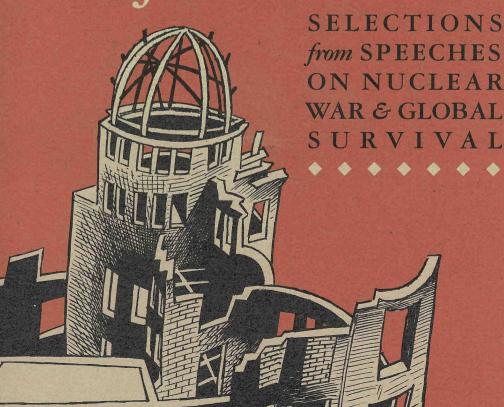


NEVER WHISPER in the PRESENCE of WRONG



BERNARD LOWN, M.D.

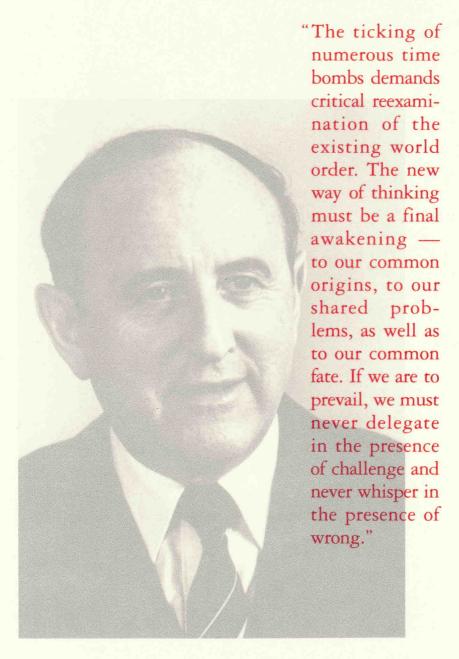
WHISPER in the PRESENCE of WRONG

SELECTIONS from SPEECHES ON NUCLEAR WAR & GLOBAL S U R V I V A L



INTERNATIONAL PHYSICIANS for THE PREVENTION of NUCLEAR WAR

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, USA



Bernard Lown, M.D., Founder and Co-President, 1980 – 1993 International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War

Cover: The A-Bomb Dome in Peace Memorial Park, Hiroshima, Japan. This building, located at the epicenter of the 1945 nuclear attack, was the Hiroshima Prefecture Industrial Promotion Hall before World War II. It has come to be regarded throughout the world as the symbol of Hiroshima's martyrdom.

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The excerpts from Dr. Lown's speeches in this booklet have been slightly edited for consistency and clarity.

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Introduction

N OCTOBER 1980, I and two medical school classmates met Dr. Bernard Lown in his modest research office at the Harvard School of Public Health. He had just returned from a meeting in Geneva with Dr. Evgueni Chazov and four other US and Soviet colleagues. United by the knowledge that their medical work would become meaningless in the instant that a nuclear war erupted, they announced the formation of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. Beginning without staff and without an office, but fueled by a vision of the substantial difference that physicians could and must make in safeguarding an endangered world, IPPNW rapidly became a mighty voice on behalf of human survival. Honored just five years later with the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize, IPPNW has subsequently grown into a truly global organization uniting 200,000 physicians in 80 affiliates worldwide.

At this 11th World Congress of IPPNW, Dr. Lown will, for the last time, address us in the role of IPPNW Co-President. In these brief excerpts from addresses at prior congresses can be found the vision and passion of a unique leader. As we gather to honor him this week, let us do so'by pledging that each of us will carry forth that vision and passion in our own work for IPPNW and for humankind.

Lachlan Forrow, M.D.
IPPNW Secretary
Mexico City
October 2, 1993

Never Whisper in the Presence of Wrong

Does humankind have a future?

The ARE HERE because the world is moving inexorably toward the use of nuclear weapons. The atomic age and space flight have crystallized as never before the enormous power of science and technology. These developments have also brought humankind to a bifurcation — one road of unlimited opportunity for improving the quality of life; the other of unmitigated misery, devastation and death. In the throes of decision is a question: Does humankind have a future?

There is but one fundamental reality in this nuclear age — that the future, the very fate of Soviet, American

and European societies are indissolubly linked. We either live together, or die together.

In the relay race for human survival, we physicians must take the baton from our scientific colleagues who have insistently, with an increasing sense of despair and desperation, attempted to alert humanity to the nuclear danger. Only an aroused world public opinion can compel political leaders to stop the competition of the spiraling nuclear arms race.

Our objective is to mobilize physicians worldwide. Our calling recognizes no geographic boundaries. We are not here as Americans, Soviets, Japanese, British, or other nationality. We are here as human beings.

We recognize that we are transient passengers on this planet Earth. It does not belong to us. We are not free to doom generations yet unborn. We are not at liberty to erase humanity's past nor dim its future. Social organizations do not endure for an eternity. Only life itself can lay claim to uninterrupted continuity. This continuity is sacred. We physicians who shepherd life from birth to death are aware of the resiliency, courage, and creativeness that human beings possess. This perception gives optimistic purpose to our enterprise in reversing the direction of our tragic destiny.

March 20, 1981 Address to the First IPPNW World Congress Airlie House, Virginia, USA

Nuclear war is a term of deception

BOVE ALL, it is mandatory to dispel a central myth in confronting the unthinkable. We think of nuclear war as war, but with magnified consequences. We must break out of the intellectual strangle-hold of conditioned responses and habitual modes of thinking. Nuclear war is a term of deception.

What are the ethical and moral costs in holding millions of people, veritably entire nations, hostage for their lives, threatening extinction of their past, and aborting their right to a future? We fought Hitler to rid the world of genocidal policies. Have we defeated the enemy of humankind only to become infected with his immorality?

April 3, 1982 Address to the Second IPPNW World Congress Cambridge, England

Instruments of genocide

TE MUST proceed beyond description of the horrors of nuclear war. We must sharpen our scalpel and cut into the very nidus of the pathology. In dealing largely with the descriptive, we have been persuasive on the medical consequences of nuclear war. We have learned that when the awful truth

is exposed, people do not retreat in despair. The contrary occurs. They become responsibly involved. Waiting for the bomb to fall is far more injurious to psychological health than involvement in combating the threat.

But this cannot suffice as a permanent strategy. We must answer this question: How is it that we have become trapped in a race whose destructive competition can assume only a catastrophic outcome? Why do we pretend to search for peace through arrogant flirtation with death?

Nuclear bombs are not weapons. They are instruments of genocide. They are not peacekeepers or instruments of national policy. Cholera or crematoria are not made acceptable whatever the sponsorship. We must promote a social revulsion against nuclear weapons as now exists against bacteriologic warfare and foster a popular antinuclear survival instinct as we hunger for food.

A popular groundswell for peace is welling up the world over. This is compelled by the unleashing of the deepest forces embedded in humankind when threatened with extinction. Only an aroused citizenry can alter the course of history away from the precipice.

June 19, 1983 Address to the IPPNW Third World Congress Amsterdam, The Netherlands

A prescription for peace

RMS CONTROL negotiations foster an illusion that a serious effort is underway, that a bilateral commitment prevails to reach agreement, that an accord would be reached expeditiously, and that nuclear overkill would be substantially reduced. Because people do not like to dwell on the unthinkable threat to their survival, their inherent optimism latches on to the promissory note of the negotiations, thereby diminishing their concern and involvement.

What then are the elements of a more promising process? Simply stated, it consists of reciprocating initiatives set in motion by world public opinion. One of the superpowers must be persuaded to launch a significant independent — yes, unilateral — initiative. If this is matched, additional steps are undertaken by the other superpower. The function of the physicians' movement is to help mold the climate of world public opinion to compel reciprocation. Instead of heightening confrontation, a competition is launched to reverse the arms race.

What then are the components for an effective unilateral initiative? It must be easily verifiable. It should stop development of sophisticated, first-strike weapons. It should lead to a reduction of existing nuclear weapons stockpiles.

A moratorium on nuclear testing embodies these three elements and would help disrupt the mad cybernetic of the arms race.

We physicians need to devise a prescription that will break the spiraling arms race whose outcome if continued cannot be in doubt. A comprehensive testing moratorium is a prescription simple in concept, devoid of complexity, free of risk to either superpower, easily verifiable, and will, if enacted, begin the unwinding of the doomsday process.

June 4, 1984 Address to the IPPNW Fourth World Congress Helsinki, Finland

What humanity creates, humanity can control

E PHYSICIANS whose prime mission is to affirm life reject the fantasy purveyed for 40 years that the threat of nuclear annihilation can be the only guarantor of our survival.

How are we to account for the fact that notwithstanding the education of millions about the consequences of nuclear war, we are still addicted to the nuclear fix? Why has it been possible to condition people to favor circumstances against their most deeply indwelling instincts for survival?

The reason is straightforward. It relates to the fostering of an image of an all powerful and unscrupulous adversary. The dynamic of the arms race has been maintained by the manufacture of fear in a self-perpetuating spiral. In reversing this course, apocalyptic predictions, even when buttressed with persuasive scientific facts, will not do. The stereotypes must be dissipated.

We must provide more concrete expression to this first principle of our movement, which is to maintain and expand the dialogue between physicians East and West. We physicians must set examples and venture imaginatively to harness medical talent East and West for resolution of global health problems.

We gather here because we reject the subversion of technology for genocidal weapons rather than employing the fruits of science for improving the quality of life. We meet here because of our abiding faith in human reason and because we hold dear the concept that what humanity creates, humanity can control.

June 29, 1985 Address to the IPPNW Fifth World Congress Budapest, Hungary

Star Health instead of Star Wars

E NEED to be impelled by the moral imperatives of our commitment to life and health rather than worry about crossing that ill-defined boundary into what constitutes the political realm. Our activities must not be limited merely to

describing the final epidemic. We need to marshal many of our professional resources to work for its prevention. If this be deemed political, so be it. The struggle for human survival requires no apologies. It is consonant with the most hallowed traditions of our profession.

Success in our difficult enterprise demands an enlarged agenda. We must address the issues that constitute the propelling force of the arms race. In large measure, these relate to the distrust pervading superpower relations. The complex differences between our social systems have been reduced to martial combat between the forces of good and evil. The clock of history is being turned back to the religious wars of the Dark Ages. We physicians are well equipped to counteract such simplistic, dehumanized, and dangerous stereotypes of fellow human beings.

Differences between societies are transient and trivial compared to the threat to the survival of all.

IPPNW should consider how to promote international cooperation to facilitate the launching of a space health satellite network. The aim would be to provide teaching data, thereby upgrading the standards of medical education worldwide. All the technology is now in place for the operation of such a global health space network. Needed is the imagination and political will to work for its implementation. Let us urge Star Health instead of Star Wars.

We must hold fast to the dream that reason will prevail. The world today is full of anguish and dread. As great as is the danger, still greater is the opportunity. If science and technology have catapulted us to the brink of extinction, the same ingenuity has brought humankind to the boundary of an age of abundance. For the first time, science and medicine can liberate us from drudgery and pain.

Only those who see the invisible can do the impossible. But in order to do the impossible, in the words of Jonathan Schell, we ask "not for our personal survival: we ask only that we be survived. We ask for assurance that when we die as individuals, as we know we must, mankind will live on."

July 1, 1985 Address to the IPPNW Fifth World Congress Budapest, Hungary

The most fundamental of all rights

R. Chazov and I are both cardiologists and usually speak about the heart. Today we speak from the heart. We physicians have a moral imperative to resist with all our being the drift toward the brink. The threatened inhabitants on this fragile planet must speak out for those yet unborn, for posterity has no lobby with politicians.

We protest the outrage of holding the entire world hostage. We protest the moral obscenity that each of us is being continuously targeted for extinction. We protest the ongoing increase in overkill. We protest the expansion of the arms race into space. We protest the diversion of scarce resources from aching human needs.

We physicians have focused on the nuclear threat as the singular issue of our era. We are not indifferent to other human rights and hard-won civil liberties. But first we must be able to bequeath to our children the most fundamental of all rights, one that preconditions all others: the right to survival.

> December 10, 1985 Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech Oslo, Norway

The nuclear build-up is like a cancer

s no national interest would justify inflicting genocide on the victim and suicide on the aggressor, a prevalent misconception is that nuclear war will never be fought. But the realities of our age compel an opposite assessment. In no previous epoch were adversaries so continuously and totally mobilized for instant war.

The possession of nuclear weapons has been justified by the theory of deterrence. No more untenable view of human affairs has ever gained such widespread public acceptance. In order to be effective, nuclear deterrence must operate perfectly and forever. No such expectations are permissible for any human activity.

The nuclear build-up is like a cancer, the cells of which multiply because they have been genetically programmed to do no other. Pointing nuclear-tipped missiles at entire nations is an unprecedented act of moral depravity. The horror is obscured by its magnitude, by the sophistication of the means of slaughter, and by the aseptic Orwellian language crafted to describe the attack.

Perhaps the signal accomplishment of IPPNW has been the broad-based, free-flowing dialogue between physicians of the two contending power blocs. In a world riven with confrontation and strife, IPPNW has become a model of cooperation. Paranoid fantasies of a dehumanized adversary cannot withstand the common pursuit of healing and preventing illness. Ultimately, we believe people must come to terms with the fact that the struggle is not between different national destinies, between opposing ideologies, but rather between catastrophe and survival. All nations share a linked destiny; nuclear weapons are their shared enemy.

December 11, 1985 The Nobel Lecture Oslo, Norway

One global village

TE PHYSICIANS have declared a truce. We refuse to be mobilized as cold warriors in crusades that demean our humanity and threaten the continuance of life on Earth.

Our sacred mission to preserve life on Earth is the categorical imperative of our time. We must summon all our knowledge — and yes, all our passion — to speak for generations unborn. Posterity has no lobby with politicians. We must persuade our patients that the struggle is not for this or that national destiny, not for communism or capitalism, but for the prevention of unprecedented tragedy and the promotion of human survival.

Human beings must learn that we all reside in one global village. Borders and frontiers are but primitive tribal scars. Acid rain and atomic radiation do not require passports to traverse the world. Nuclear winter will respect no bounds. These truths are now being learned by millions. They are the seeds planted in the springtime of the atomic age. They will grow and ripen to create a new world culture that respects the fragile and indissoluble unity of the human family — a truth not foreign to us in the healing arts.

May 29, 1986 Address to the IPPNW Sixth World Congress Cologne, Germany

A new war-crimes process

N THE BASIS of this policy of deterrence, responsible governments are targeting entire nations. The front line has become everyone's home. Infants and the aged, the sick and the crippled are all targeted. The irreplaceable artifacts of human history, the creative and artistic achievements of the ages, will not be spared incineration.

In the sorry recorded history of 5,000 years of endless wars, some limits had been set on human savagery. Moral safeguards were raised to preclude the killing of unarmed civilians and health workers, the poisoning of drinking water, the incineration of open cities, and the spreading of infection. But nuclear barbarism threatens in one stroke all these painfully won but limited constraints. Total war — unprincipled in method, unlimited in violence, indiscriminate in its victims, and uncontrolled in its devastation — is now sanctioned military policy. Deterrence is a suspended sentence of mass murder to be executed at any moment. The idea of pointing nuclear missiles at entire nations is without precedent in moral depravity.

We physicians, guardians of health and life, have an ethical categorical imperative to expose the bleak immorality of the policy of deterrence. We must not acquiesce to stockpiling weapons of mass extermination as the guarantors of national security. We must not per-

mit the search for peace to proceed through overt flirtation with death.

We need the moral courage to go further. We need to equate the possession of nuclear weapons with crimes against humanity. Would the building of thousands of gas chambers not be deemed repugnant to the laws of civilized society? It is appropriate, from this podium in Germany, to call for activation of a new war-crimes process, a new Nuremberg, to begin to examine the violation of international law implicit in the stockpiling of instruments of genocide.

Brooding over the nuclear threat for a quarter of a century now, I am led inexorably to the conviction that without exciting moral outrage among their intended victims, the dismantling of nuclear weapons will not succeed. Only unprecedented arousal of moral revulsion will provide the necessary spiritual energy.

Before departing for Cologne, I received a letter from a physician in which he requested that we remove his name from our rolls, though he continues to support the principles of IPPNW. As a concentration camp survivor, he was revolted at holding an IPPNW congress in Germany.

These words released a surge of painful memories. My grandfather, uncle, aunt, and cousins, who were close to me, were burned alive by the Nazis. I regret that the physician who wrote to me was not here yesterday morning to listen to the impassioned words of conscience of Dr. Hartmut Hanauske-Abel.

After Dr. Hanauske-Abel's emotionally draining talk, I met an Australian Jewish physician. He said, "I swore never to visit Germany. Now the circle is closed. For me, Germany has been redeemed by its IPPNW."

So, as we depart this congress let us rekindle our indignation at the moral obscenity of the politics of nuclearism. And let that rekindling fire a great people's movement for which future generations will pay homage to this generation.

June 1, 1986 Address to the IPPNW Sixth World Congress Cologne, Germany

Uncompromising abolitionists

PPNW WORKS for the elimination of all nuclear weapons. We are uncompromising abolitionists. A profession dedicated to assuring the conditions of life has a sworn duty to eradicate the agents threatening mass death, whether these be due to cholera or schistosomiasis, to AIDS or nuclear weapons. For us, abolition is a medical, as well as moral, categorical imperative.

Four decades of history teach that the nuclear experts are capable of complicating but not resolving the momentous issues propelling the arms race. In Reykjavik at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, the area of difference was sharply focused.

The two ultimate leaders spoke the unspeakable. They voiced their commitment to abolition. The issue was clearly drawn. Until Reykjavik, nuclear abolitionism was the property of the visionary few. Now by lending their imprimatur, this idea has entered the public domain. The question on the public agenda is now reduced to a single one: namely, shall we eliminate missiles before launch or be ready to shoot them down after launch. In such a debate, common sense will prevail, if we lend our energies to make this idea the intellectual property of the people.

Only when people, East and West, realize that their true enemy is not one another but the mushroom cloud; that their ultimate self-interest is the shared interest of survival — only then will survival be assured.

May 31, 1987 Address to the IPPNW Seventh World Congress Moscow, Russia

Which shall it be?

new millennium. Will our baggage include the poisonous intellectual detritus of this most barbaric era? Will we traverse into the new age carrying on us the vermin of a century that knew no respite from war, mass murder, and self-inflicted torment?

Or, will we transport with us only unprecedented achievements in science and culture? Will we grace the future cleansed of the instruments of overkill and genocide?

Which shall it be? Which shall it be?

The new millennium is a season for peace. Enough of institutionalized mass murder. Let us enter the twenty-first century with an imaginative agenda. Let a new way of thinking permeate all human endeavors. Clearly this cannot be until we abolish nuclear weapons. Only then will the longing for peace intoned prayerfully since the dawn of man's existence be realized. Only then can it be said, at long last human beings have begun to inscribe a history that is truly human.

June 1, 1987 Address to the IPPNW Seventh World Congress Moscow, Russia

The profound transformation

HEN TERRORISTS take hostage a single human being, there is a world outcry. Why is there no seething rage at the abomination of holding humankind permanently dangling over the nuclear abyss? Shall we physicians remain silent in confronting the most abysmal collective failure of social responsibility by humankind in its long sordid history?

We have ahead a most difficult struggle. But we are buoyed with optimism about the outcome.

What is the basis for our optimism? One important element relates to the profound transformation unleashed in the USSR under the remarkable leadership of General Secretary Gorbachev. Two seemingly inseparable organisms were fueling the arms race: the US military-industrial complex and the Soviet apparat of paranoid secrecy. Each was feeding upon the other and surviving because of the other. Glasnost is now disrupting this unwholesome symbiosis.

November 6, 1987 Address to the Seventh National Congress of IPPNW-Germany Essen, Germany

Development and disarmament

UR MOVEMENT is shaped by the Jeffersonian belief that people must be the ultimate arbiters of their own destinies. Political processes are invariably anchored to past arrangements with vested interests, sluggishly responsive to the promptings of danger or to the unfolding of urgent problems yet in the future. Ruling establishments are unmoved by high-sounding principles, or by the logic of events. Motion and change are compelled by an aroused public opinion

when denied legitimate rights. Never before have the seismic rumblings been so ominous, never before have global inequities been as egregious or appalling. For those who are not afraid to listen, the ticking of numerous time bombs is clearly audible.

The armaments race is already forcing large parts of humankind to live in the rubble of World War III. Expenditures exceeding 2.8 billion dollars daily divert finite fiscal resources from the dire needs of the developing world. Premature death, disease, hunger, illiteracy, and hopelessness everywhere on Earth are the direct consequence of the militarization of social priorities. Development and disarmament are indissolubly linked. One cannot achieve the former without accomplishing the latter.

June 1, 1988 Address to the IPPNW Eighth World Congress Montreal, Canada

A fragile ecology

INDENIABLY, a new breeze is blowing, the climate is changing, and we have contributed mightily. But recognition of a welcome psychological atmosphere constitutes a challenge for more involvement, not an invitation for withdrawal.

A realistic appraisal of the current military scene indicates that rather than winding down and phasing out,

the arms race is being transformed. The quantitative accumulation of overkill is being halted, and in its stead, a qualitative race is taking its place, the aim of which is to gain decisive technologic superiority.

There are additional reasons compelling impatience and greater involvement in ridding the world of the nuclear threat. We face a mounting global crisis — the delayed aftermath of the industrial revolution. The planet is finite; its resources are finite. When we extract unreplenishable wealth from the soil, we diminish the earth and upset fine ecological balances that we but little understand. However, nations in the developed world, with few exceptions, stimulate rapacious appetites for consumption. Finite resources are being squandered. A fragile ecology is being despoiled. Pollution is rampant, enhanced by the excrement of unlimited acquisitiveness.

The ticking of numerous time bombs demands critical reexamination of the existing world order. The new way of thinking must be a final awakening — to our common origins, to our shared problems, as well as to our common fate.

If we are to prevail, we must never delegate in the presence of challenge and never whisper in the presence of wrong.

June 4, 1988 Address to the IPPNW Eighth World Congress Montreal, Canada

The martyred city provides witness

Tragically, we are not alone. All humankind stands with us. While death is life's ultimate destiny, until the atomic age it had not been ordained that it be inflicted on everyone simultaneously. In a shrunken world without a place to hide, will this be our shared destiny? The martyred city of Hiroshima provides witness that the unthinkable can happen.

October 7, 1989

Remarks in Peace Park upon the opening of the IPPNW Ninth World Congress, Hiroshima, Japan

We promise you, Sadako Sasaki

E PROMISE you, Sadako Sasaki of the thousand cranes, who died of leukemia at age 12; we promise you, comingled with the earth on which we stand; we promise you this mistake — no, this crime — will never be repeated.

October 7, 1989 Address to the IPPNW Ninth World Congress Hiroshima, Japan

We shall not permit ourselves to forget

deem worthy of their transient passage through life, it is to leave the world somewhat better than they found it. That is why we have assembled here. That is why we shall not delete from memory the painful witness of inanimate objects twisted by blast and venomous heat into hideous shapes. That is why we shall not permit ourselves to forget the radiation horror visited on innocent victims. That is why we need an IPPNW.

The mushroom cloud over Hiroshima fissioned the political atmosphere and split the world into warring camps for over 40 years. It squandered more than four trillion dollars, degraded the environment, disjointed the economies of the victors of World War II, and corrupted the moral fiber of both superpowers. It furthermore fixed in the Western public mind the sick notion that the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings were justified and that the atomic bomb, the most malign scourge, was a peacekeeper.

October 9, 1989 Address to the IPPNW Ninth World Congress Hiroshima, Japan

Dedicate the last decade to justice

tury to justice if we are to rid the world of the scourge of war and the threat of nuclear weapons. Human greatness lies in our ability to overcome despair by envisioning a better world. We need to realize our dreams and drown out the dead and irrelevant echoes of militarism, greed, and injustice with a common voice of hope.

October 5, 1990 Address to IPPNW-Germany Bonn, Germany

Oppose the war system

different from Vietnam. No more body counts or napalmed children. No talk of bombing them back to the stone age. Avoided were the acres of rubble of World War II. No images of Dresden, Tokyo, or Leningrad to wrench emotion, mobilize moral outrage, or evoke sympathy. It was a "techno-war." Media coverage focused on the high-tech wizardry of the aerial blitzkrieg. The televised images defined the war as a game, fostering the illusion of safe, bloodless playing

fields while a Third World country was being dragged back to the last century.

Our starting point as physicians derives from a moral commitment affirming the right to life and health as inviolate whatever the dictates of political fashion. I am convinced that in the wake of the Gulf War we have to widen our mandate. Our ethical conception regarding warfare needs to be defined by the evil deeds perpetrated rather than by the weapons used. We need to broaden our mandate to oppose the war system and its military culture. As long as the military culture erected over the past 5,000 years endures, we shall have neither national security, global peace, nor human betterment.

June 27, 1991 Address to the IPPNW Tenth World Congress Stockholm, Sweden

The ecocide of war

F A PEACEFUL world order is to be built on justice, we need to confront the gaping North-South divide. One fifth of the world's people live on the edge of subsistence of whom 45 million starve to death annually. One billion whites, largely affluent, have energy-gluttonous economies that sponsor waste and environmental degradation. This profligacy is mainly underwritten by

the four billion people in various stages of development, living immersed in blighted inadequacy and largely bereft of hope. The world has 157 billionaires and 100 million homeless.

In thinking of an agenda for IPPNW in the 1990s, one must not be unmindful of the daily bad news on the environmental front. It is my considered judgment that there is a distinctive position in the environmental struggle that belongs to IPPNW. This relates to the ecocide of war and the peacetime degradation of environment by preparation for war.

Our base of operations becomes opposition to war as a key commitment in preventive public health. Opposing this millennial scourge becomes the central link in addressing the issues of development and environment.

I am convinced that our actions will lead to a new cultural ethos, one that establishes a fine equilibrium between men and nature, between the future and the present. We have to carve out a new realm of the sacred, in which preserving a humane future becomes the highest purpose of living. Thereby, in the closing years of the twentieth century, we must help regain the balance between our immense scientific and technologic power and our moral capacity. No challenge is more pressing.

July 1, 1991 Address to the IPPNW Tenth World Congress Stockholm, Sweden

A respite

FOR ME, the time is long overdue to have a respite from a singular commitment that has extended over three decades. The past twelve years have been intense and consuming beyond anyone's capacity to appreciate except my neglected family.

At the same time, this has been the most fulfilling and unimaginably heady experience. Nothing would have induced me to have had it otherwise. Finally, I continue to brim with pessimism about the past, which no one can alter. My optimism for the future remains undiminished, since we can help shape it.

January 16, 1992 Remarks to the IPPNW Executive Committee Boston, Massachusetts





INTERNATIONAL PHYSICIANS for THE PREVENTION of NUCLEAR WAR