LAUCKS FOUNDATION

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As a public service, Laucks Foundation calls attention to published material that might contribute toward clarification of issues affecting world peace, equity among peoples and environmental responsiblity.

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Featured in this issue of the **Reprint Mailing** is the article "The Unfinished Revolution" written in 1948. It is taken from MANAS, a journal founded that year by a self-taught, alternative thinker named Henry Geiger. MANAS ceased publication at the time of his death in 1988.

A critique of times long past, this article might well be titled "The Ongoing Revolution" and be read as if written for today at the end of the 20th century, a time similarly afflicted with trials and uncertainties.

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MANAS

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THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

THESE are the times that try men's souls." Thomas Paine addressed these words to the American people in the darkest hour of their struggle to be free—free to decide their destiny for themselves. Paine did not create the human love of freedom, which is a quality so basic in men that they cannot be truly described without referring to it. He gave it effective direction. What Paine did was to define the freedom the men of his time longed for in terms that they could understand. The idea of freedom, as stated by Paine, became a fire of determination in human hearts because it focussed the will of the American revolutionists on the obstacles they had to overcome in order to gain the freedom they sought.

Thomas Paine was able, in 1776, to redefine freedom for American patriots, to give it a clear and distinguishable character and to mark out the steps which men could take to reach the goal. The present, like 1776, is a time that tries men's souls, but the task of defining freedom in the present is vastly different. The Enemy, for Paine, was easy to describe: the British Crown, its policies, its civil and military representatives. The fighting prose of *The Crisis* was exact, definitive and stirring. It left no doubts. The man who read Thomas Paine could take a position and do something about it—immediately. He could start at once to serve the cause of the new nation, and to oppose the British tyranny.

But who is the enemy today? What is freedom, and the means to freedom, in 1948? Millions in the United States, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa—everywhere on earth—are hungry to know the answer to this question. But all they hear is the clash of claims, the noise of words, the hollow sounding of outmoded war cries and the rattle of discarded slogans. Even Paine's initial challenge, "These are the times that try men's souls," would today meet with a general apathy, for "souls" has not the meaning in 1948 that it had in 1776. "Soul" today is a theological artifact, a poetic reference, not the name of man speaking to Man, in the unambiguous language of moral conviction. One who now uses seriously the term soul rouses only half-forgotten religious memories in the average man, and gains the quietly superior smile of sophisticated people who regard the idea of the soul as a leftover from the Middle Ages.

Only a little reflection shows that there is today no common language of idealism. Men do not speak of having high purposes together in this the twentieth century, but only fears. Consider that Paine addressed the masses, but spoke little if at all in terms of fear. Yet those who go before the public nowadays refer, directly or indirectly, to little else. This is not remarkable. Paine spoke to souls, but contemporary leaders address themselves to human weaknesses and to the heavy distrusts of class and nation—prime attributes of "the mob." Speakers, today, are trained in "mob" psychology, and use deliberately the "techniques" of propaganda.

It takes no special faith in man to believe that underneath the protective shell of cynicism worn by most people of today, there is a secret hoping for the birth of unashamed idealism in human life. It is as though there were an unspoken cry, lodged in the throat of millions: "What shall we believe in?—What can we work for that will mean something and will last?"

There are answers, of course—too many answers, and too few of them credible. A thousand organizations—from the Youth-for-Christ movement to the world-government groups—claim to know the "right" answer. The trouble is, we have heard all these answers before.

Nearly every speech on behalf of a "cause" sounds like an old phonograph record of a played-to-death popular tune. Sincerity of the speaker is not the issue; it is simply that we are tired of plans and projects which can be described by an uninterrupted flow of hackneyed phrases. Thought which can be expressed in pat and familiar terms, these days, is thought in disregard of facts.

We have, in short, no creative thought today; only formulas. We have no genuine religious inspiration; only creeds. And we have no real science, in its highest sense, but only advanced technology. And finally, we see no uniformities of moral experience in terms of which a Thomas Paine could write the challenge of these times. . . . So, it is plain, while we need a Tom Paine for today, we need also something more. We have to come to grips with the moral realities of our lives, in order to have ears to hear what the Paines born to this generation may say.

There was another revolutionist, fearless, in his way, like Paine in his, who lived much earlier in human history. That man was Socrates. The Athens of Socrates resembled our own time in important respects. First of all, it was a time of decay in conventional beliefs. It was a time when many men mistook familiar opinions, standards and values for well established knowledge. And there was much corruption among the Athenians, much demagogy and public pretense.

The Athenians, like ourselves, were a sophisticated people. They thought they knew—nearly everything. The revolution started by Socrates—and never finished—was in the idea of knowledge. Socrates was put to death by the Athenians because he made them uncomfortable and ashamed. He exposed their ignorance by asking questions. Socrates would take nothing for granted. This was subversive of complacency, so he had to die.

Yet, while Socrates announced himself the most ignorant of men, he had a greater faith in certain principles than any other Athenian. He lived a life ordered by reason and inspired by a kind of divinity which was not—and could not be—the property or idol of any organized church. His faith could not be communicated except by hard thinking; he had no emotional religion,

but there was and is a sanctity in all he said.

The art of Socrates was to make men ask themselves what they believed in, and why. It followed that having examined their beliefs, men examined their actions, and so changed their lives. Socrates rehearsed no dogmas and composed no creeds. He left behind no ritual but the habit of asking questions. His central faith was in the power of the individual to educate his conscience and be at peace with it. His career was a quest for knowledge, and as no man can seek and find knowledge without conveying it to others, Socrates was among the greatest of educators.

Today, we need both the lucid social consciousness of a Paine and the acute judgment of a Socrates. How shall we get them?

The Socratic quest, it seems, has a prior claim. The patriots of '76 built upon the foundations of idealistic philosophy. The doctrine of the Rights of Man is the lineal descendant of the doctrine of the human soul as an integral being of moral character and intent. If we decide what we think man is, then we can decide the conditions of human freedom, and how to create them. And in such questions, there is no institutional authority, no outside oracle that can replace the voice of the human spirit. What is worth repeating in human history is the fruit of the independent thinking of this voice, from the first "heretic"—one who thinks for himself—in the past, to the most recent martyr to dogmatic authority, whether of Church or State.

Let us, then, rediscover if we can the spirit of Socratic questioning, on every problem that confronts the human mind. And let us relate our findings with the common yearning for freedom that Paine served so well. Only thus can we restore the dignity of man. The "dignity of man" must acquire a larger meaning than any political phrase can contain. The dignity of man is not something that is conferred, allowed or "recognized," but something disclosed by each human being for himself.

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PREVENTING GENOCIDE

Will we do nothing?

by Robert C. Johansen

DESPITE SHARP disagreements among people in the United States, Europe and elsewhere over what went wrong in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, everyone agrees that when tragedies engulfed these lands the international community was sadly unprepared to halt "ethnic cleansing" and mass killings. Because these conclusions seem so familiar and unexceptional, we overlook their profound significance for the future of world peace, and for our own moral integrity.

It is too late to erase the disasters suffered by people in Yugoslavia and Rwanda; it is not too late to prevent future Rwandas and Yugoslavias. Communal conflict is smoldering from Sri Lanka to Chechnya, from Georgia to Mexico, from Sudan to the Philippines, from India to Burundi, and from Iraq and Turkey to Kossovo, Macedonia and Moldova. Unless we act now to discourage conditions that will give rise to violent bigotry and genocidal slaughters, we cannot claim to be morally responsible.

The UN needs to have a permanent constabulary force of motivated, well-trained volunteers.

Many people do nothing to prevent future genocides because they believe nothing can be done: they argue that the people of the Balkans can be expected to inflict cruelty on one another from time to time, as can Hutus and Tutsis, and that the international community can provide no antidote at an acceptable cost. These are false assumptions. It is not difficult to imagine practical measures that could be taken to prevent genocide. Five deficiencies, clearly identified in the Rwandan and Yugoslavian cases, come to mind:

- The United Nations does not have highly developed early warning and conflict prevention systems.
- The United Nations does not possess constabulary forces of sufficient size, appropriate training, preparedness and financial backing to discourage "ethnic cleansing" and genocidal killings.
- The Security Council has not been able to act decisively or with sufficient legitimacy and political support to prevent genocide.
- The world community lacks adequate international institutions for holding individuals accountable to the internationally established rules designed to prohibit genocide and crimes against the peace.
- The financial resources available for protecting succeeding generations

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from the scourges of genocide and war are grossly inadequate.

With these problems in mind, citizens and governments should cooperate with the UN secretary-general in developing a long-term plan to guide the UN Secretariat, the Security Council, the General Assembly and other relevant organs of the UN in addressing these deficiencies.

The plan should include the creation of a UN Dispute Settlement Service that would provide the timely dispatch of trained and experienced UN fact-finders, conciliators and mediators when a conflict threatens to turn violent. When disputes prove to be intractable, these representatives would have the authority to recommend legally binding arbitration or advisory opinions from the International Court of Justice.

Preventing genocide or war almost always entails lower costs than paying for the consequences of violence. Because the UN could provide professional services in early stages of conflicts, its permanent dispute settlement machinery would have many advantages over ad hoc diplomatic initiatives.

The plan would entail the establishment of a permanent UN constabulary force of from 10,000 to 100,000 personnel, carefully selected and trained by the UN from among men and women of all nations who volunteer to aid in policing, peacekeeping and enforcement. A well-trained, highly motivated and sophisticated force cannot result from ad hoc arrangements such as those used in past peacekeeping forces. The UN was unwilling to send ad hoc forces to Rwanda in 1994, in part because no member wanted to place its forces immediately under UN command and send them into high-risk environments. UN members expressed similar reservations about sending their forces to protect Bosnian areas designated as "safe" by the Security Council. Because governments may not feel that their own national interests are sufficiently at stake to send their forces into high-risk operations, it is essential to have a permanent UN force that can respond quickly and skillfully.

An expanded Security Council would more fairly represent the world's peoples.

Moreover, if a sufficient number of UN personnel are sent into a conflict early enough, they can often take actions more characteristic of police upholding order than of soldiers embarking on major military combat. During debate on Rwanda, a high-ranking UN official said that one brigade "deployed in Kigali within seven to 14 days might have stabilized the situation." These early, strong measures are essential in preventing a spiral toward genocide.

With a moderate expansion of council membership and democratization of procedures, the Security Council could more fairly represent all peoples of the world and make decisions that would not be subject to veto by any one member. The council's legitimacy is dwindling because it does not fairly represent the world's people. It gives disproportionate weight to those who dominated diplomacy at the time the United Nations was founded at the end of World War II. The societies that were defeated in World War II and the regions that were underrepresented now deserve equitable representation. This could be achieved by giving permanent seats to Japan, Germany, India, Brazil, and South Africa or Nigeria.

In addition, no country should exercise a veto power that allows it to be judge in its own case. No nation can safely demilitarize its own society or rely on the council to act impartially in behalf of its security if some council members can immobilize the council when they, their allies or their friends are guilty of aggression. The veto should be gradually phased out.

Of course, the Permanent Five object strongly to qualifying the veto, even though their size and strength give them ample means with which to

The following excerpt is from "Conserving Communities" from Another Turn of the Crank by Wendell Berry (Counterpoint, Wash. DC. 1995):

"We can't go on too much longer, maybe, without considering the likelihood that we humans are not intelligent enough to work on the scale to which we have been tempted by our technological abilities. Some such recognition is undoubtedly implicit in American conservatives' long-standing objection to a big central government. And so it has been odd to see many of these same conservatives pushing for the establishment of a supranational economy that would inevitably function as a government far bigger and more centralized than any dreamed of before. Long experience has made it clear - as we might say to the liberals - that to be free we must limit the size of government and we must have some sort of home rule. But it is just as clear - as we might say to the conservatives - that it is foolish to complain about big government if we do not do everything we can to support strong local communities and strong community economies."

protect their interests. Yet because they will obstruct any plan to remove the veto altogether, the veto must be qualified in a more modest and palatable way.

Without any Charter revision, the council could decide that the proposed International Criminal Court should function automatically, without any further council votes, to investigate and prosecute alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity wherever convincing allegations arise. The council could also agree that the secretary-general could automatically send his emissaries and conflict resolution teams to any trouble spot in the world when he deems their services essential to prevent genocide. The secretary-general could even be empowered to deploy the proposed UN Peace Force whenever a straw vote showed that two-thirds of the council members, and four-fifths of the permanent members, favored sending the Peace Force to emergencies in which genocide threatens, but in a police rather than a military mode of operations. These cautious innovations would protect the legitimate interests of UN members large and small; they also would enable the UN to respond more quickly and effectively.

To enforce norms against genocide and aggression effectively and at a politically acceptable cost, the Security Council needs to move as quickly as possible toward holding individuals accountable to the law. Laws must be enforced on the individuals who commit misdeeds rather than on entire societies in which many people are innocent of any wrongdoing. Enforcement must be strictly impartial. Once established, a permanent International Criminal Court and a mechanism for prosecution would systematically gather information about alleged crimes, prepare indictments, issue international warrants for arrest and hold impartial trials under due-process procedures. The temporary nature of the existing ad hoc tribunals inevitably gives the impression that the law against genocide will be applied in some cases but not in others. The international community can no longer tolerate this practice. The proposed court should act automatically; it should not be required to wait for special authorization from the Security Council, as the United States now insists, or be subject to political decisions by the council.

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The presence of a court and indictment procedure would help deter crimes against the peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity. To reinforce this deterrent, the Security Council should request that all members include in their military training a clear exposition of the precedents set in the Nuremberg and Tokyo war crimes tribunals, whose standards and purposes have been overwhelmingly endorsed by the UN membership. A government's refusal to do so should be considered a threat to international peace and grounds for Security Council sanctions against the delinquent government. These legal precedents stipulate that no commander or officer may use as a justifiable defense the claim that he or she was acting under orders from superiors while committing war crimes. In its November 1994 report the International Law Commission drew up draft articles that can serve as a basis for establishing the court.

To make enforcement effective and to protect UN personnel, UN forces engaged in upholding the peace must have the right to arrest anyone committing aggression or violent acts, including violence against UN personnel themselves. The Security Council should also impose sanctions or take other action to dissuade any society from shielding or refusing to extradite persons for whom an international arrest warrant has been issued by the court.

A modest levy on currency exchanges could fund the work of a Peace Force.

No threatened people or government will take seriously the existing international prohibitions of genocide and aggression unless a Peace Force and International Criminal Court have sufficient financial backing to make them effective in action. Perhaps the most equitable and practical way to generate revenue is to charge an extremely modest fee of, say, five-hundredths of 1 percent (0.05 percent) on the world's international currency exchanges. Such a small levy would not overburden anyone. In addition to discouraging currency speculations that can cause economic havoc, such a fee is a fair strategy. It would generate over $150 billion per year which could be divided among these essential functions: peace operations (preventive diplomacy, monitoring, peacekeeping and enforcement), establishment and operation of an International Criminal Court, preventive development and peace-building activities to promote social integration and eliminate conditions giving rise to violence, and programs for environmental sustainability that would alleviate disputes over water, food and land that might erupt into violence. Other approaches to generating revenue should also be considered, including fees imposed on arms production and transfers or on commercial and military uses of the global commons.

Most of the world's people stand united in opposing genocide, yet they have felt powerless to prevent mass killings in Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and elsewhere. By mandating a plan to stop genocide, officials in Washington and other capitals can respond to the people's just demand for an end to the killing. The scourge of genocide and aggression can be lifted if the UN members are prompted to act forcefully in the UN's 50th anniversary year. Although some governments may feel that such a plan of action is too dramatic, nothing less can ensure that we will discharge our responsibility to protect innocent people against unjustifiable violence. ■

Vulnerable to nuclear power

by DAVID KREIGER

There have always been important connections between nuclear weapons and nuclear energy. First came the weapons, and then came the concept of generating power by means of nuclear energy.

In the 1950s nuclear energy was presented to the public as a panacea that would provide unlimited energy for development at a cost so low as to be inconsequential.

With such public relations, it is not surprising that the technology of the so-called "peaceful use of the atom" was nearly universally desired. In the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty, nuclear energy was described as an "inalienable right."

In truth, nuclear energy served other purposes for nuclear weapons states.

It legitimized the production of nuclear materials that could be converted to use in nuclear weapons. The problem with that approach was it also provided the cover for other nations developing nuclear weapons, such as Israel, India, Pakistan, South Africa and possibly North Korea.

Nuclear energy also provided after-the-fact justification of the enormous expenditures involved in developing nuclear weapons, and probably soothed the consciences of those involved in creating the first nuclear weapons.

Now there is serious consideration of eliminating nuclear weapons from the world. This will not happen immediately, but there is a growing sense that the dangers posed to humanity by nuclear weapons must be controlled, and that the only truly effective way to control these weapons is to eliminate them.

The movement to abolish nuclear weapons is reaching to the highest levels in governments and among security officials. Colin Powell, for example, when head of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, stated, "Today I can declare my hope and declare it from the bottom of my heart that we will eventually see the time when that number of nuclear weapons is down to zero and the world is a much better place."

If humanity is to succeed in abolishing nuclear weapons, what role, if any, will nuclear energy have in such a world? Can we afford to have nuclear power plants, which all generate plutonium, and still maintain a nuclear free world?

Many government leaders and members of the nuclear priesthood seem to believe nuclear power plants can be maintained in such a world. Their assumption is apparently that the plutonium generated by the production of nuclear energy can be adequately accounted for, safeguarded, and controlled to prevent its diversion to nuclear weapons.

As nuclear weapons come increasingly to be seen as too dangerous to exist in the arsenal of any nation, the viability of nuclear power plants will become the subject of increasing debate.

Nuclear power plants have already proven to be not economical, and they create wastes that will be a burden to humanity for countless future generations.

I would argue that in a rational society, the problem of generating nuclear wastes that require safeguarding for tens of thousands of years is so great that on this ground alone all nuclear energy production should be phased out as rapidly as possible.

There is perhaps an even more important reason that nuclear power reactors should also be shut down.

Nuclear power plants are a grave risk to all countries that possess them. From a security perspective, they may be viewed as huge radiological weapons that may be accidentally triggered, as at Chernobyl, or intentionally triggered by attack in time of war or by terrorist groups.

Locating nuclear power plants close to cities places the inhabitants at serious risk of nuclear contamination by conventional military attacks on these plants, and this situation is aggravated by the current practice of storing spent fuel at reactor sites.

It has been surprising that military and security leaders have not paid serious attention to the vulnerability of societies caused by reliance upon nuclear power plants for generating electricity.

In time of war or civil unrest, an attack on a nuclear power plant would not only knock out a power supply, but could result in the release of large amounts of radioactive material that could kill and injure hundreds of thousands of people, cause widespread panic in civilian populations, make large areas uninhabitable and unusable for food production.

Concern for the future of humanity and other forms of life on Earth has led to a re-evaluation of the desireability of maintaining nuclear weapons in the world. Similar concerns will also lead to a re-evaluation of the advisability of phasing out all use of nuclear energy to generate power.

The inalienable rights of all humans are to "life, liberty and security of person," as set forth in Article Three of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and not to a form of energy so dangerous as to threaten the gene pool of all forms of life for thousands of generations.

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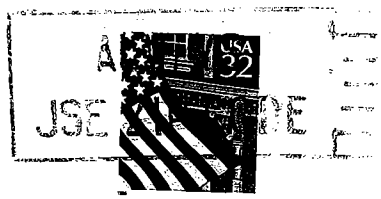

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