

12-1-1985

## Concerned Philosophers for Peace, Vol. 1, No. 12

Concerned Philosophers for Peace

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### Recommended Citation

Concerned Philosophers for Peace, "Concerned Philosophers for Peace, Vol. 1, No. 12" (1985). *Concerned Philosophers for Peace*. 12.

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# CONCERNED PHILOSOPHERS FOR PEACE

P.O. Box 42393  
Portland, OR 97242

NUMBER 12  
DECEMBER 1985

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V.5, no.2

Our previous issue included an article by Jan Narveson entitled "Why Doves Should Love the Cruise." Several replies were received, among them the following.

## THE CURSE OF THE CRUISE

Douglas P. Lackey  
Baruch College, CUNY

Narveson's main contention is that the cruise missile is a "second strike" weapon, and that if all nations had second strike weapons and were committed only to striking second, no war would occur. The problem with this is that (a) the cruise missile is not a "second strike" weapon, and (b) possession of second strike weapons is not innocuous.

(a) Is the cruise a "second strike" weapon?

(i) Narveson argues that the performance characteristics of cruise missiles are such that they cannot be mustered for a disarming first strike. But the fact is that the cruise missile has the highest hard target kill capacity of any missile in the American arsenal (1). The cruise is slow, but it is relatively undetectable, and there are many more of them than any other type of missile. Thus, even if the cruise arsenal does not provide the first strike capacity, it gets the United States closer to first strike capacity than any other type of missile.

(ii) Even if the cruise missile could not be used for a disarming first strike, it might be used for a limited first strike. Indeed, it is more likely to be used for a limited nuclear first strike than any other American strategic weapon. Arguing from performance characteristics in the abstract, Narveson does not consider the actual occasions in which strategic weapons might come to be used. Suppose, for example, that the Soviets seal off the Berlin corridor, and this time around they shoot down American planes attempting to airlift supplies to West Berlin. Warsaw Pact

troops mass along the West German border, and NATO leaders come to believe that a Soviet attack is imminent. Military experts indicate that the only way the situation can be salvaged is by destroying the Soviet supply lines, but new Soviet radars make bombing attacks impossible. Suppose NATO leaders decide that the supply lines must be taken out with missiles — missiles with nuclear warheads. Which missile will they use? Certainly not the Minuteman or the MX, and probably not SLBMs from subs offshore. The use of these large strategic systems would signal the beginning of all-out nuclear war, and the result would be the destruction of the NATO homelands. But a missile different in type, a highly accurate missile that could destroy military targets with a minimum of collateral damage, a nuclear armed missile the use of which would signal NATO resolve to use nuclear missiles if necessary but a missile small enough to signal NATO's desire to keep the war limited, that type of missile might be thought to save the day. I leave it to Narveson to determine what type of missile NATO leaders have in mind.

Scenarios of this sort can be multiplied indefinitely. The cruise is flexible, usable, not self-detering. It lowers the nuclear threshold and makes first use more likely.

(cont. next page)

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(b) Is possession of "second strike" weapons innocuous?

Suppose that the preceding arguments are wrong and that the cruise missile is indeed a weapon that would only be used second. There are still problems.

(i) Obviously the mere possession of the cruise does not rule out the retention of other sorts of strategic weapons. It was never the plan of supporters of the cruise that the cruise should replace any other American strategic system. Indeed, the arrival of the cruise provided the supporters of the B-1 with a rationale for the B-1 (a "cruise missile launching platform") that swayed votes in Congress in favor of B-1 production. The world might be better off if the United States possessed only cruise missiles, but the real moral question is whether the world is better off with the U.S. strategic triad alone or with the U.S. strategic triad plus 10,000 cruise missiles. Obviously, the former is better, since even if the chance that war will start is unchanged by the cruise, the ferocity of the war once it starts could only be worse with the cruise in place.

(ii) But now let us suppose, per impossible, that the U.S. had only cruise missiles and that they would only be used after a Soviet first strike. I still would find possession of the cruise morally intolerable. Suppose that war broke out in Europe, and NATO used tactical nuclear weapons first. The Soviets reply with missiles, and the American cruise replies to the Soviet first strike. In this situation, the West would bear primary responsibility for the onset of nuclear war, and the cruise would be responsible for a large part of the destruction of that war. Or suppose that missiles struck the U.S. by accident, or through unauthorized use, and that the U.S. misinterpreted these attacks as part of a major attack and replied with the cruise. Certainly the world would be better off if the U.S. endured these attacks rather than responded to them in this way.

(iii) Narveson praises the cruise for its concealability, portability, and so forth. But the very features that make it survivable also create nightmares for the arms control process. Given the American emphasis on strict verification as a presupposition for arms control agreements, the arrival of the

cruise in large numbers signals an end to arms control agreements for the new generation of strategic systems.

Narveson's attempt to discriminate "defensive" from "offensive" weapons on the basis of performance characteristics is a common mistake. It is also a fairly old one, and people interested in learning from this error should consult the proceedings of the Disarmament Conference of 1932, which proceeded disastrously along these lines (2). What an irony it is that the cruise missile is the principal legacy of Jimmy Carter, the American President who began his term by telling the Joint Chiefs that American deterrence required no more than 200 SLBMs.

- (1) The Minuteman III has a kill factor of 34; the MX about 204; the cruise about 1305. "Kill factor" is the horizontal explosive force of the warhead divided by the square of its accuracy.
- (2) See Marion W. Boggs, Attempts to Define and Limit "Aggressive" Armament in Diplomacy (Columbia: Univ Missouri Press, 1941).

#### MEETINGS TO WATCH FOR AT EASTERN APA

Concerned Philosophers for Peace  
Saturday, December 28, 7:30 PM

##### Program:

Topic: "Immoral Risks"  
Douglas Lackey, Speaker  
Kristin Shrader-Frechette,  
Commentator  
Business Meeting

Philosophers for Social Responsibility  
Saturday, December 28, 11:30 AM

Gandhi-King Society  
Sunday, December 30, 8:00 PM

# A PROPOSAL TO MEMBERS OF CONCERNED PHILOSOPHERS FOR PEACE

By Joseph C. Kunkel  
University of Dayton

Since its inception Concerned Philosophers for Peace has been meeting officially only in conjunction with the Divisional Meetings of the APA. Our meetings normally consist of one or two talks, discussion, and some business — two or three hours per year. We have also been graced with a newsletter that keeps us acquainted with current developments.

My query concerns the sufficiency of these communal events. Many other societies of philosophers generate sufficient scholarly and professional interest in their shared concerns to warrant an annual or biennial two-day conference of their members. Recently we have witnessed an avalanche of published material — anthologies, journal issues, and books — in our area of specialty. If this material is not critiqued and embellished it will lie stillborn. Perhaps the time has come for us to consider fuller gatherings for longer time periods.

My suggestion is that each of us make a strong effort to participate in the first International Conference of IPPNO, the International Philosophers for the Prevention of Nuclear Omnicide (see announcement this page). Concerned Philosophers for Peace is associated with IPPNO. Therefore IPPNO's holding its first Conference in the U.S. provides an opportunity for us to meet not only with one another, but with philosophers from around the world, both East and West, who share our concerns. The IPPNO meeting is set for St. Louis May 1-5, 1986, in conjunction with the APA Western Division meeting. We may not have another opportunity like this for some years.

Secondly I propose that each Divisional meeting of CPP discuss whether there is sufficient interest for the Executive Committee of CPP to commit itself to organizing an annual two-day conference, beginning in the fall of 1987. Perhaps the more fitting venture would be to organize one such conference and to decide at that time whether or not to make the gathering an annual event. If you are unable to attend a

Divisional Meeting this year please write me with your reflections, to Department of Philosophy, University of Dayton, Dayton, OH 45469.

## IPPNO PLANS FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: MAY, 1986, IN ST. LOUIS

The International Philosophers for the Prevention of Nuclear Omnicide (IPPNO) announces its first International Conference in conjunction with the Western Division of the American Philosophical Association in St. Louis, Missouri, April 30-May 4, 1986.

Philosophers from the USA, India, Netherlands, Japan, Poland, West Germany, Canada, Egypt, and UK comprise the organizing committee. Purpose of IPPNO and the conference is dialogue for mutual understanding and peace among countries with differing ideologies and social systems. It was organized at the 1983 World Congress of Philosophy in Montreal. An international conference is expected every two years.

Planned for this first conference are several days of plenary sessions, symposia, and workshops. Papers of not more than 20 minutes reading time are solicited from scholars in any discipline related to the prevention of nuclear conflict.

For further information write to IPPNO President Professor John Somerville, 1426 Merritt Drive, El Cajon, CA 92020, or call 619/447-1641.

The newsletter of Concerned Philosophers for Peace is edited by Stephen Anderson, 2524 NW Xavier #3, Portland, OR 97210; 503/227-5549. Brief papers, bibliography, syllabi, and news of interest to our readers are welcomed.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Nuclear Fallacies: How We Have Been Misguided Since Hiroshima. Robert W. Malcomson. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1985. 152 pp.

Robert Malcomson wants "to identify both the actual changes in the objective realities of life in the nuclear age and the various ways in which these realities have been perceived and misperceived" (p x). He argues that nuclear weapons are distinct because they threaten total annihilation of the enemy and of the entire global ecosystem, because there is no defense against them, and because they are potentially suicidal. These lead to the peculiarities of the nuclear age. Deterrence, Malcomson maintains, was never fully believed in by the policy planners. Instead, all along we have pursued superiority and a first-strike capability. He concludes with some suggestions, which will surprise few, for reducing the risks of nuclear war.

While the ground covered will be

familiar to people teaching in this field, it is a book that can be recommended to students. For students, however, the organization is not as crisp as it might be; for scholars, the arguments are not as fresh or detailed as might be. Also the book is quietly polemical (Malcomson is "dovish"), and some students may need to be alerted to this.

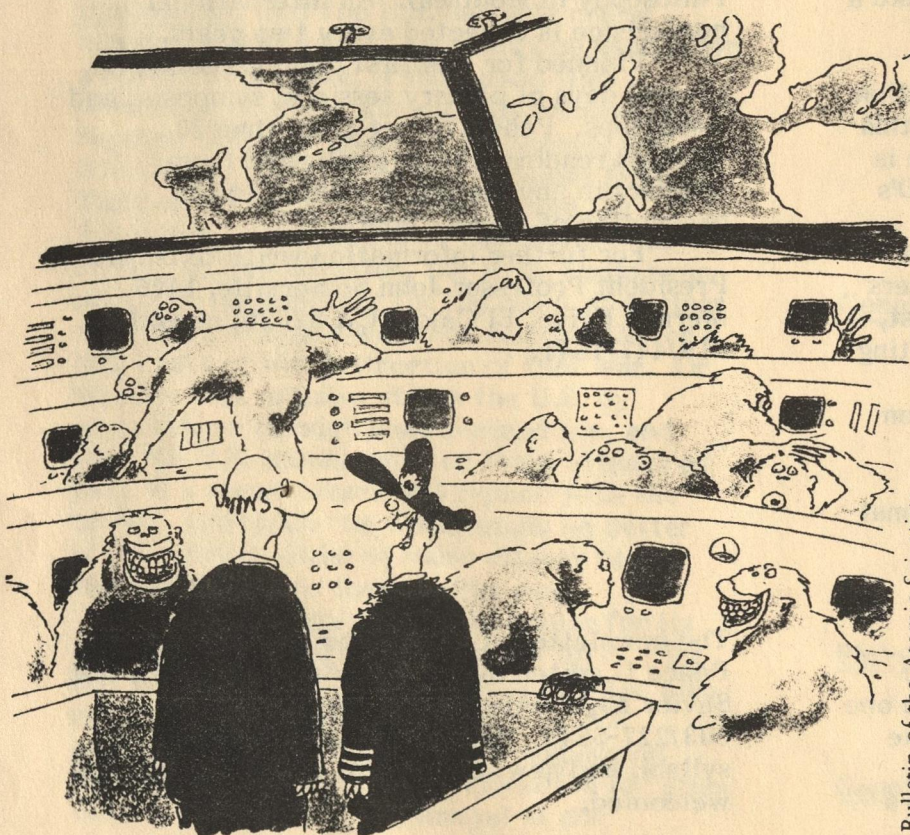
Educating for Peace: A Feminist Perspective on Peace Research and Action. Birgit Brock-Utne. Pergamon, 1985. 149 pp.

Brock-Utne is a Norwegian feminist, pacifist, and peace activist. She takes peace to include social justice as well as the absence of war. The book is polemical and successfully raises important issues for those within the peace movement. She argues in particular that women should not accept the masculine framework and should work for peace in their own way, not attempting to beat men at their own "game". Further, peace studies and

peace research have been subtly "masculinized" and ought to shift their aims. Frequent references are made to sociological studies (many Scandinavian) which are hard to evaluate.

The book could be successfully used in a course on peace. For example, Brock-Utne maintains that men are biologically more aggressive than women, and discusses three ways to make the world more peaceful in the face of this fact: limit the number of male children, have women rule the world, or change men through surgery or medication. If this does not spark a discussion in your class, your students are probably sedated.

— David Weinberger  
Stockton State College,  
Pomona, NJ 08240



Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

B. Grace, © Punch, United Kingdom

"And we've virtually eliminated the possibility of war through human error."

## RECENT ANTHOLOGIES ON PHILOSOPHY AND NUCLEAR ARMS

Cohen, Avner, and Steven Lee, eds. Nuclear Weapons and the Future of Humanity: The Fundamental Questions. Rowman and Allenheld, 1984.

Fox, Michael, and Leo Groarke, eds. Nuclear War: Philosophical Perspectives. New York: Peter Lang, 1985. 278 pp. For use in philosophy courses. Includes major articles, short commentaries, study questions, bibliography.

Gay, William C., ed. Philosophy and the Debate on Nuclear Weapons Systems and Policies. Special double issue of Philosophy and Social Criticism, Vol 10, Nos 3-4 (Winter, 1984). 188 pp.

Hardin, Russell, et. al., eds. Ethics and Nuclear Deterrence. Special issue of Ethics, Vol 95, No 3 (April, 1985). 336 pp.

Sterba, James, ed. The Ethics of War and Nuclear Deterrence. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1985. 182 pp. Designed for undergraduate courses. Most contributors are philosophers, others are statesmen, religious, defense experts, commentators. Includes "hawks".

Blake, Nigel, and Kay Pole. Dangers of Deterrence: Philosophers on Nuclear Strategy. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983. 184 pp. This and the following work are directed mainly to the European nuclear debate.

Blake, Nigel, and Kay Pole. Objections to Nuclear Defense: Philosophers on Deterrence. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984. 190 pp.

## DESIGNING A COURSE OR A PEACE STUDIES PROGRAM?

1) Capsule descriptions of over 80 syllabi are available in the Summary of Nuclear War Syllabi put out by UCAM (United

Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War). Use the summary to order particular syllabi and reading lists which interest you. Nine of the courses are classified as philosophy or theology and 19 are interdisciplinary.

For a copy of the 12-page Summary send \$3 to UCAM, 220 "I" Street NE, Washington, DC 20002.

2) Some 100 complete syllabi are published in the fourth edition of Peace and World Order Studies: A Curriculum Guide published by the World Policy Institute. The 742 pages of this mighty work contain not only syllabi on various topics in global studies, such as militarism and the arms race, women and world order, international law, peacemaking and nonviolence, hunger and the politics of food distribution, and alternative futures. It also offers a review of the history and design of over 40 "peace studies" programs in the U.S., a list of over 70 organizations funding peace studies, annotated lists of organizations and journals, a filmography, and bibliography.

For a copy, postpaid, send \$16 to World Policy Institute, 777 United Nations Plaza, NY, NY 10017.

## NEW BIBLIOGRAPHY AVAILABLE

The most complete bibliography we are aware of on philosophy and nuclear weapons has been compiled by William C. Gay, University of North Carolina at Charlotte. It is presently available to philosophers for the asking.

The ten-page bibliography is based on a computer search of Philosopher's Index from 1945 to 1985 and consists of two alphabetical lists, one for books and special journal issues (about 60 entries) and another for articles (about 100).

Professor Gay asks philosophers to help ensure the comprehensiveness of the list by sending sources which may not be included because not indexed in PI or for any other reason. He is also working on a topical index which he hopes to make available in 1986.

Copies of the bibliography in its present form may be obtained by writing Professor William C. Gay, Department of Philosophy, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Charlotte, NC 28223.

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Are you teaching/researching issues related to the nuclear arms race?

Are you available to speak at forums, conferences, etc.?

Other activities, remarks, contributions to newsletter:

There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge, and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal, as human beings, to human beings: remember your humanity, and forget the rest. -Bertrand Russell

**CONCERNED PHILOSOPHERS FOR PEACE**  
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