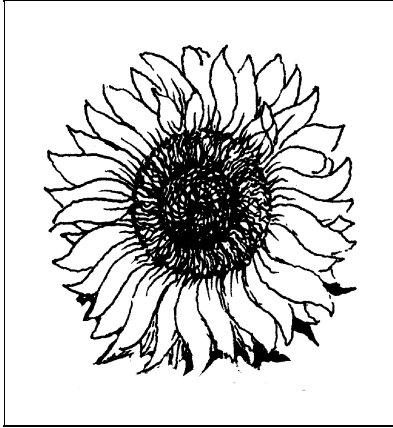


Abolition 2000



*for the life of the Earth
abolish all nuclear weapons*

Citizen Action Guide USA

documents and resources
for the campaign to abolish nuclear weapons

Dennis Rivers, Editor

Prepared on behalf of the Abolition 2000 Global Campaign

by

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

1187 Coast Village Rd. #123, Santa Barbara, CA 93108-2794 -- (805) 965-3443

and

Plutonium Free Future, P.O. Box 2589, Berkeley, CA 94702, USA

Second Edition -- January 1999



THE ABOLITION 2000 SUNFLOWER

*working together we can reduce the threat
of nuclear wars and accidents
and end the enormous waste of world resources
and damage to the Earth and all her peoples
caused by the production of nuclear weapons*

Nearing the year 2000

Dear Friend,

This Citizen Action Guide is about creating a nuclear weapons free world by abolishing all nuclear weapons. Abolition does not mean unilateral nuclear disarmament. It requires an international agreement by all nuclear weapons states to prohibit nuclear weapons and eliminate them from their arsenals in an orderly way subject to international control and verification.

I am deeply convinced that you and I, with our friends and classmates, have the capacity to influence the course of world history. I urge you to join in the global effort to reduce the nuclear threat and to eliminate nuclear weapons from Earth. Please use the enclosed information and documents to campaign in favor of completing negotiations on a Nuclear Weapons Convention by the year 2000 that would prohibit and abolish nuclear weapons early in the next century. We will be helping to preserve the world for ourselves, our families, our unborn children and many generations to come.

With faith in our future,

David Krieger, President
Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, Santa Barbara, CA

Dennis Rivers, Editor and Internet Outreach Coordinator
Plutonium Free Future, Berkeley, CA
on behalf of the Abolition 2000 Global Campaign

HOW YOU CAN HELP: A SUGGESTED “DO LIST”
FOR A WORLD FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

(All documents mentioned below are in the Documents & Reference Materials section, which follows.)

- 1. To sustain your efforts** in campaigning to end nuclear weapons, work together in pairs or small teams and express frequent appreciation for the work of your teammate(s).

- 2. Make copies of the International Petition for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons** (Document 3) and have as many people as possible sign it. Invite other groups to join the petition campaign. Make copies of the reference materials provided in this Guide (Documents 8-11) to hand out to people who want more information about nuclear weapons issues. Collect the signed petitions and return them to the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation. Have a party or celebration potluck dinner each time your team gathers five hundred signatures.

- 3. Start (or join) a peace action committee in your school, college, alumni association, church, synagogue, mosque or community service organization** to disseminate information on the abolition of nuclear weapons, to launch letter-writing campaigns on nuclear issues, and to collect signatures on Abolition 2000 Petitions (Document 3).

- 4. Organize a letter-writing campaign** to decision makers around the world urging nuclear weapons abolition within a timebound framework and a firm commitment to reduce the nuclear threat (see Document 4, a sample letter, and Document 5, names and addresses of world leaders). Groups like Amnesty International have demonstrated that letter-writing campaigns work!

- 5. Introduce the Abolition 2000 Resolution for College Campuses** (Document 6) on your campus and work to get it passed by your student council. Ask sympathetic faculty members to submit the resolution for adoption by the Faculty Senate (or other academic governing body) on your campus. These endorsements can help your efforts to circulate the International Petition (Document 3) among your

fellow students and among the faculty and administration (Please send the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation copies of any resolutions passed.) For additional ideas and information about how to campaign on campus, download the "Campus Organizing Guide for Peace and Justice Groups" from the World Wide Web at <http://www.cco.org/guide/intro.html>

- 6. Campaign to have your city or county** adopt the Abolition 2000 Resolution for Cities and Counties (see Document 7). Making this a local issue will allow you to get local press coverage about the possibility of banning nuclear weapons. Send press releases and explanatory material (Documents 8-11) to local newspaper and TV reporters. Explain to local service groups (Rotarians, Kiwanis, etc.) how many generals and admirals now support the abolition of nuclear weapons and ask those groups to support city and county resolutions.

- 7. Organize delegations to visit your Representatives and Senators to express your concerns about nuclear issues.** Meet in person and make direct requests that those who represent you make a commitment to take action on these issues, then follow up with letters and phone contacts to confirm that actions have been taken. Send press releases to all local newspapers describing your meetings (to get public attention) and consider including copies of the International Petition (Document 3) and the Abolition 2000 Statement (Document 1) (and other similar explanatory material such as Documents 8-12) to educate reporters about the issues.

- 8. Meet the Candidates.** Most candidates for public office are not even discussing nuclear weapons abolition or steps to reduce the nuclear threat. In order to get candidates to pay attention to these crucial issues, send them copies of the Abolition 2000 Statement (Document 1) and request in writing that they endorse it. Be sure to include some essays, editorials or articles about the need to abolish nuclear weapons (such as Documents 8-12). Then follow up with personal contacts to express support if they sign, or to ask for an explanation if they decline. (They get educated on the issue, either way.) Support candidates who endorse abolition and steps to reduce the nuclear threat.

- 9. Keep informed about nuclear weapons control issues** by visiting such web sites as: the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (www.wagingpeace.org, with links to many informative web sites), the Nuclear Control Institute (www.nci.org), and Greenpeace (www.greenpeace.org). At the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation web site you can sign up for the free electronic newsletter, *The Sunflower*. For a 25-page briefing on the health and environmental problems associated with the processing, use, transport and disposal of uranium and plutonium, visit the No Nukes web site (www.nonukes.org).

Copy-Ready Campaign Documents and Reference Materials

Table of Contents

Campaign Documents

Document 1	The Abolition 2000 Statement
Document 2	The Moorea Declaration - Supplement to the Abolition 2000 Founding Statement
Document 3	International Petition for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons (ready to copy)
Document 4	A sample letter to decision makers around the world
Document 5	Names and addresses of world decision makers
Document 6	Abolition 2000 Resolution for College Campuses
Document 7	Abolition 2000 Resolution for Cities and Counties

Key Reference Materials on Nuclear Weapons

Document 8	World Civilian Leaders' Statement For the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons
Document 9	Beyond Nuclear Madness: An Air Force General Speaks Out Against Nuclear Weapons. By Gen. Lee Butler, USAF (Ret.)
Document 10	A Statement Supporting the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons, Signed by Sixty Retired Generals and Admirals from Seventeen Countries
Document 11	Six Arguments for Abolishing Nuclear Weapons compiled by the Staff of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation
Document 12	Four Key Issues: A background briefing on the politics of nuclear disarmament. By John M. LaForge

For additional reference material about nuclear weapons,
please visit the following sites on the World Wide Web:
www.wagingpeace.org (The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, Santa Barbara, CA)
www.nci.org (The Nuclear Control Institute, Washington, DC)
www.greenpeace.org (Greenpeace International)

The Abolition 2000 Statement

The Abolition 2000 Statement was written by activists from all over the world at the 1995 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review and Extension Conference. Disappointed with the lack of progress on nuclear disarmament, they formed a coalition, wrote a founding document and since then, Abolition 2000 has been actively working with over 1100 citizen groups all over the world to eliminate nuclear weapons.

A secure and livable world for our children and grandchildren and all future generations requires that we achieve a world free of nuclear weapons and redress the environmental degradation and human suffering that is the legacy of fifty years of nuclear weapons testing and production.

Further, the inextricable link between the “peaceful” and warlike uses of nuclear technologies and the threat to future generations inherent in the creation and use of long-lived radioactive materials must be recognized. We must move toward reliance on clean, safe, renewable forms of energy production that do not provide the materials for weapons of mass destruction and do not poison the environment for thousands of centuries. The true “inalienable” right is not to nuclear energy, but to life, liberty and security of person in a world free of nuclear weapons.

We recognize that a nuclear weapons free world must be achieved carefully and in a step by step manner. We are convinced of its technological feasibility. Lack of political will, especially on the part of the nuclear weapons states, is the only true barrier. As chemical and biological weapons are prohibited, so must nuclear weapons be prohibited.

We call upon all states, particularly the nuclear weapons states, declared and *de facto*, to take the following steps to achieve nuclear weapons abolition. We further urge the states parties to the NPT to demand binding commitments by the declared nuclear weapons states to implement these measures:

1) Initiate immediately and conclude by the year 2000 negotiations on a nuclear weapons abolition convention that requires the phased elimination of all nuclear weapons within a timebound framework, with provisions for effective verification and enforcement.*

2) Immediately make an unconditional pledge not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons.

3) Rapidly complete a truly comprehensive test ban treaty with a zero threshold and with the stated purpose of precluding nuclear weapons development by all states.

4) Cease to produce and deploy new and additional nuclear weapons systems, and commence to withdraw and disable deployed nuclear weapons systems.

5) Prohibit the military and commercial production and reprocessing of all weapons-usable radioactive materials.

6) Subject all weapons-usable radioactive materials and nuclear facilities in all states to international accounting, monitoring, and safeguards, and establish a public international registry of all weapons-usable radioactive materials.

7) Prohibit nuclear weapons research, design, development, and testing through laboratory experiments including but not limited to non-nuclear hydrodynamic explosions and computer simulations, subject all nuclear weapons laboratories to international monitoring, and close all nuclear test sites.

8) Create additional nuclear weapons free zones such as those established by the treaties of Tlatelolco and Raratonga.

9) Recognize and declare the illegality of threat or use of nuclear weapons, publicly and before the World Court.

10) Establish an international energy agency to promote and support the development of sustainable and environmentally safe energy sources.

11) Create mechanisms to ensure the participation of citizens and NGOs in planning and monitoring the process of nuclear weapons abolition.

A world free of nuclear weapons is a shared aspiration of humanity. This goal cannot be achieved in a non-proliferation regime that authorizes the possession of nuclear weapons by a small group of states. Our common security requires the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Our objective is definite and unconditional abolition of nuclear weapons.

** The convention should mandate irreversible disarmament measures, including but not limited to the following: withdraw and disable all deployed nuclear weapons systems; disable and dismantle warheads; place warheads and weapon-usable radioactive materials under international safeguards; destroy ballistic missiles and other delivery systems. The convention could also incorporate the measures listed above which should be implemented independently without delay. When fully implemented, the convention would replace the NPT.*

April 25, 1995

Moorea Declaration

*Supplement to the Abolition 2000 Founding Statement
Adopted at the Abolition 2000 Conference, Moorea, Te Ao Maohi
25 January 1997*

This conference reaffirms the commitments and the vision of the Abolition 2000 Founding Statement initiated in 1995 —the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombing of the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki — to work for the definite and unconditional abolition of nuclear weapons, and redress the environmental degradation and human suffering that is the legacy of fifty-two years of nuclear weapons usage, testing, and production.

However, this meeting, held in Te Ao Maohi a year after the end of French nuclear testing, has highlighted the particular suffering of indigenous and colonized peoples as a result of the production and testing of nuclear weapons. The anger and tears of colonized peoples arise from the fact that there was no consultation, no consent, no involvement in the decision when their lands, air and waters were taken for the nuclear build-up, from the very start of the nuclear era.

Colonized and indigenous peoples have, in the large part, borne the brunt of this nuclear devastation — from the mining of uranium and the testing of nuclear weapons on indigenous peoples land, to the dumping, storage and transport of plutonium and nuclear wastes, and the theft of land for nuclear infrastructure.

The Founding Statement of Abolition 2000 states that “the participation of citizens and NGOs in planning and monitoring the abolition of nuclear weapons is vital.” We reaffirm this, in spirit and action, but also state that indigenous and colonized peoples must be central to this process. This can only happen if and when they are able to participate in decisions relating to the nuclear weapons cycle — and especially in the abolition of nuclear weapons in all aspects. The inalienable right to self-determination, sovereignty and independence is crucial in allowing all peoples of the world to join in the common struggle to rid the planet forever of nuclear weapons.



International Petition for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons

Sponsored by **Abolition 2000**, a global network of over 1,100 citizen groups on six continents campaigning for a treaty to eliminate nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

WE CALL UPON ALL STATES, AND PARTICULARLY THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES, TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING COMMITMENTS:

- 1. END THE NUCLEAR THREAT.** End the nuclear threat by de-alerting all nuclear weapons, withdrawing all nuclear weapons from foreign soil and international waters, separating warheads from delivery vehicles and disabling them, committing to unconditional no first use of nuclear weapons, and ceasing all nuclear weapons tests, including laboratory tests and “subcriticals.”
- 2. SIGN THE TREATY.** Sign a Nuclear Weapons Convention by the year 2000, agreeing to the elimination of all nuclear weapons within a timebound framework.
- 3. REALLOCATE RESOURCES.** Reallocate resources to ensure a sustainable global future and to redress the environmental devastation and human suffering caused by nuclear weapons production and testing, which have been disproportionately borne by the world’s indigenous peoples.

Signature: _____ Name (please print): _____

Address (please print): _____

Email* (please print): _____

Signature: _____ Name (please print): _____

Address (please print): _____

Email* (please print): _____

Signature: _____ Name (please print): _____

Address (please print): _____

Email* (please print): _____

Signature: _____ Name (please print): _____

Address (please print): _____

Email* (please print): _____

Signature: _____ Name (please print): _____

Address (please print): _____

Email* (please print): _____

Signature: _____ Name (please print): _____

Address (please print): _____

Email* (please print): _____

**By providing your email address, you will receive periodic updates on Abolition 2000.*

The results of this petition will be delivered to the United Nations General Assembly, the United Nations Conference on Disarmament, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conferences, the Human Rights Commission, and the governments of nuclear weapons states and nuclear threshold states.

Please return this petition to: Abolition 2000, c/o Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, 1187 Coast Village Rd. #123, Santa Barbara, CA 93108-2794. For local petition campaign information call: _____

Sample letter to world leaders urging
the abolition of nuclear weapons

Dear _____

You have the capacity to influence the course of world history. I urge you to play a leadership role in the global effort to reduce the nuclear threat and to eliminate nuclear weapons from Earth. Please work toward convening negotiations on a Nuclear Weapons Convention that would prohibit and abolish nuclear weapons.

Nuclear weapons are not in the best interests of any nation nor of the human species. These weapons of mass destruction drain resources which can be used to alleviate poverty, improve education and protect the environment. Please help achieve a more peaceful and secure future for today's children and for future generations.

The sunflower has been adopted by many peace organizations throughout the world as the symbol for a nuclear weapons free world ever since the Defense Ministers of Ukraine, Russia, and the United States planted sunflowers and scattered sunflower seeds on a former Ukrainian nuclear missile base to mark Ukraine's change in status from the world's third largest nuclear weapons state to a nuclear weapons free nation.

Please choose sunflowers instead of nuclear-armed missiles. Please heed the voices of the people and work for a nuclear weapons free future.

Sincerely,

Names and Addresses of Heads of State of Nuclear Weapons Nations*

China

Premier Li Peng
Office of the Premier
225 Chaoyangmennei Dajie Dongsi
Beijing, China

France

President Jacques Chirac
Office of the President
Palais De L'Elysee, 55-57 rue du Faubourg, St. Honore 75008 Paris, France
Tel: +33-1-4292-8100 Fax: +33-1-4742-2465 Telex: 650127

India

Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee
Prime Minister's Office
South Block, New Delhi 110011, India
Tel: +91-11-3013040 Fax: +91-11-3016857 Telex: 3161876

Israel

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu
Office of the Prime Minister
3 Rehov Kaplan, Hakiryia, Jerusalem
91007 Israel
Tel: +972-2-705555 Fax: +972-2-664838

Russia

President Boris Yeltsin
Office of the Government
Krasnopresenskaya 2, Moscow, Russia
Tel: +7-095-925-3581
Fax: +7-095-205-4219

Pakistan

President Mian Nawaz Sharif
Prime Minister Secretariat
Islamabad, Pakistan
Tel: +92-51-9206111

United Kingdom

Prime Minister Tony Blair
Prime Minister's Office
10 Downing Street, London, SW 1A 2 AA
Britain
Tel: +44-171-270-3000

U.S.A.

President William J. Clinton
The White House, Washington, DC 20500, U.S.A
Tel: +1-202-456-1111 Fax: +1-202-456-2461
e-mail: president@whitehouse.gov

** These names are current as of June 6, 1998. When writing your letters please check to make sure that the individuals listed above are the current office holders. You can print out a list of current office holders from the Internet by going to the following address:*

www.wagingpeace.org/nuclear_weapons_states.html

Abolition 2000 Resolution For College Campuses in Support of the World-Wide Abolition of Nuclear Weapons

*(Prepared by the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation for the Abolition 2000 Global Campaign.
This Declaration has been adopted by Santa Barbara City College, John Woolman High
School in Nevada City, CA, and the University of South Australia, Adelaide City Campus.)*

Whereas the billions of dollars spent on nuclear weapons each year could be reallocated to help fund educational programs and other important social needs;

Whereas the research and development of nuclear weapons, which has involved many of our universities, fosters a culture of secrecy which is in direct opposition to the principles of democracy;

Whereas the intellectual resources currently devoted to the development and maintenance of our nuclear arsenals could be far more productively used for research into environmentally sound technologies;

Whereas the International Court of Justice ruled unanimously in July 1996, "There exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control";

Whereas retired U.S. General Lee Butler, once responsible for all U.S. strategic nuclear forces, has called nuclear weapons "inherently dangerous, hugely expensive, militarily inefficient, and morally indefensible";

Whereas the residual effects of nuclear warfare would have a lasting impact on present and future generations, posing a constant threat to the health and peace of mind of the world's citizens;

Whereas it is in the direct interest of young people to support the sustainability of life on this planet in order that they may have a healthy place to live in which to pursue their dreams and aspirations;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Student Council of / Faculty Senate of

Declares itself a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone and supports the further development of Nuclear Weapon Free Zones throughout the world;

Calls for all nuclear weapons to be taken off alert status, for all nuclear warheads to be separated from their delivery vehicles, and for the nuclear weapons states to agree to unconditional no first use of these weapons;

Calls upon the governments of all nuclear weapons states to begin negotiations immediately on a Nuclear Weapons Convention to prohibit and eliminate all nuclear weapons early in the next century, and to complete these negotiations by the year 2000; and

Calls for copies of this resolution to be distributed among the student body, faculty, and administration, as well as local government leaders, U.S. Representative(s), U.S. Senators, the President of the United States and world heads of state.

Abolition 2000 Resolution for Cities and Counties in Support of the World-Wide Abolition of Nuclear Weapons

The "Abolition 2000 Resolution for Municipalities" shown here has been adopted (or principles endorsed) by cities, counties and regional governing bodies in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, Germany and Japan. (see list on following page).

Whereas nuclear weapons pose a continuing threat to civilization, the human species, and life itself;

Whereas cities and metropolitan areas have been primary targets of nuclear weapons throughout the Nuclear Age and remain vulnerable to the massive destructive effects of nuclear weapons;

Whereas the development and maintenance of nuclear arsenals are extraordinarily costly, still costing billions of dollars per year, and these resources could be far better utilized for rebuilding the infrastructure of our cities, supporting the health and welfare of our citizens, and protecting and enhancing the quality of the environment;

Whereas the five declared nuclear weapons states (United States, Russia, United Kingdom, France and China) promised at the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review and Extension Conference in May, 1995, to pursue "systematic and progressive efforts to reduce nuclear weapons globally, with the ultimate goal of eliminating these weapons";

Whereas the International Court of Justice ruled unanimously in July, 1996, "There exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control";

Whereas retired U.S. General Lee Butler, once responsible for all U.S. strategic nuclear forces, has called nuclear weapons "inherently dangerous, hugely expensive, militarily inefficient and morally indefensible";

Whereas the end of the Cold War has provided an unparalleled opportunity to end the nuclear weapons era, which would fulfill our responsibility to present and future generations,
Now, therefore, be it resolved that the City of / County of

Declares itself as a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone and supports the further development of Nuclear Weapon Free Zones throughout the world;

Calls for all nuclear weapons to be taken off alert status, for all nuclear warheads to be separated from their delivery vehicles, and for the nuclear weapons states to agree to unconditional no first use of these weapons;

Calls upon the governments of all nuclear weapons states to begin negotiations immediately on a Nuclear Weapons Convention to prohibit and eliminate all nuclear weapons early in the next century, and to complete these negotiations by the year 2000; and

Orders that copies of this resolution be sent to the elected representatives for this City/County, including the U.S. Representative(s), U.S. Senators, and the President.

This Resolution was passed on _____ in _____
(Date) (Place)

MUNICIPALITIES SUPPORTING ABOLITION 2000

(as of December 29, 1998: 216 Total)

Notes: All municipalities have passed the Abolition 2000 Resolution for Local Authorities (cities and counties) except those with “+” who have endorsed the goals of Abolition 2000 and those with “*” who have endorsed the Abolition 2000 Statement. All municipalities with “**” have endorsed the Abolition 2000 Resolution for Local Authorities as well as the Abolition 2000 Statement

United States

1. Alameda County, California
2. Cambridge Massachusetts City Council
3. Cherry Hill City Council, New Jersey
4. Davis City Council, California
5. Lambertville City Council, New Jersey
6. New Haven, Connecticut/USA
7. Oakland City Council, California
8. Philadelphia City Council, Pennsylvania
9. Pittsburgh City Council, Pennsylvania
10. Princeton Borough, New Jersey
11. Princeton Township, New Jersey
12. Roosevelt City Council, New Jersey
13. San Anselmo Town Council, California
14. Santa Barbara City Council, California
15. Santa Cruz, CA/USA
16. Sebastopol City Council, California
17. Trenton City Council, New Jersey

Australia

1. National Assembly of Local Government, Australia (National body)
2. GOVERNMENT of the AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY
3. Local Government Association of New South Wales, New South Wales (State body)
4. Local Government Association of South Australia, South Australia (State body)
5. Municipal Association of Victoria, Victoria (State body)
6. Western Australian Municipal Association, Western Australia (State body)
7. Adelaide City Council, South Australia**
8. Alexandrina Council, South Australia
9. Ashburton Shire Council, Western Australia
10. Auburn Council, New South Wales
11. Ballarat City Council, Victoria
12. Bay Precinct of North Sydney Council, New South Wales
13. Bellingen Shire Council, New South Wales
14. Bennett Precinct of North Sydney Council, New South Wales
15. Blacktown City Council, New South Wales
16. Blue Mountains City Council, New South Wales
17. Borroloola Community Government Council, Northern Territory
18. Bowen Shire Council, Queensland

19. Bridgetown-Greenbushes Shire Council, Western Australia
20. Brighton City Council, South Australia*
21. Brimbank City Council, Victoria
22. Brisbane City Council, Queensland
23. Broadsound Shire Council, Queensland
24. Broken Hill City Council, New South Wales
25. Burnie City Council, Tasmania
26. Burwood Council, New South Wales
27. Busselton Shire Council, Western Australia
28. Campbelltown City Council, South Australia*
29. Casey City Council, Victoria
30. Cessnock City Council, New South Wales
31. Charles Sturt City Council, South Australia
32. Clare District Council, South Australia*
33. Clifton Shire Council, Queensland
34. Cockburn City Council, Western Australia
35. Collie Shire Council, Western Australia
36. Concord Council, New South Wales
37. Coolah Shire Council, New South Wales
38. Coolamon Shire Council, New South Wales
39. Coonamble Shire Council, New South Wales
40. Corangamite Shire Council, Victoria
41. Crow’s Nest Shire Council, Queensland
42. Cuballing Shire Council, Western Australia
43. Darmstadt, Germany
44. Douglas Shire Council, Queensland
45. Dundas Shire Council, Western Australia
46. East Torrens District Council, South Australia*
47. Edward Precinct of North Sydney Council, New South Wales
48. Elliston District Council, South Australia
49. Eurobodalla Shire Council, New South Wales
50. Fairfield City Council, New South Wales
51. Flinders Council, Tasmania
52. Frankston City Council, Victoria
53. Galiwinku Community Inc., Northern Territory
54. Glenelg City Council, South Australia*
55. Gloucester Shire Council, New South Wales
56. Gosford City Council, New South Wales
57. Gawler Town Corporation, South Australia
58. Greater Geelong City Council, Victoria
59. Greater Lithgow City Council, New South Wales
60. Greater Taree City Council, New South Wales
61. Griffith City Council, New South Wales
62. Gumeracha District Council, South Australia
63. Gundagai Shire Council, New South Wales
64. Happy Valley City Council, South Australia*
65. Hindmarsh Shire Council, Victoria

66. Hindmarsh Woodville City Council, South Australia*
67. Holdfast Bay City Council, South Australia
68. Hornsby City Council, New South Wales
69. Horsham Rural City Council, Victoria
70. Jerramungup Shire Council, Western Australia
71. Johnstone Shire Council, Queensland
72. Jondaryan Shire Council, Queensland
73. Karoonda East Murray District Council, South Australia
74. Kiama Municipal Council, New South Wales
75. Koorda Shire Council, Western Australia
76. Kyogle Council, New South Wales
77. Laidley Shire Council, Queensland
78. Leeton Shire Council, New South Wales
79. Leichhardt City Council, New South Wales
80. Lismore City Council, New South Wales
81. Livingstone Shire Council, Queensland
82. Logan City Council, Queensland
83. Longreach Shire Council, Queensland
84. Mallala District Council, South Australia
85. Mandurah City Council, Western Australia
86. Manly City Council, New South Wales
87. Marion City Council, South Australia*
88. Maryborough City Council, Queensland
89. Merriwa Shire Council, New South Wales
90. Mitcham City Council, South Australia
91. Mount Magnet Shire Council, Western Australia
92. Mount Remarkable District Council, South Australia
93. Munno Para City Council, South Australia*
94. Murray Shire Council, New South Wales
95. Murweh Shire Council, Queensland
96. Nambucca Shire Council, New South Wales
97. Naracoorte District Council, South Australia
98. Narromine Shire Council, New South Wales
99. Neutral Precinct of North Sydney Council, New South Wales
100. Nillumbik Shire Council, Victoria
101. Noaralunga City Council, South Australia
102. Northern Areas Council, South Australia
103. Nymboida Shire Council, New South Wales
104. Onkaparinga City Council, South Australia
105. Peak Downs Shire Council, Queensland
106. Peterborough District Council, South Australia
107. Pine Rivers Shire Council, Queensland
108. Playford City Council, South Australia
109. Port Adelaide Enfield City Council, South Australia**
110. Port Hedland Town Council, Western Australia
111. Portland, Maine City Council/USA
112. Port Lincoln City Council, South Australia*
113. Prospect City Council, South Australia**
114. Randwick City Council, New South Wales
115. Richmond River Shire Council, New South Wales
116. Roebourne Shire Council, Western Australia
117. Salisbury City Council, South Australia**
119. Shark Bay Shire Council, Western Australia
120. Shellharbour City Council, New South Wales
121. Singleton Shire Council, New South Wales
122. South Sydney City Council, New South Wales
123. Stanthorpe Shire Council, Queensland
124. Stanton Precinct of North Sydney Council, New South Wales
125. Surf Coast Shire Council, Victoria
126. Tambellup Shire Council, Western Australia
127. Thuringowa City Council, Queensland
128. Tweed Shire Council, New South Wales
129. Ulmarra Shire Council, New South Wales
130. Uralla Shire Council, New South Wales
131. Victoria Plains Shire Council, Western Australia
132. Vincent Town Council, Western Australia
133. Wakefield Regional Council, South Australia
134. Wannon City Council, Western Australia
135. West Wimmera Shire Council, Victoria
136. Whyalla City Council, South Australia
137. Wingecarribee Shire Council, New South Wales
138. Wiriyajarrayi Council, Northern Territory
139. Wodonga City Council, Victoria
140. Wollondilly Shire Council, New South Wales
141. Wollongong City Council, New South Wales
142. Wyndham City Council, Victoria
143. Wyndham-East Kimberley Shire Council, Western Australia
144. Wyong Shire Council, New South Wales
145. Yarra City Council, Victoria
146. Yarrawluma Shire Council, New South Wales
147. Yuendumu Community Government Council, Northern Territory

United Kingdom

1. Blackburn with Darwen Council
2. Blackpool Borough Council, Lancashire
3. Bolsover District Council**
4. Bury Metropolitan Borough Council
5. Derbyshire County Council
6. Knowsley Metropolitan Borough
7. Leeds City Council**
8. Manchester City Council
9. Merthyr Tydfil Borough Council, Wales
10. Oxford City Council
11. South Tyneside Metropolitan Borough Council
12. Wansbeck District Council**
13. Welwyn Hatfield Council*

Canada

1. Bridgewater Town Council, Nova Scotia.
2. Halifax Regional Municipal Council, Nova Scotia
3. Lakefield Village Council, Ontario
4. Lunenburg Town Council, Nova Scotia.
5. Peterborough City Council, Ontario
6. Peterborough County, Ontario
7. Saskatoon City Council, Saskatchewan.

Germany

Darmstaedter City Council

Japan

Urayasu City Council

New Zealand

1. Auckland City Council
2. Auckland Regional Council+
3. Buller District Council+
4. Canterbury Regional Council+
5. Central Otago District Council
6. Christchurch City Council
7. Dunedin City Council
8. Gisborne District Council+
9. Hamilton City Council
10. Hauraki District Council+
11. Hawkes Bay Regional Council+
12. Horowhenua District Council
13. Hutt Valley City Council
14. Invercargill City Council+
15. Kawerau District Council
16. Manukau City Council
17. Masterton District Council
18. Nelson City Council+
19. New Plymouth City Council+
20. North Shore City Council+
21. Otago Regional Council+
22. Palmerston North City Council
23. Porirua City Council
24. Rotorua District Council
25. South Taranaki City Council+
26. Tasman District Council
27. Thames Coromandel District Council
28. Waikato District Council+
29. Waitakere City Council+
30. Wellington City Council
31. Western Bay of Plenty District Council+

World Civilian Leaders' Statement For Nuclear Weapons Abolition February 2, 1998

Read by (and with comments from) Alan Cranston, Former U.S. Senator and Chair, State of the World Forum, on February 2, 1998, at the National Press Club, Washington, D.C.

“First, I’ll read the statement by heads of state and civilian leaders worldwide, advocating that specific steps be taken now to reduce ongoing nuclear weapon dangers still facing us all after the end of the Cold War. These leaders, many of who led their nations during the Cold War, urge that the nuclear states declare unambiguously that their goal is ultimate abolition of nuclear weapons.

The statement is as follows:”

“The end of the Cold War has wrought a profound transformation of the international political and security arena. Ideological confrontation has been supplanted by burgeoning global relations across every field of human endeavor. There is intense alienation but also civilized discourse. There is acute hostility but also significant effort for peaceful resolution in place of violence and bloodshed.

Most importantly, the long sought prospect of a world free of the apocalyptic threat of nuclear weapons is suddenly within reach. This is an extraordinary moment in the course of human affairs, a near miraculous opportunity to realize that noble goal. But, it is also perishable: the specter of nuclear proliferation cannot be indefinitely contained. The urgent attention and best efforts of scholars and statesmen must be brought to bear.

Leaders of the nuclear weapon states, and of the de facto nuclear nations, must keep the promise of nuclear disarmament enshrined

in the Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1970 and clarified and reaffirmed in 1995 in the language codifying its indefinite extension. They must do so by commencing the systematic and progressive reduction and marginalization of nuclear weapons, and by declaring unambiguously that their goal is ultimate abolition.

Many military leaders of many nations have warned that all nations would be more secure in a world free of nuclear weapons. Immediate and practical steps toward this objective have been arrayed in a host of compelling studies, most notably in the Report of the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. Among these proposals, we, the undersigned, fully subscribe to the following measures:

- Remove nuclear weapons from alert status, separate them from their delivery vehicles, and place them in secure national storage.
- Halt production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons.
- End nuclear testing, pending entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.
- Launch immediate U.S./Russian negotiations toward further, deep reductions of their nuclear arsenals, irrespective of START II ratification.
- Unequivocal commitment by the other declared and undeclared nuclear weapon states to join the reduction process on a proportional basis as the U.S. and Russia approach their arsenal levels, within an international system of inspection, verification, and safeguards.
- Develop a plan for eventual implementation, achievement and enforcement of the distant but final goal of elimination.

The foregoing six steps should be undertaken immediately.

The following additional steps should be carefully considered, to determine whether they are presently appropriate and feasible:

- Repatriate nuclear weapons deployed outside of sovereign territory.
- Commit to No First Use of nuclear weapons.
- Ban production and possession of large, long-range ballistic missiles.
- Account for all materials needed to produce nuclear weapons, and place them under international safeguards.

The world is not condemned to live forever with threats of nuclear conflict, or the anxious fragile peace imposed by nuclear deterrence. Such threats are intolerable and such a peace unworthy. The sheer destructiveness of nuclear weapons invokes a moral imperative for their elimination. That is our mandate. Let us begin.” [end of stmt]

[Alan Cranston continues...] This statement was drafted by a number of leaders, from a number of lands, primarily Americans and Russians.

Leaders were signing it up to the last minute. Altogether, when the list closed this morning, there were 117 signatures from 46 nations, including 47 past or present presidents and prime ministers.

Among them are former heads of state from four of the five declared nuclear powers: Michel Rocard of France, Mikhail Gorbachev and Egor Gaidar of the Soviet Union and Russia, Lord James Callaghan of the UK, and Jimmy Carter of the U.S. China, the fifth nuclear power, is represented by a former ambassador and by a prominent leader of what the Chinese uniquely call a G.O.N.G.O. — a Government Organized Non-Governmental

Organization. China's official policy was stated at the UN on September 25, 1996, by Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen who said, “We always stand for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.”

The three principle nations under the nuclear “umbrella” are represented by former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of Germany, Shin Hyon-Hwak of Korea, and — not surprisingly — five former prime ministers of Japan including the most recent, Tomiichi Murayama.

Notable among present heads of state on the list is President Eduard Shevardnadze of Georgia, who as Soviet Foreign Minister did so much, along with President Gorbachev, President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz, to reverse the superpower nuclear arms race.

Prominent individuals from two of the three threshold nuclear states, Israel and Pakistan, signed on. No one did from India, but India officially supports abolition — on condition that a deadline be set for achieving it. Two Indian Generals did sign the companion abolition statement made by professional military leaders a year ago.

The military statement gave new momentum to the drive to reduce and ultimately end nuclear dangers. We believe this civilian statement will further advance the cause. General Butler, in his brief summary of progress since the generals spoke out, mentions the remarkably rapid spread of Nuclear Weapons Free Zones in a literal tidal wave of treaties that now covers the entire land area of the Southern Hemisphere and is headed north. Maps are available at the press table showing the zones that have been formed and the more than 100 nations and areas they embrace. All five nuclear powers are parties to the treaty establishing the Antarctic zone and have signed protocols to one or another of

these treaties acknowledging that they are prohibited from using or threatening to use nuclear weapons against the contracting parties. All five, for diverse reasons, have also declined to sign such protocols to one or another of the treaties.

A leader of one nations in the African Zone, former President Obote of Uganda, signed the civilian statement but requested that we note his view that “small arms are a bigger problem to poor countries.”

On this day when the latest federal budget is made public I want to note nuclear weapons have cost American taxpayers approximately \$6 trillion dollars since 1940. According to a book, “Atomic Audit” edited by Stephen I. Schwartz and to be published by the Brookings Institution this spring, the cost in this year’s budget will exceed over 34 billion. Over 24 billion of that sum will cover operation and maintenance of our nuclear arsenal. This cost will not diminish significantly year after year into the future unless our present nuclear policies are revised in view of the changes in the world that followed the end of the Cold War. The statement by civilian leaders points the way not only to reductions in dangers but also to reductions in spending.

These world leaders propose a prudent path which can and should be embarked upon immediately. They propose taking nuclear weapons off their present perilous hair-trigger alert posture, beginning immediate U.S./Russian negotiations towards deep reduction of nuclear arsenals irrespective of START II ratification, and working towards the ultimate goal of elimination. The U.S. Government believes that the principle threat today to our national security lies in the clear and present danger that terrorists or rogue states will somehow acquire nuclear weapons — and proceed to use them. The measures these leaders propose — particularly halting

production of fissile materials, and placing all materials needed to produce nuclear weapons under international safeguards — would increase national and world security and decrease the possibility of proliferation into irresponsible hands.

As these well-respected world leaders urge, “Let Us Begin.”

Signers of the statement:

Argentina:

Raul Alfonsin, Former President

Australia:

Malcom Fraser, Former Prime Minister

Gough Whitlam, Former Prime Minister

Kim C. Beazley, Former Deputy Prime Minister

Richard Butler, Ambassador to U.N. and
Chair, U.N. Special Commission on Iraq

Gareth Evans, Former Foreign Minister,
Member of Parliament and Deputy Leader
of the Opposition

Bangladesh:

A.D.M.S. Chuwdhury, Former Deputy Prime
Minister and Deputy Opposition Leader,
Parliament

Muhammad Yunus, Managing Director,
Grameen Bank

Brazil:

Jose Sarney, Senator and Former Prime Minister

Calso L.N. Amorim, Former Foreign Minister

Bulgaria:

Nicolai Dobrev, Chair, National Security
Committee, Parliament,
Former Minister of Interior

Nicolai Kamov, Chair, Foreign Affairs
Committee, Parliament

Dimitra Pavlov, Minister of Defense

Canada:

Pierre Trudeau, Former Prime Minister

Douglas Roche, Former Ambassador for
Disarmament

(List continued on next page)

Chile:

Juan Somavia, Ambassador to U.N. and
Past President, UN Security Council

China:

Qian Jiadong, Former Chinese Ambassador
to the United Nations
Chen Jifeng, Secretary General, Chinese People's
Association for Peace and Disarmament

Colombia:

Misael Pastrana Borrero, Former President
(Deceased Aug. 1997)

Costa Rica:

Jose Figueres, President
Oscar Arias, Former President
Rodrigo Carazo, Former President
Rebeca Grynspan Mayufis, Second Vice President
Rodrigo Oreamuno B., First Vice President

Cyprus:

George Vassiliou, Former President and
President, United Democrats

Egypt:

Esmat Abdul Meguid, Secretary General,
League of Arab States,
Former Foreign Minister

Finland:

Kalevi Sorsa, Former President

France:

Michel Rocard, Former Prime Minister
Chair, Committee on Development
and Cooperation, European Parliament
Jacques Attali, Former Special Advisor to
President Mitterand

Georgia:

Eduard A. Shevardnadze, President

Germany:

Helmut Schmidt, Former Chancellor
Honorary Chair, International Council
Hans Modrow, Former Prime Minister, East Germany
Egon Bahr, Former Minister for Special Affairs
Angelika Beer, Spokesperson for Defense,
Alliance 90/Green Party, Member, Bundestag
Alfred Dregger, Hon. Chair, Christian Democratic
Party, Member, Bundestag
Hans Koschnik, Former Administrator,
European Union, Mostar
Markus Meckel, Former Foreign Minister, East
Germany, Member, Bundestag
Dr. Walter Romberg, Former Minister of Finances,
East Germany

Lothar Späth, Former Minister-President,
Baden-Württemberg

Hans-Jochen Vogel, Former Mayor, Berlin

Former Minister of Justice
Former Chair, Social Democratic Party

Hungary:

Ervin Laszlo, Founder and President,
Club of Budapest

Israel:

Yael Dayan, Member, Kneset

Japan:

Tsutomu Hata, Former Prime Minister
& Member, Diet
Morihiro Hosokawa, Former Prime Minister &
Member, Diet
Kiichi Miyazawa, Former Prime Minister
& Member, Diet
Tomiichi Murayama, Former Prime Minister
& Member, Diet
Noboru Takeshita, Former Prime Minister
& Member, Diet
Takako Doi, Former Speaker, House of
Representatives & Member, Diet
Masaharu Gotoda, Former Vice Prime Minister
Takashi Hiraoka, Mayor, Hiroshima
Ichio Ito, Mayor, Nagasaki
Yohei Kono, Former Vice Prime Minister
Hyosuke Kujiraoka, Former Vice Speaker,
House of Representatives, Member, Diet
Kenzaburo Oe, Nobel Laureate

Kyrgyz Republic:

Askar Akaev, President
Muratbek S. Imanaliev, Foreign Minister
Rosa Otunbaeva, Former Foreign Minister,
Ambassador to U.K.

Lebanon:

Sadim El.Hoss, Former Prime Minister

Malaysia:

Ismail Razali, President, UN General Assembly

Mexico:

Miguel de la Madrid, Former President

Mongolia:

Punsalmaa Ochirbat, Former President
Jalbuu Choinhor, Ambassador to U.S.

Namibia:

Sam Junoma, President

Nauru:

Lagumont Harris, Former President
Ruben Kun, Member, Parliament
 Former President
David Peter, Former Speaker, Parliament

Netherlands:

Ruud Lubbers, Former Prime Minister
 Minister of State
Andries van Agt, Former Prime Minister
 Chair, Interaction Council
E. Korthals Altes, Former Ambassador to Madrid
J. van Houwelingen, Former Deputy Minister
 of Defence
J.G. Kraaijeveld-Wouters, Former Minister
 of Defence
Dr. D.J.H. Kruisinga, Former Minister of Defence
Mr. J. de Ruiter, Former Minister of Defence
Prof. Dr. J.C. Terlouw, Former Deputy Prime
 Minister, Minister for Economic Affairs

New Zealand:

David Lange, Former Prime Minister
Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Former Prime Minister

North Ireland:

Mairead Maguire, Honorary President, Peace People
 Nobel Peace Laureate

Pakistan:

Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan,
 Former UN High Commissioner for Refugees
 President, Bellerive Foundation
Mahbub ul Haq, President, Human Development
 Centre, Former Minister of Finance & Principal
 Architect of UN's Annual Human Development
 Report

Panama:

Ricardo de la Espriella, Former President

Philippines:

Corazon Aquino, Former President

Portugal:

Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, Former Prime Minister

Republic of Korea:

Shin Hyon-Hwak, Former Prime Minister

Russia:

Egor Gaidar, Former Prime Minister
 Director, Research Institute for the Economy
 in Transition
Mikhail Gorbachev, Former President, Soviet Union
Georgi Arbatov, President, Governing Board,
 Institute of USA and Canada
Alexander Bessmertnykh, Former Soviet Foreign

Minister, Former Soviet Ambassador to US
 President, Foreign Policy Association

Vitaly Goldansky, President, Russian Pugwash
 Committee, Academician

Roland Timerbaev, Former Permanent
 Representative of the USSR and Russia in IAEA
 President, Center for Political Studies of Russia

Euvgeny Velikhov, Member, National Security
 Council Academician

Alexander N. Yakovlev, Chair, President's
 Commission on Rehabilitation of Repression
 Victims, Chair, Russian Public Television;
 Former Member, Politburo
 Principal Domestic Advisor to President Gorbachev

South Africa:

F.W. De Klerk, Former President
 Member, Parliament
 National Leader, National Party
Bishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Laureate

Spain:

Enrique Baron Crespo, Member, European
 Parliament
 Former President, European Parliament
 Former Minister
Fernando Moran Lopez, Chair, Committee on
 Institutional
 Affairs, European Parliament
 Former Foreign Minister

Sri Lanka:

A.T. Ariyaratne, Leader, Sarvodaya Movement
 Gandhi Peace Prize, 1996
Anura Bandaranaike, Member, Parliament
 Former Minister of Education
 Former Leader of Opposition
Jayantha Dhanapala, President, NPT Review
 and Extension Conference, 1995
 Former Ambassador to U.S.

Suriname:

I.M. Djwalapersad, Speaker, Assembly

Sweden:

Goran Persson, Prime Minister
Ingvar Carlsson, Former Prime Minister
Maj Britt Theorin, Former Chair, UN Commission
 of Experts on Nuclear Weapons
 Member, European Parliament

Tanzania:

Al Hassan Mwinyi, Former President
Julius K. Nyerere, Former President
Chair, South Commission
Salim Ahmed Salim, Former Prime Minister
Secretary General, Organization of African Unity
President, U.N. General Assembly, 34th Session
Joseph Warioba, Former Prime Minister
Judge, International Tribunal on Law of the Seas

Thailand:

Anand Panyarachun, Former Prime Minister

Uganda:

Milton Obote, Former President
Dr. Paul Kaeanga Ssemogerere,
Former Deputy Prime Minister/Foreign Minister
Dr. Naphali Akena Adoko, Former Chief of State
Security Justice Emmanuel Oteng, Former
Acting Chief Justice

United Kingdom:

Lord James Callaghan, Former Prime Minister
Member, House of Lords
Lord Denis Healey, Former Secretary of Defense
Former Chancellor of Exchequer
John Edmunds, Former Chief Negotiator, CTBT
Former Head, Arms Control & Disarmament,
Foreign Office
Betty Williams, Nobel Peace Laureate

United States:

Jimmy Carter, Former President

Zimbabwe:

Dr. Robert Mugabe, President

Beyond Nuclear Madness: An Air Force General Speaks Out Against Nuclear Weapons.

By retired Air Force General Lee Butler, former
Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Strategic Command.
From an address to the National Press Club,
February 1998.

For thirty years I was intimately involved with nuclear weapons. I was among the most avid of the keepers of the faith in them, and for that I make no apology. Like my contemporaries, I was moved by fears and fired by beliefs that date back to the earliest days of the Atomic Era. For us, nuclear weapons were the savior that brought an implacable foe to his knees in 1945 and held another at bay for nearly a half-century. We believed that superior technology brought strategic advantage, that greater numbers meant stronger security, and that the ends of containment justified whatever means were necessary to achieve them.

Two years ago I became engaged in the debate for the abolition of nuclear weapons, joining hundreds of other retired generals, admirals, and present and former heads of state from a host of nations. I am persuaded that in every corner of the planet the tide of public sentiment is now running strongly in favor of diminishing the role of such weapons--that nuclear arsenals can and should be sharply reduced, that high alert postures are a dangerous anachronism, that first-use policies are an affront to democratic values, and that proliferation of nuclear weapons is a clear and present danger. Indeed, I am convinced that most people are well out in front of their governments in shaking off the grip of the Cold War and reaching for opportunities that emerge in its wake.

Conversely, it is evident that for many, nuclear weapons retain an aura of utility and of legitimacy that justifies their existence well into the future. The persistence of this view

lies at the core of the concern that touches my soul.

When I was commissioned as an officer in the United States Air Force, the Cold War was heating to a fever pitch. I knew the moment I entered the nuclear arena I had been thrust into a world beset with tidal forces, towering egos, maddening contradictions, alien constructs, and insane risks. Its arcane vocabulary -- "de-target," "mutual assured destruction" -- and apocalyptic calculus defied comprehension. Its stage was global and its antagonists locked in a deadly spiral of deepening rivalry. It was in every respect a modern day holy war, a cosmic struggle between the forces of light and darkness.

*"We have no greater
responsibility than to bring the
nuclear era to a close."*

I participated in the elaboration of basing schemes that bordered on the comical and force levels that in retrospect defied reason. I was responsible for war plans with more than 12,000 targets, many to be struck with repeated nuclear blows, some to the point of complete absurdity. I became steeped in the art of intelligence estimates, the psychology of negotiations, the interplay of the strategist, and the demanding skills of the air crew and missileer. I have been a party to their history, shared their triumphs and tragedies, witnessed heroic sacrifice and catastrophic failure of both men and machines.

And in the end, I came away from it all with profound misgivings and with a set of deeply unsettling judgments: That from the earliest days of the nuclear era, the risks and consequences of nuclear war have never been properly weighed by those who brandished it; that the stakes engage not just the survival of the antagonists, but the fate of humankind; that the likely consequences have no

acceptable political, military, or moral justification. And therefore, that the threat to use nuclear weapons is indefensible.

Why were we so willing to tolerate the risks of the nuclear age? For all of my years as a nuclear strategist, operational commander, and public spokesman, I explained, justified, and sustained America's massive nuclear arsenal as a function, a necessity, and a consequence of deterrence. Bound up in this singular term, this familiar touchstone of security dating back to antiquity, was the intellectually comforting and deceptively simple justification for taking the most extreme risks and the expenditure of trillions of dollars. It was our shield and by extension our sword.

But now I see it differently--not in some blinding revelation, but at the end of a journey, in an age of deliverance from the consuming tensions of the Cold War. How is it that we subscribed to a strategy that required near perfect understanding of an enemy from whom we were deeply alienated and largely isolated? How could we pretend to understand the motivations and intentions of the Soviet leadership absent any substantial personal association? Why did we imagine a nation that had survived successive invasions and mind numbing losses would accede to a strategy premised on fear of nuclear war?

Deterrence in the Cold War setting was fatally flawed at the most fundamental level of human psychology in its projection of Western reason through the crazed lens of a paranoid foe. While we clung to the notion that nuclear war could be reliably deterred, Soviet leaders saw the matter differently. Their historical experience gave them the conviction that such a war might be thrust upon them and, if so, must not be lost. Driven by that fear, they took Herculean measures to fight and survive no matter the odds or the costs. Deterrence was a dialogue of the blind with the deaf. In

the final analysis, it was largely a bargain we in the West made with ourselves.

Deterrence is flawed equally in that the consequences of its failure are intolerable. History teaches that nations can survive and even prosper in the aftermath of unconditional defeat. Not so in a nuclear era. Nuclear weapons give no quarter. Their effects transcend time and place, poisoning the Earth and deforming its inhabitants for generation upon generation. They leave us wholly without defense, expunge all hope for meaningful survival. They hold in their sway not just the fate of nations but the very meaning of civilization.

Deterrence is a slippery conceptual slope. It is not stable, nor is it static. Its wiles cannot be contained. It is both master and slave. It seduces the scientist yet bends to his creation, it serves the ends of evil as well as those of noble intent. It holds guilty the innocent as well as the culpable. At best it is a gamble no mortal should pretend to make. At worst it invokes death on a scale rivaling the power of the creator.

At the end of my journey I hear voices long ignored, the warnings muffled by the still lingering animosities of the Cold War. I see with painful clarity how, from the very beginning, we deprived ourselves of the objective scrutiny and searching debate essential to adequate comprehension and responsible oversight.

Vitally important decisions were taken routinely without adequate understanding, assertions too often prevailed over analysis, requirements took on organizational biases, technological opportunity and corporate profit drove force levels and capability, and political opportunism intruded on calculations of military necessity. The narrow concerns of a multitude of powerful interests intruded on the rightful role of key policy makers, constraining their latitude for decision. Many were simply denied access to critical

information essential to the proper exercise of their office.

Only now are the dimensions, costs, and risks of these nuclear nether worlds coming to light. What must now be better understood are the causes, the mindsets, and the belief systems that brought them into existence. They must be challenged, they must be refuted, but most important, they must be let go. We have no greater responsibility than to bring the nuclear era to a close.

We cannot at once keep sacred the miracle of existence and hold sacrosanct the capacity to destroy it.

It is time to reassert the primacy of individual conscience, the voice of reason, and the rightful interests of humanity.

A Statement Supporting the Abolition of
Nuclear Weapons -- Signed by Sixty
Retired Generals and Admirals from
Seventeen Countries
December 5, 1996

We, military professionals, who have devoted our lives to the national security of our countries and our peoples, are convinced that the continuing existence of nuclear weapons in the armories of nuclear powers, and the ever present threat of acquisition of these weapons by others, constitute a peril to global peace and security and to the safety and survival of the people we are dedicated to protect.

Through our variety of responsibilities and experiences with weapons and wars in the armed forces of many nations, we have acquired an intimate and perhaps unique knowledge of the present security and insecurity of our countries and peoples.

We know that nuclear weapons, though never used since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, represent a clear and present danger to the very existence of humanity. There was an immense risk of a superpower holocaust during the Cold War. At least once, civilization was on the very brink of catastrophic tragedy. That threat has now receded, but not forever -- unless nuclear weapons are eliminated.

The end of the Cold War created conditions favorable to nuclear disarmament. Termination of military confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States made it possible to reduce strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, and to eliminate intermediate range missiles. It was a significant milestone on the path to nuclear disarmament when Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine relinquished their nuclear weapons.

Indefinite extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1995 and approval of

the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty by the UN General Assembly in 1996 are also important steps towards a nuclear-free world. We commend the work that has been done to achieve these results.

Unfortunately, in spite of these positive steps, true nuclear disarmament has not been achieved. Treaties provide that only delivery systems, not nuclear warheads, will be destroyed. This permits the United States and Russia to keep their warheads in reserve storage, thus creating a "reversible nuclear potential." However, in the post-Cold War security environment, the most commonly postulated nuclear threats are not susceptible to deterrence or are simply not credible. We believe, therefore, that business as usual is not an acceptable way for the world to proceed in nuclear matters.

It is our deep conviction that the following is urgently needed and must be undertaken now:

First, present and planned stockpiles of nuclear weapons are exceedingly large and should now be greatly cut back;

Second, remaining nuclear weapons should be gradually and transparently taken off alert, and their readiness substantially reduced both in nuclear weapons states and in de facto nuclear weapons states;

Third, long-term international nuclear policy must be based on the declared principle of continuous, complete and irrevocable elimination of nuclear weapons.

The United States and Russia should -- without any reduction in their military security -- carry forward the reduction process already launched by START -- they should cut down to 1000 to 1500 warheads each and possibly lower. The other three nuclear states and the three threshold states should be drawn into the reduction process as still deeper reductions are negotiated down to the level of hundreds. There is nothing incompatible between defense by individual countries of their territorial integrity and progress toward

nuclear abolition.

The exact circumstances and conditions that will make it possible to proceed, finally, to abolition cannot now be foreseen or prescribed. One obvious prerequisite would be a worldwide program of surveillance and inspection, including measures to account for and control inventories of nuclear weapons materials. This will ensure that no rogues or terrorists could undertake a surreptitious effort to acquire nuclear capacities without detection at an early stage. An agreed procedure for forcible inter-national intervention and interruption of covert efforts in a certain and timely fashion is essential.

The creation of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the world, confidence-building and transparency measures in the general field of defense, strict implementation of all treaties in the area of disarmament and arms control, and mutual assistance in the process of disarmament are also important in helping to bring about a nuclear-free world. The development of regional systems of collective security, including practical measures for cooperation, partnership, interaction and communication are essential for local stability and security.

The extent to which the existence of nuclear weapons and fear of their use may have deterred war -- in a world that in this year alone has seen 30 military conflicts raging -- cannot be determined. It is clear, however, that nations now possessing nuclear weapons will not relinquish them until they are convinced that more reliable and less dangerous means of providing for their security are in place. It is also clear, as a consequence, that the nuclear powers will not now agree to a fixed timetable for the achievement of abolition.

It is similarly clear that, among the nations not now possessing nuclear weapons, there are some that will not forever forswear their acquisition and deployment unless they, too, are provided means of security. Nor will

they forego acquisition if the present nuclear powers seek to retain everlastingly their nuclear monopoly.

Movement toward abolition must be a responsibility shared primarily by the declared nuclear weapons states -- China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, by the de facto nuclear states, India, Israel and Pakistan; and by major non-nuclear powers such as Germany and Japan. All nations should move in concert toward the same goal.

We have been presented with a challenge of the highest possible historic importance: the creation of a nuclear-weapons-free world. The end of the Cold War makes it possible.

The dangers of proliferation, terrorism, and new nuclear arms race render it necessary. We must not fail to seize our opportunity. There is no alternative.

Signed, [by retired generals and admirals of the following nations]

CANADA

Johnson, Major General V., (Ret.)
Commandant, National Defense College

DENMARK

Kristensen, Lt. General Gunnar (Ret.)
former Chief of Defense Staff

FRANCE

Sanguinetti, Admiral Antoine (Ret.) former
Chief of Staff, French Fleet

GHANA

Erskine, General Emmanuel (Ret.) former
Commander in Chief and former Chief of
Staff, UNTSO (Middle East), Commander
UMFI (Lebanon)

GREECE

Capellos, Lt. General Richard (Ret.) former
Corps Commander

Konstantinides, Major General Kostas (Ret.)
former Chief of Staff, Army Signals

INDIA

Rikhye, Major General Indar Jit (Ret.)
former military advisor to UN Secretary
General Dag Hammarskjold and U Thant
Surt, Air Marshal N. C. (Ret.)

JAPAN

Sakoiyo, Vice Admiral Naotoshi (Ret.) Sr.
Advisor, Research Institute for Peace and
Security
Shikata, Lt. General Toshiyuki (Ret.) Sr.
Advisor, Research Institute for Peace and
Security

JORDAN

Ajelilat, Major General Sahfiq (Ret.) Vice
President Military Affairs, Muta University
Shiyyab, Major General Mohammed K.
(Ret.) former Deputy Commander, Royal
Jordanian Air Force

NETHERLANDS

van der Graaf, Henry J. (Ret.) Director
Centre Arms Control & Verification,
Member, United National Advisory Board
for Disarmament Matters

NORWAY

Breivik, Roy, Vice Admiral (Ret.) former
Representative to NATO, Supreme Allied
Commander, Atlantic

PAKISTAN

Malik, Major General Ihusun ul Haq (Ret.)
Commandant Joint Services Committee

PORTUGAL

Gomes, Marshal Francisco da Costa (Ret.)
former Commander in Chief, Army; former
President of Portugal

RUSSIA

Belous, General Vladimir (Ret.) Department
Chief, Dzerzhinsky Military Academy
Garecy, Army General Makhmut (Ret.)
former Deputy Chief, USSR Armed Forces
General Staff
Gromov, General Boris, (Ret.) Vice Chair,
Duma International Affairs Committee,
former Commander of 40th Soviet Army in

Afghanistan, former Deputy Minister,
Foreign Ministry, Russia

Koltounov, Major General Victor (Ret.)
former Deputy Chief, Department of General
Staff, USSR Armed Forces

Larinov, Major General Valentin (Ret.)
Professor, General Staff Academy

Lebed, Major Alexander (Ret.) former
Secretary of the Security Council

Lebedev, Major General Youri V. (Ret.)
former Deputy Chief Department of General
Staff, USSR Armed Forces

Makarevsky, Major General Vadim (Ret.)
Deputy Chief, Komibyshev Engineering
Academy

Medvodov, Lt. General Vladimir (Ret.)
Chief, Center of Nuclear Threat Reduction

Mikhailov, Colonel General Gregory (Ret.)
former Deputy Chief, Department of General
Staff, USSR Armed Forces

Nozhin, Major General Eugeny (Ret.)
former Deputy Chief, Department of General
Staff, USSR Armed Forces

Rokhilin, Lt. General Lev, (Ret.) Chair,
Duma Defense Committee, former
Commander Russian 4th Army Corps

Sleport, Lt. General Ivan (Ret.) former
Chief, Department of General Staff, USSR
Armed Forces

Simonyan, Major General Rair (Ret.) Head
of Chair, General Staff Academy

Surikov, General Boris T. (Ret.) former
Chief Specialist, Defense Ministry

Teherov, Colonel General Nikolay (Ret.)
former Chief, Department of General Staff,
USSR Armed Forces

Vinogadov, Lt. General Michael S. (Ret.)
former Deputy Chief, Operational Strategic
Center, USSR General Staff

Zoubkov, Rear Admiral Radiy (Ret.) Chief,
Navigation, USSR Navy

SRI LANKA

Karumaratne, Major General Upali A. (Ret.)

Silva, Major General C.A.M.M. (Ret.) USF,
U.S.A.

TANZANIA

Lupogo, Major General H.C. (Ret.) former Chief Inspector General, Tanzania Armed Forces

UNITED KINGDOM

Beach, General Sir Hugh (Ret.) Member U.K. Security Commission

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Six Arguments for Abolishing Nuclear Weapons

*compiled by the Staff of the
Nuclear Age Peace Foundation*

Reason One: The entire world would be more secure if the planet were free of nuclear weapons.

Nuclear weapons are the only type of weapon in existence that have the capacity to annihilate the human species and countless other species.

The very existence of nuclear weapons leaves open the possibility that a nuclear exchange might take place. This could happen intentionally, inadvertently (as in the Cuban Missile Crisis when the U.S. and USSR almost blundered into nuclear war), or by an accidental launch. The list of historical false alarms is long; for instance, in 1979 someone fed a war game simulation into a North American Air Defense computer. Thinking that the alert was real, fighter planes were scrambled and nuclear bombers were readied before the error was discovered.

In the absence of total nuclear disarmament, terrorists might acquire nuclear weapons. Such a scenario has become more probable since the USSR dissolved. There have been many reports of attempts to smuggle weapons-grade plutonium from Russia. The fewer nuclear weapons there are in the world, the fewer there are for terrorists to try to steal. Every step toward the abolition of nuclear weapons would increase our security.

Without abolition, there is always the danger that nuclear weapons will proliferate — that more and more countries will obtain them. It is ultimately unrealistic to expect that in a world in which some nations rely upon nuclear weapons, other nations will not seek to attain them. A world where there are many nuclear-armed countries would be even more dangerous.

The end of the Cold War has meant that there are no more nuclear-armed opponents, except India and Pakistan. Nuclear weapons do not serve even an arguable purpose when a country has friendly relations with a former opponent.

Reason Two: The threat or use of nuclear weapons has been declared generally illegal by the World Court.

The July 8, 1996 decision of the International Court of Justice stated that it is generally illegal to use or to threaten to use nuclear weapons. From a legal point of view, it would be virtually impossible to use nuclear weapons without violating the laws of armed conflict. The International Security and Arms Control Committee of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences concluded that “the inherent destructive-ness of nuclear weapons, combined with the unavoidable risk that even the most restricted use of such weapons would escalate to broader attacks, makes it extremely unlikely that any contemplated threat or use of nuclear weapons would meet these [the Court’s] criteria.” If nuclear armed nations are serious about upholding inter-national law, they ought to immediately commence negotiations for eliminating and prohibiting all nuclear weapons

Reason Three: Nuclear weapons are morally reprehensible.

The rightness of many issues is debatable, but nuclear weapons are morally insupportable. Even possessing something so deadly is wrong. These radiation-laden bombs can destroy most life on Earth and would be better described as national and global suicide devices rather than weapons. What could be more evil? As Joseph Rotblat, the 1995 Nobel Peace Laureate, urged when speaking against nuclear weapons, “Remember your humanity!”

Father Richard McSorley has written, “Can we go along with the intent to use nuclear weapons? What it is wrong to do, it is wrong to intend to do. If it is wrong for me to kill you, it is wrong for me to plan to do it. If I get my gun and go into your house to retaliate for a wrong done me, then find there are police guarding your house, I have already committed murder in my heart. I have intended it. **Likewise, if I intend to use nuclear weapons in massive retaliation, I have already committed massive murder in my heart.**” (emphasis added)

Such intentions to harm violate the moral teachings of all religions. It is worth remembering that even in the middle of a war as bitterly fought as World War II, some general and admirals opposed the use of the first nuclear weapons on the grounds that it was immoral to kill civilians. Their moral arguments are truer today than when first uttered, since a war with current, super-powerful H-bombs would poison entire continents. What kind of people do we become, if we accept the possibility of committing mass murder and suicide as part of our everyday government policy?

Reason Four: Nuclear weapons have not prevented wars, which is what they were supposed to do.

Nuclear weapons certainly have NOT prevented wars between nuclear weapons states and non-nuclear weapons states. (Ask any Vietnam or Gulf War veteran!) Nuclear weapons states have been involved in more wars than non-nuclear weapons states. Between 1945 and 1997, nuclear weapons states have fought in an average of 5.2 wars, while non-nuclear weapons states averaged about 0.67 wars.

Some advocates of nuclear weapons continue to claim that such weapons have at least prevented a large-scale conflict between major powers (specifically between the U.S. and the former USSR). Though there have not been any world wars since the development and use of nuclear weapons, this is not proof that nuclear weapons have been responsible for keeping the peace. It is unclear that any of the major powers wanted to fight on a large scale with each other.

According to the Canberra Commission, the idea that the former Soviet Union was plotting to invade Europe is open to question in light of recent investigations made possible due to the end of the Cold War. The horrific experiences of World War II, in which some 40 to 50 million people died, had convinced leaders in both the East and the West that another world war should be avoided at almost any price.

Some even claim that the presence of nuclear weapons in war-prone regions such as India and Pakistan has introduced caution and served as a stabilizing force. Others suggest, however, that Pakistan’s acquisition of a nuclear capability has hardened its resolve not to settle the Kashmir crisis and allowed it to feel safe behind a “nuclear shield” as it supports Kashmiri militancy.

If the only use of nuclear weapons is to deter enemy use of nuclear weapons, then the best way to end the threat of nuclear war is to eliminate these weapons altogether.

Reason Five: Nuclear weapons are extraordinarily costly, and the costs continue into the indefinite future.

Although nuclear weapons were promoted in the 1950s with the idea that they would provide “more bang for the buck,” just the opposite is true. When the costs of research, development, testing, deployment, maintenance and associated intelligence activities are combined, the price tag is hefty. When costs of damage to the land, illnesses of uranium miners, cancer deaths from nuclear pollution, and storage of nuclear waste for centuries are added, the price becomes astronomical. Since the early 1940s, the U.S. alone has spent over \$4 trillion (\$4,000,000,000,000) on nuclear arms. Note that this is the approximate size of the U.S. national debt! (No one knows how much it will cost to clean up leaking waste sites now and store weapons-related nuclear wastes for many thousands of years.)

If current policies are implemented, the U.S. will continue to spend some \$25 - \$30 billion per year on its nuclear forces. Consider the fact that the U.S. government has allocated \$27 billion for education, and \$17 billion for housing assistance for 1997. What is more important — educational assistance or bombs that can incinerate millions of people? As we consider the cost of nuclear weapons, we should also keep in mind that one in seven

individuals in the U.S. lives below the poverty line, and some 30 million U.S. citizens are without adequate medical insurance. We have lots better things to spend our tax dollars on than gigantic weapons that are not related to any realistic estimate of our military needs.

Reason Six: Some countries have already given up nuclear weapons, showing that it is possible for a nation to be secure without them.

Three former Soviet republics, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine, became nuclear weapons free states by voluntarily transferring their nuclear warheads to Russia after the breakup of the Soviet Union. South Africa actually developed a small nuclear arsenal clandestinely, and then dismantled it. Argentina and Brazil have also eliminated their nuclear weapons programs even though they achieved initial success in these programs.

On June 4, 1996, the U.S. Secretary of Defense met with the defense ministers of Russia and Ukraine to celebrate Ukraine’s change in status from the world’s third largest nuclear weapons state to a nuclear weapon free state. On the occasion, these defense leaders planted sunflowers and scattered sunflower seeds on a former Ukrainian missile base that once housed eighty SS-19 missiles aimed at the United States. U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry said, “Sunflowers instead of missiles in the soil would insure peace for future generations.”

Four Key Issues

A background briefing on the politics of nuclear disarmament

By John M. LaForge

[Editor's note: On the way to the abolition of nuclear weapons there will be many debates. This article describes four key issues that I believe will need to be worked through in order to create an abolition program that has staying power. In addition to signing a treaty, nations determined to abolish nuclear weapons need to wrestle with difficult issues and make difficult decisions. Without those labors, a nuclear abolition treaty could be vulnerable to the same fate as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, a non-aggression treaty signed by European nations in 1928 and ignored within a decade.]

The clamor for nuclear disarmament is being raised by millions the world over not only by established peace and anti-nuclear organizations, but by NGOs, scientific panels, retired generals, eminent military and civilian officials, nuclear weapons designers, and international judges. With the influential weight of these new voices, the United States has an opportunity to reconsider official nuclear weapons policy and to achieve four important victories in route to the bomb's abolition: A pledge of "no first use"; a promise of no use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-armed states; a disclosure and accounting of secret military programs; a formal renunciation of the "usefulness" of the bomb. [The following pages present a brief review of each of these four issues.]

Pledge "No First Use"

The United States' atomic bombings were the "first use" of nuclear weapons in more ways than one. In modern parlance, nuclear "first use" means the escalation from conventional bombing or the threat of it, to the initiation of nuclear warfare. The U.S. government was not only the first to use nuclear weapons in war but the first to escalate from conventional to nuclear bombardment. The Pentagon still uses the "first use" threat, as in the 1991 Persian Gulf bombing campaign, during which government officials, including Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Secretary of State James Baker, "continued to publicly hint that the United States might retaliate with nuclear weapons." Following their lead, U.S. Representative Dan Burton (R-IN), syndicated columnist Cal Thomas, and others publicly advocated bombing Iraq with nuclear weapons in the midst of the U.S.-led bombardment.

In April 1996, the Clinton administration's Herald Smith publicly threatened to use nuclear weapons against the African state of Libya—a member in good standing of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty—for allegedly building a weapons plant. When then Defense Secretary William Perry was questioned about Smith's threat, he only reiterated it, saying about using U.S. nuclear weapons against non-nuclear Libya, "...we would not forswear that possibility." (The nonproliferation treaty forbids any nuclear attack against states that are party to it.)

Last November [1997], the Clinton administration made public in Presidential Policy Directive 60 the "first-use" intentions of its nuclear warfare planners. The announcement was that U.S. H-bombs are aimed at Third World nations said by the Department of State to be administered by "rogue" governments. "The directive is notable for language that

would allow the United States to launch nuclear weapons in response to the use of chemical or biological weapons...” The presidential announcement was accompanied by a statement by senior National Security Council staffer Robert Bell who said, “The [Directive] requires a wide range of nuclear retaliatory options, from a limited strike to a more general nuclear exchange.” And “Clinton ordered that the military...reserve the right to use nuclear arms first, even before the detonation of an enemy warhead.”

This newly announced first-strike policy flies in the face of the prestigious National Academy of Sciences (NAS), the nation’s highest scientific advisory group, which recommended last June that the United States, “declare that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons in war or crisis.” The Clinton administration seemed to directly dismiss the NAS’s advice when, in April 1998, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow flatly refused to rule out the possible use of nuclear warheads against Iraq, saying “...we do not rule out in advance any capability available to us.”

Pledging “no first use” would save billions of dollars in research and development, as well as the cost of maintenance of systems designed to strike first: the MX, Trident I and II, Cruise and Minuteman III missiles, and the B-1 and Stealth bombers. Forswearing nuclear “first use” wouldn’t be risky in geopolitical terms because the United States has no nuclear-armed enemies, and all the other nuclear-armed states (Britain, China, France, India, Israel, and Russia) are either allies, “most favored nations,” clients, or military Don Quixoties.

Further, a “no first use” pledge would free U.S. presidents from threatening to go nuclear, officially unacknowledged terrorism they have practiced many times. Putting an end to these ultimate bomb threats would bring U.S. actions

in line with its current rhetoric: President Clinton denounced “nuclear terrorism” on June 15, 1995, en route to the summit meeting in Halifax.

Significantly, the nuclear weapons states who have used their first strike “master card” believe they’ve succeeded with their dreadful risk-taking—the way an extortionist can get what he wants without ever pulling the trigger. Nuclear war planners want to keep this “ace” up their sleeve. Sadly, since official history has it that the U.S. Army Air Corps’ atomic bombings of Japan were justified, there is a heavy stigma against formally renouncing another first use. To do so might seem to call into question the rationale of having crossed the line back then.

Promise No Nuclear Strikes

Using the bomb against non-nuclear Japan followed the mass destruction of Dresden and Hamburg in Germany and the indiscriminate fire bombings of Kobe, Osaka, Yokohama, and Tokyo in Japan. In August 1945, the power disparity between nuclear and “conventional” firestorms must have appeared small. However, the atom bomb’s real punch—initially denied and by nature delayed for many years—is now known to be cancer, leukemia, birth defects, and weakened immune system function for generation upon generation. Today’s U.S. warheads are from 12 to 96 times the magnitude of the Hiroshima blast: from 150 kiloton (Kt) warheads on Cruise missiles, to the 1,200 Kt (1.2 megaton) B-83 bombs aboard the air force’s heavy bombers.

The deadly power of modern H-bombs (more accurately “radiation bombs”) gives the demand for a “non-nuclear immunity” pledge the advantage of being fair and rational. The so-called “rogue states” that the U.S. State Department claims want to join the Nuclear Club—Libya, North Korea, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Cuba—have a combined military budget of

\$15.3 billion (Libya: \$1 billion; N. Korea \$6 billion; Iraq: \$3 billion; Iran: \$2 billion; Syria: \$3 billion; Cuba: \$0.3 billion). This is less than one-ninth of the Pentagon's annual \$300-plus billion (including NASA, Energy Department, and National Guard). The 1991 Persian Gulf bombardment and the decade-long bombings of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, proved to the non-nuclear states and all the world and should have proved to our own, that nuclear weapons are superfluous and totally unnecessary when the government chooses to destroy small countries.

The agreement on non-nuclear immunity made May 11, 1995 by the five declared Nuclear Club members will not quell legitimate charges of hypocrisy made against them. The pact is full of exceptions and is not binding. Only China has made an unequivocal pledge: "At no time and under no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons and (China) undertakes unconditionally not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones."

In spite of the possible taint of impropriety that may accrue to the atomic bombings of Japan, the United States should end its opposition to adopting China's unambiguous language and promise never to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states.

Account for Secret Military Programs

The building, testing, and unleashing of the bomb in 1945 was done in total secrecy by the Manhattan Project. The Project provided the unprecedented political insurance that was necessary for such extravagant spending on such a dubious program. It might never have "worked." One consequence of the Project's leap into hidden government spending—ironically, all done in the name of combating

anti-democratic militarism—is that a militarized and anti-democratic process was institutionalized.

Witness the 4,000 secret radiation experiments conducted under the auspices of the U.S. military against more than 16,000 U.S. civilians: pregnant women, retarded children, prison inmates, cancer patients, the terminally ill, and stolen cadavers. Former Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary confessed shock about the U.S. scientist's actions. "I said, 'Who were these people [conducting the experiments] and why did this happen?' The only thing I could think of was Nazi Germany." Official misconduct on such a scale could not have occurred without the nuclear establishment's grant of complete secrecy.

If further proof were needed that such official secrecy breeds more wrong-doing than it prevents, we have hundreds of thousands of tons of military radioactive wastes that have been injected into deep wells, dumped into the water table, buried in shallow trenches, and thrown into the oceans (our nuclear submarines still routinely release "allowable" amounts of liquid and gaseous radioactive wastes into the oceans), that will threaten living things with cancer and reproductive abnormalities forever. The U.S. government's cover-up of these ethical and environmental outrages was exposed in 20 front-page *New York Times* articles in 1989.

The classified Pentagon budget has now ballooned to about \$30 billion or more per year. The official secrecy this fund is afforded protects programs and adventures that may not be legal, but, because they're secret, cannot be challenged in Congress, the courts, or the press. Indeed, the secret budget continues to exist because the boondoggles that it keeps secret could not withstand public or Congressional oversight.

One example is the Navy's Project ELF, which for years has been attacked in Congress as a "cold war relic." The ELF transmitter sends one-way orders to submerged, nuclear-armed U.S. and British submarines around the world. This nuclear war "starter pistol" was saved from certain cancellation in April 1995 by a so-called "classified emergency reason" originating with the Navy. The nuclear war fighting function of ELF (along with its potentially harmful non-ionizing electromagnetic radiation), made it an easy target for deficit hawks, so its budget had earlier been cut. The Navy's maneuver—by way of the "secret emergency" which is still unknown to the public—convinced a House-Senate conference committee to restore the funding. U.S. Senator Russ Feingold (D-WI), who has repeatedly sponsored legislation to terminate Project ELF, was unconvinced by what he called an "eleventh-hour trick," saying, "The Navy explicitly told me there was no 'classified' reason for maintaining ELF." Hundreds of these cold war dinosaurs are still being maintained inside secret programs that, if made public, would make laughing stocks of the military contractors—and the taxpayers.

Admit the Uselessness of the Bomb

Calling nuclear warheads "fundamentally useless," the National Academy of Sciences, in the June 1997 report mentioned earlier, charged that current U.S. nuclear war fighting plans were "largely unchanged from the cold war era" when 30,000 H-bombs were targeted at the former USSR and China. This NAS rejection of the bomb is a far cry from current State Department policy and amounts to a startling condemnation of official U.S. history.

There has for 50 years been a debate about whether the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was "necessary." Although critical voices have generally been drowned by the

soothing official paradox that "the Bomb saved lives," negative answers are not hard to find. In 1945, Brig. Gen. Bonnie Feller wrote, "Neither the atomic bombing nor the entry of the Soviet Union into the war forced Japan's unconditional surrender." Historian Gar Alperovitz (*Atomic Diplomacy*, Penguin Books, 1985 and *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb*, Random House, 1996) has said, "I think it can be proven that the bomb was not only unnecessary but known in advance not to be necessary." President Dwight Eisenhower said it wasn't necessary: "First, the Japanese were ready to surrender and it wasn't necessary to hit them with that awful thing. Second, I hated to see our country be the first to use such a weapon."

These charges, as contrary to the government story as they are, share a wrongheaded implication; namely, that nuclear warfare could conceivably be "necessary" or "excusable" under some circumstances. That most people in the United States still believe this to be true, is the result of decades of myth-making started by President Truman, who said, "The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians."

Taking President Truman at his word, the 140,000 civilians killed at Hiroshima are the minimum to be expected when exploding a small nuclear weapon on a "military base." At this rate today's "small" (Cruise missile) warheads, which are 12 times the power of Truman's bomb, might "avoid" killing any more, but would kill a minimum of 1.68 million civilians.

The ability to think of such acts as "necessary"—and to prepare and to threaten them—requires the adoption of a learned indifference that insulates the conscience of the executioner. Such a deep-seated denial is needed

in order to excuse any mass destruction because, generally, the rightness of indiscriminate attacks is not debatable whether in Oklahoma City, Sarajevo, Rwanda, or Hiroshima. Furthermore, since the H-bomb can produce only uncontrollable, widespread, and long-term results, it follows that the rationalization of U.S. nuclear war planning has hardly changed since 1945. Consider how similar to President Truman's words (above) are those of the U.S. State Department's recent declaration to the International Court of Justice (the World Court) on the question of the legality of using nuclear weapons: "Nuclear weapons can be directed at a military target and can be used in a discriminate manner."

This artful lie, the engine of the nuclear weapons establishment, amounts to the cynical and outlawed notion that good can come from the commission of mass destruction. The State Department's claim cannot, no matter how often or skillfully repeated, make the effects of even one nuclear warhead limited, controllable, militarily practical or ethically justifiable.

In his October 3, 1996 speech to the State of the World Forum in San Francisco, Gen. George Lee Butler became the first U.S. Strategic Air Command (SAC) commander in history to condemn U.S. nuclear weapons and nuclear war policy, a policy he had molded and implemented, saying in part, "A renewed appreciation for the obscene power of a single nuclear weapon is taking a new hold on our consciousness..." He delivered the same statement to the National Press Club December 4, 1996. [see Document 9] In a more recent essay, Gen. Butler has said that President Clinton's nuclear war policy is based on the mistaken belief that "nuclear weapons retain an aura of utility." Gen. Butler argues that "Too many of us have failed to properly understand the risks and consequences of nuclear war. [Nuclear weapons'] effects transcend time and

place, poisoning the earth and deforming its inhabitants for generation[s]." Butler concludes that, "The likely consequences of nuclear war have no politically, militarily or morally acceptable justification, and therefore the threat to use nuclear weapons is indefensible."

Conclusion

Even if the official history and rationalizations surrounding the 1945 atomic bombings are not rejected by a majority, these four conclusive steps—a pledge of "no first use," a promise of non-nuclear immunity, the abandonment of secret military budgets, and the renunciation of nuclear war's "usefulness" might be taken in view of what is indisputably known about nuclear weapons. Furthermore, crucial and compelling demands have been issued in recent months by dozens of authorities who now agree that nuclear abolition is necessary and possible. For example, last February at the National Press Club, 117 world leaders—among them former President Jimmy Carter, former President of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev, former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, and former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau—called upon nuclear weapons states to "declare un-ambiguously that their goal is ultimate abolition" [see Document 8]. In April 1997 Dr. Hans Bethe, a Nobel Prize winner and the most senior of the living scientists who built the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs, wrote to President Clinton calling on him to withdraw the \$2.2 billion in funding set for nuclear weapons development; in December 1996, 62 retired generals and admirals from around the world published a declaration in major papers urging that "the following...must be undertaken now...long term international nuclear policy must be based on the declared principle of continuous, complete and irrevocable elimination of nuclear weapons." [see Document 10]

A practical mechanism and working blueprint for verifiable nuclear disarmament was proposed August 14, 1996 by the international Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. The commission was made up of 17 prominent experts from around the world including Gen. Butler, former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, and Nobel Peace Prize winner Joseph Rotblat. International legal authority for such a program was reaffirmed by the July 8, 1996 Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice (the World Court), which (besides outlawing the threatened use of nuclear weapons) declared that nuclear weapons states are under a binding obligation to proceed with the elimination of nuclear weapons under the terms of the 1970/1995 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty.

These are the obvious, decisive, and available reasons and means by which to achieve the abolition of nuclear weapons. The goal can be reached only if those of us demanding it will amplify our voices and refuse to take no for an answer.



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