

EUROPEAN SECURITY NUCLEAR OR CONVENTIONAL DEFENCE?

**Proceedings of the IVth International
Symposium organized by the**

GROUPE DE BELLERIVE

Geneva 8 - 10 December 1983

Edited by Michel de Perrot



Pergamon Press

Oxford New York Toronto Sydney Paris Frankfurt

CONTENTS

<i>INTRODUCTION</i> <i>Michel de Perrot, Editor</i>	XI
<i>OPENING STATEMENT</i> <i>Saddruddin Aga Khan</i>	1
I NUCLEAR THREATS	
Chairmen: <i>Dr Martin Kaplan, Mr Paul Sieghart</i>	
Consequences in Europe of a nuclear conflict <i>Professor Joseph Rotblat (U.K.)</i>	7
Nuclear reality, military illusion, political responsibility <i>Lord Zuckerman (U.K.)</i>	15
Expected impact of the use of nuclear weapons on battlefields, towns and cities. Under what circumstances could resort to nuclear weapons be justified? <i>Colonel Jonathan Alford (U.K.)</i>	23
The linkage of nuclear reactors and nuclear weapons <i>Professor John Holdren (U.S.A.)</i>	29
Commercial fast breeders: towards an integrated European nuclear force? <i>Michel de Perrot (Switzerland)</i>	37
1st session debate	63

II PUBLIC REACTIONS

Chairmen: *Mr Denis de Rougemont, Prof. Ove Nathan*

The letter of the U.S. Catholic episcopacy on nuclear arms of May 1983	101
<i>Father John Lucal (U.S.A.)</i>	
The World Council of Churches and nuclear weapons	107
<i>Doctor Paul Abrecht</i>	
Peace movements in Europe	115
<i>Professor Hylke Tromp (Netherlands)</i>	
The dynamics of the peace movement in the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany	121
<i>Mrs Zsuzsa Hegedus (France)</i>	
Europe and non-violent defence	131
<i>Professor Adam Curle (U.K.)</i>	
2nd session debate	145

III ARMS RACE AND ARMS CONTROL

Chairmen: *Prof. Jacques Freymond, Prof. Lukas Vischer*

Aims, roles and prospects of arms control	167
<i>Professor Wolf Graf von Baudissin (FRG)</i>	
Reducing the risk of nuclear war	175
<i>Senator William Cohen (U.S.A.)</i>	

Limitation of a tactical and strategic nuclear defence in France and in Europe	185
<i>General Pierre Gallois (France)</i>	
No-First-Use	193
<i>Vice-Admiral John M. Lee (U.S.A.)</i>	
The problem of conventional defence: the menace of balance ..	205
<i>Professor Robert Neild (U.K.)</i>	
Technical opportunities and inopportunities versus domestic and international politics of the arms race	213
<i>Professor Richard Garwin (U.S.A.)</i>	
3rd session debate	221

IV ALTERNATIVE PATHS

Chairmen: *Prof. Olivier Reverdin, Prof. Hendrik B. G. Casimir*

Soviet policies for avoiding nuclear war and achieving comprehensive disarmament	247
<i>H.E. Victor L. Issraelyan (USSR)</i>	
The risk of nuclear war: how to reduce it	259
<i>Robert S. McNamara (U.S.A.)</i>	
The French position vis-à-vis NATO/WTO negotiations	265
<i>Professor Thierry de Montbrial (France)</i>	
Against the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe — a German view	269
<i>Doctor Hermann Scheer (FRG)</i>	
In favour of the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe — a German view	275
<i>Doctor Peter Stratmann (FRG)</i>	

X

Nuclear disarmament — an appraisal	281
<i>H. E. Alfonso Garcia Robles (Mexico)</i>	
4th session debate	293
FINAL STATEMENT	299
<i>Saddrudin Aga Khan</i>	

Appendices

Unanswered questions: 1st session debate	303
2nd session debate	305
4th session debate	307
Index	313
Index of personalities	317
List of speakers	319
List of the participants	321
List of participants from the permanent missions to the U.N.	333
List of participating journalists	335
Members of the Groupe de Bellerive	339
Goupe de Bellerive	
— Declaration, 3 October 1977	341
— Declaration, 31 May 1979	345
— Declaration, 3 April 1981	349