

**WORKING PAPER FOR THE UNIS/UN STUDENT CONFERENCE**

**ON**

**THE COST OF WAR - THE PRICE OF PEACE**



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# INTRODUCTION

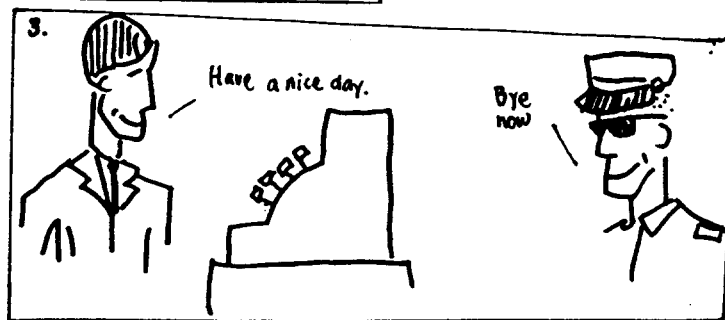
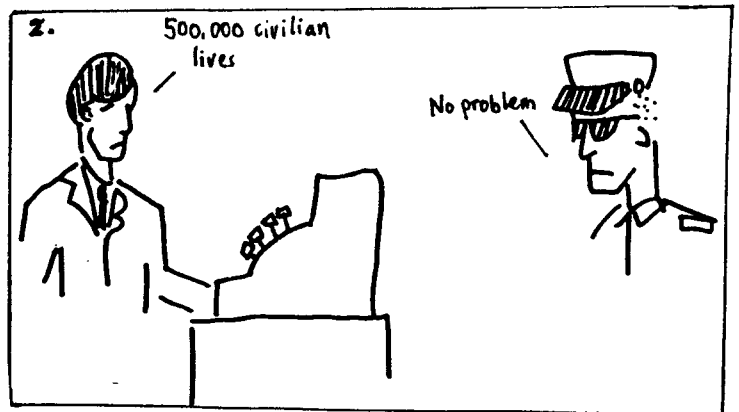
War and the fear of war are a constant presence in our lives. A nuclear war might destroy us all, but the many wars and conflicts fought since the atom bomb ended World War II have actually killed twenty million of us.

In this Working Paper we want to examine the cost of these wars, in deaths directly related to the conflicts, in money expended on arms, and in the toll they take economically, socially, politically, and in human suffering. We would like to get the message across that all humanity suffers from the world's obsession with war and destruction. We are diverting our resources, material, intellectual and emotional, from how best to live to how best to kill or threaten to kill.

We see "cost of war" as a payment in suffering that is imposed on us without choice.

"Price of peace", however, represents the changes in policies and behavior which we can voluntarily accept in order to establish peace as the norm of international relations. To understand what these changes would involve, we must look at the circumstances and attitudes that cause war.

What options are there for peace in the world today? Are there institutions, procedures or people that are strong enough to persuade countries to give up their national sovereignty and truly co-operate on a global basis? How can we build trust and bring about change? We do not have the answers, but one thing we are sure of -- the problem needs some fresh thinking and a new commitment to action.



## THE MORAL IMPERATIVE

War is the expedient humanity has often used in its search to resolve conflict. Organized war is a term applicable only to humankind; of all the species in the animal kingdom, humans alone have practiced it. Now that we have the capability of wiping ourselves off the face of the Earth, we realize, with greater clarity than ever before that the use of war for resolving conflicts, which we have inherited from our ancestors, is far from appropriate. Humanity seems finally to have come to an obvious conclusion -- war destroys more than it resolves. But even with this insight, we still indulge in the practice of war. At this moment, while we are pondering the questions of war and peace, children who are unable to understand what is going on around them are carrying automatic rifles and butchering other children who are just as lost as they are.

If we could blame anyone it would have to be ourselves, all of us, young and old, in any country where we have the power to voice our opinions and influence decision makers. It is we who give them the arms to fight with and it is we who sit back and watch warring people slaughter one another. Why have there been so many conflicts since the end of World War II? Can the reason be that we find violence acceptable -- just as long as we are fighting for what we consider to be justice, heroism, or "national security," however that might be interpreted? Has this made war an allowable institution, where the laws that make us human beings are obsolete and the killing of innocent people is praiseworthy?

If we were to gather all the people of the world and ask them if they wanted war, they

would all respond in unison: "No!" But still war exists. Why this dilemma?

Do we feel that violence has a place in our lives? Do we feel that some violence is justified? How can we condone it? Can killing others be deemed appropriate because they do not believe in what we believe?

- Is it right to do justice through the injustice of war?
- Is it right for us to support war because its horrors fascinate us?
- Is it right for us to determine what is right for other people?
- And is it right for us to claim wealth and power at the price of another human being's suffering?

These are questions with which we must come to terms: whether war has any basis and peace any foundation. It is not a group of experts who can decide this, nor any institution. In fact it is only within us that the solution lies; we must understand that we are the caretakers of the fate of humanity. By casting our prejudices aside, and letting our morality decide, we can come to understand the human cost of war and the sacrifices we need to make as the price of peace. As the preamble to UNESCO's charter states, "Since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

## CAUSES AND NATURE OF WAR

War is one of the most common and least understood of human enterprises. Historians, philosophers, and social scientists have tried defining war in many different ways. Karl von Clausewitz, the great Prussian writer, said that "War is not merely a political act, but also a political instrument, a continuation of political relations, a carrying out of the same by other means."<sup>1</sup> It can be summarized as a political act usually undertaken when all other alternatives have failed.

Do such acts include border wars, wars of annexation, civil wars, rebellions, wars of liberation, guerrilla wars, and terrorism? For the purpose of study and statistics the United Nations has defined wars as conflicts that involve more than 1000 dead in any one year, and has estimated that there have been more than 150 of them since 1945, most fought in developing countries. If we include lesser conflicts and acts of terrorism, or conflicts that the UN felt did not fit the category in other ways, the total would be considerably higher.

War is not intended to be random slaughter. It needs military skills, planning, and is bound by definite laws. In order to make war an "acceptable" alternative to diplomacy, both sides waging a war are bound to conduct their hostilities in accordance with recognized conventions and rules of war. These balance the advantages of maintaining a rational humanity against military necessities. Certain particularly horrible practices, like the use of biological and chemical weapons, have been outlawed by international conventions.

Much of what currently passes for war is not war in the traditional sense. These conflicts can better be called armed conflicts. They are simply examples of guerrilla warfare (like

some conflicts in Central America), or internal disputes. The participants are not well trained; they use all kinds of weapons, and each side fights when and where it has a chance of success. Rules of warfare are ignored and the conflicts become increasingly brutal. Prisoners are tortured, civilians are taken hostage, and schools and hospitals are made into armories and bombed. The rumor persists that the type of warfare dreaded almost as much as nuclear war -- the use of nerve gas -- is becoming a reality.

It is sometimes difficult to characterize a conflict because one side may define its actions as a rebellion against oppression, while the other may speak of it as a requirement to protect citizens and maintain order. The perception of a situation as a conflict, who caused it, and whose business it is to interfere in it, becomes particularly sensitive within a UN body of 159 different nations. This lack of consensus is one of the reasons why the UN has had limited success in preventing war.

An important cause of war in the world today is the rivalry between the two superpowers. Although many conflicts, such as those in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Central America, Chad, Ethiopia, Iran/Iraq, Lebanon, and Southern Africa developed as a result of other tensions, and those countries and groups within them should not evade responsibility, the superpower's interest in them has made their resolution more difficult. A war between the Soviet Union and the United States would lead to a nuclear holocaust whose effects would involve the whole world. Local conflicts fought with conventional weapons are often proxies for that unthinkable and unwinnable one, which does not mean that such conflicts could not escalate into a nuclear war.

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1. From On War, 1833

A more basic explanation for the cause of war may lie in the nature of human beings; aggression may be in our genes, and serve as a mechanism for survival. Another explanation states that people and groups are molded in part by a "territorial imperative," which has been evident since the times when tribes had to safeguard their hunting and gathering grounds, and is translated today into people's desire to have their own nation and land. Yet another belief is that, in many instances, nations consider the economic and political gains from a victorious war greater than the cost of the war itself, so they gamble on victory. Sometimes ideology or irrationality prevents a nation from accepting a negotiated agreement that would assure them of some gain. Insecurity can lead nations to the stockpiling of "defensive" weapons; these weapons themselves can then become a provocation for war because whether their intended use is for defense or offense is often not clear.

Another cause of war is economic injustice. At times in the past, there were not enough basic necessities for one group or another, so that it was perhaps necessary to seize territory or property in order to survive. Now, however, we probably have the technology to produce enough for all, but not the will to distribute it equitably. Thus a situation is created in which the weaker group must rebel to gain what it needs to survive. Therefore, to eliminate the injustice that creates war, a system of equity that provides basic human needs for all must be created. By whom? By us!

## Conventional Arms

It has become increasingly obvious in recent years that the effects of conventional war, though more diffused over time and place, are in some respects almost as dangerous to the world as nuclear war. Some non-nuclear countries were reluctant at first to examine the cause, nature, and effects of such wars. They considered that the first priority was nuclear disarmament because a nuclear war could destroy all of humanity at one time. Some countries were involved in ongoing wars, which they considered vital to their security.

Others wanted no interference with their arms production and trade. However, urged by Denmark, the United Nations undertook a comprehensive study of the nature of conventional war, the effects it has on all aspects of the world's economy, and possible measures of disarmament.

Statistics vary but there is a general consensus on the number of conventional conflicts that have occurred since 1945, and the annual cost to the world's budget. More than twenty such conflicts are continuing today, taking place in Africa, Asia, Central America and the Middle East. A great many of the countries affected have high rates of unemployment, illiteracy, malnutrition, child mortality, and could well spend the money invested in arms on improving the lives of their people.

It is difficult to get accurate figures for the actual amount spent on conventional arms in the world today as many countries consider sharing such information dangerous to their security. Besides the United Nations itself, the main sources for statistics are the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (USACDA). Money spent on research and development (R&D) is difficult to separate according to military and civilian purposes. Also difficult to measure is the correlation between what is spent on arms and how efficiently those arms are utilized. Overall, however, it is generally accepted that of the world's annual military expenditure of more than \$800 billion, over eighty percent is spent on conventional arms and armed forces.

Nations attempt to surpass each other in the possession and development of weapons that will both defend them as well as penetrate the others' defenses. High-tech weapons have made conventional warfare increasingly lethal. Electronics, telecommunications, computers and the use of laser-guided and particle-beam systems have extended the reach and accuracy of weapons. New developments such as precision-guided munitions (PGMs) and remotely piloted vehicles (RPVs) -- weapons with guidance systems built in -- have made accuracy within a few feet possible.

These technological advances have made the de-escalation of the arms race more difficult. Half a million people (20 percent of the world's most highly skilled scientists) are involved in military R&D, costing over \$35 billion annually, (that is 25 percent of the world's total expenditure on R&D). This is an investment which develops its own momentum. The scientists have salaries and laboratories not available in civilian life. The manufacturers who produce their new inventions need to sell as many weapons as possible in order to bring down the cost of production. The US XM1 tank costs \$2.5 million, six times the cost of a Sherman tank. A modern long range bomber equipped with all types of electronic gadgets costs \$200 million. There is always the danger that those who use the weapons and those who produce them, the military industrial complex, will act together to persuade governments to adopt certain weapons policies they perceive to be in their interests.

The effects of high-tech weapons reach even further. Countries that buy modern weapons find themselves tied to a political alliance with the country that sold the weapons. They need experts to train their troops in the use of this complex equipment and spare parts. The export of major weapons systems is, in large part, carried out by only six or seven countries; the United States and the Soviet Union each sell one third of all arms exports. The countries of the Middle East, as a region, are the largest importers of weapons.

The United Nations recognizes the right of sovereign states to their security. To hope to persuade countries to disarm while so many conflicts are going on is unrealistic. Actual decrease in arms stockpiles can only be achieved together with political settlements of disputes. Disarmament thus becomes a complex process to be carried out simultaneously on many levels, with each political step matched by a military one. The cost of war, conventional or nuclear, to all humanity is so great that we must advance the disarmament process immediately.

## Terrorism

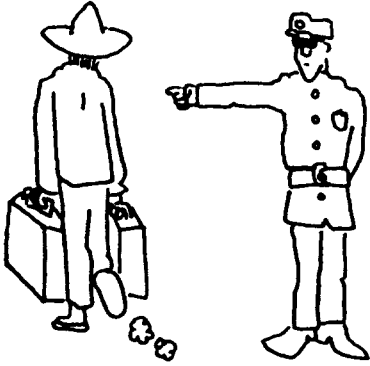
Recently the economic and political frustration of certain groups has led to an escalation of terrorism. Defining a particular act as terrorism is difficult because one person's "terrorist" might be another's "liberation fighter." The distinctive characteristic of this form of warfare is that its immediate effects are not only directed towards governments and military installations, but also at civilians. Planes have been hijacked; hostages have been taken; synagogues, restaurants, nightclubs, airports and stores bombed; people murdered.

The word "terror" in terrorism implies that armed attacks on defenseless civilians will frighten them sufficiently so that they will force their governments to act as the terrorists direct. Sometimes the aim is more complex, to force a government to resort to repressive police tactics against all its citizens for the sake of security, and so turning the citizens against itself.

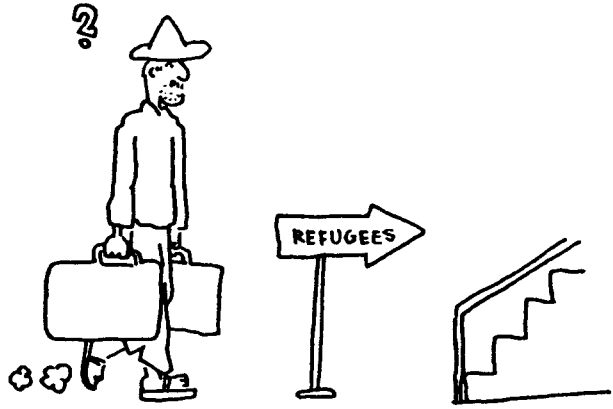
Terrorism occurs not only in those countries most often in the news, but also worldwide. Countries and subgroups are either the target of disaffected groups or of the allies of those groups. No country admits to sponsoring terrorism, though some are accused of doing so, while the anti-terrorist acts of others are considered terrorist by their opponents.

How does one deal with terrorism? Terrorists say "deal with the problem that caused us to become terrorists in the first place," but some say that such action, if taken after the incident of terrorism, is legitimizing and rewarding violence. The international community at large will have to deal with the underlying problems, but at the same time, it must outlaw terrorism as a means of settling grievances. Whatever preventive measures individual nations take cannot work until all nations cooperate, and set guidelines for defining, preventing, and responding to terrorism.

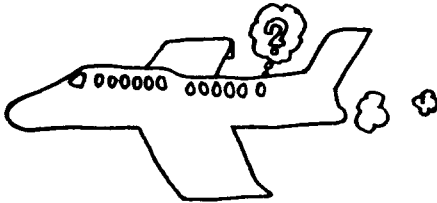
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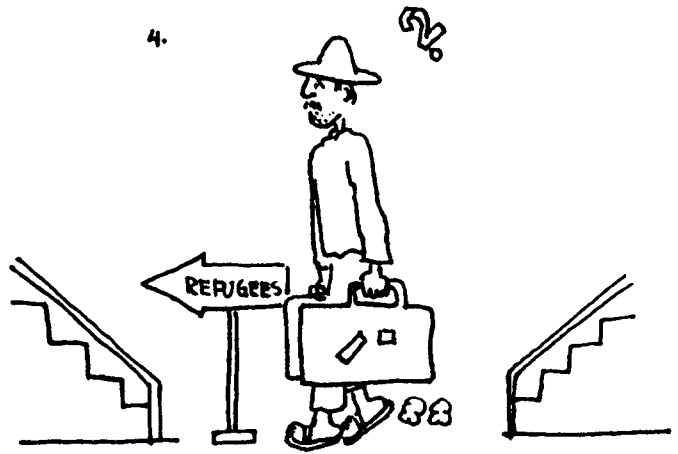
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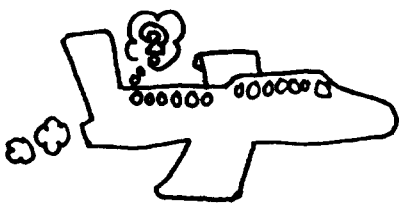
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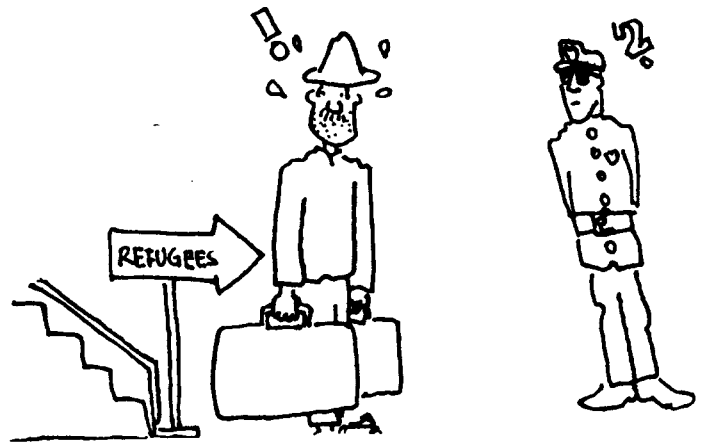
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# THE COST OF WAR

## The Human Cost: Refugees

The most visible cost of modern war in human suffering, after the dead are removed, are the more than 10 million refugees scattered in camps all over the world. Many have gone through terrible dangers to reach safety, and many more have died on the way. Much of the refugee crisis is a direct result of war. Both political refugees (those who have left their countries for fear of persecution) and economic refugees (those who have left their countries because their nations cannot offer them the basic necessities of life) are to a large extent the victims of these conflicts.

Refugee status is given to "a person who, owing to well-founded fears of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country."<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that the United Nations and its member states give refugee status to people escaping intolerable economic conditions only if the conditions are a result of war.

The problems of refugees have reached monumental proportions in recent years, and the search for realistic solutions continues today with no foreseeable end in sight. The movements of refugees can cause almost as much trauma for a host country as they inflict upon the refugees themselves. In many cases the burden of accepting refugees rests with those countries that border the troubled areas.

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2. Worldwatch Paper No.43

So, it is clear that the developing world is the home to most of the world's refugees.

Often their flow cannot be physically stopped. Since a refugee crisis affects the stability of a whole region, it is important both for regional peace and for humanitarian reasons that the refugees are resettled.

### The Effects of Refugees on the Host Country

When the host country agrees to accept the fleeing refugees, the political relations between a host country and the refugee's country of origin are usually strained. For example, Afghanistan-Pakistan ties have been severed since the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan began in 1979. Presently, there are approximately 3,304,000 Afghan refugees in Pakistan, the single largest concentration of refugees in one nation.

The acceptance of refugees by a country may engender international acclaim and support for that country. This can result in economic as well as military aid for the host country. For example, since 1979, the United States has poured aid into Pakistan, which has helped to stabilize the country's fragile economy.

The influx of refugees diverts attention from the domestic problems of the country. Feeding, clothing, and sheltering newcomers, providing them with health facilities, water supplies, and other basic necessities, can cause refugees to be better off than the local population. Also, if given the opportunity, refugees who are willing to receive lower wages flood the job market. Thus sympathy for refugees can turn to resentment. Clearly the presence of refugees may stress a country's limited resources and put a strain on services which are already scarce.

## The Effects of the Host Country on Refugees

First of all refugees need a satisfactory settlement in their new environment. Frequently refugees cannot find a suitable home in the first country reached and must travel further to find security and an opportunity for durable settlement.

Even when refugees find a suitable environment in which to settle, they still undergo great psychological strain. In addition to the effects of the trauma and the suffering the refugees underwent in reaching the camp, they must struggle with sentiments attending loss of identity and homeland. They feel helpless and vulnerable, and for the majority, who are women and children, their vulnerability is accentuated by the pain of having to continue a family without the presence and support of husbands and fathers.

Refugees are also often thrown into a society with unfamiliar practices and language, and they endure a tremendous culture shock. To counter some of the social and cultural differences, refugees, such as the Indochinese in the United States, have migrated from small towns to large urban centers to form substantial ethnic communities.

Refugees are faced with obtaining employment and acceptance in their new society. Unskilled, uneducated refugees from traditional rural societies have the hardest time adapting and finding jobs. They are the ones most frequently exploited. Certain refugees, such as the Haitians, who are labeled -- by their own government as well as foreign ones -- "economic migrants" rather than refugees, have been denied work authorization along with equal protection by law in the United States.

### What is being done?

By August 1985, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the World Food Programme (WFP) signed a joint memorandum regarding co-operation between the two organizations in meeting food needs of refugees. Also in 1985, UNHCR purchased \$83 million worth of services and supplies such as vehicles, medical supplies,

agricultural tools, water pumps, tents, prefabricated buildings, and food. The money came from 58 contributing countries and was used to aid refugees in 42 African, Asian, European, and Latin American countries.

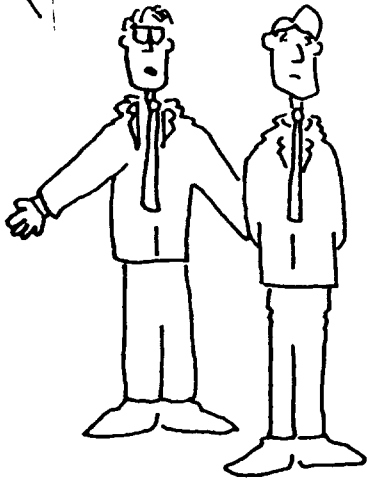
### Refugee Camps

Refugee camps are usually set up by the host country to house and protect incoming refugees. However, UNHCR strongly stresses that a refugee camp must never be considered a permanent residence. Unfortunately, it often takes many years for homes to be found, during which time refugees must adapt to camp life. The poor conditions that exist in many refugee camps make life exceedingly harsh and desolate. The camps are generally overcrowded, and temporary housing often consists of tents or makeshift shacks with no running water or adequate sewage systems. Malnutrition is rampant as are many sanitation-related diseases. Medical supplies and services are scarce. In most camps education is either very poor or nonexistent as are facilities for stimulating any physical or mental activities.

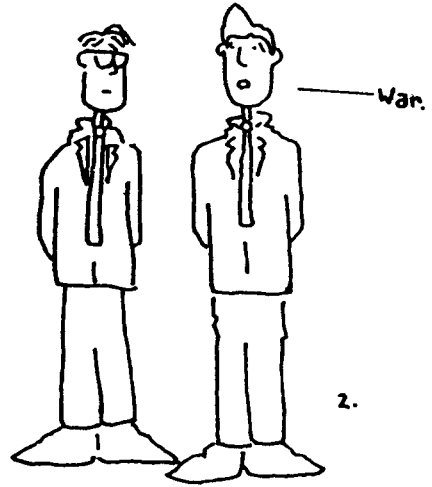
The refugees need help in learning to be self-sufficient and self-reliant in their adopted land. In 1983, at a United Nations International Conference on African Refugees, it was agreed that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) should work with UNHCR and willing host governments to provide development assistance that can make refugees more self-reliant. Such programs promote self-respect and provide training for life after the camps. Refugees are encouraged to take part in the decision-making associated with the management of their camps and to join "self-reliant" and "income-generating" activities. Such activities include dairy and poultry farming projects, beekeeping, cultivation of vegetable gardens, and mechanical workshops. Social and psychological counselling, aid in the reunion of families, training for jobs, and courses in the language of the host country are also offered.

Another large problem is physical safety. Camps are often located near borders. The neighboring countries from which refugees have fled may be resentful of their receiving

Sir, the country is in poor economic and social state. The people are losing confidence in the system. What should we do?

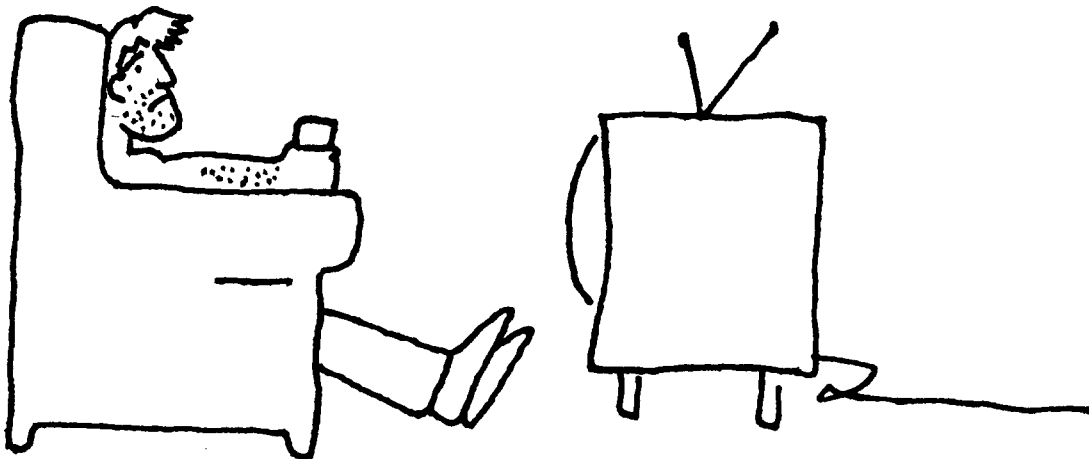


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and today, the army took over another territory, bringing its record to a whopping six and zero... let's go to the video tape!



asylum and may make armed attacks on the camps. Refugees must also be protected from those living in the host country. Natives of the host country may feel the refugees are draining their country's resources and taking away the jobs they consider are rightfully theirs. As a result they may take aggressive actions against the refugees.

There are three main approaches to the permanent settlement of refugees, the best of which is voluntary repatriation. Because of linguistic, cultural and family ties, the return of refugees to their country of origin is usually the ideal solution. But such repatriation should never be by force; sometimes repatriation may jeopardize the safety of the refugees because of political or social persecution, or other dangerous conditions in the refugee's home country.

Many refugees from Central America came to the United States hoping for protection from persecution only to find their status as political victims questioned by the immigration authorities. If classified as people seeking better economic opportunities, they will have to wait their turn to enter the country. The refugees, however, claim that a return to their country means certain death, and they look for help to plead their case. One of the organizations that has been willing to test United States law on their behalf is the Sanctuary Movement; this group originated in churches of the southwestern States. The medieval concept of "sanctuary" proclaimed safety from prosecution for anyone hiding in a church. The modern movement houses and feeds refugees and provides them with lawyers to fight their cases.

The second best solution of homelessness is local integration into the country of first asylum. When the country of asylum borders the country of origin, the language and culture of the two nations are usually similar if not identical. If this is the case, the integration will probably be relatively easy.

Sometimes this second alternative is not possible for reasons of overpopulation, insufficient funds or jobs, or aggression in the host country. In this case the last alternative must be taken, that is, resettlement in a third

country. However, this should always be a last resort.

To alleviate the plight of refugees, two main goals must be accomplished: their basic immediate needs must be met and permanent settlement must be found.

## Case Study: Chile

The 200,000 citizens of Chile driven into exile during the last thirteen years are an eloquent example of the plight of political refugees all over the world. The Chilean refugee crisis started with the violent overthrow of the constitutionally elected left-wing government of President Salvador Allende Gossens, on 11 September, 1973.

The United Nations Commissioner on Human Rights, Amnesty International, the non-governmental Chilean Commission on Human Rights and other human rights institutions have reported on the plights of these refugees. Following the coup, thousands of Chileans sought refuge in friendly embassies; while others were imprisoned. This period was followed by large migrations of Chileans abroad for reasons of safety and because they had been blacklisted in their professions and places of study. Prominent figures from the previous government, the labor confederation, and various political parties, as well as several thousand others, were allowed to leave the country but not to re-enter. The years 1975 to 1979 saw a flood of Chilean leaders, workers, and intellectuals and their families dispersed around the globe.

Augusto Pinochet Ugarte's government offered condemned political prisoners the option to go into exile or to serve a prison sentence. As of 1977, 1,300 prisoners were granted the alternative of exile. By 1980, the rate of expulsion had slowed down, but Chileans continued to flee repression.

A state of emergency was imposed immediately after the military takeover which has been renewed every six months from 1973 to the present day. It allows the President to

restrict freedom of movement, prohibit the entry into or exit out of Chile, suspend or restrict the right of assembly, restrict freedom of information and/or opinion and impose censorship on correspondence and communications.

The Chilean Constitution, adopted in 1980 by the military government, guarantees the right of citizens to move about the country freely, and to enter and exit at will. However, the government has not relinquished its power to alter these rights.

As to the total number of exiles, the non-governmental Chilean Commission for Human Rights estimates that of Chile's 11 million people one person in fifty-five is in exile. This is the highest proportion of national exiles in the world, and this in no way gives a complete picture of the situation because the relatives that are left behind suffer along with the exiles, separated from their families and their culture. Families in exile suffer from the transition from one country to another, from their children's uprootedness and ignorance of their origins, and from depression caused by the impossibility of returning to their country under the present government.

## **UNIS/UN Refugee Simulation**

Our goals in producing this Working Paper, as well as organizing our Conference, include raising our collective consciousness about war and about the suffering which accompanies it. One of the ways in which we prepared for our conference this year was by participating in a refugee simulation. It was designed to give us the experience of working in different occupations in an Aid to Refugees operation. The simulation placed the participants in emergency situations which required them to act quickly and effectively. The positions that were assigned to us ranged from the regional office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, a major donor country, the host country, the head of a medical supplies distribution office, to relief workers in the field. An entire day was

dedicated to this simulation with each hour serving as the span of one month. Different emergencies presented themselves, giving the participants experience in the importance of the time needed to fulfill the specific needs of the refugees. The decisions as to the distribution of medical aid and food supplies were left entirely up to the students, who held virtually all the positions in the simulation.

Thousands of refugees died because trucks were not ordered together with food and medical supplies. We didn't listen when our observers told us that a measles epidemic was breaking out in one of the camps. The refugees were moved from this camp to a new camp because floods were expected to wipe out all the roads to the old camp. The result was that the measles epidemic proceeded to kill many of the new camp's inhabitants also. The dilemmas were awful, and the clock kept ticking. We ended up wanting to eliminate all of the problems that had forced people to become refugees, thereby stopping the creation of any further refugee camps. The simulation taught us not only the complexity of dealing with a refugee camp situation but also the importance of playing the bureaucratic game with skill and persistence. We couldn't believe how restricting "going through the proper channels" could be. The costs of making mistakes in the simulation were human costs, and although the situation was not real, the experience was vivid. We attempted to solve the problems ourselves and found they were far more complex than we had imagined. Although our simulation was a failure in that refugees died, we learned how much patience and hard work is needed to bring about good and idealistic results.

## **Children of War**

Human suffering always accompanies war. However, the greatest injustice is done to those who are the most innocent: the children. The children of war live with terror which encompasses their very existence.

In the last decade, more children have died as a result of war than of disease. If a child is lucky enough to survive, that child can look

forward to the possibility of exile, starvation, and separation from family, as well as the devastating psychological effects which always seem to walk hand in hand with armed conflict.

Among these effects are, paradoxically, both an increased awareness of violence, and violence accepted as commonplace. Children, who may become our world's future leaders, grow up constantly surrounded by violence. Roger Rosenblatt, in his book Children of War, was moved by the capacity of these children to continue to dream and love, but others are less optimistic.

"Young persons who have been victims of violence are known to be more likely themselves to practice violence against others, even though this aggression may take many years to appear. Whereas calamities precipitated by nature bring misfortune and grief, those arising out of man's savagery are particularly brutalizing and dehumanizing to their victims. The children victimized today are the adults of tomorrow. To its sorrow, the world will be bound to pay the continuing costs of today's violence for many years to come."<sup>3</sup>

## **The Economic Cost: Armaments and Development**

All governments proclaim their hatred of war. At the same time, virtually all governments continue to prepare for it -- to train armies, stockpile weapons, and support research and development on new and more lethal means of killing. Everyone knows the cost of war in terms of human anguish: the deaths, fears, maimings; the rising refugee populations; the rape and starvation; the pillage of land; the torture; the grief; the mourning; the residual hatred that smolder for generations after. Yet patriotism, expressed in the form of "them or us" attitudes, is still fostered more energetically by governments than is the

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3. (Overview: Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances, United Nations, E/ICEF/1986/L.6)

concept of true peace. And governments keep armies well-fed, while children starve.

The reason for the gap between governments' rhetoric and actions is complex. One reason is that war makes certain people rich, however great its cost to most of humanity. Former US President Dwight D. Eisenhower -- previously an army general himself -- warned about "the military-industrial complex." If we glance at the economic cost of the worldwide war machine, its enormous political influence gained through economic and financial power quickly becomes evident.

Moreover, there are also deeper emotional, passionate and political reasons than mere wealth that drive people and governments to war. As a result, the world's annual military expenditures have more than quadrupled since World War II.

- In the four years between the UN General Assembly sessions on Disarmament in 1978 and 1982, world military expenditures exceeded \$1.6 trillion. This translates into \$1 million spent on weapons every minute of every hour of every day in 1981.
- The bulk of global military spending remains concentrated among the industrialized countries. In 1985, such expenditures surpassed the combined Gross Domestic Product of China, India, and all of Africa south of the Sahara.
- World arms expenditure exceeds world spending on health by 28 percent.
- International transfer of arms has become as significant a percent of some developing countries' income as it is for the developed countries. Brazil has become a leading arms exporter, favored by many countries who wish to maintain their "neutrality."
- Both the United States and the Soviet Union devote twice the amount of public money to weapons research as

they spend on research for all civilian needs combined.

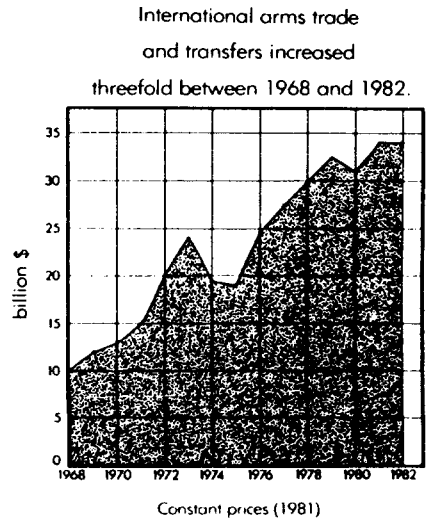
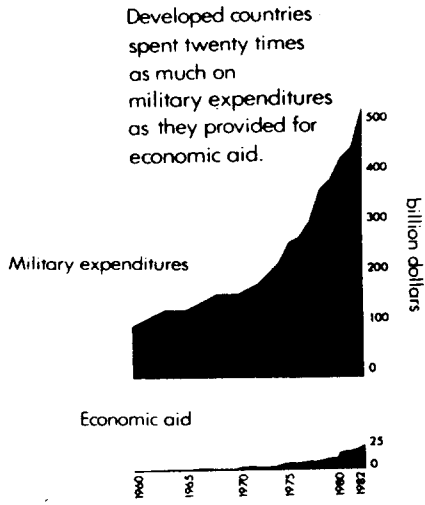
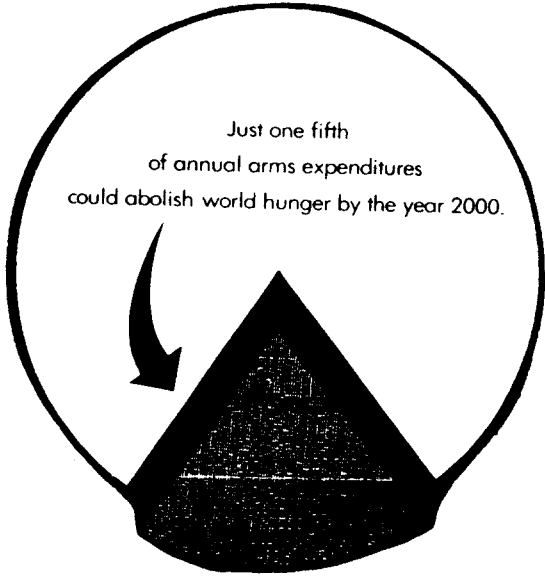
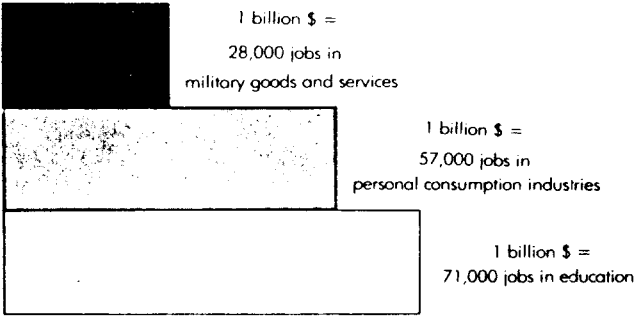
- These two superpowers have 11 percent of the world's population, spend more than half of the world's military budget, spend 80 percent of the global research and development military budget, export 53 percent of the arms they produce abroad, and control 97 percent of the world's inventory of nuclear weapons.
- The United States spends \$89,228 to train a soldier, an unusually high amount because of the sophisticated weapons which become part of his equipment. There are more than 25 million soldiers in the world, in addition to the millions employed as military support personnel whose costs are also taken from public taxes.
- In our world, there is one soldier to every 43 people, but only one doctor per 1,030 people; for every dollar spent on education, \$57 are spent upon every soldier.
- In the twentieth century, there have been 207 wars and 78 million lives lost. Two thirds of the world's countries, representing 97 percent of the global population, have been in at least one conflict involving arms in this century.
- In 1985, 57 out of the 114 independent developing countries were ruled by military governments.
- In 1986, the International Year of Peace, fifteen conflicts were fought in the Americas, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. World military expenditure was over \$800 billion, a new peak for a single year.
- While it costs \$590,000 to operate a nuclear aircraft carrier for one day,

every day 14,000 children die of hunger in Africa.

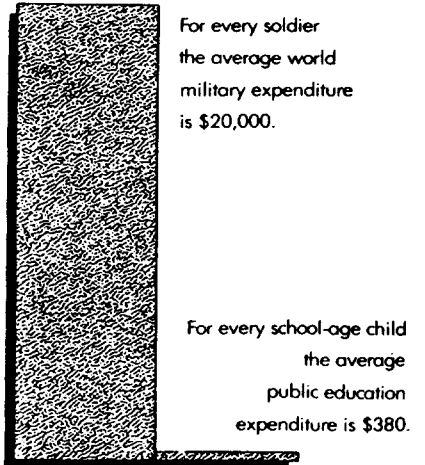
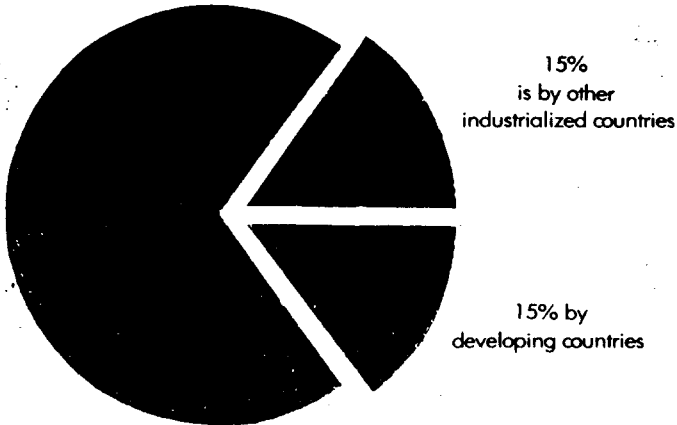
The mind boggles at the immensity of the global munitions industry and the power of "the merchants of war." It is difficult to conceive of wealth in trillions of dollars, yet tragically, it is easy to imagine the face of a starving, orphaned, refugee child -- we see such faces every day, in the newspapers, and on television. Perhaps one statistic says it all: if you spent \$1 million a day for 2000 years, it would equal only half of the current United States administration's proposed defense budget of 1.5 trillion dollars for 1983-1988.

Some economists argue that war is somehow "productive," that war related industries bring jobs, and further development. New industries spin off from the new military technology developed. Though there is much controversy over President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI or "Star Wars"), many countries and corporations have been eager to co-operate in its research and production. Already the push given to laser technology is benefiting private industry. Other economists, however, including Seymour Melman of Columbia University, argue that the same money spent on the production of goods and services for the civilian sector would have a far wider effect in creating prosperity. His argument goes beyond the humanitarian one of providing a better life for many. Melman points out economic benefit to be gained by raising the standard of living of more than half of humanity. The United Nations has declared 1987 as the Year of the Homeless. How many people in the world have no shelter, clothing or the jobs to pay for them? Put people to work building houses, and making the other necessities so many lack, and as productive workers they will become consumers and be able to buy the products of others' work. This is what development means, a process that is now being stunted by the trillions of dollars spent on arms.

# Resources Spent, Opportunities Lost



70% of world military spending is by six major military Powers.



A less immediate economic cost of the arms race, but one that can have even more serious effects on humanity, is environmental degradation. The Chernobyl reactor accident reminded us of the dangers of radioactive fallout in a nuclear war. Biological and chemical warfare also threaten our environment. Non-renewable metal and energy resources are expended to build equipment whose only purpose is to destroy. Fields and mountains are moved to build military bases. The oceans are invaded by prowling submarines. Space is the next arena for war. We destroy the very earth and skies we claim to defend.

## The Social Cost

For true peace to be secured it is crucial that social justice guide human behavior. Health, education, and employment are basic human rights that are not being met by today's distribution of resources. In both developing and industrialized nations, rural and urban poor are often without employment, suffer avoidable physical disorders, and often have little access to education.

Women and children are particularly vulnerable to the effects of poverty. Presently, over 50 percent of all child mortality in developing countries is directly related to poor nutrition. Many of the children who do survive are physically stunted or suffer from retarded mental development. Many women lack good information about child nutrition and family planning. Malnutrition kills over ten times as many children as direct starvation from famine, and female literacy rates seem to be strongly related to inadequate diets.

Educational systems in many countries do not reach women, or the poor who need training in the skills required for agriculture and small-scale industry. A largely illiterate population can contribute little to the development of their community. Money that could be put into education and developing social services often goes into armaments instead, thus causing immediate and long-term suffering.

A more subtle social cost that war forces on people is fear and hopelessness. How is it possible to enjoy today if one fears tomorrow? Fear and hopelessness isolate human beings from each other and certainly deprive them of a sense of control over their own lives. They become the objects of other's power, and can be manipulated in ways that accentuate their helplessness.

## The Political Cost

As well as astronomical economic and social costs, war has great political costs. Governments can use war as a means to justify control of the media and the public, and to limit freedoms of all kinds. War alone can be used as a justification for giving absolute power to the state, thus establishing despotism. Such absolute power in the hands of a dictator can lead to massive state-sponsored oppression against a nation's own people, through the imposition of rigid laws suppressing human rights altogether. War enables the military to become a greater influence in the government and gives it greater authority over civilians as well as the armed forces.

Political justice is lost when war deprives people of their freedom. Political justice exists when people express their political beliefs by electing the government of their choice. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to advance a political ideology, even when different from the ideology of the party currently in power, are forms of political justice. People, to be free, must have the right to organize themselves, hold meetings, and criticize the government in power without prosecution. These forms of freedom must be protected by an inviolate legal system that outlaws government harassment by intimidation, wrongful imprisonment or torture.

If political justice exists, opposing groups are able to express their views in a non-violent way by using the media, speaking, going to meetings, and organizing rallies. If political

justice does not exist, the only way for such groups to express their views is through underground networks or violence.

One advantage of an open society in which people can express their views is that governments have available to them a great variety of ideas. The different interest groups are identifiable, and, as governments like to stay in power, they do their best to satisfy the majority of the diverse groups. An open society by definition safeguards minorities; and these groups are free to make alliances and become majorities in their turn. This kind of peaceful turnover of power is expected and highly valued by the older democracies, but it is difficult for countries with no experience of democracy to develop trust in such a system. In dictatorships, whatever group is in power is justifiably worried about what the consequences will be if it loses power; the ruling group may fear retaliation for many injustices committed in order to remain in control. The irony of such systems that often justify their oppressive nature by the necessity of fighting an outside enemy is that their violence is turned even more against their own people.

There are many governments in today's world that practice various degrees of oppression. Apartheid in South Africa is universally condemned, though there is not such unanimity in world opinion of how to deal with it. Apartheid is a form of violence that breeds violence to oppose it, posing a moral dilemma for many decent people who believe in non-violent ways of solving conflicts.

Some people would argue that political freedom is chaotic. The winners are not the majority of ordinary citizens but those who have some form of power -- in money or arms. They believe economic and social justice, which guarantees everyone a decent standard of living, is more important than freedom. There is merit to both arguments: (1) that first priority should be given to political freedom, and (2) that economic security should be a government's primary goal. Either view can have the well-being of all people in mind, and can lead to efforts to carry out its goals through peaceful means which shun violence.

## The Role of the Media

As mentioned above, one of the primary political costs of war is a government's infringement upon freedom of information. This is usually the first privilege taken away when a war seems likely to occur. In order for a nation to enter a war it needs to have the support of the majority of the people. One way to gain this support is through manipulation of the media.

When a government is unable to resolve differences with another nation, and war seems inevitable, it may use the media to create fear of the other country. The enemy country is made to appear as a threat to the vital interests of the first country, and this will make the possibility of war with the enemy more palatable to public opinion. Thus it will also justify increased militarization for defense and perhaps for offense as well.

In some instances the media may advocate war or make an existing war more exciting and acceptable, not because they are being directly controlled by a government but for their own interests. These interests can be seen as commercial or journalistic.

The media have an enormous responsibility in a world of instant communication where satellite TV can reach the most remote village with a receiver. They can report fairly or they can distort the news to arouse anxiety and hostility. They can ignore facts that the public needs to know, or they can give information essential to public decision-making and action. They can develop values and insights that change people's perception in constructive and compassionate ways. Some governments say they want to control the media precisely to achieve these ends. The line between censorship for good ends or questionable ends is very fine, so the better solution would be to create a demand by the public for greater media responsibility. But that requires an educated public, and that means us!

# HUMAN RIGHTS: THE COST AND PRICE

Human Rights are the link between the injustice that war causes, and the injustice that causes war. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the UN in 1948, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." War, the fear of war, and the effects of war inevitably lead to violations of these basic rights; people are deprived of their rights to enjoy a certain standard of living; and they are deprived of the political freedom to affect social change in a democratic manner.

When a third of humankind lacks adequate food and shelter, and when freedom and dignity are still not meted out equally to all, there will be no peace. The price of peace is the effort and sacrifice we must make to assure human rights for all people. Justice is the basis of peace, and whatever it takes to achieve the many different forms of justice is an investment in peace.

1.

NEWS



good evening, rumors have been spreading of censorship in media, due to the current state of emergency.

2.

CENSORED



Though, Mr. bleep from the Department of bleep denies such allegations.

3.

NEWS



This is bleep bleep reporting from bleep in bleep Good bleep.

# THE PRICE OF PEACE

## Negotiation and Conflict Resolution

Negotiations are a peaceful way of solving conflicts. The success of negotiations depends on a rational evaluation by both sides that the advantage of sacrificing some of what one wants and accepting a compromise outweighs the greater risks and costs of war. No peace can be lasting that does not address the needs and fears of all the parties in a conflict. A negotiating technique that recognizes this problem is as essential as an international system that tries to maintain that peace.

This technique is one that must be carefully learned. The Harvard Negotiation Project outlines certain factors that contribute to successful negotiations:

**Separate the People from the Problem:** It is important for world leaders to keep many channels open -- those of communication, emotion, and perception. One leader must listen to the other's needs and interests. The ability to perceive what the other side's viewpoints are can lead to easier resolutions.

**Focus on Interests, not Positions:** Holding on to opinions and values too tightly can limit the different sides' perspectives on the negotiation itself.

**Invent Options for Mutual Gain:** Sometimes, there are not necessarily only two possible solutions to the problem. Other options may be developed, ones that are advantageous to all parties.

**Insist on Using Objective Criteria:** One example of the use of objective criteria can be

seen in the conflict between the US and the USSR. We have faced the dilemma countless times: both countries have enough nuclear weapons to destroy the world many times over, yet both continue to build up arms. Both countries are calling for disarmament and engaging in formal negotiations. However, these have proven generally unsuccessful, often because information obtained by one party from the other is considered unreliable. This is where the objective third party can aid the situation. In France, following World War II, the idea was proposed to begin a process of disarmament by calling for an objective arms census. An objective determination of each country's arms can be the starting point for a de-escalation of the arms race between the superpowers.

In today's world there are old established nations and new ones. The old nations cling to their traditional sources of power and seem to refuse to negotiate for fear of losing them. The new nations must fight for everything, mount a crusade for change in the world, and therefore confront the opposition. Underlying these conflicts are different values, beliefs, and ideologies. The issues can become confused: the conflict is about the disagreement between what both parties want and not what they stand for. Following a guideline similar to the one above, the two countries must work together in order to achieve an equitable solution.

No agreement can last without trust and co-operation. The game, Prisoner's Dilemma, illustrates the advantage of such attitudes. Two "prisoners" are interrogated separately; their "confession" is the only proof of the crime. Each is told that if he confesses he will get a lighter sentence than the other. If both confess, hoping to beat the other, they both serve the longest term possible. However, if neither confesses there will be no proof and

they will both go free. Co-operation in the long run will win -- if you trust the other side to think in the same way as you do!

## The United Nations: Success or Failure

The United Nations is the largest and most comprehensive negotiations forum in the world. It was created after a war that had the highest human cost in history, to prevent any such conflict from occurring in the future. The UN has many supporters who consider it a success, and many detractors who consider it a failure.

More than 140 disputes have been brought before the UN and many have been settled or defused to a more manageable level. For example, the conflict between the Dutch and the Indonesians was resolved when both sides accepted Indonesian independence. However, the original plan for the partition of Palestine and the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict has not been successful. Nevertheless, although smaller conflicts continue to this day, we have not yet had to witness the tragedy of a world war. Therefore, one of the main functions of the UN is to be an international forum of communication to de-escalate conflicts.

The effectiveness of the United Nations depends on the willingness of the parties in a dispute to adhere to its resolutions. But the UN's ability to enforce such resolutions is limited. However, though the UN is not a complete success, no other political organization has been more successful. In many ways it cannot be said to be a failure; on the contrary, it should be looked on as an organization that can be improved and changed to fit the political structures of the world today.

It is easy to underestimate the subtle difference made by people meeting on a daily basis in the halls and conference rooms of the UN. Facilitated by the comfort and courtesy of that organization, papers can be presented, problems can be solved, procedures suggested, and resolutions accepted. It is the only forum

where all nations meet, to see and be seen, to speak and listen to each other.

Perhaps even more important than its political function is the work of its specialized agencies: no other organization in the world has the same expertise and experience to help countries with their development plans as the UN and its agencies. They deal with concerns such as economic development (UNDP<sup>4</sup>), trade and industry (UNCTAD and UNIDO), food and agriculture (FAO), water and the environment (UNEP), children and health (UNICEF and WHO), education and family planning (UNESCO and UNFPA), technology, the oceans and outer space. As a result of the work of these agencies, there is a greater awareness of global problems and greater success in solving them.

There are criticisms, however, from some major donor countries: the UN is a "bloated bureaucracy" with too many people doing overlapping work; the small nations that contribute the least to the budget also have the majority of votes in the General Assembly, and they often use them to vote against the chief donors; the "politicization" of the General Assembly has led to issues being voted upon not only for their objective merits but for how they reflect on the interests of the various groups and alliances among the member states. The smaller countries have their own criticisms -- such as that the veto power in the Security Council insures that any action against China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, or sometimes their allies, is impossible.

The United Nations can only be as strong, objective, and effective as its member states allow. It is not a supranational organization, but a voluntary grouping of sovereign states that cannot be forced to abide by its resolutions. For some people, it is this respect for "nationalism" that has made

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4. FAO Food and Agricultural Organisation  
UNCTAD United Nations Conference on Trade and Development  
UNDP United Nations Development Programme  
UNEP United Nations Environmental Programme  
UNIDO United Nations Industrial Development Organisation  
UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund  
UNFPA United Nations Fund for Population Activities  
WHO World Health Organisation

"internationalism" difficult to achieve. Each bloc of nations tries to use the UN for its own interests, as it is usually convinced that justice is on its side and is stronger than the need for compromise to satisfy the other side. When the US dominated the UN, for example, they did not diligently pursue compromises. Now that the majority votes lie with the developing nations and the Socialist Bloc that often supports them, it is their turn to be intransigent. But instead of abandoning the UN out of frustration brought on by the hypocrisy of this "politicizing," would it not be better to retain its strengths and remedy its weaknesses?

There are many ideas for restructuring the UN, some center on strengthening the position of the Secretary General, whose image could be enhanced by a more creative interpretation of his role as defined in the Charter. He could initiate negotiations in disputes before they develop into full-fledged conflicts, and use his good offices for fact-finding and mediation.

The General Assembly seems to arouse more ideas for reform. Richard Hudson, of the Center for War/Peace Studies, with his "Binding Triad" modification of the voting system, tries to have majorities reflect the real strength of the member states and the sizes of their populations represented. Each vote to pass would require (1) two-thirds of all the nations present and voting, as at present; (2) approval by nations representing two-thirds of the populations of those present and voting; and (3) nations representing two-thirds of the contribution to the regular UN budget of those present and voting.

Marc Nerfin proposed another idea in Development Dialogue (1985:1). Instead of one chamber whose votes are weighted three different ways, there would be three chambers: representing governments, the Prince Chamber; economic interests, corporations, et cetera, the Merchant Chamber; and the people of the world, the Citizen Chamber. It is an intriguing idea, because it goes beyond the concept of national sovereignty and tries to give the UN a truly international character by going beyond governments to their people.

Perhaps the most detailed plan for the reform of the General Assembly is the one proposed by Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn in their book World Peace through World Law. Their plan is carefully detailed both as to safeguarding national interests and as to creating a stronger international organization. A reorganized General Assembly with representatives elected by the people of their nations would have far-reaching powers to enforce complete disarmament. A United Nations peace force of several hundred thousand individual volunteers (with no nation having more than a small percentage of the force represented) would be the only "army" in the world. Individual countries could retain small security and police forces. Clark and Sohn believe that only complete disarmament can insure peace, that a mere balance of arms is not conducive to peace. But they also realize that disarmament alone does not resolve conflict, so their plan includes a Development Authority to eradicate the problem of world poverty, and a strengthened International Court of Justice. They estimate that this new UN, and its peace forces, would cost almost \$100 billion annually, a vastly greater sum than the UN budget today, but only one-fifth of the world's armament expenditure in 1980.

The UN is at a crucial stage of its development. However, this crisis can be an opportunity for making it stronger and even better able to fulfill its potential.

## **International Law and the International Court of Justice**

The best safeguard for peace is the rule of law. In law, people and nations settle their differences by adhering to rules of behavior based upon rationality, fairness, and mutual respect.

International law, whether merely an agreement between two states or a conglomerate of nations, has existed since the

formation of sovereign states. It is, in our world of nuclear bombs and laser weapons, a necessity for the resolution of conflicts.

International law assumes that the nations involved in a dispute must be willing to obey its ruling, and that they place the resolution of conflict, along with achieving peace and justice, at the top of their list of priorities. Without such commitment, there can be very little useful agreement between states.

Just as communication and technology grow, so does the body of international law. Every time a nation signs a treaty or agreement with another, it is opening a channel for law, and thus, by now, there have been many precedents set which can serve in the resolution of future conflicts. Since 1945, some 20,000 treaties have been codified, more than in all previous human history.

There have also been many declarations and conventions which have established a structure and standards for international law. The United Nations has passed the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of States, a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a Genocide Convention and many others. The Law of the Sea, though not yet signed by every nation, includes the establishment of a Tribunal for settling disputes; all the major powers have agreed with its procedure. The European Economic Community (EEC) has its own court for disputes arising out of Common Market affairs (such as commerce, trade, technology and politics), and it is fast establishing laws and procedures that supersede national ones and are adhered to by member states.

The idea of an international court was first seriously voiced at the peace conferences of 1899 and 1907, and a Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) was set up in 1919 by the League of Nations in The Hague. It had done valuable work but had its limits. The highest court is now the International Court of Justice, also in The Hague (ICJ), which was established in 1945 as the "principal judicial organ of the United Nations." It was hoped that the new court, with the support of the Security Council, would be able to insure the peaceful resolution of disputes between the member states.

The Court consists of fifteen judges, each elected for nine years by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Each judge is elected from a different country, but is supposed to bring an objective view to each case. There are judges from the Eastern Bloc, the Third World, and the Western Bloc. One would think that more cases would be brought before the ICJ as the world has become more interdependent, but distrust has grown faster than the realization of the need for co-operation. There is a greater diversity between state systems than ever before in history. Different political and cultural values seem to tear apart any consensus as to what cases are the proper concern of the court. Is an issue a case of law or is it a political matter and no business of the court? Only in less important cases have parties agreed to abide by the rulings of the court, and only too often the country against whom the judgment was given has ignored or rejected it.

The problem that the Court faces is that sovereign nations will not easily give up even fractions of their sovereignty to an outside authority; and each can claim that others do not, so it will not. States can also register exemptions in time or issues from their acceptance of World Court jurisdiction. This, of course, causes a dearth of cases. To these weaknesses of the Court is added the fact that it has no powers of enforcement. How do you make a nation adhere to the judgements of the Court? Send an army against it? Some would hold that this would go against the whole idea of a court of international law; and where is the army? The United Nations has no "army" and was never authorized to have one. States can seek enforcement of a Court judgement through sanctions by the Security Council; but this requires agreement by the five permanent members, who have veto power.

There must be new and creative ways of making the ICJ less threatening to national sovereignty, more persuasive in proving that its experience and the objective common sense behind its rulings deserve co-operation. Many suggestions have been made, such as emphasizing the protection of the "global commons" -- the oceans and outer space -- and developing a role of arbitration where a compromise is suggested rather than a penalty for wrongdoing. The International Court of

Justice is there; it has a large body of international law and experience behind it. If nations begin to see the mutual advantage of using it, realizing that if they accept the ruling against them one time, and that they may well win a case another time, then there will be a chance for peace.

## **The United Nations and Peace-keeping: The Blue Helmets**

When the United Nations was first formed it was taken for granted that the countries who had won the war would continue co-operating to keep the peace. The right and obligation of the United Nations to take military action to keep the peace was written into Articles 42-48 of the Charter. However, a "United Nations Army" never came into being, as the development of the Cold War made co-operation on the part of the former allies difficult if not impossible. The growth of the United Nations from the original 51 to the present 159 nations also meant an increase in potential conflict. Perhaps the two superpowers could have become policemen of the world had they remained allies and had the other nations agreed to let them play that role. The concept of peace-keeping -- which was not envisaged in the charter -- emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s in the absence of a successful system of UN military enforcement.

The capability to use force if needed is one of the main purposes of all armed forces, but in peace-keeping operations one of the principles is that only a minimum of force should be used, thus a heavily-armed UN force in the sense of peace-keeping would have been useless. If the UN used military force against a member state it might lead to hostilities between that country and the UN. Other countries might use force against the UN in similar situations, and thus the UN's objective of being a peaceful body would end.

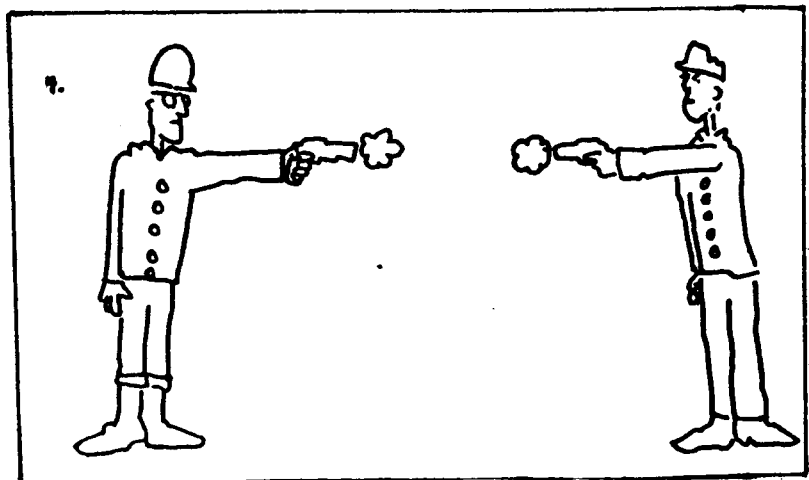
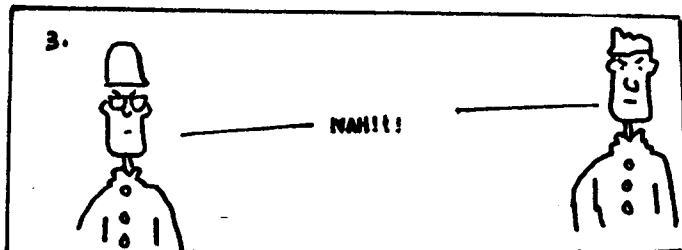
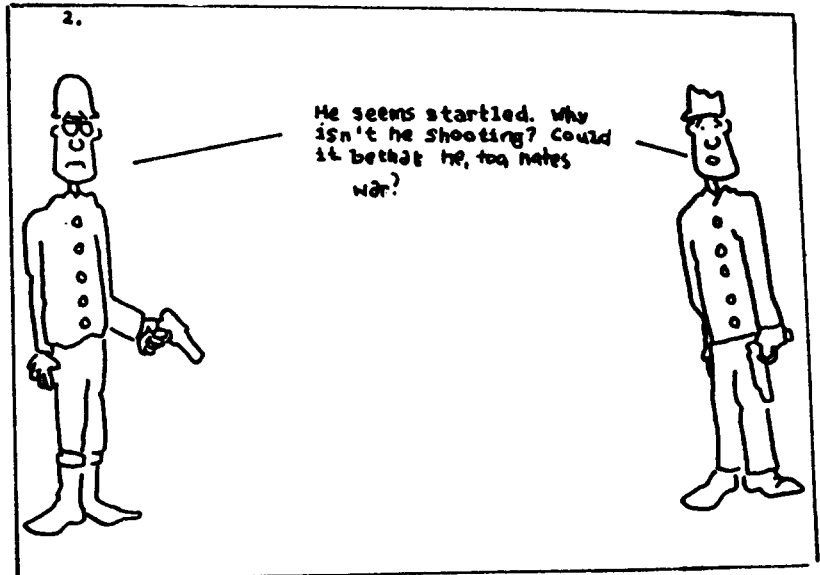
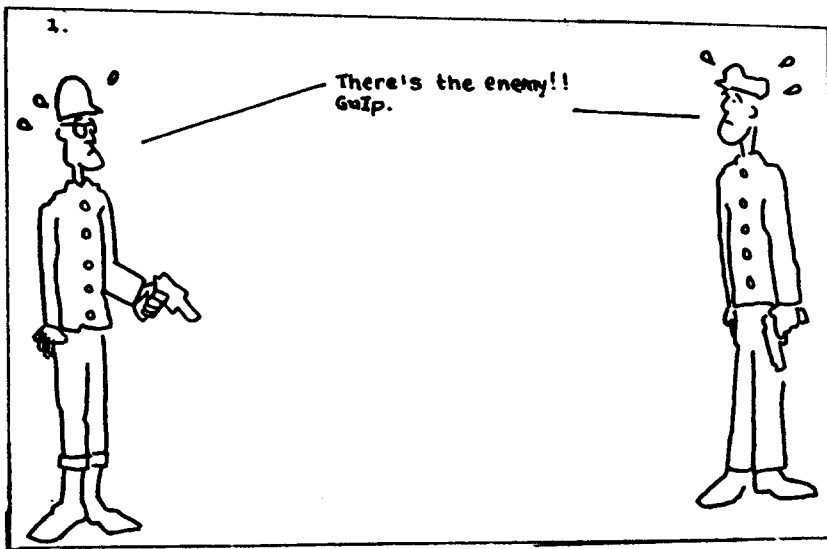
The use of force is also questionable because the degree of force that would be required to impose peace on the two sides of a conflict has escalated with the increase in the

sophistication of arms. The latest tanks, fighter planes, missiles and electronic equipment are available in the international arms market and many countries have a stock of these beyond the need for simple defense.

The international community, whether in the United Nations or other organs, has not always succeeded in preventing war. When wars do break out, however, an important function of the UN can be to offer its techniques of peace-keeping if the parties will cease fire. Two forms of peace-keeping have evolved since 1945: observer missions where uniformed but unarmed soldiers are sent to the area of conflict, and the peace-keeping forces which are made up of uniformed and armed soldiers from various participating countries who wear blue helmets with the UN globe-and-wreath insignia on them. The "Blue Helmets," as they are called, have achieved a reputation for success.

Observer missions can only observe and report developments in the troubled states while the peace-keeping forces try to prevent further battles by establishing a buffer zone and are controlled by the Secretary General. The peace-keeping forces are established by vote of the Security Council. Before they can go to the area of conflict, consent must be given by the host country or countries. Peace-keeping soldiers are supplied by the member states and are allowed to use force only as a means of self-defense. The UN forces have to remain completely neutral, and not be biased against either side of the conflict. The objectives of these forces are to ease a situation, to stop killing and bloodshed, to prevent hostilities between the two countries, and to create conditions in which diplomatic efforts can find solutions to the political problems behind the conflict itself.

There have been thirteen peace-keeping missions since 1945 of which eight have completed their task and are no longer needed. In those thirteen operations over six hundred UN soldiers have died. Two observer missions were established: UNTSO (UN Truce Supervision Organisation 1948-), the first ever established, supervised the truce lines between the then newly formed Israel and Arab states, and UNMOGIP (UN Military



Observer Group in India and Pakistan 1948-), to supervise the cease-fire in the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir.

Currently there are three peace-keeping forces still in operation: UNFICYP (UN Forces in Cyprus 1964-), which was established because of the fighting that broke out between the Turkish Cypriot minority and the Greek Cypriot majority in Cyprus; UNDOF (UN Disengagement Observer Force 1974-) which was set up in the Golan Heights area to supervise the disengagement between Syria and Israel; UNIFIL (UN Interim Forces in Lebanon 1978-) has a triple mandate from the Security Council: the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from the area, the establishment of peace and security, and the restoration of the power of the Lebanese government.

What do peace-keeping forces need to be successful? They need broad political and financial support from all member states of the United Nations. Experience has shown that neither the superpowers nor states with an interest in the conflict should be represented in a peace-keeping force so that the principle of neutrality can be maintained.

It is a contradiction in terms to train soldiers not to fight, but that is exactly what the UN is doing. How can you impose peace on people who have guns when you do not do any shooting? What are the techniques for peace-keeping credibility? The ideas emerging are so intriguing that some countries are learning from the UN and putting a "peace-keeping" component in the training of their own soldiers. In the final analysis, peace-keeping as a form of conflict management is a success in appropriate circumstances, as demonstrated by the missions that have accomplished their goals.

## Collective Security

Collective security is receiving increased attention because it does not yet exist. The nature of security itself is being questioned: we can no longer feel secure behind our national borders because technology has enabled our "enemies" to hurl missiles across

them and to spy on us from satellites. Individual countries cannot separate themselves from a global ecosystem threatened in multiple ways by the arms race. The concept of what "creates" security is also changing. It is not only armies and allies but also economic and social well-being within countries, respect for human rights, and the lessening of fear.

The existing system of security is one that relies on a balance of power between nations. It is thought that because of equal strength a war cannot be definitively won, an idea that contains a threat of violence rather than giving a sense of security. Because of this constant tension between nations trying to preserve a power balance, each side mistrusts its potential adversary. Each side will try to have the power balance tip its way, but security of this sort is short-lived because the other side may soon increase its power; a cycle that perpetuates an arms race.

One obvious path toward achieving a collective security system would be to reduce the number of arms available to fight with and to commit each state to preserving international security instead of purely national defense. Confidence-building measures (CBM), which concentrate on overcoming political fears by being more open about military strength, can begin a process of disarmament. Conferences held in Europe have already achieved some confidence-building measures. In 1975 at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation, thirty-three European nations, the US, and Canada, declared that large-scale military maneuvers (25,000 or more troops) must be announced at least twenty-one days in advance. They agreed that all nations have the right to their sovereignty and that force should not be used to settle disputes. Later meetings in Stockholm and Vienna have recommended troop reductions and more verification of troop movements.

Another area that could fall under CBM is social and economic confidence-building. Though this is not the focus of today's CBM attempts, bridging ideological chasms and initiating trade between opposing nations can help disarmament. At the least it will make

societies more ready to accept one another, giving some relief to the economic drain from arms build-ups. It is mostly developing nations that are in favor of the social and economic aspect of CBM, with European nations favoring military measures only.

CBM can create an atmosphere more conducive to disarmament. These two groups of measures, disarmament and confidence-building, complement each other and achieve more than either could on its own.

There have been many proposals on how to achieve security. The most recent and comprehensive is the report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues chaired by the late Olof Palme of Sweden, whose death is a great loss to the cause of international peace. Common Security, as the report is called, makes suggestions for strengthening the UN machinery for conflict resolution and for specific confidence-building measures.

**Verification** It is important to be able to verify that agreements to reduce or eliminate arms are being kept by both sides. The technology exists for sophisticated satellite and on-site inspection, although countries are afraid that such a system would be used for spying. An objective United Nations verification team manned by observers who have no interest in the conflict would hopefully arouse less suspicion than an exchange of teams from the countries involved. However, there has so far been very great reluctance to use any kind of UN verification system on the part of member states.

**Exchange of Information** This can sometimes be very reassuring. The difficulty is that the military wish to keep the other side in the dark, so instead of bringing more security, this policy can create the very mistrust it is supposed to allay.

**Regional Conferences** The Helsinki Conference, with its subsequent meetings, brought neighboring countries together to discuss their security concerns. The Helsinki process envisaged a threefold approach to security: arms control, economic and social co-operation, and human rights. Though the

three have not been equally successful, their inter-dependence is vital for achieving an enduring system of collective security.

## Economic Justice: The Price of Development

Poverty is a great injustice. It drags people down into suffering, degradation, and hopelessness.

Most of this poverty exists in the developing world and it is one of the main causes of the internal violence and conflicts that have occurred there. Unless people are given some hope of improving their condition, they become angry at those they perceive as causing their poverty. Even though the rich countries no longer have direct control over the governments of the countries that were once their colonies, the poorer countries consider that the rich nations still control the world economy in a system of neo-colonialism. They also see the power elite of their own countries -- whether the military, a party or a class -- becoming wealthy and sometimes creating a corrupt system of bureaucracy beneath them. The anger caused by these realizations has to be let out somehow: sometimes people seek (or are diverted toward) a "scapegoat" -- a minority within the community or an enemy across the border. In many cases the anger leads to physical aggression -- civil and border wars.

More than ten years ago the developing countries called for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and in two special sessions of the United Nations (1974 and 1975) they explained its objectives. In spite of development aid, the poor countries were becoming poorer and the rich richer. What was needed was industrialization of the developing countries, restructuring of the terms of world trade to assure the developing world its fair share, and more development aid. The percentage of industrialized countries' Gross National Product (GNP) directed toward such aid varies from country to country. The NIEO called for a considerable increase in the allocation of aid to 0.7 percent of GNP, a figure only reached

in the last ten years by the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands.

The effort to create greater equality between the developed countries of the "North" and the developing countries of the "South" did not succeed. The industrialized countries still managed to keep more of the benefits of development for themselves than the developing countries, and world recession made them even less generous. The industrial development projects that were completed had mixed results. Their "trickle down" benefits did not reach the poor in the countryside or urban slums. The humanitarian project to save lives caused the population to increase and consume the greater amount of food and goods produced by development.

Another serious problem is the debt that developing countries have incurred. Loans were supposed to be paid off with the benefits of industrialization and steady income from exports, neither of which materialized. So new loans were taken out to pay the interest on the old, and then the Western interest rates increased. The debt has mounted to crippling proportions, impossible to repay in conventional ways. The repayment of the debt should be rescheduled if not partially rescinded, so that more money can go into development rather than into paying the interest on it.

A new approach to development is needed that will give the developing world hope for

economic justice and peace. Some countries like Brazil, Singapore and South Korea, the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs), have managed to pull themselves up, but they as well as the less developed countries should become part of a twenty-year plan, like the Marshall Plan that revived the economies of Western Europe after World War II, an idea proposed by the late Barbara Ward. Willy Brandt, an ex-chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, advocated a more generous and human-oriented approach to development in the book North-South: A Program for Survival. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is in the forefront of advocating a development strategy that answers people's basic needs. An investment in the health and education of women and children insures both a decline in population growth and the development of adults who are strong and productive. The world is rich in human beings: develop human resources, and wealth will "bubble up" from individuals, families, and communities to encompass the nations of the world.

The eradication of poverty, though not the panacea for all ills, is certainly an important step toward peace. Funds diverted from arms to development might give people food, shelter, employment, and health facilities. People who see hope and prospects in their lives do not usually turn to violence to solve their problems.

## WHAT WE CAN DO

### Act Locally - Think Globally

Many people feel that world issues are the concerns of governments and that little can be done to influence their decisions. This is not so. Try this, just as an experiment, and see what happens: start by "thinking small" and creating an atmosphere of caring, justice, and decency in your immediate circle. From that objective, almost anything you do to help another person is a statement of peace. It is a way of thinking and living that, when practiced, affects the decision makers in governments. By recognizing that the "enemy" in a conflict is not simply a mindless machine but a human being, one accomplishes something. By understanding that war is not simply something which happens "over there," one accomplishes something. By being informed and not simply ignoring the mass murders and mass destruction in the world, one accomplishes something. Being informed is an extra effort in our lives. However, it is a commitment that we all must make in order to have control over our fate.

Sometimes this is not enough. Sometimes the end result of all this may not amount to as much as hoped, and may not affect the decisions of our leaders. When this is true, other actions may need to be taken; you may have to set aside your fear of change and take those actions which lead to peace. You may have to organize a rally. You may have to refuse to collaborate with your country's actions of violence. You may have to send a letter to a government official. You may have to collect signatures to let your government know how many people are willing, like you, to take action. One must remember: "government" is a reflection of the people, not the other way around.

Try thinking like this, try acting like this, just as an experiment; you may find there are more people out there who are ready to make a difference than you believe.

### Passive Resistance and Non-violence

To refrain from violence takes as much strength and self-discipline as to use violence. Humanity has experienced to a greater extent the "discipline of war" rather than the "discipline of non-violent resistance." It is easier to destroy than to create, and people find it easier to train themselves for war than for peace. It has been said that violence is one of humankind's natural reactions to oppression and, because of this, it is thought that non-violent resistance is very difficult to achieve because it also involves controlling fear and anger.

The two greatest practitioners of non-violent resistance in our century were Mahatma Gandhi, who fought for independence from the British in India, and Martin Luther King, Jr., who fought for civil rights in the United States.

Gandhi suggested that, in accord with his dignity as a human being, non-violence is the "supreme duty" of the individual. He was the originator of the English term "Passive Resistance" and the Indian term "Satyagraha." Both ideas, which are based on the principles of non-violence and passivity, are similar although they have some differences. Passive resisters sometimes feel hatred towards their oppressors, while those practicing Satyagraha preach love toward all. It is difficult to imagine a philosophy based on finding something to love in even the most disgusting

and brutal human beings. But Gandhi believed that his love would awaken shame in an opponent, who would then change his behavior towards the people he was oppressing. Deeply Hindu in its orientation, Satyagraha teaches that its practices create an ever-widening circle of love and respect for life, whereas violence causes agony to all.

Martin Luther King, Jr. called non-violent actions a "stride toward freedom" -- freedom being a product of trust, mutual respect, honesty, and tolerance. Non-violence is the "sum total" of all those characteristics. From the mid-1950s until his assassination on 4 April 1968, he led the first mass civil rights movement in the history of the United States. He was set apart from other leaders because he insisted on using militant non-violence to bring about social change, warning that violent means distort the end they are intended to achieve.

King was a superb orator and used this gift to communicate his message to the American people and the world. His most famous speech, "I have a dream," was moving not only because of his belief in an America based on mutual respect and equality but also because of his uncompromising adherence to principles of non-violence. To the Black community of the United States, and to many others, he was a symbol of hope, an American Gandhi, because of his belief in non-violence. His idealism and effectiveness were universally recognized when he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1964.

## Conscientious Objection

Conscientious objection began as far back as 1656, when the first Quakers arrived in New England. By the year 1661, the groundwork was laid for the legalization of conscientious objection. Many religious groups had emigrated from Europe to escape conscription, and a soldier was the symbol of the state that oppressed them. The Amish still refuse to wear buttons because they remind them of military uniforms. It was only logical that the colonists, and especially the peaceful Friends

in Pennsylvania, should safeguard the right not to fight.

Resistance to compulsory military service has become a well-established form of protest in which a human being opposes and refuses a demand of the state. This protest is especially controversial since it challenges long-accepted concepts of the "duty" the individual has to the state.

The main problem for conscientious objectors is that they are often not truly recognized, and their exact position still confuses the state. Nearly 60 percent of the world's population live in countries where there is some form of conscription for military service. Just over half have some form of formal provision for conscientious objection; about thirty-eight countries have no such provision. But there is an awareness even at the international level, of the necessity to recognize and legislate human rights, especially the right to refuse to kill.

Countries still need armies, however, and governments are reluctant to broaden their definition of conscientious objection. One would imagine that new weapons technology would decrease the need for soldiers, but armies have increased in size since 1945.

Different countries treat their conscientious objectors in various ways. In the USSR, while there is no official recognition of conscientious objection, local arrangements are made to allow freedom of conscience. The US draft law has a special release for a person "who by reason of religious training or belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war of any form." In Finland, conscientious objectors are recognized on the same terms, but conscripts refusing alternative service may face imprisonment (no more than one year). In the German Democratic Republic non-combatant service is available for up to eighteen months for the conscientious objector.

Conscientious objection is a serious moral statement that does not arise from fear of combat -- it requires a different kind of strength. It is a choice some people wish to make, and it deserves as much respect as does

the readiness to serve in one's country's armed services.

## Co-operation for Self-reliance

Technological advancement does not always result in improving the quality of life for people in developing countries; sometimes it does just the opposite. It deprives them of traditional jobs, alienates them from their society, pollutes their environment, wastes their resources, and generates fear and uncertainty about basic values.

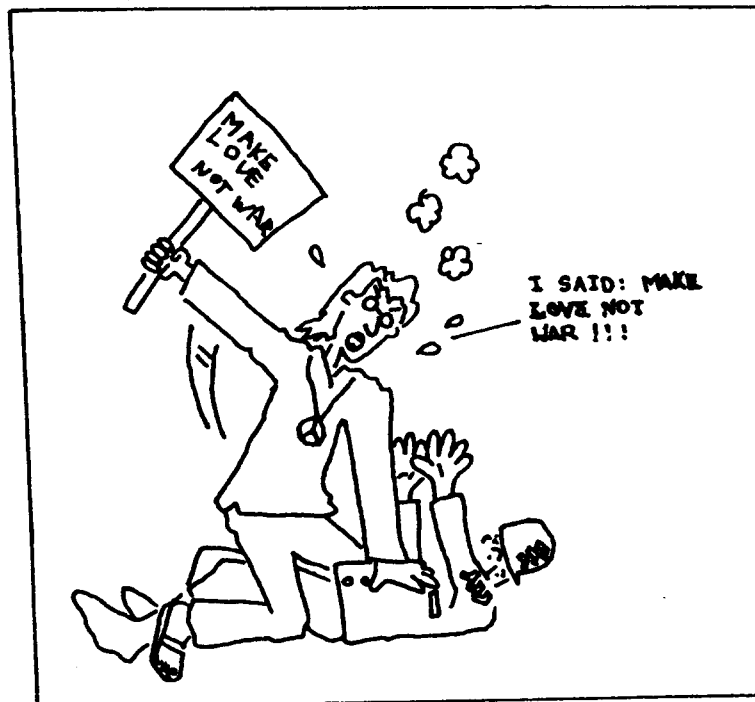
However, there are hopeful signs when ideas for change are initiated by the people themselves. For instance, small-scale community projects can be more successful than those controlled by a central government. Neighbors know that the best form of self-help is co-operation because a community has a fund of resources in each other's goods, skills, and energy. Land can be farmed co-operatively, wells and irrigation channels can be dug as a village project, schools can be built, and goods can be transported to markets.

The co-operative movement is growing worldwide as a grass-roots activity, independent of control from governments or

political parties. Governments and bureaucracies often become anxious if planning is taken out of their hands. Some governments decide that their loss of power is too heavy a price to pay for the improved well-being of their people and have at times withheld essential support services and sent in the army to reassert control.

But there are also many instances when governments welcome the energy and self-reliance of their people. They realize that only a partnership between them and their people will make it possible to overcome the problems of poverty. The energy and goodwill that is created when people join to help each other is productive, not destructive, and becomes a force for peace. The United Nations has become a strong supporter of co-operative movements in the developing world because they are alternative ways of development which are often initiated by and serve the poorest elements in society. To quote a UN document, "The co-operative is a quintessentially democratic organization and so fosters direct participation of its members in its operations."<sup>5</sup> This kind of involvement brings self-respect, a sense of control over one's destiny, a sense of hope, and a way to peace.

5. (Social Development Newsletter No.22 Jan.-June 85)



## Peace and Personality

Nature or nurture? When looking at what causes war, this classic question becomes crucial.

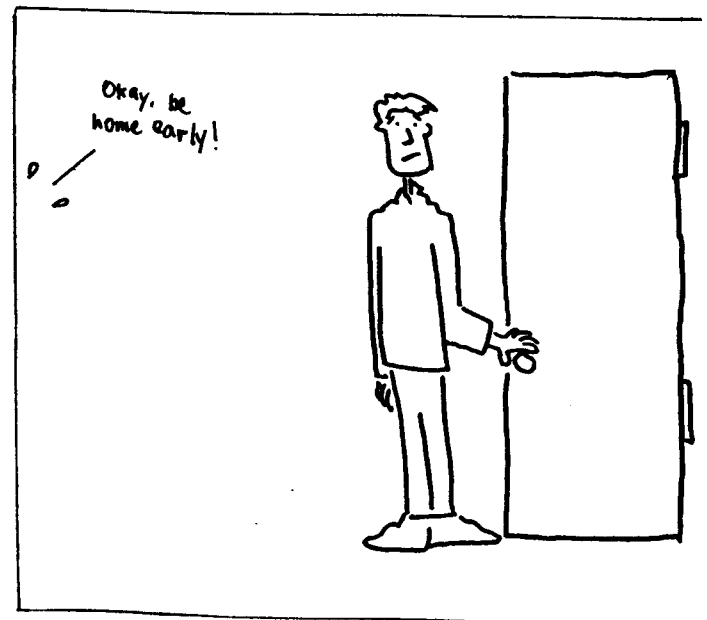
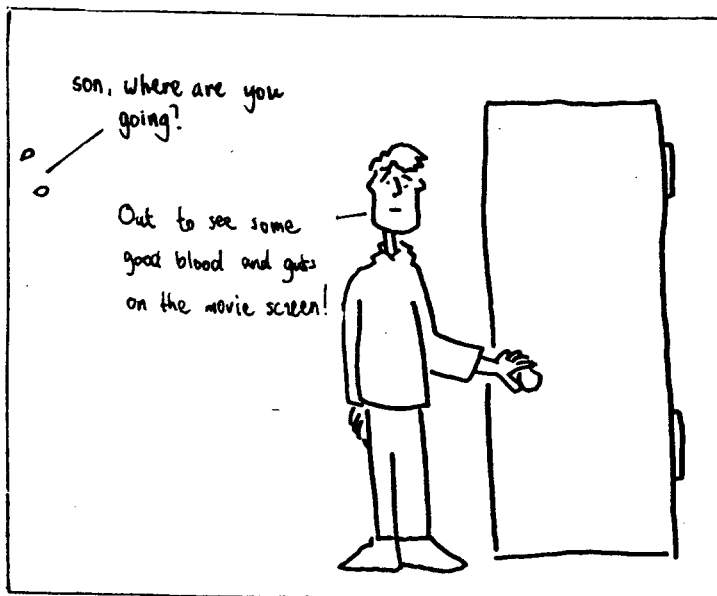
Is humankind innately aggressive? In people, as in other animals, there exists a physiological mechanism which, when stimulated, arouses feelings of anger and prepares the body for fighting. If human beings instinctively fight, then we may not be able to stop war at its roots. However, humans may not be instinctively aggressive. Many argue that aggression is taught to us by society. This can be seen in our eagerness to adopt the violent models of today's films and toys. If this is the case, it is our responsibility to alter the nature of education.

Much of our education, however, is based on competition -- the survival of the fittest, who will go on to the best colleges and get the best jobs. We are told that evolution is a process

of selection where only the "fittest" survive. But it does not necessarily follow that fitness and competitiveness are the same. Some scientists claim that only those species or societies that co-operate survive the hazards of existence. The human body itself is the best example of co-operation of organisms. Co-operation requires different characteristics in human beings; unselfishness, generosity, and the ability to love.

Feelings of peace begin in the individual. They stem from a personal philosophy that originates in childhood and develops through friendship, tolerance, flexibility, and consideration for others. These feelings develop in people who feel comfortable with themselves and do not need to prove their worth through aggression. If people are unable to achieve inner peace, how can they be expected to achieve peaceful relations with others?

Whether we are innately creatures of violence or peace is not as relevant an issue as what we can do to educate ourselves for peace.



# PERCEPTIONS

## Ode to Johnny Conformist

Johnny Conformist was a mother's dream.  
He had done exceptionally well in school.  
He was always obedient and never questioned  
those who had authority over him.  
He loved his country more than anything.

Then one day when Johnny was eighteen,  
a man came holding a telegram in his hand.  
Along with it came a machine gun, a helmet  
and soldier's garb.  
Johnny was going to fight for his country.

He did not know it involved killing people.  
Even though he was very intelligent in school.  
He was always obedient and never questioned  
those who had authority over him.  
So Johnny went to battle with a smile.

On the battlefield he found himself in a confrontation  
With another soldier with a different helmet on  
And shot him with the machine gun  
Right between the eyes  
And he fell to the ground and died.

Then Johnny came to his senses.  
What was he fighting for? A flag?  
An imaginary line that divided humans?  
For the ideals of the old men who controlled,  
And worshiped a meaningless symbol?

Johnny killed a man.  
He could not face up to it.  
Even though the man was from the  
Other side of the imaginary line  
He was nevertheless a human being.

So distraught over this was Johnny,  
That he turned his deadly weapon around,  
and shot himself with the machine gun  
Right between the eyes  
And he fell to the ground and died.

Mike Balmaceda

# War - A Moral Issue

War in its ultimate form is a moral issue. Although we harbor fantasies of successful diplomacy, arms control, peace negotiations, et cetera, war itself reflects our overriding emotions of fear, greed, and desire for control. This is to say, **IF WE WANT WAR TO END, WE MUST HAVE THAT AIM AS OUR FIRST PRIORITY**, but such ideals do not change human interactions.

I accuse the people of an older generation, our politicians, diplomats, and government figures, for being too set in their ways, too steeped in dogmas and traditions to prevent war. Though they often present a false facade of "detesting war" (who actually favors war?), they claim they are often controlled by "circumstances" which inhibit their decision-making. I define this as a dual moral identity: (1) the morals that one professes intrinsically, from the heart, correct and just ideals, and (2) the morals that one practices at the societal level, the accommodations which determine actual behavior and decision-making. This duality differentiates what one "thinks" from what one actually "does." Whether it is as a result of a desire for materialistic gain, religious conviction, or old loyalties, the older generation is an impotent and trapped fly, caught in society's intricate web of issues and concerns.

The cessation of war therefore lies in our hands. Minds still open to new ideals and concepts, as yet untainted by the dual moral identity dilemma. This task of keeping and practicing one's childhood ideals and aspirations may draw many pessimistic remarks, yet it is truly the only way of stopping war. Humanity's instinctive behavior of resorting to violence is an example of our lethargically slow evolutionary process. Can we not deal with problems without falling prey to violent behavior? It is a question of intellect preceding instinctive aggression.

It is time for the human spirit at its best to shine once more. We have survived human sacrifice, slavery.... how about overcoming human destructiveness? I think this goal is possible. Let me cite some examples of non-violent resolutions of problems:

1986: "People Power" in the Philippines, a non-violent revolution exemplifying the human spirit in its quintessential form.

1960s: Martin Luther King, Jr., and his successes in reforming a racially segregated America.

1940s: Gandhi's triumph in ending British colonial rule in India.

I sincerely believe that active devotion to all humanity, rigorous intellectual research, and commitment to changing old patterns are the keys to our survival.

Let us put things into perspective. I'm no 60s-70s hippie, with a peace logo attached to my denim jacket, nor am I some over-zealous pacifist. I'm a concerned 80s student, somewhat abreast of the current circumstances. I have finally come to realize the gravity of our situation and am hoping to do something about it. It simply boils down to this:

Stop and think: what must we sacrifice, how must we change to achieve peace?

Hold on to our fanciful young dreams while growing up in the harsh realities of the adult world.

Otherwise, we can help the cynics and pessimists, and those in the older generation who have given up hope, shovel the dirt for our graves.

Luis Centenera

## Conclusion

No man is an Island, entire of itself,  
every man is a piece of the Continent,  
a part of the main;  
if a clod be washed away by the sea,  
Europe is the less,  
as well as if a promontory were,  
as well as if a manor of thy friends,  
or of thine own were;  
any man's death diminishes me,  
because I am involved in Mankind;  
and therefore never send to know  
for whom the bell tolls,  
it tolls for thee.

John Donne  
(1572 - 1631)

"To Conclude: all I ask is that, in the midst of a murderous world, we agree to reflect on murder and to make a choice. After that, we can distinguish those who accept the consequences of being murderers themselves or the accomplices of murderers, and those who refuse to do so with all their force and being. Since this terrible dividing line does actually exist, it will be a gain if it be clearly marked. Over the expanse of five continents throughout the coming years an endless struggle is going to be pursued between violence and friendly persuasion, a struggle in which, granted, the former has a thousand times the chances of success than that of the latter. But I have always held that, if he who bases his hopes on human nature is a fool, he who gives up in the face of circumstances is a coward. And henceforth, the only honorable course will be to stake everything on a formidable gamble: that words are more powerful than munitions."

Albert Camus (1913-1960), Neither Victims nor Executioners

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