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Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace
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The Sunflower

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Hearings by National Nuclear Security Administration

TAKING ACTION AGAINST NUCLEAR THREATENING AND PROLIFERATION

ANTI-NUCLEAR ORGANIZATIONS
Subscribe to the excellent newsletter Ground Zero published by the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Road NW, Poulsbo, WA  98370; 360-377-2586; info@gzcenter.org; www.gzcenter.org.  This Center is a permanent protest by the GZ collective and their supporters nationwide against the nuclear submarines based there.

The Nuclear Resister, A Chronicle of Hope.  Since 1980, this newspaper has provided comprehensive reporting on arrests for anti-nuclear civil resistance in the US, and support for the women and men jailed for these actions.  In 1990 it began to report also on anti-war arrests in N. America, plus overseas anti-nuclear and anti-war resistance.  Ed. by true heroes Jack and Felice Cohen-Joppa.
uukeresister@igc.org,  520-323-8697.
Dear Dick,

At the end of World War II, two atomic bombs destroyed two Japanese cities and killed tens of thousands of people. Today, the United States still maintains thousands of nuclear weapons and has thousands more in storage. **Tell the DOE that we don’t need the capacity to build NEW nuclear weapons.**

Despite the stores of nuclear weapons, the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) is planning to upgrade the entire U.S. nuclear weapons complex, returning our country to a Cold War-style infrastructure of designing, developing, and producing new nuclear weapons. **Let the DOE know that we need to lead the movement toward a world free of nuclear weapons!**

Thanks for taking action!

Natasha
Care2 Campaign Team

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**US LEADERSHIP FOR A NUCLEAR WEAPONS-FREE WORLD**

**AN APPEAL TO THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES**

Name: _____________________________________________ Signature:
Nuclear weapons could destroy civilization and end intelligent life on the planet. The only sure way to prevent nuclear proliferation, nuclear terrorism and nuclear war — before the next blinding flash — is to rid the world of nuclear weapons. The era of nuclear weapons must be brought to an end. This can be done. It will require leadership and commitment. Nuclear weapons were created by humans, and it is our responsibility to eliminate them before they eliminate us. The United States, as the world’s most militarily powerful nation, must take the initiative in convening and leading the nations of the world to urgently take the following steps:

We call upon the next President of the United States to make a world free of nuclear weapons an urgent priority and to assure US leadership to realize this goal.

- **De-alert.** Remove all nuclear weapons from high-alert status, separating warheads from delivery vehicles;
- **No First Use.** Make legally binding commitments to No First Use of nuclear weapons and establish nuclear policies consistent with this commitment;
- **No New Nuclear Weapons.** Initiate a moratorium on the research and development of new nuclear weapons, such as the Reliable Replacement Warhead;
- **Ban Nuclear Testing Forever.** Ratify and bring into force the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty;
- **Control Nuclear Material.** Create a verifiable Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty with provisions to bring all weapons-grade nuclear material and the technologies to create such material under strict and effective international control;
- **Nuclear Weapons Convention.** Commence good faith negotiations, as required by the Non-Proliferation Treaty, to achieve a Nuclear Weapons Convention for the phased, verifiable and irreversible elimination of nuclear weapons;
- **Resources for Peace.** Reallocate resources from the tens of billions currently spent on nuclear arms to alleviating poverty, preventing and curing disease, eliminating hunger and expanding educational opportunities throughout the world.

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation will send this signed appeal to the White House when the 44th President of the United States takes office on January 20, 2009.

You can also sign the Appeal online at [www.wagingpeace.org/appeal](http://www.wagingpeace.org/appeal)

**NUCLEAR AGE PEACE FOUNDATION**
The U.S. Department of Energy (the federal agency responsible for building and maintaining our nation's stockpile of nuclear weapons) is currently moving ahead with plans for a whole new generation of nuclear bombs.

Click here to tell the DOE to focus on safely reducing our existing stockpile, not making new weapons.

These proposed new weapons would not enhance our national security whatsoever; in fact, they would only encourage other countries to "go nuclear" in an effort to catch up. Our military leaders have not asked for these weapons -- so why in the world is the DOE moving forward with these plans?

Submit an official public comment today in opposition to the DOE's plans.

The DOE is legally required to accept public comments on this plan as part of their environmental impact statement -- but the comment period ends this coming Thursday, April 10th. So please take action today.

Click here to take action.

Thank you for working to build a better world.

Will Easton, Activism Manager
CREDO Action from Working Assets

P.S. -- Is your current mobile phone company speaking out against nuclear weapons? If not...why not sign up for mobile service from the company that supports the causes you believe in?
CNDP THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION:
NAGPUR DECLARATION

The Third National Convention of Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace

- Resist Indo-US Nuclear Deal!
- Free South Asia Of Nuclear Danger!
- Abolish Nuclear Weapons Worldwide Now!
- Resist Mindless Drive for Nuclear Power!

The Third National Convention of the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP), India is held from 1st to 3rd February 2008 in Nagpur, which has a glorious tradition of mobilising for peace and justice. The two earlier conventions were held in Jaipur in 2004 November and in Delhi four years earlier. It bears reiteration that the CNDP was founded to consolidate the nationwide protests conducted in response to the May 1998 nuclear weapon tests by India, and then Pakistan. The CNDP opposes these tests and the acquisition of nuclear weapons by any country including India. It may be recalled that the era of nuclear threat began with the mindless atomic bombings of the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the USA on 6th and 9th August 1945.

We, the assembled delegates at the Convention representing the peace movements in India and coming from various corners of the country, most emphatically reaffirm our firm conviction in reaffirmation of the Jaipur Declaration and our foundational Charter 2000: "Nuclear weapons are means of mass destruction regardless of who wields them. They are weapons of genocide. They can impose horrendous suffering on victims across generations. They destroy the ecosystem. The damage they do is lasting and incurable. The sheer scale and character of the devastation they can cause makes them a profound and distinctive evil. For this and other reasons, the possession, use, or threat of use of nuclear weapons is absolutely immoral." We also with equal emphasis reemphasize "that the use, threat of use, or possession of, and even preparation for making, nuclear weapons is immoral, illegal, and politically unacceptable under "any circumstances"." Not only that, "nuclear deterrence" is absolutely "abhorrent to human sentiment since it implies that a state if required to defend its own existence will act with pitiless disregard for the consequences to its own and its adversary's people."

We again note with great concern the profoundly destabilising effects of the nuclear blasts in May 98. These have been most graphically and irrefutably demonstrated through an extremely dangerous (undeclared) border war in less than a year followed by a ten month long eyeball to eyeball massive confrontation all along the international border and the LoC. These confrontations were laden with the very real threats of nuclear exchange. Despite this experience and much opposition from the peace movements and civil society, the rulers of these two resource-starved countries persist with their pernicious nuclear weapons programmes, which are a tragic diversion from addressing vital social needs. Though there have been no further blasts since 1998, in the teeth of massive waves of international censure, the continuing flight tests of the Agni and Hatf missiles show that the race for developing nuclear warhead carrying missiles goes on unabated.

The recent political turmoil in Pakistan has graphically underscored the horrifying possibilities of nuclearisation of South Asia spearheaded by India's ugly ambitions. Nevertheless, the most dangerous development since
the last CNDP convention has been the Indo-US Nuclear Deal, which is (still) in the process of operationalisation. Starting with the July 18 2005 joint statement issued by George Bush - Manmohan Singh in Washington DC, the process of trying to fashion and complete a deal has aggravated the nuclear danger both globally and also regionally. It, on the one hand, severely undermines the prospects of global nuclear disarmament by (selectively and arbitrarily) legitimising India's nuclear status and, in the process, the possession of nuclear weapons by the existing Nuclear Weapon States - both recognised and unrecognised - and also the aspirations of other actual and potential aspirants. On the other, it would also further intensify the arms race between India and Pakistan - both nuclear and conventional. Pakistan, in fact, made a strong plea for a similar deal. And the brusque refusal by the US, instead of dissuading it, would only further inflame its passions and thereby turn the dangerous nuclear mess in South Asia all the more dangerous. Furthermore, the consequent shift in focus in favour of highly expensive nuclear power, as and when and if at all the deal comes into operation, will significantly distort India's energy options at the cost of efforts to develop environmentally benign and renewable sources of energy. This deal is also an utterly reprehensible move to bring India closer to the US orbit as a regional ally to facilitate the execution of its global imperial ambitions. The CNDP remains unwavering in its consistent and high-pitched opposition to this deal.

With this deeply disturbing background in mind, the Convention further resolves as under:

I. Nuclear Weapons Free Region in South Asia

The CNDP, in active collaboration with other peace movements in the South Asian region and the Pakistan Peace Coalition in particular, will work towards a Nuclear Weapons Free Region in South Asia. It will also try to promote the idea of Nepal as a 'nuclear weapon-free-nation' on the lines of Mongolia and Austria to initiate and reinforce move in that direction. CNDP will also similarly work towards declaration of the whole of erstwhile state of Kashmir, both under Indian and Pakistani control, as a zone of peace. This move is expected to provide a clear focus and strong momentum to the peace movements in the region and reinforce the forces of peace and radically bring down the nuclear danger by working on a concrete and workable action plan. This is also expected to deeply affect the global mindset and provide a strong, if not decisive, push towards universal nuclear disarmament - our central and abiding goal.

A regional convention of the peace activists from the region will be convened in the near future to work out a collective charter.

II. Global Convention on Nuclear Disarmament

The CNDP, in tandem with the essence of Rajiv Gandhi action plan for "A World Free of Nuclear Weapons" - which was submitted to the United Nations on June 9 1988, will work towards a global disarmament convention, under the auspices of the UN, in collaboration with global peace movements towards this objective. The CNDP, in this context, notes with serious concern the total eclipse from the agenda of the UN of the McCloy-Zorin accord on general and complete Disarmament, which had been adopted by the United nations General Assembly on December 20 1961. The CNDP urges the UN to forthwith reinitiate action on the same.

The projected global disarmament convention would chart out a clear and unambiguous road-map towards universal, complete and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament within a defined time-frame. This would also enforce, in the run up to the final goal, all nuclear weapon states - declared and undeclared, immediately commence on progressively lowering down the operating statuses of their nuclear weapons, continue with the moratorium on explosive nuclear tests, freeze the programmes for developments of upgraded nuclear
warheads and delivery/interception systems, freeze production of fissile materials, provide negative security assurance to all non-nuclear states outside of any "nuclear umbrella", credibly commit to "no-first-strike" and such other measures in consonance with the goal of nuclear disarmament. The CNDP will proactively coordinate with various sections of global anti-nuke peace movements and unwaveringly work towards this goal.

III. Intensification of Struggles against Ignoring Safety and Hazardous Impact of Nuclear Power

The, yet to be operationalised, Indo-US nuclear deal has radically fired up the fantasies of the Indian nuclear establishment. Undeterred by its appalling past performance in terms of power production and also safety records, it is all set to embark upon a very ambitious plan of setting up mega nuclear plants dotting the entire coastal belt criminally unmindful of severely traumatic social and potentially disastrous ecological impacts. The CNDP, in keeping with its consistent track record and the mandates of its founding Charter, will actively collaborate with the grassroots people's movements, many of whom are its constituent members, to resist such mindless moves - singularly lacking in transparency and accountability, and provide all necessary and possible assistances in this regard.

IV. Demand for End of US Occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, Just Resolution of the Palestine Issue to Ensure Global Peace and Facilitate Nuclear Disarmament

The ugly ambitions of the US ruling elite to establish its unilateral dominance over the whole of the globe by foregrounding its awesome military might, including its nuclear arsenal, to compensate for the increasing inadequacies of its otherwise huge diplomatic/political clout and economic muscles has emerged as the most major threat to the prospects of global nuclear disarmament. The wars on and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan are vital components of this grand project, also known as the Project for the New American Century (PNAC). The continuing US support for the apartheid Zionist regime of Israel and its inhuman oppression of the Palestinian people is just another facet of this ugly venture. Consistent with the goal of global nuclear disarmament, the CNDP demands immediate withdrawal of occupation forces from Iraq and Afghanistan. The CNDP also solidarises with the legitimate struggles of the Palestinian people. The CNDP consequently commits itself to actively associate, in all possible manners, with all global, regional and local moves in these directions.

V. Other Related Issues

The CNDP clearly recognises that the spurts in national-chauvinist, majoritarian and militarist ideologies and political practices under whatever political banner, and the state at times playing a role of an active facilitator, by their very nature pose a major threat to anti-nuclear peace movements in India. The CNDP hence rededicates itself to fight all these pernicious tendencies in all its manifestations in collaboration with other forces fighting for a just, peaceful and harmonious order. Consistent with its core values, the CNDP reiterates its demand that Indo-Pak peace process be accelerated. It also demands visa-free travel facilities all over the SAARC region towards this goal. It furthermore demands 10% progressive cuts in the so-called "defence" budgets of all the countries in the region. The CNDP commits itself to ally itself with all regional efforts towards these goals.

II.
CNDP Third National Convention: Through The Eyes of A Participant

A Participant's Subjective Report of the 3rd Convention of the CNDP, Feb 1-3 2008, Nagpur, Maharashtra, India.
I have so far attended all three conventions of the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP) in India, starting with the first one in Delhi in 2000, the second in Jaipur in 2004, and now the third in Nagpur in 2008.

CNDP is a disparate coalition of many smaller and not so small groups in India, united by opposition to nuclear weapons, and by the fear of what an India - Pakistan nuclear exchange will mean.

A surprising - indeed, overwhelming - number of organisations that came to Nagpur this year were for the 'upliftment' of groups such as Dalits, Tribals, and women.

I was overwhelmed by the dedication, sincerity and courage of so many activists from these areas, left behind by the new IT - Based 'Shining India'.

The convention took place against the background of the pending (hopefully forever and forever 'pending') US-India Nuclear 'Deal' (really, the India - NSG Nuclear 'Deal' since it asks the NSG for action to allow India an exception to the rules), and against a not at all reassuring background of Pakistani and Indian missile tests together with the instability in Pakistan. Pakistan tested a Shaheen missile roughly a week before the conference and tested a Ghauri just the first day of the conference. India at one stage some weeks previously tested as many as three in one week.

For myself at least, the experience really begins in the utterly overwhelming metropolis of Mumbai, home to slums that seem to be cardboard floating on sewage and to vast new apartments for the hyper-rich. From here at VAK one can see, just outside the wall a slum, and just across from the slum there is the skyscraper apartment for rich IT types with the slums directly in between. There is some kind of hyper-mart that I cannot afford next to the apartments for the hyper-rich who doubtless shop there.

In the streets, the three-wheelers charge through the miasma of two stroke exhaust that makes the eye sting and the throat sore.

During the four days I stayed with VAK, various snippets appeared in the press on the 'Deal', and I have a letter to the new Australian foreign Minister Stephen Smith, urging him not to support the deal at the NSG or the IAEA BoG.

Nagpur is a 1500Km train journey of 15 hours by the Sarvodaya Express from Dadar, one of Mumbai's termini, a vast train pulled by an enormous Indian - built loco. The train seems to stretch forever. I have a second - class 3-tier reserved sleeper, which means I can retire to the top and at 4am in the morning obtain a five - rupee chai. When I first did this in 1984 it was 50 paise.

At Nagpur we are accommodated in the cavernous MLA hostel (for parliamentarians) I am put with an ancient trotskyist trade unionist, George Gomez, from the fishing communities of Tuticorin, where the Indian Government runs a heavy - water plant.

The real business of any conference of course happens over tea and vegetarian lunch of chappatis and sabzhi. But important points were made in plenary by a number of speakers including CNDP's Achin Vanaik, Admiral Ramdas and Praful Bidwai. Sukla gave an impassioned presentation on the 'Deal' and the 'civil' nuclear industry.

I give my usual apocalyptic presentation on strategic stability, which I feverishly fine tuned before going to the podium convinced it would be a flop.

Time at the podium went awfully fast as I briefly described global and regional nuclear incineration, and before I knew it the one minute slip was slipped me. I managed to conclude with applause and some shocked glances. Some had not heard this material before though it is the very core of the case against weapons and in my view needs to be re-emphasised again and again.

I guess it would be accurate to say that concern was expressed at the convention on the two aspects of the 'deal' and strategic stability, especially given the missile - testing background. I guess I emphasised the latter but not I hope at the expense of the former.

Day 2 of the convention was occupied with workshops on specific India and Pakistan - related topics, of which I attended the militarisation and nuclearisation one and the nuclear industry one.

Day three was devoted to internal CNDP organisational matters, to passing a series of resolutions which I believe Sukla has posted already on Abolition Caucus and to wrapup. There was also discussion about the remit of CNDP.
I believe that CNDP, as an anti-nuclear-weapons umbrella organisation, bringing together many disparate groups,
performs a vital function by the simple fact that it articulates an antinuclear weapons, pro-nuclear-disarmament
message in a region in which a nuclear exchange remains a real and catastrophic possibility.

As I pointed out in my address to plenary, such an exchange could destroy both India and Pakistan as functioning
entities and produce a body count as high as 150 million (Pentagon estimate) with global climatic consequences
that could last for decades (Ira Helfand).

Many people express disappointment with this or that aspect of CNDP. I believe that in the longer run this is a
mistake. CNDP by its very nature must cater to a wide variety of ideological positions and cannot satisfy everyone
100%. No organisation of this sort ever could.

The stakes both regionally and globally are as high as they could be. CNDP is a voice for sanity.

John Hallam
- Show quoted text -

RESOLUTION: NO LATER THAN 2010
"Before They Abolish Us"
Stay tuned for revision...
I endorse this resolution and will work with a firm commitment to achieve
its goals.

ENDORSE "Resolution: No Later Than 2010"
(Include Name, Country & Organization if applicable in email)

Addressed to President George Bush, all presidents and prime ministers of
nuclear powers and all members of the U.S. Congress
"The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us."
- President Kennedy, UN General Assembly, September 25, 1961

WHEREAS thousands of U.S. and Russian nuclear warheads are on
"hair-trigger" alert, ready for launch in a few minutes notice that could destroy
both countries, and perhaps civilization, within hours, and
WHEREAS a dangerous escalation of nuclear arms is underway by the Bush
Administration that includes a "preemptive" war policy and with a compliant
U.S. Congress providing funds for the administration to develop a new class of
tactical nuclear warheads and the resumption of nuclear testing, and

WHEREAS 30,000 nuclear weapons are stockpiled, and yet nuclear
proliferation is increasing with the International Atomic Energy Commission
reporting that up to 40 countries may have the ability to build nuclear weapons,
and
WHEREAS only dramatic action can halt the critically dangerous course of
world events, we call on the United States and other nuclear weapons countries
to immediately initiate the following steps:
(1) All U.S. and Russian nuclear warheads be taken off "hair-trigger" alert to
end the daily threat of nuclear incineration through an accidental missile launch
or miscalculation. The warheads are to be placed in storage under the inspection
of the U.S., Russia, and the United Nations;
(2) Immediate freeze on all nuclear weapons development with negotiations
initiated to establish a precise and rapid timetable to achieve the total
elimination of all nuclear weapons, with safeguards under international law to
ensure they can never be produced again;
(3) Long-term negotiations to vastly reduce conventional arms and military
spending to achieve our common security. This must include a reformed, strengthened and democratic United Nations made capable of resolving future disputes between peoples and nations (and deal with terrorists) through the framework of world law.

**THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED** we call on concerned people in every land to mobilize and apply maximum nonviolent political pressure on the United States and other nuclear weapon states, and to continue such pressure with an unyielding determination until all nuclear weapons are abolished from the face of the earth before "they abolish us" as President Kennedy warned.

*I endorse this resolution and will work with a firm commitment to achieve its goals.*

ENDORSE "Resolution: No Later Than 2010"

(Include Name, Country & Organization if applicable in email)

Sponsored by:

War & Peace Foundation
20 E. 9th Street, New York, NY 10010 - Tel: 212-228-5836

and

Association of World Citizens
55 New Montgomery St., Suite 224, San Francisco, CA 94105
Tel: 415-541-9610 - FAX: 650-745-0640 or 212-228-5791

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**OLD HAWKS SAY NO**

*(The following article appeared in NAT 2-4-08 under the title “Even Old Hawks Are Saying ‘No Nukes.” See: http://www.fcnl.org/issues/item_print.php?item_id=2252&issue_id=54.*

**AT THE NUCLEAR TIPPING POINT**

By David Krieger

The latest *Wall Street Journal* article by George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn, “Toward a Nuclear-Free World,” published on January 15, 2008, has a greater sense of urgency than their first joint article a year earlier. They express grave concerns that we are at a nuclear “tipping point” with “a very real possibility that the deadliest weapons ever invented could fall into dangerous hands.” As if these weapons are not already in dangerous enough hands. The former policy makers and Cold Warriors are warning us that, without change, nuclear dangers will worsen. They leave to our imaginations what will happen in a world in which “deterrence is decreasingly effective and increasingly hazardous.”
As the former Cold Warriors soberly suggest, we can no longer count on the threat of retaliation with overwhelming nuclear force to prevent those unnamed “dangerous hands” from detonating nuclear weapons in our cities or the cities of our friends and allies. In other words, our nuclear weapons cannot be relied upon to prevent nuclear attacks against us. It is not like the tense days of the Cold War, when at least we knew who the enemy was and where he was located. Now we have shadowy and slippery enemies and our thermonuclear weapons provide no defense against such enemies.

Actually, thermonuclear weapons never did provide a defense, even during the Cold War. Deterrence is not defense — it is only a psychological pseudo-barrier, a wish and a prayer. Against nuclear weapons, there is no defense, not even so-called missile defenses, which are easily overcome.

Even Henry Kissinger gets it now and is speaking out, or at least lending his name, to the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons. Zero nuclear weapons. None for anyone, including us. The US must lead the way, must convene the other nuclear powers. There are steps that must be taken, which the former policy makers outline. Their suggestions are sensible, although they do not go far enough, nor is there any real hope that Washington under the Bush administration will respond to them rapidly enough. The situation may be even more urgent than the former Cold Warriors grasp.

Nuclear weapons do not make us safer. They leave us more exposed. They are military equalizers. Minor foes, terrorist groups and small countries, can inflict horrendous damage on even the most powerful states. What is to be done? The former Cold Warriors offer the following: Work with Russia to move toward a world free of nuclear weapons by saving the Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty of 1991; pursue further reductions in nuclear arms than agreed upon in the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty; increase warning and decision times for the launch of nuclear-armed ballistic missiles; discard Cold War plans for massive attacks; develop cooperative multilateral ballistic missile defense and early warning systems; secure nuclear weapons, including those designed for forward deployment, and weapons-grade nuclear materials; strengthen monitoring of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; and bring the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty into force.

The former Cold Warriors also call for broadening the dialogue on an international scale. Here they will find that many countries without nuclear weapons have been trying to send a message to the nuclear weapons states for a long time, urging them to do all that Shultz, Perry, Kissinger and Nunn seek and more. Progress has been blocked since the end of the Cold War by the lack of political will of US leaders. That is where it continues to be blocked. The Bush administration’s approach to a world free of nuclear weapons is to place as many obstacles in its way as possible.

As the former Cold Warriors point out, “Progress must be facilitated by a clear statement of our ultimate goal.” They have made that statement. It is doubtful, though, if it will have any effect on the current US administration, perhaps the darkest, most criminal administration in US history. Mr. Kissinger and his colleagues must look beyond George W. Bush, and hope for a new president of the United States who will be prepared to climb the mountain with them, rather than trying to blow it up. But they are absolutely right to speak up now, and to continue to strongly promote the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons. As Albert Camus said immediately after the bombing of Hiroshima, “Before the terrifying prospects now available to humanity, we see even more clearly that peace is the only battle worth waging.” Wage on, Henry Kissinger!
The Sunflower is a monthly e-newsletter providing educational information on nuclear weapons abolition and other issues relating to global security. Help us spread the word and forward this to a friend.

Visit [www.wagingpeace.org/donate](http://www.wagingpeace.org/donate) to help sustain this valuable resource by making a donation.

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- **Perspectives**
  - NATO Nuclear First Use Option by David Krieger
  - Toward a Nuclear-Free World by G. Shultz, W. Perry, H. Kissinger and S. Nunn
  - The Case for US Leadership for a Nuclear Weapons-Free World by David Krieger

- **Nuclear Proliferation**
  - Top Brazilian General Pushes for the Development of Nuclear Weapons
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- **Nuclear Insanity**
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- **Nuclear Energy and Waste**
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  - Drought Could Force Closing of Nuclear Plants

- **Resources**
  - Super Tuesday Primaries: Candidates and US Nuclear Weapons Policy
  - Mayors for Peace Update
  - Hiroshima Peace Media Center

- **Foundation Activities**
  - Peace Educator Colman McCarthy to Speak at 7th Annual Frank K. Kelly Lecture
  - Foundation President David Krieger to Speak in Mexico City
  - Join H.H. the Dalai Lama and Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Signing the NAPF Appeal
  - Foundation Sponsors Public Hearing in Madison, Wisconsin

- **Quotes**

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**NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT**

**“REQUIRED READING FOR ASSURING THE FUTURE**

*Jonathan Schell's New Book on the Nuclear Dilemma*” By David Krieger

Few people have looked as deeply into the nuclear abyss, seen the monster of our own making and grappled with it as has the writer Jonathan Schell. But Schell is more than a writer. He is also a philosopher of the Nuclear
Age and an ardent advocate of caging the beast and rendering it harmless. Schell’s first book on the subject, *The Fate of the Earth*, awakened many people to the breadth and depth of the nuclear danger and is now a classic. He has returned to the issue of nuclear dangers (nuclear insanity?) in several of his other books, always providing penetrating insights into the confrontation between humanity and its most deadly invention.

His latest book, *The Seventh Decade, The New Shape of Nuclear Danger*, may be Schell’s most important book yet. In this book, he examines the roots of the Nuclear Age and its current manifestations. He unearths the truth, which once seemed obvious, that the bomb began as a construct in the mind. “Well before any physical bomb had been built,” he says, “science had created the bomb in the mind, an intangible thing. Thereafter, the bomb would be as much a mental as a physical object.”

One of the key concepts of the Nuclear Age is deterrence, the belief that the threat of nuclear retaliation can prevent nuclear attack. Schell takes a hard-headed look at deterrence, and finds the concept “half-sane and half-crazy.” While it seems sane to seek to forestall a nuclear attack, the half-crazy part (perhaps more than half), “consists of actually waging the war you must threaten, for in that event the result is suicide all around.” That suicide writ large becomes what philosopher John Somerville termed “omnicide,” the death of all. “In short,” Schell deduced, “to threaten seems wise, but to act is deranged.”

In the post-Cold War period, deterrence has become even more complex and less certain, tilting toward the “deranged.” It is no longer the mental task of threat and counter threat aimed at keeping a fixed and powerful opponent at bay, as it was during the Cold War standoff between the US and USSR. Now, states must consider the possibility of nuclear weapons falling into the hands of terrorist groups, not locatable and not subject to being deterred. In such circumstances, the rationality of deterrence is shattered and even great and powerful states are placed at risk of nuclear devastation by far weaker opponents. In such circumstances, overwhelming nuclear superiority is of no avail.

The “bomb in the mind” can only do so much. It cannot deter those who cannot be located or are suicidal. Despite their devastating power, nuclear weapons in the hands of powerful states are actually a tepid threat. Yet, they stand as a major impediment to the post-Cold War imperial project of the United States, a project failing on many fronts, but poised to fail far more spectacularly if nuclear weapons find their way into the hands of terrorist groups.

In today’s world, when deterrence has for nearly all sane thinkers lost its magical power in the mind (although in truth it was always a highly risky venture), it has become far harder to justify nuclear arsenals, and the United States has resorted to the vague possibility of a reemergent threat. In considering this, Schell finds, “In the last analysis, the target of the U.S. nuclear arsenal became history and whatever it might produce – not a foe but a tense, the future itself.”

Schell correctly concluded that the George W. Bush administration had far more ambitious and sinister plans for the US nuclear arsenal. Although there was no clearly definable enemy, there was a strongly held vision and normative goal of US global dominance, set forth in the 2001 US Nuclear Posture Review (NPR). Nuclear weapons were required, in Schell’s careful study of the NPR “to dissuade, deter, defeat or annihilate – preventively, preemptively, or in retaliation – any nation or other grouping of people on the face of the earth, large or small, that militarily opposed, or dreamed of opposing, the United States.”

Schell examines the US imperial project under George W. Bush and its role in shaping US nuclear policy. He points out that the Bush administration ordered its nuclear threats in this way: Iraq, with whom it went to war; Iran, with whom it threatened war; North Korea, which withdrew from the Non-Proliferation Treaty and developed nuclear weapons; and Pakistan, which already had nuclear weapons and a chaotic political environment. Of course, Bush chose exactly the wrong order in terms of the actual security threats posed by these nations. Schell found, “In responding to the universal danger posed by nuclear proliferation, the United States therefore had two suitably universalist traditions that it could draw on, one based on consent and law, the other based on force. Bush chose force. It was the wrong choice. It increased the nuclear danger it was meant to prevent.”

In the final section of his book, Schell, who is himself an ardent nuclear abolitionist, reviews earlier attempts
to achieve abolition of these weapons. He goes into heartbreaking detail of the efforts of Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev to achieve the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons. The two leaders, acting on their own initiative, without the advice or support of their aides (George Shultz is an exception), were incredibly close to agreement to eliminate their nuclear arsenals, but as we know faltered on the issue of missile defenses, which Reagan saw as key and which Gorbachev couldn’t accept. After coming so close to agreement on a plan for abolition, the world settled back to nuclear business as usual. As Schell pointed out, after the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit at Reykjavík, “Nuclear arsenals may remain not so much because anyone wants them as because a world without them is outside the imagination of the leadership class.”

The possibilities of nuclear proliferation and nuclear terrorism led Schell to the conclusion that “with each year that passes, nuclear weapons provide their possessors with less safety while provoking more danger. The walls dividing the nations of the two-tiered [nuclear] world are crumbling.” The Reagan-Gorbachev vision has new advocates in former Secretaries of State George Shultz and Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of Defense William Perry, and former chair of the Senate Armed Services Committee Sam Nunn. Their basic premise is that deterrence can no longer be the foundation for 21st century security.

Schell suggests that should the will for nuclear abolition materialize – something already favored by the majority of Americans – the following principles could guide the effort:

- At the outset, adopt the abolition of nuclear arms as the organizing principle and goal of all activity in the nuclear field;
- Join all negotiations on nuclear weapons – on nuclear disarmament, on nonproliferation, and on nuclear terrorism – in a single forum;
- Think of abolition less as the endpoint of a long and weary path of disarmament and more as the starting point for addressing a new agenda of global action;
- Design a world free of nuclear weapons that is not just a destination to reach but a place to remain.

Schell concludes that the “bomb in the mind,” with us from the outset of the Nuclear Age, will remain with us, but that this is not necessarily a detriment. He points out, “even in a world without nuclear weapons, deterrence would, precisely because the bomb in the mind would still be present, remain in effect. In that respect, the persisting know-how would be as much a source of reassurance as it would be a danger in a world without nuclear weapons.”

Jonathan Schell has provided an essential book for our time. He peels back the layers of veils and myths surrounding nuclear dangers and strategies, and offers a sound set of guidelines for moving to a nuclear weapons-free world. This book can help to create the necessary political will to achieve this end. It is required reading for every person on the planet who cares about assuring the future.

David Krieger is the President of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (www.wagingpeace.org).

Preemptive Nuclear Strike
http://www.commondreams.org/archive/2008/01/21/6529/
Common Dreams Breaking News & Views for the Progressive Community
www.commondreams.org (from Abel T)

BUSH ADMIN. ACCELERATING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION
**Empire and the Bomb:** In his newest book, leading nuclear specialist, peace campaigner, and AFSC staff member Joseph Gerson explains how the U.S. has used atomic weapons to preserve its global empire.

**HIROSHIMA**

Exhibit A for why America must initiate nuclear weapons abolition worldwide:

New Photos Reveal Horror Of Hiroshima (GRAPHIC IMAGES)
The Huffington Post | May 3, 2008 02:04 PM

Sean Malloy, a professor at the University of California Merced, "recently unearthed 10 previously-unpublished photographs illustrating the aftermath on the Hiroshima bombing."

These photographs, taken by an unknown Japanese photographer, were found in 1945 among rolls of undeveloped film in a cave outside Hiroshima by U.S. serviceman Robert L. Capp, who was attached to the occupation forces. Unlike most photos of the Hiroshima bombing, these dramatically convey the human as well as material destruction unleashed by the atomic bomb.

Below, you'll find one of the photos from this collection. See the rest here. Warning: some of the images are graphic and will be difficult for some readers to view.

Huffingtonpost article:
[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/05/03/unearthed-photos-reveal-h_n_99970.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/05/03/unearthed-photos-reveal-h_n_99970.html)

Photo Link:
[http://faculty.ucmerced.edu/smalloy/atomic_tragedy/photos.html](http://faculty.ucmerced.edu/smalloy/atomic_tragedy/photos.html)

**HEARINGS BY NATIONAL NUCLEAR SECURITY ADMINISTRATION**

For all of you, here are some personal comments on the two hearings which the National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) held in Oak Ridge, TN, on Tuesday, February 26.

Very briefly, NNSA (a component of the US Department of Energy) is finalizing a "Draft Supplemental Programmatic Environmental Impact Statement" (SPEIS) on the "transformation" of the entire US "Nuclear Weapons Complex." Seven nuclear sites have already been closed (Hanford, Idaho National Lab, Rocky Flats, Mound, Fernald, K-25 in Oak Ridge, and Pinellas). And eight remain (Lawrence Livermore National Lab, Nevada Test Site, Los Alamos National Lab, Sandia National Lab, the Pantex Plant, Kansas City Plant, Y-12 National Security Complex in Oak Ridge, and the Savannah River Site).

(In addition to K-25 and Y-12, World War II also created what is now the Oak Ridge National Laboratory (ORNL), but it -- like many other national laboratories scattered around the country -- is not a nuclear weapons facility and not part of "complex transformation.")

NNSA is required by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) to hold public hearings on the environmental impacts of the actions proposed in the SPEIS. Apparently NNSA believes that all such impacts are local (like employment and stream quality) because all but one of the 19 hearings are taking place in the immediately environs of the eight nuclear sites (plus Washington, DC) and not general issues (like humanitarianism, morality, national health, global strategy, international relations, and the future of humankind).

The SPEIS outlines four alternatives: (1) No action (retain all eight
sites). (2) Distributed "Centers of Excellence" (upgrade Los Alamos, build new pit (i.e. bomb manufacturing) facility at ONE of five sites, continue bomb assembly at Pantex, continue highly enriched uranium operations at Y-12). (3) Consolidated "Centers of Excellence (consolidate operations and completely close either Pantex or Y-12) . And (4) Capability-Based Alternative (reduce capabilities at all sites). NNSA is pushing alternative (2).

The hearings on February 26 began with pro forma statements by NNSA, but most of the day and evening was devoted to 2-3 minute statements from whomever wanted to speak (and/or deliver documents). All statements were transcribed and will be published on the NNSA website. More than one hundred statements were received, equally divided -- or so it seemed -- for and against alternative (2). Of course the two groups talked completely past each other, the "pro" group arguing for local employment and for national security and the "con" group using completely different general arguments. Some members of the "pro" group expressed resentment that outsiders had come to Oak Ridge to make irrelevant points, i.e. to argue about general issues instead of local issues.

Both Tennessee senators, Congressmen from all three nearby districts, five local mayors, county governments, local economic associations, various businesses, and labor unions all supported alternative (2), as did numerous Y-12 employees, both past and present. The points of all "pro" speakers were the same: Y-12 has 4,500 skilled jobs and workers. Y-12 is the best place to build the new pit (i.e. bomb) facility. Y-12 employees are patriots. Upgrading of the US nuclear arsenal is vital to national security.

Very few of the ordinary citizens of Oak Ridge (and nearby Knoxville) bothered to attend the hearings. I spotted only three UU's (all presumably on the "con" side).

The half who opposed alternative (2) in fact opposed all four options. Except some individuals who saluted unions and the working class, the "con" group ignored local issues and made all of the usual arguments against nuclear weapons: Inhumanity, Hiroshima, environmental ruin, no military necessity, Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty of 1970, US hypocrisy, need to show example to the world, etc., etc. I'd say that most of the the "con" group represented a peace group of one kind or another, including handfuls from Atlanta and Cincinnati and a busload from Michigan. Children spoke against the bomb from The Farm, a community in Summertown, TN, originally founded by Hippies from California. And I heard several white-haired men say they were members of the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL).

But a large part of the "con" group consisted of members of the Oak Ridge Environmental Peace Alliance (http://www.stopthebombs.org), and everyone was aware of OREPA. As the evening hearing wore on and attendance thinned, OREPA somehow got NNSA's permission to suspend the normal rules of hearing procedure, and costumed OREPA members staged a play in which Uncle Sam Scrooge was shown the errors of his bomb-making ways by the ghosts of the past, present, and future.

On the serious side, OREPA introduced a fifth so-called No Production Alternative, as set forth in a very reasoned statement by Ralph Hutchison, the "coordinator" (= executive director) of OREPA, the full text of which is attached below. The other document attached below is the full text of the next day's story from the local Oak Ridge newspaper.

N.B. From Oak Ridge, the NNSA team has already moved to Amarillo, TX, where two more hearings are taking place today. A dozen more hearings will take
place near nuclear sites in the West before the last hearing takes place in Washington, DC, on Tuesday, March 25, 11:00 am to 3:00 pm, in the Forrestal Building, 1000 Independence Ave, SW.

Written comments may be snail mailed, emailed, or faxed to NNSA any time between now and April 1, 2008. You can also submit comments through the NNSA website http://www.complextransformationspeis.com.

Best Regards from Edward W. (Ted) LOLLIS

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END OF NUCLEAR WAR NEWSLETTER #3