

protection of national interests on maintaining militaries as large as their budgets will bear. This system of international order, in which the primary mode of security is the military of the nation-state, coupled with the threat of force, we can characterize as the war system.

Canadians are accustomed to thinking of the costs of the war system in terms of military spending alone. That amount is now, annually, almost \$10 billion for Canada, \$300 billion for the United States, \$1 trillion for the world. We are less generally aware of some of the other costs--the paralysis of the international system and all the vast human suffering that flows from that; the environmental damage, the structural damage to the economy--that are a direct consequence of the war system, particularly its major manifestation, the Cold War. Because we are not assigning to the war system even a fraction of its real costs, and because we are generally resigned to paying the costs we know about, the war system continues.

It is the Cold War which is primarily responsible for the bogging down of the U.N. system and, consequently, the further development of the cooperative world institutions needed to reverse the trends which threaten humanity. The Cold War has therefore contributed to humanity's immobilization in the face of global crises which in the long run, perversely, pose a more fundamental threat to both the Soviets and to the West than anyone really believes we pose to each other.

The Cold War has paralyzed the flimsy apparatus of the U.N. Security Council, and so perpetuated the war system for the whole world. Smaller nations cannot rely on the U.N. for their security. Consequently, developing nations, despite their urgent poverty, are led to spend hundreds of billions of dollars in pursuit of national security through military strength. This is money diverted from social and economic development, which Western countries including Canada do not nearly make up with their billions of dollars in development assistance.

Once possessed of a military, many third world governments turn it against their own people to maintain their power. Too often civilian governments are overthrown by their militaries. The result in both cases is the suffocation of democracy in the developing world, and the immense suffering and torment of entire populations. The repressive societies that result give rise to liberation movements, which often turn to Communist states for support, complicating the Cold War further, thus completing the circle.

Military activities are inflicting appalling damage on the environment. Vapour trails of high-flying military jets are eating away at the earth's thin ozone layer. More than 1,200 nuclear bombs have been exploded. The fallout has put millions of tons of radioactive particles into the atmosphere, increasing the likelihood of cancer for every human being on earth. Underground nuclear tests in the South Pacific have spurted radioactive gases at temperatures of between 25,000 and 50,000 degrees Fahrenheit into the ocean, affecting weather patterns and ocean food supplies throughout the whole Pacific ocean.

Just to have an enemy is to be in some sense destroyed.

What is the effect on Western-style democracy of harbouring the immense, secretive and authoritarian institutions of the military in our societies? The CIA uses Canadian citizens in brainwashing experiments. French agents blow up a Greenpeace ship, killing a crew member. Canadian security forces spy on the peace movement. We are becoming what we fear, defending our democracies with the most undemocratic of tactics.

What are the consequences to society of taking large numbers of young men into military camps, teaching them unquestioning obedience to authority, teaching them to kill