to make a serious attempt to recognize our own shadow and its nefarious doings. If we could, ... we should be immune to any moral and mental infection and insinuation."

Our inability to accept our own negative qualities, our "shadow," causes us to hate others in whom we see them, almost as if doing so then allows us to deny them in ourselves. When done unconsciously this projection leads to separation and war. But, when brought to consciousness, it allows us to see our unity — that it is a part of ourselves that we mistakenly hate in others.

THE NEW MODE OF THINKING

The new knowledge, that war is obsolete and that we are one, is the foundation of the new mode of thinking that Einstein saw was needed to avoid "unparalleled catastrophe." Our mode of thinking is determined by what we identify with. It molds our values, our attitudes, and our motivation; and it determines our actions.

Until recently, we had not experienced the earth as one integrated system. We had limited experience of other peoples and other cultures. Therefore, our primary loyalty has been limited to our family, tribe, race, religion, ideology, or nation. Our identification has been restricted and we have often viewed those beyond that identification as enemies.

In the nuclear age, this limited identification threatens all of humanity. We can no longer see ourselves as separate. We can no longer be preoccupied with enemies. We must now see that all of life is interdependent, that we share a common destiny, that our individual well-being depends on the well-being of the whole system. We must now identify with all humanity, all life, the whole earth. This expanded identification — this new view of the world — is the new mode of thinking demanded for our continued survival.

We will never eliminate conflict between individuals or between nations. There will always be different perspectives, different ideas, and different approaches to problems. However, an overriding identification with the whole will enable us to resolve conflicts by discovering solutions that benefit all. Diversity will no longer be a cause of war; rather it will become a source of creative solutions.

IDENTIFICATION

The earth is 8,000 miles in diameter. Yet our

perception of the world's size varies from human to human. It is the "size" of our world — what we identify with — which distinguishes the new mode of thinking from the old.

An infant's world stops with its physical body. That is the limit of its identification. As long as it is warm, well fed, and clean, it is oblivious to all else. Its world is a foot or two in diameter.

The child's limited world expands in a natural progression as part of the human maturation process. At about two years of age, the toddler's identification extends to include property and possessions. 'Mine!' is a frequent demand during this phase, denial of which leads to tantrums. While still extremely limited, the child's world has grown in size.

Still later, the child identifies with his or her ideas. Many schoolyard fights are over who was right — as if might made right. The child's world has grown into a new dimension, the mental.

As we grow older, we maintain these identifications and the childish responses which go with their frustration. If someone scratches my new car, I may want "to kill him." If someone puts down my ideas as stupid, I may want "to strangle him." These are more than idle figures of speech. Limited identification leads all too easily to irrational thoughts and actions.

This process of identification also occurs at a collective or societal level. Identification with my family, my clan or my race is an extension of identification with my body. If another child injures mine in a fight, it is hard not to assume that the other child is to blame, run to the other parents, and berate them for their child's unruly behavior. If I grow up in an ethnically divided neighborhood, it is natural to blame the other group for the conflict.

Identification			
Whole	humanity	earth	truth
Collective	race clan family	nation state city	ideology philosophy religion
Personal	body	property	ideas

Figure 2: Our MODE OF THINKING is determined by what we IDENTIFY with.

It is natural to identify at these limited levels. It is hard not to. But today it is suicide to allow ourselves to stop there. War has become an extinction mechanism. And all wars have their roots in this limited identification; wars are fought against those identified as "outsiders."

Northern Ireland, the Mideast, South Africa — each of these armed conflicts has its roots in the same limited identification that gives rise to ethnic slurs and neighborhood conflicts. To survive, we must give up war. And to give up war, we must move beyond our limited identification — ethnic slurs and all. We cannot give up one without the other. That is what is meant by a "mode of thinking" — a total way of being and of seeing the world.

To survive, we must extend our identification beyond our body, our family, our race and our clan. We must see ourselves, first and foremost, as members of the human family. We must see that we will live together or we will die together. In this new mode of thinking — at this holistic level — our identification is inclusive and war is no longer a possibility. There are no outsiders to make war on.

Extending our individual identification to the societal level also occurs with property and ideas. Societies identify with their national territory in the same way that individuals identify with their property or possessions, as in the war between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands. The societal extension of ideas is to ideology. Ideological wars are fought over religious or philosophical differences, as exemplified by the Mideast crisis or the battle between capitalism and communism.

Again, it is natural to identify with our national territory and our society's ideology. Again, it is hard to move from these limited identifications to the holistic level. But, again, it is demanded of us if we are to survive. Today, the only way our own nation will survive is if all survive.

When we identify with the whole, we relate not just to our body or our race, but with all humanity. We are caretakers not just of our property or our nation's territory, but of the whole Earth. We revere not just our ideas or ideology, but truth. Differences of opinion must be settled by open dialogue and reason, not by debate leading to wars — adult versions of the schoolyard fight to determine who is right. We must live by "truth makes right," not "might makes right."

We must develop the ability to move beyond our own restricted frame of reference — a limited identification with our ideas — so that, in any conflict, we are able to understand the other person's view. We need not agree with their view, but understanding both viewpoints is required to reach a clearer perception of the true situation. Understanding must precede resolution.

There is precedent for this expanded sense of identification. Early man identified only with his own tribe or clan, at most a few hundred individuals. Today 240 million Americans share a common identity. So do one billion Chinese, over one fifth of the world's

population.

While in this sense there is a precedent for the shift to the new mode of thinking, in another sense, there is absolutely none: the shift to the holistic identification represents a quantum leap forward in human consciousness and understanding. The unprecedented nature of the shift is matched only by the unprecedented threat to the survival of life on the planet.

Before any shift in societal thinking can occur, the shift must first be made by individuals. Moving beyond war is not easy. But neither is it naive. In the nuclear age it is the only pragmatic mode of thinking. It is the only one which leads to survival. It is enlightened self-interest because, in today's world, our own well-being depends on the well-being of the whole system. We are forced by our own technology to expand our identification — the "size" of our world — to encompass all of humanity, the whole Earth — all of life.

TRUTH

Truth is difficult for the human mind to grasp — so much so that Socrates concluded that the wisest of men are those who know how little they know. In our search for the truth, we must proceed humbly, ever aware of the past falsehoods we mistook for truths — the flat Earth, the geocentric universe, the inevitability of human slavery, the impossibility of friendship with "Red China."

Numerous falsehoods still masquerade as truths — our minds filter all incoming information to conform to our internal images of ourselves and the world. This filtering preserves our internal frame of reference, but hinders our quest for the truth.

To survive today, we must seek the truth. We must open our minds to new possibilities. We must learn from our past mistakes and make new discoveries. We must come to value differences of opinion as helping us to better understand a universe that is beyond the comprehension of any one mind.

In our old mode of thinking, we are like the three blind men trying to discover the true nature of an elephant. One, feeling the leg, asserts that the elephant is like a tree. The second, feeling the tusk, argues that the first man is wrong — the elephant is like a rock. And the last, feeling the tail, asserts that both of the others are wrong — the elephant is like a snake.

None of the blind men can see the whole picture, the truth, until he adopts a new mode of thinking. If he drops his narrow frame of reference and gives credence to what the others have experienced, he comes closer to understanding the true nature of the elephant. If we drop our narrow frame of reference and give credence to what others have experienced, we come closer to understanding the true nature of our world.

PREOCCUPATION WITH ENEMIES

There is no way to move to the new mode of thinking — identification with the whole — and at the

same time preoccupy ourselves with an enemy. Such preoccupation is based on an illusion of separateness and division — a limited identification. In this illusion, we believe that our enemy is solely to blame for the problem — that we cannot take any steps to help solve the problem until he first changes his nature.

Not preoccupying ourselves with enemies does not mean we ignore the many dangerous situations present in the world. On the contrary, it means we face them responsibly and effectively. When we preoccupy ourselves with an enemy, we see ourselves as victims and avoid taking responsibility for our own actions. If we threaten, if we resort to violence, if eventually we drop the bomb, it is not our fault — because they forced us into it.

Preoccupation with enemies breeds hostility. This hostility stifles the creativity needed to discover solutions to the many conflicts which will always exist in the world. Preoccupying ourselves with an enemy is the least creative, least effective means for solving any problem. It fosters the illusion that we are powerless. It requires initiative from the perceived enemy instead of from those we do have direct control over — ourselves.

Preoccupation with an enemy is also self-fulfilling. The "enemy" feels threatened by the hatred projected on him, and acts threateningly in defense. Ill will is self-perpetuating. As noted by Senator William Fulbright, former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee,

"If we insist on viewing the Soviets as total, incorrigible enemies, that is the way we shall have them, for that view allows for nothing else, and down that road we will find catastrophe."

It is possible to change our view of an enemy, as demonstrated by the rapid, profound shift in American attitudes toward the People's Republic of China. In the 1960's even our designation for the country, "Red China," was ominous. We saw "Red China" as our enemy, unpredictable and a major threat to world peace. In contrast, we now see the People's Republic of China almost as an ally with vast natural resources to sell, and with an enormous market for our goods.

George Kennan, former American Ambassador to Moscow and the recognized dean of American Sovietology, describes a similar distortion in our current view of the Soviet Union:

"I must go on and say that I find the view of the Soviet Union that prevails today in our govern-

mental and journalistic establishments so extreme, so subjective, so far removed from what any sober scrutiny of external reality would reveal, that it is not only ineffective, but dangerous, as a guide to political action."

Our real enemy, the thing that can destroy our civilization, is ignorance which allows us to hate and blame those we perceive as our enemies rather than responsibly doing all that we can to solve the problem with a spirit of good will.

RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT WITHOUT VIOLENCE

Implicit in the new mode of thinking — identification with the whole — is a steadfast commitment to resolve conflict without violence. Resolving conflict without violence is always possible if the parties involved lift their objectives above narrow self-interest to the interest of the whole. Ironically, in our nuclear environment, narrow self-interest and the interest of the whole are the same. It is in everyone's self-interest that the planet survive. Violence results from ignorance of this reality and a consequent refusal to lift our view of the dispute to this higher level.

Resolution of conflict without violence often seems impossible. One reason is that we wait too long. Once a conflict has reached the heated stage where it can erupt into war, both parties have committed themselves to positions that are hard to change. Resolution of conflict requires foresight. We need to see the inevitable consequences of our small conflicts and resolve them now, before they reach the superheated stage. War is easier to prevent than to stop.

We must move from our old, narrow, "win-lose" mentality to a new, creative, "win-win" way of thinking. Win-lose is really illusory. The losers lick their wounds, waiting for an opportune time to reopen the conflict, in the mistaken hope that they can then win. The conflict is not resolved. All that the "winner" has won is some period of time during which he can mistakenly pride himself on having won.

In family relations, resort to physical or psychological violence never produces a winner, only losers. Similarly, in the now interdependent family of nations, war can produce only losers.

Today, only by rejecting violence as a means of ensuring our security can we find long-term security. In the pre-nuclear era, violence begat violence in a seemingly endless cycle. Today, we know that cycle will end. Let it be by choice, not extinction.

THE BASIS FOR HOPE

The possibility of moving beyond war is inherent in the fact that we humans are creatures of change. During the four billion years of life on this planet, not one of our direct ancestors made a fatal mistake before reproducing. To survive for that length of time in a constantly changing environment, our ancestors had to be masters of change.

With the advent of human consciousness, the ability to change extended to the mental dimension as well. Using our minds, we accumulated knowledge and experience which we passed down through generations. Civilizations flowered. We developed cultural and religious traditions, and created magnificent beauty — architecture, music and dance. We explored the outermost and innermost reaches of existence and gained sophisticated understanding of the laws that govern the universe.

We applied these laws to develop ever more advanced and powerful tools — communications, transportation, medicine. We moved mountains, changed river beds, harnessed the power of water, wind, oil, and sun. We explored ocean depths and outer space. We eradicated diseases. We orbited the earth. We put a man on the moon, and brought him safely back to earth. We explored the far reaches of the solar system. With our technological genius, we have become the dominant source of change on planet earth.

The ability of our ancestors to adapt successfully to constant changes in the environment lives on in our genes today, creating tremendous possibility. The capability of humankind to destroy virtually all life on this planet constitutes an unprecedented environmental change. If we are to survive, the response demanded by this environmental change is that we move beyond war. Never before have we been handed an ultimatum of this magnitude.

On the positive side, never before have we been handed an *opportunity* of this magnitude. At almost the same time that science and technology gave us the nuclear ultimatum, they also provided us with the opportunity to eliminate hunger, over-population, and other root causes of war; they gave us inexpensive mass communications to reach into every corner of the globe with the required message; they gave us satellites and seismic detectors that can verify compliance with test-ban treaties; they gave us insight into the mischievous workings of our own psyches; and they gave us the ability to travel around the world to meet one another on a person-to-person basis.

There is potential for this to be the best of times or the end of time, depending on which direction we take at this unavoidable fork in our evolutionary journey. To avoid extinction, to take the path which leads to life, we must decide to act on the new knowledge that war is obsolete and that we are one.

NOTES

CHAPTER TWO

DECISION

THE PROCESS OF DECISION

Knowing that war is obsolete is one thing. Deciding to reject war forever as an option is quite another.

People naturally want to know what a world beyond war will be like before they decide to move there in their thinking. But that is impossible. The decision to move must be made *before* movement can start. We cannot predict the future. Refusing to decide until all implications are known is, in reality, a decision against the move.

When confronted by such a dilemma, there is a natural tendency to postpone making a decision, to drift. We avoid facing the issue squarely. We subconsciously hope that a "Great Leader" will solve the problem for us, or that by putting it out of our minds, it will magically disappear. We resist the reality of this unprecedented threat to our survival and we do not take responsibility for the critical role we each must play. A clear-cut personal decision is needed to arrest this drift — to pierce through the gray fog of indecision into the light.

Deciding to venture into the unknown, so critical to the change required in our thinking about war, is not alien to us as individuals or as members of society. We have all made decisions that have influenced the course of our lives without knowing the full implications: whether or not to pursue a college education; the choice of an occupation; moving to a new city; getting married or staying single; whether or not to have children. By their nature, all of these critical decisions are made without knowing the full implications. Indeed, we usually know very little.

Our country is also known for having taken triumphant "leaps" in the face of grave peril: we are a nation of risk takers. Individual initiative and resourcefulness are hallmarks of our culture and can

be traced back to our early forebearers. The Pilgrims, upon leaving Europe, had no knowledge of the outcome of the voyage across the Atlantic, a voyage fraught with peril and hardship. They found the courage to move into the unknown because they were pushed by necessity and pulled by a vision of something higher.

Decision means to cut ('cision') away from ('de') — to enter into the unknown by rejecting and forever closing the door to an existing option. Only when the Pilgrims "cut away" from the option of remaining in the Old World, could they move to the New. Similarly, deciding to move beyond war consists of a YES and a NO: no to war, and yes to building a world beyond war.

Most people mistakenly believe that they have already made the decision to move beyond war — that the problem is with the rest of the world. For example, many Americans point to the fact that a majority of our population supports a nuclear freeze. What they fail to note is that an even larger majority supported the invasion of Grenada. We must see that we have not made a decision — that we are drifting.

A true decision must be total. Unless we totally reject war as an old, obsolete approach, we will not discover how to move beyond war. Anyone who has ever "tried" to stop smoking and failed never made the decision. Those who have succeeded know the power of a decision.

Once we realize that a world beyond war is necessary for our survival, we will find ways to bring it about. Imagine what this world would be like if our creativity and technological genius were dedicated to the betterment of life instead of to building weapons of war. We are only a decision — and a lot of hard work — away from that vision.

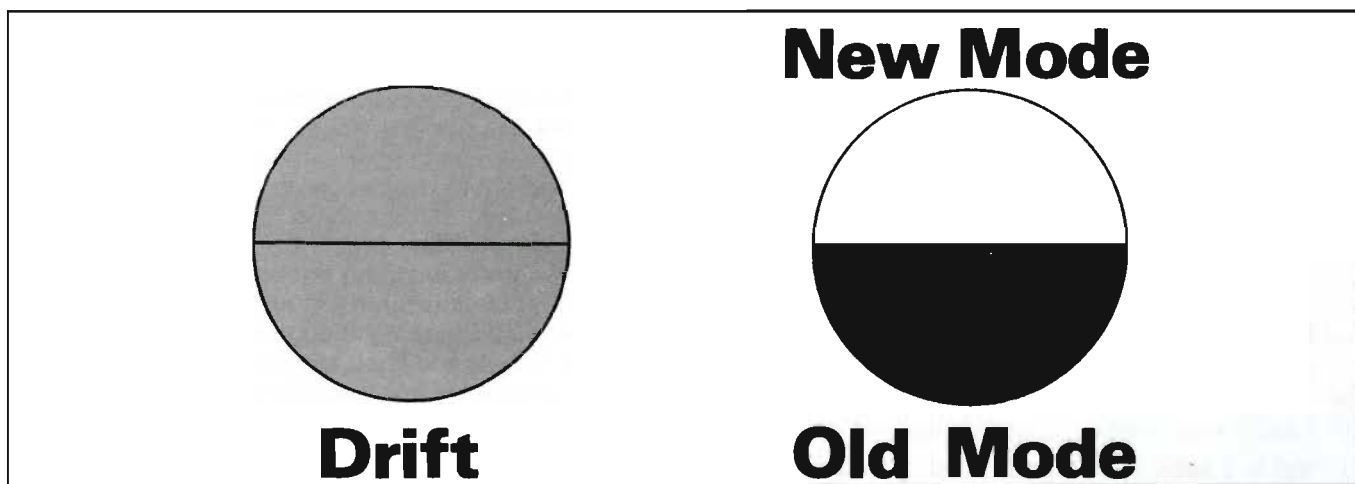


Figure 3: Our "drift" is symbolized by a circle of gray. In the gray, our thinking is unclear: We hate war, but find it necessary. We point to the 40 years since Hiroshima and Nagasaki and hope vainly that means they will never be repeated. A clear cut decision is needed to arrest our drift. The old mode of thinking must be seen as it really is, after it is stripped of its gray cloak. Only then can we make an intelligent decision between life and death. In the new mode of thinking, war is seen as it is today — an extinction mechanism. War is rejected totally, absolutely, in all forms.

THE DECISION

Decision is the key to the process of changing our mode of thinking about war. The list below clarifies the decision each of us must make — what we must cut away from and what we must commit to if we are to survive:

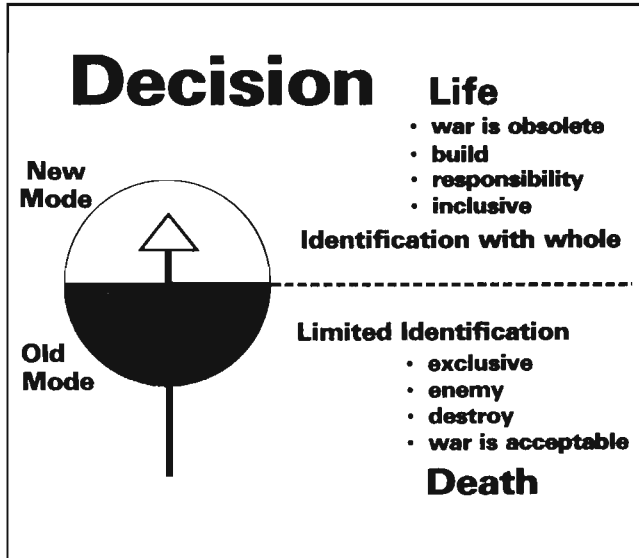


Figure 4:

At first, the “OLD MODE” half of the list may appear overly stark. Who is in favor of killing or destroying? Who would say that war is acceptable? Who would admit to being for death? However, to make a clear-cut decision, it is essential to see the old mode of thinking as it really is, after it is stripped of all rationalization and carried to its inevitable conclusion.

The “OLD MODE” represents the idea that has dominated human thinking for the past 10,000 years: that war is acceptable. Horrible, yes; to be avoided, certainly; but legitimate and moral when used for good to triumph over evil. Thinking that war is acceptable results from a narrow identification and from seeing anything outside that limited identification as a potential enemy — a focus for our fear and hate. When something goes wrong we blame our perceived enemy, taking away our own power to make things better. This mode of thinking sanctions, at times even encourages, killing “the enemy.” Clinging to such thinking in our nuclear environment will result in the end of civilization, perhaps the end of life, and is symbolized by the mushroom cloud.

The “NEW MODE” represents the change demanded by our environment for survival. In this new, inclusive mode of thinking, we identify with the whole; we see ourselves as part of one human family, dependent on one life support system. Being inclusive, there are no outsiders to blame. Instead, we act responsibly when problems arise and seek ways to cooperate for the good of the whole. War is recognized as obsolete, so we find creative ways to resolve conflict without violence, by building understanding and agreement. This new mode of thinking is symbolized by the view of the Earth from space.

To adopt the new mode — to move beyond war — requires addressing crucial societal issues such as hunger, disease, human suffering and ignorance, which create a fertile breeding ground for war. Therefore moving beyond war will not only allow our continued survival, but will lead to a quantum leap forward in the evolution of civilization.

PERSONAL IMPLICATIONS

A world beyond war is possible only if we make a personal commitment to live our lives in accordance with the new mode of thinking. The message and the messenger must be consistent. We each must be living proof that a world beyond war is possible.

The personal implications inherent in the decision to adopt the new mode of thinking can be summarized as follows:

- **I will resolve conflict. I will not use violence.**
- **I will maintain a spirit of good will. I will not preoccupy myself with an enemy.**
- **I will work together with others to build a world beyond war.**

Today, most conflicts are not resolved. We have not been trained to resolve conflict, so we usually try one of several unsatisfactory approaches. Most often, we ignore the conflict, hoping it will go away. But it just simmers, waiting to explode. Then we tend to debate and fight — each party trying to impose its will on the other through the use of physical or psychological violence.

If one party is strong enough to impose its will, this only creates resentment and additional conflict. If neither party is strong enough to impose its will, the conflict is temporarily suppressed, only to reemerge with a vengeance sometime in the future.

So the first personal commitment needed to build a world beyond war is that I will be courageous enough to face conflict, dedicated enough to stay with it until resolved, and open-minded enough to allow that to happen. Because violence does not resolve the underlying source of conflict, it follows that I cannot use violence of any kind — physical, verbal or psychological. To resolve conflict, I must have a spirit of good will.

Maintaining a spirit of good will toward someone means I have a deep and active caring for his or her well-being. Recognizing that all life is totally interdependent — recognizing that we are one — I cannot have good will toward anyone, myself included, without maintaining a consistent spirit of good will toward all of life. It is enlightened self-interest. While it is enlightened self-interest, maintaining a spirit of good will requires a conscious choice to identify with the whole. It also requires constant vigilance against relapses into the all-too-familiar patterns learned in the old mode of thinking.

Good will and ill will are two mutually exclusive modes of being. I cannot have good will sometimes, or toward part of the system; it must be total. If I have a spirit of ill will, I add to the hostility already present on the planet; I am part of the problem. If I maintain a spirit of good will, I become a catalyst for positive change — I am part of the solution.

It is much harder to maintain a spirit of good will than most people think. To maintain a spirit of good will I must recognize that people, myself included, have an overwhelming tendency not to see their own faults, to blame others. It is hard to recognize when I bear ill will toward another. Whenever someone else is disturbed — especially if they disagree with me — and I have little sympathy for his or her predicament, I must recognize that I bear ill will. I will then move from ill will to good will, from blame to responsibility, from problem to solution.

To build a world beyond war, I must focus my energy on that task. Preoccupying myself with an enemy drains my energy, spawns ill will, and takes away my initiative. Therefore, I will not preoccupy myself with enemies — not the Soviets, the President, the government, or those who disagree with me. In-

stead, I will preoccupy myself with what I can do to help bring about a solution. I cannot preach peace while waging war at a personal level. If I do, I communicate a double message which contributes to the alienation and hostility already on the planet.

Working together, we can accomplish goals that could not be accomplished by working separately: the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. Working together is also demanded because, to be beyond war, I cannot impose a solution on others: the path to a world beyond war must be developed through building agreement. I therefore will work together with others to build a world beyond war.

Agreement on these personal implications binds us together and gives the movement power through coherence. People living and teaching Beyond War will transform the idea into tangible reality.

The success of the Beyond War movement depends on enough individuals understanding the personal implications of "We Are One" and making a decision to live their lives accordingly. While the decision occurs at a point in time, it is a lifelong process to learn to live our lives consistently with that decision. While I hold a life beyond war as my personal ideal, I must accept my human fallibility, pick myself up when I err, and put myself back on the path with renewed determination.

These personal implications represent an unprecedented shift in human behavior, matched only by the unprecedented threat to our survival. Only a few rare individuals in human history have held to these high principles. Now, more than a few unique individuals must behave differently. The future of the world depends on many people holding to these principles and working together.

NOTES

CHAPTER THREE

ACTION

WHY NOW?

For thousands of years we have longed for and dreamed of the time when the killing, the fear and the anguish of war would stop. It has been only a dream. But now nuclear weapons have given us an unprecedented opportunity. We, the people of the world, are on the verge of awakening from our complacency. Recent events are making it difficult not to face the reality that, unless we totally shift our mode of thinking, these weapons will inevitably be used. The time has come to stop dreaming and start acting.

It is now not only possible but essential for the dream to become reality. No one knows if the world has an hour, a day, a year, or a decade. History shows that periods during which the public is concerned with the nuclear threat are brief and infrequent. We must seize the current awareness as a window of opportunity to embed in our consciousness the only long term solution, a world beyond war. Then, when short term goals are realized — perhaps a freeze, perhaps a reduction from 50,000 to 25,000 weapons — we will not rest in false security, thinking we have solved

the problem.

Pushed by an omnicidal threat and pulled by a unifying vision to end all war, we see that it must be done, it can be done, and that we must be the ones to do it. Now is the time for action.

"You will say at once that, although the abolition of war has been the dream of man for centuries, every proposition to that end has been promptly discarded as impossible and fantastic. But that was before the science of the past decade made mass destruction a reality. The argument then was [only] along spiritual and moral lines, and lost. But now the tremendous evolution of nuclear and other potentials of destruction has suddenly taken the problem away from its primary consideration as a moral and spiritual question and brought it abreast of scientific realism. It is no longer an ethical question to be pondered solely by learned philosophers and ecclesiastics, but a hard-core one for the decision of the masses whose survival is the issue."

Gen. Douglas MacArthur, 1961.

WHY ME?

Can I as an individual really make a difference? There is no question about it. Our current crisis is the result of individuals making the wrong kind of difference — either doing nothing or acting from the old mode of thinking. Individuals make all the difference, positively or negatively. The real question is what kind of difference are you making?

In all societal changes — abolishing slavery, instituting women's suffrage, advancing civil rights — it has been individual people who have made all the difference. That is the only way it works. And it works because the individuals do not ask, "Can I really make a difference?" — they ask "What must I do?" and upon finding the answer, they do it.

Collective change in our society is always the result of a process beginning with individual change. Without individual change, societal change cannot occur. So, if I am not actively working to be part of the solution, I am part of the problem.

While recent events have disturbed our complacency, very few people understand the full

magnitude of the threat to our survival. Even fewer understand that new politicians or new laws, by themselves, will not remove the threat — that a total shift in our mode of thinking is required. Those who do understand are desperately needed to speak out clearly, forcefully, and in a spirit of good will. Only then will an environment be created in which a much larger number of individuals can begin to see what is required for survival. And only then can the required societal change begin.

"The force which threatens to blow the world asunder resides not in the clouds or mountains but in the invisible heart of the atom. The inner force too, which like the power of the atom can either remake or shatter civilization, resides in the smallest unit of society, the individual. The individual is the secret advance base from which the power sets out to invade committee rooms, mothers' meetings, county councils, parliaments, continents and nations."

Laurens Van Der Post
Dark Eye of Africa

WHAT MUST I DO?

Each of us must take immediate, effective action to halt our drift toward unparalleled catastrophe. It should now be clear that the only way to do that is for each of us to make a total decision to change our own mode of thinking.

Our survival depends on our individual changes then growing into societal change. This occurs through

the process of building agreement. So the required action, after we have shifted our own thinking, is to work with others through an educational process to build agreement — agreement that, technologically, the world is already beyond war, and agreement on how we, as human beings, will move our thinking beyond war.

BUILDING AGREEMENT

Are education and building agreement action? Absolutely — even though they are not usually recognized as such. People often ask, “When are we going to do something? All this talking is fine, but we need to take action.” This view is understandable. The problem is so big and so urgent that people feel compelled to do something tangible, with immediate, measurable results.

Not only is education action. It is the required action, because agreement or consensus must precede any effective legislation. Agreement is a necessary foundation for any law because, without agreement, law is unenforceable.

Prohibition is an example. In 1920, this nation amended the Constitution — the most tangible result one could ask for — to prohibit the manufacture, sale and transportation of alcoholic beverages. But people flaunted the law; the illicit liquor business thrived. Why? There was not adequate agreement among individuals that alcohol should be outlawed. Prohibition was repealed only a decade later. In the same way, even a constitutional amendment banning war would be but a brief “noble experiment” if agreement were not built first.

The process of building agreement involves two parts. First, we need to build agreement that we are facing a momentous problem — that we are “drifting toward unparalleled catastrophe.” Second, we need to build agreement on the steps of the solution — we

cannot come to people and impose a preplanned agenda, but rather we must use an inclusive approach consistent with the new mode of thinking. People fully support decisions only if they have played a part in the decision-making process. And the outcome will be stronger for having had the benefit of many different viewpoints — just as the three blind men together could reach a much better understanding of the true nature of the elephant than any one could alone.

Today, we must build agreement based on the knowledge that war is obsolete and we are one. Until agreement is reached, laws are premature. Only when we have reached agreement, can effective implementation occur.

**principle
agreement
law**

Figure 6: The process of building agreement about principle must precede law.

THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Demonstration of this shift to the new mode of thinking on a national scale must begin in a country such as this, where the government derives its direction from the visions of the people. When enough of us decide to expand our identification to include the whole earth, not to preoccupy ourselves with enemies, and to reject violence, then our society, with its strong democratic base, can and will lead the world beyond war.

How many of us is “enough”? One person in twenty is all it takes! Research studies have shown that when approximately five percent of a society accepts a new idea it becomes “embedded.” Prior to this point, proponents of the new idea must work incessantly just to keep the idea alive; that is where Beyond War stands right now.

Work during this phase is often frustrating and seems not to add up. But that is only an illusion. Like laying the foundation for a cathedral, this work is the necessary first step even though most people cannot yet see the beauty to come.

After an idea is embedded, additional work is needed until it reaches approximately 20 percent of the population, at which point it becomes “unstoppable.” Work is still required beyond this point, but it involves implementation rather than trying to convince people that the idea is worthy of consideration. In building a cathedral, this would be the point at which the structure is beginning to take shape and many people can envision its beauty, even though the project is far from finished.

This process of social change is depicted graphically in Figure 7. The first, flat portion of the curve represents the embedding phase. “Innovators,” people open to new ideas and courageous enough to espouse them, become involved during this initial phase. Because the idea is still seen as radically new, the recognized leaders of society rarely are among this group — the new idea is still considered too different from the existing beliefs of society.

As the innovators communicate the idea, it begins to gain social acceptability. Then the process moves

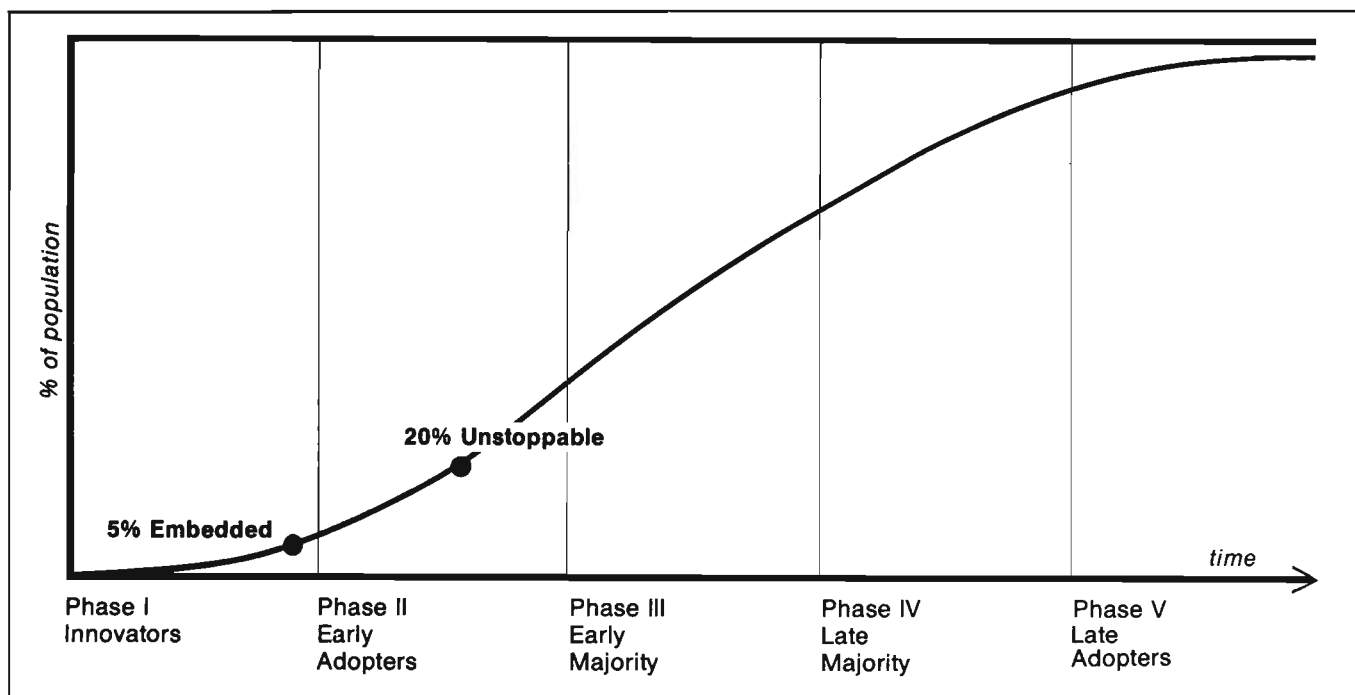


Figure 7: The five phases of social change.

into the second portion of the curve, where a much larger segment of society — including the recognized leaders — can embrace the idea. People who become involved during this phase are known as “early adopters.”

The third and fourth phases involve the “early majority” and the “late majority,” while a fifth phase includes “late adopters” — people who resist new ideas and cling tenaciously to the old. Because people are social animals, even these eventually adopt the idea.

Understanding this process of social change is important for two reasons. First, it explains how the impossible becomes possible. Before the process starts, the social environment makes it impossible for the new idea to take hold with the vast majority of the population. But, as more and more people adopt the new idea, the environment changes. What was radical becomes avant-garde; what was avant-garde becomes common knowledge.

This process also explains how we need to spend our time. Once we understand a new idea, it is natural for us to want to convince everyone of its truth. It is natural, but inefficient. And, because time is limited, we must be as efficient as possible. We cannot afford to spend time vainly trying to convince laggards when we need to be locating innovators and early adopters.

ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL

Our understanding of the fundamental founding principle of the United States, “that all men are created equal,” is an excellent example of the process of social change and building agreement. In 1776, our socie-

ty’s agreement on this principle could best be stated as “all white, property-owning males are created equal.” The laws reflected this agreement — for example in voting requirements and slavery. As our society measured itself against the highest expression of “all men are created equal,” we were confronted by slavery.

The process began with a few individuals who perceived that slavery was wrong — a radical idea at that time. At first, most people could not see the possibility of a world without slavery. There were seemingly insurmountable economic, political, and human problems to overcome. As the few who saw the possibility and the necessity worked to spread the idea, the “impossible” happened. Agreement grew and implementation followed. Slavery was abolished.

After emancipation of the slaves, we gained further understanding of “all men are created equal.” We instituted women’s suffrage and civil rights, so that the best expression of our current understanding of this founding principle is “all American people are created equal.”

The Beyond War movement leads to the next natural step in taking this principle to its highest form of expression: “All people are created equal,” which is synonymous with “We are one.”

We are many individuals, communities, nations, races, and religions. At the same time, we live together on one planet, dependent upon one life-support system. Our destinies are absolutely interdependent. We must redefine all of our basic agreements in this new light. Through this process of building agreement, we will work together to build a world beyond war.

THE CHALLENGE

This is the most monumental endeavor ever undertaken by the human species. It requires hard work and constant vigilance. Concern is not enough. Good intentions are not enough. Our nuclear arsenal has been developed with concern and good intentions — to preserve peace. The result, a world on the verge of extinction, shows the danger of seeking peace through warlike means. To build a world beyond war, the means must be consistent with the ends.

This is a change of unprecedented magnitude not only in our outer actions, but also in our inner attitude. For it is out of our inner attitude that our actions proceed. Just as agreement must precede law, an attitude of good will is a prerequisite to building a world beyond war.

The time has come for the human species to end war. We must challenge ourselves, each other and our elected representatives to respond to this opportunity to redirect the course of human history in the interest of our very survival. We must bring this challenge to our educational and religious institutions, to the business community, to the media, and to all other institutions established for the good of society.

A complete reorientation of our psychic energy and our physical efforts is demanded for our continued survival. Only if we base our thoughts and actions on the fact that we are one human family will we build a meaningful future for our children and generations to come. Working together we can build a world beyond war. Life or death, the choice is ours. Each of us must choose.

NOTES

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general theory of the problem. It is shown that the problem is equivalent to a system of linear equations. The system is then solved by the method of least squares. The results are then compared with the results of other authors.

2. The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the numerical solution of the problem. It is shown that the numerical solution can be obtained by the method of least squares. The results are then compared with the results of other authors.

3. The third part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the experimental results. It is shown that the experimental results are in good agreement with the theoretical results. The results are then compared with the results of other authors.

4. The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the conclusions. It is shown that the problem is solved. The results are then compared with the results of other authors.

5. The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the references. It is shown that the references are in good agreement with the theoretical results. The results are then compared with the results of other authors.

THE BEYOND WAR STATEMENT

This statement, which sets forth the basic philosophy of the Beyond War movement, was developed after hundreds of personal interviews with arms control experts, business and professional people, military and government personnel, educators, scientists and people from all walks of life.



BEYOND WAR™

A New Way of Thinking

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

Albert Einstein, 1946

The development, deployment and use of nuclear weapons have forever altered our environment. For the first time, a species has the capability of destroying itself and its life support system. Our thinking, however, has not yet caught up with that reality. In order to survive, we must change our mode of thinking. This change requires knowledge, decision and action.

I. KNOWLEDGE.

A. War is Obsolete

Throughout recorded history, war has been used to acquire, to defend, to expand, to impose, to preserve. War has been the ultimate arbiter of differences between nations. War and the preparation for war have become intrinsic to human culture. Now we must accept the reality that war has become obsolete.

We cannot fight a full-scale nuclear war. A full-scale nuclear war would destroy civilization as we know it and would threaten life itself.

We cannot fight a limited nuclear war. Detonation of even a small percentage of the world's nuclear arsenals could trigger a "nuclear winter" and cause the extinction of humanity. It is also highly probable that a limited nuclear war would escalate to a full-scale nuclear war.

We cannot fight a conventional war among the superpowers. Such a war would likely escalate to a nuclear war.

We cannot fight a conventional war among the non-superpowers without potentially involving the superpowers. The growing interdependence of nations has produced a network of "vital interests" that the superpowers have pledged to defend. This defense could, in turn, escalate through conventional war to nuclear war.

Today, because war has become obsolete, we must learn to resolve conflict without violence.

B. We Are One

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

Sir Fred Hoyle, 1948

The view of the earth from space is a symbol of the interconnectedness of all life. This symbol of oneness is validated by a variety of scientific discoveries of the last century.

Physics demonstrates that nothing exists in isolation. All of matter, from sub-atomic particles to the galaxies in space, is part of an intricate web of relationships in a unified whole.

Ecology provides the understanding that all parts of a living system are interconnected and that greater stability results from increased diversity.

Biology reveals that, in a totally interrelated system, the principle of survival of the fittest has new meaning. The "fittest" is now seen as that species which best contributes to the well-being of the whole system.

Psychology explains the projection of the dark side of the personality upon an "enemy." That knowledge gives us new tools to understand conflict and to improve relationships between individuals and between nations.

Together these discoveries reveal in a new way the meaning of "One." We are one interconnected, interdependent life-system, living on one planet.

C. The New Mode of Thinking

The knowledge that war is obsolete and that we are one is the foundation of the new mode of thinking. Our mode of thinking is what we identify with. It determines our values, our attitudes, our motivation, and our actions.

Until recently, we had not experienced the earth as one integrated system. We had limited experience of other peoples and other cultures. Therefore, our primary loyalty has been limited to our family, tribe, race, religion, ideology, or nation. Our identification has been restricted, and we have often seen those beyond that identification as enemies.

In the nuclear age this limited identification threatens all of humanity. We can no longer be preoccupied with enemies. We can no longer see ourselves as separate. Modern transportation, communication systems and the discoveries of science have increased tremendously our direct and indirect experience of the world. We now see that all of life is interdependent, that we share a common destiny, that our individual well-being depends on the well-being of the whole system. We must now identify with all humanity, all life, the whole earth. This expanded identification is the new mode of thinking.

It may be that we will never eliminate conflict between individuals or between nations. There will always be different perspectives, different ideas and different approaches to problems. However, an overriding identification with the whole earth will enable us to resolve conflicts by discovering solutions that benefit all. Diversity will no longer be a cause of war. When we change our mode of thinking, diverse points of view will become a source of creative solutions.

The human species has repeatedly demonstrated the ability to change its mode of thinking. As we have matured and acquired new knowledge, we have expanded our identification beyond the tribe, the clan and the city-state. As we began to expand our identification beyond race, we abolished the institution of slavery. Now, by expanding our identification to the whole earth and all humanity, we will build a world beyond war.

"The Age of Nations is past. The task before us now, if we would not perish, is to shake off our ancient prejudices, and to build the earth."

Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, 1936

II. DECISION

The process of building a world beyond war begins with the acknowledgement that war is obsolete and that we are one. Change, then, requires a decision to reject totally the obsolete and to commit totally to build upon the new identification.

Decision means "to cut" (-cision) "away from" (de-), to reject forever an option, to close the door to an existing possibility. Without a decision it is impossible to discover the new. There is always peril in moving into the unknown. We cannot preview all that will happen. We must draw upon our individual and collective experience of making such "leaps" in the past.

The decision to change our mode of thinking must be made on an individual basis. Individuals are the basic elements of societies. Without individual change, societal change cannot occur. Each of us must decide to adopt the new mode of thinking as the basis of his or her life.

"To compromise in this matter is to decide; to postpone and evade decision is to decide; to hide the matter is to decide... There are a thousand ways of saying no; one way of saying yes; and no way of saying anything else."

Gregory Vlastos, 1934

III ACTION: BUILDING AGREEMENT

Societies generate their own visions of what is possible and draw their behavior from those visions. This nation must renew its commitment to the vision upon which it was founded and build agreement about the implications of that vision in the contemporary world.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Declaration of Independence, 1776

We have not always lived up to the highest expression of our founding principles. For example, the principal that "all men are created equal" originally meant only white, tax-paying, property-owning males. Clearer understanding of these principles has resulted in creative change. When enough of us agreed that "all men are created equal" meant black and white, we abolished slavery. When enough of us agreed that it meant women and men, we instituted women's suffrage. When enough of us agreed that it meant more than "separate but equal," we recognized civil rights.

When new agreements about principles are reached, laws, treaties and policies are developed to implement them. That is the only sequence of lasting change: agreement about principle, then law. Law cannot effectively precede agreement. Agreement must spring from new understanding of principles. The action through which agreement is built is education.

Today education must be based upon the knowledge that war is obsolete and that we are one. We now know that the principle "all men are created equal" applies to every human being on the planet. We now know that the unalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness cannot be secured by war. We must now work together to build agreement based on that knowledge throughout our society.

Power comes from individuals who are connected to universal principles and who are working together to build new agreements. The power of this nation has come from the involvement of the people in the unfolding of our founding principles. We have always agreed that such involvement is not the exclusive right of the elite. Truth is self-evident: it is available to all. Power flows not from the top, but from the *consent of the governed*. Our Great Seal says it clearly: "E Pluribus Unum — Out of Many, One."

We have become a demonstration of that statement on our Great Seal. The possibility that resulted from the process of involving people in the pursuit of truth has been unfolding for 200 years. This process has served as a beacon of hope and inspiration to people around the world. It has drawn the largest diversity of people ever assembled in one nation. We have gathered the "Many" — the religions, the races, the nationalities — working for the well-being of the "One," the Whole, the United States of America.

To fulfill the purpose and vision upon which this nation was founded, we must change our understanding of the principle "Out of Many, One" to include the whole earth and all life. We must now work together to build a world beyond war.

"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

STUDY QUESTIONS

The following questions are designed to help the interested reader to further pursue concepts as set forth in this booklet regarding war and its implications.

By answering the questions for yourself, you deepen your own convictions and strengthen your ability to communicate with others about this issue.

There is a set of questions that relate to each chapter. Some of them will encourage you to do more research to gather substantiating data. Other questions are subjective in nature and will enable you to come to specific conclusions about your personal attitudes regarding war.

INTRODUCTION

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

Albert Einstein, 1946

1. What does "changed everything" mean? What caused the change? What happens when an environment is forever altered?
2. If we eliminated all nuclear weapons, would the environment return to the way it was?
3. What are the manifestations of the "drift" to which Einstein referred?
4. What knowledge do you have that verifies that our environment has changed? What evidence allows us to say totally and forever?
5. "But our thinking has remained unchanged."
How is this unchanged thinking expressed in:
business? families?
government? cities?
education? agriculture?
religion? social programs?
entertainment? natural resources?
foreign relationships?
6. Why have we not perceived the slow but deadly change in our environment?

KNOWLEDGE

Survival and Change

1. "War became intrinsic to human culture and began an evolution of its own." Is war also intrinsic to human nature?
2. What is the "knowledge required for our continued survival"?
3. Do you think the human species can survive if we continue to war? Why or why not?

War is Obsolete

1. Do you think there will be a nuclear war? Why or why not?
2. Do you think humanity could survive a "limited" nuclear war?
3. Do you think that escalation would be inevitable?

4. What are some of the current "networks of vital interests" that could potentially pull the superpowers into direct confrontation?
5. If the possession of nuclear weapons does not give us useful power, why do we still have them?
6. What would it mean to treat nuclear weapons as a "temporary stratagem on our path to a world beyond war"?
7. Work out a plan that would result in Mutually Assured Survival" instead of "Mutually Assured Destruction."
8. Do you agree with the statement, "Today, because war is obsolete, we must learn to resolve conflict without violence."

We Are One

1. What does "We are one" mean?
Who is the "we"? What is "one"?
2. When do people act as one? Why?
When do they not act as one? Why?
3. How are we interconnected?
Where are we not interconnected?
4. Why is diversity a source of stability?
How does this work ecologically?
How does it apply in a cultural or ideological context?
5. "Survival of the fittest" now means that those who survive are those that contribute to the well-being of the whole system. Do you agree that this is true? If so, what are the implications of this view?
6. How does psychology support the reality that "We Are One"?
7. Where do you see the projection of the "shadow" happening today? How does it affect our predicament?
8. How is the understanding of the idea "We Are One" a source of power and hope?

New Mode of Thinking

1. Compare the old mode of thinking with the new mode of thinking.
2. How does our identity determine our thinking, our values, our attitude, and our motivation? Think of examples.

STUDY QUESTIONS

3. Do you agree that a new identity is required for continued survival?
4. Are you convinced that human beings can change? Why?
5. Do you think it is really possible to find solutions that benefit all?
6. How will changing your mode of thinking affect you personally?
7. Think of an instance where you have had to shift from a restricted view to an expanded view. What did you give up? What did you gain?
8. Is it true that there is no way to move to the new mode of thinking while preoccupying yourself with an enemy? Why?
9. How do you feel about those who do not identify with the things you identify with?
10. What does it mean to say "we justify the kill"?
11. What are the prerequisites for the resolution of conflict without violence?

DECISION

Process of Decision

1. What is the difference between "knowing" that war is obsolete and "deciding" to reject war forever as an option?
2. Why must a true decision be total?
What does it mean to totally reject war as an option?
3. Pick an important decision in your life.
 - a. What was it?
 - b. Why did you make it?
 - c. What was it you left?
 - d. What was it you moved into or toward?
 - e. How much did you know about what you were getting into when you made the decision?
4. How is the decision to build a world beyond war similar to any major decision you have made in your life?

WILL YOU MAKE THE DECISION TO BUILD A WORLD BEYOND WAR? WHY OR WHY NOT?

Personal Implications

A world beyond war is possible only if we make a personal commitment to live our lives in accordance with the new mode of thinking. The message and the messenger must be consistent. We each must be living proof that a world beyond war is possible.

The personal implications inherent in the decision to adopt the new mode of thinking can be summarized as follows:

- **I will resolve conflict. I will not use violence.**
- **I will maintain a spirit of good will. I will not preoccupy myself with an enemy.**
- **I will work together with others to build a world beyond war.**

1. Can conflict always be resolved? Why or why not?
2. Has violence ever resolved a conflict?
3. What is a spirit of "good will"? How does one achieve it?
4. How does maintaining a spirit of good will make you a catalyst for positive change?

ACTION

1. Why has Beyond War chosen education as the method of action?
2. Outline the elements that are required for an individual to adopt a new mode of thinking.
3. Outline the elements that are required for a society to adopt a new mode of thinking.

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This book, like the Beyond War movement itself, is not the product of one individual, but that of a number of people who have come separately —and now together — to the inescapable conclusion that war is obsolete and we must work together to build a world Beyond War.

Much of the original writing on which the book is based was done over a period of a year by a group that included Richard Rathbun, Rick Roney, Louise Smith, Donna Richeson, Don Fitton and Craig Ritchey. Dr. Martin Hellman, professor of electrical engineering at Stanford University, served as Principal Editor. Also intimately involved in the editing process were Craig Barnes, Al Braun, Pat Chandler, Jack Li, Mac Lawrence, Tom Lindsay, Tom Osborne, Chris Rich, Nancy Ritchey, Karen Stevens and Judie Swope. Their occupations range from corporate executive to scientist to building contractor, and from lawyer to teacher to homemaker. All are active in the cooperative task of building a world Beyond War.

