

UNESCO

# The Courier

1986  
**INTERNATIONAL YEAR  
OF PEACE**



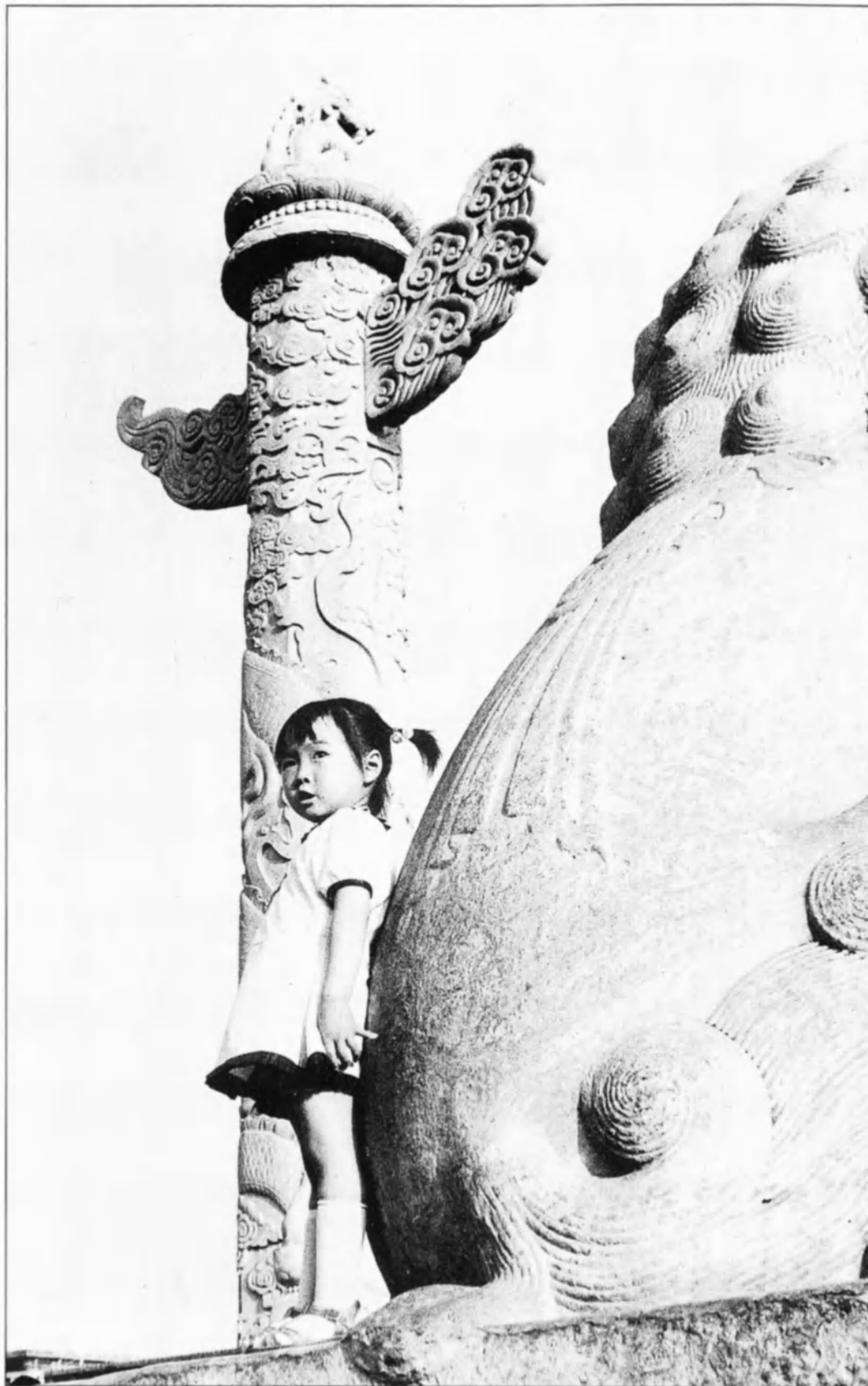


Photo Qi Guo Hua © Chinese edition of the *Unesco Courier*

## A time to live...

46 The People's Republic of China

---

Pillar of tradition

A stone lion guards the Bridge of Golden Water leading from T'ien-an-men Square to the old Imperial Palace in Beijing. Beside it stands a pillar adorned with carvings of clouds and dragons. The pillar recalls an ancient tradition stretching back to the time of the first emperors of China, who erected in front of the Imperial Palace tree trunks on which the people could carve their grievances.



## Editorial

**P**EACE is a virtue originating in spiritual strength." In 1986, proclaimed International Year of Peace by the General Assembly of the United Nations, Spinoza's definition remains as relevant as ever. If there has been no world war for forty years, neither has there been world peace: internecine conflicts continue to devastate certain regions, and all mankind is haunted by the spectre of a nuclear catastrophe, threatening the annihilation of present and future generations.

The defence of peace today is increasingly assuming the form of a constructive effort which is not confined to the need to prevent wars, but grapples with a whole series of imbalances that pervade the economic and social organization of the entire planet. All the contributors to this issue of the *Unesco Courier*, whatever their field—whether they be specialists in war and peace studies, economists, historians, medical doctors, philosophers or jurists—and wherever they are from, agree on this point.

Despite the different perspectives from which they analyse the situation, they also share more common ground in that they stress the interdependence of peace, disarmament and development, and regard the Third World for historical as well as economic reasons as today's theatre of violence. They examine and condemn the exploitation of peoples and the lack of rapprochement between them; the opposition of blocs; the rampant folly of the arms race with its crippling cost to humanity; anachronistic rivalry between national interests; the submission of science to political and military power. From these various approaches emerges the pressing need for a philosophy and practice of peace; here, as the present number shows, Unesco clearly has an essential role to play.

To contribute to the maintenance of peace and security is the pre-eminent task assigned to Unesco by its Constitution and, during the forty years of the Organization's existence, it has worked unremittingly, within its fields of competence, towards a world in which the whole human community may live in peace. Faithful to its mandate of constructing the defences of peace in the minds of men, Unesco is particularly concerned to promote education for understanding, co-operation and international peace.

In Japan, children have understood since Hiroshima that the destruction of an enemy is also the destruction of a friend. They make paper birds—cranes, a Japanese symbol of longevity—and give them away because they wish, in their own words, "to build peace in this world."

Cover design Yurek Janiszewski

Editor-in-chief: Edouard Glissant

## August 1986

39th year

Drawing K. Sitwka © World Peace Council



### 4 Reflections on peace

#### 1. Peace as an absolute value

by Claude Lefort

### 6 2. Peace, disarmament and technology

by Luis Echeverría

### 8 3. The cost of peace

by Michael S. O. Olisa

### 9 4. Peace in the regional context

by Ahmad Sidqi Ad-Dajani

### 11 'There is no peace because there is no justice'

by Desmond Mpilo Tutu

### 13 The Pugwash movement

by Joseph Rotblat

### 15 Perceptions of threat and security

by Yoshikazu Sakamoto

### 18 Higher education and peace

### 19 Physicians and the nuclear threat

by Bernard Lown

### 20 Unesco and the International Year of Peace

### 24 World military spending

### 25 The United Nations World Disarmament Campaign

by Jan Martenson

### 27 Towards a new way of thinking

by Gennadi I. Gerasimov

### 29 A thousand paper cranes

### 30 Violence in the Third World

by Soedjatmoko

### 34 1986: Year of Peace/8

### 2 A time to live ...

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA: Pillar of tradition

Published monthly in 32 languages by Unesco  
The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization  
7, Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris.

English  
French  
Spanish  
Russian  
German  
Arabic  
Japanese

Italian  
Hindi  
Tamil  
Hebrew  
Persian  
Dutch  
Portuguese

Turkish  
Urdu  
Catalan  
Malaysian  
Korean  
Swahili  
Croato-Serb

Macedonian  
Serbo-Croat  
Slovene  
Chinese  
Bulgarian  
Greek  
Sinhala

Finnish  
Swedish  
Basque  
Thai

A selection in Braille is published quarterly in English, French, Spanish and Korean

ISSN 0041-5278  
N° 8 - 1986 - CPD - 86 - 1 - 436 A

# Reflections on peace

*A Unesco-sponsored international symposium on the theme  
"Philosophical Reflections on the Foundations of Peace in the Present World Situation"  
was held at Unesco's Paris headquarters from 3 to 6 December 1985.  
We publish below extracts from papers presented by four of the participants.*

## 1. Peace as an absolute value

*by Claude Lefort*



**"It is certainly true that the closer men come together the more they seem to touch each other's sensitive spots. But this is only a half truth. Is it not rather because contacts and relationships are not frequent enough that they arouse such apprehension?"** Right, *The Ship of Fools*, by the Dutch painter Hiëronymus Bosch (c. 1450-1516), now in the Louvre Museum, Paris.



*"Peace as an absolute value can only be based on the notion that relations between men are relations between equals." Right, Totonac earthenware statuette in the Jalapa Museum, State of Veracruz, Mexico. The civilization of the Totonacs, a pre-Columbian Mexican people, flourished from the 7th to the 14th centuries on the west coast of the Gulf of Mexico.*

**T**HE great German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) outlined the idea of a code of law for mankind emerging from the bitter experience of war and necessitated by the increasing proximity of men due to the growth of populations on the limited surface of the globe.

Kant's foresight was astonishing when we consider how heterogeneous and scattered was the world he knew in comparison with our own. He was not alone in his prediction; most of the great thinkers of the early nineteenth century, whatever their beliefs, from Saint-Simon or Chateaubriand, in France, to Karl Marx, were aware of the new and incredibly rapidly accelerating rhythm of population growth and of the inescapable evidence, on every hand, that space was finite.

Such predictions, which have constantly been repeated up to our own times, continue to amaze us, so far are they outstripped by the actual speed of change. The words of the French poet and essayist Paul Valéry, written in 1931 in his book *Regards sur le monde actuel (Reflections on the World Today)*, which sounded so excitingly original to his contemporaries, seem to us today as no more than a statement of the obvious.

"All the habitable regions of the Earth," he wrote, "have today been discovered, mapped and divided amongst the nations. The era of no man's lands, of free territories, of unexplored regions, of areas to which no one lays claim, is over, and with it has gone the era of unlimited expansion. There is now not a rock on which a flag has not been planted, not an empty space on a map, not a region without its laws and its customs officers, not a tribe whose affairs have not been filed and classified and which, through the evil magic of writing, is not under the tutelage of a varied host of 'humanists' in far-distant offices. *The era of the finite world has begun.*"

He went on: "A new, excessive and instant interdependence between regions and events is the perceptible consequence of this important phenomenon. Now every political happening must be considered in the light of this new condition of universality." And he spoke of "a closer and closer interdependence in human actions."

It must be said that Paul Valéry, imbued with the heritage of the Greek spirit with its love of clear-cut boundaries, did not consider this new situation in which the world found itself to be a happy one. In the same passage his anxiety shows through: "This complexity will be the undoing of all prudence, wisdom, genius, since in this universe of multiple relationships and contacts there is neither permanence nor continuity nor discernible causality."



Photo © Annette Diaz Lewis, Mexico City, Mexico

This is a judgement which cannot be ignored. It is certainly true that the closer men come together the more they seem to touch each other's sensitive spots. But this is only a half truth. Is it not rather because contacts and relationships are not frequent enough that they arouse such apprehension? Is it not because the growing interdependence of human actions has not been matched by a genuine propagation of human rights or by the establishment of a public domain, on a world-wide scale, in which divisions could find a form of expression other than war? Is it not also because the movement towards the erosion of ancient particularisms, which all are now agreed is irreversible, comes up against considerable resistance and provokes established hierarchies to invent new methods of excluding all those who, despite their differing condition, might otherwise appear to be "equals"?

Peace as an absolute value can, in fact, only be based on the notion that relations between men are relations between equals. In other words, this value is indissociable from that of liberty. It also means that it would be hypocritical to sanction, in the name of peace, any form of exploitation of peoples who find themselves, under the pretext of the play of market forces, deprived of the resources of their territory and subjected to overt or covert dictatorship; it would be equally hypocritical to sanction any form of totalitarianism which denies individuals and minorities their elementary rights.

Since, in this discussion, we have been cautioned not to fall into a facile utopianism but to take due account of the constraints of the contemporary world, we must not confuse the cause of peace with unreasoned pacifism. Nor should we, in respecting the realities, surrender to the delirium that the spectacle of current conflicts gives rise to. Rather we should admit that sovereigns do not, as Rousseau supposed, alone decide the fate of humanity. The laborious task of bringing men closer together can only be achieved through a better mutual knowledge of customs and mental attitudes, through progress in education, the diffusion of information and the propagation of human rights; far from being a vain task, this can spark off decisive political moves towards peace.

Are these hopes doomed to remain unfulfilled? The question clearly has yet to be answered. Yet rather than concur with Rousseau that it would be madness to want to be sane in the midst of madmen, we would do better to recognize calmly, with Freud, that in the unceasing struggle between Eros and the instinct of death, the latter has shown itself to be decidedly the stronger. ■

**CLAUDE LEFORT**, French philosopher, is Director of Studies at the School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences, Paris, where he divides his time between teaching and research. His published works include *Eléments d'une critique de la bureaucratie* (Gallimard, revised edition 1979) and *L'invention démocratique* (Fayard, 1981).

## 2. Peace, disarmament and technology

by Luis Echeverría



**W**E consider peace to be an active form of wisdom and negotiation, and it is precisely for this reason that it is essential for us to recognize that, in our day and age, peace cannot be merely an “institutionalized truce”. Since 1945, each truce, each agreement, each convention has simply heralded a new impetus to the arms race and accelerated development of the military technology of the atomic era.

Although it is not the only cause, this has been due in large part to a fundamental reality—the division of the world into opposing blocs. In military and economic terms, these blocs have been at the root of the division of the world; furthermore, the political conception of blocs, with their ideological stratification, has hampered the evolution of philosophical theory as well as any progress in the parallel yet independent process of philosophical reflection.

One practical consequence of this has been the “colonization” of science, due largely to the ideology of power and to the ethically anomalous divorce of science itself from its own historical effects. In practice this has led to a methodological sectarianism according to which science must become the servant of military rather than human priorities. This moral aberration, the evidence of which we encounter daily, characterizes the science of our time. It presupposes that alignment into blocs is a natural state of affairs; it also explains the moral reaction of those scientists who have broken with the established order and with the military/industrial complex and whose stance allows us to hope that there is a future for mankind.

It is clear, therefore, that for this century peace is going to be bound up with a new formulation of the objectives of development. There will be no peace worthy of the name so long as we fail to take advantage of each period of ideological truce that occurs



Poster © Friends' Peace and International Relations Committee, London

***“Disarmament implies, above all, a change in the priorities of those countries principally engaged in the arms race; and such a change must involve a material and dialectical transformation, both internal and external, in the aims and objectives that must be set for contemporary development in the name of solidarity and interdependence.”***

to alter the existing *status quo* of today's world—in other words, so long as we do not adopt the principle of a genuine liquidation of the dominant structurally-enshrined violence.

To speak of peace and development as one and the same phenomenon does not mean merely to speak in abstract terms of a purely moral proposition or to enter an ideological labyrinth from which there is no exit. On the contrary, it is to pose the crucial question of the closing years of the twentieth century. Peace today is not simply the opposite of war; it is the political and philosophical context for the practical achievement of a new form of development giving

effect to the suspension of conflicts and which will give rise to a new form of society based on negotiation, self-examination and liberty.

So long as this aspect of peace remains less than perfectly clear, local conflicts and wars of tactical and strategic attrition will continue to be the determining factor in international relations. In other words, the nightmare threat of local conflicts developing into a total, catastrophic war will continue to hover over our heads.

Worse than this, if present conditions persist, any purely national interest, any selfish supranational goal will be seen, ideologically, as a factor in military policy. Structural violence will thus menace us daily in forms ranging from fanatical terrorism to local or regional conflicts, irrational chain explosions which are no more than the expression of a violent departure from the principles of solidarity, justice and law.

It is incomprehensible that, each year, expenditure on armaments should be almost equal to the external debt (approximately 800,000 million dollars) of the developing countries, whose populations at present amount to 75 per cent of total world population, a figure that will rise to 79 per cent by the end of the century.

Rationally speaking, we cannot dissociate the philosophical and political aspects of the struggle for peace from the economic choices proposed under the project for a new international economic order.

In every respect, the interlinkage of peace, disarmament and development seems fundamental. It cannot, as is sometimes maintained, be conceived in terms of a purely mechanical transfer to the peoples of the developing world of the resources at present devoted to armaments.

Disarmament implies, above all, a change in the priorities of those countries principally engaged in the arms race; and





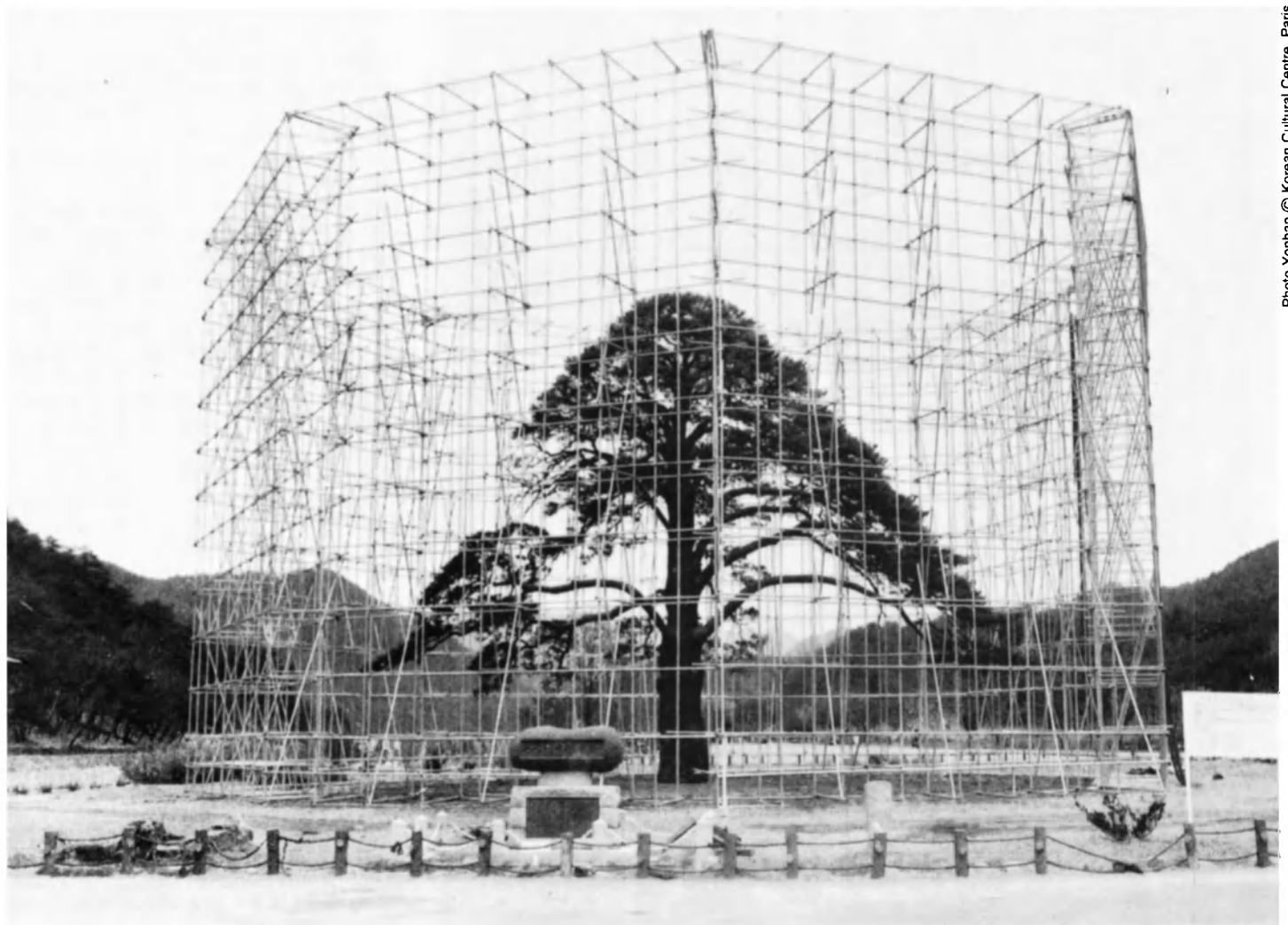
such a change must involve a material and dialectical transformation, both internal and external, in the aims and objectives that must be set for contemporary development in the name of solidarity and interdependence.

There is another essential underlying question: that of the transfer of scientific and military resources to a science whose goal is peace. This would imply the greatest revolution of the century—the divorce of science from power politics and the moral regeneration of research by making it possible for science and scientists to escape from the clutches of the powerful military/industrial complex which dominates our age. ■

*Disarmament would free massive resources for development. One possible joint international venture could be the exploration of the Arctic and Antarctic for the benefit of humanity.*

**LUIS ECHEVERRIA** was President of Mexico from 1970 to 1976. Jurist, journalist and a former professor of political science at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, he is Director-General of the Centre for Third World Economic and Social Studies, Mexico City.

*"In 1980, out of the 3 million scientists and engineers employed world-wide in scientific laboratories, approximately half a million were specifically engaged in the development of new weapons systems. By 1981, those in the forefront of space technology were believed to have acquired the ability to survey virtually every square metre of each other's territory, but the world-wide pool of scientific and engineering resources had barely begun to survey the complex ecosystems of fast-disappearing tropical rain forests or the menacing spread of the world's deserts." (United Nations document, April 1986.) Below, this 600-year-old pine is a symbol of nature conservation for the people of the Republic of Korea. The tree, growing some 100 kilometres south-east of Seoul, is protected by a large cage. Legend has it that the tree was given the official title of cabinet minister by a 15th-century Korean king, because it raised its branches in respect when he passed by.*



### 3. The cost of peace

by Michael S.O. Olisa



**T**HERE are two conflicting approaches to the question of peace. One postulates the existence of an ideal world. The other is more realistic. In an ideal world an immediate end to the arms race and to ideological confrontation would be possible. Total acceptance of the necessary conditions for disarmament would lead to a world without war in which the resources of all nations would be channelled to non-military production and distribution. All nuclear weapons would be destroyed and further production banned; use of non-nuclear arms would be restricted or prohibited; the North-South conflict would be virtually eliminated, with the industrially advanced countries giving a large measure of genuine economic assistance to the developing world.

The realistic approach is different and less optimistic. It is based on the assumption that struggle and ideological polarization, backed by advances in weapons science and technology will be stepped up. In these circumstances efforts towards disarmament will meet an increasing number of obstacles and frustrations.

These arguments point clearly to the futility and unattainability of the ideal world concept. At the same time they underline the necessity for collective research by the world community into the most practicable options for the rest of this century and for the next.

In this connexion it is instructive to look at some options which have been put forward within the United Nations system. In a 1984 report to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General outlined three scenarios relevant to the prospects of peace by the year 2000. Although these scenarios are based on the economic aspects of the arms race and disarmament, they are directly linked to the central issue of world peace today and tomorrow.

The baseline scenario assumes that the share of military outlay in gross national product (GNP) and the geographical distribution of military industry will be roughly the same throughout the period 1970-2000.

The second scenario envisages an acceleration in the arms race, with a hypothetical doubling of the share of GNP for military outlays by the year 2000 in comparison with the baseline of 1970.

The third, a disarmament scenario, assumes that United States and Soviet military spending as projected under the baseline scenario will fall by one third between 1970 and 1990 and by a further third by 2000. It also assumes that the relatively wealthy regions of the world will transfer a fraction of their hypothetical savings from disarmament to the poorest regions.

An important issue raised by these scenarios is that of the *cost of peace*, as opposed

*"The cost of war is the continued allocation of massive resources to armaments production, the possible outbreak of wars and the consequent need to continue production for replacement purposes." Left, Slapende Mars, (Mars Asleep) by the Dutch painter Hendrik Terbrugghen (1588-1629). Mars is the god of war in classical Roman mythology.*



Photo © Centraal Museum, Utrecht



"The cost of peace ... will face a variety of challenges arising from the conversion of resources to non-military uses, the redeployment of a massive labour force from armaments and support industries ... and the reallocation to the world's poorer countries of some of the resources released from arms production." Right, a patchwork picture created by a Kenyan woman from scraps of material in different colours and textures.

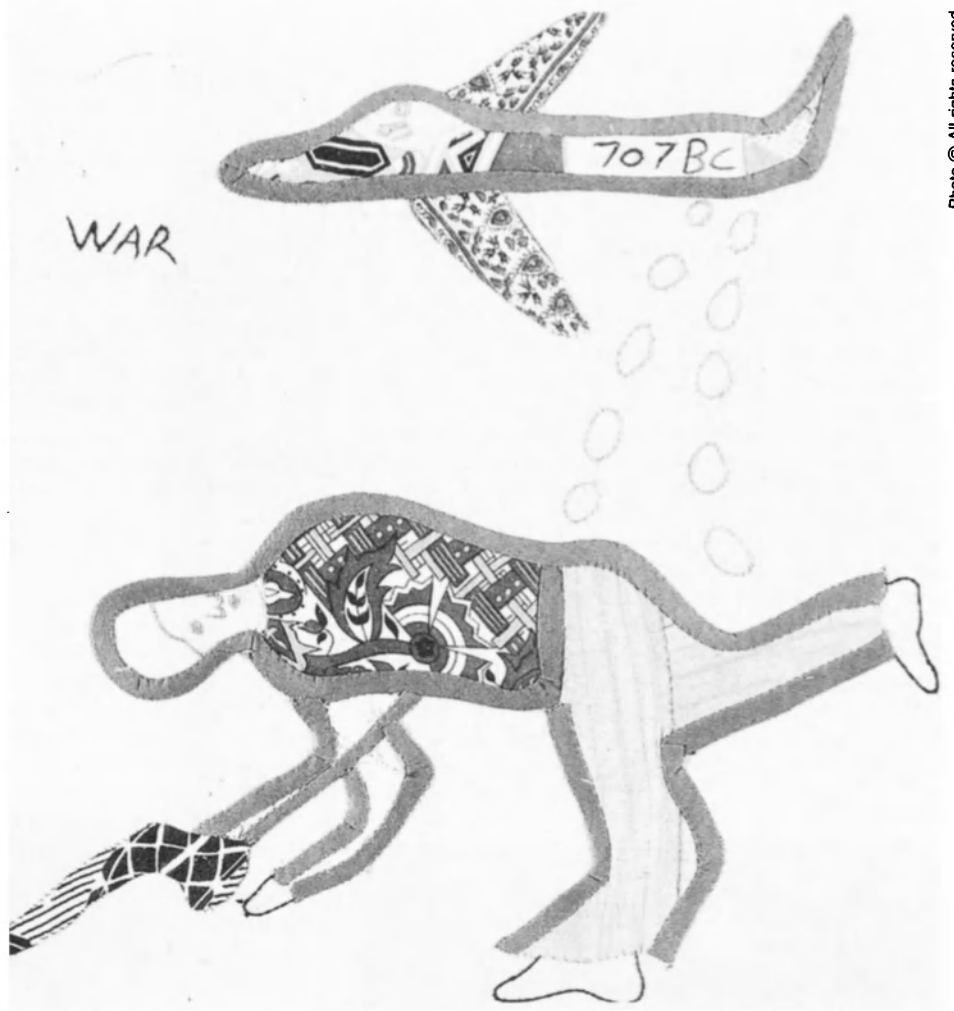


Photo © All rights reserved

to the cost of war. The cost of war is the continued allocation of massive resources to armaments production; the possible outbreak of wars and the consequent need to continue production for replacement purposes.

The cost of peace implies a reversal of these trends, a process which will face a variety of challenges arising from the conversion of resources to non-military uses, the redeployment of a massive labour force from armaments and support industries; plant conversion; the hostility of powerful interest groups deprived of huge profits; and the reallocation to the world's poorer countries of some of the resources released from arms production.

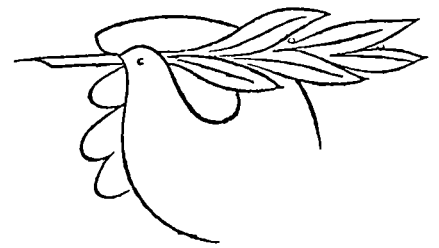
It is both significant and highly encouraging that positive and optimistic attitudes exist towards these problems, especially in non-governmental circles, suggesting strongly that the cost of peace will not be too great a burden. These positive indicators also suggest that it is not the objective, material factors in the peace package—dislocation, conversion and reallocation of the resources hitherto invested in war—which constitute the main barriers to peace, but rather the subjective, psychological factors arising from contemporary economic and political problems. In other words, the human factor is the most serious threat to world peace.

However, there is no dearth of public expressions of concern and desire for peace from world leaders and governments. Unfortunately, disarmament negotiations continue to flounder because nations dread unilateral disarmament. They are not sure that their opponents would follow their lead; they fear that their rivals may strike first; they feverishly continue arms production because they suspect that the other side has outstripped them. This "balance of suspicion" results in the continuation of activities which encourage war and threaten peace. ■

**MICHAEL S.O. OLISA**, Nigerian political scientist and lecturer at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, is Director of the Nigerian Institute for Peace Research. His published works include *Political Culture and Stability among Traditional Ibo (1971)* and *Problems of National Identification and Unity in Nigeria (1971)*.

## 4. Peace in the regional context

by Ahmad Sidqi Ad-Dajani



**P**EOPLE today are beginning to understand more clearly that the stability of relations between States is influenced by circumstances in each individual State. The stability of relations between the world's rich States is affected by the stability of basic structures in the world's poor States. Countries that are rich and secure must realize that they cannot remain so if they continue to close their eyes to the scourge of poverty that prevails in the entire southern half of the globe.

The term "independence" has begun to imply responsibility as well as freedom, both at the level of the individual State and that of the community of States. The world situation may be likened to that of a ship full of people. Those at the bottom have de-

ecided to drill their way out. If the others leave them to their own devices everyone will perish, whereas if they offer assistance, all will be saved. We owe this parable illustrating the meaning of responsibility to the Prophet of Islam.

The stability of world peace at the national, regional and international levels is affected by the dominant philosophies of our age. We are currently witnessing a reawakening of philosophical thought and a renewal of interest in fundamental philosophical issues. The place of religion in Western industrial societies had declined, and the role of philosophy had shrunk. Indeed, some Western thinkers had asserted that the age of philosophy was over.

Today, however, there is a revival of ▶

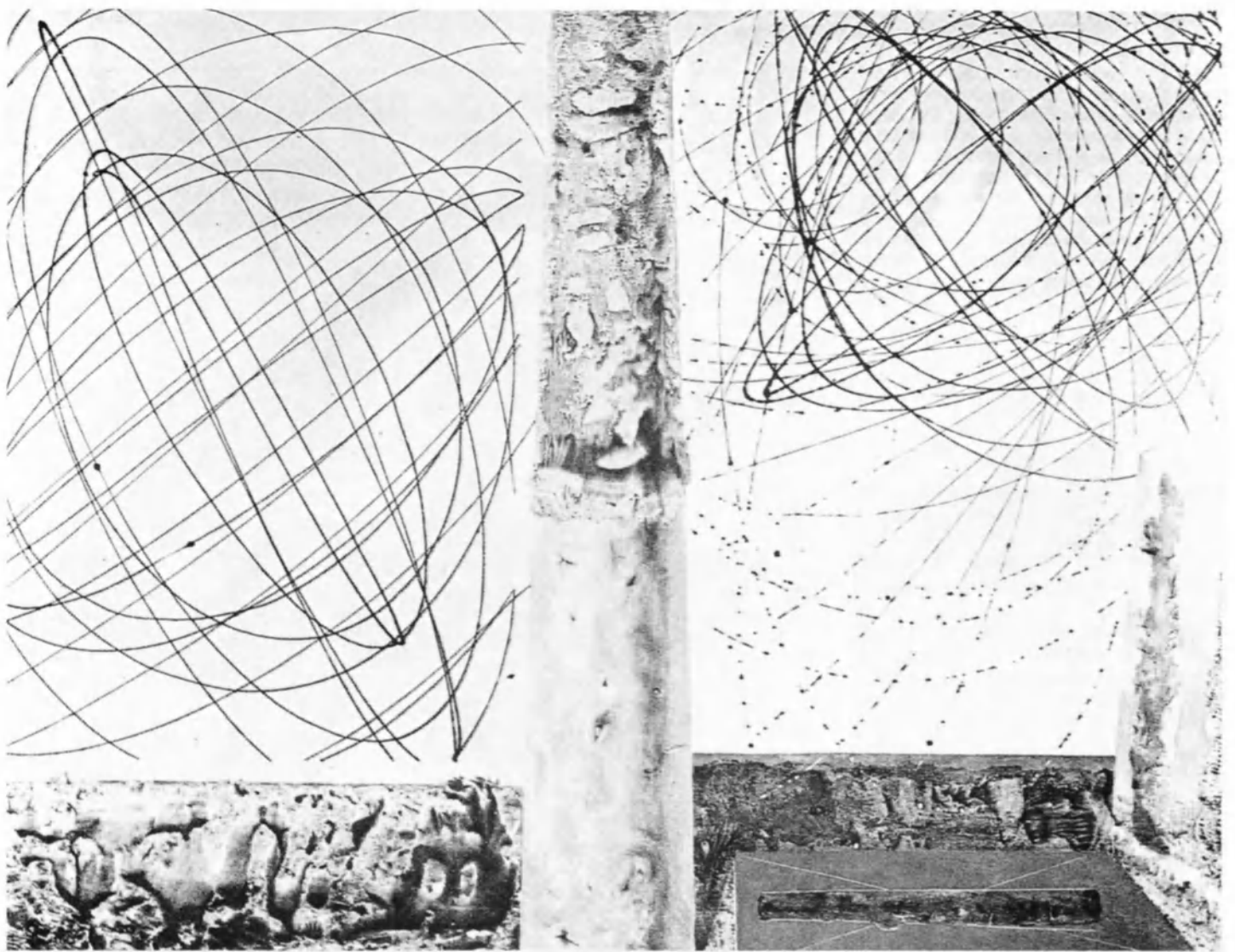


Photo © Spadern, 1986, Paris, Marseille Museum

► interest in philosophical thought and enquiry, a trend which extends to the man in the street, whose life is dominated by the phenomenon of mass communication. We are also witnessing a revival of religion, the impact of which—a blend of social, cultural and political factors—is today apparent in various societies and social milieux. The trends emerging in these religious revival movements and those that are likely to emerge in contemporary philosophies will have a decisive influence on the issue of peace or war.

The question of peace requires a system of values that is recognized throughout the world, and at the same time there must be a growing acceptance of others, despite their diversity. This would tend to a situation of equilibrium. If a relativistic value system prevails, in which some people are regarded with contempt and differences are not accepted, then equilibrium is disrupted and the spectre of war must inevitably reign.

The establishment of non-homogeneous States within a single region is a major cause of tension and a source of local and regional conflicts. Thus, after the withdrawal of the Western colonial powers and the triumph of nationalism, States with arbitrary and artificial boundaries came into being. Within these artificial geopolitical units were various tribes and racial communities, one of which eventually became dominant. Such States have to contend with tribal or civil war within their borders, and this phenomenon may be a lasting one inasmuch as

its main cause is deeply rooted in their human composition. It should be noted that civil war is frequently characterized by savagery, sometimes spreading to a point at which it threatens the peace of an entire region.

Another form of heterogeneity is apparent in the multinational State. In a world in which the nationalist impulse has grown increasingly powerful, especially in the last two centuries, and in which the nation-State has come to be regarded as the ideal form of State, the presence of a number of national population groups within a single State brings the danger of communal strife, unless adequate steps are taken to recognize the nationalist impulse and national languages and to promote economic and social progress under a strong central federal authority.

National and religious pluralism are closely interrelated, and conflict between national groups is sometimes expressed as religious conflict and vice versa. Civil wars break out under the banner of religion: Europe, for example, was convulsed by wars of religion at the beginning of the modern era. Furthermore the presence of a number of different national groups within a single State may lead to tension between that State and its neighbours because of what are termed "national minorities".

Another form of the heterogeneous State also appears in the "bi-national States" that arose in the modern world during the period of the Western colonial offensive. In these

**La planète affolée, oil on canvas by the German-born (later US, then French) artist Max Ernst (1891-1976). The picture was painted in 1943 in the United States. Painter, sculptor, poet, essayist, Max Ernst has been called the "Leonardo of surrealism".**

States, minorities of European stock dominate an indigenous majority, and the phenomenon of "biculturalism" is clearly apparent. In many cases this situation of dominance has resulted in outbreaks of deadly strife between different population groups.

Perhaps the most dangerous form of the heterogeneous State in a single region is the "settler colonialist" State which is implanted in a homogeneous region on a basis of racist aggression. Both Africa and Asia have suffered as a result of having been selected as targets for a number of assaults by European settler colonialism during the colonial era.

Colonialism has been and still is a leading cause of wars, and colonized peoples have suffered severely as a result. It has been a destructive force in regions which have lost a unity formerly characterized by the integration of natural and human elements. The effort to halt the destructive impact of colonialism and to repair the damage done by it was initially expressed in the form of resistance to colonialist assaults and subsequently in the form of revolutionary wars of liberation, such measures being regarded as necessary to the building of peace and the return to a normal situation.

While colonialism is a particularly blatant form of exploitation, exploitation in general, even within a single State or community, is a source of tensions that may lead to wars and revolutions. In any society, social revolution is neither more nor less than a decisive answer to the exploitation of the downtrodden classes by the dominant class.

One distinguishing feature of the modern world has been the appearance of ideologies, and fierce ideological struggles have been a source of tribulation in our time. Clearly this type of struggle was one of the sources of tension leading to what is commonly known as the "cold war". The struggle is intensified by the attacks of ideological opponents which permeate the communications media.

Another cause of tension at the regional level is terrorism, which has emerged as a phenomenon of the contemporary world. A variety of factors—nationalist, social, ideological, political and intellectual—have interacted to give rise to this phenomenon. While terrorism is still largely shrouded in obscurity, it is at any rate clear that a distinction must be made between it and resistance to colonialism. Terrorism may occur at the level of individuals, and it may also assume official form when practised by States.

What can be done to remove these causes of tension? Any successful action must be based on an understanding of human aspirations and instincts.

The impulse to universal brotherhood is a natural human instinct, while the racist feelings that have come to dominate the minds of some people are a deformation of that instinct. Nationalist sentiment is also natural to man, a "social animal", but chauvinistic nationalism is a clear deformation of that sentiment. Again, man instinctively strives after justice, but once he achieves power he begins to exploit others. The spiritual dimension is a basic feature of human

nature, and the motive force behind religious faith. But religious fanaticism is a deformation of that motive force. Lastly, while it is natural for man to seek ideologies that provide comprehensive explanations of the universe, ideological confrontation is a deformation of that natural desire.

The problems that have arisen in human relations spring to a great extent from a failure to reconcile the obligations arising from a plurality of reference-groups and from artificial contradictions between the demands of these multiple affiliations. Our world has suffered greatly from an exaggerated emphasis on the "national" group to the detriment of the demands of our affiliations to the global group. This has had disastrous consequences for all nations. In his introduction to Bertrand Russell's book, *Has Man a Future?*, Arnold Toynbee speaks of the striking contrast between the enormity of the dangers that we have brought upon ourselves and the petty nature of the national interests for which we are fighting and which would be doomed to extinction if the whole world were annihilated. ■

**AHMAD SIDQI AD-DAJANI**, professor of history at the Scientific Centre on the History of Arab Countries in Cairo, has written widely on the history of the Arab world.

## 'There is no peace because there is no justice'

**Desmond Mpilo Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg since 1985, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 for his role in the opposition to apartheid. As General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Tutu is a leading spokesman for**

**the rights of black South Africans. He has always emphasized non-violent means of protest. Below is an extract from his Nobel Lecture on the occasion of the Prize-giving ceremony held in Oslo on 11 December 1984.**



Photo © Nobelstiftelsen, Stockholm

... We see before us a land bereft of much justice, and therefore without peace and security. Unrest is endemic, and will remain an unchanging feature of the South African scene until apartheid, the root cause of it all, is finally dismantled. ... There is no peace in Southern Africa. There is no peace because there is no justice. There can be no real peace and security until there be first justice enjoyed by all the inhabitants of that beautiful land.

I have spoken extensively about South Africa, first because it is the land I know best, but because it is also a microcosm of the world and an example of what is to be found in other lands in differing degree—when there is injustice, invariably peace becomes a casualty.

Because there is global insecurity, nations are engaged in a mad arms race, spending billions of dollars wastefully on

instruments of destruction, when millions are starving. ... We have the capacity to feed ourselves several times over, but we are daily haunted by the spectacle of the gaunt dregs of humanity shuffling along in endless queues, with bowls to collect what the charity of the world has provided, too little too late. When will we learn, when will the people of the world get up and say, Enough is enough? ... When will we learn that an escalated arms race merely escalates global insecurity? We are now much closer to a nuclear holocaust than when our technology and our spending were less.

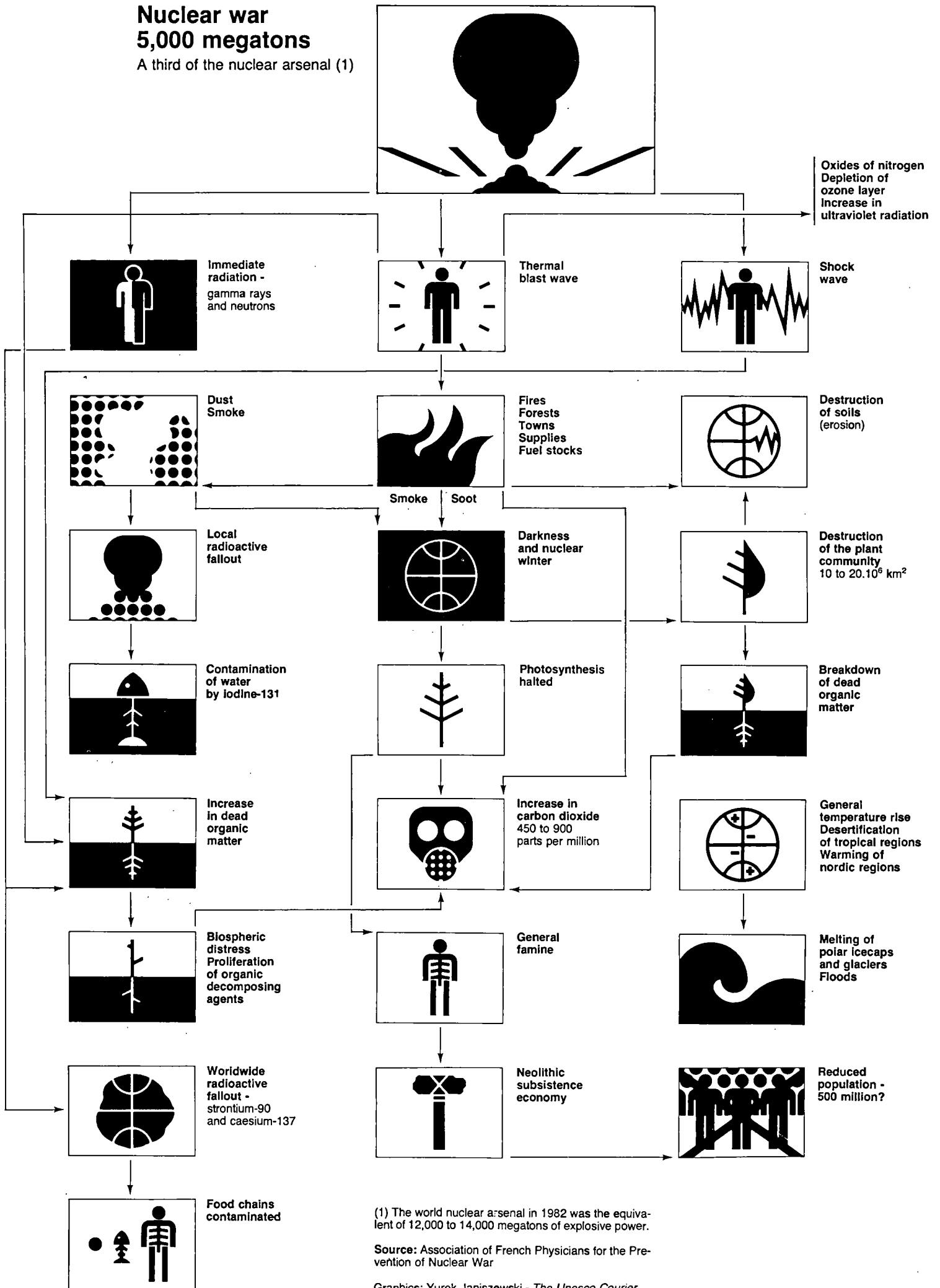
Let us work to be peacemakers. If we want peace, let us work for justice. Let us beat our swords into ploughshares. ■

Text © The Nobel Foundation, 1985



# Nuclear war 5,000 megatons

A third of the nuclear arsenal (1)



(1) The world nuclear arsenal in 1982 was the equivalent of 12,000 to 14,000 megatons of explosive power.

Source: Association of French Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War

Graphics: Yurek Janiszewski - The Unesco Courier

# The Pugwash movement

by Joseph Rotblat

**T**HE direct initiative for the Pugwash Movement came not from a scientist but from the British philosopher Bertrand Russell. In 1955, the world situation appeared highly dangerous and the outlook for mankind very gloomy. The development of the hydrogen bomb in the United States and the Soviet Union marked the start of the nuclear arms race, with both sides manufacturing and testing bombs of ever-increasing destructive power. Even at that time, before the advent of ballistic missiles, these bombs delivered by manned aircraft could annihilate the largest centres of population. In the climate of intense mistrust, fear, and hostile propaganda which then prevailed, it seemed highly probable that the cold war would change into a hot war in which civilization would be destroyed.

It was in these circumstances that the Russell-Einstein Manifesto was born. Russell conceived the idea that the scientific community should be actively concerned about the dangers to humanity which arose largely through the work of scientists. At that time the greatest living scientist was Albert Einstein, and Russell wrote to him with the idea of convening a conference of eminent scientists

for this purpose. Einstein immediately agreed and asked Russell to prepare a draft of a suitable statement. This Russell did and in April 1955 sent it to Einstein for his signature.

Later that month, Russell was flying from Rome to Paris, when the pilot announced to the passengers that Einstein had died. Russell was shattered, because he feared that without Einstein's sponsorship the whole project would collapse. But when Russell arrived at his hotel in Paris, a letter with Einstein's signature to the statement was waiting for him. Signing it had been one of the last acts of the great scientist's life. In this dramatic way the Pugwash Movement began. The signatures of nine other scientists from six countries were obtained, and on 9 July 1955 the Manifesto was issued at a press conference held at Caxton Hall in London.

The press conference was attended by a very large number of media representatives from all over the world; it was a great success and received huge publicity. This in turn brought a flood of letters and cables from individuals and groups endorsing the Manifesto and offering help. One of the letters was from Mr. Cyrus Eaton, a Canadian-American

industrialist, offering to finance the conference of scientists which was called for in the Manifesto, and suggesting that it be held at his birthplace, Pugwash, a small fishing village in Nova Scotia.

In his offer of help Eaton made it clear that while the participants would be his guests they would be completely independent; that the preparatory work and organization would be handled by Russell and his colleagues, and that the conduct and proceedings of the Conference would be left entirely to the participants.

The first of the series of conferences of scientists held under the aegis of the Russell-Einstein Manifesto took place in Pugwash in July 1957. The twenty-two participants came from ten countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union, China and Poland. The work was divided among three committees, with the following topics: hazards arising from the use of atomic energy in peace and war; control of nuclear weapons; and the social responsibility of scientists.

The possible hazard from the radioactive fall-out from nuclear weapons tests was a

*Peace on the singing constellation of the waters  
Jostling like the shoulders of the crowd  
Peace in the sea's waves of goodwill  
Peace on the resting place of the foundering  
Peace on the drums of arrogance and the darkened pupils  
And if I am the interpreter of the waves  
Peace also on me.*

Vicente Huidobro (Chile)  
*Monumento al mar*



Photo UN



► major issue at that time, and it was of considerable importance that such an international group of scientists, covering a wide range of political opinion, managed to reach unanimous agreement on the quantitative assessment of the consequences of large-scale testing of nuclear weapons. The most controversial issue was the discussion in the committee on the control of nuclear weapons, because this included the whole area of arms limitations and reductions, and the steps needed to achieve general and complete disarmament, topics which were to occupy most of the time of future Pugwash Conferences. But there was unanimous agreement that scientists can and ought to contribute to the debate on these problems.

The committee on the social responsibility of scientists was also unanimous in its findings, which took the form of a statement of common beliefs. The fact that a long statement, dealing in some detail with the most controversial issues of the day, and setting out the role and responsibility of scientists, was accepted by such a diverse group of scientists, was in itself of great significance. This was probably the first time that a truly international conference, organized by scientists, with participants from East and West, had been convened to discuss not purely technical matters but the social implications of scientific discovery.

The first Pugwash Conference proved that scientists have a common purpose which can transcend national frontiers without violating basic loyalties. It had shown that, by virtue of their training and their knowledge, scientists are capable of discussing objectively the complex problems which have arisen from the progress of science, with the aim of finding a solution to these problems.

The realization of this unanimity of intent decided the participants to make further efforts in the same direction. For this purpose, a Continuing Committee of five persons was

set up at the end of the Conference, with instructions to organize further conferences of a similar nature. This was the go-ahead for the setting up of a Movement of Scientists, which takes its name "The Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs" from the venue of the first meeting.

Since then, the following characteristics of Pugwash have gradually evolved: participants in conferences and meetings are invited in their personal capacity and represent nobody but themselves; they are scientists (this term being used in its broadest sense) and cover a wide spectrum of ideological and geographical groupings within the scientific community; the debates in Pugwash meetings are conducted in the scientific spirit; as a private and independent entity, Pugwash does not usually undertake joint action with other organizations, except the United Nations and its specialized agencies, such as Unesco.

The role and responsibility of scientists has always been a matter of special concern for Unesco: the Preamble to its Constitution contains the famous declaration "...since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." In 1982, Unesco organized jointly with Pugwash a symposium on the theme of "Scientists, the Arms Race and Disarmament", the conclusions and recommendations of which set forth specific tasks for scientists to undertake in the fulfilment of their social obligations. These recommendations are based on the development of ideas put forward in Pugwash Conferences since 1957.

One unique characteristic of Pugwash is absence of rigidity in its make-up and a minimum of formalized structure. There is no written constitution and no formal membership; any scientist who has attended a Pugwash conference automatically becomes a "Pugwashite". However, being without a constitu-

tion is not the same as acting entirely arbitrarily. In the course of time certain guiding principles have evolved. These are usually reviewed every five years at the Quinquennial Conference, which serves as a kind of General Assembly, which all who have participated in at least two Pugwash conferences in the past are entitled to attend.

Although the largest attendance so far, at the 1977 Quinquennial, was 223, it has never been the intention to confine the Movement's activities to a small group of scientists. One way of involving more participants has been to set up national Pugwash groups, and by 1982 such groups existed in thirty-six countries. An example of a regular activity by a national group is the International Summer School of Disarmament and Arms Control organized biennially by the Italian Pugwash Group.

There are also Pugwashites in thirty-nine other countries, but they are not numerous enough to form national groups. In such cases, regional groups are set up such as those which exist today for Africa and Latin America.

Today the Pugwash Movement is established as an important and effective channel of communication between scientists for the study and discussion of many of the complex issues which confront mankind at the present time. Participation in these conferences by eminent scientists from East and West, North and South, and the constructive proposals which have emerged from the discussions, particularly in relation to disarmament, have secured for the Pugwash Conferences the respect of the scientific community, of governments, and of many sectors of society. The name "Pugwash" has become a symbol of successful international debate on controversial issues, and the conferences are cited as a model for similar efforts in other fields.

The success of the Pugwash Conferences is the result of resolute efforts of a group of scientists determined to retain an independent and unbiased outlook, and anxious to build and consolidate international understanding and co-operation. The Conferences have shown that it is possible to apply the scientific approach, which has proved so successful in science and technology, to problems which are only indirectly related to science. They have shown that even when dealing with highly controversial matters, it is possible to tell the truth without being abusive, to be candid without trying to embarrass, provided that there is a common approach based on scientific objectivity and mutual respect. ■

**JOSEPH ROTBLAT**, of the United Kingdom, is a founder member of the Pugwash Movement, and was its first Secretary-General (1957-1973). Today Professor Emeritus of Physics at the University of London, he has campaigned for many years in favour of arms control and disarmament. He is the author of numerous publications on world affairs, nuclear energy and the quest for peace, including the official history of Pugwash. He was general editor of *Scientists, the Arms Race and Disarmament*, a Unesco-Pugwash Symposium published by Unesco in 1982. The present text has been extracted from the author's contribution to a series of studies which Unesco is publishing on the origins of peace movements in different parts of the world.



# Perceptions of threat and security



by Yoshikazu Sakamoto

**‘S**ECURITY”, as discussed in the context of international relations, concerns the security of nations—“national security”. The State-system is characterized by this emphasis on the security of the State as the primary and paramount actor in international politics.

At the same time, it is evident that, when “national security” became a key political symbol after the Second World War, in

*Two visions, nine centuries apart, of the end of the world. Miniature, left, from the Saint Sever Apocalypse (1028), with commentary by the 8th-century monk Beatus, originally belonged to Saint Sever Abbey, south-west France, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Right, detail from Pablo Picasso’s Guernica, “the most celebrated painting of our century” and its most symbolic, both in the masterly boldness of its conception and execution and in the grim topicality of its content.*

many countries the issue of “internal security” became as important as, if not more important than, “external security”—which the idea of “national security” originally referred to.

This illustrates the basic fact that the State is not always a tightly homogenized entity, but is composed of groups with diverse and often conflicting interests. Thus, an examination of the concepts of “security” and “threat” should begin by raising two basic questions: Whose security, and security of what? Or, threat to whom and to what? Hence the need for an examination of actors and values.

The emergence and consolidation of the modern nation-State in the West involved, firstly, the establishment of the State machinery and, secondly, its extension and penetration into society—mobilizing the people who would be integrated into the State and who would constitute the “nation”.

This mobilization process has two com-

ponents: domination and participation. As a result of domination, two functionally distinct strata emerge: the ruling elite and the ruled masses, the former normally small in number. But there is another form of coercive integration in which a majority prevails over a minority. What is crucial is obviously not number but the locus of power.

The political system of a State integrated in this fashion is bound to be characterized by an unequal and inequitable distribution of values. Even in a democratic society, one can observe an inequitable distribution of the effects of external insecurity in favour of the privileged elite. It is said that a proposal for world peace once contained the observation that “if the King, the President, the Prime Minister and the Commander-in-Chief are to be the first to go to the front line in the battlefield when war has been declared, there will be no war”.

This being the case, measures have been taken by the elite in the nation-State to ▶



Photo © Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Photo © SPADEM 1986, Paris



► ensure that *people's perceptions* of their interests are identical with those of the elite. These measures are intended to strengthen the people's sense of identification with the elite and with the State; they point to the second aspect of the mobilization process—participation, whether real or manipulated.

One way of strengthening the people's sense of identification with the nation-State is through manipulation of the popular perception of the threat-security issue. There are three levels on which manipulation is systematically applied.

The first has to do with the conception of the values to be defended and secured against threat. In the nation-State, there is always a latent cleavage which may develop into a situation in which values for the elite and values for the people are no longer compatible, and the elite and the people constitute a threat to each other, making "internal security" a fundamental issue to both parties.

To counteract this withdrawal of national allegiance and identification on the part of the people, the elite frequently resorts to symbols such as order, royalty, property, cultural tradition, and national mythology,

which are conceived of as transcending sectoral interests.

The second level concerns the perception of the presence and degree of the external threat to security. Even if the internal cleavage is limited, enabling a degree of national consensus to emerge, there is still room for different perceptions as to the presence and degree of external threat. Accordingly, the elite group has to manipulate public perception in order to mobilize the people fully in support of a policy.

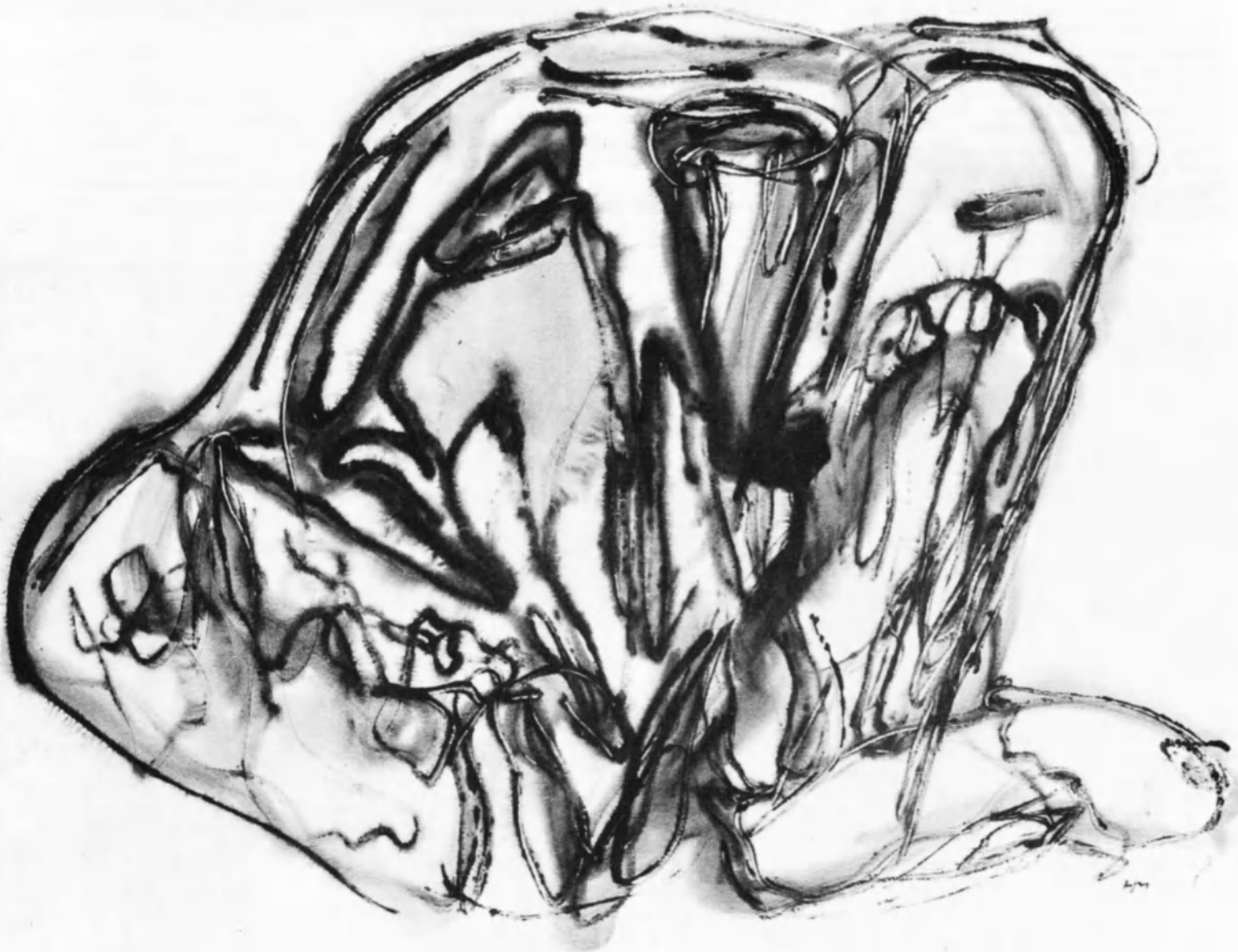
The third level has to do with the cost involved in counteracting the perceived threat. To facilitate public acceptance of the cost, the manipulation of public perception is systematically carried out by resorting to symbols of patriotism to convince the people that the "threat" is serious and the cost to be paid is acceptable. What frequently happens is that those citizens who are educated and earn higher incomes constitute the "attentive public" who do not readily conform to the policy and rhetoric of the elite group. It is the poorer and less educated who are more likely to fall victim to the manipulation of patriotic symbols and show willingness, even fanatical confor-

mism, to make sacrifices in support of chauvinistic policy. It is indeed a tragedy that those who get least from the existing system often pay most.

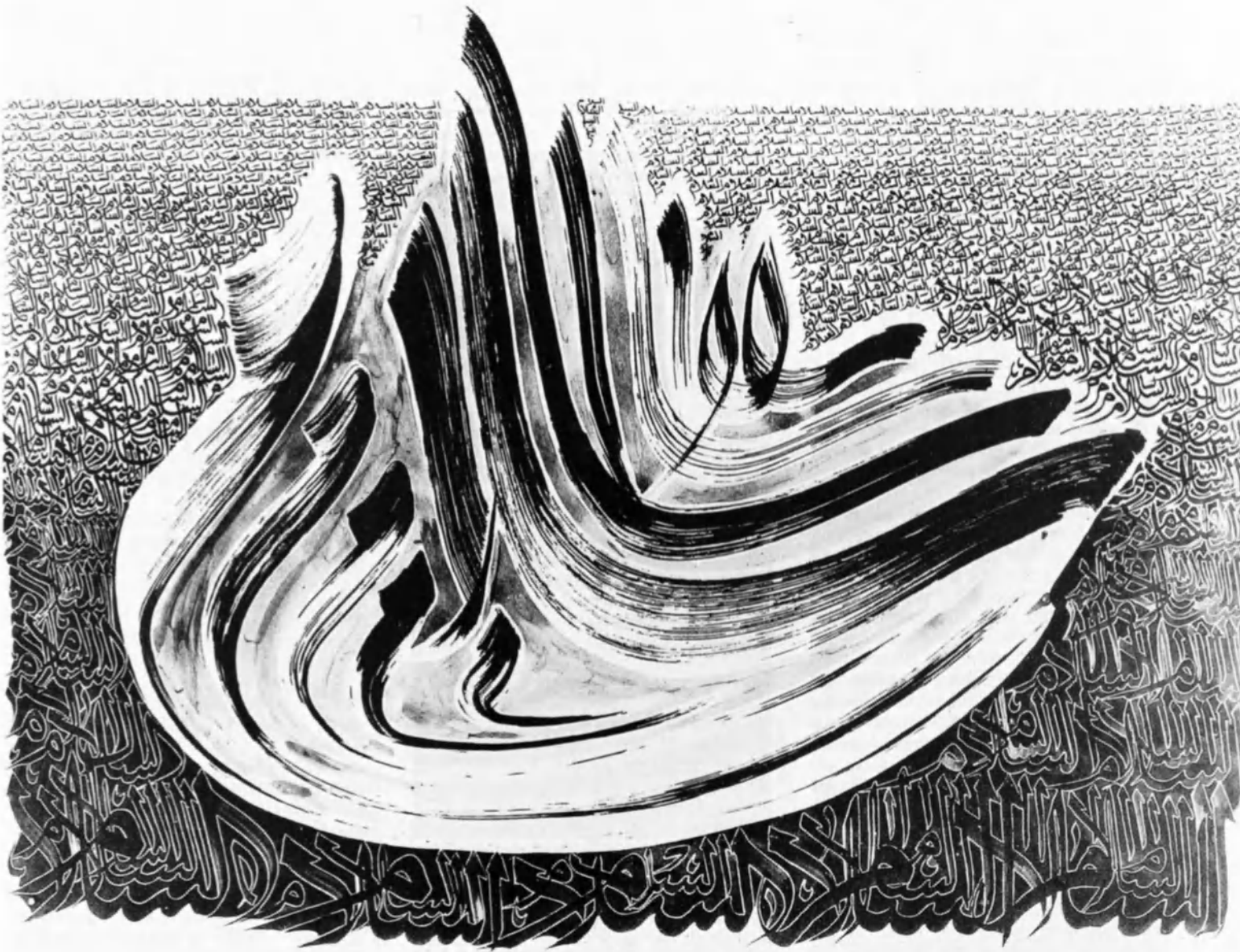
Another way of strengthening a sense of identification with the nation-State is by promoting popular participation in the process of value allocation.

This can take two forms—participation in the political decision-making process and sharing of the well-being distributed by the State. The former concerns input, the latter output. Theoretically, the West put an emphasis on the former, the East on the latter. In practice, the States in the West and in the East have a similar characteristic in common—the welfare state.

The development of the welfare state has given rise to somewhat contradictory results. On the one hand, it has made people more dependent on the State as far as their welfare is concerned. On the other it has reinforced the popular attitude toward the State, which has come to be regarded as a mere instrument for satisfying the welfare needs of the people—an attitude which has led to the erosion of the authority of the State. The welfare state offers more service







*"...Bleeding on the wall, living, red or half-infected, the wound of a man ... Strange wounds that we encounter with embarrassment and nausea, suffering on empty walls." These lines are by the French poet Henri Michaux, who also painted the watercolour at left. Above, in this calligraphic composition by Hassan Massoudy, the word "peace" in Arabic suggests the shape of a bird floating on peaceful waters which are themselves depicted by the same word repeated many times.*

and distributes values more equitably than the classic nation-State; but it evokes less political enthusiasm and dedication. A new form of incongruity is emerging between people and the State.

One of the main reasons for this incongruity is the loss of "impermeability", especially military impermeability, of the nation-State. Whereas the welfare state provides the people with abundant welfare facilities, it fails to guarantee their survival. No single State, including the major powers, can protect its people from the danger of extinction. The survival of the people of one great power is at the mercy of another.

In sum, the implementation of popular participation has not led to a strengthening of the process whereby people identify with the nation; on the contrary, the greater extent of participation has raised public awareness that the nation-State is not an adequate institutional framework for ensuring the people's security.

It is clear today that the incongruity be-

tween "national security" and people's security can be observed not only within the nation-State but also in the field of international security.

At the international level, there is an unmistakable tendency to define what constitutes security and the threat to it in accordance with the perceptions of a very small number of elites in the major powers. The fact that the entire globe can be annihilated as a result of the perception or misperception of a top decision-maker testifies to the extraordinary concentration of power whereby the security-threat nexus is defined on behalf of the people of the world without their mandate.

While the elite of each major power perceives the threat to security as originating in the arms buildup of the other, the people of the world perceive the threat to security as originating in the arms race between the major powers and fear that this may even escape control of the elite of these powers. In this sense, the threat is systemic.





► The systemic character of the threat implies that attainment of *global security*—assuring the security of the people of the world—calls for significant modifications in the State-system. Efforts have been made to strengthen the institutional framework for global security, such as the peace-keeping and peace-making machinery of the United Nations and the arrangements for arms control and disarmament in a search for

“common security”, but no substantive progress has been made.

In the absence of an institutionalized framework despite the impending systemic crisis, transnational people’s movements for disarmament have emerged. Such movements are an uninstitutionalized device for coping with a crisis and are an indispensable initiator of a new institutional framework that has yet to be created. ■

**YOSHIKAZU SAKAMOTO**, of Japan, is a former Secretary-General of the International Peace Research Association, and is currently a professor of law at the University of Tokyo. He is a member of the International Commission for Peace in the Minds of Men, the jury responsible for awarding the Unesco Prize for Peace Education. A longer version of this article has appeared in the Unesco Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies 1983, published by Unesco in 1985.

## Higher education and peace

**T**HE risk of a nuclear conflict is the overriding problem facing humanity today and efforts to prevent nuclear annihilation should be the first priority of peace and disarmament education.

These were two of the major points that emerged from a recent International Consultation on ways of improving higher education in the field of peace and respect for human rights and the rights of peoples. Organized by Unesco and the Greek National Commission for Unesco, the meeting was held in Athens from 20 to 24 January 1986, and was attended by leading scientists, specialists in the social and human sciences and in higher education from 17 countries of Unesco’s European region, Latin America, Africa, the Arab Region and Asia.

The participants, among whom was Professor Bernard Lown (Nobel Peace Prize 1985; see article opposite page), described experiences in their countries and exchanged views on ways of informing students about problems relating to peace. They discussed how to teach about the dangers of a nuclear war, the arms race, and military uses of science and technology, as well as how to increase the role that students, future researchers and decision-makers should play in finding solutions to problems in these areas.

It was pointed out that the risks of nuclear

war and the consequences of the arms race extend to the developing world: some Third World countries already have nuclear weapons, while others are afraid of countries which possess them. At the same time there have been many wars since 1945 using conventional weapons, and the prevention of such wars and the constant violations of human rights should also remain priority areas. The reduction of military arsenals is a prerequisite for economic and social development for mankind as a whole and especially for Third World countries.

Stressing the urgent need for radical improvements in higher education on these issues, participants made a number of suggestions about the general approach, aims, content and forms of international education. Among their recommendations were:

- promoting the introduction of a global approach based on the ideas of international understanding, tolerance and solidarity among peoples and countries, and on respect for cultural diversity;
- developing an educational strategy which would integrate education for peace, respect for human rights and the rights of peoples into development education;
- basing international education on a scientific approach;

- including among the aims of international education the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, the prevention of conventional wars and the violation of human rights;
- promoting the idea of a united front of people to face the unprecedented threat of a nuclear catastrophe in order to ensure the survival of human civilization;
- resisting the development of ideological and psychological stereotypes dehumanizing other peoples;
- improving communications between scientists and politicians;
- introducing problems related to the New International Economic Order, underdevelopment, poverty, imperialism and neo-colonialism;
- extending programmes of peace and human rights education to military academies;
- promoting the establishment of “linked schools and universities” from different countries in order to strengthen international understanding;
- establishing in universities and higher education institutions an oath on graduation for young scientists and engineers in which to draw their attention to the ethical and human consequences of scientific research and technological achievements. ■

*Teachers often lack documentary material and other teaching aids to help them introduce their students to international affairs. To fill this gap, the United Nations and Unesco’s Associated Schools Project have prepared a practical handbook, World Concerns and the United Nations, for primary- and secondary-school teachers. The handbook, published in English, French and Spanish, contains model teaching units on subjects such as peace and disarmament, human rights, racism, development, the environment, and cultural diversity, as well as advice to help teachers plan stimulating lessons which can be integrated into traditional history, geography, science, languages and even mathematics courses. Painting right by a 12-year-old Romanian girl, Adriana Moisin, illustrates a model teaching unit on the theme of different perceptions of the world.*



Photo Unesco

# Physicians and the nuclear threat

by Bernard Lown

**I**N December 1980, six physicians, three from the Soviet Union and three from the United States, met in Geneva to establish the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), and in December 1985 we travelled to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

I believe that this extraordinary achievement and recognition relates to the cogency and the urgency of the issue being addressed by these physicians. It is also due to the fact, as the Nobel Committee pointed out, that the IPPNW has been “spreading authoritative information by creating an awareness of the catastrophic consequences of atomic warfare”.

We have resisted being sidetracked onto other issues, no matter how morally compelling. Combating the nuclear threat has been our exclusive preoccupation, since we are dedicated to the proposition that to ensure the conditions of life we must prevent the conditions of death. Ultimately, we believe people must come to terms with the fact that the struggle is not between different national destinies or between opposing ideologies, but rather between catastrophe and survival. All nations share a linked destiny—nuclear weapons are their common enemy.

IPPNW has emphasized a number of critical conclusions.

Firstly, that no public health hazard ever faced by humankind equals the threat of nuclear war. Never before has man possessed the destructive resources to make this planet uninhabitable.

Secondly, that modern medicine has nothing to offer, not even a token benefit, in the event of nuclear war.

Thirdly, while no national interest would justify nuclear war, sober appraisals suggest that we have created a technology which is increasingly out of human control. Ultimately the bomb, the robot and the computer pre-empt man's decision-making role and take command.

Fourthly, even if war is prevented, the arms race is exacting an enormous economic, psychological and moral toll.

The current global economic crisis results



Photo United Nations

**The official poster of the International Year of Peace, showing the face of a youth with, superimposed, the faces of men, women and children from all over the world. Designed by the American artist Neil Waldman, it won first prize in the International Year of Peace poster competition organized by the United Nations.**

largely from the mortgaging of scarce world resources to the military. One might use the metaphor of a metronome. Listen to a metronome set at a rate of sixty beats per minute, imagine the sound of a pulse every second. Every two seconds the pulse conveys the message that a child has died of a disease that could have been prevented by immunization, by providing adequate food and a safe water supply. With each intervening beat of the metronome, also every two seconds, a child is permanently crippled physically or mentally by a preventable illness and is destined to live the rest of its life with severe disability. Thus, with each beat of the metronome, a child is either killed or maimed by a preventable affliction: 120,000 children, the same number of victims claimed by the first atomic bomb, are dying every three days.

With each second's pulse, the metronome proclaims another message, a message of waste. Each beat conveys the spend-



ing every second of \$25,000 on arms; \$1.5 million every minute.

Compounding the tragedy is the fact that even a small transfer of the funds being spent on arms to health and social needs would result in extraordinary permanent, long-lasting benefit, serving all of humankind. Three hours of world arms spending is equivalent to the total cost of the twenty-year campaign to eradicate smallpox, one of the great achievements of twentieth-century medicine. Half a day of world arms spending would pay for the full immunization of children against common infectious disease that now claims 3.5 million lives annually. Four days of world arms spending would pay for five years of a malaria control programme, addressing what is probably the world's greatest cause of morbidity. Six months of world arms spending would pay for a twenty-year programme providing essential food and health needs in all the developing countries.

As you listen to the metaphorical metronome pulsing at one beat every second, it conveys a third message, that of the extraordinary danger in which the world finds itself. Nuclear weapon stockpiles are now equivalent to 16,000 million tons of TNT. If each metronome beat represents the explosion of a ton of dynamite, the din of explosions would be continuously heard for 500 years.

For a cardiologist, the metronome conveys a fourth message. It evokes the beating of the human heart. We must ask ourselves whether we will let the heartbeat of humanity stop, or struggle to make certain that it pulses for an eternity to come. ■

**BERNARD LOWN, of the USA, is professor of cardiology at the Harvard School of Public Health. With Academician Evgeny Chazov of the USSR, he is co-president of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), which was awarded the 1984 Unesco Prize for Peace Education and the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize. The article published here consists of extracts from Prof. Lown's address to a Unesco International Consultation on higher education and problems relating to peace, held in Athens in January 1986 (see opposite page).**

# Unesco and the International Year of Peace



**U**NESCO'S activities during the International Year of Peace form part of a continuing effort which began forty years ago. The Preamble to Unesco's Constitution, adopted on 16 November 1945, pledges the Organization to advance, "through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of

the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established", and states that "peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind".

Unesco's commitment to "international peace" and "the common welfare of mankind" is in a sense the keystone of all its work and permeates every one of its activities without exception, whether in education, science, culture or communication. Its approach to these issues is based on the conviction that they cannot be dissociated from the wider canvas of interrelated contemporary problems which must be tackled globally by the international community. More specifically, Unesco's efforts to achieve and preserve peace are today embodied in a wide range of programmes relating to international understanding, human rights and the rights of peoples, and to the elimination of prejudice, intolerance, racism and apartheid.

First of all, Unesco has sought to define the very meaning of the word *peace*. A resolution adopted at the 18th Session of Unesco's General Conference in 1974 stressed that peace "cannot consist solely in the absence of armed conflict but implies principally a process of development, justice and mutual respect among peoples designed to secure the building of an international society in which everyone can find his true place and enjoy his share of the world's intellectual and material resources".

Two years later, at its 19th Session, the General Conference went further, adopting a resolution on "The Role of Unesco in Generating a Climate of Public Opinion Conducive to the Halting of the Arms Race and the Transition to Disarmament". This resolution reflected the conviction that disarmament would make it possible to redistribute vast material and intellectual resources for social and economic development and help to prepare the ground for equitable political and economic relations between the countries of the world.

In April 1978 Unesco organized an expert meeting on "The Obstacles to Disarmament and the Ways of Overcoming Them", as part of its preparations for the United Nations First Special Session on Disarmament held in the

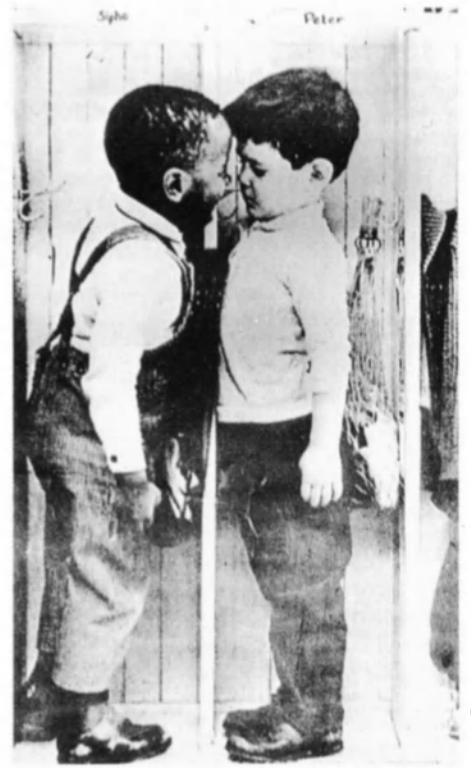


Photo © AP

*At the end of the Second World War, Unesco launched a major project aimed at the elimination of racism, discrimination, prejudice and tensions and the promotion of international understanding. The need for such a plan is no less urgent today. Unesco's efforts are directed to analysing and exposing the mechanisms of prejudice, intolerance and racism as a first step to mobilizing its own forces and those of people everywhere against these phenomena and their most brutal manifestation, apartheid. Above: "Their right—to share a future without war" is the message of this anti-apartheid poster from South Africa.*

same year. Participants stressed that the purpose of disarmament education was to promote the goal of general and complete disarmament, and recommended the holding of a world congress to propose measures aimed at the establishment of specialized education in favour of disarmament.

This World Congress on Disarmament Education was duly organized by Unesco and held in June 1980, in Paris. Some 250 participants and observers from all over the world attended. The Congress set forth a number of guidelines for an action plan to cover the Second Disarmament Decade of the United Nations, ending in 1989, and defined a series of principles relating to disarmament education as an essential component of peace education. Unesco was asked to produce a *Teacher's Handbook on Disarmament Education* designed for secondary schools. This book, now in preparation, gives a detailed presentation of the links between disarmament and development education.

Unesco followed up the World Congress on Disarmament Education by convening a series of expert meetings and training seminars for teachers devoted to practical questions of teaching about disarmament issues in their relationship with peace; strengthening international understanding and security; de-



*First awarded in 1981, the annual Unesco Prize for Peace Education was created to reward outstanding examples of "activity designed to alert public opinion and mobilize the conscience of mankind in the cause of peace". In 1985 the Prize went jointly to General Indarjit Rikhye, of India, President of the International Peace Academy, and to the Georg-Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research (Fed. Rep. of Germany). The Institute works for peace by seeking to identify and eliminate from textbooks factual errors, prejudices and stereotyped ideas about peoples, in order to encourage pupils' readiness to understand and appreciate different cultural systems. Its headquarters are in the Villa von Bülow, above, a masterpiece of classical architecture made available by the municipality of Braunschweig.*





*The aim set forth in Unesco's Constitution of "advancing ... the objectives of international peace and the common welfare of mankind..." can never be achieved without a mobilization of world public opinion in a united struggle against the continuation of the arms race, especially in the field of nuclear weapons. Above, peace march in Romania.*



*Unesco encourages physical education and sport as a means of bringing peoples closer together on the basis of respect, mutual understanding and disinterested competition. It also honours the spirit of sportsmanship through its long association with the International Pierre de Coubertin Fair Play Trophy, first awarded in 1965. Unesco is currently examining the origins and forms of violence in sports activities in a study which will focus on the social and educational aspects of this complex problem, as well as remedial action. Photo of the jubilant judoka, above, featured in an international exhibition on the theme of "Youth in the 1980s", organized by Unesco on the occasion of International Youth Year (1985).*



*Article 10 of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 20 November 1959 stipulates that the child "... shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood. ..." Today there is a growing awareness that in order to encourage this spirit among young people all over the world, action is called for at the earliest possible age, during the years when a child's fundamental outlook and personality are formed. Unesco has encouraged this interest in education for peace at pre-school age and in 1985 published Seeds for Peace, a booklet presenting recent experiences in this field in the family context and elsewhere. Photo showing 3 generations of one family is an illustration from the booklet.*

velopment; a new international economic order; respect for human rights and the rights of peoples.

The Organization has also sponsored meetings on the role of the media in increasing public awareness of the links between disarmament and development. One such meeting, held in Paris in November 1982, examined different perceptions of threat and conceptions of security. A study on "Media Contribution to Worldwide Security and Peace", carried out in 1984-85 in co-operation with the International Social Science Council, analysed among other topics coverage of war and peace issues, effects of style, vocabulary, and negative stereotypes.

Acknowledging the crucial role played by science and technology in the debate on peace, disarmament and development, Unesco organized a joint symposium with the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs on the theme of "Scientists, the Arms Race and Disarmament" in Ajaccio, France, in February 1982. The Organization continues to sponsor scientific research projects and meetings such as the International Consultation on higher education, peace and respect for human rights and the rights of peoples held in Athens in January 1986 (see page 18).

In 1980 a Unesco Prize for Peace Education was established to promote all forms of action designed to "construct the defences of peace in the minds of men". The annual prize, worth \$60,000, is financed by the interest from a \$1 million donation from the Japan Shipbuilding Industry Foundation. Among the prizewinners are Evgeny Chazov of the Soviet Union and Bernard Lown of the United States, who jointly accepted the 1984 award on behalf of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (see page 19).

In the domain of culture, Unesco's programme is based on the conviction that development and peace are preconditions of the cultural fulfilment of societies and individuals. In this context Unesco has concentrated on safeguarding the cultural heritage, strengthening cultural identities and intercultural relations, promoting creativity and artistic creation, and work in the field of cultural development and cultural policies. An international symposium currently being prepared on the role of cultural workers and artists in work for peace will "analyse ways in which co-ordinated action could be taken to place their works, their creations and their talents in the service of peace".

Of the fourteen Major Programmes featuring in Unesco's Second Medium-term Plan ►



1



Unesco's cultural programme is based on its constitutional obligation "to contribute to peace and security" by promoting international collaboration through culture. This basic tenet is defined in more specific terms in the Declaration of the principles of International cultural co-operation (1966) which declares that "Cultural co-operation shall contribute to the establishment of stable, long-term relations between peoples, which should be subjected as little as possible to the strains which may arise in international life". In this field Unesco is today engaged in a broad programme of activities to protect the cultural heritage, strengthen cultural identity and relations between cultures, encourage creativity, and support Member States in promoting cultural development. (1) A gorgon's head in the forum of Septimius Severus at the ancient city of Leptis Magna (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), which features on the World Heritage List of cultural and natural properties of outstanding universal value. The List, which Unesco has drawn up through the World Heritage Committee, today includes 216 sites (27 in Africa, 34 in the Arab States, 30 in Asia and the Pacific, 25 in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 100 in Europe and North America) which enjoy special protective measures both from the States in which they are located and from the international community. (2) The inner courtyard of a traditional house at Oualata, Mauritania. (3) A staff member of the National Museum of Mali explains to a French boy how to play the balaphon, a West African xylophone, during a study tour in France as part of the Museum's staff training programme.

2



Photo B. Galy-Unesco

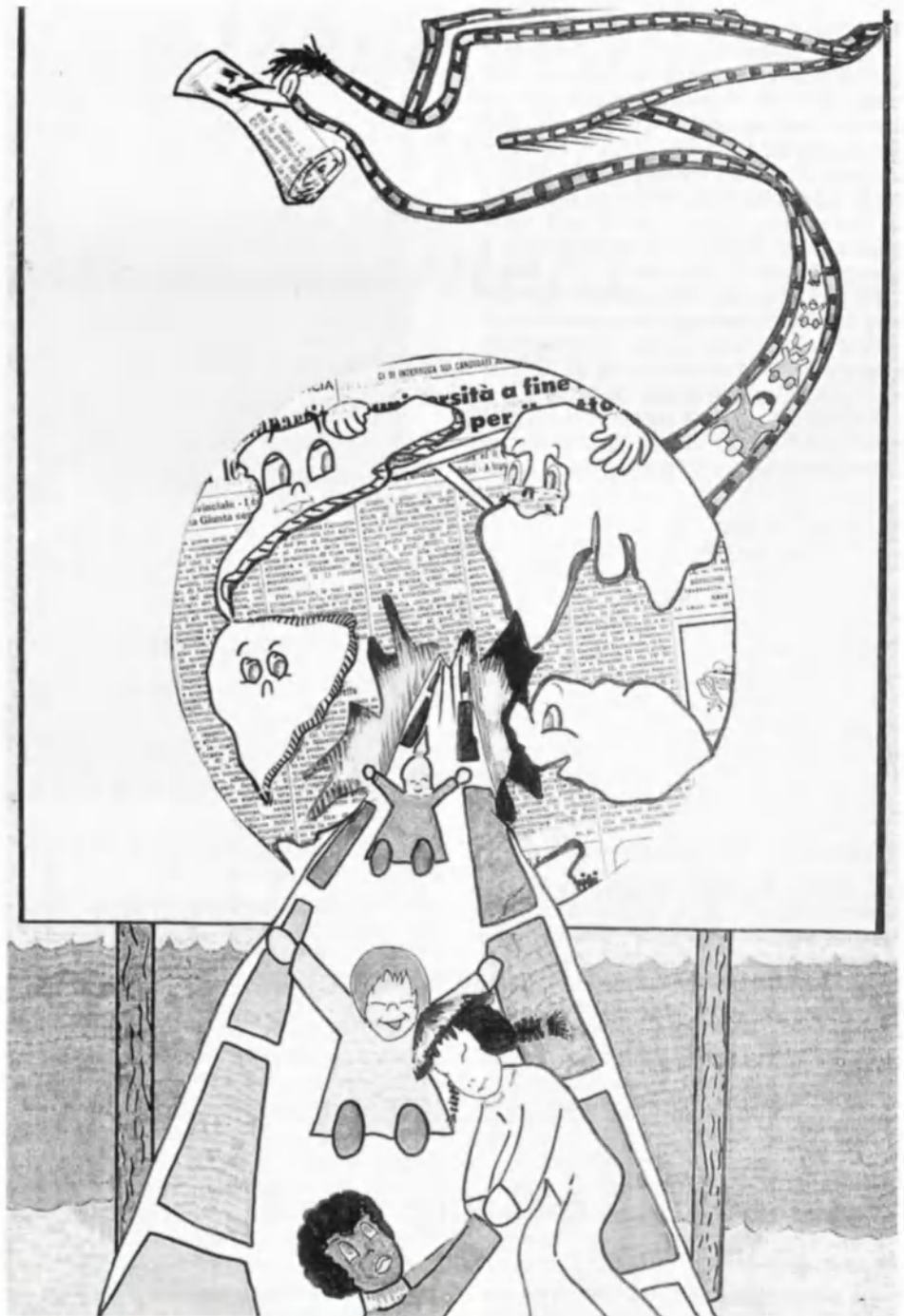
3



Photo © Sallia Malé-Museum



On a number of occasions, Unesco's General Conference has drawn attention to the links between peace, disarmament and development education on the one hand, and human rights education on the other, considering notably that education concerning human rights "is capable of making an essential contribution to the maintenance and promotion of peace as well as to economic development and social progress in the world". Cartoons and games were devised as part of one recent Unesco-sponsored project to create human rights teaching materials adapted to the needs and interests of young people in Thailand. The project, carried out by the Faculty of Law, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, focused largely on child prostitution and human rights and child labour and human rights. Left, cover of a set of cartoons produced as part of the project.



Drawing © Scuola Media G. Bonoris, Mompiano

► (1984-1989), No. XIII, "Peace, International Understanding, Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples", includes the commitment to maintain peace and international understanding, through studying the causes and the consequences of the arms race and the conditions favourable to disarmament.

The Plan highlights the responsibility of education in creating awareness of the interdependence of global problems, particularly between peace, the halting of the arms race, disarmament, respect for human rights and the rights of peoples, the elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid, and development. The international educational strategy established as part of the Medium-term Plan seeks to develop a climate of opinion conducive to the transition to disarmament, "by providing support for youth activities, and by encouraging young people to think and act in support of peace, disarmament, respect for human rights and the rights of peoples".

Today, Unesco's normative, educational and informational activities relating to disarmament and development can be approached from four different angles.

- The arms race creates a huge burden on national economies and on societies' resources. Defence budgets can be seen to be inflationary in industrialized countries, and a source of external debts in the Third World.
- The present international order, the nature of societies and of political regimes, especially their form of economic growth, are basic factors in the continuation of the arms race.
- The third approach explores future possible alternatives to the present relationship between disarmament and development, including the creation of an international fund to administer the resources which could be transferred to development, and the conversion of the arms industry to civilian activities.
- The fourth approach advocates a new form of international co-operation, emerging from research into present forms of national and international relations which generate least tension, with the aim of creating a favourable context for eventual disarmament. Such a new international order implies the rejection of conventional models of growth and modern-



Drawing Roman Niko-Unesco

As part of its major programme "Communication in the service of man", Unesco has prepared, in collaboration with the French Ministry of Education, a booklet entitled *Des médias pour la paix et les hommes* (The media for peace and mankind). The booklet is a presentation, written for young people aged between 9 and 17, of the 1978 Unesco Declaration on fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war. It will be distributed in co-operation with the World Federation of Unesco Clubs and other non-governmental organizations. Before publication, a draft of the booklet was sent to 1,500 young people, some of whom created posters inspired by its contents. Above, poster by a group of pupils at a school in Mompiano, Italy. Left, an illustration from the booklet, which will also be published eventually in English and Spanish.



► zation, especially those imposed on developing countries.

Finally, Unesco's publishing programme also plays an important part in disarmament-related activities. Relevant works include the *Unesco Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies* (published since 1980); *World Directory of Peace Research Institutions* (5th edition, 1984); *Obstacles to Disarmament and Ways of Overcoming Them* (1981); and *Armaments, Arms Control and Disarmament; a Unesco Reader for Disarmament Education* (1982). Other studies and publications which seek to further knowledge and appreciation of cultural values and mutual understanding among peoples, include the *History of Mankind: Cultural and Scientific Development*, a new edition of which is currently being prepared, and the eight-volume *General History of Africa* now in course of publication. ■



*Kaiei Higashiyama*

année internationale de la paix  
unesco 1986

**Two Moons, a poster designed by the Japanese master Kaiei Higashiyama to mark International Year of Peace (1986). The result of collaboration between Unesco, the Japanese Federation of Unesco Associations and the International Association of Art, the poster shows the moon, symbol of truth in Asian tradition, reflected in peaceful waters.**

Photo Unesco

## World military spending: over \$1.5 million a minute

In the developing world, 800 million people live in absolute poverty and deprivation. 500 million are malnourished. Many millions have no access to safe drinking-water and do not have the income necessary to purchase food.

It has been estimated that there are more than 50,000 nuclear warheads in the world. The total explosive power of the world stock of nuclear weapons is about equal to one million times that of the Hiroshima bomb, which had a yield of 13 kilotons. (A kiloton is equal to 1,000 tons of conventional high explosive or TNT; a megaton is equal to 1,000,000 tons of TNT.)

According to a recent United Nations study on conventional disarmament, the world arsenal of conventional weapons includes well over 140,000 main battle tanks, over 35,000 combat aircraft, over 21,000 helicopters, over 1,100 major surface warships, plus more than 700 attack submarines. Approximately four fifths of the total world military expenditure is estimated to be devoted to conventional weapons and armed forces.

It has been estimated that some 150 conflicts fought with conventional weapons have occurred since the Second World War. It is impossible to determine with any accuracy

the death toll arising from these conflicts. A recent United Nations study on conventional disarmament, however, gives an estimate of 20 million deaths.

Military expenditures represent a significant share of the public finances of developed and developing countries. In both cases, they come to represent an average of some 20 per cent of governmental expenditures. According to some estimates, in the developed countries military spending is about equal to public expenditure on education or health; in the developing countries it equals three times the public expenditure on health and is a third more than the public expenditure on education.

Worldwide military expenditures in 1983 amounted to some \$800,000 million, according to the most reliable estimates available, which is the equivalent of more than \$1.5 million per minute. In constant prices, this is more than double the expenditures for 1960 and almost four times those for 1949. At this rate it takes just 15 days and 15 hours for world military expenditure to reach the \$34,300 million spent in the whole of 1983 for all official development assistance for all developing countries. A recent United Nations study emphasized that, if recent trends

should persist, the world military expenditure could reach or exceed \$1,000,000 million a year, in current dollars, well before 1990.

Developed countries spent 20 times as much on military expenditures as they provide for economic aid.

70 per cent of world military spending is by the six major military powers, 15 per cent by other industrialized countries, and the remaining 15 per cent by developing countries.

\$1,000 million dollars = 28,000 jobs in military goods and services, or 57,000 jobs in personal consumption industries, or 71,000 jobs in education.

For every soldier the average world military expenditure is \$20,000. For every school-age child the average public education expenditure is \$380.

For every 100,000 people in the world there are 556 soldiers, but only 85 doctors.

Just one fifth of annual arms expenditures could abolish world hunger by the year 2000.

Source: United Nations

# The United Nations World Disarmament Campaign



by Jan Martenson



**T**HE World Disarmament Campaign to inform, to educate and to generate public understanding and support for the objectives of the United Nations in the field of arms limitation and disarmament represents a unique aspect of the role of the United Nations. As an international organization consisting of sovereign States, the United Nations essentially deals with member governments. In deciding to launch a world disarmament campaign, these member governments have provided the United Nations with an instrument of communication with the public at large.

The Campaign was launched, by consensus, in June 1982 at the Twelfth Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. By the time it was initiated, the process of negotiating disarmament had acquired a great complexity with regard to the issues under consideration, the results attained, and the status of agreements actually arrived at. At the same time,

there was a growing public debate over the causes and consequences of a continuing arms race and the problems and prospects of disarmament, particularly of nuclear disarmament. While the themes highlighted in this debate continued to bear the imprint of regional and local concerns, there was also an increasing trend towards greater international interaction, a process facilitated by the availability of modern means of communication which permit wide public participation.

United Nations objectives in the field of arms limitation and disarmament underline commonly shared goals which transcend national, geographical and political differences. As evolved in response to the changing international situation, these objectives could be attained through a lowering of the present levels of military build-ups in a balanced and verifiable manner and in accordance with the need for undiminished security for all States, large and small. Also, in a world of increasing interdependence, not only States but issues are becoming interlinked. As such, the themes supported by the World Disarmament Campaign are those which emphasize our common human destiny.

The most comprehensive statement of United Nations objectives in this field is given in the unanimously adopted Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament: "while the efforts of all States should continue to be general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the immediate goal is that of the elimination of the danger of nuclear war and the implementation of measures to halt and reverse the arms race and clear the path towards lasting peace."

These issues have been the subject of considerable public interest in all regions of

*The United Nations Postal Administration issued a series of six stamps on 20 June 1986 to commemorate the International Year of Peace. Designed by artists from various countries, the stamps depict symbolic motifs (from top to bottom): doves flying and nesting in a tree (Akira Iriguchi, Japan); the word "peace" in several languages encircling the United Nations emblem (Henryk Chylinski, Poland); multi-coloured stylized dove (Renato Ferrini, Italy); the word "peace" and an olive branch (Salahattin Kanidinc, USA); olive branch describing a rainbow above the curve of the earth (Milo Schor, Israel); doves within the United Nations emblem (Mohammad Sardar, Pakistan).*

Photo UN

► the world. In providing objective, factual and balanced information pertaining to these questions, the Campaign primarily relies upon the priorities and measures set out in the Final Document; the decisions taken at the Twelfth Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament; the views expressed by Member States; the recommendations in the declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade; and the unanimous conclusions of the various expert groups nominated by the Secretary-General to study specific aspects of arms limitation and disarmament. Within this broad framework, the Campaign places emphasis on the interaction between the issues of disarmament and international security as well as disarmament and development.

In order to reach the largest number of people in all parts of the world, a constituency-related approach is required. Such constituencies lead to a multiplier effect in educating, informing and generating public understanding and support for the objectives of the United Nations in the field of arms limitation and disarmament, where the issues involved are often complex and need to be explained in an easily comprehensible manner.

Elected representatives, media, non-governmental organizations, educational communities and research institutes from different political and geographical backgrounds are thus the primary constituencies of the World Disarmament Campaign, which encourages bilateral and multilateral exchanges, interpersonal communications, and gives the widest possible dissemination to contacts, for example, between government officials, experts, academics, non-governmental organizations and journalists.

Having been entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out this Campaign on a universal basis in a factual, objective and balanced manner, the Department for Disarmament Affairs realizes that the Campaign is a vehicle not only for informing but also for learning.<sup>(1)</sup> Our experience in the last four years of preparing and distributing information materials and organizing conferences, symposia and other activities in different parts of the world has led us to the unmistakable conclusion that, cutting across ideological and political boundaries, there is a universal constituency for disarmament bound by concern for human survival and well-being in the nuclear age. Within this growing and increasingly knowledgeable community, each of the primary constituencies of the World Disarmament Campaign has a role to play.

At this point, two observations should be made.

First, it is unrealistic to expect disarmament to be achieved overnight. After all,

concern about security and our resort to some form of weaponry to achieve that end is as old as the human race, whereas the process of bringing about mutually acceptable disarmament agreements among sovereign States is a rather recent concept. Yet at the same time human rationality inspires us not to accept defeat in the face of a formidable challenge. I, for one, believe that it is well within the reach of the human intellect to turn a challenge to the survival of mankind into an opportunity for human betterment. The same ingenuity which has produced deadly arsenals of destruction might indeed become capable of using science and technology for peaceful purposes. We need to accept the notion of common survival in the nuclear age and thus the indivisibility of mankind's destiny.

Second, the World Disarmament Campaign is an instrument which the international community has unanimously and voluntarily devised to further its common objectives in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. The full potential of this unique endeavour can be realized only through ensuring the principles of universality and objectivity. Unimpeded access to a wide range of information for all sectors of the public is a necessary condition for the creation of the confidence and trust badly needed to generate widespread support for halting and eventually reversing the arms race.

The programmes and activities undertaken for the World Disarmament Campaign have reached hundreds of thousands of people in all parts of the globe through the dissemination of information materials and publications, the holding of regional conferences and seminars, as well as through the media and personal contacts. In the last few years, such regional events have been organized in Mexico, Kenya, Thailand, Romania, India, Venezuela, USSR, Egypt, Sweden, Togo, Italy and, in May 1986, Tbilisi (Georgian SSR).

Leading representatives of non-governmental organizations, media, research

institutes and educational communities are invited from various countries within a region to participate in the discussions on disarmament issues of specific and general concern. The objective of these conferences is not to apportion blame or to issue communiqués, but to facilitate a constructive exchange of views and opinion, to improve dialogue and thus further understanding and communication among people throughout the world on issues of arms limitation and disarmament. Indeed, a well-informed public opinion stands a much better chance of playing a positive, constructive and realistic role in the search for solutions to these issues.

All these contacts, in turn, have made it possible for the United Nations to ascertain the impact of the Campaign. Growing numbers of people have manifested their interest in disarmament matters, while better understanding the complex realities of the arms race, on the one hand, and the difficulties surrounding the issues, on the other.

The impact made so far can perhaps be assessed at several levels, one of them being the generation of new ideas. As the Secretary-General of the United Nations has said: "All the speeches made there (in the United Nations), all the information emerging therefrom, all the studies undertaken there, perhaps have no immediate effect on national policies, although very often they provide inspiration. But they definitely do influence world public opinion and contribute to the way in which thinking and morals evolve. And it is ideas which transform the world." ■

---

**JAN MARTENSON**, of Sweden, has been Under-Secretary-General, Department for Disarmament Affairs, at the United Nations since 1983. He was previously UN Assistant Secretary-General, Centre for Disarmament, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs (1979-1982). A former head of the Information Department of the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, he has also served as Deputy Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

---

## The University for Peace

The University for Peace, the creation of which was approved by the UN General Assembly on 5 December 1980, is an international institution located in Costa Rica. Formally outside the organizational framework of the United Nations, it is established on the basis of an international agreement and a charter which came into force on 7 April 1981. Its activities, devoted to the promotion of peace through education and research, are rooted in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The University is a multidisciplinary academic institution which focuses on education for peace and human rights *per se* but also studies problems related to the environment, natural resources, technology, communications and other issues in terms of their impact on the attainment of peace.

Tapio Varls (Finland)

Rector of the University for Peace



---

(1) A detailed description of the Department's activities can be found in the yearly report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the World Disarmament Campaign, which can be obtained by writing to The Department for Disarmament Affairs, United Nations, New York 10017, USA. The Department also publishes a newsletter with updated information on the activities of the Campaign throughout the world.



# Towards a new way of thinking

by Gennadi Ivanovitch Gerasimov



Photo Anderson © Roger Viollet, Paris

**O**VER thirty years ago, Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein invited us to “learn to think in a new way” and pointed out that “if the issues between East and West are to be decided ... then these issues must not be decided by war”. In what became known as the Russell-Einstein Manifesto (see article page 13), the two philosophers suggested that people should regard themselves primarily as members of the human race, whether they be workers, shopkeepers, farmers, or property-owners on a large or small scale: “Consider yourselves only as members of a biological species.”

Looking more deeply into the question, I discovered that Russell and Einstein were by no means the first to put forward such views, although they had extremely cogent reasons for doing so at that time. As long ago as 1928, the French novelist Romain Rolland called for the creation of a Peace International, which would discount all the “political, social, religious, philosophical and intellectual preoccupations” which divide mankind, and would be exclusively guided by a “clear and direct awareness of the community of all living beings”.

Rolland was sickened by the lunacy of trench warfare, which had systematized butchery. Russell and Einstein were anxious about the new danger represented by the atomic bomb which indiscriminately massacred the population at large as well as the armed forces. Today, three decades later, the dangers far exceed those which they denounced, and their message has acquired a new dimension, especially with the establishment of the now well-documented hypothesis of “nuclear winter” as the inevitable outcome of a nuclear conflict.

Before the “nuclear winter” theory, armchair strategists speculated at great length about the stages of nuclear escalation, about second strike capabilities and the possibility, under certain conditions, of prevailing over the enemy in a nuclear exchange. To encourage plans for a “lightning” war to amputate the political and military leadership of an enemy power, a war unleashed from behind an antimissile shield capable of warding off a counter-attack from a weakened adversary, is to foster a dangerous illusion. It is now clear that the dust, soot and ash from many nuclear explosions will obliterate the “victor’s” sun. Whoever lifts his sword will also die by it. Does this not encourage us to “think in a new way”?

*This 2nd-century statue of Clio, the first of the nine Muses of Greek mythology, was discovered in 1774 in the ruins of a villa south-east of Tivoli, a favourite summer resort of the Romans 2,000 years ago. Clio, whose name means “to celebrate” in Greek, is the Muse of epic poetry and of history. She is often depicted seated, holding a roll of parchment in her hand.*

► The nuclear threat has taken on the dimension of "cliocide"—a word coined from Clio, the Greek Muse whose task was to watch over the course of human history. Today history faces the risk of sudden termination, as war, which formerly menaced only individuals, now threatens the whole human species.

Nuclear weapons sweep away the moral problem of ends and means, because any attempt to achieve a given end by using such weapons nullifies that end, by liquidating the two parties to the conflict. It would be like burning down a house while trying to carry out repairs on it, or killing a man in order to alter a mean streak in his character. Nor can nuclear war stand up to cost-benefit analysis.

The nuclear weapon, a creation of the human intellect, threatens to arrest the march of history through some act of political folly. Just as the great wars of the ancient world razed cities, sometimes wiped out entire peoples, after nuclear war the chronicle of human history would be ended. In any case, there would be nobody left to read it.

Just as we inherited this planet from our forebears, we have a responsibility towards

future generations, each of which must hand on the heritage to their successors. In other words, we are all bound to Clio by a solemn oath which commands us to carry on the history of mankind.

If we want to preserve peace, it should be given absolute priority; the general interest must be seen to override the interests of specific groups or classes. According to Lenin, from the point of view of basic Marxist ideas, the interests of general development come before the interests of the proletariat, because when the workers gain power it is taken not for its own sake, but rather to deliver society from exploitation, establish social equality, and create the conditions necessary for balanced development of individual characteristics.

Karl Marx saw a major transformation in the relation between capital and labour as a necessary condition of world peace. In his inaugural address to the International Working Men's Association in 1864, he stressed the necessity of creating conditions in which the elementary laws of morality and justice which ought to govern individual relations should also be supreme in international relations.

Disarmament is the only possible route to the establishment of a new and just international order of world security. Only disarmament will allow us to use the vast material and intellectual resources thus freed to promote economic development and prosperity. Humanity has reached a crucial point and must choose which direction to take. It can overcome the inertia of the past and abandon the notion of security as based on the balance

of power and on recourse to military or technological solutions; or it can continue to be hostage to the arms race—to nuclear and chemical weapons, and to others no less fearsome.

This choice between the dictates of reason and the road to catastrophe can only be made by mutual agreement between all States, whatever their social system or level of economic development. It will have to be bold and responsible. Today we can no longer be content with piecemeal solutions which slow down the arms race in certain spheres only to accelerate it in others.

It is time to remove for ever the sword of Damocles which has been hanging over our heads since the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It would be appropriate for the Soviet Union and the United States, holders of the largest nuclear stockpiles, to make a first decisive step and for other nuclear powers to follow them.

To encourage world opinion "to think in a new way", is one of the main tasks of the International Year of Peace. If United Nations Member States, together with massed public opinion, energetically support this effort, it may help to prevent "cliocide". ■

*In a Moscow square, young Muscovites and a visiting group of Indian children take part in a drawing contest organized on Universal Children's Day, celebrated annually on the first Monday in October. "Peace for children" and "May the sun always shine" were two of the themes treated by the budding pavement artists.*

**GENNADI IVANOVITCH GERASIMOV**, a well-known Soviet journalist specializing in international relations, is currently chief editor of the weekly Moscow News, which is published in Russian, French, English, Spanish and Arabic. He was awarded the Vorovski Prize (The Union of Journalists of the USSR) and "The Golden Pen" (Bulgaria) for his journalistic work.



Photo A. Triphonov © APN, Moscow

# A thousand paper cranes

The article below is an extract from a booklet written and published by pupils of Hiroshima International School, Japan. It concerns the short life of a Japanese girl, who contracted leukaemia through the after-effects of the atomic bomb, and the children's club which was set up after her death to work for peace. For further information about the Club and its activities, please write to the Hiroshima Center for Global Education, 2-6, 2-Chome, Ushita-naka, Higashi-ku, Hiroshima-shi, 730 Japan.

Photo © Hiroshima International School



**T**HIS story starts in 1945. A girl named Sadako Sasaki was living in a Japanese city called Hiroshima along with about half a million other people. When she was two years old the first atomic bomb ever to be used against human beings was dropped on Hiroshima. Most of the city was completely smashed and burned to the ground. Sadako was about a mile and a half away from where the bomb exploded, but she wasn't burned or injured at all, at least not in any way people could see.

A few weeks after the bomb, people in Hiroshima began dying from a sickness even the doctors couldn't understand. People who seemed perfectly healthy would suddenly get weak and sick and then just die. It was so strange and new that no one knew what to do. In fact, even today no one really knows exactly what radiation does or what it might do to a particular person.

By the time Sadako was in seventh grade, she was a normal, happy, twelve-year-old girl going to a regular school and studying and playing like everyone else. Ten years had passed since the bomb and she was thinking about other things. One of the things she thought about most was running.

One day after an important relay race that she helped her team win she felt extremely tired and dizzy. After a while she felt better, so she thought it was just that she was so tired because of the race. Over the next few weeks she tried to forget about it, but the dizziness kept coming back, especially when she was running. She didn't tell anyone about it, not even Chizuko, her best friend. Finally, one morning, it got so bad that she fell down and just lay on the ground for a while. This time everyone noticed. They took her to the Red Cross hospital to see what was the matter. No one could believe what they found out. Sadako had leukaemia, a kind of cancer of the blood. At that time quite a few children about Sadako's age were getting leukaemia, which the people then called "the A-bomb disease". Almost everyone who got the disease died and Sadako was very scared. She didn't want to die.

Soon after Sadako went to the hospital her best friend, Chizuko, came to visit her. She brought some special paper and folded a paper crane. Chizuko told Sadako about a legend. She said that the crane, a sacred bird in Japan, lives for a thousand years and

if a sick person folds a thousand cranes, that person will get well. Sadako decided to fold a thousand cranes. Because of the leukaemia she often felt too weak and tired so she couldn't work all the time, but from that day on, whenever she could, she folded cranes.

Sadako actually folded her thousand cranes, but she wasn't getting any better. But instead of getting angry or giving up, she decided she would fold more cranes. She started on her second thousand. Everyone was amazed by how brave and patient she was. On 25 October 1955, surrounded by her loving family, she went to sleep peacefully for the last time.

But this story doesn't end with Sadako's death. She had a lot of friends who loved her and who missed her very much. And they didn't only feel sad about Sadako. Lots of other children in Hiroshima had died or were dying of the A-bomb disease. Her friends wanted very much to do something for Sadako. So thirty-nine of her classmates formed a club and began asking for money for a monument for her. The word spread quickly. Students from 3,100 schools in Japan and from nine other countries gave money, and finally, on 5 May 1958, almost three years after Sadako died, they got enough money to build the monument. It's called the Children's Peace Monument and it is in the Peace Park which is in the middle of Hiroshima right where the atomic bomb was dropped.

The movement to build this monument became so famous and popular that a movie called "A Thousand Paper Cranes" was made about it. About sixty children from

Hiroshima and about twenty children from Tokyo helped to make the movie, and when it was finished they wanted to stay together as friends so they started a new club called "The Paper Crane Club". The purpose of this club was to help children get together to think and work for peace. This club has continued to exist for almost thirty years. The members take care of Sadako's monument, visit atomic bomb survivors, people who were in Hiroshima when the bomb was dropped, and who are getting sick and old or who just need help for some reason.

One other thing they always do is fold cranes. They use the cranes in many ways. Sometimes they hang them on Sadako's monument and other monuments in Hiroshima's Peace Park. Sometimes they send them to world leaders as a way of reminding those leaders that the children of the world want to get rid of nuclear bombs. And whenever world leaders or atomic bomb survivors or people working for peace come to Hiroshima, members of the Paper Crane Club greet them and put a wreath of cranes around their necks to welcome them and to help them think about the meaning of Hiroshima.

But the meaning of folding cranes, and the meaning of Hiroshima and the Paper Crane Club are perhaps best summed up in the words carved on the granite base of the Children's Peace Monument:

THIS IS OUR CRY  
THIS IS OUR PRAYER  
TO BUILD PEACE IN THIS WORLD

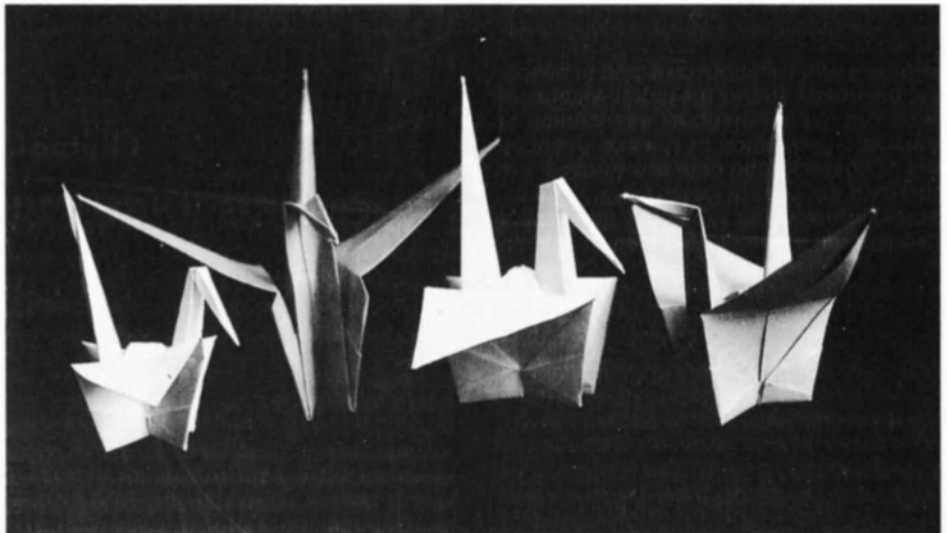


Photo Unesco



# Violence in the Third World

by Soedjatmoko



*"Societies are beginning to come apart at the seams as the despair, frustration and rage of the 'have nots' clash with the fear, reluctance or intransigence of the 'haves'." Below, rural South Africans.*



Photo Tony McGrath © International Delance and Aid Fund for South Africa, London

The present text is an abridged version of its author's contribution to a major forthcoming study on war as a human institution. Entitled *The Quest for Peace: Transcending Collective Violence and War among Societies, Cultures and States*, the study will be published later this year under the auspices of the Unesco-supported International Social Science Council. This book, prepared as a contribution from the social sciences to the United Nations International Year of Peace, aims at a systematic and comprehensive presentation of the latest knowledge from different social science disciplines concerning the problems of war and peace.

**V**IOLENCE is a sign of institutional failure and system overload," Professor Nazli Choucri has written. <sup>(1)</sup> These conditions are by no means unique to the Third World, but it remains a fact that the vast majority of wars and war-like incidents that have taken place since the Second World War have been fought in the Third World. Furthermore, the daily turmoil and frictions of life under circumstances of economic struggle and rapid social change give rise to violence among groups and individuals within Third World societies.

Despite their great diversity, the countries of the Third World have some characteristics in common, apart from their location in Africa, Asia or Latin America, that make possible some generalizations about violence as they experience it. In the first place, most developing countries share the experience of colonial domination, though the nature and duration of it vary tremendously among them. Most of them are poor. Perhaps most importantly, most are engulfed in a process of very profound social and economic transformation that, though a necessary condition for development, is in itself a source of instability.

For many developing countries, one can begin the search for the roots of violence with the circumstances of decolonization. For those countries that gained their independence by armed struggle, the fight for independence gave a legitimacy to the use of violence that still clings to it in many settings. A further legacy of colonial rule is the forced cohabitation within a single State of antagonistic groups that are artificially bound together within the borders established by the colonizers. In many instances quarrels that were submerged but not resolved during the colonial period have re-emerged and, often, burst into violent conflict after independence.

Poverty is not necessarily a cause of violent conflict—though many argue that it is in itself a form of violence. It can be seen as such when it is the product of maldistribution of resources and denial of opportunity, and exists in the midst of plenty or even excess. Under these conditions, poverty is usually the result of social and economic relations that can only be maintained by the threat or the use of violence. One major feature of recent decades has been the growing self-assertiveness of poor and traditionally powerless groups. In some cases, groups of people have managed to move up the economic ladder, though many have met with violent resistance on the way. However, it is not poverty but the attempt

(1) Nazli Choucri, "Demographics and Conflict", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (April, 1986).





to break out of poverty that generates violence both as a tactic and as a response.

Heightened aspirations and a refusal to accept a miserable lot have also contributed to massive population movements, within and across national boundaries. Violent clashes with established residents are a common result of migration. For example, in the Indian State of Assam, many lives have been lost in attacks by the Assamese on illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. In Honduras, the migration of Salvadorans in the early 1960s not only produced local clashes but led to a build-up of tensions that culminated in war between the two States. Even in cases where migration is received peacefully or the initial violence simmers down, the long-term basis may be laid for communal tensions that erupt into violence at later stages—as has been the case throughout South and South-east Asia as well as in many parts of Africa.

The process of development itself is always a source of turbulence and often a source of violence. Developmental success inevitably brings about structural change, upsetting traditional hierarchies and often generating violent reaction. The failures of development lead to even greater strain on the social fabric. The global recession of the early 1980s, the debt burdens of many of the developing countries, the prospect of slow and uneven growth for many years to come, the drawing down of the financial and ecological capital of whole nations, have created intolerable strains. In many parts of

the Third World, communities are on the verge of breakdown. Societies are beginning to come apart at the seams as the despair, frustration and rage of the “have nots” clash with the fear, reluctance or intransigence of the “haves” and erupt into religious, ethnic, tribal, racial and class violence.

The dislocations caused by rapid and extensive change make countries vulnerable to conflict arising from both internal and external sources. Adjustment to the developments of the late twentieth century is threatening enough to the equanimity of any society without the further challenge of trying to compress centuries of technological change and nation-building into the span of a few decades.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that the process of social transformation is by no means confined to the Third World. All countries are in some measure caught up in sweeping value changes that respond to new technologies and modes of organization, and to a pace and scale of change that are unprecedented in human experience. It is not only in the Third World that the re-examination of old and newer values has led to challenges to the State.

The fragility of young States in the face of internal turbulence and external pressure leads many governments to attempt to centralize power and to rely upon the armed forces to maintain stability. The ease with which this tendency slides into a cycle of militarization, repression and internal con-

*“Adjustment to the developments of the late 20th century is threatening enough to the equanimity of any society without the further challenge of trying to compress centuries of technological change and nation-building into the span of a few decades.” Above, village girls from Ahwa, in Gujarat State, India, go to the communal well early in the morning to draw water for domestic use.*

flict is all too familiar to students of Third World political development.

Many of today’s violent conflicts are products of the inability to manage change. Others have their roots in contradictory perceptions of and beliefs about change. The complexity of the interlinkages between problems creates in many minds a longing for simple, reductionist explanations, whose foundations in reality are so insecure that they have no capacity for tolerance of other approaches.

No region has quite mastered the dislocations of the twentieth century, with its dizzying growth of populations and massive movements of people, its instant communications, alienating technologies, shrunken spaces, and horrifying destructive power—and so all remain vulnerable to conflict. Developing countries are not unique in this. It would be difficult, for example, to draw a clear distinction between the violence in Northern Ireland and many of the ongoing conflicts in the Third World. Nonetheless, ▶



***"In the developing world, 800 million people live in absolute poverty and deprivation. 500 million are malnourished. Many millions have no access to safe drinking-water and do not have the income necessary to purchase food. They lack protection against the consequences of environmental degradation and natural***

***calamities, such as floods and drought, which, in Africa in particular, have produced famine and suffering of unprecedented proportions."***

Source: United Nations





Photo Sebastião Salgado © Magnum, Paris

► three of the widely shared qualities that have been mentioned—colonialism, poverty, and accelerated change—do give the Third World some distinctive preconditions for violence.

There is also a psychological sense of belonging to the Third World, which arises from the recognition that the international system is dominated by and directed for the primary benefit of countries that exclude the Third World from decision-making and a fair share of the benefits of interaction. The resulting sense of vulnerability and exclusion—and the often angry sense of injustice that accompanies it—gives the countries of the Third World some sense of solidarity despite their differences and leads them into conflict with the North.

This kind of conflict has not often been pursued by armed warfare between States, but it undoubtedly feeds the atmosphere of confrontation that leads to isolated acts of violence. And isolated acts can all too quickly fall into a pattern of mutual escalation of violence, with States entering into conflict as patrons, sponsors or perpetrators of terrorist incidents, punitive responses, campaigns of destabilization and overt or covert interventions. Uncontrolled, indiscriminate and self-perpetuating cycles of violence are thus set in motion.

One further source of violence in the Third World should be mentioned: with the achievement of functional nuclear parity between the superpowers, and the virtually uncontested recognition of spheres of influence dominated by one or the other in the North, the Third World has become the only “safe” battleground for the contest between East and West. Neither superpower is yet willing to run a serious risk of direct nuclear confrontation, which is implied by any armed conflict between them in the industrialized world. Thus the Third World has become a theatre, in both the military and the dramatic sense, of East-West competition. Of course this competition is not a factor in all violent conflicts in or between developing countries, but it has prolonged and intensified many of those in which it is not a prominent cause. Inevitably, it adds to the complexity of South-South or North-South confrontations.

The sources of violence in the Third World are thus an admixture of internal pressures resulting from rapid change and external pressures resulting from the clash of outside interests. Efforts to minimize and control violence must recognize that these two aspects require rather different approaches. The effort to minimize internal violence must focus on ways of increasing the resilience of societies; the effort to minimize external violence must focus on restraint in the definition of and response to threat. ■

**SOEDJATMOKO**, an Indonesian scholar in the field of international development and politics, has been Rector of the United Nations University in Tokyo since 1980. The author of numerous publications on economic, social and cultural problems, he has also served as a member of the Indonesian Mission to the United Nations and as his country's ambassador to the United States.

# 1986: Year of peace/8



## Love and Peace



Photo G. Nicolas - Unesco

**S**INCE 10 December 1985, a remarkable mural by the French painter Benn has hung in Unesco Headquarters in Paris. Entitled "Love and Peace", the mural measures 7 metres by 2.5 metres, and has been presented to Unesco by the painter, who has devoted his life and art to the cause of peace and understanding between people and nations. Born in 1905 at Bielstok in Russia, Benn settled in Paris in 1930 and established a reputation before the Second World War. Shortly before the outbreak of war he executed a series of seventy-two premonitory drawings in white crayon on black paper, which as he wrote later "pre-figured the unprecedented monstrosities that were to assail helpless humanity". These drawings were exhibited at Unesco Headquarters in 1983. Benn's wartime experiences, including internment and over two years spent in hiding from the Gestapo, gave rise to a series of paintings inspired by verses from the Psalms. The Unesco mural, a celebration of universal harmony achieved after a struggle against war and violence, also reaches back to the wartime years, originating in a drawing executed early in 1944. Love and peace are evoked on its three panels by symbolism drawn respectively from the plant, animal and human worlds. The world of plants is represented by peace in the form of stylized olive branches; the animal world by two birds kissing, sheltered by the graceful antlers of two young stags. The world of humankind is symbolized by hands uplifted in a gesture of prayer to a white dove, the messenger of peace.

**Editorial, Sales and Distribution Office:**  
Unesco, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris.

### Subscription rates

1 year: 78 French francs. Binder for a year's issues: 56 FF

The UNESCO COURIER is published monthly.

Individual articles and photographs not copyrighted may be reprinted providing the credit line reads "Reprinted from the UNESCO COURIER", plus date of issue, and three voucher copies are sent to the editor. Signed articles reprinted must bear author's name. Non-copyright photos will be supplied on request. Unsolicited manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by an international reply coupon covering postage. Signed articles express the opinions of the authors and do not necessarily represent the opinions of Unesco or those of the editors of the UNESCO COURIER. Photo captions and headlines are written by the Unesco Courier staff. The boundaries on maps published in the magazine do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by Unesco or the United Nations. The Unesco Courier is produced in microform (microfilm and/or microfiche) by: (1) Unesco, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris; (2) University Microfilms (Xerox), Ann Arbor, Michigan 48100, U.S.A.; (3) N.C.R. Microcard Edition, Indian Head, Inc., 111 West 40th Street, New York, U.S.A.; (4) Bell and Howell Co., Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691, U.S.A.

### Editorial staff (Paris)

**Assistant Editor-in-chief:** Olga Rödel  
**Managing Editor:** Gillian Whitcomb

#### Editors:

English: Roy Malkin  
French: Alain Lévêque  
Neda el Khazen  
Spanish: Francisco Fernandez-Santos  
Jorge Enrique Adoum  
Russian: Nikolai Kuznetsov  
Arabic: Abdelrashid Elsadek Mahmoudi  
Braille: Frederick Potter

**Research:** Violette Ringelstein

**Illustrations:** Ariane Bailey

**Layout and Design:** Georges Servat, George Ducret

**Promotion:** Fernando Ainsa

**Sales and subscriptions:** Henry Knobil

**Special projects:** Peggy Julien

### Non-Headquarters editions

German: Werner Merkli (Berne)  
Japanese: Seiichiro Kojima (Tokyo)  
Italian: Mario Guidotti (Rome)  
Hindi: Ram Babu Sharma (Delhi)  
Tamil: M. Mohammed Mustafa (Madras)  
Hebrew: Alexander Broido (Tel Aviv)  
Persian:  
Dutch: Paul Morren (Antwerp)  
Portuguese: Benedicto Silva (Rio de Janeiro)  
Turkish: Mefra Ilgazer (Istanbul)  
Urdu: Hakim Mohammed Said (Karachi)  
Catalan: Joan Carreras i Marti (Barcelona)  
Malaysian: Azizah Hamzah (Kuala Lumpur)  
Korean: Paik Syeung-Gil (Seoul)  
Swahili: Domino Rutayebesibwah (Dar-es-Salaam)  
Croat-Serb, Macedonian, Serbo-Croat, Slovene: Bozidar Perkovic (Belgrade)  
Chinese: Shen Guofen (Beijing)  
Bulgarian: Goran Gotev (Sofia)  
Greek: Nicolas Papageorgiou (Athens)  
Sinhala: S.J. Sumanasekera Banda (Colombo)  
Finnish: Marjatta Oksanen (Helsinki)  
Swedish: Lina Svenzén (Stockholm)  
Basque: Guntz Larrañaga (San Sebastian)  
Thai: Savitri Suwansathit (Bangkok)

*All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief in Paris*

## Some reasons for subscribing

- It focuses on a variety of subjects to which Unesco has special access: education, the natural and social sciences, culture, arts, archaeology, history, civilization, marine and earth science ...
- It presents interesting and well-illustrated articles written by authors from different countries representing many schools of thought.
- It offers objective reporting and a truly international outlook on educational and scientific aspects of current world problems: unemployment, the arms race, human rights, women's place in society, hunger ...

• It serves as a valuable source of ideas and information for teachers and students who wish to obtain an accurate synthesis on subjects for classroom discussions and research projects.

• It is a useful aid in language instruction and practice, with monthly publication in 32 language versions. In addition, a quarterly selection in Braille (English, French and Spanish) is available free of charge.

**Join or ask your friends to join our international family of more than 3 million readers around the world**

**ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION**  
12 issues 78 French francs



## Where to renew your subscription

and place your order for other Unesco publications

Order from any bookseller or write direct to the National Distributor in your country.  
(See list below; names of distributors in countries not listed, along with subscription rates in local currency, will be supplied on request.)

**AUSTRALIA.** Hunter Publications, 58a Gipps St., Collingwood, Victoria 3066; Publications. Educational Supplies Pty. Ltd., P.O. Box 33, Brookvale 2100, NSW; Periodicals: Dominie Pty. Subscriptions Dept., P.O. Box 33, Brookvale 2100, NSW. Sub-agent: United Nations Association of Australia, P.O. Box 175, 5th floor, Ana House, 28 Elizabeth St., Melbourne, Victoria 3000.  
**AUSTRIA.** Buchhandlung Gerold and Co., Graben 31, A-1011, Vienna.  
**BAHAMAS.** Nassau Stationers Ltd., P.O. Box N-3138, Nassau.  
**BAHRAIN.** The Arabian Agencies and Distributing Co., Al Mutanabi St., P.O. Box 156, Manama.  
**BANGLADESH.** Bangladesh Books International Ltd., Ittefaq Building, 1, R.K. Mission Rd., Hatkhola, Dacca 3.  
**BARBADOS.** University of the West Indies Bookshop, Cave Hill Campus, P.O. Box 64, Bridgetown.  
**BELGIUM.** "Unesco Courier" Dutch edition only: N.V. Handelmaatschappij Keesing. Keesinglaan 2-18, 2100 Deurne-Antwerpen. French edition and general Unesco publications agent: Jean de Lannoy, 202 Ave. du Roi, 1060 Brussels, CCP 000-0070823-13.  
**BOTSWANA.** Botswana Book Centre, P.O. Box 91, Gaborone.  
**BURMA.** Trade Corporation No. 9, 550-552 Merchant Street, Rangoon.  
**CANADA.** Renouf Publishing Co. Ltd., 2182 St. Catherine St. West, Montreal, Qué. H3H 1M7.  
**CHINA.** China National Publications Import and Export Corporation, P.O. Box 88, Beijing.  
**CYPRUS.** "MAM", Archbishop Makarios 3rd Avenue, P.O. Box 1722, Nicosia.  
**CZECHOSLOVAKIA.** S.N.T.L., Spalena 51-113 02, Prague 1; Ve Smeckach 30, P.O. B. 790-111-27 Prague 1 (Permanent display); Zahranicni literatura, 11 Soukenicka, Prague 1. For Slovakia only: Alfa Verlag -Publishers, Ilterbanovo nam. 6, 8931 Bratislava-CSSR.  
**DENMARK.** Munksgaard Export-OG, Tidsskriftservice, 35 Norre Sogade, DK-1970 Kobenhavn K.  
**EGYPT (ARAB REPUBLIC OF).** National Centre for Unesco Publications, No. 1 Talat Harb St., Cairo.  
**ETHIOPIA.** National Agency for Unesco, P.O. Box 2996, Addis Ababa.  
**FINLAND.** Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, Keskuskatu 1, SF-00100 Helsinki 10; Suomalainen Kirjakauppa Oy, Koivuvuorankuja 2, 01640 Vantaa 64.  
**FRANCE.** Librairie de l'Unesco, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris. CCP 12598-48.  
**GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.** Buchhaus Leipzig, Postfach 140, 710 Leipzig, or from Internationalen Buchhandlungen in the G.D.R.  
**FED. REP. OF GERMANY.** For the Unesco Courier (German, English, French and Spanish editions): Mr. H. Baum, Deutscher Unesco-Kunsep Vertrieb, Basalstrasse 57, D5300 Bonn 3.  
**GHANA.** Presbyterian Bookshop Depot Ltd., P.O. Box 195, Accra; Ghana Book Suppliers Ltd., P.O. Box 7869, Accra; The University Bookshop of Ghana, Accra; The University Bookshop of Cape Coast; The University Bookshop of Legon, P.O. Box 1, Legon.  
**GREAT BRITAIN.** See United Kingdom.  
**HONG KONG.** Federal Publications (HK) Ltd., 5A Evergreen Industrial Mansion, 12 Yip Fat St., Aberdeen. Swindon Book Co., 13-15, Lock Rd., Kowloon. Hong Kong Govt. Information Services, Publication Centre, Baskerville House, 22 Ice St.  
**HUNGARY.** Kulturbushimport-ABT, P.O.B. 149-H-1389, Budapest 62.  
**ICELAND.** Snaebjorn Jonsson and Co., H.F. Hafnarstraeti 9, Reykjavik.  
**INDIA.** UBS Publishers' Distributors Ltd., 5 Ansan Road, P.O. Box N° 7015, New Delhi 110002. Orient

Longman Ltd., Kamani Marg, Ballard Estate, Bombay 400038; 17 Chitaranjan Ave., Calcutta 13; 36a, Anna Salai, Mount Road, Madras 2; 5-9-41/1 Bashir Bagh, Hyderabad 500001 (AP); 80/1 Mahatma Gandhi Rd., Bangalore 560001; 3-5-820 Hyderabad, Hyderabad-500001. Sub-depots: Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17 Park St., Calcutta 700136; Scindia House, New Delhi; Publication Unit, Ministry of Education and Culture, Ex. AFO Hutments, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Rd., New Delhi, 110001.  
**INDONESIA.** Bhartara Publishers and Booksellers, 29 JI. Oto Iskandardinata 111, Jakarta; Indira P.T., JI. Dr. Sam Ratulangi 37, Jakarta Pusat.  
**IRAN.** Kharazmie Publishing and Distribution Co., 28 Vossal Shirazi St., Enghelab Ave., P.O. Box 314/1486, Teheran; Iranian Nat. Comm. for Unesco, 1188 Enghelab Ave., Rostam Give Building, Zip Code 13158, P.O. Box 11365-4498, Teheran.  
**IRAQ.** McKenzie's Bookshop, Al Rashid St., Baghdad.  
**IRELAND.** The Educational Company of Ireland Ltd., Ballymount Rd., Walkinstown, Dublin 12.  
**ISRAEL.** A.B.C. Bookstore Ltd., P.O. Box 1283, 71 Allenby Rd., Tel Aviv 61000.  
**ITALY.** Libreria Commissionaria Sansoni, S.p.A., Via Lamarmora 45, Casella Postale 552, 50121 Florence.  
**JAMAICA.** Sangster's Bookstores Ltd., P.O. Box 366, 101 Water Lane, Kingston; University of the West Indies Bookshop, Mona, Kingston.  
**JAPAN.** Eastern Book Service Inc., 37-3 Hongo 3-chome Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113.  
**KENYA.** East African Publishing House, P.O. Box 30571, Nairobi; Africa Book Services Ltd., Quran House, Mlangano St., P.O. Box 45245, Nairobi.  
**KOREA.** Korean National Commission for Unesco, P.O. Box Central 64, Seoul.  
**KUWAIT.** The Kuwait Bookshop Co., Ltd. POB 2942, Kuwait; for the Unesco Courier: Farafalla Press Agency, P.O. Box SAFA 4541, Kuwait.  
**LESOTHO.** Mazenod Book Centre, P.O. Mazenod, Lesotho, Southern Africa.  
**LIBERIA.** Code and Yancy Bookshops Ltd., P.O. Box 286, Monrovia.  
**LIECHTENSTEIN.** Eurocan Trust Reg. P.O.B. 5-9494 Schaan.  
**LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA.** Agency for Development of Publication and Distribution, P.O. Box 34-35, Tripoli.  
**LUXEMBOURG.** Librairie Paul Bruck, 22, Grande-Rue, Luxembourg.  
**MALAWI.** Malawi Book Service, Head Office, P.O. Box 30044 Chichiri, Blantyre 3.  
**MALAYSIA.** University of Malaya Co-operative Bookshop, Kuala Lumpur 22-11.  
**MALTA.** Sapiezna, 26 Republic St., Valletta.  
**MAURITIUS.** Nalanda Company Ltd., 30 Bourbon St., Port-Louis.  
**MONACO.** British Library, 30 Bd. des Moulins, Monte Carlo.  
**NEPAL.** Sajha Prakashan Polchowk, Kathmandu.  
**NETHERLANDS.** Keesing Boeken B.V., Joan Muyskenweg, 22, Postbus 1118, 1000 BC Amsterdam.  
**NETHERLANDS ANTILLES.** Van Dorp-Eddine N.V., P.O. Box 200, Willemstad, Curaçao, N.A.  
**NEW ZEALAND.** Government Publishing, P.O. Box 14277-Kilbirnie, Wellington; 130 Oxford Terrace, P.O. Box 1721, Christchurch; Alma St., P.O. Box 857, Hamilton; Princes St., P.O. Box 1104, Dunedin.  
**NIGERIA.** The University Bookshop of Ife; The University Bookshop of Ibadan, P.O. 286; The University Bookshop of Nsukka; The University Bookshop of Lagos; The Ahmadu Bello University Bookshop of Zaria.  
**NORWAY.** Johan Grundt Tanum, P.O. B. 1177 Sentrum - Oslo 1, Narvesen AS; Subscription and Trade Book Service, P.O. B. 6125 Eterstad, Oslo 6;

Universitets Bokhandelen, Universitetssentret, Postboks 307 Blindern, Oslo 3.  
**PAKISTAN.** Mirza Book Agency, 65 Shahrah Quaid-i-azam, P.O. Box No. 729, Lahore 3; Unesco Publications Centre, Regional Office for Book Development in Asia and the Pacific, 39 Delhi Housing Society, P.O. Box 8950, Karachi 29.  
**PHILIPPINES.** National Book Store, Inc., 701, Rizal Ave., Manila D-404.  
**POLAND.** Orpan-Import, Palac Kultury i Nauki, Warsaw; Ars Polona-Ruch, Krakowskie Przedmiescie No. 7, 00-068 Warsaw.  
**PORTUGAL.** Dias & Andrade Ltda, Livrara Portugal, rua do Carmo 70, Lisbon.  
**SEYCHELLES.** National Bookshop, P.O. Box 48, Mahé; New Service Ltd., Kingsgate House, P.O. Box 131, Mahé.  
**SIERRA LEONE.** Fourah Bay, Njala University and Sierra Leone Diocesan Bookshops, Freetown.  
**SINGAPORE.** Federal Publications (S) Pte Ltd, Times Jurong, 2 Jurong Port Rd., Singapore 2261.  
**SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.** Modern Bookshop and General, P.O. Box 951, Mogadiscio.  
**SOUTH AFRICA.** For the Unesco Courier (single copies) only: Central News Agency, P.O. Box 1033, Johannesburg.  
**SRI LANKA.** Lake House Bookshop, 100 Sri Chittampalam Gardiner Mawala, P.O. B. 244, Colombo 2.  
**SUDAN.** Al Bashir Bookshop, P.O. Box 1118, Khartoum.  
**SWEDEN.** All publications A/B.C.E. Fritzes Kungel, Hovbokshandlet, Regeringsgatan 12, Box 16356, 10327 Stockholm 16. For the Unesco Courier: Svenska FN Förbundet, Skolgård 2, Box 150 50 S-104, 65 Stockholm; Wennergeren-Williams, Box 30004-S-104, 25 Stockholm; Esselte Tidsskriftscentralen, Garmia Brogatan 26, Box 62 - 101 20 Stockholm.  
**SWITZERLAND.** All publications: Europa Verlag, 5 Ramstrasse, Zürich; Librairie Payot, Rue Grenus 6, 1211, Geneva 11, C.C.P. 12-236; Librairie Payot also in Lausanne, Basle, Berne, Vevey, Montreux, Neuchâtel and Zürich.  
**TANZANIA.** Dar-es-Salaam Bookshop, P.O.B. 9030, Dar-es-Salaam.  
**THAILAND.** Nibondh and Co. Ltd., 40-42 Charoen Krung Road, Siyaeg Phaya Sri, P.O. Box 402, Bangkok; Sukkapan Panit, Mansion 9, Rajdamnern Ave., Bangkok; Sukst Siam Company, 1715 Rama IV Road, Bangkok.  
**TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.** National Commission for Unesco, 18 Alexandra St., St. Clair, Trinidad W. 1.  
**TURKEY.** Haset Kitapevi A.S., Istiklal Caddesi, No 469, Posta Kutusu 219, Beyoglu, Istanbul.  
**UGANDA.** Uganda Bookshop, P.O. Box 7145, Kampala.  
**UNITED KINGDOM.** H.M. Stationery Office, H.M.S.O., P.O. Box 276, London SW8 5DT, and Govt. Bookshops in London, Edinburgh, Belfast, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol; for scientific maps only: McCarta Ltd., 122 King's Cross Rd., London WC1X 9DS.  
**UNITED STATES.** Unipub, 205 East 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10017. Orders for books and periodicals: P.O. Box 1222, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.  
**USSR.** V/O Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Ul. Dimitrova 39, Moskva 113095.  
**YEMEN.** 14th October Corporation, P.O. Box 4227, Aden.  
**YUGOSLAVIA.** Mladost, Ilica 30/11, Zagreb; Cankarjeva Založba, Zopitarska 2, Ljubljana; Nolit, Terazije 27/11, Belgrade.  
**ZAMBIA.** National Educational Distribution Co. of Zambia Ltd., P.O. Box 2664, Lusaka.  
**ZIMBABWE.** Textbook Sales (PVT) Ltd., 67 Union Ave., Harare.



