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from time to time calls attention to published material that might contribute toward clarification or understanding of issues affecting world peace. The accompanying reprints constitute Reprint Mailing No. 98

(Mrs.) Eulah C. Laucks, President
Post Office Box 5012
Santa Barbara, CA. 93150-5012

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The following is quoted from "Philosophy of the Stone" by Dale Bishop, (from Christianity and Crisis, February 15. 1988, p.30):

> "In an age of great military sophistication, the conflict between Israeli and Palestinian is waged by children who wield the most primitive implements of warfare: the stone and the club. The Israeli military command, we are told, has sent psychologists to treat the young soldiers in Gaza who have been ordered to beat their Palestinian contemporaries into submission. Those psychologists ought first to examine the political and military leaders who have presided over the brutalization of young people on both sides of the barricades."

From another century:—

> "In our large cities, the population is godless, materialized,—no bond, no fellow-feeling, no enthusiasm. These are not men, but hungers, thirsts, fevers, and appetites walking. How is it people manage to live on,—so aimless as they are?...it seems as if the lime in their bones alone held them together, and not any worthy purpose. There is no faith in the intellectual, none in the moral universe. There is faith in chemistry, in meat, and wine, in wealth, in machinery, in the steam engine, galvanic battery, turbine wheels, sewing machines, and in public opinion, but not in divine causes..."
>
> — Ralph Waldo Emerson

(As quoted in MANAS, November 2, 1988, p.1)

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THE INNER WORKINGS OF FREEDOM

Choosing the Future of the Earth

by Patricia M. Mische

We are now at a new place in planetary evolution in which life in the future can no longer be assumed, but is increasingly a matter of human choice. Not only human life, but the fate of all life on the planet is increasingly affected by human decisions. In such a time, the question of human freedom, and of human leadership, is critical.

It may be rightfully argued that humans have always affected their environment. But the ways in which human choices now affect the Earth processes are significantly different both quantitatively and qualitatively from anything in preceding millennia. Genetic engineering, the depletion of the ozone layer, increasing levels of carbon dioxide threatening a global "greenhouse effect," and the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, biological, and other weapons of mass destruction, are only a few examples.

The human, who has emerged out of billions of years of planetary evolution, can now shape the next stages in that evolution. Thus the question of human freedom and its responsible uses is of the utmost importance, not only for the development and self-realization of individuals, but primarily for the survival and well-being of the planet itself and all her life forms and interdependent human communities.

Our new powers over life and death on the planet require that we become more conscious of our choices and the consequences of our actions than at any point in previous history. As Hannah Arendt noted in *The Human Condition*, we need to "think what we are doing," learning to contemplate the consequences before we act—and to develop the mental and moral tools to choose and act wisely.[1]

In the West, freedom is largely defined in individualistic terms, as freedom *from* others and *from* external interference. There has been little emphasis on freedom *for* and *with* others—on our interconnectedness and shared responsibility to exercise our freedom on behalf of the entire planetary community. There is also a tendency in the West to think of freedom as *a thing* (such as freedom of the press, or freedom of speech) to be protected, and to miss that it is also *a process*. We need to get inside this process, to experience and understand the action of freedom from the inside out, as it were, so that we can prevent it from atrophying and learn to employ it more consciously and wisely in developing our lives and our world. We need to live our lives with greater consciousness, intentionality, and responsibility, and to stop making excuses and surrendering our freedom and responsibility for the state of the world to others.

In the Grand Canyon

The nexus between the fate of the earth and the human exercise of freedom was underscored for me when our

Patricia M. Mische is co-founder of Global Education Associates, co-author of Toward a Human World Order, and author of Star Wars and the State of Our Souls.

family trekked the Grand Canyon. This great fissure in the Earth is like a sacred revelation, cutting through the layers of rock and sediment that have built up since the Earth's crust first began to form four billion years ago. To trek the Canyon is to retrack the Earth's evolution. On the floor of the Canyon are pre-Cambrian rocks which date from the first cooling and crusting of the Earth's surface following its emergence from the original fireball. From here one ascends through layers of sediment and rock revealing the buckling and upheavals of colliding and contracting earth plates, through the wearing down and erosion of rock layers under advancing and receding oceans, through the emergence of early marine life evidenced in fossils embedded in the rock, up through more complex flora and fauna fossilized in higher rock layers, through the traces left by ancestral human tribes who found their way within the canyon, all the way to the top where the modern human stands next to a family camper, drinking cola out of a zip-top can and surveying with wonder all this past out of which we have emerged.

Most significant in this experience was the heightened sense that the story is still unfolding; that we who now dwell on a thin and vulnerable layer of topsoil on all this history are even now recording the next epoch in the rock through the choices we make or don't make. One thousand years from now, if there still be humans trekking the canyon, what will the rock reveal to them about the exercise of freedom and leadership by those who lived in the last decade of the twentieth century? That we turned a once flourishing Earth into a desert? Into radioactive fossils and debris? Or that our choices led to a flourishing Earth and flourishing human cultures?

From ancient Greek to modern philosophers, the question of human freedom has figured prominently in Western intellectual history, but without any clear, longstanding agreement as to its nature. Although I have not yet found a philosophy of freedom which satisfies me as being adequate for the present challenges to planetary survival, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Jean-Paul Sartre and Victor Frankl all seem to offer important insights for the development of a philosophy of freedom for our times.

It is important to note that there is a tension between the global ecological view I take here and the phenomenological and existential perspectives of Merleau-Ponty and Sartre, in which freedom is always very particularly situated. This tension between the choices of individuals in particular circumstances and the present context of planetary systems of interdependence is, in fact, the crux of our contemporary problematique. If we are to find an adequate answer to the question of future survival we cannot circumvent or escape this tension, but must enter into it as consciously and creatively as possible.

With the canyon experience and the insights of these thinkers as companions in our search, then, I invite you to reflect with me on five critical aspects of freedom as a process to be exercised in our times:

1) the role of our "givenness" or historicity;
2) the role of nothingness or the not-yet;
3) the role of our images of a possible future;
4) the role of action;
5) the role of "intersubjectivity."

1. Sedimentation: Freedom in our "Givenness"

A perennial question is "How free are we?" If not fully determined, are we not at least considerably limited by the constraints of the physical, psychological and social systems in which we subsist?

Here the Grand Canyon provides a metaphor of the human condition. Its walls, over a mile deep, are a compressed compilation of billions of years of sediment which now comprises a certain structuring of the Earth. This structuring constitutes a certain "givenness" in the present moment that may appear to determine, or at least define and limit, present possibilities.

This story of the Earth is also our story; we are rooted in it. It is part of our "givenness" in a real sense: our own bodies are comprised of the very elements of the Earth. Like the Earth, we are two-thirds salt water; we are bound by the same laws of the universe, and we are utterly dependent on the Earth's productive capacities. We will live or die as the Earth lives or dies.

The Earth story is also a metaphor of our individual development, of the accumulated "sedimentation" which comprises the walls and structures of our personal "givenness." As Merleau-Ponty notes: "I am a psychological and historical structure, and have received, with existence, a manner of existing, a style. All my actions and thoughts stand in relation to this structure."[2]

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Despite the great depth of the Grand Canyon's penetration into the Earth, much of the story is inaccessible. Layers have been eroded; we can never "see" the story completely. Even what can be "seen" can never be known objectively. We interpret and reinterpret the story in the sedimentation, bringing ourselves to it in different moments, with a different awareness and different questions that open us to new interpretations and meanings. So too the sedimentation and structures that have shaped our lives may never be completely accessible. Parts may remain forever invisible in our unconscious, nevertheless affecting our motives, choices, actions.

Here we return to our question. If we are situated or rooted in the world and our own past, is there ever such a thing as individual freedom or a free act? Both Merleau-Ponty and Sartre insist that there is always freedom, that we are never determined. We are born into a world that is already constituted, Merleau-Ponty says, "but also never completely constituted . . . . There is, therefore, never determinism and never absolute choice."

In Merleau-Ponty's view, our very givenness provides the context or field for freedom to be exercised:

> The fact remains that I am free, not in spite of, or on the hither side of, these motivations, but by means of them. For this significant life, this certain significance of nature and history which I am, does not limit my access to the world, but on the contrary is my means of communication with it. It is by being unrestrictedly and unreservedly what I am at present that I have a chance of moving forward.

"Without the roots which [freedom] thrusts into the world, it would not be freedom at all," he writes. It is only by "plunging into the present and the world" and becoming intentional in our willing and doing that we go further. It is when we refuse to enter into our social situation that freedom passes us by.

While we tend to think of our situation in life as an obstacle to freedom and choice, in fact "what are called obstacles to freedom are really deployed by it." Merleau-Ponty compares these perceived obstacles to unclimbable rock faces which, whether small or large, have no meaning for anyone who is not intending to surmount them. It is in choosing and acting to surmount them that freedom is exercised.

In pondering this we may ask: What about all the tragedies and atrocities in human history in which people seem so clearly to have been deprived of choice and cast into hells not of their own making? Here the insights of Victor Frankl are helpful. In *Man's Search for Meaning,* Frankl recounts that in Nazi concentration camps he kept alive his will to live by choosing to seek meaning even when many around him despaired. Although the situation in the camps was constrained in the extreme, even here there were choices to be made regarding one's existence. Frankl noted that the camp taught him and other prisoners that they had to stop asking what life or history could do for them, and instead to think of themselves as being questioned by life, daily and hourly. What was history asking of them now, at this moment, in this desperate situation? In trying to find some adequate response to this question, their lives took on meaning. Self-realization, transcendence, freedom, were not achievable when they were made goals in themselves. They were attainable only by going beyond self and taking up this larger question.

"Sartre saw freedom endangered more by being comfortable, by not questioning, than by totalitarianism. To stop questioning is to have a reduced sense of the possibility of change and of agency."

Thus the sedimentation—the historicity or givenness of our lives—is not something to be denied or transcended so much as it is the ground on which we stand in exercising our freedom. It is the ground on which life confronts us with questions and challenges, and which we push against in attempting to find an adequate response. While our situation or history gives a certain direction, this direction is always open to new possibility.

The Grand Canyon would seem to reinforce this assertion. When we study the layers of sediment and rock, we discover that the development of the Earth followed no straight line, no singular direction or predetermined plan. To say this is not to say there was no intelligence or creativity involved in the unfolding drama. There was at work from the origins of the universe something more than only the laws of necessity. The history of the universe and the Earth, like the development of humans who emerged as part of its continuing development, has taken shape through upheavals, ruptures, clashes, surprises, creativity, invention and new directions.

So the Earth today, even after billions of years of development, is not yet finished but continues to grope toward completion. So too, the human story is not yet finished, but is each day further created in the choices we make or fail to make as we grope toward completion.

2. Nothingness: Freedom in What is Not

This groping toward something more—towards that which could be, but is not yet—appears to be the direction of the Earth's story and also our individual human stories. Both Sartre and Merleau-Ponty underscore the importance to the process of freedom of the perception of a "négatité"—a nothingness or not-yet; a deficiency between what I am and what I can be; a sense that there is something beyond what is in the present.

Consciousness is defined in part by Sartre as the ability to recognize this gap between what is and what could be. This sense of incompleteness or deficiency is essential to growth, for it provokes us into becoming what we are not yet but are capable of becoming. To be fully conscious is to be open to this gnawing incompleteness, which is also related to hope, desire, expectation, and the capacity to change. If I define myself only by what I am in the present, I freeze myself. In Sartre's view, we are responsible for creating our selves. When we no longer experience this sense of something beyond what is; when we are no longer open to the gaps and contradictions; when we no longer desire, we no longer dwell in consciousness. We are, as it were, already dead.[3]

Thus *questioning* is critical to human consciousness, for it intensifies a sense of this incompleteness. Sartre saw freedom endangered more by being comfortable, by not questioning, than by totalitarianism. To stop questioning is to have a reduced sense of the possibility of change and of agency.

3. The Future: Attraction Toward the Not-Yet-But-Possible

The process of freedom also includes a perception that there is a choice; that the absence or deficiency we perceive does not need to be tolerated or accommodated; that there are other possibilities. There are interrelated negative and positive thrusts to the exercise of freedom: we commit ourselves to move beyond the deficiency we feel, but we simultaneously move *toward* something, envisioning and creating it in the process. The vision of a better order of things enables us to perceive what is deficient and unendurable in existing conditions—which in turn moves us to act to repair the deficiency.

Fred Pollack and Elise Boulding have compared our images of the future to a piton or wedge by which mountain climbers pull themselves upward.[4] Some have compared them to a lodestar by which travellers gauge direction; Robert Bundy compares them to a magnet that pulls us toward their realization.[5]

Our images of the future are no trivial matter. Whether positive or negative, they can be very powerful in affecting our choices and shaping the future. Bundy asserts:

> The actual future of a civilization—vigor and growth, or decline and breakdown—is prefigured in the shared images of the future possessed by its people in the present . . . . In this sense the future is a prologue to all history.[6]

Negative images of the future can serve as self-fulfilling prophecies, pulling us on a downward cycle of surrender and despair. The mushroom cloud has been a powerful negative image of our planetary future. For a long time people in the "peace" movement were preoccupied primarily with the image of nuclear destruction and failed to develop an alternative image of peace and security strong and compelling enough to attract people toward a different future. This is now beginning to change as more groups begin to explore and work toward the development of positive peace systems.

What if we have no image of a positive future toward which to move? According to Pollack, a society which has lost a strong, central and cohesive image of a positive future is a society in decline. In *Man's Search for Meaning,* Frankl noted the importance of strong and positive images in helping prisoners maintain their will to live. For some the image was of a meaningful other; for others it was a work still to be completed or some other meaningful attraction. Later, in applying this insight to his work with patients in a clinical setting, Frankl became even more convinced of its importance. He found it was not enough to help depressed and despairing patients understand the causes of their problems. Unless they also developed a strong vision of a positive alternative or a meaningful purpose to commit themselves to, many chose to continue living in their depressed state. A blank future offered no incentive for change.

Today there are very few governmental leaders offering a compelling, positive vision of the planetary future. Thus we should not expect them to be able to lead the way toward a positive future. Rather, we must exercise our freedom on behalf of our future well-being by generating our own vision of a preferred world, and, with it, commensurate leadership skills to help forward its realization.

4. Action: Creating Our Future and Our Selves

Action is an essential expression of freedom. In conscious persons, the perception of a deficiency or incompleteness and an image, however vague, of the not-yet-but-possible future, leads to the development of projects or social inventions aimed at bringing into existence that which is absent. As an artist begins with an image of possibility before applying color to a blank canvas, so we need an image of possibility. But the mental image is not enough: action or praxis is essential to bring that which is absent into existence.

But there is no large and sudden leap from intentionality to transformation. "Problems are not solved on the day they are posed or a stand taken," observes Merleau-Ponty. Rather, the decision is elaborated in the course of life. "I am situated in a social environment, and my freedom, though it may have the power to commit me elsewhere, has not the power to transform me instantaneously into what I decide to be."

Initially there may be a certain amount of ambiguity and groping involved. The creative project or action does not spring fully formed from our minds, but takes shape in the process of being developed. Merleau-Ponty compares this to a molecular process: "before being thought it is lived through as an obsessive presence, as possibility,

MARION C. HONORS, CSJ

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enigma and myth," and "it matures in coexistence before bursting forth into words and being related to objective ends." He also insists that our projects are not developed in a social vacuum but rather are shaped within a historical context and a particular environment and set of relationships and "merge into our way of patterning the world and coexisting with other people."

Action provides feedback for the further development and exercise of consciousness and freedom. This feedback helps us clarify and redefine our sense of identity, purpose, and goals, and the steps necessary to achieve them. We are not talking here of blind, mindless, accidental or habitual behavior, but rather of conscious choices and actions preceded and followed by contemplation or reflection. Freedom and consciousness require intentionality in our choices and actions. They also require us to take responsibility for the effects of our choices on ourselves and the world.

Contemplation and action are integral to each other in the responsible exercise of freedom. For authentic consciousness and freedom do not develop in a closed psyche, but rather through the interaction of the outer and inner worlds. Contemplation without action may lead to illusion and naiveté. Action without contemplation may lead to self-indulgence and destructiveness.

We create ourselves and our world by the choices we make or don't make. To not choose, to not act, is also to choose—to become the object of another's choices. Allowing for the molecular and interactive nature of freedom, free persons are ultimately brought to the moment of truth when, pressed by the questions history puts before them, they must, like Hamlet, decide "to be or not to be," to act or not to act. For those who avoid the question or keep putting off the answer, life will begin to recede, along with a sense of agency. But for those who take up the questions life puts to them, life is heightened.

5. Intersubjectivity: The Interconnectedness of Freedom

The interconnectedness of freedom has been implicit throughout the above discussion. Here we consider it more explicitly.

Merleau-Ponty wrote that "the subject of history is not the individual" and that there is a direction of history that is not ours alone. He was referring to the social nature of human beings, the fact that we are not isolated atoms but interactive beings; and he chose the word *intersubjectivity* because it was his view that each person is free and the subject of his/her own life, but at the same time individual freedom is interconnected with the freedom of others.

Sartre, too, considered the interrelatedness of individuals, but he saw it as problematic. Love was seen as an obstacle to freedom for it could become possessive and deprive the other of choice. Merleau-Ponty allowed more room for a positive role for human interrelatedness and saw its capacity to enhance freedom. "There is an exchange between generalized and individual existence, each giving and receiving something." We are a network of relationships, so interrelated that one's own "freedom cannot be willed without leaving behind its singular relevance, and without willing freedom *for all.*"

The functioning of healthy cells within an organism seems to me the best analogy for the interconnectedness of human freedom. Within a healthy cell the parts all function in communion, in dynamic interaction, with a flow of energy and information that makes the life of the cell possible. At the same time diversity and differentiation are maintained, because if the parts collapsed into each other or lost their distinct functions, the life of the cell would be lost. So too in the relationships between cells. The membranes of each cell are permeable, allowing for a flow of communication between them while simultaneously maintaining the distinctiveness of each. Both differentiation and communion are essential to life and freedom. Together they energize the life of the whole organism.

Cells and organisms are *living systems*—two important words. For whether we are considering freedom from the perspective of history and our "givenness," or our perceptions of deficiency and images of possibility, or the choices and actions we undertake, freedom functions within a living, interactive system involving constraints, possibilities, and constant feedback between participating subjects.

Up to now in Western intellectual history, the systemic context within which freedom functions has not been adequately considered. Even when it has been taken up, such as in the Marxian analysis, the frame of reference has been totally homocentric, excluding the larger planetary life systems within which human relationships and freedom subsist.

Today we need to go beyond exclusively homocentric analyses to consider intersubjectivity within the whole organism or living system we call Earth. This systemic context is deeper than that posed by class struggle, which was a focus for Merleau-Ponty and Sartre for a time; deeper, too, than the struggle for political liberty posed by Locke, Jefferson, Mills and others. Though the importance to freedom of political, social and economic systems should not be underestimated, these should not be considered in isolation of the larger question of the fate of the Earth upon which all economic, social and political systems ultimately depend. Totally homocentric analyses fall short because they do not engage the deeper question of intersubjectivity posed by the utter dependency of the human on the Earth, and now the growing dependency of the Earth on human choices.

Not a Conclusion

Though I think the above themes provide important insights into the process of human freedom and its nexus with the fate of the Earth, much more remains to be considered in developing an adequate philosophy of freedom for our times. For today the space of human freedom is a precarious space. There is the overhanging question of whether we will learn to use our freedom wisely and well in face of our new challenges. In the past there was more margin for human error. Now our mistakes can be catastrophic. No other generation has had such powers over life and death, but we have not yet developed the commensurate wisdom or maturity to use these powers in ways that will assure our personal or collective survival.

Perhaps this is the ultimate deficiency. And it points to an ultimate need to develop and act on a vision of freedom that is equal to the task of creating ourselves, and our relationships to each other and our planet, anew. □

1. Hannah Arendt, The Human Condition. University of Chicago Press, 1958.

2. All Merleau-Ponty references: Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Phenomenology of Perception. London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1962.

3. Jean-Paul Sartre, Being and Nothingness. Philosophical Library, 1956.

4. In Robert Bundy, ed., Images of the Future: The Twenty-first Century and Beyond. Prometheus Books, 1976.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

(The following is excerpted from "Land and People: an Ecological Perspective" by J. Stan Rowe, Prof. Emeritus, Plant Ecology and Crop Science, U. of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Canada. Summer 1988 edition of The Land Report, p.12 (2440 E. Water Well Road, Salina, KS.67401): - Reprinted by permission. -

As organisms, people are parts of the supra-organismic Ecosphere. All manner of problems are created by denying this ecological reality, by asserting our wholeness, nominating ourselves as the standard against which relative importance is to be judged in the universe. To reverse this misconception, to conceive and perceive people, ourselves, as parts, elevates the ecospheric whole and confers greater-than-human value on it. To paraphrase Aldo Leopold, the commodity that we thought belonged to us is transfigured into the community to which we belong. The world, the Land, is accorded primary importance, which need not downgrade its constituents. Such recognition provides an elevated purpose for humankind: to be the conscience of the world.

This is radical stuff and Western tradition lends little support to it. Read the renowned philosophers, the wise men, study the sacred scriptures, the works of the great artists, and an indisputable conclusion emerges. Only two relationships are important: that between Man and God, and that between Man and Man. The People-Planet relationship is just not there; its significance is zip. When in our tradition the World is recognized, it is only as the stage where Man, proud Man, plays out his conceits.

Lest the gender-conscious among you worry that I have slighted the other sex by referring only to Man, the masculine term is purposely used because, as you know, the other blind spot of the West's heavy thinkers is precisely the feminine. They have paid as little attention to Woman as to the Ecosphere. So, of course, by extension from their homes, they projected either a capricious Mother Nature to be cajoled and tricked or an inert Nature, a passive Mother Earth, simply there to be "husbanded." In the last half-century, we've come a long way. No longer do we use sexist terms; vis-a-vis the world, neither husbandry nor wifery nor cohabitation is appropriate. We "manage the resource base optimally."

Some scholars suggest that man learned to enslave the land by first practicing enslavement on women, children, animals, and other men. Whether historically accurate or not, this argues the primacy of inter-personal relationships; only a just society will deal justly with the land. From the ecological perspective, the priority is reversed. Just treatment of the land comes first. How can we hope to be personally whole in a dismembered society, a land scalped, scraped, eroded and poisoned, asked Wendell Berry.*

Renunciation of man's domination-of-nature attitude is the prerequisite for a just society. Thus ecosophy, ecological wisdom, encourages a better attitude to nature, to the Land, as the prescription for a better society.

The task is to develop a sense of belonging to the world, to cultivate an empathy with the Land wherein we live, to experience the in-ness of our earthly existences. The inscapes of our thoughts and feelings must be congruent with the landscapes where we live.** We cannot mind the world until the world is important in our minds as the surrounding inventive and sustaining sphere, a thing of intrinsic value, an end in itself. It preceded us; we came from it; we are incapable of remaking it once destroyed; and it supports us. Maintaining its health and beauty in perpetuity is perhaps the only creative, risk-free goal that humanity can set for itself, a goal moreover guaranteed to restore health and beauty to humanity.

Schumacher the economist despaired of economic thinking unguided by non-economic values. Just as physics is dangerous unless guided by metaphysics, so economics needs meta-economics that acknowledges the realm of the sacred. Surely the world, the Land is sacrosanct and not merely a plaything of econometricians.

Recognition that the Ecosphere is supremely important, possessing intrinsic value, calls for reexamination of two profound questions, until recently believed to have been correctly answered for all time. Like the answers to the questions posed by the Sphinx, these also will determine whether we are devoured or allowed to continue on our way:

—Who in the world do you think you are?
--What in the world are you doing?

The first is the key question, for what people do in the world depends on who in the world they think they are. The popular answers are homocentric and unecologic: We are the elect, lords of creation. In the words of the Bard:

> "noble in reason, infinite in faculty,
> in action how like an angel,
> in apprehension how like a god,
> the beauty of the world,
> the paragon of animals..."

Shakespeare had the good sense to end Hamlet's recitation with a cautionary, "And yet..."

* Wendell Berry. 1977. The Unsettling of America, Culture & Agriculture. Avon Books, N.Y.

** Pierre Dansereau. 1973. Inscape and Landscape. Canadian Broadcasting Corp. Hunter Rose Co., Toronto.

(The following is excerpted from the pamphlet by George W. Ball entitled THE WAR FOR STAR WARS, published by The Council for a Livable World, 20 Park Plaza, Boston, MA. 02116, p.20)

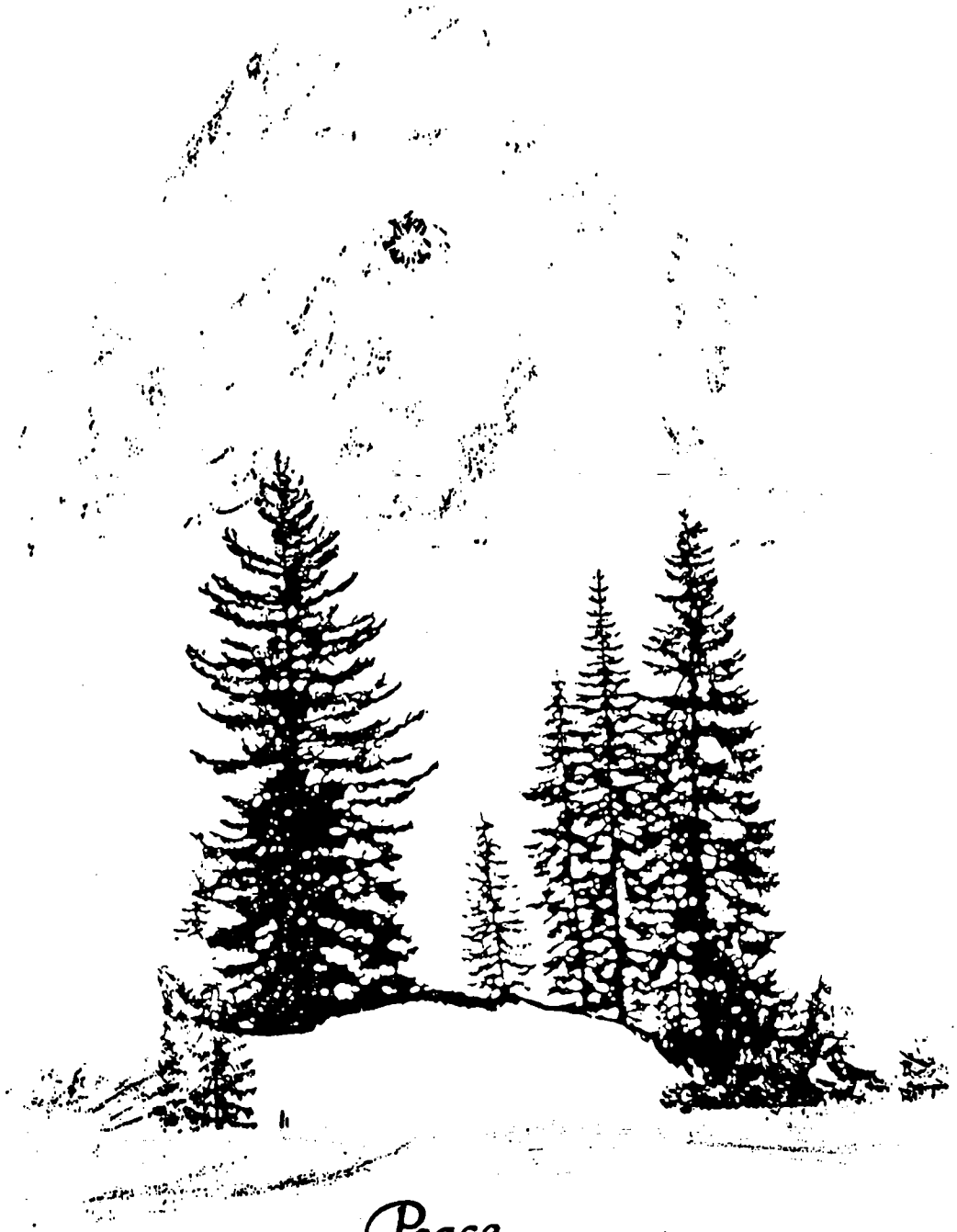
"What the President's [Strategic Defense Initiative] reflects is a fantasy that nuclear danger can be eliminated through some wonderful new invention—a purely mechanistic approach that denies the reality that the world will never be free from the nuclear threat until there is some reconciliation of interests and some agreement on coexistence between the nuclear powers. The naive faith that we can achieve security by some new system or gadget that blunts the edge of the Soviet sword runs counter to the advice of a widely experienced president—Dwight D. Eisenhower—who understood the nature of war. When, so he observed, we face crisis, as we inevitably shall, 'there is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties'—an action such as 'a huge increase in the new elements of our defense'—or 'a dramatic expansion in basic and applied research.' But, he wisely continued, 'in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.'"

(The following is quoted from "Dreams of a Magical Shield" by Douglas R. Hofstadter, Newsweek March 3, 1986, p.8)

"...The SDI effort consists of an almost unimaginable tangle of mutually interdependent projects. Under circumstances that no one can come close to anticipating, all of them must work perfectly together, without any way to test them realistically—and the decision to risk the fate of the entire human race will have to be made in seconds by computers with no common sense whatsoever."

(The following is quoted from the pamphlet by Jerome Grossman entitled 'The Politics of Star Wars,' published by The Council for a Livable World, 20 Park Plaza, Boston MA. 02116)

"Professor Sheldon L. Glasgow, a Nobel Prize winning physicist at Harvard ... said, 'I would give Star Wars a D because it is a danger to peace, a disinclination to arms control, deleterious to American science, and it is destabilizing, dumb, and damned expensive.'"



Peace on Earth

LAUCKS FOUNDATION, INC.
POST OFFICE BOX 5012
SANTA BARBARA, CA., 93150-5012

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MARY LAUCKS
8708 N.E. 20th
BELLEVUE, WA. 98004