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MS-630: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Digital Collection, 1953-1996.
Series A: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1961-1996.

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Nuclear arms freeze, 1982-1988.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

Peace Education, Inc.

Muller
October 6, 1988

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Bd. w/c

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

*But are you
ask
more*
On Sunday, November 20, Tony and Judy Lowe will open their home in Westport for a reception to benefit the work of Peace Education, Inc. You are invited to be a Sponsor of this event to be held from 5 to 7 p.m. at the Lowe's home on High Point Road.

Adrian W. DeWind, Chair of the Natural Resources Defense Council, will be the guest speaker for the reception. Mr. DeWind was a principal negotiator of the agreement between the NRDC and the Soviet Academy of Sciences to establish seismic monitoring stations near the Soviet and U.S. nuclear test sites. The project is gathering important information about the possibility of verifying a comprehensive test ban between the United States and the Soviet Union. Mr. DeWind is also a director of the National Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control and the Chair of Americas Watch, a group working for human rights.

The work of Peace Education, Inc. -- the education fund of the Connecticut Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign -- is especially important in this election year and during the new administration, no matter who is elected our next President. Important steps have been made in reaching an agreement to eliminate the entire class of intermediate-range nuclear weapons, and in reducing tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The new administration will need public support and encouragement to conclude more important agreements in arms control, including a test ban and a halt to the development of new, faster, more dangerous nuclear systems.

Mr. DeWind will give a unique perspective on the prospects for arms control and the direction of U.S. foreign policy following the election. Your leadership gift as a Sponsor or Friend will encourage others in the community to join in the effort to bring the arms race to an end. Thank you for your interest in this vital issue.

*Reps
Reps
prior Committee*
Sincerely,

Pamela Adams

Pamela Adams
Chair, Board of Directors

OK on name

The non-profit, education fund of the
CONNECTICUT FREEZE CAMPAIGN

Nuclear

August 2, 1988
19 Av 5748

Ms. Patricia Wass
Development Director
Connecticut Freeze Campaign
55 Van Dyke Avenue
Hartford, CT 06106

Dear Pat:

Thank you for the gracious invitation to participate in a reception for the benefit of Peace Education, Inc. and the Free Voter Education Fund to be held at the home of Ann Scoville. I am certain it will be a very beautiful and successful event.

Unfortunately, responsibilities for the UAHC preclude my presence on Sunday afternoon. That is the date of the Executive Committee Meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and, as you can appreciate, it is simply not possible for me to absent myself from this critical session.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Peace Education, Inc.

July 28, 1988

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

On Sunday afternoon, September 18, Ann Scoville and her family will open their home in Taconic, Connecticut for a reception to benefit Peace Education, Inc. and the Freeze Voter Education Fund. As a member of Peace Education's Advisory Board, you are invited to be listed as an honorary Sponsor of this special event to be held at Hill House on the 18th from 3 to 5 p.m.

Richard Barnet, Co-Founder and Senior Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington DC, will be the guest speaker for the reception. Barnet served in the State Department and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency during the Kennedy Administration. His articles on foreign policy and defense issues appear frequently in the New Yorker and he is the author of several books, including Real Security: Restoring American Power in a Dangerous Decade, and Roots of War.

The work of Peace Education, Inc. and the Freeze Voter Education Fund -- a national organization that trains and mobilizes citizens to become involved in elections -- is especially important in this election year. Important steps have been made in reducing US-Soviet tensions and in reaching the INF agreement to eliminate a class of nuclear weapons, but the challenge of halting the nuclear arms race and defining "real security" in the nuclear age remains.

We appreciate your participation as a member of our Advisory Board. Your sponsorship of this event is an encouragement to others to join in the effort to bring the arms race to an end. Thank you for your continuing interest in this important issue and in our efforts to keep it in the public eye.

Sincerely,



Patricia Wass
Development Director

The non-profit, education fund of the
CONNECTICUT FREEZE CAMPAIGN

55 Van Dyke Ave., Hartford, Ct. 06106 (203) 522-7661

RESPONSE

— Yes, I/we would like to be a Sponsor of the reception
at Hill House on September 18.

The names of Sponsors will be listed on the
invitation to the reception.

NAME(s) _____
(as it should appear on the invitation)
STREET _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
PHONE _____

RSVP AUGUST 17

Tax-deductible gifts may be made payable to "Scoville
Reception." Proceeds will support Peace Education,
Inc. and the National Freeze Voter Education Fund.

Nuclear

Te

March 31, 1988
13 Nisan 5748

Coordinating Committee
Choose Peace
715 Eighth Street, SE
Suite 100
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Friends:

It distresses me to respond to your gracious invitation negatively, but I simply have no other choice. My calendar is already booked quite heavily for December 1988 and January-February 1989. Thus, I cannot accept your kind invitation to keynote the CHOOSE PEACE Retreat next January.

I hope you do not construe this as a lack of interest in the critical work you are doing. I am deeply concerned and do regret that I have been unable to attend any of your conferences. I trust you can understand and appreciate the many demands made upon me by the members/congregations of the UAHC, and of course, they must come first on my list of priorities.

With every good wish and kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Jan 24. 1989. - Tues.
Open

nil on schedule for
w/c before 1/20-22

or after 1/27-29

Regrets
prior
arrangement



RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN DEFENSE OF CREATION

March 22, 1988

715 Eighth Street, SE, Suite 100
Washington, DC 20003
202/547-4222

COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Bishop C. Dale White
New York Area (United Methodist)*
Chairperson

Ms. Mia Adjali, Chairperson
International Affairs Committee, NCC
Dr. Myron S. Augsburger, Pastor
Washington Community Fellowship
Rabbi Leonard Beerman
Co-founder, Interfaith Center to
Reverse the Arms Race
Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton
Auxiliary Bishop/Detroit (Roman Catholic)
Bishop Will Herzfeld
Association of Evangelical
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Bishop Leontine T.C. Kelly
San Francisco Area (United Methodist)

Dr. Avery D. Post, President
United Church of Christ
Sr. Carol Quigley, President
Sisters of L.H.M. (Monroe, MI)
Rabbi David Saperstein, Co-director
Religious Action Center of
Reform Judaism

Dr. Ron Sider, Executive Director
Evangelicals for Social Action
Mr. Ed Snyder, Executive Secretary
Friends Committee on
National Legislation

Bishop Joseph Sullivan
Diocese of Brooklyn (Roman Catholic)
Mr. Jim Wallis, Editor
Sojourners

Dr. Arthur Waskow, Executive Director
The Shalom Center
Dr. Doris Anne Younger, General Director
Church Women United

PROGRAM ASSOCIATES

Ms. Jessma O. Blockwick
Ms. Marty E. Coleman
The Rev. Don E. Howard
The Rev. Rodney Shaw
Ms. Holly Wells

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

As you may remember from our letter of December 23, 1987, the Coordinating Committee of CHOOSE PEACE has rescheduled the retreat we had planned for last month.

The new dates for the retreat are January 23-26, 1989, and we are writing to extend an invitation for you to provide the keynote presentation on the morning of January 24.

The enclosed materials provide information about how CHOOSE PEACE will function, and the hopes we have for it. The goal will be to discover and act out the most effective roles for top-level religious leaders to play in countering the violence, injustice and potential for another holocaust which plague the world. By the time of the retreat, several action programs will have been completed (focused especially around the opportunities for public debate unique to an election year) and long-term strategy development will be underway.

The retreat will be a time to focus on our roles as religious leaders, seeking to deepen our commitment and prepare ourselves for the tasks and responsibilities which we have covenanted to accept and have begun to act upon. This will be an all-too-rare opportunity for top-level religious leaders to do reflection and spiritual formation together.

The retreat is designed in a progression of themes. Each theme will be initiated by a presentation and supported by scripture study, discussion, meditation and worship.

We are asking you, from your experience as a leader in the Jewish religious community, to address the social, religious and ideological roots of institutionalized inhumanity, as well as the scriptural promises and commandments of shalom which mandate a more humane world. This will serve as a common grounding for the theological, ethical and spiritual formation work which will follow.

*Organizations listed
for identification only

The presentation topics which will follow the keynote are:

- the Latin American experience (by a Roman Catholic liberation theologian)
- analysis of the interlocking systems of militarism and injustice (by a political scientist working from a feminist perspective)
- scripture and "prophetic imagination," as the foundations for religious leaders' witness to political and social institutions and processes (by a Protestant Old Testament theologian).

Our staff has been advised of this invitation and will be of assistance in working out arrangements, schedules and details of the retreat design. Please feel free to contact the Rev. Don Howard or Ms. Holly Wells for any additional information you may require.

We look forward to your reply in hope and anticipation that you will be with us next January.

Shalom,

C. Dale White
Tom Gumberton

Avery D. Post
David Caperton

for the Coordinating Committee

Enclosures: Question & Answer Sheet
Covenant

CHOOSE PEACE: Religious Leaders in Defense of Creation

Covenant

We are people of faith in God. We are Jews who affirm the covenant of Sinai with the God who in every generation calls us forth from slavery, idolatry, and death to freedom, holiness and life. We are Christians who would live in the grace of God through the redemptive, reconciling love of Jesus Christ for humanity, and serve God's will for peace and justice in the world.

Our biblical faith and the urgency of the historical moment have called us together. Never has conflict between nations and ideologies so threatened the world with ultimate violence. Never have there been so many suffering poor.

And yet, there is hope. We trust the promise that God intends peace and wholeness for humankind.

We recognize the arms race, the worldwide escalation of violence, the oppression of the poor, and the suppression of human rights and freedoms as fundamentally a religious and spiritual crisis, not simply a problem of policy. We have turned from our creator and fallen into idolatry. We are influenced by the spirits of resignation, cynicism, and despair. The presence of the demonic is evident in our culture and in the corridors of power.

But there is opportunity, and in the clarity of the crisis there is choice.

The crisis we face is a direct challenge to the foundations of our faith and, literally, to the survival of human civilization, propelling us toward spiritual and physical death.

Our faith compels us to respond.

We therefore covenant to come together, to learn, and to listen together for God's word in this time of great peril. As persons providing leadership in our communities of faith, we will pray, stand, speak and act together in a more concerted and unified way than we ever have before.

We covenant together to offer the clearest possible voice from the religious community, saying an unequivocal NO to the present course of the nations, seeking an alternative vision rooted in our common faith and hope, and acting together to bring that vision into reality.

Each and all of us will make this covenant a major theme in our service and ministry. We will use and shape CHOOSE PEACE as an instrument to bring peace with justice to all peoples. **As integrity requires and time allows, we will**

- meet in retreat with CHOOSE PEACE covenant partners at least once each year, in order to develop an ongoing community of mutual support and accountability;
- participate in CHOOSE PEACE initiatives and activities;
- work with covenant partners to initiate and support national and regional interfaith peacemaking efforts;
- encourage other religious leaders to join us.

The Coordinating Committee
CHOOSE PEACE: Religious Leaders in Defense of Creation
February 1988

I JOIN THIS COVENANT OF FAITH AND COMMITMENT

Name

Date

Please do not duplicate and distribute copies of this covenant. Send names of other religious leaders who should be invited to covenant to CHOOSE PEACE, 715 8th Street, S.E., #100, Washington, DC 20003. 202-547-4222.

CHOOSE PEACE: Religious Leaders in Defense of Creation

Questions & Answers

What is CHOOSE PEACE?

CHOOSE PEACE, formed in July, 1987, is a nation-wide group of Christian and Jewish leaders who recognize that the arms race, the world-wide escalation of violence, the oppression of the poor and the suppression of human rights and freedoms are fundamentally a religious and spiritual crisis which our nation must address. These religious leaders have come together to say an unequivocal NO to the present course of the nations and to offer alternative visions and pathways toward a peaceful world.

What is the purpose of CHOOSE PEACE?

CHOOSE PEACE is intended to be an instrument for advancing the cause of peace with justice for all peoples. CHOOSE PEACE will seek to affect public opinion and policy development by enabling top-level religious leaders to:

- raise a consistent and credible voice in the public debate on peace and the global community
- articulate a positive vision of a just, peaceful world and realistic steps for achieving it
- develop a moral yardstick by which foreign and domestic policies can be measured
- work to replace the adversarial relationship of the super-powers with a system of nonviolent means for resolving conflict
- encourage and validate members of their communities of faith in a renewed commitment to peacemaking efforts.

Who are members of CHOOSE PEACE?

They are prominent and influential leaders in communities of faith who have responded to an invitation to covenant with each other to pray, stand, speak and act together in a more concerted and unified way than ever before.

What will members do?

Participants will make this covenant a major theme in their service and ministry and lift up peacemaking as a central issue of faith. They will meet in periodic retreat and participate in CHOOSE PEACE initiatives and activities as integrity requires and time allows.

Activities will include: developing the spiritual, communal and strategic base for the work of the group; establishing direct, ongoing interactions with key political, military and industrial decision-makers; participating in coordinated media campaigns; asserting the relevance of the religious perspective to policy-making in public, political debate by personal appearances in various forums.

(continued)

What makes CHOOSE PEACE different from other peace organizations?

CHOOSE PEACE provides the means by which prominent religious leaders can come together, as individuals in a relationship of mutual support and accountability, to speak to the nation and world on issues of peace with justice in a unified, ongoing, proactive, strategic way. The unity of such top-level religious leaders across faith lines will amplify the impact of their shared religious traditions, values and visions.

How will CHOOSE PEACE work with other peace organizations?

CHOOSE PEACE takes its place in the growing community of those working toward peace. CHOOSE PEACE will serve as a catalyst for promoting regional and national interfaith activities; collaborate in peacemaking work of the various religious and secular organizations that might be strengthened by the efforts of top-level religious leaders; and be available to the various denominational and peace coalition staffs as they identify opportunities for interfaith participation by religious leaders.

February 1988

Nuclear

September 29, 1987
6 Tishri 5748

Choose Peace
Religious Leaders In Defense Of Creation
715 Eighth Street, SE
Suite 100
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Friends:

I am grateful for your gracious invitation to join the Coordinating Committee of Choose Peace. While I am certainly very positively inclined toward the work of this new venture, I find that I have added my name to far too many groups and in most instances I am unable to participate in their work.

Alas, such is indeed, the case with Choose Peace. In reviewing the various dates suggested for special programming, I find that I have prior obligations which simply cannot be changed. Thus, I feel it is not proper for me to join in the venture as I will be unable to participate in the serious meetings and programs you have planned. I do hope you understand my situation.

I wish you well in all that you do in the quest for peace.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN DEFENSE OF CREATION

715 Eighth Street, SE, Suite 100
Washington, DC 20003
202/547-4222

*regret
prior
objection*

September 4, 1987

COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Bishop C. Dale White
New York Area (United Methodist)*
Chairperson

Ms. Mia Adjali, Chairperson
International Affairs Committee, NCC

Dr. Myron S. Augsburger, Pastor
Washington Community Fellowship

Rabbi Leonard Beerman
Co-founder, Interfaith Center to
Reverse the Arms Race

Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton
Auxiliary Bishop/Detroit (Roman Catholic)

Bishop Will Herzfeld
Association of Evangelical
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Bishop Leontine T.C. Kelly
San Francisco Area (United Methodist)

Dr. Avery D. Post, President
United Church of Christ

Sr. Carol Quigley, President
Sisters of L.H.M. (Monroe, MI)

Rabbi David Saperstein, Co-director
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The Rev. Don E. Howard

The Rev. Rodney Shaw

Ms. Holly Wells

*Organizations listed
for identification only

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Greetings in the name of the Creator God.

We write to invite you to join us in a new venture
in peacemaking.

The nuclear arms race looms as both the end product
and the dark symbol of the world's choice for enmity
and death instead of human community and
participation in God's loving intention for the
creation. The global political and economic
crisis--the proliferation and destabilizing
modernization of nuclear weapons, the increasing
destructiveness of conventional weapons, the threat
of superpower confrontations, the reality of
superpower interventions in other nations, the
continuing denial of basic human rights and freedom
around the world, the breakdown and injustices of
the global economic system, the increasing misery of
the poor--these constitute a fundamentally religious
crisis.

We are faced with the same choice the Hebrew people
faced as they prepared to cross over into the
Promised Land: If we in the nuclear era are to
"cross over" into a new era of hope and
possibilities for peace, we must choose between the
forces of death and the forces of life, between Idol
and God.

The Coordinating Committee of CHOOSE PEACE:
Religious Leaders in Defense of Creation, consists
of persons who hold various leadership positions in
the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious
communities who have felt called to renewed,
deepened involvement in issues of war and peace.
For over a year we have been meeting to explore what
the role of religious leaders should be in opposing

Page Two

the present disastrous, blasphemous course of the nations of the world and in championing positive alternatives.

Now we are ready to invite you and 150-200 other religious leaders to join us on February 8-11, 1988, in a national retreat, to explore how we might stand together covenantally and sacrificially to fulfill our part in the task of choosing life.

The gathering, though large, is intended to be more a retreat than a conference. It is meant to offer an opportunity for developing the spiritual commitment and interpersonal bonding which will allow participants to renew their commitment to peacemaking in the context of an ongoing, communal effort. This will not be a workshop or conference by which to gain expertise on the "what" of the arms race and its global ramifications, and the purpose will not be to develop and issue a statement of concern. The gathering will be a time to "covenant with God and with each other to pray, stand, speak and act together in a more concerted and unified way than we ever have before."

The retreat will run from the evening of Monday, February 8, through mid-afternoon of Thursday, February 11. (A location has not been decided upon.) There will be time for study of scripture, private and group prayer, meditation, and reflection upon the enclosed draft strategy paper which was developed by the Coordinating Committee and staff at a meeting on July 9 and 10. This paper will serve as a stimulus to our thinking together and deciding how best we may work in unity to change the policies and mindsets which are leading the world toward disaster.

We are convinced that religious leaders must help in raising a unified, consistent religious voice in the public debate on issues of peace and global community. Religious leaders can articulate the religious vision for modern times, can by their own activities encourage and validate members of their communities in a new commitment to peace-making, and can help lead the nation in reordering its priorities.

The enclosed "Call to Covenant" (from which we have quoted) summarizes where we are in our commitment. We believe that you are among those who can provide national leadership in witnessing and acting in opposition to the arms race and in support of life-enhancing alternatives.

We ask you at this time to set aside these dates of February 8 through 11 on your calendar. We will gladly send you further details as they develop if you are led to join us in

Page Three

offering "the clearest possible voice from the religious community, saying an unequivocal NO to the present course of the nations and seeking an alternative vision rooted in our common faith and hope."

Should you be ready to join with us now in the Call to Covenant to which we have committed ourselves, please write to any one of us at the above address to let us know that you would like to be a part of CHOOSE PEACE before the February meeting.

The effectiveness of our commitment and of the strategies which we choose to pursue in unity will depend upon our openness to God's spirit in our gathering and in our ongoing work together.

Shalom,

C. Dale White

Tom J. Gumbleton

Avery D. Post

(Signed in their absence)

Carol Wagner, J. H. M.

Arthur W. Brown

Boris Anne Younger

Enclosures: "A Call to Covenant"
Draft strategy paper

Nuclear

March 28, 1988
10 Nisan 5748

Mr. Arthur Waskow
Executive Director
The Shalom Center
Church Road And Greenwood Avenue
Wyncote, PA 19095

Dear Arthur:

It was good of you to write concerning my speech at the
92nd Street Y. I am grateful for your warm comments.

Thank you for the materials you shared in regard to the
forthcoming Commission On Social Action Discussion On A
Nuclear Free World. I am turning these over to Al Vorspan
since he is responsible for the agenda and materials which
are to be used for the commission meeting. I know that he
will be grateful for your interest. Since he is currently
"on the road" for the UAHF, the materials will await his
return.

With repeated thanks and every good wish for a sweet Pass-
over, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc. Albert Vorspan

THE
SHALOM

OHV
CENTER

A RESOURCE CENTER FOR JEWISH PERSPECTIVES
ON PREVENTING NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST

o"2

3/17/88

Dear Alex,

I had never heard you
give a public speech before
Tuesday night, & was very
much moved by your passion
& eloquence. !?? ?e'

I see that the C.S.A.
will be discussing "the goal of a
nuclear-free world" in its meetings
on April 11. I enclose two items
of my own that might be useful
to circulate for that. If it would
be useful for me to be there as a
"consultant," I'd be delighted.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Rabbi Walter Wurzburger

Peace Education, Inc.

October 13, 1987

nuclear
Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

We are writing to ask you to lend your name as an Advisory Board member to an important conference which the Connecticut Freeze Campaign and Peace Education have planned for October 31, 1987, at Wesleyan University.

This conference - Common Security: Foreign Policy Beyond the Cold War - will address the issues that underlie the foreign policy of the United States and the Soviet Union, foreign policy which is the foundation of the nuclear arms race and which continues the insecurity that the arms race poses to all the nations of the world.

As the enclosed flyer describes, our keynote speaker will be Professor M. Shulman of Columbia University, who will present the concept of Common Security. Juliet Schor will discuss "The Global Economy." The Soviet representative will be Ambassador Roland Timerbayer, Deputy Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations. A roundtable discussion on strategy for the peace movement will follow the speakers and the Yale Slavic Chorus will wrap up the day at 3:30.

As an Advisory Board member, your name will add stature to this event. We would like to list you as an honorary "Friend of the Conference" on the conference program. We hope that if at all possible you might be able to attend on the 31st.

Please return the enclosed response form by October 27 to ensure that your name will be on the program.

Thank you for your support of the Connecticut Freeze Campaign.

Sincerely,

Pat Wass

Patricia Wass
Development Director

The non-profit, education fund of the
CONNECTICUT FREEZE CAMPAIGN

55 Van Dyke Ave., Hartford, Ct. 06106 (203) 522-7661

COMMON SECURITY:



FOREIGN POLICY BEYOND THE COLD WAR

Nuclear weapons have changed the nature of security. A threat to one's adversary is a threat to oneself and to the rest of the world.

There can be no security for the U.S. without security for the Soviet Union, and the terms of security must be arrived at jointly.

Deterrence is not the answer. Threat induces fear and in-

security, generates counterthreats, and fuels an endless arms race.

Large standing armies and interventionary policies, like nuclear weapons, are incompatible with common security. Disarmament, security, and development go hand in hand. A new international understanding is needed for the nuclear age.

A ONE-DAY CONFERENCE

Saturday, October 31, 1987 8:30 AM to 4:00 PM
Wesleyan University Science Center, Middletown, CT
Cost includes lunch: \$10 regular, \$5 student/low income

SPEAKERS

MARSHALL SHULMAN, Director Emeritus, W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University; former U.S. Ambassador and special advisor to the Secretary of State.

JULIET SCHOR, Professor of Economics, Harvard University; author, *Trading Partners*.

SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE, with foreign policy experience, name to be announced.

COMMON SECURITY: FOREIGN POLICY BEYOND THE COLD WAR is a project of Peace Education, Inc., the education fund of the Connecticut Freeze Campaign, 55 Van Dyke Ave., Hartford, CT 06106, (203) 522-7661.

Co-sponsors: American Friends Service Committee, Labor for Peace, Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, League of Women Voters of Connecticut, Nuclear Dialogue Project of Wesleyan University, Peace Center of the Christian Conference of Connecticut, Physicians for Social Responsibility/Hartford Chapter.

Peace Education, Inc.
55 Van Dyke Avenue
Hartford, CT 06106

nonprofit org.
U.S. postage
PAID
Hartford, Ct.
permit no. 1606

Common Security Conference

October 31, Wesleyan University

PROGRAM

MORNING

- 8:30 REGISTRATION
(Coffee and doughnuts)
- 9:00 WELCOME:
Nick Dunlop, Moderator
Secretary General, Parliamentarians Global
Action; Five Continent Peace Initiative
- 9:15 "COMMON SECURITY: FOREIGN POLICY
BEYOND THE COLD WAR"
Dr. Marshall Shulman
Director Emeritus, W. Averell Harriman
Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet
Union, Columbia University
- 10:30 "THE GLOBAL ECONOMY"
Dr. Juliet Schor
Professor of Economics, Harvard University
PANEL RESPONSE
Danny Kantor
National Labor Committee for Democracy in
El Salvador
Kevin Bean
Chair, Economic Issues Task Force of the
Connecticut Freeze Campaign
- 12:00 LUNCH
(included in registration fee) prepared by
Haddam Nuclear Arms Freeze Committee

AFTERNOON

- 1:00 "A SOVIET VIEW OF COMMON
SECURITY"
Soviet representative
PANEL RESPONSE
Kevin Cassidy
Professor of Political Science, Fairfield
University
Joe Gerson
Peace Secretary, American Friends Service
Committee
- 2:30 "PATHS TO COMMON SECURITY"
Maggie Bierwirth, Moderator
Executive Director, Connecticut Freeze
Campaign
Carol Bragg
Director, Women for a Non-Nuclear Future
David Keppel
Former member, National Freeze Campaign
Strategy Committee
Michael Klare
Director, Five College Peace and World Security
Program; Chair, National SANE/Freeze
Strategy Committee
- Pam Solo
Director, Institute for Peace and International
Security; former Bunting Peace Fellow,
Radcliffe College
- 3:30 "VOICES FOR COMMON SECURITY"
Yale Slavic Chorus
- 4:00 ADJOURN

To reach WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY SCIENCE CENTER:

From I-91 South take Exit 22S, a left exit onto Route 9 to Middletown. Go to second traffic light on Route 9 (about 5.6 mi.). Turn right onto Washington St. Go to fourth traffic light. Turn left onto High Street. Go to second traffic light. Turn right onto Church Street. The Science Center is on Church Street, on the left side.

From I-91 North take Exit 18, onto Route 66 to Middletown. Follow Route 66 (about 6.5 mi.) to Wesleyan Campus. Turn right onto High Street. Follow directions from High Street, above.

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I/we wish to be a Friend(s) of the Conference at ____\$25, ____\$50, or ____\$100.
Friends of the Conference will be listed in the Conference Program. \$_____

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COMMON SECURITY PROJECT

c/o Peace Education, Inc.

55 Van Dyke Avenue

Hartford, CT 06106



Nuclear

September 15, 1987
21 Elul 5747

Dr. Ernesto Kahan
Group Health Cooperative
of Puget Sound
200 15th Avenue East
Seattle, WA 98112

Dear BroeMao:

It was very good hearing from you and I thank you for taking the time to write and to express your appreciation of my Moscow speech. I am most grateful.

I don't know if my schedule will take me to Seattle during the coming months, but I certainly will hold you in mind should I find myself headed towards that beautiful part of the country. I do hope you will enjoy your experience in Seattle and find it to be meaningful and worthwhile.

Thank you, too, for the photograph you took at the Conference. I am grateful to you. My Moscow speech was printed and since you were so appreciative of my comments I thought you might want to have a copy so I enclose one herewith.

With warm good wishes for a New Year blessed with good health, happiness and fulfillment, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

September 9, 1987

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

It was very good meeting you in Moscow last May during the 7th International Congress of IPPNW. Your speech on the panel about religion and nuclear war was very helpful. I was delighted to hear you from my point of view as Israeli. I already told my colleagues in Israel, as well as the media about your excellent remarks.

Unfortunately, I couldn't see you in Israel. My Sabbatical City is Seattle and I will be here until August 1988.

Enclosed is a picture I took during the conference. I hope you enjoy it. I look forward to seeing you again.

The best of luck in your endeavors which are of value to all of humanity.

Sincerely,

Ernesto Kahan, M.D.
Research Associate
Center for Health Studies

EK/kt

Enclosure

Y. K.
*Acknowledged of letter
Send him copy of
my Moscow
speech*

Muclos

June 26, 1987
29 Sivan 5747

Richard G. Saxon, M.D.
16260 Ventura Boulevard
Encino, CA 91426

Dear Dr. Saxon:

Rabbi Schindler is out of the country and will see your letter of June 23 on his return next week. I know he will be interested in your comments regarding your travels following the IPPNW Congress in Moscow, even as he will appreciate your words of commendation concerning the address he delivered in Moscow.

He happened to call today and I told him that you wished to use excerpts of his speech in the Los Angeles B.S.R. newsletter. He was delighted to learn that and, of course, you have permission to do so.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

RICHARD G. SAXON, M.D., INC.

16260 VENTURA BOULEVARD

ENCINO, CALIFORNIA 91436

789-0581

ORTHOPEDIC SURGERY

June 23, 1987

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

Thank you so much for sending me a copy of your speech given before the I.P.P.N.W. Congress in Moscow. You are obviously a man of action, because I received the copy only a day after I returned from my European trip.

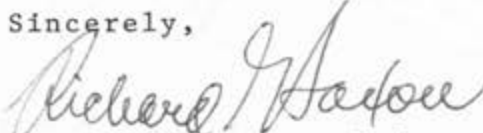
I enjoyed the dialectical quality of your speech. I thought that it expressed all of the contradictions of the nuclear dilemma from a Jewish viewpoint. The fact that you could give that speech, expressing the problems of Jewish emigration in the Soviet Union, was a singular event. While the general Soviet public probably did not hear the speech, there were plenty of Soviet doctors - some of them Jewish - who did, and this has to mean that some change is taking place in the Soviet Union.

After our Moscow visit, we went to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. It is impossible to learn much from a few days' visit, but I was impressed that the Communist Government of Poland maintains memorials to the Jews of Warsaw and Crakow and sends throngs of school-children to Auschwitz-Birkenow where I would hesitate to send any children. What they tell them about the Jews, I don't know, but at least they are not historical revisionists like the Germans (our friends in the West) where the hotel brochure completely omits the Nazi period. Contradictions abound.

From my own viewpoint, there are moral priorities, and the nuclear weapons issue dominates the others.

We would like to use parts of your speech in our next Los Angeles P.S.R. newsletter, and I hope that we have your permission.

Sincerely,


Richard G. Saxon, M.D.
RGS/bs

OK



LOWN CARDIOVASCULAR GROUP, P.C.

RICHARDSON FULLER BUILDING

221 Longwood Avenue • Boston, Massachusetts 02115
(617) 732-1318



Brigham
and
Women's
Hospital

18 June 1987

Nuclear

no response
CC - CJA 7/2
Al V.
Betty Golomb

BERNARD LOWN, M.D.
THOMAS B. GRABOYS, M.D.
STEVEN LAMPERT, M.D.
CHARLES M. BLATT, M.D.
VIKAS SAINI, M.D.
SHMUEL RAVID, M.D.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Alex,

Many thanks for your thoughtful letter and most especially for your important contribution to the VIIth Congress. It was indeed a spectacular event. The Russians pulled out all the stops. After a while it was embarrassing, for my slightest wish was treated as an imperial command.

The Congress proceedings will, in due time, be published. I would very much appreciate receiving your speech when it is available. Regrettably, being involved in another session, I missed it.

Ward

I am delighted that you had a substantive meeting with Georgi Arbatov. The development of a movement of Reform Judaism in the USSR would be a historic and major accomplishment. In my mind, it would help decompress the Jewish problem and prevent the gallop of assimilation and dissolution of Jewish communal life. If I can be of help, exploit me. I will be revisiting Russia in November and January.

[Handwritten bracket]

Once again, profound appreciation from IPPNW for participating.

Warmest affection to you and Rhea from Louise and myself.

Sincerely,

Bernard

Bernard Lown, M.D.

June 9, 1987
12 Sivan 5747

Dr. Bernard Lown
221 Longwood
Boston, MA 02215

Dear Bernie:

My heartfelt thanks to you for all of your many courtesies during our recent visit to the Soviet Union. It was a memorable experience for both of us, and Rhea and I are grateful for your enabling us to share in this event.

That was quite a shindig you put on! Your ears must be ringing and singing! Pity poor Montreal. I wonder how they will be able even to approach what Moscow had to offer.

I am enclosing a copy of my speech. At your leisure you might read it and I can induce you to do so by apprising you of the fact that I have some flattering references to you at the beginning of the paper. So all you really have to do is to read through page two.

I received a dozen or so request for copies of the speech. I gave some of them out in Moscow, and sent the rest out from here on the assumption that you won't publish the proceedings, or if you will it will be another year before they come out.

As you can imagine I had a chance to attend to some Jewish business while I was in the Soviet Union. I saw a score or so of the Refuseniks both in Moscow and in Leningrad. I attended the services at two different synagogues in Moscow and one in Leningrad, and I was also able to meet with Arbatov for about two hours where we had a rather fruitful exchange. I was even able to plant some seedlings towards the development of Reform Judaism there. I think it's absolutely essential to have this kind of alternative to Orthodoxy assuming as I do that the majority of the Russian Jews will not leave the Soviet Union but will stay on and cannot possibly be attracted by the Orthodoxy.

Dr. Bernard Lown
June 9, 1987
Page Two

presently extant in Moscow and Leningrad.

Again my heartfelt thanks to you and Louise for everything you did for us and for seeing to it that we were so well shepherddd about. You were wonderful and we will be lastingly grateful.

With warmest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



Embassy of the United States of America

Moscow, USSR

cc
to Allen

June 18, 1987

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President, Union of American
Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your June 9 letter about your recent visit to Moscow to attend the Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. The Embassy naturally does all it can to encourage the Soviet authorities to allow their citizens to exercise their fundamental right to emigrate if they choose.

Your complimentary remarks about Jeffrey Glassman have been passed on to him, and I thank you for taking the time to write me about this. We are most appreciative of your kind remarks about the Foreign Service.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Jack F. Matlock, Jr.

Nuclear

July 30, 1986
23 Tammuz 5746

Mr. Ronnie Dugger
Parklex Building #1306
114 East 32nd Street
New York, NY 10016

Dear Mr. Dugger:

In response to your letter of July 23, please note that I really did not mean real madness when I used the particular metaphor to which you alluded. However, I will note, because I agree with you, that clinical madness is also a serious problem, nevermind what alcohol and drugs do not only to the leaders of nations but to those who have fingers on the trigger. I once had interesting correspondence with Dr. Bernard Lown of Boston, on this subject. His name may be familiar to you as he is a founder and co-president of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Inc. He is my cardiologist and instead of discussing my heart we often discuss the situation of the world. You might write to him about this issue and he may have some very interesting material to which you might refer. The organization is located at 225 Longwood Avenue, Boston, MA 02115.

I do not know if Rabbi Michaelman has shared with you a very fine manual on nuclear responsibility which was published by the Reform Movement's Religious Action Center in Washington. This could also provide you with a good deal of important material.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Rabbi Henry Michaelman

July 30, 1986
23 Tammuz 5746

Mr. Ronnie Dugger
Parklex Building #1306
114 East 32nd Street
New York, NY 10016

Dear Mr. Dugger:

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With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Rabbi Henry Michaelman

July 23, 1986
Parklex Bldg. #1306
114 E. 32nd St.
NY NY 10016

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

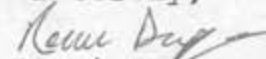
I am a writer and journalist, doing a book now on ethical implications of nuclear weapons, in part concerned with the responses of religious groups. Rabbi Michaelman at the Synagogue Council of America and his staff have been most helpful informing me of the position taken concerning a mutual verified freeze. Elie Wiesel has consented to discuss with me specifically the response among Jewish religious groups and other related considerations, which I regard as a very great benefit to my work in future. Concerning the initiative of the Methodist Bishops, I have had discussion with Bishop White and others; concerning that of the Catholics, past and revision forthcoming, with Bishop Matthiesen and others.

I write because Rabbi Michaelman's staff showed me a sermon you made, about 1983, perhaps, entitled "Descendants of the Prophets," my (regrettably marked-up) copy enclosed. At the passages I have underlined, you develop a theme that "let us at least know that we are mad." My question is whether, apart from the evident moral force of the metaphor, you mean, or have given thought to meaning, real madness. The mental stability of leaders has concerned me because of my work on Lyndon Johnson (The Politician, Norton 1982). Mazlish at MIT has done some intriguing thinking on social or societal madness. Is there a more than metaphorical sense in which a multinational socio-political system becomes mad? Does one mean strictly moral madness, or also madness in the clinical sense (and if so, of course the question immediately arises, what kind of madness).

It would be beneficial to me to hear from you on this, or discuss it with you (my number is 212-481-0893). I am also writing Rabbi Berman, concerning his interesting applications of a halachic case to the limitation of nuclear arms. I am keeping in touch with Rabbi Michaelman, concerning potential future developments on these topics at the Council.

Thank you.

Sincerely,


Ronnie Dugger

cc Rabbi Michaelman

DESCENDANTS OF THE PROPHETS: A Sermon

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

c 1983, From SA.

"And they shall beat their swords into plow-shares and their spears into pruning hooks; nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore." (Is. 2:4)

Isaiah's words echo down through the centuries. They were intoned by countless generations yearning for peace, even as they were ignored by those who rule the destiny of nations. Historians teach us that in the millennia of recorded human history we can find no more than 128 years all told when there was no war in some place on this earth of ours. One hundred twenty eight years of peace... 5000 years of war... 5000 years of maimed bodies and burned flesh, of widow's tears and broken spirits and the whole dark butchery without a soul.

We of our generation ignore Isaiah's admonition at infinitely greater peril than did our forebears. They risked only individual lives; we risk humankind in its totality. Nuclear weapons have given us the capacity to destroy human life and to make the whole world uninhabitable.

Increased military spending perforce means decreased spending for health care and housing and educational opportunities, and for that welfare assistance which provides a minimally decent standard of living to all. The inevitable consequence of such a course is the creation of a sub-class, under-class of Americans out of jobs and out of hope, filled with frustration and with despair. Intergroup tensions flare. The soul and spirit of the land is drained. No country which erodes its internal strength in such a manner can long endure, no matter how large its military budget nor how great its military might.

There is a pertinent tale told in the literature of the Jewish people, a parable attributed to Reb Nachman, the Braslaver Tsaddik. It is a tale about a country completely isolated from the rest of the world by surrounding mountains, and about its people ruled by a surprisingly wise king. One year, come harvest time, this people come to their king with the dreadful news that those who had eaten of the new harvest turned stark raving mad. "What shall we do, O King," they cried out... "if we don't eat the new wheat, we will starve to death, but if we eat it we will go mad." The king considered this fearsome dilemma for many days and finally, with heavy heart, he rendered this judgment and this is what he said: "Since there is no other food available, we must eat of the new harvest, but let us at least remember that we are mad."

In this world of ours which reduces the whole of human relationship to a calculus of force, we may have no other recourse but to balance force with force. But, let us at least know that we are mad.

It is a madness when our arsenal of overkill is so large that our land- and sea-based missiles can destroy 240 Soviet cities 40 times each...

It is madness when the combined nuclear arsenals of the superpowers have the destructive capacity to target four tons of TNT on each one of the four billion human beings alive on earth...

It is madness when we have enough deadly nerve agents to kill 100 billion people; that is to say, to wipe out the world's population, not once, but 30 times over...

This is a sad and cruel madness.

We are here to enjoin those entrusted with the leadership of our land to help us advance toward that ideal, Isaiah's ideal, if only by one tiny step.

And we are here, above all, to gain that inner strength which flows only from the companionship of kindred and aspiring souls, and thereby, to increase in faith.

Faith which cried YES in defiance of a thousand voices crying NO...

Faith which hopes where others despair...

Faith which loves where others hate...

Faith which persists in hearing the still small voice of peace even in the midst of the howling shrieks of war...

It is an urgent task, a toilsome task, a sacred task: to arouse the conscience of humankind, to eliminate those fearsome dangers which beset us; to stir men and women everywhere towards norms which serve the cause of life and not of hideous all-consuming death.

Our political leadership is paralyzed. It is mesmerized by empty slogans. It is frozen into self-destructive patterns of national behavior.

This is why the voice of religious leadership must be heard. This is why we must meet and speak and teach and write and organize our congregations into an effective force of public opinion and political action which will reverse the arms race, which will reduce the risk of fatal error, and which will avert the necessity to make life and death decisions about humankind in but a fleeting minute.

It is a task which challenges us especially, as the religious leaders of the most powerful nation on earth. America is that... a bounteous and most blessed land. But it is also, alas, the world's leading arms merchant and the foremost proponent of a "nuclear balance of terror."

Our present political leadership seems seized by an obsession with force. It appears to have but one motto: produce weapons, well weapons, pre-position weapons. Trouble in the Middle East? Sell the Saudis planes. Revolution in Central America? Replace Soviet arms with ours. Pakistan producing the bomb? Send them lots of conventional arms and they'll stay non nuclear.

So great is this obsession with force, that the administration seems almost unable to deal with nations that don't want arms. Our Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, last year suggested to Costa Rica--the only Central American country without a military force--that it reorganize the army it happily abolished several decades ago. Can such things be? And these were the people who used to criticize liberals for "throwing money" at social problems. Maybe so. But that's far and away better than throwing planes and missiles at every international trouble spot.

The most frightening aspect of this military policy is the escalation of the nuclear race by word and deed. President Reagan on occasions has suggested that the use of nuclear weapons in the field would not necessarily lead to an all-out nuclear war.

There have been denials, of course, and explanations. But still the talk continues: about "first strike" and "second strike" capabilities, and how we will respond if our missiles are "taken out," and how only 35 million or so of us will be killed in the first round.

And there is talk about the neutron bomb - in a cool, casual, almost detached manner as if it were just another marvelous technological gadget, like a video game or a home computer. The neutron bomb is the one, as you all know, that doesn't destroy tanks or buildings or things - it just kills people. How reassuring to know that our telescreens and Gucci loafers will survive us.

What kind of morbid, ghoulish imagination is it anyway that can describe such a weapon as clean? There is nothing clean about, not about a device that can put a torch to civilization. There are no "possible limits" to a nuclear conflict!

In the last year, in response to vigorous protest worldwide, the administration's tone has changed. But, as John B. Oakes, the editor of the New York Times has noted, President Reagan's "bite is worse than his bark." It's what the administration does that counts, and not what it says. And what has it done of late? Just look at the budget that it just proposed. It seeks to secure the fastest possible military buildup, even at the risk of jeopardizing economic revival. It chooses the force of arms rather than social tranquility. It makes still further unconscionable cuts in human services in order to thicken an already over-bloated defense establishment. What a travesty of justice! What a perversion of morality and of truth!

And so the pressure must be maintained. And we must do everything we humanly can to make certain that reversing the arms race will indeed become the policy of this land.

What Vietnam represented to the public conscience in the 60's, the nuclear arms race represents in the 80's and 90's. As religious leaders we must resolve to lead this moral enterprise now as we led it successfully then.

We are not the practitioners of realpolitik, pitchmen for the Pentagon. We are the spiritual descendants of the Prophets. We serve the cause of life. We stand for sanity and reason, for compassion and for peace.

AMEN

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Inc.

"We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive" ALBERT EINSTEIN

27 November 1984

International Office
225 Longwood Avenue
Boston, MA 02115
U.S.A.
(617) 738-9404
Telex: 4430017 IPPNW

Nuclear

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

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Professor of Cardiology
Harvard School of
Public Health, USA

Evgueni I. Chazov MD
Director General
National Cardiological
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Associate Professor
of Medicine
Tufts School of Medicine, USA

Treasurer:

Eric Chivian MD
Staff Psychiatrist
Massachusetts Institute
of Technology, USA

Executive Director:

Conn Nugent

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I was deeply touched by your note of congratulations on the Unesco Peace Education Award, which Academician Chazov and I were proud to accept on behalf of IPPNW. We do not intend to rest on our laurels; rather, this 4-year-old organization, with a membership of over 100,000 physicians in 34 nations, has ambitious, innovative plans for combatting the nuclear menace. I am convinced that we must reach and educate the widest public if we are to succeed.

Later today I leave once again for the USSR and Budapest. I hope something significant will come of it.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Bernard Lown
Bernard Lown, M.D.
Co-President

BL/VI

Nuclear

July 15, 1986
8 Tammuz 5746

Mr. Sam R. Hope, Director
Witness for Peace
P.O. Box 29497
Washington, D.C. 20017-2518

Dear Mr. Hope:

Your letter of July 14 in regard to the Campaign of Conscience and the July 29th press conference reached me this morning. I was delighted to learn of the activities planned and wish you well.

Unfortunately, while leading a UAHC Board Mission to Israel in May I suffered a heart attack which required my being hospitalized for some weeks. I was able to return home but a few short weeks ago and have only been given permission to be at my desk for a few hours a day, a few days a week, at least for the next month or so. I have also been required to cancel all of my speaking engagements for the next few months and therefore, as you can appreciate, I cannot accept any new invitations. I do hope you can understand my situation and that you will convey my regrets to all concerned.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



WITNESS FOR PEACE

ACCION PERMANENTE CRISTIANA POR LA PAZ

July 14, 1986

Dear Rabbi Schindler -

Witness for Peace hopes very much that you will not only support the Campaign of Conscience with your endorsement, but also participate as a speaker in the press conference in Washington, D.C. on Tuesday, July 29th at 10:00 am in the Capitol building. Bishop Gambelton of Detroit and Avery Root of the United Church of Christ - NYC will be spokespersons for the Catholic and Protestant constituencies. This all came together only last Friday afternoon (11th). Could you make room in your busy schedule to come and join us as spokesperson for the Jewish community?

I will call you Tuesday afternoon, or Wednesday morning, for we need to have our information together for the press advisory which needs to be done by the 17th.

The enclosed Washington Post article shows the CIA directed war will exceed half a billion dollars, + will cause genocide. We dare not remain silent.

Thank you for your consideration of this urgent matter. I know you will do what you can. For the sake of peace, Sam R. Hoff
Director of WFP Washington office



WITNESS FOR PEACE

ACCION PERMANENTE CRISTIANA POR LA PAZ

July 10, 1986

Dear Friends of the Nicaraguan people:

In early August the Senate is scheduled to vote on the devastating \$100 million in aid to the contras as approved by the House on June 25th. This is our last chance to stop this major escalation of the U.S. war against Nicaragua.

Witness For Peace is organizing a nationwide Campaign of Conscience, which will involve more than one million people (average of 2000 persons in 500 cities). The kickoff is a press conference on July 30th in Washington, D.C. with U.S. religious leaders, Senators and Nicaraguan Christians participating. Other actions, such as the mounting of Crosses of Sorrow and Hope, will take place across the nation the same day.

Central to these events is the reading of the enclosed statement, A Campaign of Conscience, which will be signed by 100 or more nationally prominent religious leaders. We hope very much that you will be one of the signers. Each person initially being asked is the head of a religious institution, order or governing body, or is a recognized leader within the religious community of the United States.

We believe the enclosed statement A Campaign of Conscience will have a broad response. An initial problem, however, is the very short time lead WFP has to gather the initial signatures from leaders such as you. The disappointing vote by the House makes it imperative that this campaign be launched prior to the Senate vote in August.

If you are able and willing to do so, please join us and others by signing the enclosed form and returning it to the Washington Office of Witness For Peace at the address below as soon as possible. Time is crucial. Please call the WFP Washington Office (202-269-6316) if you want to give your endorsement verbally, with your signature to follow. An effort will be made to include names received as late as noon Monday, July 28th. Your name is very important to this effort!

Tom Gumbleton

Bishop Thomas Gumbleton
President, Pax Christi USA
WFP Advisory Committee

For the sake of peace,

Avery D. Post

Avery D. Post
President, United Church of Christ
WFP Advisory Committee

A CAMPAIGN OF CONSCIENCE

The approval by the House of Representatives of \$100 million in aid to the contras in Nicaragua is a shameful action which betrays the ideals of our nation. As citizens of faith and conscience we refuse to allow this action to go unchallenged or to accept the senseless violence that this policy produces.

Congress has voted to give direct military aid to an armed force seeking the violent overthrow of a government with which the United States has diplomatic relations. This is an act of war without a declaration of war. Such action violates international law as contained in the charters of the United Nations, the Organization of American States and the International Court of Justice. Our country has taken a major step toward becoming an outcast nation in the world community.

Most shameful, this action condemns thousands of innocent Nicaraguans to kidnapping, torture, rape and violent death at the hands of the contras, who are U.S. supported terrorists. A national policy which repeatedly fosters indiscriminate killing, such as the 31 Nicaraguan civilians killed by the contras on July 2nd, is poisoning the soul of our nation.

There is another way. It involves the United States turning away from military approaches and giving honest support to the Contadora peace process. This plan would end all foreign military intervention in Central America, whether by the Soviet Union, the United States or any other power.

WE CALL UPON THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY to reassert its prophetic voice of conscience and morality in our land, and to lead *A Campaign of Conscience* to change U.S. policy toward Nicaragua.

WE CALL UPON THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO:

- 1)** Show U.S. commitment to peace and international law by ending all aid, both overt and covert, official and private, to the contras fighting to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.
- 2)** Support the comprehensive and verifiable Contadora peace initiative proposed by Latin American nations themselves, rather than undermining it as we have in the past.
- 3)** Resume bilateral talks with Nicaragua, with a willingness to give Nicaragua a formal guarantee that further U.S. sponsored attacks against it will cease.

WE CALL UPON ONE MILLION OTHERS TO JOIN IN A CAMPAIGN OF CONSCIENCE BY:

- 1)** Signing it and seeking other's signatures, especially in their faith community and neighborhood.
- 2)** Sending or personally presenting signed copies to their Senators and Representative, and *requesting each of them to state clearly and publicly where they stand on this crucial issue.*
- 3)** Seeking ways to raise the issue of U.S. policy toward Nicaragua in all public forums in their state and district.

COMMITMENT TO A CAMPAIGN OF CONSCIENCE

SIGNATURE _____

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Please send a copy of this signature page to WITNESS FOR PEACE, Box 29497, Washington, DC 20017, for use in its educational work. Your tax deductible gift to WITNESS FOR PEACE will help further this project. Thank you.

A CAMPAIGN OF CONSCIENCE

Throughout 1986 Witness for Peace has been organizing a dramatic campaign to change the course of U.S. policies in Nicaragua. Hundreds of communities have used "Crosses of Sorrow and Hope" bearing the names of contra victims to help the American people understand the human cost of the U.S. backed war. We have written letters, sent telegrams and organized scores of delegation visits to Congress to express our views. Yet on June 25 the House of Representatives voted to approve \$100 million in aid to the contras. A bold response is needed.

The "Campaign of Conscience" is just that. It is a cry to reverse U.S. policies in Nicaragua and hold Congress accountable for its vote on contra aid. The campaign will begin before the Senate vote in early August and will continue to the U.S. November elections. These two events are key moments to influence U.S. policies towards Nicaragua. During this time one million commitments will be gathered urging Congress to change its policies. The campaign also asks each participant to help make contra aid a U.S. election issue and is designed to help Congress understand the level of opposition that exists to contra aid.

The campaign will commence in Washington D.C. with a press conference on July 29 highlighting nationally prominent U.S. religious leaders who have endorsed the campaign. We hope to be joined by Senators and Representatives and possibly Nicaraguan church leaders. We will also announce our goal to involve one million people. Simultaneously "Crosses of Sorrow and Hope" actions will occur nationwide to launch the campaign locally. These actions will highlight contra victims since the House vote-- particularly the July 2 massacre where 31 civilians were killed. From that moment on commitments will be gathered nationwide. We are expecting to involve at least 500 cities... with an average of 2,000 commitments per area (from 50 to 25,000)... a total of ONE MILLION!

The "Campaign of Conscience" is an opportunity to reclaim the soul of our nation. Already courageous, creative actions have been planned to help make it a success. A part of the national press conference to launch the campaign illuminates just one example-- Charlie Liteky, a Vietnam veteran and returned Witness for Peace short term delegate, will return his Congressional Medal of Honor. Such an action is unprecedented in history.

To make the campaign successful though your involvement is crucial. We know that the timeline is short but we ask you to begin now to help launch the effort on July 29 and begin to plan for ways to carry it out in the fall.

Here are some ideas to start working on now:

*Contact your Senator's office to let her/him know your opposition to contra aid... visit their local or state office right away. Bring a cross bearing the name of a recent victim

of the contra war, perhaps from the July 2 massacre near El Cua.

- *Begin planning for your "Crosses of Sorrow and Hope" action to occur simultaneously with the national press conference on July 29. (Make crosses from six feet of 1x4" lumber. Make cross 4 ft. high with 2 ft. crossbar; nail crossbar 1 ft. from top; cut point at bottom to drive in ground; paint cross white; print name on crossbar, death at top of cross; age under crossbar.) Use baby coffins and stuffed mannequins to dramatize what is happening. We've enclosed a list of names of recent victims. Use the enclosed press release to help guarantee coverage!
- *Have a meeting with your friends or your local group to plan out how you will continue the campaign. Set a goal for the numbers you can reach in your community. Brainstorm how you might gather signatures. Some ideas are:
 - through your church or synagogue;
 - door to door in your neighborhood each weekend;
 - at shopping centers on Saturday morning; set up a table for signatures and bring a cross to display to show the impact of the war;
 - do a mailing to all of your friends and your own organizational mailing list if you have one... get other groups to involve their constituency in the campaign.
- *Remember to make the campaign visible in your area. Publish it in your local newspapers. Take the initiative and appear on radio and t.v. shows to talk about it. Continue to use crosses to make the issue visible. Mount one in your front lawn as well as public places... personalize your commitment! A number of national organizations will be mounting billboards throughout the country that say: "Nicaragua is not our enemy," contact the D.C. office for more information.
- *Systematically let your Representatives and Senators know that you are involved in this campaign and that you want their commitment to a non-military policy towards Nicaragua. Organize periodic delegations to their offices to deliver commitments. Go to town meetings and ask what their position is.
- *Itinerate people in your area who have traveled to Nicaragua so they can speak about their experiences and help raise the voice of conscience! Contact the WFP, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA, 95060, 408-425-3733 for details.
- *Begin to plan a local activity in mid-October to accompany the national event that will announce our achieved goal! (National date to be announced soon.)

There are a million other ideas which could help make the campaign a success. The important thing is to begin now, plan well and work hard. Together our voices of conscience will be heard!

Washington Office of WFP, P.O. 29497, D.C. 20017, 202-269-6316

PLEASE RETURN THIS FORM BY FRIDAY, JULY 25TH IF POSSIBLE.

YES, I endorse the statement, "A Campaign of Conscience" and give permission for my name to be used publicly as an endorser of that statement.

Signature _____

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Title* _____

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City/Town _____ State _____ Zip _____

*Titles for identification only; public statements will acknowledge this.

WITNESS FOR PEACE

Washington Office
P.O. Box 29497
Washington, DC 20017

WASHINGTON POST
7/13/86

Administration Mobilizes To Direct Aid to Rebels

U.S. to Advise, Equip, Critique Contras

By Joanne Omang
Washington Post Staff Writer

Three weeks after the House vote that gave President Reagan nearly all he wanted to fight Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista government, the relevant intelligence, military and diplomatic experts in official Washington are moving toward a kind of war footing.

It is clear that the aid package for antigovernment rebels, known as contras or counterrevolutionaries, will involve far more money than the \$100 million voted by the House, far more people than the 20,000 fighters who will receive it, and far more monitoring and evaluation than either critics or supporters of the program like to acknowledge, according to administration and congressional officials.

Although surrogate troops and not U.S. Marines will spearhead the effort to make the Sandinistas "cry uncle," as Reagan once put it, the contras will be advised and informed, trained and equipped, criticized and evaluated by U.S. intelligence, military and political strategists.

A flurry of interagency meetings and task force planning sessions has begun to give shape to the new program. As expected, it will be run by the Central Intelligence Agency. Army Col. William C. Comee Jr., who has just finished a year commanding U.S.-Honduran military exercises in Honduras, reportedly has been selected to become program coordinator, pending its Senate approval. Intelligence officials and congressional staff members are drafting financial accounting procedures in an effort to avoid the kind of controversy that has plagued previous contra aid programs.

The one-year goals and benchmarks by which the administration plans to judge progress will be critical to future debates over continued aid and over U.S. policy in Central America. The fruits of the new operation will also be an important factor in debate over the wisdom of the so-called Reagan doctrine that calls for support to rebellions against communist regimes around the globe.

If the new surge of aid to the contras is working, administration officials contend, these symptoms will be evident: escalated military activity throughout Nicaragua, possibly including attacks on the capital city of Managua; disciplined combat by the contras, with relatively few civilian casualties or human-rights complaints; rapid growth of the contra forces and a reinvigorated internal opposition, leading to "cracks" in the Sandinista leadership; and Soviet restraint in bolstering the Sandinistas.

If the military ambitions have been clearly delineated, the administration's political aspirations for the contras are more ambiguous. Reagan has never precisely stated what he means by "cry uncle." His chief of staff, Donald T. Regan, told television interviewers in April: "We have to get rid of it [the Sandinista regime] in some way or another. And what we want to do is to try to help those who are trying to overthrow that communist government, try to force it to have free elections. . . ." But other administration officials have articulated more modest ambitions.

One administration official said an expansion of civil rights in Nicaragua would signify U.S. success; but one of his deputies said that a totalitarian crackdown would mean the administration had succeeded in severely shaking the Sandinista regime.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz called the June 25 House vote "part of a long-term shift of view that's been taking place" nationwide. "We're seeing a growing breadth of support for the basic [administration] policy in Central America," he said.

But Reagan backers in Congress say the support depends very much on what happens next.

"The contras are on a very thin string with the U.S. Congress," said Mark Falcoff, a conservative Latin America scholar who recently joined the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff. "They are surrounded by people just waiting for them to fail so they can jump right on top of them, and they know it."

Lawrence Pezzulo, ambassador to Nicaragua under President Jimmy Carter, spoke for many critics of Reagan's policy. "Nicaragua is in bad economic shape already, and this program will bring them to subsistence living, but they won't give in, at least not before the end of the Reagan administration," he said. "The use of U.S. troops will eventually be the only option left. . . . If you're a Democratic [presidential] hopeful, what else will you be talking about in the summer of 1987?"

To underscore that point, the aid package is expected to get heavy fire in coming weeks from Senate opponents, including some presidential aspirants, in the various committees that have jurisdiction over it. It may also be subject to a liberal filibuster when it reaches the Senate floor next month. But all sides say the House package will pass the Republican-dominated Senate virtually unchanged, if only because no one wants to go through another bruising House debate, which new amendments would trigger.

The package includes \$27 million for food, medicine, clothing and other nonlethal aid, \$3 million for the contras' human-rights office and \$70 million for military training and hardware.

Reagan has decided to return management of the program to the Central Intelligence Agency, with assistance from the Defense and State departments, according to State Department officials. They said aid will be channeled primarily through Honduras and Costa Rica, as it was in the past, with the covert cooperation of those two governments.

Reagan has pledged to spend only the \$100 million and to stay away from the CIA's contingency funds, which are considered all but unlimited. Another \$300 million in economic aid will be distributed by the Agency for International Development among El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica and Honduras.

A Senate Republican source said the \$100 million figure "reflected an assessment of what the political traffic would bear, not an assessment of what the requirements are." All sides assume a larger aid

In an effort to avoid a repeat of congressional charges that the CIA overspent previous aid limits through creative bookkeeping when it ran the program before 1984, an intelligence agency task force has been meeting with congressional committee staff members for several weeks to agree on accounting methods, according to a House Democratic source.

The CIA, for example, has not in the past counted its agents' salary costs against aid allocations and did not count the expenses of the "mother ship" its Latin operatives used as a launch platform from which to mine Nicaraguan harbors in 1984, members of Congress complained at the time.

The source said intelligence-related reconnaissance flights over Nicaragua and Honduras, broadcast monitoring and decoding activity, all of which collect data routinely passed to the contras under existing law, have not been and probably will not be charged to the aid program. He was unable to estimate spending for those activities but said \$400 million a year "is probably a low figure."

The task force will submit accounting guidelines for approval by the congressional intelligence committees that will monitor the overall program, another source close to the effort said.

"You can bet there's a major drive to avoid the kind of flap we had over the \$27 million," he added, referring to House committee charges—denied by the administration—that much of last year's nonlethal aid package had gone illegally to offshore bank accounts, obscure corporations and the Honduran armed forces.

House Intelligence Committee Chairman Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.) said he was worried about the committees' ability to monitor the new program. "We just don't have the staff for it, and I'm not sure the [Central Intelligence] Agency does either," he said.

Fred C. Ikle, undersecretary of defense for policy and a central decision-maker on Nicaragua-related matters, said in an interview that U.S. military spending against Nicaragua will be handled largely by the CIA and will go well beyond the \$70 million voted by the House.

That, he said, will buy training, primarily in guerrilla tactics, and military hardware ranging from surface-to-air missiles to bullets.

Intelligence work is expensive and outside that tally, but it "has to be directed at trouble spots, and Nicaragua is a trouble spot," he said. "But it is done for broader purposes" than just to help the contras.

In addition, "we are strengthening SOUTHCOM because that is a turbulent region, again because of Nicaragua," Ikle added, referring to the U.S. Southern Command headquarters in Panama.

Congressional watchdogs also expect the virtually nonstop military exercises in neighboring Honduras to be expanded while the new aid program is in effect, though they are not part of it. This is in part because Comee, named by military and State Department sources as the new overall coordinator, is a Vietnam veteran who commanded the Joint Task Force Bravo exercises during the past year.

Fluent in Spanish, Comee was instrumental in setting up the series of exercises that began in 1983 when he was stationed at the U.S. Southern Command headquarters. The maneuvers have involved roughly 24,000 U.S. troops in 12 series of exercises since early 1983, according to Defense Department figures.

The first shipments of new military equipment, which can begin Sept. 1 pending the Senate vote, will probably include anti-aircraft weaponry that will allow the contras to defend positions inside Nicaragua, the sources said.

The first sign things are going as planned, therefore, will be increased military attacks on Sandinista positions by contra forces "all over Nicaragua," a State Department official said.

Ikle predicted that the Soviet Union, which has supplied Nicaragua with an estimated \$750 million in military equipment since 1979, "will be much more cautious" in helping the Sandinistas now, "realizing from the American commitment that it is a losing game."

State Department officials said they think Soviet aid is not likely to increase in sophistication or quantity much beyond current levels, in

which the peak is the Hind Mi-24 helicopter gunship that has routinely decimated contra forces. Recent shipments brought in an estimated 15 new Mi-17 transport helicopters, bringing the Sandinista helicopter fleet to about 40, Pentagon officials said.

The contras will not come close to matching those under the new aid program, but defensive weapons "will make it a more equal battle," one official said.

Ikle and other officials said no comprehensive battle plan or training program had yet been drawn up. William G. Walker, deputy assistant secretary of state for Central America, said one reason for that was old-fashioned superstition about the vote in Congress: Some refused to make plans "because they didn't want to jinx the deal."

SOUTHCOM commander Gen. John R. Galvin told a closed session of the House Appropriations subcommittee on military construction last March 12, long after Reagan proposed the \$100 million aid program, that he did not know how or where training might be conducted.

"None of this has been looked at. I haven't been told that we would do training, and nobody has asked me to go find out where," he said.

However, top training priority will be instruction in guerrilla warfare techniques, probably at the contras' clandestine camps in Honduras, including psychological operations aimed at winning over the Nicaraguan population, other sources close to the military effort said.

Some promising contras will be brought to officer training schools in the United States or Panama, the sources said.

If everything goes as well as the administration hopes, one year from now the contras "will be carrying out well-disciplined, coherent operations demonstrating . . . the effective destruction of targets without too much collateral damage," Ikle said.

The United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) leaders would like to capture and hold territory within Nicaragua, and that "would make a lot of difference politically if it can be done," but no one is pushing for it, Ikle said.

More important will be "the dynamic of the contra force, whether it is growing or losing people, whether they are knocking at the door to get in or quitting," Ikle continued. At 20,000 armed fighters,

the contras are already four times larger than the Sandinista force that overthrew dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979, but their leaders have said they would like to be 30,000 strong by next July.

"Within a year, we will be seeing cracks in the Sandinista structure," said Alfonso Robelo, one of the three top UNO leaders, at a recent news conference. He said that meant defections of troops or perhaps whole units, increased economic disorder, and a more openly hostile population.

Administration officials and their critics agree that the reaction of rank and file Nicaraguans to the renewed contra effort will be key to the future. Walker said the new aid would be "a great boost to the democratic resistance" within Nicaragua, which could produce internal disruption that would give heart to the contras and show the world all was not well under the Sandinistas.

Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, has said progress toward U.S. political goals in Nicaragua would be easy to monitor: "You can see if the press is free, if people can speak out or hold rallies, or if the church is being harassed," he said.

Walker said the opposite situation might also be progress. "If the Sandinistas have to turn the screws down to silence the opposition, that will be an indication that things are going well" for the contras, he said.

More people will try to dodge the Sandinista draft or leave the country as refugees, and "if our policy is right, unity among the opposition should increase," Walker said.

In a year's time, the Sandinistas "should be able to see the outline of the opposition forces they face, and they will act accordingly," he continued.

"Eventually, if it is revealed to them that they are very unpopular, that there is no possibility of a military solution [eradicating the contras] and that their Soviet patrons would think twice or four times before coming to their assistance . . . then they just might think, 'Hey, maybe we do have to negotiate our way out of this.'"

Ikle predicted a simpler outcome. "Perhaps they won't change colors and become social democrats," he said, "but they might choose to change jobs."



CONTRA FORCES, 1979-85

(ESTIMATED TOTAL COMBATANTS)





WITNESS FOR PEACE

ACCION PERMANENTE CRISTIANA POR LA PAZ

RELIGIOUS LEADERS WHO HAVE ENDORSED THE STATEMENT
"In the Name of God - Stop the Lies - Stop the Killing"
April 14, 1986

(titles for identification only)

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Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit

Bishop Leontine T.C. Kelly
United Methodist Church, San Francisco Area

Rabbi Irwin M. Blank
Past President, Synagogue Council of America

The Right Reverend Philip Cousin
President, National Council of Churches
Bishop, African Methodist Episcopal Church, Florida

The Right Reverend Paul Moore, Jr.
Episcopal Bishop of New York

Sylvia Talbot
President, Church Women United

John D. Humbert
President, Disciples of Christ in the U.S. and Canada

Bishop Joseph H. Yeakel
United Methodist Church, Washington, D.C. Area

Joseph E. Lowery
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

James M. Lapp
Moderator, Mennonite Church General Assembly

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B'nai Jeshurun, New York City
Special Counsel to the Chancellor, Jewish Theological Seminary

Bishop Maurice J. Dingman
Catholic Diocese of Des Moines, Iowa

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Vernon Grounds
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President, Conservative Baptist Seminary

Avery A. Post
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American Lutheran Church, South Pacific District

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President, Servants of Mary, Ladysmith, WI

The Right Reverend Harold Hopkins
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President, San Francisco Theological Seminary
Former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church (USA)

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National Coordinator, Assembly of Religious Women

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President, Texas Conference of Churches

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Superior General, Grey Nuns of the Sacred Heart

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United Methodist Church, New York Area

Donald Shriver
President, Union Theological Seminary, New York

Jim Wallis
Evangelical Pastor, Editor of Sojourners

Rabbi Arnold Jacob Wolf
KAM Isaiah Israel, Chicago, IL

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Professor Emeritus, Yale University

Brother Thomas Grady, O.S.F.
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General Secretary, National Council of Churches

David Ramage
President, McCormick Theological Seminary

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Rabbi Leonard I. Beerman
Leo Baeck Temple, Los Angeles

John Perkins
Center for Reconciliation and Development, Pasadena, CA
Founder of Voice of Calvary Ministries

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Episcopal Bishop of Navajoland & Assistant Bishop of Arizona

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President, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary

Sister Luise Ahrens
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President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Los Angeles

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Bruno Barnhart, Cam. OSB
Prior, Immaculate Heart Hermitage

Daniel Berrigan, S.J.
New York City

Sister Agnes Connolly
President, Sisters of Charity, New York City

The Right Reverend William G. Burrill
Episcopal Bishop of Rochester

A. Barnett Day
Executive Secretary, Disciples Peace Fellowship

Marie Egan, I.H.M.
President, Immaculate Heart Community, Los Angeles, CA

Rabbi David A. Teutsch
Executive Director

Mary H. Miller
National Chair, Episcopal Peace Fellowship

Sister Kathleen Keating
President, Sisters of St. Joseph of Springfield

Benjamin F. Gutierrez
Liaison, Latin America/Caribbean, PC(USA)

Sister Mary Joan Coultas
Provincial Director, Allison Park, PA

Rabbi Jerrold Goldstein
Director, Hillel House, Van Nuys, CA

Sister Kathleen Mary McCarthy
Provincial Superior, Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, CA

Frederick R. Wilson
Associate General Director, Program Agency PC(USA)

Sister Karen Stern, S.H.F.
Superior General, Mission San Jose, CA

James Cogswell
Director, Division of Overseas Ministries, NCC

Jovelino Ramos
Director, Council on Church and Race, NY, PC(USA)

Sister M. Juliana Haynes, S.B.S.
President, Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament

Donald J. Wilson
Director, Unit Ministries Health, Education & Social Justice PC(USA)

Susan Anne Snyder, O.P.
Prioress General, Kenosha Dominicans, WI

James E. Lintner
Director, Washington Office for Church and Society, UCC

Joseph R. Lang
Executive Director, U.S. Catholic Mission Association

T. Richard Snyder
Dean, New York Theological Seminary

William M. Aber
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Santa Fe, NM

Robert Z. Alpern
Director, Washington Office, Unitarian Universalist Association

Henry L. Atkins
Chaplain, Rutgers University
Official Representative of the Episcopal Bishop of Costa Rica in U.S.

Sister Marian Bandille, O.S.F.
Provincial Missionary in Massachusetts, Franciscan Sisters

Helen Battle, S.S.J.
Vice President, Sisters of Saint Joseph, Nazareth, Detroit, MI

Hugh Berry
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Muskingum Valley PC(USA)

Henry L. Bird
Urban Indian Missioner, Episcopal Diocese of the Rio Grande

Charles Black
Associate, Racial Recruitment & Replacement PC(USA)

Roger Bowden
Associate Synod Executive, Alaska/Northwest PC(USA)

Douglas Brian
Associate, Education for Mission/Community Organization PC(USA)

Elizabeth Brown, O.S.B.
Prioress, Benedictine Sisters, Glendora, CA

Vernon S. Broyles, III
Director, Office of Corporate Witness in Public Affairs PC (USA)

Margaret Cafferty, P.B.V.M.
Congregational Superior, San Francisco, CA

William Callahan, S.J.
Co-Director, Quixote Center

Sister Athena Calogeras, SSJ-TOSF
Director, St. Francis Region, Chicago, IL

Gary Campbell
Presbyterian Missionary To Nicaragua, PC(USA)

John R. Chandler
Executive Presbyter, Los Ranchos Presbytery PC(USA)

Charles J. Chaput, O.F.M.
Provincial Minister, Capuchin Province of Mid-America

George Chauncey
Director, Washington Office of the Presbyterian Church, PC(USA)

Willie Coleman
Associate, Education/Action for Justice PC(USA)

Sister Narita Cooney, R.S.M.
Provincial Administrator, Sisters of Mercy, Omaha Province

William Coop
Co-Chair of Bi-National Service Council, PC(USA)

Sister Michaela Crowley, O.S.F.
U.S. Provincial Executive, School Sisters of St. Francis

Sister Miriam Patrick Cummings, S.S.N.D.
Provincial Leader in Chicago, School Sisters of Notre Dame

Sister Miriam Dardenne
Abbess of Redwood Monastery, California

Walter T. Davis, Jr.
Interim Dean, San Francisco Theological Seminary

William J. Davis, S.J.
Co-director, Christic Institute

Richard Bagget Deats
Director, Interfaith Activities, Fellowship of Reconciliation

Roberto Delgado
Deputy Executive, Synod of the Sun PC(USA)

Alexander A. DiLella, O.F.M.
Professor, Catholic University, Washington, DC

Jim Douglass
Co-founder, Ground Zero Center for Non Violent Action, WA

Sister Michele Doyle, O.S.F.
U.S. Provincial Executive, School Sisters of St. Francis

Telfer L. Epp
Executive Minister, American Baptist Churches of Iowa and Minnesota

Michelle Farabaugh, O.S.B.
Prioress, Benedictine Sisters of Pittsburgh

Maureen Fiedler, S.L.
Co-Director, Quixote Center

David Flusche, O.S.B.
Priest and Monk of New Subiaco Abbey, AR

Sister Jean Ford, R.S.C.T.
Provincial Team Member, Society of the Sacred Heart

Thomas Fox
Director, Franciscan Office of Justice and Peace

Robert Frere
Executive Presbyter, Mission Presbytery PC(USA)

Joel Gajardo
Co-Chair, Bi-National Service Council PC(USA)

Sister Patricia Gamgort, O.S.B.
Prioress of the Benedictine Sisters of Ridgely, MD

Rodolfo L. Gerrero
Director of Hispanic American Ministries, Synod of the Sun PC(USA)

Donald J. Goergen, O.P.
Dominican Provincial, Central Province

Sister Lucille Goertz, O.S.B.
Prioress in Covington, CA

Jud van Gorder
Executive Presbyter, Central Nebraska Presbytery PC(USA)

Sister Ann Gornaly, S.N.D.
Associate Director, U.S. Catholic Mission

Sister Elaine Greminger, O.S.F.
U.S. Provincial Executive, School Sisters of St. Francis

Joseph R. Hacala, S.J.
Director, National Office of Jesuit Social Ministries

John S. Hadsell
Professor, San Francisco Theological Seminary

Sister Louise Hageman, O.P.
Prioress of the Dominican Sisters, Great Bend, KS

Mary Jane Harvey
Associate Executive, Missouri River Valley Presbytery PC(USA)

Anita E. Hendrix
Associate Executive, Presbytery of Long Island PC(USA)

Sister Mary Victoria Hayden, S.C.N.
Provincial, Louisville II Province

H. Daehler Hayes
Conference Minister of the Rhode Island Conference, U.C.C.

Charles Henry, O.S.B.
Prior, St. Maur Priory, Indianapolis, IN

Lydia Hernandez
Associate, Racial Justice and Reconciliation PC(USA)

Sherman G. Hicks
Assistant to the Bishop, Illinois Synod, Lutheran Church in America

Reverend Judith E. Hjorth
Area Minister, New York Conference, United Church of Christ

Calvin Houston
Executive Director, Atlanta Urban Training, GA

Mary E. Hunt
Co-Director, Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics and Ritual

Sister Mary Caroline Jalubowski, S.S.N.D.
Provincial Leader, Milwaukee Province

John D. Keller, O.S.A.
Provincial, Order of St. Augustine, Western Province

Sister Rosalie King, O.S.F.
U.S. Provincial Executive, School Sisters of St. Francis

Arthur Korteheuer
Chair, Peace Initiatives Network

Pat Kowalski, O.S.M.
Prioress Provincial, American Province, Servants of Mary

Myron Kowalsky, O.F.M.
Capuchin Provincial Minister, Detroit, MI

Patricia Krommer, C.S.J.
Executive Director, Archbishop Oscar Romero Relief Fund

Lewis H. Lancaster
Director, Office of Ecumenical Coordination PC(USA)

Gaspar Langella
Associate, Office of Corporate Witness in Public Affairs PC(USA)

Joseph R. Lang, M.M.
Executive Director, U.S. Catholic Mission Association

Sister Susan Lardy
Prioress, Annunciation Priory, Bismarck, ND

Dean H. Lewis
Director, Advisory Council on Church and Society, P.C. (USA)

Millard C. Lind
Professor, Associated Mennonite Seminaries, Goshen, IN

Benjamin Martin
Associate Executive, Giddings Lovejoy Presbytery PC(USA)

Joseph M. Mason
District Executive, Southern Ohio, Church of the Brethren

Scott Matheney
Chaplain, Columbia University, NYC

John T. Mathison
Executive Presbyter, Chicago Presbytery PC(USA)

John D. MacLeod, Jr.
Synod Executive of North Carolina, PC(USA)

Diane McCormack
Vice President, Immaculate Heart of Mary

Alan McCoy, O.F.M.
Executive Director in Los Angeles, Franciscan Conference

Sister Mary Roy McDonald
School Sisters of St. Francis, Milwaukee, WI

Ramona McKee
Executive Presbyter, North Central Iowa Presbytery, PC(USA)

Sister Ann M. Mahoney, S.P.
Vice President of Sisters of Providence

Sister Mary Sue Mertens, C.D.P.
Provincial in St. Louis

James E. Miller
District Executive, Church of the Brethren, Northern Plains District

James H. Miller
Executive Presbyter, Albany Presbytery, PC(USA)

Robert S. Moorhead
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Mackinac PC(USA)

The Very Reverend William Morell, O.M.T.
Provincial, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Southern U.S. Province

John Moyer
Executive Secretary, Northern California Ecumenical Council

Lewis S. Mudge
Dean, McCormick Theological Seminary

Joseph Nangle
Chairperson, Justice/Peace Conference of Major Superiors of Men

Gustav C. Nelson
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Des Moines, Iowa, PC(USA)

Diann Neu
Co-Director, Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics and Ritual

Philip R. Newell
Associate, Corporate Social Justice PC(USA)

Margaret Nulty, S.C.
Assistant to the Director, Leadership Conference of Women Religious

Sister Patricia O'Brian, O.C.D.
Prioress of the Carmelite Monastery

Sister Mary O'Keefe
Board Member of National Coalition of American Nuns

Harold C. Parker
General Presbyter, Cherokee Presbytery PC(USA)

Mary Jane Patterson
Director, Washington Office of the Presbyterian Church PC(USA)

Urbane Peachy
Executive Secretary, M.C.C. Peace Section

Sister Christina Pecoraro, O.S.F.
Provincial Minister of Holy Name Province, Stella Niagara, NY

4
Father Aaron Ferrira, O.S.B.
Vocation Director, New Subiaco Abbey, Arkansas

Stephen L. Polley
Executive Presbyter, Beaver Butler Presbytery PC(USA)

Donna Quinn, O.P.
National Coalition of American Nuns

Rosemary Rader, O.S.B.
Prioress of St. Paul's Priory

Robert J. Rea, Jr.
Executive Presbyter, Heartland Presbytery PC(USA)

Sister Joann Riesterer, O.S.F.
U.S. Provincial Executive, School Sisters of St. Francis

V. Bruce Rigdon
Professor, McCormick Theological Seminary

Brad Rohiver
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Lake Michigan PC(USA)

Rollin O. Russell
Conference Minister, Southern Conference U.C.C.

Dorothy Sadowski
Executive Team Member, Cleveland, OH

Sister Ruth Schwalenberg, D.M.J.
Provincial of the Daughters of Mary and Joseph, Palos Verdes, CA

Robert E. Seel
Executive Presbyter, de Cristo Presbytery, PC (USA)

M. Angelice Seibert, O.S.U.
President, Ursuline Sisters of Louisville, KY

Patrick Shelton, O.S.B.
Abbot, St. Leo Abbey, FL

David S. Shields
Executive Presbyter, Blackhawk Presbytery PC(USA)

Richard E. Sigler
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Kiskiminetas PC(USA)

Bede Smith
Professor, St. Augustine's Seminary, Bay St. Louis, MS

Carl R. Smith
Synod Executive of Lincoln Trails, IN PC(USA)

Robert F. Smylie
Associate, Peace and International Affairs PC(USA)

James Sorinson
The American Lutheran Church

Gerald Stacey
Co-Coordinator, Border Ministries PC(USA)

Vera Swann
Coordinator, Mutual Mission, Div. International Mission PC(USA)

Sister Rita Taggart, O.S.B.
Prioress of Order of St. Benedict, Rapid City, SD

Newton Thurber
Coordinator, Area Liaison, Program Agency PC(USA)

Robert W. Tiller
Director, Office of Governmental Relations
American Baptist Churches, USA

Patrick Tonry, S.M.
Provincial of NY, Province of Marianists

Herbert D. Valentine
Executive Presbyter, Baltimore Presbytery, PC (USA)

Jack Weller
Associate Executive Presbyter, Missouri Union Presbytery PC(USA)

Antonio Welty-De Leon
Associate Director, Health, Education and Social Justice PC(USA)

Edward A. White
General Presbyter, National Capital Presbytery PC(USA)

Jane Wick
Executive Presbyter, Northern New England Presbytery PC(USA)

Leland Wilson
Director, Washington Office of Church of the Brethren

Shirley A. Wooden
Associate Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Hudson River PC(USA)

Sister Ann Wylder, R.C.
Provincial, Midwest Province, Congregation of Our Lady of the Cenacle

Darrell W. Yeaney
Executive Director, United Campus Christian Ministry, CA

Don R. Yungclas
Conference Minister, Iowa Conference, United Church of Christ

The Right Reverend Richard F. Grein
Episcopal Bishop of Kansas

John R. Chandler
Executive Presbyter, Los Ranchos Presbytery PC(USA)

Arthur A. Vogel
Episcopal Bishop of West Missouri

Frederick J. Beebe
Synod Executive, Synod of Southern California and Hawaii PC(USA)

The Right Reverend William C. Wantland
Episcopal Bishop of Eau Claire, WI

Peter Fitzpatrick
Provincial of Xeverian Brothers, MO

John E. S. Clement
Executive Presbyter, Cayuga-Syracuse Presbytery PC(USA)

Eugene G. Turner
Synod Executive, Synod of the Northeast PC(USA)

Luis Vitale, O.F.M.
Provincial of Province of St. Barbara

The Right Reverend Edward W. Jones
Episcopal Bishop of Indianapolis

Lowelle Simms
Executive Presbyter, Eastern Oklahoma Presbytery

Bishop Peter A. Rosazza
Catholic Archdiocese of Hartford, CT.

Nuclear

July 9, 1986
2 Tammuz 5746

Ms. Sally D'Alessandro
Chair, Board of Directors
Connecticut Freeze Campaign
55 Van Dyke Avenue
Hartford, CT 06106

Dear Ms. D'Alessandro:

Rabbi Schindler was pleased to receive your invitation to share in the rally on Saturday, July 19 to speak out against Nuclear Testing. Unfortunately, it will not be possible for him to attend or to send a prepared statement to be read.

While leading a UAHC Board Mission to Israel in May, Rabbi Schindler suffered a heart attack and he was hospitalized in Israel for some weeks. He has returned home and he is making excellent progress but as yet is not permitted to travel or do any work. We hope he will be able to return to his desk very soon but no date is set. I am sure you can understand his predicament and the reason for his absence from what will undoubtedly be a very special event.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

CONNECTICUT COALITION TO STOP NUCLEAR TESTING

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Because we know of your concern about the nuclear arms race, we are writing to invite you to be a part of a special effort to stop nuclear testing.

Many Connecticut organizations have joined together to form the Connecticut Coalition to Stop Nuclear Testing. We are organizing a full-scale petition and ad campaign and a major rally at the State Capitol on Saturday, July 19.*

We invite you to attend the rally and make brief remarks to those assembled expressing your personal concern about the perils of continuing the nuclear arms race and nuclear testing. As I'm sure you are aware, the appearance of well-known speakers and musicians at such an event gives it real stature and attracts greater interest. If you cannot attend, please send us a statement that could be read on your behalf at the rally.

We would also like to use the names of prominent petition signers in our publicity before the rally, to demonstrate the support that exists for a halt to nuclear weapons testing. If you are willing to let us use your name for this purpose, please sign and initial the enclosed petition and mail it to the Coalition.

Please return the petition and response form as soon as possible. We know time is short, but hope you agree that the issue is of such importance that it deserves the efforts of all concerned citizens.

Also enclosed are sample leaflets and postcards developed by the Connecticut Freeze Campaign, being used by groups across the country to promote an end to nuclear weapons testing.

Thank you for your interest - we look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Sally D'Alessandro
Chair
Board of Directors


* In case of rain, the rally will be held at Center Church Meeting House, Gold and Main Streets, Hartford.

American Friends Service Committee; Christian Conference of Connecticut Peace Center; Connecticut Nuclear Arms Freeze Campaign; Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control; Physicians for Social Responsibility; Promoting Enduring Peace; New Haven Peace Center; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (list in formation)

CONNECTICUT COALITION TO STOP NUCLEAR TESTING

RESPONSE FORM

_____ I will attend and speak at the July 19 rally.


_____ I cannot attend the rally, but you may read my statement there:

_____ Signed and initialed petition is enclosed. You may use my name as a supporter of a halt to nuclear weapons testing.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Signature _____

American Friends Service Committee; Christian Conference of Connecticut Peace Center; Connecticut Nuclear Arms Freeze Campaign; Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control; Physicians for Social Responsibility; Promoting Enduring Peace; New Haven Peace Center; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (list in formation)

203/522-7661 C/O Freeze Campaign 55 Van Dyke Avenue Hartford, Connecticut 06106 203/522-5995

**TEST PEACE
NOT
NUCLEAR
WEAPONS**

Dear Dan Rather,

I urge you to inform the American people about the importance of the Soviet nuclear testing halt:

- August 6, 1986 will mark one full year since the Soviet Union stopped testing nuclear weapons and invited the U.S. to join them. This is not an offer, not "more of the same," but an historic opportunity to achieve real arms control.

- An end to nuclear testing is the first step to end the nuclear arms race.

- A test ban is verifiable.

- It can be done. Our leaders need only to decide to do it.

I count on the free press to make the public aware.

Sincerely,

Name

Address

City

State

Zip

Place
14¢
Stamp
Here

Dan Rather
CBS Evening News
524 West 57th Street
New York, NY 10019

CONNECTICUT FREEZE CAMPAIGN, 55 VAN DYKE AVE., HARTFORD, CT 06106



MR. PRESIDENT:

TEST PEACE, NOT NUCLEAR WEAPONS JOIN THE SOVIET TESTING HALT

Since the beginning of the nuclear arms race in 1945, the Soviet Union has tested 604 nuclear weapons, and the United States has tested 820.

- **A halt on nuclear weapons tests is an important first step to end the nuclear arms race.**

- A test ban would stop the development of newer, more dangerous nuclear weapons on both sides.

- A test ban would preserve the U.S. lead in nuclear technology.

- A test ban would prevent the arms race from moving into space.

- **The Soviet Union stopped testing nuclear weapons in August 1985.** They have said they will not test again before August 6, 1986. They have said they will *never* test again if the United States also stops testing.

- **A test ban is verifiable.** The same technology that detects earthquakes around the world is used to detect nuclear tests. The United States knows when the Soviets test nuclear weapons and they know when we do.

- **It can be done.** The United States *can* join the Soviet Union in a ban on nuclear testing. We *can* achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Our leaders need only to decide to do it.

YOU CAN HELP THEM MAKE THAT DECISION.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

You may think that you have little impact on the decisions made by our government leaders. History has shown that citizen concern *does* make a difference. In 1963, citizen concern about radioactive strontium 90 in milk led to the ban on atmospheric tests. To help end *all* nuclear tests:

1. Send a postcard or letter to the President, your Senators and Representative. Tell them that you want the United States to stop testing as the Soviets did, and that you want them to cut off funds for nuclear tests and to work for a Comprehensive Test Ban.

Call them up. Tell them how you feel; ask them where they stand.

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500
(202) 456-1414

Your Senators
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3121

Your Representative
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 224-3121

2. Write your local press and the national networks. Tell them you're looking for more coverage on the Soviet test ban and the U.S. refusal to join.

Dan Rather
CBS Evening News
524 West 57th Street
New York, NY 10019
(212) 975-4114

Tom Brokaw
NBC Nightly News
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10020
(212) 664-4971

Peter Jennings
ABC Eyewitness News
7 West 66th Street
New York, NY 10023
(212) 887-3100

3. Give these leaflets to 5 or more friends or co-workers. Urge them to call and write members of Congress, the President and the press.

4. Join a Freeze group. To get in touch with one in your area call or write the Connecticut Freeze Campaign, 55 Van Dyke Avenue, Hartford, CT 06106, (203) 522-7661.

Yes, I want to help stop testing.

_____ Send me _____ leaflets; _____ postcards.

_____ Enclosed is a contribution.*

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY, STATE, ZIP _____ PHONE _____

*Make checks payable to "CONNECTICUT FREEZE CAMPAIGN" or, for tax-deductible contributions, to "PEACE EDUCATION, INC."

Local contact:

Connecticut Freeze Campaign
55 Van Dyke Avenue
Hartford, CT 06106
(203) 522-7661



TEST PEACE, NOT NUCLEAR WEAPONS

We call upon the President to stop all nuclear weapons tests. The Soviets stopped testing nuclear weapons for one year and invited the United States to join them in a **permanent, mutual, verifiable** halt to nuclear testing. A halt to testing would be a first step toward freezing and reversing the arms race.

We also call upon Congress to pass legislation to stop nuclear testing.

We further urge the U.S. and Soviet Union to continue to observe existing arms control treaties, and to strengthen arms control through serious negotiations to freeze and reduce nuclear weapons.

Name: (print)	(signature)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$5	Ad Campaign Please Initial
Address:	City:	<input type="checkbox"/> \$10	
Occupation:	Phone:	<input type="checkbox"/> \$ <u> </u>	
		<input type="checkbox"/> check	
		<input type="checkbox"/> cash	

Name: (print)	(signature)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$5	Ad Campaign Please Initial
Address:	City:	<input type="checkbox"/> \$10	
Occupation:	Phone:	<input type="checkbox"/> \$ <u> </u>	
		<input type="checkbox"/> check	
		<input type="checkbox"/> cash	

Name: (print)	(signature)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$5	Ad Campaign Please Initial
Address:	City:	<input type="checkbox"/> \$10	
Occupation:	Phone:	<input type="checkbox"/> \$ <u> </u>	
		<input type="checkbox"/> check	
		<input type="checkbox"/> cash	

Name: (print)	(signature)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$5	Ad Campaign Please Initial
Address:	City:	<input type="checkbox"/> \$10	
Occupation:	Phone:	<input type="checkbox"/> \$ <u> </u>	
		<input type="checkbox"/> check	
		<input type="checkbox"/> cash	

Name: (print)	(signature)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$5	Ad Campaign Please Initial
Address:	City:	<input type="checkbox"/> \$10	
Occupation:	Phone:	<input type="checkbox"/> \$ <u> </u>	
		<input type="checkbox"/> check	
		<input type="checkbox"/> cash	

This is a standing petition that represents our pledge to work until we achieve a universal ban on all nuclear testing.

***** **RALLY JULY 19** *****
State Capitol, Hartford 2 PM

Make checks payable to: "CT Testing Coalition"

Return petitions and money to:

**CONNECTICUT COALITION
TO STOP NUCLEAR TESTING**

55 Van Dyke Avenue Hartford, Connecticut 06106
203/522-7661 203/522-5995

TEST PEACE NOT NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Rally
July 19

SATURDAY 2 PM
STATE CAPITOL★ HARTFORD

MUSIC

SPEAKERS

Nicholas Dunlop, Parliamentarians Global Action, New Zealand, Five Continent Peace Initiative
Peter Dykstra, Greenpeace

THEATRE

Thief in the Night Productions: "The Burglar"

BALLOON RELEASE

BRING FRIENDS, CHAIRS, BLANKETS, AND YOUR DETERMINATION TO STOP NUCLEAR TESTING

Directions: From 84 East, take Capitol Avenue exit. The Capitol is on your left at the end of the exit.
From 84 West, take Asylum Avenue exit. At the light, turn right onto furthest street (Farmington Avenue) and turn left at the first light onto Broad Street to Capitol Avenue. Turn left.

★ Rain location: Center Church Meeting House, Main & Gold Sts., Hartford.

SPONSORED BY:

CONNECTICUT COALITION TO STOP NUCLEAR TESTING

55 Van Dyke Avenue Hartford, Connecticut 06106 203/522-7661 203/522-5995

American Friends Service Committee; Christian Conference of Connecticut Peace Center; Connecticut Nuclear Arms Freeze Campaign; Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control; Physicians for Social Responsibility; Promoting Enduring Peace; New Haven Peace Center; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; St. Luke's Peace Task Force, Darien; Greater New Haven Peace Council; New Haven Society of Friends; Connecticut Citizens Action Group; Witness for Peace; Northwest Corner Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament; Norwalk Citizens for Peace; Connecticut Association For American-Soviet Friendship; Greater Hartford Peace Council; Northeast Connecticut Freeze Campaign; Cheshire Alliance for Peace; UConn Peace Education Group; Ridgfielders For A Nuclear Arms Freeze; Human Action For Nuclear Disarmament; Common Cause/Connecticut; Parents Against Registration & The Draft

Meleah
Fung

June 3, 1986
25 Iyar 5746

Ms. Sally D'Alessandro
Chair, Board of Directors
Peace Education, Inc.
55 Van Dyke Avenue
Hartford, CT 06106

Dear Ms. D'Alessandro:

Your letter of May 30th reached our office during Rabbi Schindler's absence. Unfortunately he became ill while leading a UAHC Board Mission to Israel. While he is making a very good recovery he will not return to the States until mid-June.

Therefore, I write to advise that I am unable to authorize the listing of his name as a sponsor on the invitation to the reception at the Scoville home on July 27. I know that you can understand why this is so. I will, of course, hold your letter for Rabbi Schindler's return and if he is able to attend the function on July 27 he will certainly be in touch with you directly.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

Peace Education, Inc.

May 30, 1986

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Because you are a member of the Connecticut Freeze Campaign's Advisory Board, we wanted you to be aware of a special event being held this summer at the home of Ann Scoville in Taconic, Connecticut.

On Sunday, July 27 from 5 to 7, Mrs. Scoville will open her home for a reception to benefit work for a nuclear weapons freeze. The event will benefit Peace Education, Inc. - the educational fund of the Connecticut Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, and National Freeze Voter - a national political action committee supporting strong advocates of real arms control in key House and Senate races across the country in 1986.

We are pleased that Townsend Hoopes, a member of the board of the Committee for National Security, will be the special guest speaker. As former Undersecretary of the Air Force, Mr. Hoopes is in an excellent position to discuss the Reagan Administration's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and its impact on national security and the future of arms control.

The theme of Peace Education in 1986 contrasts The Freeze and SDI and demonstrates why the Freeze, not Star Wars, is the best way to make nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." We believe that it is important for the public to understand Star Wars as an unworkable and dangerous system that will escalate the arms race and thwart chances for meaningful future arms control.

We value your affiliation with the Connecticut Freeze Campaign and hope you will be able to attend the reception on July 27 at the Scoville home. Your participation will encourage others to join in the effort to bring the arms race to an end. Thank you for your continued support and interest in the work of Peace Education and the Connecticut Freeze Campaign.

Sincerely,



Sally D'Alessandro
Chair, Board of Directors

The non-profit, education fund of the
CONNECTICUT FREEZE CAMPAIGN

55 Van Dyke Ave., Hartford, Ct. 06106 (203) 522-7661

RESPONSE

___ Yes, I would like to be a Sponsor of the reception at the Scoville home on July 27.

___ You may list my name as a Sponsor on the invitation.

___ No, I do not wish to be a Sponsor of the Scoville reception.

NAME _____
(as it should appear in the program)
STREET _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
PHONE _____

Contributions may be made to "Scoville Reception".

60% of the funds raised by this reception will benefit Peace Education, Inc., the education fund of the Connecticut Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign; 40% will benefit National Freeze Voter, a political action committee working to elect Senators and Representatives in 1986 who are committed to stopping the nuclear arms race by means of a bilateral, verifiable nuclear weapons freeze between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Contributions may be made directly to "Peace Education, Inc." or to "National Freeze Voter," but cannot exceed limits established by law.

Please mail checks c/o Peace Education, Inc., 55 Van Dyke Avenue, Hartford, CT 06106. For more information, call (203) 522-7661.

RSVP JUNE 10

Nuclear

April 17, 1986
8 Nisan 5746

Ms. Karen Mulhauser, Executive Director
Citizens Against Nuclear War
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Ms. Mulhauser:

I deeply regret that the UAHC is not in a position to contribute financially to the excellent work of Citizens Against Nuclear War. No doubt you are working with our Religious Action Center and perhaps there is some kind of assistance available through that source.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



Citizens against Nuclear War

1201 Sixteenth Street, NW • Washington, DC 20036 • (202) 822-7483

Terry Herndon
President

Karen Mulhauser
Executive Director

Board of Directors

Quincalee Brown

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Coretta Scott King

Eleanor Holmes Norton

Ozell Sutton

William L. Taylor

Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10028

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I have recently written to you about two important CAN efforts:

- 1) our June 6-8 conference - "The Nuclear Arms Race: Survival Dilemma for People of Color" and
- 2) our request for annual financial or in-kind support to cover costs of our programs.

Today I am writing to ask you to consider a contribution to cover expenses of the Conference.

I have just received notice from the Ploughshares Fund that it has approved a challenge grant to CAN of up to \$25,000 to match dollar for dollar each contribution from CAN members.

The matching money from Ploughshares will be used for CAN's legislative programs. A contribution from Union of American Hebrew Congregations, however, will be allocated for our June conference which will bring together grass roots people of color.

I do not usually approach you twice in two months for a financial or in-kind contribution. This is an extraordinary opportunity to make a contribution to a program designed specifically to meet the concerns of your members and those of CAN's other members representing people of color, while also bringing in support for our legislative work.

I have enclosed a copy of a proposal that was recently mailed to several funding sources. I think you will find it informative.

A Coalition of National Membership Organizations

Dear Mr. Mulhauser
I deeply regret that
the UAH is not in a position to contribute
financially to the CAN. No doubt
you are working with the
R-A-C + perhaps there
is some in-kind assistance
available.

April 9, 1986

WJ
C

Citizens Against Nuclear War Member Organizations

ACORN—Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now • Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union • American Art Therapy Association • American Association of University Women • American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities, Inc. • American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees • American Jewish Congress • American Library Association • American Medical Student Association • American Nurses Association • American Public Health Association • Americans for Democratic Action • Americans for Indian Opportunity • Coalition of Black Trade Unionists • Congress of Italian-American Organizations, Inc. • Delta Sigma Theta Sorority • Environmental Action • Friends Committee on National Legislation • Friends of the Earth • Graphic Communications International Union • Gray Panthers • Greenpeace U.S.A. • International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers • International Chemical Workers Union • International Woodworkers of America • Japanese-American Citizens League • League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) • National Association of Social Workers • National Black Caucus of State Legislators • National Black Communications Coalition • National Conference of Black Lawyers • National Council for the Social Studies • National Council of Negro Women • National Council of Senior Citizens • National Education Association • National Institute for Women of Color • National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees • National Women's Health Network • The Newspaper Guild • Nuclear Information & Resource Service • Older Women's League • Organization of Pan Asian American Women • Planetary Citizens • Presbyterian Church (USA) • Presbyterian Health, Education, and Welfare Association • Reformed Church in America • The Ripon Society • Rural American Women • Solar Lobby • Southern Christian Leadership Conference • Union of American Hebrew Congregations • Unitarian Universalist Association • United Cement, Lime, Gypsum and Allied Workers International Union • United Church of Christ • United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America • United Farm Workers of America • United Food and Commercial Workers International Union • United States Student Association • The Wilderness Society • Women for Racial and Economic Equality • Young Women's Christian Association

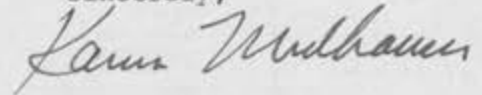
Associated Organizations

American Friends Service Committee—Disarmament Program • Center for Economic Conversion • Center for War/Peace Studies • Children's Defense Fund • The Civil Defense Awareness Network of New Century Policies Educational Programs • The Coalition for International Cooperation and Peace • Committee for National Security • Conference/ Alternative State and Local Policies • Council for a Livable World • Educators for Social Responsibility • Federation of American Scientists • Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies • Institute for Peace and Justice • Institute for Policy Studies • Jobs with Peace • Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control (LANAC) • Mobilization for Survival • National Council of American-Soviet Friendship • Nuclear Control Institute • Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign • Nukewatch • Pastoral Counselors for Social Responsibility • Peace Links • Physicians for Social Responsibility • Promoting Enduring Peace • Psychologists for Social Responsibility • Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War (STOP) • Union of Concerned Scientists • United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War • U.S. Committee Against Nuclear War • U.S. Nuclear-Free Pacific Network • Volunteers for Peace, Inc. • War Resisters League • Women Strike for Peace • Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Inc. (WAND) • Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) • World Conference on Religion and Peace • World Peacemakers

I look forward to hearing from you and hope you will
contribute to this historic conference -- and plan to attend.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Karen Mulhauser".

Karen Mulhauser
Executive Director

Enclosure
KM/tt

REQUEST FOR FUNDING

by Citizens Against Nuclear War

for the June 6-8, 1986 conference

The Nuclear Arms Race: Survival Dilemma for People of Color

I. INTRODUCTION: The goal of the Conference is to bring together grass roots activists and organization representatives in a forum where people of color, having planned the agenda, consider their common interest in joining the nuclear policy debate. This is consistent with CAN's overall goal of broadening the base of citizen awareness and involvement by assisting established networks and organizations to use their own existing communication lines. We hope to empower local activists to explore ways that they as individual citizens will become involved back home, and to encourage regional and national organizations to develop education and action programs for their members. Because the focus is primarily on grass roots education and mobilization, we will keep the registration fee at only \$20 and hope to be able to offer travel subsidies to those who could not otherwise attend.

The planning process has been a desirable and unusual one. People of color, led by CAN's dynamic Darryl Rogers, have planned the conference and are doing the outreach work. The first step was to ask Member organizations of CAN to list their choice of agenda topics for the conference. Second, a Planning Committee was formed, including some CAN members and others. Organizations participating in the planning (many of them working together for the first time) include:

National Conference of Black Lawyers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; YWCA; Organization of Pan Asian American Women; Americans for Indian Opportunity; National Education Association; Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign; SANE; National Black Caucus of State Legislators; office of Representative Ron Dellums; and Women for Racial and Economic Equality.

These organizations and others have provided lists of potential activists who have received the attached letter of notice. (Appendix I) They have suggested topics and speakers for plenaries and workshops and will help with turnout for the conference. It was their decision that the focus of this conference should be on grass roots (unlike CAN's 1984 Conference on Minorities and Arms Control) and should have a strong focus on skills development. Members of the Planning Committee are listed in Appendix II.

II. BACKGROUND: In May 1984 CAN sponsored a Minorities and Arms Control Conference that was attended by representatives of 48 organizations (72 total people). Invitations went to national minority organizations to send a representative. Unlike the goals of our 1986 conference, our focus in 1984 was to get national organizations to raise the issue on their agendas and to pledge to send information and materials to their members. While this continues to be one of CAN's interests, the primary focus now is on grass roots actions.

With a grant from the James C. Penney Foundation we were able to hire Darryl Rogers, a black graduate student, to conduct an evaluation of the 1984 conference. He found that participants believed that the conference adequately made the links between concerns of people of color and the impact that increased military spending has on domestic programs. They expressed an interest, however, in formulating specific strategies and action plans to address nuclear policies and in developing the necessary skills to have an impact on policy makers.

These concerns have been addressed in the conference planning for 1986, both by the CAN staff and the Planning Committee.

In the two years since the first conference CAN has hired Darryl Rogers to work fulltime on minority outreach, has welcomed four new Member organizations (National Urban League, National Conference of Black Lawyers, Americans for Indian Opportunity and National Institute for Women of Color) and has established credible contacts with most of its other 10 Member organizations who represent concerns of people of color. Additionally, working with the staff of other CAN Members we have begun to make important contacts with their minority caucuses or task forces (for example, the YWCA, NEA, AFSCME and the National Association of Social Workers). This degree of involvement did not exist in 1984 and will contribute to a richer and more relevant program for the 1986 conference.

III. JUSTIFICATION: If the nuclear disarmament movement is to gain wide support it is important to involve people of color and their organizations in the nuclear policy debate. We are convinced that CAN's approach of involving people of color through their affinity groups and their own networks is the most likely path to success.

Peace, disarmament and arms control movements traditionally have been white and middle class efforts despite the fact that increased militarization and the escalation of the nuclear arms race have a profound effect on people of color in the U.S. and Third World nations. Blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans and American Indians have been left out of

the mainstream of peace and arms control organizations because appropriate approaches were not considered -- not because people of color do not care about the issue.

We now consider the two key questions raised earlier.

1) Why is it important to involve people of color in the nuclear arms debate? Approximately 25 percent of the U.S. population are people of color. In parts of the country "minorities" are the majority of the population. In many communities they are being elected as mayors, city council members, state legislators, etc. Congress people -- whether white or non-white -- who represent these communities are very aware of this electoral strength and would be negligent if they ignored the political pressure that organized people of color can build on nuclear arms issues. Indeed, members of the Congressional Black Caucus provide an excellent example of awareness of constituents' concern and of their personal convictions favoring nuclear disarmament for they consistently vote for decreases in military spending and reversal of the nuclear arms race.

Our efforts to inform and mobilize these constituencies through their own communication networks could have a significant effect on nuclear policy makers. The constituencies' input in the political process, combined with that of the traditional peace/disarmament/arms control groups, has been missing and is needed. This is especially true when one considers that the groups CAN works with closely include mainstream organizations like the National Urban League, Japanese-American Citizens League, National Council of Negro Women, Americans for Indian Opportunity, National Black Caucus of State Legislators and Delta Sigma Theta Sorority.

2) How is CAN's approach different and why does it offer a promise of success? CAN differs from other peace groups by working with leaders of national membership groups to help them educate and mobilize their own members. We do not believe it essential to integrate people of color into the traditional white middle class groups, although that would of course be desirable. It is far more realistic to work directly with the organizations representing people of color in a way that is both credible and familiar to their members. Just as physicians, lawyers, computer experts and other constituencies are more attuned to their own members' concerns, so are the organizations of people of color.

IV. CONFERENCE AGENDA AND SPEAKERS: The conference begins on June 6 with a reception hosted by Washington, DC's Mayor Marion Barry. Dinner and a keynote speaker (to be announced) follow. The keynote topic will be "The Human Cost of the Nuclear Arms Race." Space for the conference will be donated by the NEA and a local AME church. From 200

to 300 people are expected to attend. Meals will be prepared by church members, some of whom also will assist with housing.

The conference will be action-oriented, presenting skill development and other workshops that will define the role of citizens in shaping nuclear policy. It will also offer speakers and panelists with the expertise to give activists the substantive background they may need. Participants will be prepared to return home with new skills to speak with friends and colleagues about nuclear policies and the impact on people of color; lobby their elected representatives; and become involved in the campaigns of candidates.

Panel discussions June 7 and 8 will include:

The People's Defense Budget: An Alternative View of National Security. How domestic and military trade-offs disproportionately affect people of color and their job prospects.

Star Wars, a substantive discussion that also covers coalition building.

The Role of Citizens in the Nuclear Age. What organizations and individuals can do to influence nuclear policy.

Is Total Nuclear Disarmament Possible? Paul Warnke and Jesse Jackson (tentative) will discuss the issue.

Women and Youth: Today's Victims of Nuclear War Planning.

The speakers include a diverse group of community and national leaders: William Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Mel King, of M.I.T. and Jobs with Peace; Vera Kistiakowsky, physics professor at M.I.T.; Clarence Wood, vice president, National Urban League; Dr. Ed Dorn, Joint Center for Political Studies; Chockie Collier, Corporation for American Indian Development; Marilyn Manibusan, State Senator from Guam; and many others.

The workshops will concentrate on skills and strategies needed for empowerment on nuclear policy issues -- for example, lobbying, coalition building and issue campaigns.

V. PROCESS: CAN does not view the conference as an end in itself but rather as a point along a long-term process of broadening the base of involvement by people of color in the nuclear debate. The Planning Committee of 16 individuals has been a valuable part of this process. It is creating a vital program as well as building important relationships among organization representatives as they consider how best to present the issues. This rapport will be important during the conference and beyond as organizations turn to CAN for assistance with their program planning and implementation.

The follow-up to the conference is already being considered. For instance, if funding and interest permit, we are prepared to facilitate regional or state meetings in the fall and during 1987 in areas where an informed constituency will be able to influence policy decisions.

VI. ADMINISTRATION: The supervisor for the conference is Karen Mulhauser, Executive Director of Citizens Against Nuclear War and Assistant Secretary/Treasurer of the Center for Education on Nuclear War, which is incorporated in Washington, DC as a 501(c)(3) corporation. The IRS letter affirming the Center's tax-exempt status is attached. (Appendix III)

The Center develops education programs that inform citizens about the risks of nuclear war and about the role of citizens in shaping related policy. The Center also agrees to make its services and expertise available to Citizens Against Nuclear War as long as these services are consistent with tax-exempt functions of a 501(c)(3) corporation.

CAN is a 501(c)(4) coalition of 60 national citizen organizations. Most of CAN's work is educational, as in the dissemination of information, and CAN therefore is able to receive significant support from the Center for Education on Nuclear War. A list of CAN's Member organizations is attached (Appendix IV), as is a report on CAN's 1985 activities. (Appendix V)

Tax-deductible contributions for support of the Nuclear Arms Race conference may be made to the Center for Education on Nuclear War.

1st Tier Planning Committee
for the Citizens Against Nuclear War conference
"The Nuclear Arms Race: Survival Dilemma for People of Color"

1. Peggy Brown, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
2. LaDonna Harris, Americans for Indian Opportunity
3. Wade Henderson, National Conference of Black Lawyers
4. Jennifer Henderson, Jobs With Peace
5. Carlottia Scott, Congressman Ronald V. Dellums' office
6. Rita Gerona-Adkins, Organization of Pan Asian American Women
7. Kathy Lee, Organization of Pan Asian American Women
8. Ethiopia Alfred, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
9. Kay Shaw, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign
10. Allan Gregory, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign
11. Leimomi Apolonia Brown, National Committee for Radiation Victims
12. Jo Uehara, Young Women's Christian Association
13. Shafiah M'Balia, American Friends Service Committee
Southern Regional Disarmament Program
14. Ada Sanchez, Greenpeace
15. Khalil Abdullah, National Black Caucus of State Legislators
16. Cecilia McCall, Women for Racial and Economic Equality
17. Charles Williams, National Education Association
Human and Civil Rights Division



CDI

Center for Defense Information

October 4, 1985

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
President - Union of
American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

*He got
cc
of his signing*

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

On 6 August 1985 the Soviet Union ceased all nuclear explosions. When making the announcement General Secretary Gorbachev said that the cessation would last until 1 January 1986; however, if the United States stopped testing, the cessation could go on indefinitely. Mr. Gorbachev clearly had a number of reasons, political and military, for this initiative, but whatever his reasons, it is imperative that we capitalize on the fact that the Soviets have stopped testing.

CDI is now participating in an effort to get the United States to end all nuclear explosions for all time by joining the Soviet Union in this initiative. You know as well as I do that it is high time we take this action. I invite you to participate in this effort.

It is proposed that you and 100 other distinguished Americans from many diverse fields sign an open letter to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev. This letter is attached for your consideration. I will send this letter directly to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev and also publish it in major U.S. newspapers with the names of the American leaders who have signed the letter.

Enclosed are copies of the Defense Monitors that contain the text of the letters previously sent to the two heads of state, which outline our position for supporting an end to nuclear explosions. In addition, there is a copy of the proposed open letter as it will appear in newspapers.

If you think this is a worthwhile effort, please sign the open letter, with any identification you would like to appear with your name, and return it to me.

Sincerely,

Gene R. La Rocque

Gene R. La Rocque
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)
Director

Gene R. La Rocque
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)
Director

Eugene J. Carroll, Jr.
Rear Admiral, USN (Ret.)
Deputy Director

William T. Fairbourn
Major General, USMC (Ret.)
Associate Director

Kermit D. Johnson
Major General, USA (Ret.)
Associate Director

James A. Donovan
Colonel, USMC (Ret.)
Associate Director

James T. Bush
Captain, USN (Ret.)
Associate Director

Center for Defense Information

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Major General, USA (Ret.)
Associate Director

James A. Donovan
Colonel, USMC (Ret.)
Associate Director

James T. Bush
Captain, USN (Ret.)
Associate Director

**Clark Clifford, former Secretary
of Defense, has agreed to sign
the attached letter.**

Gene R. La Rocque

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT DRAFT

END ALL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS:

An Open Letter to

PRESIDENT REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV

Dear President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev:

As human beings gravely concerned by the continuing expansion of nuclear arsenals and the growing risk of nuclear war, we call upon you both to make prevention of nuclear war a major issue at your summit meeting in Geneva on 19 November.

At your meeting we urge you to proclaim a mutual moratorium on nuclear explosions effective on or before 1 January 1986 and agree to resume negotiations for a treaty to bring a permanent end to nuclear test explosions in all environments.

The entire world will applaud your historic action if you will take this first, essential step to avert nuclear war.

Signed:

* MR. JOHN JOHNSON,
President, Alpha Inc.

* AMBASSADOR HARRY HYDE
Former U.S. Ambassador

* et. al.

*

If YOU agree with these distinguished leaders that the Summit meeting on 19 November presents a genuine opportunity to bring about a permanent end to nuclear testing, please write to President Reagan and First Secretary Gorbachev to urge them to take this first, essential step to avert nuclear war.

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

GENERAL SECRETARY
MIKHAIL GORBACHEV
c/o Embassy of USSR
1125 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Sponsored by
Center for Defense Information
600 Maryland Avenue, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20024



THE DEFENSE MONITOR

The Center for Defense Information supports a strong defense. It opposes excessive expenditures for weapons and policies that increase the danger of nuclear war. CDI believes that strong social, economic and political structures contribute equally to the national security and are essential to the strength and welfare of our country.

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I.S.S.N. #0195-6450

Vol. XIV, Number 5

1985

SIMULTANEOUS TEST BAN: A Primer on Nuclear Explosions

Defense Monitor in Brief

- The most significant and achievable arms control measure at this time is a Simultaneous Test Ban—the termination of all nuclear weapons explosions.
- The best date for a Simultaneous Test Ban to begin is 6 August 1985, which marks the 40th year since the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.
- A halt to nuclear weapons explosions can be verified to prevent cheating.
- Citizens must be well informed about all aspects of nuclear weapons testing to decide whether or not it should be stopped.

A complete and total halt to nuclear weapons explosions has been sought by every U.S. President since Dwight D. Eisenhower. In numerous arms agreements signed since 1963, the United States and the Soviet Union have pledged their efforts to achieve a comprehensive ban of nuclear weapons tests. Yet, today, 22 years after the signing of the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, both nations continue to explode nuclear weapons at the rate of 20 to 30 per year.

At a time when existing nuclear arms limitation agreements seem in danger of being abrogated—and prospects for new agreements are fading—an end to the explosive testing of nuclear weapons is the most significant and achievable arms con-

trol measure on the agenda today. This proposal that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. both stop testing nuclear weapons while negotiating a permanent ban on nuclear weapons explosions is called a Simultaneous Test Ban (STB). The date upon which the STB could take effect is a highly symbolic one: 6 August 1985, which marks the 40th year since the city of Hiroshima was demolished by an atomic bomb.

A Simultaneous Test Ban, by itself, could go far in slowing the on-rushing pace of the nuclear arms race. No less important, it could prove to be an essential first step in achieving other important measures to slow, halt and reverse this costly and potentially fatal arms competition.

"Today, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are at a lower point than they have been for some time—a mountain of mistrust stands between us," Glenn Seaborg, former head of the Atomic Energy Commission, has said, "but I think there is a realization in both countries that steps toward a test ban can be to mutual advantage. Perhaps we need to think in terms of where we will be in another ten years if we don't come to an agreement."

This special issue of *The Defense Monitor* is a primer on nuclear testing and a Simultaneous Test Ban. Its easily referenced question-and-answer format explains how a complete and total halt to all nuclear explosions will make the world a safer and more secure place for all.

LIMITING NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS: YESTERDAY AND TODAY

What About Early Test Ban Efforts?

The first proposal for stopping nuclear weapons explosions was made by the U.S.S.R. in 1955, but became entangled in disagreements about verification. Three years later, the Soviet Union announced a moratorium on nuclear weapons explosions, calling on the U.S. and the United Kingdom to follow suit. After some six months of discussions, agreement on a year-by-year suspension of nuclear explosions was reached, beginning in November 1958. Remarkably, given the Cold War tensions of those times, the voluntary test ban was observed by the three nuclear-armed states for three years.

Although in December 1959 President Eisenhower officially terminated the moratorium by declaring, "We consider ourselves free to resume nuclear weapons testing," the U.S. conducted no tests. In February 1960 France exploded its first atomic weapon. The Soviet Union had stated that its adherence to the moratorium was dependent on no testing by any of the "Western powers," including France. Nevertheless, the U.S.S.R. did not resume testing until September 1961, after France had conducted four nuclear tests. The U.S. followed suit two weeks later.

Thus, while the history of earlier test moratoria is not unblemished, neither is it hopeless. A clearly defined moratorium today could pave the way for negotiations toward a permanent ban on all nuclear weapons explosions.

What is the Limited Test Ban Treaty? A 1963 nuclear explosions moratorium declared by the U.S. yielded enduring results. The Cuban Missile Crisis of October the year before proved a sobering experience for Presidents Kennedy and Khrushchev. Both world leaders emerged from their narrow brush with nuclear war filled with a new determination to secure a ban on nuclear weapons testing.

Much of the preliminary groundwork for test ban negotiations had

already been laid by 1963. In June of that year, President Kennedy made a bold stroke in a now famous speech delivered at American University. "To make clear our good faith and solemn convictions on this matter," he announced, "I now declare that the United States does not propose to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere so long as other states do not do so."

The following month, negotiations began in Moscow. It took only 12 days to negotiate the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT), which forbids nuclear explosions in the air, underwater or in outer space. Only a minor, but unresolvable, dispute over the number of seismic detection stations to be placed in each other's territories precluded agreement on a comprehensive ban on *all* nuclear weapons explosions.

In order to gain the support of the military and the nuclear weapons labs for the LTBT, the Kennedy Administration agreed to certain "safeguards," including conduct of a "comprehensive, aggressive and continuing" underground nuclear explosions program and maintenance of facilities to "institute promptly nuclear tests in the atmosphere should they be deemed essential to our national security." Following the LTBT, therefore, the average annual number of U.S. nuclear tests actually increased.

While the treaty did not secure the comprehensive ban many had hoped for, it was still an important step. Above ground nuclear explosions had created a worldwide health hazard by generating dangerous radioactive fallout. By driving nuclear tests underground, the LTBT largely solved the fallout problem. Unfortunately, once the fallout danger was alleviated, public pressure for a comprehensive test ban slackened.

The LTBT pledged its parties to seek "to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time." Twenty-two years later, we are still waiting. It took worldwide public protests to pressure

government officials to abandon nuclear explosions in the air. A similar effort to secure a Simultaneous Test Ban could be equally effective.

What Other Treaties Limit Testing?

In 1974, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. signed the Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT), restricting tests to no more than 150 kilotons. In addition, a protocol to the TTBT provides for the exchange of geological, seismic and other data to allow calibration of both countries' detection networks. Two years later, the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty (PNET) was signed, similarly restricting so-called "peaceful nuclear explosions"—underground blasts for civil engineering purposes. In 1976, both treaties were submitted to the Senate for ratification. Hearings were held in 1977 and the treaties were favorably reported to the whole Senate the following year. Threats by some Senators to add untenable verification amendments, as well as the Administration's deep involvement with the SALT II and Comprehensive Test Ban treaties, however, led President Carter to abandon the ratification process.

Neither the TTBT nor the PNET has yet been ratified by the U.S., although both countries have pledged to abide by them. The failure to follow through on the data exchange provisions of the TTBT has clouded the debate on future verification of a comprehensive ban on nuclear explosions. More generally, the U.S. practice of signing, but not ratifying, arms control agreements undermines the arms control process.

What About the Comprehensive Test Ban?

In 1977 the Carter Administration began negotiating a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) with the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom to stop all nuclear weapons explosions of all kinds in all environments. To gain the support of the military, the nuclear weapons labs, and others who didn't want a permanent ban on nuclear tests, Carter proposed that the treaty be lim-

ited to three years.

The CTBT negotiations in the late 1970s produced some dramatic breakthroughs. The Soviets agreed to several significant steps facilitating verification including acceptance of a network of seismic monitoring stations on Soviet territory and agreement in principle to the use of voluntary on-site inspections to resolve suspicious events.

As a result of intensive bargaining on all sides a draft treaty was written. The three parties were able to report to the United Nations in 1980 that they had "demonstrated their strong political commitment to completion of this treaty by achieving solutions to problems that for many years made a treaty difficult to attain. Most notable in this regard are the agreements concerning the prohibition of any nuclear weapon test explosion in any environment, the moratorium on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, the general conditions with regard to on-site inspections, and a number of important seismic verification issues."

While talks continued through 1980, however, events in Afghanistan and Iran and the troubled course of the still unratified SALT II Treaty killed any possibility of a ban on nuclear explosions during the Carter Administration. Two years later, the Reagan Administration—citing verification concerns—formally abandoned nuclear test ban negotiations.

What Initiatives Today Would Limit Testing? Because of the present Administration's adamant position on continuing nuclear explosions, new initiatives for securing a ban on nuclear testing are originating in the Congress. One such legislative move is House Joint Resolution 3, introduced in January 1985. H.J.Res. 3, like the Kennedy-Mathias Amendment which passed by a vote of 77-22 in the Senate in 1984, calls for ratification of the TTBT and the PNET and the resumption of CTBT negotiations with the Soviet Union. On May 15 H.J.Res. 3, which is a non-binding resolution, was approved by the House Foreign Affairs Commit-

"We All Inhabit this Small Planet"

"Both the United States and its allies, and the Soviet Union and its allies, have a mutually deep interest in a just and genuine peace and in halting the arms race. Agreements to this end are in the interests of the Soviet Union as well as ours—and even the most hostile nations can be relied upon to accept and keep those treaty obligations, and only those treaty obligations, which are in their own interest.

"So, let us not be blind to our differences—but let us also direct attention to our common interests and to the means by which those differences can be resolved . . . For, in the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. . . .

"To make clear our good faith and solemn convictions on this matter, I now declare that the United States does not propose to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere so long as other states do not do so."

President John F. Kennedy
American University Speech
June 10, 1963

tee, and reported favorably to the whole House of Representatives for action.

Another House proposal, introduced in March 1985, is H.R. 1834, called the Simultaneous Nuclear Test Ban Act. The STB Act seeks a mutual U.S.-Soviet three month cessation of nuclear explosive testing beginning 6 August 1985 and calls on the President to seek resumption of Comprehensive Test Ban talks. The STB Act is different from other test ban proposals in that it seeks a cutoff of funding for U.S. testing of nuclear weapons contingent upon a Soviet suspension of testing. The STB Act provides Congress a vehicle with which "to bring about a cessation of nuclear weapons explosions.

What do the U.S. & U.S.S.R. Say About a Test Ban? In November 1984, the Center for Defense Information sent a letter to President Reagan suggesting a mutual halt to all nuclear weapons explosions on 6 August 1985. In December the Center received a reply from Lt. General John Chain, USAF, Director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs. "While it remains a long-term objective," General Chain said, "the U.S. does not intend to pursue negotiations towards a CTB at this time." As reasons, General Chain cited verification concerns and the Administra-

tion's belief that "nuclear testing plays an important role in ensuring a credible U.S. deterrent."

In January 1985, the Center sent a similar letter to the President of the Soviet Union. The Soviet response, received in April, was somewhat more encouraging. "The moratorium on nuclear testing as well as resumption in the near future of negotiations on a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons tests," the letter from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet said, "undoubtedly would contribute to constraining the nuclear arms race."

The letter went on to say that 6 August 1985 would be a good time to start and that "given acceptance of other nuclear powers, such a moratorium could be proclaimed even earlier." In a May 19 interview, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev reaffirmed Soviet willingness to halt nuclear weapons explosions on 6 August 1985 while a comprehensive ban is being negotiated.

The Soviet government's response is encouraging. The U.S. government's somewhat less so. What is clear, is that one or the other of the nuclear powers will have to take the bold step of initiating a moratorium and challenging the other to follow suit, or we will never achieve an end to all nuclear explosions.

NUCLEAR TESTING TODAY

How Many Nuclear Weapons Have Been Exploded?

From 1945 through the end of 1984 the United States has exploded 756 nuclear weapons: 331 before the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) drove testing underground and 425 since. The Soviet Union has exploded 556 nuclear weapons since 1949: 164 before the LTBT and 392 since. Britain has exploded 38 nuclear weapons since 1952: 23 before the LTBT and 15 since. France has exploded 127 nuclear weapons since 1960, China 29 since 1964, and India one in 1974.

Recently, both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have been exploding nuclear weapons at an increasing rate. In 1982 the U.S. exploded 19 nuclear weapons, the highest number of tests since 1970. That same year, the Soviet Union detonated 31 nuclear devices, its highest number since the early 1960s. Last year, the five nuclear-armed nations conducted a total of 58 nuclear tests—18 American, 29 Soviet, 7 French, 2 British and 2 Chinese explosions—an average of more than one explosion per week.

In 1983, the Department of Energy, which conducts nuclear testing for the U.S. and monitors all nuclear testing worldwide, reverted to a policy which had been in effect from 1963 to 1975 of not announcing all nuclear explosions. Among the reasons the Department cited was that it

didn't want to help the Soviets "determine the detection limits they have." This action seems designed to impede verification of present and future test limitation agreements.

Where are Nuclear Weapons Exploded? The United States has exploded nuclear weapons in Alaska, Colorado, Mississippi and New Mexico in the U.S.; the Marshall Islands, Christmas Island, and Johnston Atoll in the Pacific; over the South Atlantic Ocean; and twice in Japan. Since 1974 all U.S. nuclear explosions have been detonated at the Nevada Test Site near Las Vegas, an area a bit larger than Rhode Island. The United Kingdom, which used to test its nuclear weapons in Australia and on South Pacific islands, has done all of its tests at the Nevada Test Site since 1962.

The Soviet Union conducts its nuclear weapons tests at three primary sites: the Arctic Island of Novaya Zemlya, north of the Caspian Sea, and Semipalatinsk in Central Asia. The U.S.S.R. has also detonated nuclear devices at other locations in Central Asia, the Ural Mountains and Siberia. In recent years, the Soviets have been conducting "peaceful nuclear explosions" (PNEs) for civil engineering projects in Siberia. Thirteen of 27 Soviet nuclear explosions in 1983, for instance, are presumed to have been PNEs. The U.S. last conducted PNEs, in Colorado, in 1973.

France at first exploded its nuclear weapons in the Sahara desert, but has tested on the South Pacific atoll of Mururoa since 1966. Only in 1975 did France stop exploding nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. China does all of its nuclear testing at Lop Nor in the Gobi desert. China has not exploded nuclear weapons in the atmosphere since 1980, and says that all future testing will be underground. India's 1974 nuclear explosion was detonated beneath the Rajasthan desert. India is not thought to have a nuclear arsenal.

How Much Does Nuclear Testing Cost? Exploding nuclear weapons underground is both costly and complicated. The budget for the U.S. nuclear testing program has doubled in only five years, from \$330 million in 1981 to the \$657 million requested for fiscal year 1986. The entire nuclear explosion program is estimated to have cost over \$7.5 Billion since testing went underground in 1963.

The cost of a single test varies depending on its complexity. One 1980 MX-related test, code-named "Miner's Iron," cost about \$28 million. But, according to the Department of Energy, "as we move towards the 1990s the design and, hence, the testing of nuclear weapons becomes more complex. . . . In particular, the underground tests are more complex because of the need for increased data from each experiment." It can take anywhere from one to two years to prepare for a single test.

How are Nuclear Weapons Tested? Nuclear weapons are tested either in vertical holes or horizontal tunnels. Holes are used for weapons design tests, and range from 600 feet to over one mile in depth. Tunnels—some as long as 8,000 feet—are used for weapons effects tests. The canister containing the nuclear weapon and the instruments for gauging the results of the test is placed into the hole or tunnel. After the device is in place, the shaft is filled with sand and gravel.

When the nuclear weapon is detonated by remote control all the earth

Simultaneous Test Ban "Long Overdue"

"My reaction to . . . a Simultaneous Nuclear Test Ban is one of strong enthusiasm. It is my opinion that a comprehensive test ban treaty is long overdue. We were close to a negotiation of one 9 or 10 years ago . . . and there is every evidence that the Soviet government would like to pursue this possibility at the present time. Negotiations looking to the conclusion of such a treaty would have the advantage of being a way of bypassing the current Geneva stalemate, which is unlikely to be overcome in the near future."

George Kennan
Former Ambassador to U.S.S.R.
Letter to Rep. Patricia Schroeder
April 15, 1985

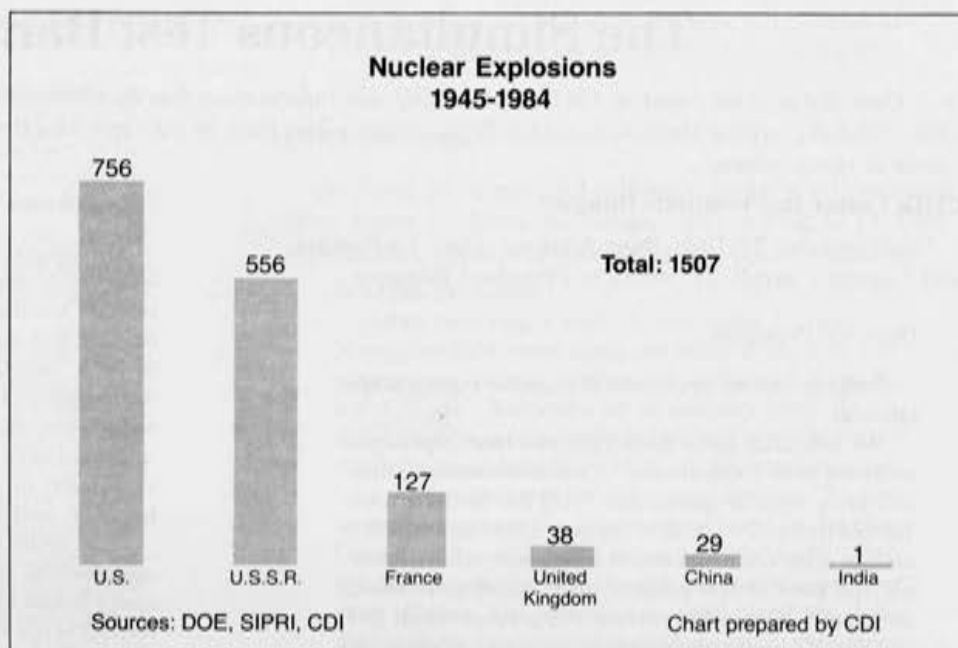
surrounding it is instantly vaporized. The explosive energy compacts the earth to form a large spherical cavity and a layer of highly radioactive molten materials forms around the cavity. This material flows to the floor and solidifies as it cools.

The test holes are drilled to a depth calculated to contain the weapon's explosive energy and minimize "venting" or the escape of radioactive debris. Radioactive fallout has, however, vented from many of these tests and, according to the Department of Energy, has been detected after 228 tests—92 times on-site and 136 times outside of the Nevada Test Site.

Why are Nuclear Weapons Tested? The reasons why the military wants to continue exploding nuclear weapons are perhaps best explained by the officials who manage the U.S. nuclear testing program:

- *Certifying New Designs.* "We cannot design this simple warhead from scratch on the basis of theory and our computational capability today and certify for you that that warhead is going to work as advertised," General William Hoover, then-Director of the Department of Energy's Office of Military Application, testified in 1981. "That is the fundamental reason we need to do testing and see where we have flaws. Quite frankly, we still have to verify a fudge factor after all these years."

- *Designing 'Safer' Weapons.* "We know how to make nuclear weapons more secure, safe . . . and controllable," General Hoover said in 1983.



"By any measure of merit the weapons we produce today are far better than those placed in the stockpile years ago."

- *Assuring Reliability.* "From time to time," Ray Duncan, manager of the Nevada Test Site told Congress in 1983, "a weapon is extracted from the stockpile to assure it will still work in the manner in which it is designed."

- *Arms Racing.* "I think it would be a terrible thing if the Soviets were to get ahead of us in the capability to design their nuclear weapons," Richard Wagner, Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy, stated in 1982. "I think that the experience of Sputnik would pale in comparison with what would happen if

they got into this new generation of weapons designs before we do."

- *Preparing for Warfighting.* "The underground nuclear test program," Lt. General Richard Saxer, Director of the Defense Nuclear Agency (DNA), testified last year, "is . . . indispensable . . . to assess the survivability of our own military systems in a nuclear environment, predict lethality levels for destruction of enemy assets and develop the technology to enhance the survivability and security of our forces."

It is ironic that these military rationales for continuing testing are also compelling reasons for the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to enter into an immediate Simultaneous Test Ban if the arms race is ever to be controlled.

SLOWING THE ARMS RACE

Is the Test Ban Too Little, Too Late? Some allege it is too late for a halt to all testing to have a significant effect on the nuclear arms race. Designs for the thousands of nuclear warheads for the MX, Trident and cruise missiles slated to enter the arsenal during the 1980s have already been tested; a ban on testing would not halt these weapons.

Additionally, many of the major developments in nuclear design have

already been made, most important of which is the dramatic reduction in the "yield-to-weight" ratio. A modern 200-kiloton cruise missile warhead, for instance, weighs only 270 pounds, compared to early 20-kiloton atomic bombs, which weighed five tons. These small but potent nuclear devices have made possible the destabilizing multiple independently-targetable reentry vehicle (MIRV).

Further "improvements" in nu-

clear weapons, however, lie ahead. A total nuclear explosions ban would prevent these new, more devastating and—most threatening—more "usable" nuclear weapons designs from being developed. If a comprehensive ban on testing had been signed in 1963, we would not be threatened by the MIRV danger confronting us today. While the Department of Energy cites developments of better "safety"

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The Simultaneous Test Ban Papers

Over the past six months, the Center for Defense Information has been corresponding with the leaders of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., urging them to join in a Simultaneous Test Ban, to take effect on 6 August 1985. Following are the texts of some of these letters.

CDI's Letter to President Reagan

On November 27, 1984, Rear Admirals Gene La Rocque and Eugene Carroll, Jr., wrote to President Reagan:

Dear Mr. President:

Congratulations upon your impressive victory in the election.

We note that since reelection you have repeatedly affirmed your commitment to the conclusion of effective arms control agreements with the Soviet Union. Toward this end we wish to suggest a first step which is readily achievable and would be of great value in slowing the pace of the nuclear arms buildup. It would completely bypass the current disagreements on INF and START issues and demonstrate your leadership as a man of peace.

This first, essential step is to propose a moratorium on nuclear testing and early resumption of negotiations on a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban. Based upon their Tripartite Report of July 31, 1980, the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom are already in substantial agreement on the elements of such a Test Ban. Dr. Herbert York, the chief U.S. negotiator, has stated that the Soviets were sincerely committed to concluding a treaty consistent with the terms outlined in the Tripartite Report, including provisions concerning on-site inspections. Your recent calls for the exchange of nuclear test observers appear to be a valuable contribution to meeting this requirement.

We have enclosed a recent *Defense Monitor* which explains the importance of an early end to nuclear testing. Since publishing this report in August, more than 100 organizations have already pledged their support to a world wide campaign to end all nuclear weapons explosions. The proposal will be considered soon by appropriate agencies at the U.N. We are certain that you will be applauded and strongly supported by a great majority of people in the U.S. and around the world, if you take the lead to bring an end to nuclear explosions forever.

It is impossible to conceive of a more dramatic and constructive way to begin your next four years as President of the most powerful nation on earth. By taking this bold initiative, you will dispel all doubts about U.S. commitments to effective arms control; place the onus on the Soviet Union to follow your leadership; and earn the approval of the citizens of the world for your service to the cause of peace.

Dear Admiral La Rocque:

On behalf of the President I am replying to your letter of November 27 concerning a moratorium on nuclear testing and negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear test ban. A comprehensive test ban continues to be a long-term objective of Administration arms control policy, in the context of deep and verifiable arms reductions, expanded confidence-building measures, improved verification capabilities, and a strategic environment in which we would rely less heavily than today on nuclear weapons for deterrence.

The verification of a test ban and especially of a moratorium, remains a major problem. Expert testimony before Congress has indicated that, even in the context of the verification procedures discussed (but not fully agreed) in the CTB trilateral negotiations, there would still be some uncertainty about our ability to detect and identify a potentially significant level of clandestine testing.

The U.S. has supported international discussion of verification and compliance problems related to nuclear testing limitations. Such discussion has usefully taken place in past years at the multilateral Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva where the U.S. continues to support consideration of monitoring and verification issues related to a CTB.

There also are significant concerns about the national security implications of a CTB or a moratorium. The security of the U.S. and our Allies depends on a credible U.S. nuclear deterrent, and nuclear testing plays an important role in ensuring a credible U.S. deterrent, particularly in view of the massive Soviet buildup of nuclear forces.

For these reasons, while it remains a long-term objective, the U.S. does not intend to pursue negotiations toward a CTB at this time.

The Administration is nevertheless determined to make progress in the area of nuclear testing limitations, and will continue to seek ways in which we can correct the serious verification problems associated with the Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) and its companion Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty (PNET). The President, in his September 24 speech to the UN General Assembly, proposed that "we find a way for Soviet experts to come to the United States' nuclear test site and for ours to go to theirs, to measure directly the yields of tests of nuclear weapons." Although the initial Soviet response was not encouraging, we remain hopeful that we will soon receive a positive official response.

The Soviet Response

On January 18, 1985, Admirals La Rocque and Carroll sent a letter, similar to the earlier one to President Reagan, to the Soviet leadership. On April 15 the following response was received from the Supreme Soviet Pre-

The Administration Response

On December 31, 1984, the following response was received from Lt. General John Chain, Jr., USAF, Director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs:

sidium, as delivered to CDI by Ambassador Dobrynin at the Soviet Embassy in Washington:

Your statement, which testifies to the growing concern of the American public over the threat of devastating nuclear war, hanging over mankind, has been given a careful consideration in Moscow. The underlying motives of the proposal to undertake steps, which would help everyone to move forward to a desired goal, that of total elimination and prohibition of nuclear weapons for all time, to complete removal of the threat of nuclear war, are understandable.

The moratorium on nuclear testing as well as resumption in the near future of negotiations on a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons tests, which you have proposed, undoubtedly would contribute to constraining the nuclear arms race. The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed to the USA and other nuclear powers to put an end to such tests. It is one of the most acute and urgent issues now, since continuation of nuclear weapons testing is linked to their qualitative improvements, upgrading and creation of new types of such weapons and, consequently, whips up the build-up of nuclear arsenals.

To reach an agreement on complete and comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons tests the Soviet Union, and it is widely known, more than once put forward concrete initiatives and conducted negotiations in a constructive way. As you correctly note in your statement, in the course of trilateral negotiations on a comprehensive cessation of nuclear tests between the USSR, USA and Britain a long way was covered and the sides have achieved a considerable degree of agreement. Yet these negotiations were suspended by the United States Administration in 1980.

To create favourable conditions for working out the treaty, the Soviet Union also suggests such a practically feasible measure as declaration by all states, possessing nuclear weapons, of a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, beginning from a mutually agreed date.

The date the moratorium would take effect could be, as you suggest, August 6, 1985, which marks the 40th anniversary since the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima. Given the acceptance of other nuclear powers, such a moratorium could be proclaimed even earlier, so that it be in force until a treaty on complete and comprehensive ban of all nuclear weapons tests is concluded.

Under present circumstances, suspending nuclear explosions could be a very substantial step towards curtailing the nuclear arms race.

The Soviet Union is also prepared to resume immediately negotiations on complete prohibition on nuclear weapons tests. It proposes also to put into force the Soviet-American Treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear explosions, signed in 1974 and 1976, but not yet ratified for reasons that the Soviet side is not to be blamed for.

All these steps pertaining to nuclear tests, can be taken irrespective of the recently started talks in Geneva on issues of non-militarization of outer space, limitation and reduction of strategic armaments and medium-range nuclear weapons. At the same time, such measures would create more favourable conditions for

a fruitful development of the Geneva talks aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on Earth.

CDI's Response

On April 23 Admirals La Rocque and Carroll sent another letter to President Reagan, responding to Lt. General Chain's letter and discussing the Soviet response:

Dear Mr. President:

After receiving a reply to our letter to you of 27 November 1984, concerning the value of an early moratorium on nuclear testing, we addressed a similar letter to Mr. Chernenko on 18 January 1985. As you may be aware, a response was received to our letter via Ambassador Dobrynin on 15 April. We are enclosing a copy of that response for your consideration. We note with some concern the statement released by the State Department on this issue. As reported in the *Washington Post* on April 18th, the statement indicated that your advisors are "deeply concerned about the desirability of an uninspected testing moratorium and the verifiability of restraints on nuclear tests."

With respect to the second phrase, it is clear that "restraints on nuclear tests" would no longer be an issue if *all* nuclear explosions were banned. The 150 kiloton threshold limit and special provisions for so-called peaceful nuclear explosions would be subsumed in a total ban, thus eliminating any verification problems concerning limits or other restraints.

The question of verifiability therefore would become one of identifying, locating and classifying any low level nuclear explosions after the moratorium. There is a large body of independent scientific research which suggests that it is now virtually impossible to conceal any nuclear explosion, even at levels as low as one kiloton. We recognize that some scientists associated with the U.S. government nuclear laboratories may not agree with this finding and that the matter deserves further evaluation.

We recommend that the Secretary of Defense request that a prestigious body such as the National Academy of Sciences study this question and report their findings to you and the American people as they did on the question of a "nuclear winter." By this action you can obtain an authoritative determination concerning the verifiability of a mutual moratorium on nuclear testing. It is our belief that such a determination will enable you to announce a U.S. moratorium on nuclear testing with full confidence that any subsequent test within the Soviet Union would be detected promptly. If that occurred, the United States would be fully justified in resuming testing just as we did in 1961.

The positive tenor of the Soviet statement of 15 April relative to a moratorium on all nuclear weapons explosions on 6 August 1985 is encouraging evidence that the U.S.S.R. is willing to move ahead in this matter in conformance with an initiative by the U.S. government to end testing. Please consider a moratorium to be effective 6 August 1985 as the first and most important step you can take to slow, stop and reverse the nuclear arms race. The entire world will be safer and more secure if you will take this initiative.

Continued from page 5

features for nuclear weapons as a reason to continue testing, most future "improvements," like those of the past, will prove dangerous. Moreover, necessary safety features can be incorporated into existing warhead designs without resort to nuclear testing.

Even the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty has constrained nuclear weapons designers. "If you want to postulate a future warhead requirement with a yield significantly above 150 kilotons, for which no existing design is adequate," General Hoover has testified, "then we would have much less confidence in our ability to certify such a weapon." Imagine how much more limiting a *total* ban on nuclear weapons test explosions would be.

What New Weapons Would A Test Ban Prevent? Today, nuclear designers are developing a new, "third generation" of nuclear weapons. These weapons, according to one high Pentagon official, "could be the most significant change in nuclear weapons technology since the early days of the nuclear era." Development of this "third generation" is seen as a vital goal in the U.S./Soviet nuclear arms competition.

This "third generation" of nuclear weapons will be able to focus the awesome destructive force of nuclear weapons more selectively. "Neutron bombs," which emphasize deadly radiation over blast and heat, are early "third generation" nuclear weapons. Other new types of nuclear weapons under consideration would be used selectively to destroy electronics and to power laser weapons in space. Because the effects of these weapons will be more focused, they will be considered more usable, making it more likely that any war "goes nuclear."

While laboratory research and development on new weapons designs will inevitably continue under a Simultaneous Test Ban, the inability to actually test those new designs would inhibit the military on both sides from accepting them into their arsenals. "You can do all the calculations and modeling you want," Department of Energy official Troy Wade noted in 1982, "but the final

warm feeling you get in your stomach is when you've built one, tried it and proven that it will work."

How Would a Test Ban Affect Older Weapons? The U.S. regularly disassembles and inspects representative nuclear weapons in the stockpile. Occasionally this "stockpile surveillance" reveals manufacturing irregularities or component deterioration. If the "fixes" for such problems cannot be validated on the basis of previous testing, the redesigned weapon will be exploded to ensure it works as intended.

There are, however, other means available to assure a reasonable degree of stockpile reliability without nuclear explosions. These include explosive testing of the high-explosive trigger and other non-nuclear components, remanufacturing weapons to precisely the original specifications or with minor modifications after thorough review by experts, and replacing the suspect nuclear explosive with one which has previously been rigorously tested.

But the fact that the Department of Energy continues to explode weapons to assure stockpile reliability indicates that actual exploding of nuclear warheads is deemed essential. There is no adequate substitute for such reliability testing if the military is to maintain confidence in its weapons. Thus a ban on all testing would mean that, over a long period of time, there would be a gradual deterioration of confidence in the reliability of nuclear weapons in the arsenal. This lessening of confidence would by no means necessarily be an unwelcome development if we are to ease the "first strike" fears which today drive the nuclear arms race.

How Would a Test Ban Affect First Strike Capability? A gradual reduction in stockpile confidence would discourage either side from contemplating a preemptive "first strike" against the other's nuclear weapons. First strike weapons must perform precisely and reliably for any hope of success. By contrast, the nation launching a retaliatory strike would not need the same level of confidence in the precision and reliability of its weapons to do so effectively.

Non-nuclear explosive methods of maintaining reliability can ensure that a ban on testing would not be followed by a rapid deterioration of the nuclear stockpile which might degrade a country's ability to retaliate to nuclear attack. Any long term stockpile deterioration, of course, would affect both sides equally under a mutual, verifiable cessation of nuclear explosions.

Clearly, a Simultaneous Test Ban would permit the maintenance of retaliatory "deterrence," but would reduce the likelihood of a preemptive first strike.

How Would a Test Ban Affect Nuclear Warfighting? Some of the most important nuclear tests are conducted to gauge the effects of nuclear weapons on warfighting systems. The Pentagon and the Soviet military are both working to reduce the tremendous uncertainty which exists today about the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons.

"Over the years, weapons systems have become much more sophisticated," Edward Conrad, a Defense Nuclear Agency official, observed in 1982. "We started off with relatively simple systems . . . now we have very sophisticated semiconductor electronics. As sophistication grew, we had to look at how susceptible these systems are to enemy nuclear attack."

Far from being undesirable, this uncertainty serves to inhibit the possible use of nuclear weapons in wartime. One of the major uncertainties involves the effects of electro-magnetic pulse (EMP), an electronics-destroying surge of electricity created by nuclear explosions. The existence of EMP was discovered only shortly before the 1963 Limited Test Ban drove nuclear explosions underground. As a result, the military on both sides have almost as many questions as answers about how EMP might affect their ability to wage nuclear war successfully.

Limited study of EMP and other nuclear weapons effects can be conducted through underground nuclear explosions. A complete ban on nuclear weapons explosions would leave unresolved many questions on both

sides about the nuclear susceptibility of their military systems. The resulting uncertainties, in a crisis, may prove the most decisive deterrent to nuclear war.

How Would a Test Ban Affect Proliferation? Halting all nuclear weapons explosions would lend much-needed credibility to the efforts of the nuclear-armed nations to halt the spread of nuclear weapons technology to non-nuclear nations. The 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty pledges its 127 signers "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date." The most effective measure that could be achieved at this time is a ban on all nuclear explosions.

By entering into such a ban, the nuclear weapons nations would take the first step to fulfill their 1968 pledge, demonstrating their commitment to disarmament, and at long last setting a positive example for nations trying to develop nuclear weapons. Some nations feel they, too, have a right to possess nuclear weapons as long as the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are vigorously engaged in an unconstrained effort to develop ever newer and more usable nuclear weapons.

Who Would Benefit from a Test Ban? The importance of a ban on further nuclear explosions should not be underestimated. Without nuclear testing, the compact thermonuclear warheads that make possible multiple independently-targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs) and long-range cruise missiles could never have been developed. There is near universal agreement that the proliferation of MIRVs and cruise missiles makes the world a far more dangerous place. Thus an STB would benefit *everyone* by reducing first strike capabilities, inhibiting war-fighting strategies, enhancing non-proliferation efforts, and, in general, helping to slow, stop and reverse the arms race.

From the more narrow perspective of the arms competition, a ban on all nuclear explosions would actually work to the advantage of the U.S. To date, the U.S. has conducted 200 more nuclear tests than has the So-

History of Efforts to End Nuclear Explosions

1954	Fallout from U.S. BRAVO test at the Bikini Atoll causes radiation casualties. Public awareness of testing health hazards increases.
1955	Nuclear-weapons states begin to consider limiting nuclear tests, but no action is taken.
1958	Soviet-proposed nuclear explosions moratorium goes into effect.
1961	Nuclear testing, at a very high rate, resumes.
1963	Following American-proposed nuclear explosions moratorium, Limited Test Ban Treaty, driving nuclear explosions underground, is signed and ratified.
1968	Non-Proliferation Treaty, which among other things urges an end to nuclear explosions, is signed, entering into force in 1970.
1974	Threshold Test Ban Treaty, limiting underground nuclear explosions to 150 kilotons, signed but not ratified by the U.S.
1976	Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty, limiting engineering use of nuclear explosives to 150 kilotons, signed but not ratified by the U.S.
1977	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty talks begin between the U.S., U.S.S.R. and United Kingdom.
1980	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty negotiations suspended.
1982	Reagan Administration formally refuses further test ban negotiations.
1984	Non-binding Kennedy-Mathias Amendment, calling for ratification of the Threshold and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaties and for resumption of Comprehensive Test Ban talks passes in the Senate by 77-32.
1985	Non-binding H.J. Res. 3, similar to Kennedy-Mathias Amendment, is approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee (still pending). Binding H.R. 1834 (Simultaneous Nuclear Test Ban Act), to stop nuclear testing by 6 August 1985, introduced (still pending).

viet Union. It is widely agreed that the U.S. still has an edge on the Soviet Union in developing compact, efficient, and reliable nuclear warheads. An end to all testing would preserve this U.S. lead. Continued testing will erode it.

Additionally, because the U.S. is so far ahead of the Soviet Union in computer technology, it is better equipped to perform the simulations required to maintain stockpile reliability. The U.S. may thus actually derive a marginal benefit from a halt to all testing.

After the Test Ban, Then What? One of the most important benefits of a Simultaneous Test Ban is that it would serve as a "confidence building measure," facilitating further constraints on the nuclear buildup.

Once it has been demonstrated that each side is willing to take bold,

decisive measures to stop one type of military nuclear activity—testing nuclear explosives—additional measures can then be addressed. A logical next step, after the nuclear explosion moratorium has been made permanent by an international treaty, might be a similar ban on the flight testing of nuclear missiles, followed by a complete halt to the deployment of new nuclear delivery vehicles.

Usually the best remedy to a difficult situation is to take up the problems involved one step at a time. The drawback to many broad and sweeping arms control proposals is that they are generally not as simple as they first appear. There are many advantages to a step-by-step approach to lessening the danger of nuclear war and the first, essential step is a ban on nuclear weapons explosions.

VERIFYING A SIMULTANEOUS TEST BAN

Is Verification an Obstacle? Verification—the ability to assure that the other side is not cheating—is essential to any arms agreement. Our ability to verify a Simultaneous Test Ban is already excellent. Furthermore, redirection of only a fraction of the Billions of dollars now scheduled for research into space weapons, for instance, would go far towards resolving any lingering uncertainties about seismic detection of nuclear tests. Yet federal seismic research budgets are today being cut.

The Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency's geophysics research budget has been cut by \$1.7 million since the Reagan Administration withdrew from Comprehensive Test Ban negotiations. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency today spends one-tenth the funds on test ban research it did in 1979. This year, the Senate Armed Services Committee added an additional \$10 million for verification research in 1986, for which the the Department of Energy had not seen fit to ask.

These budget cuts raise questions whether Administration concern about nuclear explosion verification has become more an excuse for political inaction than a valid reason to reject a total ban on nuclear testing.

How are Nuclear Explosions Detected? When a nuclear weapon

is detonated underground, shock waves pass through the earth (as body waves) and along its surface (as surface waves). Highly sensitive seismographic instruments can measure such motion—expressed as “seismic magnitude”—from distances of thousands of miles.

There are now more than 1,000 seismographic stations operating worldwide. Numerous stations operated by the U.S., including some located in countries bordering the Soviet Union, form the Atomic Energy Detection System, which is the U.S.'s primary means of detecting underground nuclear explosions.

Once a seismic signal is detected, the exact location of the event must be determined by comparing data from several different receiving stations. Pinpointing the location of the seismic event permits both a determination of whether or not it could possibly be a nuclear blast and the type of rock through which the signal passed, permitting accurate calculation of the seismic magnitude.

The U.S. ability to identify nuclear explosions is remarkably sophisticated. “We are certain that the state of knowledge of seismology and the techniques for monitoring seismic waves are sufficient to ensure that a feasible seismic network could soon detect a clandestine testing program

involving explosions as small as one kiloton,” geologists Dr. Jack Evernden of the National Center for Earthquake Research and Dr. Lynn Sykes of Columbia University reported in the *Scientific American* in 1982. “In short, the technical capabilities needed to police a comprehensive test ban down to explosions of very small size unquestionably exist.”

Most experts concur that a network of some 25 seismic listening stations within the Soviet Union, plus 15 or so surrounding it, and a similar network in and around the United States would provide high confidence verification of compliance with a Simultaneous Test Ban.

What About Compliance with Existing Test Treaties? The Reagan Administration has charged the Soviet Union with violating the Threshold Test Ban Treaty's 150-kiloton test limit. The allegations, which the Administration admits are based on “ambiguous” evidence, apparently arise from nine instances in which Soviet tests may have exceeded the limit.

U.S. measurement of Soviet tests, however, is based on seismic “yardsticks” derived from the geology of the U.S. test site, not that of Soviet test sites. Thus, Michael May, Associate Director of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, has concluded that “there is no evidence that the Soviets had cheated on the Threshold Test Ban Treaty.” David Emery, Deputy Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, stated in 1983: “I am convinced there is no conclusive proof the Soviets have violated [the TTBT].” According to geologist Dr. Lynn Sykes: “The allegations that the U.S.S.R. has violated the TTBT are based, in my opinion and that of many seismologists, solely on an incorrect calibration formula.”

Because of occasional uncertainty about the yield of new nuclear designs, the two sides agreed that “one or two slight, unintended breaches

“Soviets Would Treat This Initiative Seriously”

“I can think of no more appropriate way to mark the fortieth anniversary of the Hiroshima bomb than for both the superpowers to halt their testing of nuclear weapons.

“I personally feel the Soviets would treat this initiative seriously and constructively. It would be an *American* initiative very difficult for them to refuse. It would demonstrate that America has both the *vision* and the *confidence* to lead this planet in the struggle against the risk of nuclear war.”

Ambassador W. Averell Harriman
Limited Test Ban Treaty Negotiator
Letter to Rep. Patricia Schroeder
April 24, 1985

per year would not be considered a violation of the Treaty." Ratification of the TTBT would allow a seismic data exchange which would ease many of these verification ambiguities. Under a Simultaneous Test Ban, it would be a far simpler task to verify that *no* nuclear tests are being conducted than to determine whether or not explosions are being kept below a certain level.

Can a Simultaneous Test Ban Be Evaded? Opponents of a ban on nuclear tests contend there are several ways the Soviet Union could secretly test nuclear weapons. The method most often cited is "decoupling," whereby a nuclear weapon would be exploded in a large cavity deep underground. The cavity would reduce the compression of the earth that produces seismic waves so that only a relatively small fraction of the energy of the explosion could be detected.

This is more difficult to accomplish than it may sound. Excavation to produce a cavity large enough to muffle the seismic wave effectively would be nearly impossible to conceal from U.S. photo satellites. For instance, the volume of rock that would have to

be dug out to decouple an 8-kiloton explosion would be about the size of the largest Egyptian pyramid. The weapons chamber itself would have to be 300 feet in diameter, 3,000 feet below the surface. Furthermore, any venting of radioactive debris and surface cratering would have to be prevented to avoid detection by satellites and air sampling aircraft.

Other possible methods of evasion mentioned from time to time include: exploding a weapon in the aftermath of a large earthquake to conceal its seismic signal; devising methods to make an explosion mimic a natural geophysical phenomenon; and testing nuclear weapons in deep space. All of these evasion techniques are demonstrably infeasible in practical terms. For example, the U.S.S.R. would have to be ready to test 24 hours a day over an indefinite period in order to take advantage of exploitable—but unpredictable—seismic events such as earthquakes. Even then, the time available to conduct a test is confined to a few minutes at most.

The problem of differentiating earthquakes from nuclear explosions is eased by the fact that, of all earth-

quakes in the world, only about 0.5 percent occur in the U.S.S.R. close enough to the surface to be confused with nuclear explosions. Additionally, there are measurable differences between the seismic signals produced by earthquakes and nuclear explosions, regardless of their size.

Any secret explosions that could be conducted, however, would have to be so small as to be militarily irrelevant. In Congressional testimony, 5-to-10 kilotons has been cited as the threshold for militarily significant tests. Thus, even if a country were able to conduct a series of one-kiloton tests without being detected, it would gain no appreciable military advantage.

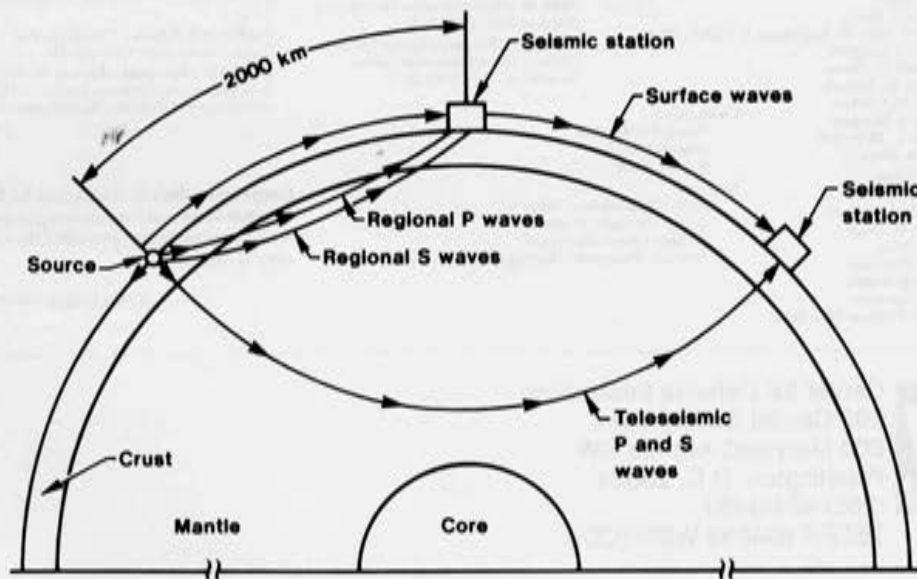
Present U.S. intelligence capabilities are sophisticated, efficient and mutually supportive. They provide us with the technical ability to detect and identify any significant Soviet attempt to violate an STB. Provisions for on-site inspection and in-country seismography—and other cooperative measures that have already largely been worked out in previous negotiations—would further guarantee our monitoring capability.

How to Detect Underground Nuclear Weapons Explosions

Earthquakes and nuclear explosions both generate seismic waves that travel through the earth. At teleseismic distances (i.e., more than 1,200 miles), there are two main types of wave: body waves, which travel through the earth, and surface waves, which move along its surface. Further, there are two main types of body wave: the P or compressional wave and the S or shear wave. One type of surface wave is called a Rayleigh wave. In trying to distinguish a suspected nuclear explosion from an earthquake, seismologists use the ratio of the magnitude of the P wave to that of the Rayleigh wave.

Because a total ban on nuclear weapons explosions will also be verified by seismic monitoring stations located in-country, many of the waves detected will be at regional distances (i.e., less than 1,200 miles). Regional seismic signals travel mainly in the upper mantle and crust of the Earth.

An earthquake generates significant amounts of S-wave and surface-wave energy, whereas a nuclear explosion produces minimal surface waves. The ratio of body-wave magnitude to surface-wave magnitude is thus lower for an earthquake than for a nuclear explosion of similar magnitude. Because a nuclear explosion radiates higher seismic frequencies than an earthquake, the ratio for P-wave amplitudes at different frequencies can also be used to tell the two types of events apart. (Source: Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory)



Finally, verification may not be so much a technical as a political issue. No treaty, however, tightly constructed, can ever be 100 percent verifiable. "If you insist on absolute cer-

tainty," Admiral Bobby Inman, former Deputy Director of the CIA, has noted, "if you insist on the capacity to detect every violation, you'll never have an arms control process. You have to take

some risks. The key is being confident that you will detect any serious cheating." Any large-scale cheating would be detected before it yielded military benefits.

Conclusions

- A Simultaneous Test Ban would go far to slow, stop, and reverse the nuclear arms race.
- A Simultaneous Test Ban would slow the current trend towards first strike capabilities and nuclear warfighting strategies.
- A Simultaneous Test Ban is an essential and achievable step in a series of measures which would restore confidence in the arms control process.

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1985

THE NUCLEAR TESTING MORATORIUM: Nothing to Lose, Everything to Gain

Defense Monitor in Brief

- The Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing which began 6 August is a risk-free opportunity for both sides to stop exploding nuclear weapons and resume negotiations on a permanent test ban.
- Failure to stop exploding nuclear weapons now may well mark the end of any constructive arms control efforts in the future.
- The U.S. should seize on this "window of opportunity" to secure an end for all time to nuclear weapons explosions by initiating a test moratorium on or before 1 January 1986. We have nothing to lose, and everything to gain.

For over a year, the Center for Defense Information, along with scores of other national and international organizations and prominent individuals, has been urging the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to stop exploding all nuclear weapons on 6 August 1985. During such a nuclear test moratorium negotiations broken off in 1980 to complete a permanent, verifiable ban on all nuclear test explosions would be resumed.

Until now, however, CDI had little cause for hope. In its correspondence with U.S. and Soviet leaders, CDI found the U.S. position to be one of adamant opposition, while the Soviets said they were favorable to the idea but reluctant to take action on their own. Indeed, an 8 July 1985 letter from General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev reiterated that "the security interests of our country place limits beyond which we cannot go unilaterally."

The surprising Soviet reversal—their unilateral moratorium on nu-

clear explosions beginning 6 August—therefore, represents a significant break in the diplomatic logjam impeding a negotiated end to nuclear explosions. General Secretary Gorbachev said the moratorium runs until 1 January 1986, but "will remain in effect, however, as long as the United States, on its part, refrains from conducting nuclear explosions."

Unfortunately, the U.S. government response to this Soviet policy reversal was to reject it out of hand as a meaningless propaganda ploy. The U.S. proposed, as an alternative, that the U.S.S.R. send a delegation to observe a U.S. nuclear explosion. Under other circumstances such a proposal might have value. In this case, however, it is clearly but an effort to appear reasonable, even though the proposal does not even begin to address the far-reaching implications of Soviet readiness to complete a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty as signaled by their unilateral action in halting all tests.

Even more unfortunate are specious Administration statements discounting the value of a test ban and distorting recent Soviet actions. If these statements are uncritically accepted, there is a very great danger that the window of opportunity open to us today will slam shut on January 1st. Efforts to achieve a ban on all nuclear explosions will be irrevocably set back. In fact, failure to stop nuclear explosions now may mark the end of any constructive arms control efforts in the future.

This *Defense Monitor* addresses these Administration statements relating to the test moratorium. Correspondence between the Center for Defense Information and the Reagan Administration, excerpted below, addresses the more general issues raised by its position on a nuclear test ban. These questions are also more fully explored in *Defense Monitor* Volume XIV, Number 5, "Simultaneous Test Ban: A Primer on Nuclear Explosions."

Broken Agreement?

The outcome of the 1958 moratorium on nuclear testing is cited by Administration officials and commentators as an overriding reason not to join with the Soviet Union in a moratorium today. The U.S.S.R., it is charged, surprised the United States by unilaterally breaking the test moratorium in 1961.

In November 1958, the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom agreed to a year-by-year moratorium on nuclear tests while they pursued negotiations on a permanent ban. In August 1959, the U.S. officially extended its voluntary suspension of testing until the end of the year. The U.S.S.R. said in return that it would conduct no tests so long as the "Western powers" also refrained from testing. Four months later in December, President Eisenhower issued a statement that the U.S. moratorium was over as of the end of 1959. "We consider ourselves free to resume nuclear weapons testing," Eisenhower said, but any explosions would be announced in advance.

In February 1960, France conducted its first nuclear test. Although the Soviet Union had made its participation contingent on no testing by the "Western powers"—including France—it conducted no tests until 1 September 1961, after France had exploded a total of four weapons. The United States resumed testing two weeks after the Soviet Union.

Did the Soviets "break" the moratorium? Not according to U.S. officials serving at the time, who agree that the moratorium had been ended by the 1959 Eisenhower statement. "Both sides had freed their hands," according to Philip Farley, Special Assistant for Disarmament Affairs

in Eisenhower's State Department, "and then the Soviets were the first to test, but that's not the same thing as violating the agreement." According to Spurgeon Keeney, Assistant to the President's Science Advisor under both Kennedy and Eisenhower: "The facts are clear. At the time of the Soviet tests, there was no agreement, not even a de facto one."

The 1958-to-1961 experience, therefore, is not the clearcut precedent of Soviet exploitation of moratoria the Administration would have us believe.

Military Advantage

It is further claimed that the Soviet Union gained a unilateral military advantage by resuming testing in 1961, a coup it allegedly seeks to repeat with the current moratorium.

The number of tests conducted by both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—as reported by the Department of Energy (DOE) and its predecessor, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC)—fails to support this argument. From 1 September 1961 to the end of that year, the Soviets exploded 31 nuclear weapons. From 15 September to the end of 1961, the U.S. conducted only 10 tests. But, for the entire year of 1962, the AEC reports a total of 98 nuclear devices exploded by the U.S., compared to only 40 for the Soviet Union (and a handful of other Soviet tests for which the AEC does not cite specific dates). The AEC reports no tests at all for the U.S.S.R. in 1963, while the U.S. exploded another 43 weapons.

It is difficult to conceive how the Soviet Union obtained any kind of military advantage during a period in which the U.S. exploded more than twice as many weapons as the U.S.S.R. This judgment is supported

by a statement made by President Kennedy in a 2 March 1962 address to the nation. While criticizing the Soviets for resuming testing the year before, Kennedy acknowledged that "last fall's tests, in and of themselves, did not give the Soviet Union superiority in nuclear power."

It is no less difficult to conceive what military edge the Soviets could gain if the U.S. joined the current moratorium. Over the decades that both countries have been testing nuclear weapons, the U.S. has exploded some 200 more devices than the U.S.S.R.: 765 U.S. to 564 Soviet.

A recent White House document implies Soviet warhead design is still behind that of the U.S., especially in the ability to pack high explosive power into a small warhead. The White House study says that, through continued testing, the Soviets "could develop efficient miniature warheads with high yield to weight and yield to volume ratios. Such development would allow the Soviets to exploit fully the fractionation possibilities [i.e. increase the number of warheads] of their ICBMs."

This strongly suggests, in turn, that any unilateral advantage from a test moratorium would accrue to the U.S., not the U.S.S.R. "A Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty," Sen. Dave Durenberger (R-Minn.), Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, recently stated, "would stop menacing Soviet developments while preserving the technological edge the United States enjoys in their nuclear warheads."

Kennedy's Moratorium

Another passage from Kennedy's 2 March 1962 speech is cited, usually out of context, as a reason for rejecting the current Soviet moratorium. "We know enough now," he said, "about broken negotiations, secret preparations, and the advantages gained from a long test series never to offer again an uninspected moratorium."

The historical record shows, however, that President Kennedy was not categorically opposed to test mor-

"Politics and Not Technology"

"Politics and not technology have prevented us from concluding a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty."

House Foreign Affairs Committee
24 July 1985 Report

atoria. Seldom cited is another quote from a later Kennedy speech. On 10 June 1963 at American University, the President disclosed the imminent resumption of discussions with the U.S.S.R. and the U.K. on a test ban. "To make clear our good faith and solemn convictions on the matter," he then announced, "I now declare that the United States does not propose to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere so long as other states do not do so. We will not be the first to resume."

This unilateral U.S. moratorium set a positive climate for the talks that followed, resulting in the signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty only 55 days later. There is no reason a similar moratorium, accompanied by similar talks, could not secure the comprehensive ban on all nuclear explosions that barely eluded negotiators in 1963.

Accelerated Testing

After the Soviet Union announced its test moratorium, National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane asserted that "the reality that this was a contrivance is proven, I think, by the fact that in the past few weeks they've accelerated the number of tests that they've had so they wouldn't need to test for the next five months or so."

Again, the record fails to support the assertion. As of 29 July the DOE announced 9 tests for the U.S. and only 5 for the Soviet Union. We must go further than the DOE, however. That agency reverted in 1983 to the selective announcement policy which had been in effect from 1963 to 1975 of not listing all tests for either the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. (The U.S.S.R., to its discredit, does not announce any of its tests.) DOE's failure to announce all of the nuclear explosions the U.S. monitors worldwide muddies the debate over the verifiability of a test ban, while permitting officials to make unsubstantiated claims about Soviet testing.

The most credible non-U.S. organization monitoring nuclear explosions is the Swedish National Defense Research Institute. According

What You Can Do

If we are to take advantage of this unique opportunity to cease all nuclear weapons explosions for all time, the U.S. will have to order a cessation of all U.S. nuclear tests effective by 1 January 1986 at the latest. When President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev meet in Geneva in November, they could agree to resume negotiations for a mutually advantageous formal treaty to permanently end testing.

None of this, however, will happen unless you make your voice heard in Washington. If you support an immediate end to nuclear testing you must telephone, wire, write to the President, your Senators and your Representative—today. Here are their numbers and addresses:

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500
(202) 456-7639

Your Senators
U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510
(202) 224-3121

Your Representative
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 224-3121

Enlist your neighbors, friends, fellow workers, church members, everyone you know to act with you. Contact your local press, radio station and TV stations to encourage balanced treatment in the news so that American citizens have all the information needed to consider the merits of a nuclear test moratorium.

Together we can make a difference. We can end nuclear explosions. Time is short. Act now.

to the Institute's Hagfors Observatory, the U.S. conducted 9 tests as of 29 July 1985, and the Soviet Union only 7. Hardly a spurt in testing for the Soviet Union, this is a strikingly low level compared to recent years. In 1984, for instance, the U.S. conducted as many as 18 tests (only 14 announced by DOE), while the U.S.S.R. exploded 27 weapons (10 unofficially described as so-called "peaceful nuclear explosions" for civil engineering purposes). Significantly, even the DOE announced 10 tests for the Soviet Union for the first seven months of 1984, and 17 for the entire year.

The accelerated test rate charge would seem to be no more than a red herring.

Testing and Deterrence

"Nuclear testing," Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Frank Gaffney has said, "is indispensable to nuclear weapon development and the maintenance of weapon reliability." According to this argument, a halt to nuclear explosions would actually make the world more dangerous by undermining the very basis of nuclear deterrence.

Undeniably, nuclear explosions are "indispensable to nuclear weap-

ons development." This is precisely why a test ban is also indispensable to arms control. The dangerously destabilizing weapons that could be developed by both sides in the future are possible only if testing is permitted to continue today.

But this does not mean, as Robert McFarlane has claimed, that the Soviet moratorium is designed to "prevent us from doing what they have already done," because "we're only now getting to the point of testing the warheads" for such new U.S. weapons as MX and Trident II. For better or worse, no nuclear explosions moratorium could impede these weapons. Their warhead designs have already been tested. Likewise, the "Midgetman" ICBM, due for deployment in 1992, will use the same Mark-21 re-entry vehicle as the MX, and could just as easily use the same W-87 nuclear warhead.

A test ban would, however, prevent development of the H-bomb pumped X-ray laser, directed plasma weapons and other more "usable" and therefore more dangerous weapons that both sides would be better off without.

The alleged need to continue testing to maintain the reliability of the

nuclear stockpile—and so the integrity of the U.S. nuclear deterrent—was addressed in a 14 May 1985 letter to the Congress signed by eight renowned nuclear weapons experts. "Continued nuclear testing is not necessary in order to insure the reliability of the nuclear weapons in our stockpile," wrote the letter's signatories, who included Hans Bethe, Norris Bradbury, Richard Garwin and George Rathjens. "In no case was the discovery of a reliability problem dependent on a nuclear test and in no case would it have been necessary to conduct a nuclear test to remedy the problem."

Over a long period of time there would likely be a subtle but significant decrease in confidence in overall reliability of the nuclear stockpile. This would affect the very high level of stockpile confidence required for a nation contemplating a "first strike" strategy. The lesser degree of confidence required for retaliation against attack, however, would not be significantly affected.

Cheating

Another concern about joining a test moratorium is that the Soviet Union might test surreptitiously while the U.S. adheres to the moratorium.

There are already more than 1,000 seismographic stations operating worldwide to detect underground nuclear explosions. The U.S. Atomic Energy Detection System, which would enable the U.S. to verify that

the Soviets do not cheat on the moratorium, is a global system with operations in more than 35 countries, many of them bordering on the Soviet Union.

"Seismological techniques for identifying underground weapons tests are highly reliable," seismologist Lynn Sykes, who was a member of the U.S. delegation that negotiated the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty, reported to Congress this year. "Norwegian seismologists using data from the NORSAR seismic array have shown that high frequency waves are commonly detected from explosions of 1 kiloton or smaller from several parts of the U.S.S.R. Those effects were seen at a distance of several thousands of miles from the explosions."

Of course, no moratorium would be as verifiable as a negotiated Comprehensive Test Ban, which would establish such verification measures as data exchanges, remote monitoring

Two Important Moratoria

"To make clear our good faith and solemn convictions on the matter, I now declare that the United States does not propose to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere so long as other states do not do so. We will not be the first to resume."

President John F. Kennedy
10 June 1963

"[T]he Soviet Union has decided to stop unilaterally any nuclear explosions starting August 6 this year.... Our moratorium is proclaimed until January 1, 1986. It will remain in effect, however, as long as the United States, on its part, refrains from conducting nuclear explosions."

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev
29 July 1985

stations, and voluntary on-site inspections. But a moratorium, being of limited duration, would also not generate rational motives for cheating. The risk of suffering international censure by getting caught abrogating a voluntary moratorium while negotiating a treaty would far outweigh the short term benefits of violating the moratorium.

Proliferation Review

U.S. failure to seize this opportunity could have serious ramifications for the future spread of nuclear weaponry. According to Article VI of the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), "Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date."

Obviously, little progress has been made towards this goal. The other 125 signatories of the treaty have grown increasingly unhappy with the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. for continuing their arms-building "vertical" proliferation while seeking to stem "horizontal" proliferation to other countries. Every five years an NPT Review Conference is held. U.S. and Soviet failure to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was severely criticized by other nations at both the 1975 and 1980 NPT Review Conferences.

U.S. refusal to join in a test moratorium and CTBT negotiations

"Concentrate on This as a First Step"

"In my opinion, the initial most effective and easily defined step in this direction [toward arms limitation] is a verifiable ban on all testing of nuclear weapons—a comprehensive test ban. It is a source of frustration to me that so many ardent and well-meaning proponents of arms limitation do not concentrate on this as a first step, but rather lend their efforts to objectives that will require very laborious effort toward much better definition and which should more logically follow as succeeding steps in a longer time scale."

Glenn T. Seaborg, Former Chairman
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission
16 July 1985

could make the third Review Conference this September very unpleasant for the U.S. delegation. "At the 1980 Review Conference," Sen. Charles Mathias (R-Md.) noted during a 30 July Senate debate on the test moratorium, "the nonaligned Third World nations called for an immediate moratorium on nuclear weapons testing. Not only did the Soviet Union and the United States ignore that plea, but two years later the United States withdrew from the Comprehensive Test Ban negotiations. That decision could well make the United States the focus of international anger at the upcoming conference."

Far more serious than precipitating an international public relations disaster, U.S. inaction on the nuclear testing issue could endanger a non-proliferation regime that has served world peace so well.

"It would be no exaggeration that the entire NPT regime might be in a great jeopardy unless the Article VI obligation to pursue the negotiations on nuclear disarmament is truly implemented sincerely and in good faith," the Japanese Ambassador to the U.N. Disarmament Commission, Ryukichi Imai, noted last year. "Should there be a serious deterioration in the basic credibility of the NPT regime, we would simultaneously lose the so-far effectively functioning system of horizontal non-proliferation."

Simply Propaganda?

One near-unanimous assertion made by U.S. officials and commentators is that the Soviet moratorium is no more than a hollow propaganda ploy, and thus has no substantive merit. If, however, the Soviet moratorium—and accompanying offer to the U.S. to follow suit—is merely a public relations effort, summary rejection of the offer by the U.S. government guarantees that the U.S.S.R. reaps maximum propaganda benefits.

The U.S. position assures the Soviets a no-lose outcome. If the U.S. continues to refuse to initiate a moratorium

of its own, and to reject resumption of negotiations on a Comprehensive Test Ban, the Soviet Union emerges from its moratorium as the more "peace-loving" nation. If the U.S. does join in the moratorium and renewed test ban talks, then the U.S.S.R. achieves the end it has claimed for years it seeks: completion of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Should the Soviet Union, in fact, be insincere about seeking that goal, the best means of establishing the truth is to resume negotiations. In Comprehensive Test Ban talks conducted among the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and the U.K. between 1977 and 1980, it should be noted, significant progress was made toward an effective treaty.

If the U.S. government truly believes the moratorium is a propaganda ploy, it should simply call the Soviet "bluff." A mutual halt to nuclear weapons testing will not significantly affect the national security of either nation. But a moratorium followed by successful Comprehensive Test Ban negotiations will immeasurably increase the security of both nations—and the rest of world.

Both in terms of international public relations and national security the U.S. has everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by joining in a moratorium that leads to the end of nuclear explosions.

"An Opportunity that Ought to Be Seized Upon"

"I would hope that the Administration would reassess its position with respect to the Soviet proposal for a moratorium on all nuclear testing. We should not turn down the Soviet offer outright simply because it is deemed to be political posturing on either side, or because it is a difficult issue.

"The truth of the matter is that this is an opportunity that ought to be seized upon seriously. We have been on record for a long time in support of a renegotiated Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty with proper verification. Here is an opportunity to see if we can act positively to stop the escalation which seems to be before us and to move toward a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

"It would be extremely useful, it seems to me, if the Congress would go on record in support of the Administration's offer and also in support of the Soviet offer for a mutual moratorium or nuclear treaty. These efforts would move us toward the suspension of all nuclear testing."

Rep. Dante B. Fascell, Chairman
House Foreign Affairs Committee
30 July 1985

A First Step

Finally, the idea has gained currency that progress in the Geneva arms limitation talks and a nuclear testing ban are mutually exclusive, that the Soviet moratorium is somehow inconsistent with "real" arms control. "Only if talks fail," said the *Washington Post* in a 1 August editorial, "would a testing ban be worth considering."

There are a wealth of items on the arms control agenda today—all of them important. But the single most important and achievable goal today is the cessation of nuclear weapons explosions. Far from precluding agreements in other areas of concern, a bilateral nuclear testing moratorium followed by a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty could pave the way for further agreements.

This is exactly what John F. Kennedy had in mind when he declared the U.S. atmospheric testing moratorium in 1963. "Such a declaration is no substitute for a formal binding treaty, but I hope it will help us achieve one," President Kennedy said. "Nor would such a treaty be a substitute for disarmament, but I hope it will help us achieve it."

Twenty-two years later this hope is still alive. We owe it to ourselves and posterity not to let cynicism and willful ignorance kill that hope.

DOCUMENTATION:

"Nuclear Testing is Indispensable to Nuclear Weapon Development"

The excerpted correspondence reprinted here, between the Center for Defense Information and the Administration, predates the Soviet test moratorium announcement. It contains, however, the clearest and most current enunciation of the Administration's stance on a nuclear test ban.

17 June 1985 letter to CDI from Frank Gaffney, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Nuclear Forces and Arms Control Policy:

Thank you for your letter of April 23, 1985 to President Reagan concerning an early moratorium on nuclear testing. . . . As you know, the United States Government has consistently rejected recent Soviet proposals for such a moratorium. A cessation of nuclear testing at this time would not be in the best interests of the United States.

As it has for the last four decades, the security of the United States and its allies today depends upon a credible nuclear deterrent. Nuclear testing assures the credibility of this deterrent. . . . More specifically, nuclear testing is indispensable to nuclear weapon development and the maintenance of weapon reliability. . . . In short, so long as we are obliged to rely on retaliatory nuclear capabilities to safeguard deterrence, nuclear testing and a strong deterrent posture will remain inseparable. Consequently, even if verification were not a concern, under present circumstances, we would be unable to agree to a moratorium on nuclear testing.

That said, it is also true that very real uncertainties exist in our ability to verify with high confidence a moratorium on nuclear testing. Where such uncertainties exist, we must be especially mindful of two realities: first, the expanding pattern of Soviet non-compliance with existing arms control obligations and political commitments, including violations of the Limited Test Ban Treaty and likely violations of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty; second, and of particular relevance to your proposal, our previous experience with the 1958-61 moratorium on nuclear testing. . . .

[Y]ou will recall that the Soviet Union used the 1958-61 moratorium to conceal preparations for the world's largest, most extensive and best planned search for improved nuclear weapon technology. Taking the United States completely by surprise, the Soviets broke the moratorium and the then-ongoing negotiations for a nuclear test ban. Within two days of announcing its intention to do so, the Soviet Union resumed nuclear testing and by year's end had conducted over 40 highly significant developmental and weapons effects tests. In contrast, although the United States was able to respond symbolically within a few days, it was well over a year before a developmental test of any significance could be conducted. . . .

In a subsequent assessment of the damage done to U.S. national security, Congressional hearings revealed that the Soviet breakout and subsequent test series allowed them to advance significantly from a position well behind the United States to one of rough parity in the area of nuclear technology, and well ahead of the United States in the area of weapons effects technology. . . .

President Kennedy's judgment about an unverifiable moratorium is as true today as it was in 1962 when he stated, "We know now enough about broken negotiations, secret preparations, and the advantages gained from a long test series never to offer again an uninspected moratorium. . . ."

With this experience, it should be hardly surprising that—quite apart from the national security issues which argue against a moratorium on nuclear testing at this time—the United States Government considers such a proposal with its unavoidable opportunities for ambiguities, if not violations, for covert preparations for unilateral Soviet breakout to be ill-advised and contrary to our security and that of our allies. . . .

26 July 1985 letter from the Center for Defense Information to President Ronald Reagan:

We have written to you twice recommending a Simultaneous Test Ban on nuclear testing by the United States and the Soviet Union. We have received two replies on your behalf. In both letters the message is clear that the United States intends to continue testing in support of our nuclear modernization program. . . .

For the record, we wish to provide accurate information with the sincere desire that the facts be brought to your attention as Commander-in-Chief so that you may consider the merits of a nuclear test ban on the basis of fact, not myth and misrepresentation. Because Mr. Gaffney was the last respondent on 17 June 1985, it is appropriate to address his assertions, point by point.

"Nuclear testing and a strong deterrent posture will remain inseparable."

This assertion does not comport with the obvious facts. First, the U.S. now has approximately 11,500 strategic warheads available to attack the U.S.S.R., only a small portion of which are needed to provide the assured capability to destroy the Soviet Union. These warheads have been meticulously designed and thoroughly tested for safety and reliability. . . . If we never built nor tested another nuclear weapon, we would retain the clear and certain capability to annihilate the Soviet Union well into the 21st century. If that certainty will not deter a Soviet attack on the U.S., nothing will.

Second, the claim that deterrence depends on continued U.S. testing ignores the effects of an end to Soviet testing on approximately 9,000 strategic warheads in the Soviet stockpile. Even if over time there might be some marginal loss in U.S. weapon efficiency and reliability, the effects would be the same for Soviet weapons. . . . Furthermore, any loss of confidence in weapon performance would be most significant with respect to first strike strategies, not in the adequacy of the retaliatory deterrent. Since the U.S. reportedly does not contemplate a first strike strategy, any loss of confidence in the effectiveness of a preemptive strike would benefit the U.S. and strengthen nuclear deterrence.

"The Soviets are violating the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) and may be violating the Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT)."

The only U.S. allegation of a Soviet violation of the LTBT in 22 years is that some radioactive material escaped from the Soviet Union after certain tests. It is impossible to conclude that such events were willful or that the Soviets were attempting to evade any treaty provision. . . . According to the DOE, radioactive material has escaped the limits of our Nevada test grounds on 136 occasions. . . . Both sides have violated the letter of the LTBT in this respect, but certainly neither side has done so deliberately nor achieved any advantage in the process.

Similarly, allegations of "likely violations of the TTBT" are wholly misleading and fly in the face of the language of the treaty itself. The U.S. agreed formally with the Soviets that there are technical uncertainties associated with predicting in advance the precise yield of nuclear weapons tests and that occasional indications of explosions larger than 150 kilotons would not constitute a violation of the treaty. Furthermore, we agreed to certain measures to improve our mutual ability to

monitor compliance with the TTBT; but, because of U.S. refusal to ratify the treaty these measures have not been implemented. . . . In fact, some scientists at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory have concluded that there is no convincing evidence that the Soviets have violated the TTBT. . . .

"The Soviets broke the 1958-1961 nuclear test moratorium."

There was no moratorium to break in 1961. In December 1959, President Eisenhower formally notified the Soviets, "... we consider ourselves free to resume nuclear weapons testing," thus ending the moratorium. While he promised to provide notification of any U.S. intention to resume testing, the Soviets made no such promise in their response. Their only commitment was not to resume testing so long as "the Western Powers" did not test. France, of course, commenced testing in February 1960. Thus, the Soviets were neither legally nor ethically committed to refrain from testing or to provide advance notice of their plans to resume testing. . . .

"Because of the surprise Soviet resumption of testing, it was more than a year before the United States could conduct a developmental test of any significance."

For this statement to be true, one would have to believe that the United States (according to DOE's own accounting) exploded 83 nuclear devices between September 1961 and September 1962 for symbolic purposes, deriving no significant developmental information in the process. . . . The truth is that although some initial tests were hurried and not fully instrumented, they all yielded useful information, including the first test conducted on September 15, 1961, only 14 days after the first Soviet test. A device intended for use as a guided missile warhead, designed to yield 2 kilotons, actually produced 6 kilotons. It is impossible to ignore the fact that this information was highly significant in our efforts to develop small nuclear weapons for tactical uses. . . .

Despite U.S. political indecision and delay, on 25 April 1962, less than 8 months after the first Soviet test, the United States commenced Operation DOMINIC, an intensive series of 40 nuclear tests which increased the U.S. lead in nuclear testing, numerically and qualitatively. We, of course, have never tested, nor wanted to test, weapons as large as the Soviets were testing in 1961-62.

"The Soviets achieved superiority in weapons effects technology as a result of the test moratorium and their post moratorium test program."

This assertion is entirely without foundation. As Dr. Glenn Seaborg, then Director of the Atomic Energy Commission, stated on October 29, 1961, U.S. scientists were busy throughout the moratorium improving the quality of U.S. weapons based on the results of the final pre-moratorium HARDTACK test series. . . .

The indisputable truth on who came out ahead in the 1961-1963 post-moratorium test series is evident on the scoreboard. According to DOE reports, from 1 September 1961 to the end of 1962, the U.S. conducted 108 nuclear tests while the Soviets conducted 71 tests. In 1963 the Soviets conducted no tests while the U.S. conducted another 27 tests before announcing a moratorium on atmospheric testing on the 10th of June 1963. Thus, between the resumption of testing in 1961 and the Limited Test Ban of August 1963 (23 months), the U.S. conducted twice as many tests as the Soviet Union. . . .

"President John F. Kennedy was opposed to an unverifiable moratorium."

[T]his allegation is typical of the specious and misleading rationales offered to justify continued U.S. nuclear testing.

Surely Mr. Gaffney is aware that it was President Kennedy who announced a U.S. moratorium on atmospheric testing on June 10, 1963, and stated that the U.S. would not be the first to resume testing; and that this moratorium was an important step toward the Limited Test Ban Treaty signed just 55 days later. Why offer the words of President Kennedy in opposition to a test moratorium when he is justly admired for his leadership in using a moratorium to achieve an important arms control agreement?

. . . We already understand the stated reason for continued U.S. testing. The U.S. seems determined to conduct the tests necessary to develop new, more effective nuclear weapons. Why is it impossible to recognize that continued nuclear testing will also permit the Soviet Union to develop new and more effective weapons? We should both stop testing now so that neither can develop the new weapons which will make each side less safe. . . .

We are convinced that careful consideration of the facts supports the conclusion that a Simultaneous Test Ban leading to a formal Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is the first essential step to reduce the risk of nuclear war. Your leadership is urgently needed to turn the world away from the nuclear abyss which lies ahead.

Soviet Nuclear Test Moratorium

Following are highlights of the statement by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, delivered 29 July 1985:

"It is our conviction that ending all tests of nuclear weapons would become a major contribution to consolidating strategic stability and peace on earth. It is no secret that new, ever more perilous kinds and types of weapons of mass annihilation are developed and perfected in the course of such tests.

"In the interests of creating favourable conditions for concluding an international treaty on a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon tests, the USSR repeatedly proposed that nuclear states agree on a moratorium on any nuclear blasts, starting from a mutually agreed-upon date. Regrettably, it has not yet been possible to make this important step.

"Striving to facilitate the termination of the dangerous competition in building up nuclear arsenals and wishing to set a good example, the Soviet Union has decided to stop unilaterally any nuclear explosions starting from August 6 this year. We call on the government of the United States to stop, starting from this date which is observed worldwide as the day of the Hiroshima tragedy, its nuclear explosions. Our moratorium is proclaimed till January 1, 1986. It will remain in effect, however, as long as the United States, on its part, refrains from conducting nuclear explosions.

"Undoubtedly, a mutual moratorium by the U.S.S.R. and the United States on any nuclear blasts would be a good example also for other states possessing nuclear weapons.

"The Soviet Union expects that the United States will give a positive response to this initiative and stop its nuclear explosions.

"This would meet the aspirations and hopes of all peoples."

Conclusions

- The test moratorium will not afford the Soviet Union any military advantage, while a mutual test moratorium and successful CTBT negotiations would enhance the security of both nations—and the rest of the world.
- U.S. failure to take advantage of the window of opportunity opened by the nuclear testing moratorium would be a public relations disaster that could impede U.S. diplomacy in other crucial areas.
- A testing moratorium can be adequately verified; negotiation of a formal CTBT would yield even better verification guarantees.
- The U.S. should initiate a moratorium on nuclear explosions by 1 January 1986 before this window of opportunity to ban all nuclear testing slams shut.

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Nuclear

April 23, 1985

Alleg vote 49
AL
called 5/1/85

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 5th Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Alexander Schindler:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a "statement of faith" on Star Wars. By May 7, we hope to secure signatures from twenty or more prominent members of the U.S. religious community, together with several scientists and leaders of national organizations. We plan to release this statement at a press conference at the Capitol in Washington, DC on or soon after May 8, at the time when Congress will be considering the administration's request for \$3.7 billion in Star Wars research and development funds for FY 1986.

We hope you will read the statement carefully and consider adding your signature. In addition to myself, Rev. William Sloane Coffin and Dr. Everett Mendelsohn of Harvard University have already agreed to sign.

You will note that we take issue with claims that Star Wars can protect the civilian population, that it will render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete," and that it would "threaten no one." We stress the fact that Star Wars testing and deployment would violate the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, that it would place final decisions about human survival in the electronic circuitry of computers, and that the entire system might well cost as much as one trillion dollars over the next twenty years.

We call upon the Congress to refuse to fund the massive research program into Star Wars which the President has requested. We also urge the President to refrain from testing the new anti-satellite weapon (ASAT) and conclude an agreement with the Soviet Union to ban all flight tests of such weapons. We ask the President or Congress to initiate a moratorium on all testing of nuclear warheads and challenge the Soviet Union to reciprocate, noting that such steps should lead to the conclusion of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Finally, we call for a "negotiator's pause" in the testing and deployment of new nuclear missiles and warheads during the duration of the Geneva talks.

In addition to this statement, we are preparing a shorter version which could be used as a newspaper advertisement by local organizations. Efforts to place the ad, as well as other forms of distribution of the longer statement which we would undertake, should lead to the collection of many more

signatures. We hope that you would approve of the use of your signature on the ad as well. We would send you a copy of the ad first.

We do hope that you will agree to sign this important statement. Please contact my office if you are willing to do so. This project is being implemented by one of our Disarmament Coordinators, Bruce Birchard, and he will give you a call about this soon.

Sincerely,

Asia Bennett

Asia Bennett

American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA, 19102
Contact: Bruce Birchard, 215-241-7018

April 19, 1985

WE HAVE NO FAITH IN STAR WARS

We who sign this appeal are people of faith--but we have no faith at all in the "Strategic Defense Initiative," generally known as "Star Wars." While the term "Star Wars" is humorous, the reality is not. We must be faithful in order to end the arms race and avert nuclear war, but our faith must be directed through other, life-affirming channels.

Some of its supporters insist that Star Wars presents a moral alternative to an ever-escalating arms race. In reality, this plan would lead to the material and spiritual impoverishment of our people, generate an enormous new arms race in both offensive and defensive weapons, further destabilize an already risky strategic situation, and thus increase the likelihood of nuclear war.

We must disagree with the principal premises underlying the three moral arguments made in support of Star Wars.

STAR WARS CANNOT PROTECT THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

In his March 23, 1983, speech the President asked: "But what if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant U.S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack, that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies?"

Almost all experts agree that the weapons systems envisioned as part of Star Wars, even under the most optimistic assumptions, could not possibly provide an assured defense for the civilian population. Such a defense would have to be almost perfect, for even a few dozen nuclear warheads would destroy our population centers and our economy, perhaps even creating a "nuclear winter." It would also have to work perfectly the first time, despite the fact that it could never be tested under remotely realistic conditions.

Recognizing this to be true, the backers of Star Wars have now shifted to an old argument: that such a defensive system would protect our land-based missiles and bombers. This is the same argument that was used in the early 1970's in favor of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) system, and wisely rejected at that time. We unequivocally reject any strategy involving the protection of nuclear missiles while leaving our people exposed.

STAR WARS WOULD LEAD TO A MASSIVE ARMS BUILD-UP

In his March 23 speech, the President said: "I call upon the scientific community who gave us nuclear weapons to turn their great talents to the cause of mankind and world peace: to give us the means of rendering these nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete."

Star Wars will not make nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." In

human decision-making in a crisis. Placing our final destiny in the hands of computers is a particularly onerous form of idolatry.

* BARGAINING CHIPS NEVER DIE

Another argument made in favor of Star Wars is that it gives the United States leverage over the Soviet Union for concessions in arms control talks, and is thus morally justifiable regardless of its own merits. Once a few tens of billions of dollars have been invested in Star Wars, however, it will be nearly impossible to stop. Moreover, as development and deployment proceed, the other side always seems to "catch up" by developing a similar system as well as deploying weapons capable of countering the original system.

* STAR WARS COULD COST AS MUCH AS ONE TRILLION DOLLARS

Congress must consider what it would cost to build this system of space-based weapons. The President estimates that research and development alone over the next five years will cost 30 billion dollars. Yet \$30 billion would be only the beginning - the "camel's nose under the tent". Dr. Robert Cooper, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, has estimated acquisition costs for the Star Wars system to be in the range of \$200 to \$300 billion dollars. Another Pentagon estimate approaches \$500 billion. These estimates do not include funds for placing the system in orbit (requiring dozens if not hundreds of space shuttle trips) and continued operation and maintenance costs (estimated at \$50 billion per year). Several experts, including former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, have testified that the costs over the next twenty years could reach one trillion dollars.

One trillion dollars (\$1,000,000,000,000) amounts to \$250 for every man, woman and child living on this earth--over half of whom live on incomes of less than \$500 per year. One trillion dollars is more than the total debt of \$810 billion currently borne by all developing countries in the world--a debt which cripples economic growth in these countries and threatens to wreak havoc in the world economy. Spending such a sum on further refinements in the technology of death and destruction would be a terrible wrong.

One tenth of this one trillion dollars could be spent over the next twenty years to help the world's poor acquire the means to be able to obtain adequate food, shelter and basic health care for their families. Tens of millions of parents would not have to watch their children die of malnutrition, cold, and easily preventable or cureable illnesses. Millions of unemployed people could find work. Our air, water and earth, which nourish us all, could be restored to a less polluted state.

WE STAND AT A TURNING POINT

The world is in crisis. The threat of nuclear holocaust is real. The old solution--to arm ourselves ever more heavily--will not work. Over the past forty years, the development of more and more destructive weapons systems has made us progressively less secure, not more so.

There is no "quick fix" to the nuclear dilemma, no magic technological answer. Our crisis has many causes, including the competition with the Soviet Union, the desire of both superpowers to exert control over much of the

proliferation of nuclear weapons. WE THEREFORE URGE THAT THE PRESIDENT OR CONGRESS INITIATE A MORATORIUM ON ALL TESTING OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS AND CHALLENGE THE SOVIET UNION TO RECIPROCATATE. Such an initiative should lead to the conclusion of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, just as President Kennedy's initiative to halt atmospheric testing of nuclear warheads in 1962 led to the conclusion of the Limited Test Ban Treaty the following year. Negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty were suspended by the Reagan administration in 1981, despite the fact that negotiators had reported that all major obstacles to an agreement had been solved.

FINALLY, IN A TRUE EFFORT TO STOP THE ARMS RACE, WE URGE THE PRESIDENT TO INITIATE A "NEGOTIATORS' PAUSE" IN THE TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW NUCLEAR MISSILES FOR THE DURATION OF THE GENEVA TALKS. Experts agree that the Soviet Union and the United States are essentially equal in any over-all assessment of nuclear forces. If the arms build-up continues to escalate during years of talking in Geneva, the primary result will be a much less stable, more heavily armed world. Therefore, we urge the United States and the Soviet Union to agree to a moratorium on further testing and deployment of new nuclear missiles for the duration of the negotiations. Such a moratorium would be verifiable by existing "national technical means." It would also give negotiators an opportunity to work out ways of permanently reducing the nuclear threat and give weight to their claims that this is indeed what they seek.

This is the moral course. This is the course we should stay, in which we must place and increase our faith. Let us not curse our children and their children for generations to come by choosing the way of death. Let us heed the call in Deuteronomy 30:19:

I CALL HEAVEN AND EARTH TO WITNESS AGAINST YOU THIS DAY, THAT I HAVE SET BEFORE YOU LIFE AND DEATH, BLESSING AND CURSE: THEREFORE CHOOSE LIFE, THAT YOU AND YOUR DESCENDANTS MAY LIVE.

Nuclear

February 12, 1985

Mr. Alvin J. Karshere
31 Woods Grove Road
Westport, CT 06880

Dear Al:

It was good to learn of the formation of a Westport Weston Wilton Nuclear Arms Forum. This is an important development for the communities and I express my appreciation to you and those with whom you have undertaken to create this Forum.

Thank you, too, for your invitation to me to serve on the Steering Committee. It has long been my policy to avoid joining organizations or enterprises in name only. Once I add my name I do want to be involved. And, of course, this presents a difficulty for my time is very limited and my travel schedule is extremely heavy. So, I am in the predicament of wanting to add my name to this most worthy undertaking even while knowing that there will be very little opportunity for me to attend meetings and to serve the group.

If you feel that there will be value in having my name appear as a member of the Steering Committee I will, of course, give permission to add my name but at the same time underscoring the fact that I will not be able to give much - or any - time to this cause. I also note that if an occasion arises when I find I can be available to be of aid I will certainly want to do so.

You note that you will be calling the week of February 17 and I will be out-of-the country at that time. But I do repeat, if you feel there is worth in placing my name on the Steering Committee roster please feel free to do so.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

ALVIN J. KARCHER
31 WOODS GROVE ROAD
WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT 06880

2/9

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

Mary Jenkins, Jack Cowden, Kay and Ed See, my wife Ginny and I and some others in the Westport area are organizing a Nuclear Arms Forum. I have enclosed a statement of purpose of the organization. We are following the example of very successful similar organizations in Greenwich and New Canaan.

We are now organizing a Steering Committee who will give general guidance to a working board. The steering committee will give general guidance to the working board, but will meet no more than once a year. Would you be willing to join the Steering Committee?

I have written to you at the suggestion of Rabbi Orkand who is a member of the Steering Committee. I will call you during the week of the seventeenth to answer any questions you may have.

Yours Truly
Al Karcher

THE WESTPORT WESTON WILTON

NUCLEAR ARMS FORUM

The US and the USSR have been attempting to control nuclear arms for at least fifteen years. Despite those efforts the situation has grown more unstable and the total number of strategic war heads in the arsenals of both countries has increased more than three times. The leaders of both countries recognize the danger but have not been able to prevent its development.

The NUCLEAR ARMS FORUM promotes education and discussion of the risks inherent in nuclear weapons and the possible ways arms control can reduce those risks. A principal activity of the FORUM is to organize meetings where these subjects can be discussed.

The FORUM is nonpartisan. It acts through a Steering Committee of leading citizens of the community. People identified with both political parties and many of the areas religious and civic organizations are active in the Steering Committee.

The FORUM is educational not political. The hope of the FORUM is that with increased understanding, citizens will make their individual viewpoints known to the President and to our representatives in the Congress.

1/31/85

Nuclear

December 23, 1983

Dr. William Hermanns
Kingscote Gardens
586 Lagunita Drive, Apt. 36
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Dr. Hermanns:

It was good hearing from you. I appreciate your having shared with me your fascinating paper, "Einstein's Legacy." The Einstein-Hermanns Foundation is a very impressive undertaking and one which is of great importance to the world community.

Unfortunately, while the Union of American Hebrew Congregations is involved in programs of education in regard to the threat of a nuclear holocaust, we are not in a position to take over the leadership of a consortium such as your newly established Foundation. It is a most worthy undertaking but we simply cannot undertake a leadership role at this time.

I regret that my response must be so negative for your program is indeed worthy. However, as an organization whose major purpose is to serve our synagogues in areas of Jewish religious life, education in regard to a nuclear arms is but one area of concern, we simply must use great caution and not undertake more programs than we are able to do well and with proper and sufficient leadership.

I hope you understand our situation and I do express my warm good wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

William Hermanns, PhD, Prof. em.
The Einstein-Hermanns Foundation

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WILLIAM HERMANNNS, PhD, Prof.em.
Kingscote Gardens
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December 9, 1983

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 5th Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

The Director of the Stanford University Hillel, Rabbi Ari Cartun, asked me to send you the enclosed "Einstein's Legacy", which I have written to show youth the means to avoid the Nuclear Apocalypse, with the request to have you, or one of your influential acquaintances to help me with my newly established Einstein-Hermanns Foundation. Since I am eighty-eight years old, I would like to hand over the leadership to a consortium of people who share Einstein's vision.

At any time I will pay a personal visit to you or to an interesting circle.

Shalom,

William Hermanns.
William Hermanns

knh:WH

[Handwritten signature]

*Alex The old guy
can write & the
Einstein paper is
really interesting.
But he's already
88 and by the time
anything will come of this,
you'll be too old!
M*

T H E E I N S T E I N - H E R M A N N S F O U N D A T I O N

EINSTEIN'S LEGACY

On November 20, 1983 in the International Student House of Stanford University, together with students from around the world, including Africans and Asians, I saw the television film *The Day After*, whose horror reflected the destruction of Hiroshima, only globally magnified. This film with its graphic despair was afterwards discussed by six prominent Americans, among them Henry Kissinger who said that all the ponderings how to meet the Russian threat are not so important as to analyze the motivations of hate that had invaded the slavish mass mind. Many years ago Einstein emphasized that no analysis of an enemy, be it a religion or a nation, has a beneficial result unless the analyst himself has stripped his ego from his intellect and given himself a "new heart" by his conscience. He would discover that his fundamental unity with the universe is shared by the enemy.

Not long before his death Einstein said to me in Princeton that the apocalypse, in the form of a nuclear war, is approaching, and only one-fourth of the world's population could survive this holocaust. They would then live in caves, and when the fourth world war comes, they will fight it out with clubs. Now, a generation later, Prof. Paul Ehrlich told us in Stanford University: "In a nuclear war those who are not vaporized,

cremated, disemboweled, mashed, or pulped by the nuclear blasts themselves will die slow, agonizing deaths from thirst, starvation, freezing, choking in the smog, and radiation sickness--in the dark." Evgeny Velikhov, Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Scientists, declared at the same time that the nuclear arms stockpile "must be destroyed before it kills the human race. The only conclusion here is that nuclear arms cannot be weapons of war or tools of politicians. They are suicide."

Precisely this: "Tools of politicians. They are suicide," had alarmed Einstein for many years, since, in spite of his warning, President Truman used the bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. At that time he, as he told me, shut himself away from the world for eight days, refusing to see anyone. He also remarked to me that if he had to live here again he would choose to be a shoemaker and not a scientist. He asked me in our last conversation to mobilize the youth of the world, the communist countries included, to form the World Youth Parliament and prepare them to detach themselves from traditional power politics and exclusive nationalism, racism and religious sectarianism. "We must change the heart of Man," Einstein insisted. "The orthodox religions have failed, as proven by the last two thousand years."

Einstein emphasized that he had chosen me to found the World Youth Parliament, since I had changed my own heart at the Battle of Verdun in 1916, the greatest and bloodiest battle in history, when I made the vow: "God, save me and I will serve You as long as I live." He encouraged me to translate my Verdun manuscript

into English (*The Holocaust--from a Survivor of Verdun*, Harper & Row, NY, 1972) and use it as a means to persuade the youth of the urgency of my mission. "I will not live to see the apocalypse," he said, "but you may, unless you have success in founding the World Youth Parliament, the only effective means, as I see it, for building a world government with members who have a new heart." The properties of the new heart, as Einstein stressed again and again, are based on the new scientific discoveries that Man is the reflection of the universe, that science cannot be separated from spiritual values: "Science without religion is lame; religion without science is blind." "It is easier to smash an atom than a prejudice."

Einstein's warning against traditional politicians had not only personal reasons -- he was labelled a communist under McCarthy -- but also an historical foundation. We both lived through the era of two politicians whose lives proved the interaction of consciousness and the physical world: Kaiser Wilhelm II and Adolf Hitler.

Kaiser Wilhelm II, who honored Einstein by appointing him Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin, had always been a lonely man, which was revealed to me during the First World War. When once he was sitting behind the front on a hospital bench alone, in spite of the many wounded soldiers and medical aides, no one sat next to him. What destroyed the inter-relatedness and oneness in the Kaiser? No doubt he suffered from a karmic endowment, manifested in one of his idols, Frederick the

Great, who was homosexual. Although the Kaiser had married and had seven children, his loneliness emphasized by his crippled left arm drove him to embrace General von Schlieffen's war plans in 1908 and to write six years later those meaningful words on the margin of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia: "Now or never!" The Kaiser, only listening and looking with the outward ear and eye, forbade his court preachers during the war to preach on the theme: Thou shalt not kill. The world was outside of him, and the sermons, to which I, a war volunteer, had to listen behind the front of Verdun, would always end with the words: "We go to battle for God, Kaiser and Fatherland."

The Kaiser's complex nature with his morbid desire to dictate war and peace and go down in history as Wilhelm the Great was, of course, inspired by his aristocratic officers. The commander of our battalion, a baron, told us during the inspection of our loamy uniforms after being relieved from the trenches for eight days, "You look like pigs, and, of course, you are pigs. Man begins with the aristocratic officer." General von Mudra harangued us on Christmas Day 1915 in the Argonne Forest that the shellholes filled with bones were our Christmas beds and the trees torn by shells were our Christmas trees.

May youth of future generations learn from this: Man includes in his own existence the universe. He is not only one with his surroundings but also with the subatomic creation, as well as with the infinite extension of the cosmos. His emotions

related to death may have karmic consequences in this life here and in lives to come. How I was influenced by German proverbs! Over the door of one of my elementary classrooms were written the words in Latin: "Sweet and becoming it is to die for one's country." The song we sang while marching into France began: "Victoriously we shall beat France, die as a brave hero!" And we youths in uniform were taught to chant: "We want to hate because we must hate; we want to hate because we know how to hate; we love together, we hate together, we hate together our archfoe England!"

If Man cannot separate his own existence from the world outside then certainly he cannot separate himself from his conscience, the voice of the Cosmic Law or God. When I, during the Battle of Verdun in 1916 was lying in a shellhole half-buried and surrounded by hecatombs of death, I established mental connections making me one with the universe by crying out: "God, save me and I will serve You as long as I live!" That moment I learned, at least subconsciously, that all the classification and summarization of what we observe in the physical world reflect the urge of Man to divide the world into subjects and objects, mind and matter, but there is no fathomable reality outside ourselves; we are both actors and spectators.

After I had learned about the oneness of creation from the Battle of Verdun, I was to learn from Hitler's "Thousand Year Reich" that the creation is expanding, that the formation of life can be an uphill as well as a downhill event and that true

understanding of what we are cannot be achieved by the rational mind. Hitler, like the Kaiser or anyone else, had karmic drives already revealed in his youth which betrayed abnormal tendencies in him a sexologist may call sadism. He was to witness as a child the abuse of his mother, also sexually, by his drunken father, a uniformed customs official. Moreover, the father was an illegitimate child of a maid who also had been employed in a Jewish household which was to cause Himmler to make an elaborate investigation -- for he coveted Hitler's position -- to prove that Hitler had Jewish blood in his veins, but to no avail. This blemish in his ancestry, which caused the father to change his name from Schicklgruber -- his mother's maiden name -- to Hitler, turned young Adolf into a psychopath. Watching him in the early twenties in Munich addressing the masses, I, as well as many other students, classified this man, with his rolling eyes, foaming mouth and theatrical gestures, as a successful manipulator of the mass mind, who by appealing for violent revenge for the lost war forebode the next war. Hitler was a typical prey of a child's first seven years. Soon German youth, including students, were marching again: "Today Germany belongs to us, tomorrow the world!"

When I happened to be the guest of Einstein in 1930 in Berlin, hundreds of youth in brownshirts with swastika insignia marched in the street below singing: "When Jewish blood spurts from our knives, then it goes twice as well." To protect Einstein's life I sneaked with him down the servants' stairs and

rushed to the police station--no protection. They were already nazified.

About Hitler's psychology I gained some insights from Albert Speer, whom I visited several times in Heidelberg after his release from Spandau Prison, where he had served twenty years for his war crimes. He, the former Armaments Minister of Hitler, revealed to me during long conversations that Hitler's foremost hatred was for German aristocracy, but he needed the generals, whose ancestors earned their titles of barons and counts through fighting wars for their emperors and kings through centuries. His second hate was the Catholic Church, but he needed an army bishop to bless several million Catholic soldiers marching into Poland to conquer land in the east. So Hitler, mass psychologist as he was, chose the Jews, the traditional enemy of the Christians, as the enemy of the Aryan race, declaring them to be subhuman, and gave the smouldering mass instinct an outlet on which to project their frustration and kill. Swastika-adorned students and Gestapo agents searched the houses to haul away manuscripts and books, among them the Jewish Bible, the writings of Einstein, Spinoza, Heine, Voltaire, Zola and my Verdun memoirs and radio transcript about my first conversation with Einstein. These were piled house-high in front of the University of Berlin to be burned, while Goebbels made the inquisition speech to thousands of students circling around the flames with swastika flags. Five years later, in 1938, hundreds of synagogues were

set aflame in most German towns, and again some years later six million Jews were gassed, among them over one million children.

One of the most terrifying features in the Hitler war was the enthusiastic response of the vast majority of the German Christians, Catholic and Protestant, to the blood-dripping march of their youth into Poland, Belgium, Holland and Norway. The German Reichs Chancellor Bruening, a prominent Catholic, told me in Harvard -- we both were refugees -- that the concentration camps were an ignominy to Christian conscience. The South German hierarchy urged each Catholic "to fulfil his duty fully and willingly and loyally" and "to devote your full efforts to the service of the Fatherland and the precious homeland." Two men of Protestant renown, Bishop Lillje and Reinhold Niebuhr, agreed that probably never before in history had nationalistic feelings such a deteriorating impact on the Church. The League for Human Rights, which Einstein and I supported, appealed in vain to the leading clergy of both Christian denominations to alarm their believers to the danger of Hitler being named Reichs Chancellor. The League's office was soon to be closed by the Gestapo and many fellow members were thrown into the concentration camps to die.

If in 1916 I had been driven into the Battle of Verdun to make a mental connection with unseen realities through my vow, so in March 1933 when I barely escaped a mob lynching as Hitler and Hindenburg passed by in their parade from Potsdam on the boulevard Unter den Linden, I made a second vow, this time to myself, not to rest until I had discovered what gives a group mind,

religious or political, the nefarious force throughout the history of mankind to obliterate individual conscience with its inherent law: "Thou shalt not murder."

After many years of observations, I have formulated what I may call the sociological law of group formation. *Any mass structure, political or religious, must conform to two principles: 1) Unite the members by using two or three slogans that the least and the last can understand. 2) Point at an outside power with the words, "There is your enemy." This strategy will gear the members to place their trust and security in the group, to the extreme of killing and dying for the group.*

The American group mind's ignorance of other cultures caused distrust among the Vietnamese yearning for peace and economic justice in their land, which in turn prevented the American soldiers from being able to distinguish between the avowed communist enemy and the frightened people in the towns and villages. In spite of all the military might of the greatest industrial nation on earth backing their efforts, the indiscriminate killing of "gooks" and the massacres of whole villages broke the morale of the Americans at home and on the front, as well as encouraged the Vietnamese to embrace the communist slogans of national unity, socialist brotherhood, and freedom from the landowners and capitalist exploiters. The Americans were seen as just another foreign colonializing power. The American group mind, with its centuries old pioneering spirit and immigrant melting-pot philosophy, made it difficult for individual Americans to adhere to their conscience. Many American veterans are now plagued by

their conscience with pictures of their crimes sanctioned by war. Also, in Vietnam, the law of the group mind was obeyed with simple slogans like "kill the gooks" and "make the world safe for democracy." Higher aspects of conscience are seldom included in the organized mass mind. Einstein said, "The majority of the ignorant is invincible and guaranteed for all time."

Einstein's message to me emphasized the importance of integrating the spiritual and the physical world. There is no purely objective universe, or as Einstein wrote, "I myself am a part of Nature."

Mankind is now in a bewildering impasse. Youth, not yet in the harness of the traditional group consciousness whipped by political or religious zeal, will more easily find a way out from this escalating violence represented in the 20-megaton bomb whose explosion has an initial temperature of 150 million °F, a temperature eight times higher than the center of the sun. The way out is the true understanding in which the rational mind plays a secondary role to conscience. Already Plotinus said in the third century:

See all things, not in the process of becoming, but in being, and see themselves in the other. Each being contains in itself the whole intelligible world. Therefore All is everywhere. Man as he now is has ceased to be the All. But when he ceases to be an individual, he raises himself again and penetrates the whole world.

In 1950 Einstein stated, "The foundation of morality should not be made dependent on myth nor tied to any authority lest,

doubt about the myth or about the legitimacy of the authority imperil the foundation of sound judgment and action."

In this century scholarly investigation of religious scriptures reveals that their accounts are fashioned to fit the authors' faith, which is always adapted to one's personal equation. This is especially true for the Christian New Testament, whose earliest writings date back to a generation after Jesus' death, and did not become canonical until the third century. These findings have produced "doubt about the myth" in the minds of many formerly unquestioning believers.

If a study of religious wars in history is not enough to undermine the legitimacy of religious authority, one has only to look in the newspapers of the past decade to read of the bloody disputes between the Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, the Hindus and Buddhists in Sri Lanka, the Moslems and Christians in Lebanon, the Buddhists and Catholics in Vietnam, the Moslems and Greek Orthodox in Cyprus, the Jews and Moslems in Israel, the Greek Orthodox and the Catholics in Yugoslavia, and the Hindus and Moslems in India.

Having lived now almost a century and having experienced two world wars, the continuing Cold War, including a dozen minor wars, and now approaching what Einstein calls the apocalypse, I should like to suggest to you youth who aspire to be leaders in the world to participate in the World Youth Parliament, thereby endorsing seven leading thoughts:

1. *In the beginning was the word and the word is Unfoldment.* It is established that human beings have lived many millions of years, and probably evolved from creatures beginning in the water. There is no identifiable cause and effect. It is impossible to draw dividing lines in nature between the microscopic/macroscopic, living/nonliving, and conscious/unconscious. Einstein remarked that the analysis of matter depends on the mind of the observer.

2. *The fundamental life process is relatedness and exchange. Nothing exists which is not alive.* What exists needs not only contact between its own kind but with everything that exists. The atoms in a human body have connections with the farthest living entities, the stars. If there were isolation, life would stop. The breath I breathe consists of about 10 sextillion (10^{22}) atoms and the earth's atmosphere can contain about 10 sextillion breaths, which means that each time I breathe I am drawing about one atom from each of the breaths in the atmosphere. With some four billion people each breathing twenty-thousand breaths a day, I breathe in each time about a million atoms breathed personally at sometime by any other person on Earth. There is an endless flow of living entities from one organism to another, from the interaction of subatomic particles to the interaction of galaxies.

3. *There is no discovery of truth with just the rational mind. There is no purely objective universe.* The consciousness of Man may claim, "My thoughts are based on ideals." The unconscious will claim, "My thoughts are based on interests of the three dimensional self

formed in the first seven years, as well as on one's karmic weight from the past."

4. *Every life form represents the cosmic whole. Disease is also a means to evolve to higher levels of understanding and compassion.*

Persons who work with the Cosmic Law move uphill, while those who work with the ego's power drives move downhill. In Genesis the serpent tells Eve to eat the forbidden fruit and become like God, an allegory for trusting in one's isolating ego. This is the first step to nuclear holocaust.

5. *Man's wholeness and therefore holiness is guaranteed by his intention -- Man has a free will -- to realize the unity of spirit and matter. There is no purely objective world. Every created substance, from the subatomic particle to the rock to the human breath to the leaf to the whale to the ocean to the sun, has a dynamic relation to the creative principle or God.*

6. *Every fundamental thought, if not related to allness, can become a tool of propaganda with disastrous consequences as the study of the New Testament reveals. Jesus was a teacher of wisdom and unconditional love, who was influenced by, if not a member of, the Essenes, a semi-monastic order preparing itself physically and spiritually for the imminent apocalyptic battle. The only record of Jesus in the Roman Law was that he was one of two thousand Jews who had died on a Roman cross for the alleged crime of political rebellion against Rome. Jesus belonged to the working class of rebellious Galilee, despised by the Jerusalemites who would ask,*

"What good can come out of Nazareth?" That he, like his father, was a carpenter and the oldest child of his mother Miriam, emphasizes all the more his genius to simplify one's relationship to God to that of a child trusting in his loving father. Since the Gospel of Mark is the earliest and probably the truest account of Jesus, the power of Jesus' intuition and unconditional love, using simple sentence construction, with the verb carrying the central thought, will insure him an eternal role to play in the human conscience. Jesus' teachings in the synagogues and on the land attracted thousands of Jewish workers to be his disciples.

A generation or two later two members of the higher class instigated a movement which was to obey the law of the group mind: Use slogans that every member can understand and point at an entity outside the group: "There is the enemy!" Luke, inspired by Paul, adds to the heritage of Jesus his own cultural values as an educated Greek doctor, portraying the Jews as enemies of the one true religion and elevating Jesus to the God-Man son of a virgin. Luke is the great example that interests and not ideals determine the actions of Man.

Many years ago Albert Schweitzer told me that the presentation of Jesus in the New Testament deals more with wishful thinking than with historical truth. "If you, Willi Hermanns, want to be religious, don't adjust your faith to theories, but come with me to Lambarene in Equatorial Africa, where I have built an hospital, and help me to treat the lepers." My

conscience told me that I should rather fulfil my promise to Einstein by helping avoid a third world war.

7. *The writing of the New Testament should serve as an example to youth to analyze the "personal equation" of the leaders of the group which one is tempted to join.* Without exception, all of Hitler's co-workers, Bormann, Speer, Hess, Himmler, Goebbels and Goering -- I happened to encounter them all -- embraced the ancient German proverb: "Pray to those higher than you, step on those lower than you." In the New Testament the Jews became the out-group for the Christian power structure. As history shows, there were many little Hitlers in the Church, from the Popes to the Holy Roman Emperor. If you, youth, would like to learn of the personal equation of religious leaders, study Ranke's history of the Popes, the book considered besides Nietzsche's works to be the greatest contribution to German literature in the last century. This does not mean that the Christian Church has no guiding values! She has fostered the growth of great spiritual leaders. Francis of Assisi remains a cosmic giant; he embraced the leper and called the sun and moon his brother and sister. And then the modern trend in the Church: Pope John XXIII fought the two-thousand-years group consciousness of the Catholic Church. Shortly before his death he said:

Today we are conscious, that for many centuries blindness covered our eyes, so that the beauty of Your chosen people was no longer to be seen and in their faces the features of our preferred brothers could no longer be recognized.

We understand that a mark of Cain stands written on our foreheads. During the centuries our brother Abel has lain in the blood that we shed or he has wept tears that we have caused, due to our forgetting Your love.

Forgive us the curse which we falsely fastened on their name Jew. Forgive us, that we nailed You in their flesh for the second time on the cross. Because we knew not what we did...

This is an evolutionary admission that a religious group mind can be guilty of crimes and needs to publicly confess them. Some 250 million Jews were slaughtered over the last two thousand years. And Hitler, who sang in the children's choir and was an altarboy, boasted to his close friends, among them Speer, "I learned my anti-Semitism from the Church."

The change of the heart of Man is not achieved by going to church. Solemn ceremonies unfolded on the altar, sermons, and statements of beliefs have not succeeded to tame the beast in Man. When I asked German youth, "Why do you sing: 'When Jewish blood spurts from our knives, then things go twice as well.'? Wasn't Jesus a Jew?" I was answered, "Hitler is our God." On the altar of a German Christian Church, I saw Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* lying beside the Bible. The new heart of Man, which Einstein demands for the security of the future, can only be created through Man's awareness of his true self and not only through participation in ritual. Raymond of Aguilers describes the capture of Jerusalem by the Christian Crusaders in 1099: "They rode in blood up to the knees and the bits of the horses by the just and wonderful judgement of God."

In 1950 when I wanted to address the students of the University of Istanbul, I was told that they would not listen to Christian ethics. The Crusaders, after hearing Mass in the morning, killed the males, raped the women, chased the Jews with their children into the synagogues and burned them. When at the Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt in 1962 I asked one of the defendants whether he had no compunction to gas a million children, he answered, "I went to church, made confessions and was forgiven. I was only obeying orders." When I presented the same question to Dr. Lucas, the medical examiner on the ramp of the Auschwitz train station who picked out the healthy from those to be sent directly to the gas chamber, he replied, "I am a believing Lutheran and at home read the Bible every night with my two daughters."

Youth of the world, accept Einstein's legacy if you want to stop the pernicious slogan of the group mind: "I am better than you, and therefore you are my enemy," a slogan fed by Man's personal equation: "I am endowed with causal and independent qualities to lead my exclusive life." There is no objective world unaffected by human consciousness. What is eternal is the Cosmic Law, which can only be deciphered by Man's conscience. When Einstein said, "We must change the heart in order to understand creation," he rejected the three-dimensional Man. We are not influenced by outside forces according to cause and effect described by the rational mind. We must create images to establish mental connections. "You must," said Einstein to me, "learn to subordinate intellect to intuition. Intellect analyzes what

we already possess; intuition embraces the unknown." He then insisted that intuition must answer to conscience and not, as Hitler used it, be fed by the pseudoconscience of the ego and the group mind. Conscience is an individual endowment connecting Man with the Creative Principle or God, revealing the unique purpose of the individual's cosmic relationship, a purpose that knows no death but unfolds for better or worse in the future lives, according to the spiritual values Man has gained in this life and in past lives.

The Cosmic Law can be read by signposts one's conscience places on crossroads. Man's free will decides which direction he will take. Is his free will fed by spiritual entities living in his flesh or by entities provided by his conscience? This question I had to solve when I, the Kaiser's volunteer in the First World War, was captured by the French at Verdun. Instead of killing me as was customary in the midst of a raging battle, they led me to the German underground fort at Thiaumont to serve as interpreter for the French demanding the surrender of the stronghold. The German commander of the fort pointed his pistol at me, crying, "Traitor!" I, jumping aside, cried, "Have you no conscience?" This word "conscience" opened the eyes of the German commander. He saw the gas bomb, which the French had ready to throw into the fort's entrance shaft to kill the hundreds of Germans below, as well as the machine gun aiming at him and me. He dropped his hand and said, "I surrender."

The Iron Cross which I received on return from French captivity I only wore once, when I needed a passport to cross the border on my flight from the Gestapo. To me this medal was a symbol of the belligerent German mass mind.

History has demonstrated that youth are given identities to support the survival of a group. The instant identity Hitler gave youth by telling them, "You are members of the Aryan Master Race -- Germany!" and pointing to the Jews as the subhuman race and cause of their frustration brought death to millions of German youth. The drug subculture and terrorist groups around the world of the last decade are radical examples of the continued abasement of youth and their future by promising instant identity.

After my experiences on this three-dimensional earth through three generations, I have discovered what the human being should say of himself: "I am soul substance, I am creation individualized. My consciousness has subatomic as well as stellar characteristics. I am indivisible and inscrutable, without beginning, without end. No longer do I seek my identity in the group but in my conscience. The existence of my conscience is revealed in the world's religions, philosophies and cultural treasures, as long as they sponsor the inner Man and not "pomp and circumstance." The first word of creation is being, and being means eternal unfoldment."

After our escape to the police in 1930, Einstein gave me as thanks a card on which he had written: "In memory of this event

March 30, 1930." May these five words he wrote be a testimony to you youth, that no group consciousness, political or religious, can be changed unless the individual heart be changed.

Youth of the world, let us accept Einstein's legacy by founding the World Youth Parliament and the Cosmic Religion uniting all the world's religions and ethical systems in the changed heart of the individual.

In the last conversation I had with Einstein in the Summer of 1954, which is recorded in my book *Einstein and the Poet--In Search of the Cosmic Man* (Branden Press, Brookline Hill, MA, 1983), I saw in Einstein's house in Princeton a serene statue of the Madonna and was impressed. That imagination was more important than intellect to Einstein, was proven by his giving to Miriam the mother of Jesus and "my Jewish Mama" a prominent place in his living room. What would Einstein say, I wondered, if I spoke to him about the reported apparitions of her, about those visions of Swedenborg regarding the existence of heaven and hell, or about my faith in the Twenty-third Psalm, which has empowered me to heal the cancer and asthma of people on their deathbed? Probably what he had said the previous year regarding human rights: "These ideals and convictions, which derived from the experience of history as well as from the craving for beauty and harmony, usually have in theory been readily accepted by men, but at all times been trampled upon by the same people under the pressure of their animal instinct."

Youth, who will realize the cosmic religious feelings in your hearts, work with your intuition and you will discover as I did at Verdun the oneness of Man with creation, visible and invisible. Every person as well as the objects he collects have vibrations. Your conscience will discern the vibrational quality of your daily experiences. In vibrations cosmic laws are involved; as Einstein said, "God is subtle, but He is not malicious."

Not only Einstein, already Stresemann, Briand and Chamberlain, whom I as a student of diplomacy met at the League of Nations in Geneva in 1926, wanted to help create an international student movement in the world as a forerunner of a World Youth Parliament, and Jane Addams invited me in Geneva to use her Hull House in Chicago as a base, but the Nazi terror in Germany and later the anti-communist paranoia in America, which threatened Einstein, Thomas Mann and many other refugees, including me, with the loss of our citizenship, postponed my efforts to realize the legacy of Einstein.

The Einstein-Hermanns Foundation has been established to pass on the legacy to you, the youth of today and tomorrow, and will serve as a center to coordinate the growth and communication of a network of local groups. These groups will sponsor lectures and seminars to change the heart of Man, that individuals in their community can discover the truth of Cosmic Religion within them. They will also help support a youth from the age of 18 to 28, who has participated in a student or worker exchange program

in a foreign land, shows proficiency in speaking a second language and has placed his or her security in their conscience and not in a group, to attend the World Youth Parliament. The Parliament will be hosted by a different country each year, with the international participants staying with families in the nearby area. Each country will have a right to one vote on issues of international concern, all for the purpose of changing the heart of Man, which traditional religious, educational and political systems have neglected due to self-interests.

May these new foundations of a World Youth Parliament and a Cosmic Religion, open the way to one humanity with one parliament to stimulate individuals of each culture to decide from his inner being and thereby grasp the Cosmic Law.

Because of the traditional religions, people for thousands of years have killed people, first with stones and clubs, then with knives, spears and bows and arrows, then in knightly shining armor with swords, then in marching uniform with guns and cannons, and now with tanks, jets and rockets. In the arsenals, under the land and under the sea, are rockets with nuclear warheads, the new tools of the politicians.

The remarks of Henry Kissinger regarding these new "tools of the politicians" -- the very words used by the Russian Scientist Evgeny Velikhov -- caused me not to end this open letter to you, youth of the world, without glancing at Russia and its communistic regime. What moved Marx to take the pen in the hand to write his famous book *Das Kapital*? As a German exile in London,

having witnessed the exploitation of the poor, where even children had to work in factories to make ends meet in their homes, he became a great economic theoretician and the founder of economic history and sociology. That the communism in Russia could become the practical offspring of Marx was conditioned by the exploitation of the workers and peasants for hundreds of years by the Russian nobility, headed by the Czar and assisted by the Russian Church. Tolstoy, Lenin and Trotsky describe the slavery of the Russian masses to give its aristocratic class and the leaders of the army that hate-soaked monopoly that had for centuries sent millions to work in prisons, many to be executed, or sent to Siberia. Dostoyevsky was one of the many thinkers to be sentenced to hard labor in a Siberian penal colony. That the fury of the masses, culminating in the losing war of the Czar in 1917, accepted Lenin, a Marxist, as their leader, confirms the cosmic law, which I may like to coin here in the words: *God is the spiritual reaction to human action.*

I myself had an insight into the Russian inhuman policy of Czarism when in 1921 I helped a young Russian refugee to be accepted in the University of Berlin. His mother, a baroness, told me how the masses burned her castle and she and her children, thanks to a faithful servant, could flee with the sled over the frozen lakes to Finland. She as a young girl had witnessed an incident in Kiev when the masses were told by Russian officials that the Jews were guilty of their misery. Her father, General Rofalsky, an admirer of the Old Testament, had the

cavalry mount their horses and drive the masses out of the Jewish quarters to save thousands of Jewish lives. The Psalms had given this general a new heart, Einstein's formula to save the world. These Russian pogroms against the Jews were as old as the alliance of the Church with the ruling elite, beginning with the Roman Emperor Constantine in the fourth century.

May you, youth, especially Americans, subdue the feeling of superiority when meeting Russian youth, lest the World Youth Parliament splits into I-am-better-than-thou group thoughts, which in the Vietnam War drove the young South Vietnamese into our enemy's camp, the North Vietnamese communists, instead of trying to understand them and earn their friendship.

Come, youth, create your future no longer with your ego but with your conscience, which knows only one family, the earth family living in the eternal now. Let the history books about the patriotic past of your nation be lighthouses marking the hidden reefs of the massmind created by the bloodstained karma of its forebears for thousands of years. Arise, youth of the world, have self-awareness, that speaks: "My free will is affiliated with the cosmic purpose of unfoldment and not with the defense of the three-dimensional status quo of the ego and group mind."

It is my intention that the Einstein-Hermanns Foundation become the valuable means to prevent, what Einstein called the nuclear apocalypse. Einstein's *conditio sine qua non*: the creation of the new heart, lest humanity perishes, or as he once stated, "More and more I come to value charity and love of one's fellow

being above everything else," reflected his knowledge of the Bible. Almost three thousand years ago Job said: "Lo, all these things God works with Man, to bring back his soul from the pit, to be enlightened with the light of the living."

Your inquiries and suggestions are requested.

William Hermanns, PhD, Prof. em.
President and Founding Director

THE EINSTEIN-HERMANNS FOUNDATION
P.O. Box 8129
Stanford, California 94305
U.S.A.

Nuclear

December 22, 1983

Dr. Louis Fridhandler
4551 Sandburg Way
Irvine, CA 92715

Dear Dr. Fridhandler:

Thank you for your letter sharing information on the Peace Havurah formed by members of Shir Ha-Ma'alot Harvor Reform Temple. This is a wonderful idea and while more and more of our congregations are becoming involved in the anti-Nuclear movement I don't recall hearing about the formation of a Havurah dedicated to learning about and sharing information with others on the threat of a nuclear arms race.

My next trip to your area is already booked solid and there is no possibility of my including another meeting or appearance. However, other members of our staff do visit Southern California with some regularity and perhaps arrangements can be made for a meeting such as you suggest. I am sharing your letter with Rabbi David Saperstein, director of our Religious Action Center in Washington, for he and his staff are deeply involved in this particular area of concern. Our vice president and director of the Commission on Social Action, Albert Vorspan, is also especially concerned about nuclear war and I am calling your letter to his attention. Both of these gentlemen visit the West Coast fairly frequently and perhaps they could arrange to share an evening with you and your colleagues.

While I am certain our Pacific Southwest Council director, Rabbi Lennard Thal, is aware of your Peace Havurah is am also sharing your letter with him. There are any number of people on the local scene in the Los Angeles area who would be able to make a superb presentation on the theme of a nuclear threat.

While I regret that I cannot plan on a visit with you, I hope you will understand my situation. I express all good wishes to you and your colleagues.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Rabbi David Saperstein
Rabbi Lennard Thal

ael

Irvine, Dec. 16, 1983

Rabbi Alexandler Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

A group at Shir Ha-Ma'alot Harbor Reform Temple has formed a Peace Havurah to educate ourselves (and anyone who will listen) in the urgent and intricate matter of the terrifying threat posed by the nuclear arms race. I believe with Elie Wiesel that education is the only hope and, it seems, there already has been significant educational effect. It is a small effect, but we have recently heard the President and the Secretary of State finally admit that nuclear war is unwinnable. This is a marked change of this administration's tune, but, on the whole, the sounds coming from government spokesmen are still warlike. The siren lure of DOLLARS FOR DESTRUCTION is apparently irresistible even to those sincerely concerned about their children.

I enclose a couple of write-ups that have been well received by members of our congregation, but the turnouts at our meetings have been sparse. People are worried, but they are reluctant to face the issues, even in friendly company.

I am writing to enlist support by UAHC in taking steps to spur our community to take up this issue in an urgent manner. We have people with many talents. Engaging such people's energies in this effort may make a difference. No matter how small the difference, the efforts are worth it. The children, and their unborn children can't speak and work for themselves yet. We must.

I know you agree. I have heard you speak most persuasively on this matter, and found it impossible to shun your call to urgency. However, many manage to be deaf to such calls, and blindly place their trust in "our leaders" (idolatry still "sells") and the "balance of terror."

We of Temple Shir Ha-Ma'alot share our facility with St. Mark Presbyterian Church. Temple Bat Yahm, another Reform Temple, is very nearby in Newport Beach. The potential audience for a special meeting sponsored by at least these three organizations is substantial. Participation by you, or another representative from UAHC, together with other speakers, should extend our limited progress. With adequate preparation, extensive press coverage may be expected.

I am writing as an individual, but I am confident that a positive response from UAHC would evoke an energetic, productive effort by a number of us in this set of communities.

Sincerely,


Louis Fridhandler, Ph.D.

Member, Peace Havurah
Temple Shir Ha-Ma'alot
2100-A Mar Vista
Newport Beach, CA 92660

Home Address:
Louis Fridhandler, Ph.D.
4551 Sandburg Way
Irvine, CA 92715

EDWARD M. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 1, 1983

Nuclear

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Alex:

Thank you so much again for your help in connection with the nuclear weapons freeze. I was delighted that you could join in a joint statement with Bishops Armstrong and Gumbleton following the Senate vote, and I hope that you felt as good as we did about obtaining 40 votes in our first Senate test on the freeze.

My warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Ed
Edward M. Kennedy

My best

*CC AE ✓
+ with Cohen
(Zelenko to Smur)
Here file*

NUCLEAR FREEZE FOUNDATION

For Immediate Release
October 31, 1983

JOINT STATEMENT BY RELIGIOUS LEADERS ON
SENATE VOTE ON THE KENNEDY-HATFIELD AMENDMENT
October 31, 1983

The nuclear weapons freeze and reductions initiative is not only a political issue; it is a profound moral issue which reflects the imperative of human survival in the nuclear age.

This is the first of what we expect to be several Senate votes on the Kennedy-Hatfield Resolution in 1983 and 1984. We recall that the House of Representatives passed this initiative by almost two-thirds this year after having defeated it last year. Like the House, the Senate is now accountable to the nation, where an overwhelming majority of Americans of all faiths support this essential step to halting and reversing the nuclear arms race.

Bishop James Armstrong
President
National Council of Churches

Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton
President
Pax Christi U.S.A.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations

SENATOR MARK O. HATFIELD

SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY

Statement by Senators Edward M. Kennedy and Mark O. Hatfield
Senate Vote on Kennedy-Hatfield Amendment
October 31, 1983

We have always viewed passage of our nuclear weapons freeze and reductions resolution as an objective that would not come easily or quickly. And so, we are greatly encouraged by the fact that, after 17 Senators joined in co-sponsoring the Kennedy-Hatfield Resolution in 1982, 40 Senators voted for our Resolution today. In 1982, the House of Representatives had defeated the Kennedy-Hatfield Resolution, but in 1983, the House adopted it by an almost two-thirds vote. We will bring up our Resolution again and again until the Senate catches up with the House and the American people in their overwhelming support for this essential step to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race.

Nuclea

July 29, 1983

Mr. Zsuzsa Hegedus
Centre D'Analyse
Et D'Intervention Sociologiques
Cadis
54, Boulevard Raspail
75270 Paris Cedex 06
Poste 427
France

Dear Mr. Hegedus:

Thank you for your letter of July 21.

When you are in the States, please give my office a call to see
if I am in town so we can set up an appointment for us to meet.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Paris, le 21.7.83

Dear Rabbi Alexander Schindler,

Since 1978 I work together in France with anti-nuclear activists committed to the ecology movement (A. Touraine, Zs. Hegedus et al., Anti-nuclear protest. The opposition to nuclear energy in France, Cambridge University Press, 1983). A similar ^{was} study planned in the United States in relation with American ecologists. The peace movement, however, has taken on such a great importance meanwhile, that I want enlarge my thinking to the anti-nuclear military problem.

I intend now to focus on a comparison of the American and German peace movements. Therefore I should like to take up contacts with persons in the peace movement who are the most committed to or particularly interested in it, thus knowing best about the aims, problems and outlooks of the movement. The lack of understanding in France of the movement, its extension and impact in the United States and the important place the Churches occupy in it, let me ask you whether it is possible to meet you between the 1st of October and the 20th of October , when I shall be travelling in the United States.

I should be very glad if you could tell me which dates convene you best and perhaps whom else to see at the same occasion. Is it possible for you to write to me soon, so I can start to organize my voyage ?
I shall be very glad about a positive answer and very happy meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

Zsuzsa Hegedus
Zsuzsa Hegedus

Responsable du projet au CADIS
Chargée de recherches au CNRS
Chargée de conférence à l'EHESS

*Heidi -
Tell him to call me
call off a week w/ I
glad to meet w/ I am
him if I am home
A -*

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Inc.

"We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive" ALBERT EINSTEIN

2

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file

no further
file

Nuclear

July 1, 1983

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Our 3rd Congress is now over, but the task ahead is undiminished. We have built in a mere two and a half years a world movement. We now have 70,000 members in 44 nations. To do the impossible one needs to see the invisible. Yet our activities have not altered the danger which increases year by year.

I am deeply grateful that you came to our gathering. Arbatov indicated that the meeting with you was worthwhile. Hopefully it will be the first of several future get togethers.

Enclosed are the three documents which have emerged from the Congress.

Have a tranquil summer.

Sincerely yours,

Bernard Lown

Bernard Lown, M.D.
President

N.B. After the Congress I visited Geneva and did some good for Israel! Met a Mrs. Ruth Popper who was ecstatic about you.

/mc
encs.

225 Longwood Ave.
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School of Medicine

affiliations for
identification purposes only

cc: Phil Heat

Physicians' Oaths and Statements of Medical Ethics:

A Proposed Adaptation for the Nuclear Age

Over the millennia, physicians have evolved a long tradition of ethical affirmation, represented originally by the Oath of Hippocrates, and later by many other national and international codes and statements of professional ethical obligations.

Recently, in May 1983, the World Health Organization General Assembly stated that "nuclear weapons constitute the greatest immediate threat to the health and welfare of mankind," and that physicians "have both the right and the duty to draw attention in the strongest possible terms to the catastrophic results that would follow from any use of nuclear weapons."

To our long tradition of ethical statements, we believe there should now be added:

"As a physician of the 20th century, I recognize that nuclear weapons have presented my profession with a challenge of unprecedented proportions, and that a nuclear war would be the final epidemic for humankind. I will do all in my power to work for the prevention of nuclear war."

NOT FOR PRESS RELEASE UNTIL 11:30 A.M. WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22nd, 1983

The "International Physicians' Call for an End to the Nuclear Arms Race" was developed during the Third Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) held in the Netherlands from June 17-21, 1983. The petition was approved by the 219 delegates to the Congress from 43 countries and will be circulated for one year, in all countries where physicians are active against the nuclear arms race. The goal will be to obtain the support of hundreds of thousands of physicians. After the Fourth Congress of IPPNW, the completed petition will be presented by an international delegation of physicians to the leaders of the five nations known to possess nuclear weapons.

THE INTERNATIONAL PHYSICIANS' CALL FOR AN END TO
THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

As physicians, we wish to express our professional concern over the unprecedented threat to life and health posed by nuclear weapons, a threat that hangs over hundreds of millions of people. The increasing accumulation of destructive power and the development of ever more sophisticated weapons greatly increase the risk of nuclear war.

If even a single nuclear weapon is exploded over one of our major cities, hundreds of thousands will be killed. If many nuclear weapons are exploded, radioactive fallout and disturbance of the biosphere will cause suffering and death - particularly from starvation, radiation illness, infectious disease and cancer - without regard to national boundaries. The remaining medical facilities and personnel will be inadequate to help the wounded. An all-out nuclear war would end our present civilization.

The cost of the arms race is not only the vast sums being diverted to armaments in a world where tens of thousands of human beings die each day of treatable diseases. The cost is also in the great psychological damage that is being done, particularly to young people and children who fear they will have no futures.

We recognize that to reach agreements to end the nuclear arms race and avert the introduction of nuclear weapons into any conflict represents a major political task. We regard such agreements as crucial and urgent since the threat of nuclear war is the greatest challenge to health and survival that humanity has ever faced. As physicians, we believe a nuclear war would be the final epidemic.

Name

Specialty

Country

** NOT FOR PRESS RELEASE UNTIL 11:30 A.M. WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22nd, 1983 **

AN APPEAL TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET,
YURI V. ANDROPOV AND TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, RONALD REAGAN

We thank you and (Chairman Andropov, President Reagan) for your messages to the Third Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

We represent national groups and individual physicians from 43 countries who have joined in a global movement to combat the greatest threat to life and health. Our name conveys our mission: International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

We first met two years ago to assess the medical consequences of the use of nuclear weapons. In this, our Third Congress, we have concentrated on the topic: "Nuclear Illusions: The Human Costs." We write to ask you, as leaders of the two major nuclear powers, to consider our view of these illusions.

The first and greatest of all the nuclear illusions is the assumption that nuclear war is simply one of many alternatives facing humanity, and that nuclear war is but conventional war with magnified consequences. The world stands at the edge of an abyss: humanity now has the technical means for its own destruction.

An all-out nuclear war would kill hundreds of millions of people instantly. World civilization would be devastated, and the future of those surviving the immediate attack would be in doubt. The medical profession would be helpless to provide effective aid to the living.

A kindred illusion is the view that nuclear war -- both its start and its duration -- could be controlled. If nuclear war begins, here in Europe, or anywhere else, it is unlikely to be either "limited" or "prolonged." It would almost certainly escalate rapidly to a massive exchange and a global holocaust. We base this conclusion on our knowledge of the medical consequences of nuclear explosions and of the manner in which human beings make decisions under stress.

Such an all-out exchange would eclipse all ecological catastrophes of recorded history. Coming generations would inherit a violated biosphere, an earth poisoned by radiation. The long-term environmental effects of the nuclear blasts would also afflict children of the future. Indeed, given what is known, and even more important, all that is still unknown about the effects of multiple nuclear explosions, there is the risk that human life on our planet would cease to be.

Still another illusion is that of gaining and using nuclear "superiority." So-called "advantages" in numbers or characteristics of weapons cannot be used to obtain a military victory; an "inferior" nuclear enemy would still destroy the opponent. The notion that one side or another can be "ahead" or "behind" in nuclear arms no longer has meaning, and nuclear weapons have ceased to be a means to achieve rational political goals.

Since the destructive potential of the present USA and USSR arsenals vastly exceeds the possible targets of either side, it is an illusion that the acquisition of more nuclear weapons of any type confers any military or political advantage. Hence there is no justification for the introduction of any additional nuclear weapons into Europe or any other region. Furthermore, since maintenance at this excessive level is unnecessary and dangerous we favor reduction of weapons currently deployed.

The general policy of nuclear deterrence has held hostage vast populations of innocent people. It has led to an ever accelerating arms race. It threatens our children's hope of the future. It weakens our struggle against poverty, famine, and illness. It has fostered war-fighting doctrines which increase the risk of nuclear conflict. What is needed are new peace initiatives from both sides - not new missiles.

The USSR and the USA bear a great responsibility. As the leaders of these two great states, you personally can undertake substantial, specific initiatives to roll back the nuclear threat.

We believe that:

- All nuclear powers should unequivocally agree to refrain from the introduction of nuclear weapons into any conflict. The initiation of nuclear conflict would be tantamount to both genocide and national suicide.

- All powers should agree to a sufficiently verifiable freeze on the development, testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

- A freeze should then be followed by reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons from the arsenals of nations.

- Arms control and reductions require a renewed and serious effort to reach agreement on a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

- The negotiations currently in progress should be pursued with diligence, good will and consideration for the interests of both sides. The recent history of arms control negotiations, however, indicates that agreements are falling ever further behind the development and multiplication of nuclear weapons. We wish to emphasize, therefore, that there are routes to progress in addition to negotiation. Both the USA and the USSR have the opportunity to take independent initiatives to reduce tensions, to diminish the risks of nuclear war and to break the deadlock in current negotiations. World attention would then focus on all other nuclear powers to see if such a positive gesture were reciprocated. In such a manner the direction of the arms race would be reversed.

We believe that both the USA and the USSR must learn more about each other. The stereotyped view of each other which now complicates US/USSR relations must be eliminated. This could be accomplished through a large increase in the volume of scientific, technical and cultural exchanges, tourism, and trade. It is essential to increase the information each country has of the other through television, mass media, and other means.

More than two decades have passed since Albert Einstein said: "We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive." We must think anew, without the illusions that nuclear war can be averted indefinitely by a policy of deterrence, that we can live safely forever with nuclear weapons deployed, or that nuclear war can be limited, or survived. No East-West dispute is as important as our mutual need to avoid nuclear war.

Facing the problems of his time, Hippocrates promised: "Whatever home I shall enter, I shall do so to heal the sick." In the 20th century, nuclear weapons have presented our profession of medicine with a challenge of unprecedented proportions -- one that threatens all homes and all healing.

In that spirit of healing, we are ready to support any effort of yours to halt the arms race and reduce the risk of nuclear war.

Respectfully yours,

Participants in the
Third Congress
International Physicians
for the Prevention of Nuclear War

Nuclear

April 25, 1983

Dr. Ira Silverman, President
Reconstructionist Rabbinical College
Church Road and Greenwood Avenue
Wyncote, Pennsylvania 19095

Dear Ira:

I'm just back from the UAHC mission to Poland and your letter of April 14 awaited me.

I will be happy to serve on the Board of The Shalom Center/A Resource Center for Jewish Perspectives on Preventing Nuclear Holocaust. However, I must tell you at the outset that the pressures on my time are very heavy. I do not know how much participation you can expect from me. I hope you will understand my situation and, of course, if I am urgently needed for a specific matter I will do my best to be of assistance. It's simply not possible for me to be at meetings with any regularity.

If this meets with your approval, please do add my name to the Board.

With all good wishes and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



reconstructionist rabbinical college

CHURCH ROAD and GREENWOOD AVENUE
WYNCOTE, PENNSYLVANIA 19095
(215) 576-0800

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 14, 1983

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 5th Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

I phoned your office and learned that you are away for awhile, so I am now writing to invite you to join the Board of The Shalom Center/A Resource Center for Jewish Perspectives on Preventing Nuclear Holocaust. Although David Saperstein is one of the initiating members of the project, it was my lot to do the inviting, but of course he joins in this request.

The Shalom Center will gather existing materials, develop new projects, and disseminate information on how to bring Jewish tradition, experience, and concerns to bear on the prevention of a nuclear holocaust. The Center intends to stimulate the whole range of Jewish groups and institutions to develop their own materials on these issues in such ways that the Center will go out of existence two years after beginning its work.

I am enclosing a more detailed report on where we stand, to which I should add that the Center has been offered a grant of \$50,000 for its first year, jointly by the Levinson Foundation and the Emet Foundation.

I look forward to working with you on this effort. I know you agree with me that this is one of the most important tasks facing us, and I hope you will let me know as soon as you can whether you can take part.

Many thanks and regards.

Sincerely,

Ira Silverman

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Encl.

...has never been and cannot
benefit to the Chinese people."

U.S. Tells Visitor From Soviet Not to Speak With Reporters

DES MOINES, April 19 (AP) — Georgi A. Arbatov, a visiting Soviet official, has been asked by the State Department not to speak with reporters because American officials do not have equivalent access to the Soviet press.

Mr. Arbatov, who heads the Institute on the United States and Canada in Moscow, is on a 20-day trip. His scheduled news conference at Grinnell College was canceled after State Department intervention.

Robert Grey, a Grinnell College political scientist who is Mr. Arbatov's host, said the curbs made no sense because reporters attending Mr. Arbatov's lectures were free to ask questions.

The approved purposes of Mr. Arbatov's visit include two speeches at Grinnell under the Rosenfield Lectures program and an arms control conference in Denver. Mr. Arbatov will also speak to business leaders here and at the University of Iowa in Iowa City.

Times 4/20

85c Leo News

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

TEL. (617) 732-
CABLE ADDRESS: NUTHARV, BOSTON

DEPARTMENT OF NUTRITION
665 HUNTINGTON AVENUE
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02115-9915

Nuclear
April 15, 1983

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

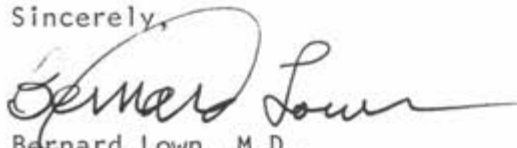
UAHC is to be commended for supporting the Freeze Resolution and now for its intent to take action on the "no first strike resolution."

When in Moscow I shall address the issue of Sakarov and Scharansky. I have done it a number of times before. These personal tragedies would rapidly be resolved at the first glimpse of detente. It is indeed sad that their fates are held hostage to the political climate.

I am not aware that Arbatov will be traveling to the USA. I will be seeing him in Moscow mid-May and will convey your interest for a personal meeting.

With personal regard, I am

Sincerely,


Bernard Lown, M.D.
Professor of Cardiology

/cmk

L

April 6, 1983

Dr. Bernard Lown
Professor of Cardiology
Harvard University
Department of Nutrition
665 Huntington Avenue
Boston, MA 02115-9915

Dear Dr. Lown:

I am very glad to learn that you like our Nuclear Handbook. It is intended not only to spur others to action but to spur ourselves as well. We will have a major presentation devoted to this question at our forthcoming Biennial (November, Houston, Texas) and at that time we will attempt to pass a "no first strike resolution." As I wrote you earlier, we are already on record as favoring a Mutually Verifiable Freeze.

Obviously, I am sending you the two requested copies of the Handbook for your Moscow journey. Two things in this connection:

a) We are very much concerned about the refuseniks and the dissenters and would appreciate it in any of your discussions you were to raise a voice in behalf of Sakharov and Scharansky. I'm sure you have done this before now, but the pressure must ~~be relaxed~~

b/ I am told that Arbatov will be in the U.S. If this is so, I wonder whether you might be able to arrange a brief personal meeting for me. There are one or two matters I would like to raise with him.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schandler

DBP
DP

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

TEL. (617) 732-
CABLE ADDRESS: NUTHARV, BOSTON

DEPARTMENT OF NUTRITION
665 HUNTINGTON AVENUE
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02115-9915

April 1, 1983

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Shindler:

Congratulations and still again, congratulations for the remarkable report, "Preventing the Nuclear Holocaust." It came several days after I delivered a Shabbat sermon at Temple Emanuel to more than 600 congregants on this very subject. The questions posed related to why Jews have not been in the leadership of the antinuclear movement, as they should by virtue of tradition, ethics, and the many dictates of our Jewish experience.

Your book is an important compilation. A great virtue is that it spurs one to activity and at the same time provides an effective guideline for community involvement.

This past week I returned from Stockholm, Rome and Los Angeles, where I lectured for the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). The brief sojourn in Stockholm culminated in a visit with King Karl Gustaf and with leaders of Parliament, but the highlight was a dinner hosted by Alva Myrdal. In Rome I had a long discourse with Cardinal Casaroli and many leading scientists and physicians. Dr. Chazov and I were permitted a dialogue on the most popular TV program, "Domenica-In," generally watched by 30 million viewers. In Los Angeles my stint was both nuclear and cardiac being the Visiting Professor at UCLA for three days. Now jet-lagged and bone tired, I am even more impressed with your prowess to function at high gear while on the move.

In May I shall be in Moscow as guest of the Academy of Sciences. They are holding a scientific meeting on nuclear war. As I will be meeting with Arbatov and a few other important personalities, I wonder how I might obtain two copies to acquaint them with activities leading Jewish groups in the United States are conducting. *sent 4/6/83*

Thanks to you for an important initiative on behalf of us all.

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,



Bernard Lown, M.D.
Professor of Cardiology

/cmk

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RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

February 11, 1983

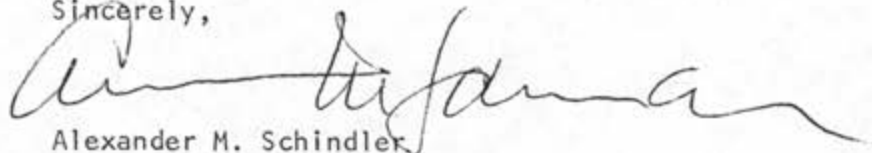
Congressman Clement J. Zablocki, Chairman
House Foreign Affairs Committee
Room 2183
Rayburn Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman Zablocki:

In December, 1981, the General Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations resolved support for a bilateral and verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons. Accordingly, as president, representing one and a quarter million American Reform Jews, I am writing to encourage your committee's speedy action in producing a resolution urging the negotiation of a comprehensive, bilateral, and verifiable Freeze.

Furthermore, because any continuation of the arms race will decrease the security of both sides, I wish to encourage the inclusion of the word "immediate" in the resolution.

Sincerely,



Alexander M. Schindler

February 11, 1983

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Room 2183
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Furthermore, because any continuation of the arms race will decrease the security of both sides, I wish to encourage the inclusion of the word "immediate" in the resolution.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

*Nuclear
Drage*

October 25, 1982

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.
The Bishop of New York
1047 Amsterdam Avenue
New York, New York 10025

My Dear Bishop Moore:

Please forgive the delay in responding to your letter of September 2nd. Somehow it got lost in a mountain of mail which accumulated during my travels following the High Holyday period.

I much regret that it is not possible for the UAHC to make a contribution to the debt of the Religious Task Force of the Mobilization for Survival. We live by a very strict budget and unless funds are included in that budget for a particular purpose we simply cannot over extend ourselves, no matter how worthy the cause. I do hope you understand our situation.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

The Bishop of New York

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.

1047 Amsterdam Avenue New York N.Y. 10025 (212) 678-6953

September 2, 1982

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I'm sure you remember the great interfaith service we had at our Cathedral the day before the disarmament rally on June 12. As you recall it was a tremendously important moment for the religious of the world--probably the largest and most representative interfaith gathering ever held in this country. It was important that the world know that the religious of the earth stand squarely and strongly behind nuclear disarmament. Also I believe it did a tremendous amount for ecumenical relations, although that wasn't our primary concern. In any case I was thrilled by it and thought it was eminently worthwhile. I feel deeply indebted, as I'm sure you do, to Paul Mayer and the Religious Task Force of the Mobilization for Survival. Paul and his colleagues accomplished an almost impossible task with great style and power.

However, after all the dust settled and expenses were paid, we found we still have a \$6000 debt to close. I'm trying to collect it from a relatively few people since we will need to go out with a major campaign at the end of this year for the budget year '83. It's not only important to pay the debt for its own sake, but to keep the Religious Task Force's modest staff together as we come down to the urgent business of blocking the cruise missiles' placement in Europe.

I do hope you might be able to come up with \$2000 or whatever amount short of that you are able to, so that we can quickly close off this debt.

I might say that I have already helped in this regard myself, as have some of the other Christian denominations. Enclosed are some information sheets about the Religious Task Force; of course I will also be glad to answer any questions you might have.

Sincerely,



Bishop of New York

*To be for
a position*

*Ally
Ask
Edie to
write
western
Could
buy
Can't...*

Religious Task Force

mobilization FOR SURVIVAL

85 SO. OXFORD ST., BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11217 (212) 858-6882

August 18, 1982

The impressive year long international religious campaign for the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament II which culminated in the Religious Convocation at the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine has also left the Religious Task Force with a debt of \$6,000.00. The Task Force also needs to maintain its four person staff along with other operating expenses-totalling \$5,100.00 a month - as it builds on the important events of the recent months and lays ambitious plans for the critical period. ahead.

A comprehensive funding proposal is just being completed which includes:

- *activities during the election period
- *a 3 day national Religious Disarmament Consultation in December which will bring together key representatives of religious denominations, peace groups, international disarmament movements, and black and Hispanic churches to share and strategize for the future of the religious peace and social justice movement.
- *Organize Spring religious events in coordination with the Europeans who are preparing a strong last ditch campaign against the Pershing and Cruise missiles to be deployed beginning in the Fall of 1983.
- *Coordinate major outreach to minority religious communities in order to plan joint activities linking human needs and military spending.
- *A "Children of War" national tour which will bring children and young adults from the disarmament and poverty communities, Northern Ireland, Lebanon and Israel, Southeast Asia and El Salvador to speak to schools, churches, and community groups in 50 cities.

It is imperative that the Religious Task Force coalition receive immediate generous emergency funding during this period so that it can develop these critical plans for the survival of God's earth.

Zero Nuclear Weapons

Ban Nuclear Power

Stop the Arms Race

Fund Human Needs

"Therefore choose life so that you and your children will live . . ." Deut. XXX. 19



mobilization FOR SURVIVAL


85 SO. OXFORD ST., BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11217 (212) 858-6882

B A C K G R O U N D S H E E T

The Religious Task Force

The Religious Task Force, as part of the Mobilization for Survival, an organization of 140 peace, religious, environmental, social justice, feminist and community organizations, promotes the goals of the Mobilization (Zero Nuclear Weapons, Ban Nuclear Power, Stop the Arms Race, Fund Human Needs) from the perspective of religious consciousness and a religious worldview. Begun in 1977, the Religious Task Force was primarily responsible for organizing the religious activities during the First U.N. Special Session on Disarmament in 1978. The success of these events won the commitment of many religious people who were new to the issues of disarmament. Since that time, the Religious Task Force has been growing continually and during the planning for the Second Special Session on Disarmament (SSDII), the Task Force has successfully served as a rallying point for interdenominational efforts to educate the public about SSDII-related issues. It has also helped to bring disparate organizations together for purposes of planning visible religious responses to SSDII. Chief among these are the International Choose Life Weekend/Peace Sabbath (May 28-30), Witness for Survival (June 6), and the International Religious Convocation (June 11th). The World Appeal, sponsored by the Task Force has been endorsed by 40 World Religious leaders and calls for a "freeze and reverse to the arms race", "general and complete disarmament" and the "abolition of all nuclear weapons", a platform which has found increasing favor throughout U.S. religious congregations.

Members or cooperating organizations of the Religious Task Force include:



American Friends Service Committee * Benedictines for Peace * Bronx Center for Urban Ministries * Catholic Peace Fellowship * Catholic Worker (NY) * Christian Peace Conference * ChurchWomen United * Clergy and Laity Concerned * Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament * Conference of Major Superiors of Men of the United States * Episcopal Diocese of New York * Ethical Culture Society * Fellowship of Reconciliation * Friends Peace Committee * Holy Cross Fathers, Bridgeport, CT * Integral Yoga Institute * Intercommunity Center for Justice and Peace * Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race * Interfaith Peace Fellowship

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Jewish Peace Fellowship * Jonah House * Kirkridge * Leadership Conference of Women Religious * Lutheran Peace Fellowship * Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers * Mennonite Central Committee * National Assembly of Women Religious * National Conference of Black Churchmen * National Council of Churches of Christ, USA * New Jewish Agenda * New York Friends Meeting House * Nipponzan Myohoji * Northern California Ecumenical Institute * Nuclear Freeze Campaign * Office of International Concerns Christian Church (Disciples) * Pax Christi * Peace Center, Oblate Fathers * Raja Yoga Center * Reformed Church in America * Religion and Socialism Committee, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee * Riverside Church Disarmament Program * Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, Social Action Office * Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Newark, Peace and Justice Committee * Roman Catholic Diocese of Paterson, Dept. of Social Action * Sisters of Mercy of the Union * Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace * Social Justice Committee, Eastern Province, Dominican Men * Sojourners Peace Ministry * Union of American Hebrew Congregations * Unitarian Universalist Association * United Church of Christ * United States Catholic Conference * United Ministries in Education * Vieques Support Network * Weston Priory * World Peace March

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

October 5, 1982

Albert Vorspan

Joe Glaser is very much perturbed that other Jewish organizations aren't active in the nuclear arms issue and he suggests - as you can see by the enclosed correspondence - that I send a letter to the president of major American Jewish organizations.

Do you deem this advisable? If so, should I write as he suggests?

Or do you have another line which you think I should pursue.

D. Schindler
al

אגוד הרבנים המתקדמים
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

21 EAST 40th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 684-4990

Office of the Executive Vice President

October 4, 1982

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

This is also in reference to the letter I discussed with you Thursday which I thought it would be a good idea for you to send to the presidents of all major American Jewish organizations. I told you I would draft up a letter but I think that what I've written to Chernin is to be considered the promised draft. All you need to do is make a few stylistic changes and you have it, unless you want to make some substantive changes.

You can either send it out as a letter from you to your fellow presidents or, it could go to all presidents and executive directors, in which case I will be happy to co-sign it with you. Let me know.

Warm good wishes for a joyous Chag.

Shalom,


Joseph B. Glaser

JBG/s

cc: Rabbi Randall M. Falk
Rabbi David Saperstein
Mr. Albert Vorspan

OFFICERS:

Herman E. Schaalman, President
Chicago, IL
W. Gunther Plaut, Vice President
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Sylvan D. Schwartzman, Financial Secretary
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Elliot L. Stevens, Administrative Secretary
New York, NY
Sidney L. Regner, Executive Vice President Emeritus
New York, NY
Jacob R. Marcus, Honorary President
Cincinnati, OH

אגוד הרבנים המתקדמים
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS
21 EAST 40th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 684-4990

Office of the Executive Vice President

October 4, 1982

Mr. Albert Chernin
NJCRAC
443 Park Avenue South - 11th floor
New York, NY 10016

Dear Al:

Although the Reform Movement is represented at the NJCRAC through the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, I am writing to you on behalf of the Justice and Peace Committee of the CCAR, which Rabbi Randall Falk of Nashville, Tennessee, is chairman requesting that the NJCRAC take up the matter of the reversal of the nuclear arms race, and possibly disarmament in general. I don't know if there is time to get it on the agenda of your forthcoming annual meeting, but have to leave that to you. I am sending a copy of this to Earl Raab because I know he is involved now in the development of the national program, and hope that he will give it consideration for next year's issue.

I think we are very much involved in this, as a Jewish community, not only because of our long standing tradition of valuing peace, but also because of the interlocking of all of our stipulated interests with this issue. I am referring of course to "bullets or butter" and the defusing of super-power tensions with what I would hope would be the inevitable consequence of a more pacific climate in the Middle East which would lead more easily to a resolution of the Israel-Arab conflict. And above all, if the world is destroyed, which is by no means a remote possibility, all of our other hopes and dreams are destroyed with it.

I do hope consideration can be given to this and even at this late hour, at the forthcoming meeting. In any event, I would greatly appreciate a response.

My warm good wishes to you personally, and for a most productive and successful conference. Have a joyous Festival.

Shalom,


Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser

JBG/s

P.S. I almost forgot another key consideration, probably because my mind just

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New York, NY
Jacob R. Marcus, Honorary President
Cincinnati, OH

October 4, 1982

Mr. Albert Chernin
Page two

doesn't seem to work that way. We have heard that Christian groups have expressed their concern that this has not been on the agenda of very many Jewish organizations. Not only in the interest of working with them on the Middle East (for what that's worth) but also in terms of joining forces for the greater power produced with respect to all other issues, we should seek as common and broad a base with them as possible. This would certainly help.

JBG

/s

cc: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Mr. Albert Vorspan
Rabbi David Saperstein
Mr. Earl Raab

*Nuclear
Energy*

August 30, 1982

Bishop James Armstrong
National Council of the
Churches of Christ
475 Riverside Drive, Room 880
New York, NY 10115

Dear Jim:

Of course I'll be glad to join you and Bishop Roach for that
press conference. Try to give me enough lead time.

Al Vorspan -- who is no rabbi, though he should be -- will
be with you on September 9.

Be well.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Albert Vorspan



NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.



475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115

Room 880

James Armstrong, President

Claire Randall, General Secretary

August 27, 1982

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Friend:

Thanks for your note of August 20. Of course it will be good to have Rabbi Vorspan with us on September 9. Joanna will be in touch to provide the details. In accordance with our most recent conversation, we are scaling back our Fall intentions radically but will work through some strategies for the Spring bash.

I had a good conversation with Archbishop Roach a couple of days ago and am working on the possibility of the three of us having a press conference on the nuclear threat and peace with justice three or four weeks before the November elections. He will not know if he is free to do it until September 17. Would you be interested and available?

It's always good to hear from you.

Sincerely,

James Armstrong

Dictated By Bishop Armstrong
Signed In His Absence

JA:kas

cc: Joanna Caplan
Duane Epps

August 20, 1982

Bishop James Armstrong
President
National Council of Churches
United Methodist Office
1100 W. 42nd Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46208

Dear Jim:

It was nice being with you. I appreciate the openness of your approach and I response to it with a great deal of warmth.

I'm afraid I'm running into difficulty with the September 9th meeting. A sudden emergency will compel me to be in Los Angeles that week. I really regret this because I don't want my absence to be interpreted as any lack of interest on my part. This manifestly is not so. I deem the problem of nuclear disarmament to be the overriding moral problem of our time.

Would you mind if I asked my good friend, the Vice President of the Union, Albert Vorspan to attend the meeting in my stead. I hope you will say yes, it will be a means to keep me current. Moreover, if the truth be told, he is much more imaginative than I am and he will undoubtedly have a valuable contribution to make to the meeting.

With warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Dictated but not signed.
AMS:lb

cc: Albert Vorspan
Rabbi David Saperstein

Nuclear

June 28, 1982

Reverend Paul Mayer,
National Co-Faciliator
Mobilization for Survival
853 Broadway, Room 2109
New York, NY 10003

Dear Reverend Mayer:

This is to instruct you to delete my name from all future
statements and mailings of the Mobilization for Survival.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

AM

NORA LUMLEY
LESLIE CAGAN
REV. PAUL MAYER
National Co-Facilitators
Committee for National
***Mobilization for Survival:**
EDWARD ASNER
Actor
HON. HERMAN BADILLO
Former Congressman
HON. IRMA BADILLO
Special Asst. to Gov. Carey, N.Y.
NORMA BECKER
Chairwoman, War Resisters League
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
Composer, Conductor
HON. JULIAN BOND
State Legislator, Georgia
EDGAR BOTTOME
Professor, Goddard College
HELEN CALDICOTT, M.D.
Physicians for Social Responsibility
NOAM CHOMSKY
Professor, M.I.T.
LEON DAVIS
President, Dist. 1199, Hospital and Health Care Union, IWA/DSU, AFL-CIO
RUBY DEE
Actress
DAVE DELLINGER
Author
HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS
Congressman, Berkeley, Calif.
DANIEL ELLSBERG
Author
HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY
Congressman, D.C.
JULES FEIFFER
Author
HON. DIANE FEINSTEIN
Mayor of San Francisco
KIM FELLNER
Union Information Director
MR. HENRY FONDA
JANE FONDA
Actress
BETTY FRIEDAN
Author
BUCKMINSTER FULLER
Architect, Author
THE MOST REV. RAYMOND G. HUNTHAUSEN
Archbishop of Seattle
HON. MAYNARD JACKSON
Former Mayor, Atlanta, Georgia
DR. MICHIO RAKU
Physics Dept., City College of New York
MRS. MARTIN LUTHER KING
Martin Luther King Center
ARTHUR KINOY
Attorney
SIDNEY LENS
Contributing Editor, Progressive Magazine
THE MOST REV. LEROY T. MATTHIESEN
Bishop of America
HON. RUTH MESSINGER
City Councilwoman, New York City
JACK NEWFIELD
Senior Editor, Village Voice
GRACY PALEY
Author
DR. LINUS PAULING
Nobel Laureate, Linus Pauling Inst.
SIDNEY PECK
Professor, Clark University
HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL
Congressman, New York City
SISTER MELINDA ROPER
President, Maryknoll Sisters
RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations
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GEORGE WALD
Nobel Laureate, Harvard University
HON. TED WEISS
Congressman, New York City
WILLIAM WINPISINGER
President, Machinery and Aerospace Workers, AFL-CIO
JOANNE WOODWARD
Actress
HON. ANDREW YOUNG
Mayor of Atlanta

* Organizations for
 identification purposes
 only.

mobilization FOR SURVIVAL

MOBILIZATION FOR SURVIVAL is a project of Survival Education Fund, Inc.

853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003 212-533-0008

June 17, 1982

Dear Friend/Supporter of MFS:

A MAJOR VICTORY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD!

... that's what the massive June 12th demonstration in New York at the UN achieved. It was the centerpiece of many activities around the UN Special Session on Disarmament—most notably the huge civil disobedience at the embassies of the five major nuclear nations on June 14. For several days the people of America demanded an end to all nuclear weapons and a shift in our national priorities.

And it happened with your help and the hard work of thousands of people all over the land.

But achieving disarmament necessitates a continuing commitment from all of us—that includes you, us, and the local MFS affiliated organizations which turn to MFS for advice, guidance and help. Our phones continue to ring off the hook; our mailbox is full of requests for assistance; and—to our great satisfaction—reports of local successes in mobilizing people against nuclear build-up are received here daily.

June 12th was just a new beginning—a historic one which will be remembered forever as a major step forward in the peace movement—in a sense, the first day of the rest of the people's movement to:

- ban nuclear weapons
- stop nuclear power
- reverse the arms race
- meet human needs

And now we must keep up the pressure to end the arms race and redirect our country's priorities. We will continue to confront the issues of the nuclear weapons build-up, nuclear power and the desperate need for a transfer of funds from the arms race to social services. We will carry on our work for nuclear and general disarmament, opposing U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and preparations for a renewal of the draft.

A Coalition of Peace, Environmental, Religious, Women's, Labor and Community Groups Working for the Goals:
Zero Nuclear Weapons • Ban Nuclear Power • Reverse the Arms Race • Meet Human Needs

EMILY R. AND KIVIE KAPLAN BUILDING
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
(202) 387-2800



religious action center

Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

Co-Director: ALBERT VORSPAN
Co-Director & Counsel:
RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

June 25, 1982

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
UAHC
838 5th Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Alex;

As you know, the appearance of your name on the Mobilization for Survival Ad was due to your having signed a permission slip which had gone directly to your office. I assume that you sent a letter following the appearance of the ad rescinding the permission to use your name for any future ads or materials dealing with Mobilization. If you haven't done so, please do so immediately since they are taking an extremely outspoken position against Israel in the Lebanon situation.

Sincerely,

Rabbi David Saperstein

P.S. Today there arrived in the mail the following Mobilization mailing. I assume that nothing has been done. We really ought to move as quickly as possible on this.

Enclosure

RDS/jtj

To Mobilization etc
This is to instruct you
to delete my name from all
future statements & mailings
of Mobilization for Survival jmj

NORA LUMLEY
LESLIE CAGAN
REV. PAUL MAYER

***National Co-Facilitators**
Committee for National
Mobilization for Survival*
EDWARD ASNER
Actor

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Co-Director: ALBERT VORSPAN
Co-Director & Counsel:
RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

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Actress
BETTY FRIEDAN
Author
BUCKMINSTER FULLER
Architect, Author
THE MOST REV. RAYMOND G. HUNTHAUSEN
Archbishop of Seattle
HON. MAYNARD JACKSON
Former Mayor, Atlanta, Georgia
DR. MICHIO RAKU
Physics Dept., City College of New York
MRS. MARTIN LUTHER KING
Martin Luther King Center
ARTHUR KINOY
Attorney
SIDNEY LENS
Contributing Editor, Progressive Magazine
THE MOST REV. LEROY T. MATTHIESEN
Bishop of America
HON. RUTH MESSINGER
City Councilwoman, New York City
JACK NEWFIELD
Senior Editor, Village Voice
GRACY PALEY
Author
DR. LINUS PAULING
Nobel Laureate, Linus Pauling Inst.
SIDNEY PECK
Professor, Clark University
HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL
Congressman, New York City
SISTER MELINDA ROPER
President, Maryknoll Sisters
RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations
DR. KELLY MILLER SMITH
President, National Council of Black Churchmen
ERNEST STERNGLASS
Professor, University of Pittsburgh
THE MOST REV. WALTER F. SULLIVAN
Bishop of Richmond
GEORGE WALD
Nobel Laureate, Harvard University
HON. TED WEISS
Congressman, New York City
WILLIAM WINPISINGER
President, Machinery and Aerospace Workers, AFL-CIO
JOANNE WOODWARD
Actress
HON. ANDREW YOUNG
Mayor of Atlanta

* Organizations for
 identification purposes
 only.

mobilization FOR SURVIVAL

MOBILIZATION FOR SURVIVAL is a project of Survival Education Fund, Inc.

853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003 212-533-0008

June 17, 1982

Dear Friend/Supporter of MFS:

A MAJOR VICTORY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD!

... that's what the massive June 12th demonstration in New York at the UN achieved. It was the centerpiece of many activities around the UN Special Session on Disarmament—most notably the huge civil disobedience at the embassies of the five major nuclear nations on June 14. For several days the people of America demanded an end to all nuclear weapons and a shift in our national priorities.

And it happened with your help and the hard work of thousands of people all over the land.

But achieving disarmament necessitates a continuing commitment from all of us—that includes you, us, and the local MFS affiliated organizations which turn to MFS for advice, guidance and help. Our phones continue to ring off the hook; our mailbox is full of requests for assistance; and—to our great satisfaction—reports of local successes in mobilizing people against nuclear build-up are received here daily.

June 12th was just a new beginning—a historic one which will be remembered forever as a major step forward in the peace movement—in a sense, the first day of the rest of the people's movement to:

- ban nuclear weapons
- stop nuclear power
- reverse the arms race
- meet human needs

And now we must keep up the pressure to end the arms race and redirect our country's priorities. We will continue to confront the issues of the nuclear weapons build-up, nuclear power and the desperate need for a transfer of funds from the arms race to social services. We will carry on our work for nuclear and general disarmament, opposing U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and preparations for a renewal of the draft.

A Coalition of Peace, Environmental, Religious, Women's, Labor and Community Groups Working for the Goals:
Zero Nuclear Weapons • Ban Nuclear Power • Reverse the Arms Race • Meet Human Needs

Here at Mobilization for Survival, we are stepping up our efforts to give you and community activists the help you need in mobilizing your communities. Our strength is in our network of local activists who raise these concerns in their town meetings, schools, religious centers, labor unions and community organizations. We help people find the ways most comfortable for them to express their concerns on these pressing issues. There are dozens of ways you can take effective action locally, and we stand ready to help in any way we can.

We have enclosed a list of "Coming Events" on a nationwide scale and a list of some actions taken by local activists, indicating some of the ways you can get your community involved in the movement for peace and social justice. Contact our national office for ideas and resources that can help your local work. Let us know what sorts of activities are going on in your community.

Most importantly, make our work possible with your continued financial support. The sad truth is that without money, there is little we can do. Your help in this area is essential. Send as generous a contribution as you can afford—it will be put to good use!

We feel sure that as a long time supporter of the MFS, you will want to help as much as you can. And we look forward to your report on your activities.

Peace,



Nora Lumley
National Facilitator



Paul Mayer
National Facilitator



Leslie Cagan
National Facilitator

AFFILIATES

NATIONAL GROUPS: All African Peoples Revolutionary Party; American Friends Service Committee; Association for World Education; Catholic Peace Fellowship; Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors; Clergy and Laity Concerned; Communist Party; The Disarm Education Fund; Episcopal Peace Fellowship; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Gray Panthers; International Seminar for Training for Nonviolent Action; Laos Interaction Center; National Assembly of Women Religious; National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers; National Council for World Peace Tax Fund; National Women's Health Network; New American Movement; People's Alliance; Promoting Enduring Peace; Reproductive Rights National Network; SANE; Socialist Party; U.S.A. Union of American & Japanese Professionals Against Nuclear Omnicide; Unitarian Universalist Association; U.S. Peace Council; War Resisters League; WIN magazine; Women for Racial & Economic Equality; Women's International League for Peace & Freedom; Women Strike for Peace; World Citizens Assembly; World Citizens Registry.

LOCAL AND REGIONAL GROUPS (By State): **AL:** Safe Energy Alliance; Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice. **AZ:** Arizona MFS; Nuclear Free States; The Side We're On. **CA:** Dogwood Alliance; People's Action for Safe Energy; Southern California C.A.L.C.; Southern California W.S.P.; Women Cant; Women for Peace; Womancare; Abalone Alliance; Alliance for Survival, Hollywood; Alliance for Survival, Van Nuys; Mt. Diablo Peace Center; No Radioactivity Committee; Sacramento Peace Center; San Jose Peace Center; Union of American and Japanese Professionals Against Nuclear Omnicide. **CO:** Rocky Flats Coalition; Colorado Springs Anti-nuclear Alliance; Peace Taskforce; Foothills Alliance. **CT:** New Haven Peace Center; Bristol Peace Coalition; Promoting Enduring Peace; Fairfield Univ. MFS. **DE:** Delaware Safe Energy Coalition. **DC:** Students for Peace; Potomac Alliance; Washington Peace Center. **FL:** Sunshine Action Group; St. Petersburg; Sunshine Action Group; Tampa. **GA:** Feminist Women's Health Center. **HI:** Ophi Alliance. **IL:** Appletree Alliance; Chicago MFS; Prairie Alliance; Sinissippi Alliance. **IA:** Christians for a Just Society; Dubuque MFS; Iowa City MFS; Iowa Socialist Party. **KS:** Sisters of St. Joseph of Concordia. **KY:** Louisville MFS. **MD:** Howard County Peace Action Committee. **MA:** Amherst-Northampton MFS; Boston MFS; Cape Ann MFS; Socialist Party of MA. **MI:** Arbor Alliance; Detroit CALC; Detroit MFS; East Lansing Peace Education Center; Peace & National Priorities Center of Oakland County. **MN:** The Peace Center; Oblate; Twin Cities Northern Sun Alliance. **MO:** Missouri Survival Network; St. Louis CARD; St. Louis MFS. **NE:** Nebraska MFS; Nebraskans for Peace. **NJ:** Safe Energy Alternatives (SEA) Alliance; Princeton MFS. **NY:** Albany Peace and Energy Council; Conscience and Military Tax Campaign; Feminist Resources Energy and Ecology; Genesee Valley Citizens for Peace; Nyack Peace Center; Ministry of Concern for Public Health; New York MFS; Nyack Peace Center; Office for Human Development; Peace Smith House; Rockland MFS; Westchester People's Action Coalition (WESPAC); Western NY Peace Center. **NC:** Carolinians for Safe Energy; Greenville Peace Committee. **OH:** Citizens Against a Radioactive Environment; Cleveland MFS. **OR:** Oregon FOR. **PA:** Brandywine Peace Community; Friends Peace Committee; Christian Association; Lehigh Pocono Community of Concern (LOPOCO); March 28th Coalition; Pax Center; People's Energy Theater; Philadelphia Anti-Nuclear Coalition; Philadelphia War Tax Resistance; Susquehanna Alliance; Susquehanna Valley Alliance; Three Mile Island Alert. **RI:** Rhode Island MFS. **SD:** Citizens for a Non-Nuclear Future. **TN:** Volunteer Alliance. **TX:** Alternatives to War; Comanche Peak Life Force; South Plains Alternative Resources Coalition; Texas MFS. **VA:** Northern Virginia WSP; Plover Peace Education Center; Shenandoah Peace Coalition. **WA:** Crabshell Alliance; Greenpeace; Jackrabbitt Alliance/Yakima N.S.G.; Live Without Trident; Olympia FOR. **WI:** Marquette Students MFS; Milwaukee FOR; Milwaukee MFS; Stop Sanguine ELF Committee; U.W.M. Student MFS; UWM Parkside MFS. **WY:** No Nukes of Wyoming.

CANADA: United Nations Association of Canada.

mobilization FOR SURVIVAL

COMING EVENTS!

These are some of the events scheduled for the months ahead in which MFS affiliated network groups will be taking action. More complete details will follow.

- Protests at Federal court houses following the first indictments of non-registrants for the draft.
- A campaign for a "no" vote in Congress (July 27) on the certification of El Salvador's policies on human rights.
- Commemoration of the anniversaries of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima (August 6) and Nagasaki (August 9).
- Reclaim America Rallies in September, coordinated by National People's Action, to reclaim control of our government and to meet human needs.
- Jobs with Peace Education Week in the fall as part of the Jobs with Peace Campaign, a national effort to significantly reduce military spending and provide funding for desperately needed jobs and social programs.

Meanwhile, local affiliated groups continue to work on the freeze and reduction of nuclear weapons. Some grassroots actions now taking place, which continue those begun prior to June 12:

... medical displays of the deadly effects of radiation, including the harm from low level radiation from nuclear power plants. (Local physicians, hospitals, health clinics are most helpful with such displays.)

... school meetings, run by PTA's, Women's Groups, Peace Groups, and High School Anti-Nuclear Committees. Many have received authorization of school authorities to hold meetings in school auditoriums, with adequate advance publicity, posters, etc.

... town meetings, city councils, village and county boards have passed resolutions against the arms race. Your citizens' peace group can introduce such a resolution by contacting local elected officials.

... work goes on with local employment services to publicize the growth of unemployment in your local area. Get the facts, and make them known. Get elected officials to demand a shift of funding from the military to job training and employment as well as to social programs.

... churches and synagogues are heavily involved in peace education. Discussion programs, public forums, and sermons have all been held prior to June 12. Continuing educational programs on the nuclear buildup, the draft, and the shift of funds from human needs to military "wants" are held on a regular basis.

These are just a few examples of local activities initiated by local grassroots organizers and assisted by MFS. We'll continue to share them with you as they come in.

Most of all—keep your local peace groups together and keep working against nuclear proliferation and for human needs!

Nuclear

June 18, 1982

Mr. Arthur I. Waskow
Rainbow Sign
1747 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Bear Arthur:

I am limiting the number of requests to which I will respond affirmatively when asked to sign public statements. It is simply not possible for me to undertake participation in every project which is called to my attention.

However, you should know that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations is on record as being in favor of nuclear disarmament, we spoke out some time ago, we have been in the forefront in this realm. I, too, have been ourspokenaand I assure you that I will continue to speak out for a nuclear freeze.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Dear Rabbi Schandler
I know your most
intense energy is going into
the Lebanon crisis at this
moment, but the
bomb doesn't
go away either

RAINBOW SIGN

A Jewish Project to Prevent Nuclear Holocaust
Menorah/Public Resource Center
1747 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Tell Washon
I know you
& will
continue to
speak out
on nuclear
freeze

Dear Supporters and Signers of Rainbow Sign:

Your work has borne good fruit in the last month. The Shalom Aleichem statement has been widely circulated, many new signers have joined, and the Rainbow Sign teach-ins and services around the country were strong. We helped plan the Emet Foundation's national conference on Jewish responses to the perils of the nuclear arms race, and the conference was an extremely important step forward in convincing the Jewish community that the H-bomb is a Jewish issue. And the extraordinary gathering of about 700,000 people in New York, including several (explicitly) Jewish contingents totaling over 1,000 people, was a crucial step for all of us.

As a result of all this, we see three major immediate steps to take:

1. Circulating to the Jewish public a statement urging major Jewish organizations to support the bilateral nuclear freeze. This will be especially, but not solely, addressed to the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Fund, which meets in Los Angeles November 10-14.
2. Urging rabbis to focus their sermons for Rosh Hashanah--the "birth-day" of the world--on the danger of the world's dying in a nuclear holocaust and on support for the bilateral nuclear freeze.
3. Training a group of knowledgeable and effective community organizers to work in the Jewish community on this issue.

We are at work on all three of these. In regard to the second, we will do a special mailing of Menorah with sermon materials to all the rabbis in the country. In regard to the third, we are putting together an intensive training institute for 30 community organizers from 15 Jewish communities, to be held in August.

In regard to the first, we need your help. We want to get the statement out, with initial signatures, through several Jewish magazines and organizations. We want to do this in time for Rosh Hashanah--and the time is short. The statement is enclosed. Please send back your signature. Please send it right away.

Please note that this statement is one step forward from the earlier one in which we joined, because it explicitly calls for a bilateral nuclear freeze. Many signers have urged this, saying that several months of studying the issues have convinced them that the freeze is now the best approach to preventing nuclear holocaust.

Because this new statement is one step forward, all of us need to make a specific decision in order to sign it. Please do. If you can also help pay for publishing it, that would be wonderful. To reach the broad Jewish community takes money. Please help.

In search toward shalom,

Arthur I. Waskow

To: The General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations
and Welfare Funds
The Synagogue Council of America
And all other national Jewish organizations

Shalom Aleichem!

With great urgency we ask you to adopt a resolution (1) calling on the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union to adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons, and (2) calling on all Jewish institutions to give high priority to study and action focused on not only freezing but reversing the nuclear arms race and preventing a nuclear holocaust.

As Samuel Pizar, who was a child in Auschwitz when the Nazi Holocaust was halted, said to the World Gathering of Holocaust Survivors in Jerusalem: "From where, if not from us, will come the warning that a new combination of technology and brutality can transform the planet into a crematorium?"

We ask you to speak forth that warning to all the nations.

To: Rainbow Sign
1747 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

_____ I want to be one of the Charter Signers of the second Shalom Aleichem statement, urging the Jewish community to support the bilateral nuclear freeze.

_____ I am enclosing a check to "Rainbow Sign" for
☐ \$18, ☐ \$36, ☐ \$72, ☐ \$144,
☐ Other _____, in order to help spread the word.

Signature _____
Print Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Phone(s) _____
Institution (for identification only) _____

*Nuclear
Freeze*

September 28, 1982

Dr. Bernard Lown
1560 Beacon Street
Boston, MA

Dear Dr. Lown:

It was wonderful to learn that you will be awarded the prestigious Cardinal Madeiros Peace Medallion by the Archdiocese of Boston. I am truly delighted that your manifold contribution to the search for world peace is being recognized and that you will receive such a richly-merited tribute. You have reason to be pleased and proud.

Alas, my travel schedule precludes my being present for the award ceremony on October 10. Please know that I will be with you in heart and thought and spirit. From afar I express a warm and hearty mazal tov.

I also want to express my own deep appreciation for all of your work and devotion to the cause of peace and the prevention of nuclear war. You have been in the forefront of the movement and have helped to make us all aware of the dangers which face the world community if we do not continue and strengthen our efforts to seek peace. We owe you a debt of gratitude.

With all good wishes and warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

THE CARDINAL MEDEIROS PEACE MEDALLION

IS AWARDED TO A PERSON WHO HAD MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD PEACE EFFORTS. THIS AWARD RECOGNIZES AND CELEBRATES THE COURAGE OF INDIVIDUALS WHO OFTEN STAND ALONE IN THEIR COMMITMENT TO BUILD A PEACEFUL WORLD.

Whereas he has worked increasingly to eliminate the possibility of nuclear war;
Whereas he has become an internationally recognized and respected advocate of social responsibility;
Whereas personal respect for his principles overcomes any disagreement with his positions;
Whereas he is known as the singular moving force behind Physicians for Social Responsibility and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War;
Whereas in his personal and public life he has strived to bring healing and peace;

The Archdiocese of Boston respectfully awards the

CARDINAL MEDEIROS PEACE MEDALLION

to

Bernard Lown, M.D.

Annum 1982



The specially commissioned medallion is biblical in intent signifying the ongoing relationship between the human person and his or her ability to build a peaceful world. It highlights the biblical themes that peace shall be heralded by the willingness of nations to "beat their swords into plowshares" and that even the smallest seed, the mustard seed, has the ability to grow and prosper if there is fertile ground.

The medallion itself is the ancient cross encircled by a nimbus symbolizing our world. The four quadrants of the circle created by the nimbus echo the biblical themes of darkness and infertility on the left and light and fertility on the right.

The top left hand quadrant depicts darkness covering the earth and the sword yet to be totally transformed into a plowshare on a barren field of vegetation. The bottom left shows the mustard seed which has fallen on barren ground and will not grow.

The top right hand quadrant shows the warmth and nurturing life of the sun and the full field of vegetation. The bottom right depicts those mustard seeds which have fallen on good ground and will grow.

The Presentation of the Cardinal
Medeiros Peace Medallion and
reception honoring Dr. Lown will
be held on Sunday, October 10, 1982
at Pope John XXIII National Seminary
558 South Avenue, Weston, MA
at 4 P.M.

617-
RSVP 227-2200

Regrets

Melcar

April 15, 1982

The Honorable Albert Gore, Jr.
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
1131 Longworth Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Gore:

It was thoughtful of you to share with me your proposal on the issue of nuclear arms control. I am grateful and also want to thank you for the superb record you have in Congress. It is heartening to have one of your standards and abilities in the House.

For your interest, I enclose herewith a resolution on nuclear arms control which was adopted by the General Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Some 3000 delegates, representing our 750 Reform congregations voted on this and many other issues of vital concern.

With all good wishes and kindest greetings, I am

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

ALBERT GORE, JR.
FOURTH DISTRICT
TENNESSEE

1131 LONGWORTH OFFICE BUILDING
TELEPHONE: (202) 225-4231



COMMITTEES:
INTERSTATE AND
FOREIGN COMMERCE

SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

April 1, 1982

to Al V.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
838 5th Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

On Monday, March 22nd, I outlined the attached proposal on the issue of nuclear arms control. Because of your interest and the importance of this issue I wanted you to have a chance to review it.

This document is the result of a year's effort to establish a credible strategic arms control initiative. After careful research, I have concluded that the key to an agreeable arms treaty with the Soviet Union lies with a controlled reduction in the number of land-based, MIRVed ICBMs. I have outlined such a reduction in great detail within the pages of this initiative.

I hope we can talk about this proposal soon. Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Albert Gore, Jr.
Member of Congress

AG/pk

*Will
write & send
him our resolution
& thank him
I congrats him
good guy
AM*



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 97th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 128

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1982

No. 29

House of Representatives

BEYOND THE FREEZE: A NEW APPROACH TO MEANINGFUL ARMS CONTROL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. GORE) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. GORE. Mr. Speaker, for many years, arms control has been the province of a handful of specialists in government and in the academic world. By and large this small group has decided what was to be considered feasible in arms control from a theoretical point of view, and it comprised judge and jury for the finished products; that is, arms control agreements worked out with the Soviet Union and brought forward to the Senate for advise and consent.

The failure of the SALT process has often been attributed to extraneous events. For example, many now say the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan made it impossible for the Carter administration to submit the treaty to the Senate.

But in a larger sense, the SALT process may be said to have failed even without help from the outside. It was clear that the treaty, whatever its merits or demerits, had no broad constituency in our country. True, it had a number of lukewarm supporters, who were prepared to argue that it was better than nothing, but it had very few who were really willing to go to the mat for it. Certainly the people who have always distrusted arms control and who want to try to buy and deploy our way to safety did not like it, and even the arms controllers themselves were unenthusiastic.

The treaty we and the Soviets had devised certainly would have limited strategic arms, but only at enormously higher numbers of weapons. By the time we and the Soviets would have reached levels of deployed strategic warheads, as permitted by the treaty, the United States would have gone from about 8,946 in 1980, to approximately 13,438 in 1989, and the Soviets from about 7,273 in 1980, to approximately 15,560 in 1989.

Now we have a new administration which wishes to greatly accelerate the rate at which the United States deploys new strategic weapons, which is manifestly doubtful about the value of arms control for national security, and which appears to want to dangle prospects of arms control mainly for purposes of linkage and leverage against the Soviets.

As a result, people all across this country are becoming alarmed. They see on the one hand rhetoric about arms control, and on the other hand, massive real resources going into programs for new weapons. They are concerned that the direction in which we are headed is only too clear: an unlimited, ungovernable competition with the Soviet Union to build new strategic weapons; vast sums expended for what would in fact turn out to be diminished safety in the world.

This foreboding is the stuff of which grassroots movements are made. From the vantage point of the Congress, we can already see that arms control is in fact moving fast into the political arena. The conventions and

concerns of "academic" or "professional" arms controllers—their appreciation for the niceties and nuances—are not likely to make much of an impression on the kind of debate we seem to be heading into.

There are calls for dramatic and allegedly simple solutions—total freezes, drastic reductions on fixed timetables, and the like—which have become the program of an emerging political coalition in this country. To an extent, this is a positive development: The people are telling their Government to get moving with meaningful arms control discussions. But there is also a danger that reasoned consideration of this country's real security needs will be impatiently overlooked and that important factors about how the real world operates will be blithely ignored.

Recently, numerous Members of the House and Senate sponsored a rather carefully worded resolution, which calls for a lot of changes in our approach to arms control. That resolution apparently means quite different things to different people: to Members who supported it, and to the public at large.

We have an obligation and a political need to go further than giving nominal support to resolutions such as these. We owe the people an effort on our part to think carefully and deeply about the implications of such proposals, to advance suggestions as to how, in detail and in practice, we might actually shape a new program for strategic arms control.

For the past 14 months, since being assigned to the Intelligence Committee, I have worked hard to develop an understanding of our dilemma and our options. In a long series of briefings with arms control experts and in a series of breakfast seminars on this issue which I have sponsored with the Library of Congress, I have developed the conviction that this problem is not a Gordian knot. It can be solved with patience and understanding and commitment. And of course, it must be solved.

What I am submitting today has been developed with the assistance of individuals at the Congressional Research Service and other experts in and out of government. I wanted to know whether it was possible to get at the single most important strategic problem we have—the vulnerability of land-based ICBM's—by means of a vigorous and innovative arms control concept. I wondered if we could somehow focus our efforts on this problem, and I stipulated the conditions to be respected in the detailed analysis:

The objective would not be reductions per se, although this was an important consideration—but reductions of those systems which contribute the most to strategic instability, and to the risk of nuclear war by reflex, rather than on purpose. This meant doing something drastic about one particular system: land-based, MIRV'd ICBM's. My suggestion was to explore what would happen if both sides agreed to get rid of such ICBM's, replacing them with new single warhead ICBM's on both sides. If this could be done, without at the same time disturbing the strategic balance at some

other point, we might emerge with more stable and secure arrangements—but not at the cost of deploying enormously costly mobile systems, or an ABM system to defend them.

I am now convinced that we could indeed accomplish these objectives, and that we could do so with a modified "moratorium" in selected areas and actual reductions in other areas. Here is the outline of the proposal:

First, a moratorium for 4 to 5 years, during which each side would agree to do nothing that would add to the number of deployed, MIRV'd ICBM's, or to increase their accuracy. During this time, however, both sides would be able to continue research and development of certain new kinds of weapons: A step which we have to take as a hedge against the collapse of efforts to negotiate the vital second phase of reduction with the Soviets.

Second, an agreement which would begin a prolonged readjustment of strategic forces on both sides. At the end of this period; first, neither side would have MIRV'd ICBM's, though they would have deployed new single RV ICBM's in equal numbers; second, no other system—such as the SLBM—would have been deployed with hard target characteristics; third, overall numbers of deployed launchers and weapons would have declined substantially; fourth, the process of adjustment for both sides would be prolonged so as to be realistically in tune with replacement cycles for existing weapons—allowing each side time to amortize their expenses in deploying those weapons, and to make the necessary changes in the shape of their overall strategic deterrents.

As a direct consequence of this approach, the window of vulnerability would have been closed through arms control, and strategic stability enhanced. As an enormously important byproduct of this approach, the total destructiveness of weapons in the hands of either side would also have been cut to a fraction of the numbers that SALT II would have allowed.

Arms control goes beyond the technical questions of who shall reduce what. When we and the Soviets sit down to talk about strategic arms control, we are affirming a basic—even a transcendent—fact: That nuclear weapons are indeed "different." We and the Soviets must make clear to ourselves and to each other that we recognize what nuclear weapons really mean; that they could bring to an end both the values and the people that both sides are seeking to promote and protect.

The grassroots movement we are experiencing in this country is based on the fear that neither side truly appreciates the odds, that specialists and ideologists on both sides are thinking that a nuclear war would somehow be winnable. The people are demanding that their political leaders show that they understand what the specialists may not, and that these leaders will reach out and grasp their responsibilities.

We can do so, Mr. Speaker, and we must.

PROPOSED GUIDELINES FOR A COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TALKS (START)
BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES

While engaging in START and through December 31, 1986, the Soviet Union and the United States will agree to a moratorium under the following terms:

Additional ICBM launchers to those currently existing will not be deployed.

ICBM launchers with single or multiple reentry vehicles will not be converted to launchers for MIRVs.

The number of MIRVs on currently deployed ICBM types will not be increased.

Further testing of currently deployed ICBM and SLBM types is not allowed.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States are allowed to develop, test (no more than 25 times), and deploy one new single-warhead ICBM type, provided this new ICBM does not have a "bus" to dispense MIRVs, replaces an existing ICBM, and has a throw-weight not greater than that of the Soviet Union's SS-19 ICBM.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States are allowed to develop and test, but not produce or deploy, a new MIRVed ICBM and a new MIRVed SLBM, as hedges against failure to achieve a strategic offensive arms reduction agreement.

Starting January 1, 1987, the Soviet Union and the United States will proceed to reduce the aggregate number of their strategic offensive weapons launchers (launchers for ICBMs and SLBMs, and heavy bombers) to an aggregated ceiling no larger than the lowest ceiling agreed to in the SALT II Treaty. By the end of 1987, neither nation may have more than 2,250 strategic offensive weapons launchers, of which no more than 1,080 may be ICBM launchers and 120 heavy bombers equipped with an aggregate total of not more than 2400 long-range (more than 600 kilometers range) air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs).

To reduce the possibility and incentive of the Soviet and U.S. ICBM forces from engaging in a counterforce attack, starting January 1, 1987 the Soviet Union will begin to retire launchers for its MIRVed SS-18, SS-19, and SS-17 ICBMs (in that order), followed in the same order by launchers for the single-warhead versions of these ICBMs. Concurrent to Soviet retirement of these ICBM launchers, the United States will retire some launchers for the Poseidon SLBM and launchers for the Minuteman III ICBM (in that order). Each nation will retire at least 80 launchers per annum until all the launchers for the SS-18, SS-19, SS-17, and Minuteman III ICBMs have been retired. However, the retirement of launchers for the Minuteman III will take place after the Soviet Union retires 250 launchers for the MIRVed version of the SS-18.

VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH
PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN THE PROPOSAL

Currently, the numbers and types of SLBMs being deployed is routinely verified by observing the SSBN in which the SLBM is being introduced. Overhead photography and other means of detection are used.

The accuracy improvements of ICBMs and SLBMs is verified from intercepted test telemetry, and by tracking the missiles during operational tests.

The performance and characteristics of new types of ICBMs and SLBMs is primarily determinable from data intercepted when the missiles are tested.

Verification that ICBM or SLBM launchers are being dismantled is made from overhead photography.

The deployment of silo-based ICBMs is verified from overhead photography.

Silos containing MIRVed ICBMs have characteristics (signatures) that are distinct

from silos containing single-warhead ICBMs.

Bomber aircraft equipped with ALCMs have observable differences from bombers not equipped to carry these weapons.

The numbers and types of heavy bombers deployed is verified by photographic surveillance of the aircraft production facilities and bomber operational bases.

There is no indisputable method to verify that the number of reentry vehicles (RVs) is not being increased in a currently deployed MIRVed ICBM which has been tested to carry a higher number of RVs. The U.S. may not be able to detect the conversion of 8-MIRV SS-18 ICBMs to the 10-MIRV configuration. However, if the conversion continues, approximately 350 additional RVs would be added to the Soviet ICBM force. The gain to the Soviets in continuing the conversion of the MIRVed SS-18s would be of short duration, because under the terms of the proposed START the MIRVed SS-18s will be the first ICBMs to be retired.

Significant violations in the number of ICBM and SLBM launchers and bombers deployed would be readily detected. Also, the Soviets would not be able to attain a comfortable degree of confidence in the performance of additional accuracy improvements to their ICBMs and SLBMs without thorough testing of the whole missile system.

U.S. STRATEGIC PROGRAMS UNDER THIS
PROPOSAL

Reductions

No hard-site ABM defense needed.

No procurement and deployment of the M-X ICBM, and no construction for basing the M-X.

No procurement, production, and deployment of the Trident II SLBM, but continue its development.

No implementation of ballistic missile accuracy improvements (such as stellar-inertial system for Trident I SLBMs).

No deployment of larger or more lethal reentry vehicle warheads.

Retirement of the Titan II and Minuteman III ICBM force.

Phased retirement of the B-52D, B-52H, and B-52G bombers.

Reduction in the number of B-52 aircraft that would be modified to carry ALCMs. Without START, more than 120 B-52 bombers would be converted to ALCM carriers.

Curtailment in the total number of tanker aircraft needed to support the strategic bomber force.

Phased retirement of the Lafayette-class (Poseidon and Trident I) SSBNs from the strategic forces, and their conversion to attack submarines.

Curtailment in the total number of Ohio-class (Trident) SSBNs that would probably be deployed without START.

Curtailment in the total number of ALCMs that would be deployed. Without START, more than 120 B-52 bombers would be converted to ALCM carriers.

Curtailment in the total number of SRAMs or other short-range attack missiles that would be deployed. Without START, more than 100 penetrating bombers, armed with SRAMs or other short-range missiles, would probably be deployed.

New deployments

630 single-warhead (without a "bus") ICBMs (denoted in tables as MX-2), with 28 new additional ICBM silos (to provide a total of 1,080 launchers), would need to be constructed.

100 B-1B bomber aircraft (initially tasked to be penetrating bombers, and later phased to ALCM carriers, replacing B-52G CMCs, as the more advanced STEALTH aircraft assume penetrating role), or alternatively 100 new CMCs.

100 STEALTH penetrating bombers or 100 advanced CMCs.

PROBABLE SOVIET STRATEGIC PROGRAMS UNDER
THIS PROPOSAL

Reductions

No expansion of current ABM capabilities.

No deployment of a mobile ICBM with a hard-target capability.

No construction for basing of a mobile ICBM.

No deployment of larger or more lethal reentry vehicle warheads.

No deployment of a SLBM with hard-target capability.

No implementation of accuracy improvements to existing ICBMs and SLBMs.

Retirement of the SS-11 ICBM force.

Retirement of the SS-17, SS-18, and SS-19 ICBMs a few years earlier than anticipated.

Retirement of Yankee I SSBNs from the strategic forces, and their conversion to attack submarines.

Retirement of SS-N-6 SLBMs on Yankee I SSBNs.

Retirement of Golf III SSB and all Hotel II SSBNs.

Retirement of SS-N-5 SLBM on Hotel II SSBNs.

Retirement of the TU-95 Bear and Mya-4 Bison bombers.

Retirement of the Kangaroo air-launched missile.

New deployments

1,020 new single-warhead ICBMs (denoted in tables as SS-X), with throw-weight not to exceed that of the Soviet SS-19 ICBM.

120 new heavy bombers (denoted in tables as TU-X SWL).

Replacement of Yankee I SSBNs with a new 16-launcher SSBN (denoted in tables as SSBN-X).

Continued deployment of Typhoon SSBNs.

Continued deployment of SS-N-20 SLBMs on Typhoon SSBNs.

Deployment of SS-N-17 SLBMs (or other existing type) on new SSBN (denoted in tables as SSBN-X) replacing the Yankee I SSBNs.

WARHEAD LOADINGS USED IN PROJECTIONS

Unless otherwise specified in the tables, all other ballistic missiles except the following are estimated or projected to carry a single independently-targetable reentry vehicle:

Soviet: SS-N-20, 10 MIRVs; SS-N-18, 7 MIRVs.

United States: Minuteman III, 3 MIRVs; Poseidon, 9 MIRVs (average); Trident I, 8 MIRVs (average).

Bombers weapon loadings are estimated and projected to be as follows:

Soviet: TU-95 Bear, 1 AS-3 Kangaroo missile or four bombs; Mya-4 Bison, 2 bombs; TU-X SWL, 12 ALCMs (average) + 4 bombs.

United States: B-52D, 2 SRAMs + 4 bombs; B-52G/H, 4 SRAMs + 4 bombs; B-52G CMC, 12 ALCMs + 4 SRAMs + 4 bombs through 1985. Thereafter, a total of 348 ALCMs added per year (replacing SRAMs and bombs) until all B-52G CMCs are equipped with 20 ALCMs; B-1B, 8 SRAMs + 4 bombs; B-1B CMC, 24 ALCMs; STEALTH, 8 SRAMs + 4 bombs.

PROJECTED SOVIET ICBM LAUNCHER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

ICBM designation	By end of calendar year—																
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
SS-18 (10 MIRV's)	75	75	75	75	75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
SS-18 (8 MIRV's)	175	175	175	175	175	170	90	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
SS-19 (6 MIRV's)	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	230	150	70	0	0	0	0	0	
SS-17 (4 MIRV's)	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	110	30	0	0	0	
SS-18 (single)	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	8	0	0	
SS-19 (single)	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	0	0	
SS-17 (single)	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	20	0	
SS-13	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	
SS-11	518	518	488	418	368	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
SS-X	0	0	50	100	150	280	360	440	520	600	680	760	840	920	1,000	1,020	
Total	1,398	1,398	1,398	1,398	1,398	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	

PROJECTED U.S. ICBM LAUNCHER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

ICBM designation	By end of calendar year—																
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
Minuteman III (MX-12A)	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	220	140	60	0	0	0	0	0	
Minuteman III (MX-17)	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	150	70	0	0	
Minuteman II	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	
Titon II	52	52	52	52	52	45	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
MX-2	0	0	0	0	0	7	34	80	160	240	320	400	480	560	630	630	
Total	1,052	1,052	1,052	1,052	1,052	1,052	1,052	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	

ESTIMATED TYPE AND NUMBER OF SOVIET AND U.S. SLBM LAUNCHERS IN SSBs AND SSBNS

Soviet SSBs and SSBNs are believed to have the following type and number of SLBM launchers: Typhoon, 20 SS-N-20;

Delta III, 16 SS-N-18; Delta II, 16 SS-N-8; Delta I, 12 SS-N-8; Yankee II, 12 SS-N-17; Yankee I, 16 SS-N-6; SSBN-X (projected), 16 SS-N-17 (or other existing SLBM); Hotel

III, 6 SS-N-8; Hotel II, 3 SS-N-5; Golf III, 6 SS-N-8.

U.S. SSBNs have the following type and number of SLBM launchers: Lafayette-class, 16 Poseidon or 16 Trident I; Ohio-class, 24 Trident I.

PROJECTED SOVIET SSB/SSBN INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

SSB/SSBN CLASS (SLBM type)	By end of calendar year—																
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
Typhoon (SS-N-20)	1	3	5	7	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	
Delta III (SS-N-18)	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	
Delta II (SS-N-8)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	
Delta I (SS-N-8)	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	
Yankee II (SS-N-17)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
SSBN-X (SS-N-17)	1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	22	22	22	22	22	
Yankee I (SS-N-6)	22	20	18	16	13	11	9	7	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Hotel III (SS-N-8)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Hotel II (SS-N-5)	6	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Golf III (SS-N-8)	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Golf IV (SS-N-6)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	70	70	70	69	68	69	69	69	69	69	69	69	69	69	69	69	

PROJECTED U.S. SSBN INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

SSNB class (SLBM type)	By end of calendar year—																
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
Lafayette	31	31	31	31	30	25	20	15	13	12	11	9	7	5	3	1	
Poseidon	(19)	(19)	(19)	(19)	(18)	(13)	(8)	(3)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	
Trident I	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(11)	(9)	(7)	(5)	(3)	(1)	
Ohio	2	3	5	6	7	9	11	13	15	16	18	18	19	20	21	22	
Trident I	(2)	(3)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(9)	(11)	(13)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	
Trident II	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	
Total	33	34	36	37	37	34	31	28	28	28	28	27	26	25	24	23	

PROJECTED SOVIET SLBM LAUNCHER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

SLBM designation (SSB/SSBN class)	By end of calendar year—															
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
SS-N-20 (Typhoon)	20	60	100	140	140	150	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	160
SS-N-18 (Delta III)	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240
SS-N-17	28	60	92	124	156	188	220	252	284	316	348	364	364	364	364	364
Yankee II	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)
SSBN-X	(16)	(48)	(80)	(112)	(144)	(176)	(208)	(240)	(272)	(304)	(336)	(352)	(352)	(352)	(352)	(352)
SS-N-8	292	292	292	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286
Delta II	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)	(64)
Delta I	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)	(216)
Hotel III	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)
Golf III	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)
SS-N-6	352	320	288	256	208	176	144	112	80	48	16	0	0	0	0	0
(Yankee I)	(352)	(320)	(288)	(256)	(208)	(176)	(144)	(112)	(80)	(48)	(16)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
(Golf IV)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
SS-N-5 (Hotel II)	18	12	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	950	984	1,018	1,046	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050

PROJECTED U.S. SLBM LAUNCHER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

SLBM designation (SSBN class)	By end of calendar year—																*
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
Trident I	240	264	312	336	360	408	456	504	552	576	584	576	568	560	552	544	
Ohio	(48)	(72)	(120)	(144)	(168)	(216)	(264)	(312)	(360)	(384)	(408)	(432)	(456)	(480)	(504)	(528)	
(Lafayette)	(192)	(192)	(192)	(192)	(192)	(192)	(192)	(192)	(192)	(192)	(176)	(144)	(112)	(80)	(48)	(16)	
Poseidon	304	304	304	304	288	208	128	48	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Lafayette	(304)	(304)	(304)	(304)	(288)	(208)	(128)	(48)	(16)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	
Total	544	568	616	640	648	616	584	552	568	576	584	576	568	560	552	544	

PROJECTED SOVIET REENTRY VEHICLE INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

ICBM/SLBM designation	By end of calendar year—															
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
ICBM's																
SS-18 (10 RV)	750	750	750	750	750	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SS-18 (8 RV)	1,400	1,400	1,400	1,400	1,400	1,360	720	80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SS-19 (6 RV)	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,380	900	420	0	0	0	0	0
SS-17 (4 RV)	480	480	480	480	480	480	480	480	480	480	480	440	120	0	0	0
SS-18 (1 RV)	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	8	0	0
SS-19 (1 RV)	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	0	0
SS-17 (1 RV)	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	20	0
SS-13	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
SS-11	518	518	468	418	368	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SS-X	0	0	50	100	150	280	360	440	520	600	680	760	840	920	1,000	1,020
Subtotal	5,158	5,158	5,158	5,158	5,158	4,130	3,570	3,010	2,590	2,190	1,790	1,410	1,170	1,080	1,080	1,080
SLBM's																
SS-N-20	200	600	1,000	1,400	1,400	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600
SS-N-18	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680
SS-N-17	20	60	92	124	156	188	220	252	284	316	348	380	412	444	476	508
SS-N-8	292	292	292	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286
SS-N-6	352	320	288	256	208	176	144	112	80	48	16	0	0	0	0	0
SS-N-5	18	12	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	2,562	2,964	3,358	3,746	3,730	3,930	3,930	3,930	3,930	3,930	3,930	3,930	3,930	3,930	3,930	3,930
Grand Total	7,720	8,122	8,516	8,904	8,888	8,060	7,500	6,940	6,520	6,120	5,720	5,340	5,100	5,010	5,010	5,010

PROJECTED U.S. DEPLOYED REENTRY VEHICLE INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

ICBM/SLBM designation	By end of calendar year—																
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
ICBM's:																	
Minuteman III (MX-12A)	900	900	900	900	900	900	900	900	660	420	180	0	0	0	0	0	
Minuteman III (MX-12)	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	690	450	210	0	0	
Minuteman II	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	
Titan II	52	52	52	52	52	45	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
MX-2	0	0	0	0	0	7	34	80	160	240	320	400	480	560	630	630	
Subtotal	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,180	2,020	1,860	1,700	1,540	1,380	1,220	1,080	1,080	
SLBM's:																	
Trident I	1,920	2,112	2,496	2,688	2,880	3,264	3,648	4,032	4,424	4,808	4,672	4,608	4,544	4,480	4,416	4,352	
Poseidon	2,736	2,736	2,736	2,736	2,592	1,872	1,152	432	144	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Subtotal	4,656	4,848	5,232	5,424	5,472	5,136	4,800	4,464	4,568	4,608	4,672	4,608	4,544	4,480	4,416	4,352	
Grand total	6,808	7,000	7,384	7,576	7,624	7,288	6,952	6,644	6,588	6,468	6,372	6,148	5,924	5,700	5,496	5,432	

PROJECTED SOVIET AGGREGATE STRATEGIC LAUNCHER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

Launcher type	By end of calendar year—															
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
ICBM's	1,398	1,398	1,398	1,398	1,398	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080
SLBM's	960	964	1,018	1,046	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,050
Bombers	156	156	148	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120
Total	2,504	2,538	2,564	2,564	2,568	2,250	2,250	2,250	2,250	2,250	2,250	2,250	2,250	2,250	2,250	2,250
Of which the following are counted as MIRV'd ballistic missiles and cruise missile-launching bombers:																
ICBM's	820	820	820	820	820	740	660	580	500	420	340	260	180	100	20	0
SLBM's	260	260	260	260	260	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400
Bombers	0	0	5	36	60	90	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120
Subtotal	1,080	1,120	1,165	1,230	1,280	1,230	1,180	1,100	1,020	940	860	780	700	620	540	520

PROJECTED U.S. AGGREGATE STRATEGIC LAUNCHER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

Launcher type	By end of calendar year—															
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
ICBM's	1,052	1,052	1,052	1,052	1,052	1,052	1,052	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080
SLBM's	544	568	616	640	648	616	584	552	508	576	584	576	568	560	552	544
Bombers	345	345	345	345	345	345	345	345	345	345	345	345	345	345	219	200
Total	1,941	1,965	2,013	2,037	2,045	2,013	1,981	1,977	1,973	1,971	1,969	1,951	1,938	1,895	1,851	1,824
Of which the following are counted as MIRV'd ballistic missiles and cruise missile-launching bombers:																
ICBM's	550	550	550	550	550	550	550	550	470	390	310	230	150	70	0	0
SLBM's	544	568	616	640	648	616	584	552	508	576	584	576	568	560	552	544
Bombers	16	51	86	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	115	109	103	100
Subtotal	1,110	1,169	1,252	1,310	1,318	1,286	1,254	1,222	1,158	1,085	1,014	926	833	739	655	644

PROJECTED SOVIET AND UNITED STATES COUNTERFORCE—CAPABLE RV INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START (CLOSING THE "WINDOW OF ICBM VULNERABILITY")

	By end of calendar year—																
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
Soviet: ^a																	
SS-18 (10 RV's)	750	750	750	750	750	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
SS-18 (8 RV's)	1,400	1,400	1,400	1,400	1,400	1,360	720	80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
SS-19 (6 RV's)	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,380	900	420	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	3,950	3,950	3,950	3,950	3,950	3,160	2,520	1,880	1,380	900	420	0	0	0	0	0	
United States																	
Minuteman III (MX-12A)	900	900	900	900	900	900	900	900	660	420	180	0	0	0	0	0	
Minuteman III (MX-12)	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	690	450	210	0	0	
Total	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,410	1,170	930	690	450	210	0	0	
Strike Ratio ^a (RV's/ICBM's):																	
Soviet	3.75	3.75	3.75	3.75	3.75	2.99	2.40	1.74	1.28	0.83	0.39	0	0	0	0	0	
United States	1.18	1.18	1.18	1.18	1.18	1.53	1.53	1.53	1.31	1.08	0.91	0.64	0.42	0.19	0	0	

^a The RV's carried by the MIRV'd version of the SS-17 are not included. Currently, the MIRV'd SS-17 does not have sufficient accuracy to destroy U.S. ICBM silos with a high degree of probability.

^b Assuming 100 percent availability and reliability of the missiles and warheads (an optimistic assumption), a strike ratio equal to or larger than 2 denotes a theoretical capability to target at least 2 reentry vehicles against each silo. Thus, if each of the reentry vehicles has a high single-shot-kill probability (SSKP) of destroying a silo, a strike ratio equal to or larger than 2 signifies a theoretical capability to destroy the opposing ICBM force at their silos.

PROJECTED SOVIET STRATEGIC BOMBER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

PROJECTED SOVIET DEPLOYED BOMBER WEAPON INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

Bomber and weapon designation	By end of calendar year—															
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
TU-95 Bear:																
Kangaroo Bombs	75	75	75	75	60	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mya-4 Bison bombs	152	152	100	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TU-160:																
ALCM's	85	85	85	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bomb's	0	0	60	360	720	1,080	1,440	1,440	1,440	1,440	1,440	1,440	1,440	1,440	1,440	1,440
Totals	313	313	341	615	1,020	1,470	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920

PROJECTED U.S. DEPLOYED BOMBER WEAPON INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

Bomber and weapon designation	By end of calendar year—															
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
B-52D:																
SRAM's	157	157	157	157	157	97	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bombs	304	304	304	304	304	184	64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B-57G:																
SRAM's	628	488	348	212	212	212	212	156	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bombs	628	488	348	212	212	212	212	156	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B-57H:																
SRAM's	384	384	384	384	384	384	384	384	384	264	144	24	0	0	0	0
Bombs	384	384	384	384	384	384	384	384	384	264	144	24	0	0	0	0
B-57G CMC:																
SRAM's	64	204	344	480	306	132	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bombs	64	204	344	480	306	132	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ALCM's	192	612	1,032	1,440	1,788	2,136	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,400	1,800	1,080	360	0
B-1B:																
SRAM's	0	0	0	0	0	240	480	720	800	800	800	800	608	368	128	0
Bombs	0	0	0	0	0	170	240	360	400	400	400	400	304	184	64	0
B-1B CMC:																
ALCM's	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	600	1,320	2,040	2,400
Stratfs:																
SRAM's	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	72	232	392	552	712	800	800	800
Bomb's	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	116	196	276	356	400	400	400
Total	2,800	3,210	3,640	4,048	4,048	4,228	4,408	4,560	4,776	4,476	4,476	4,476	4,380	4,152	3,792	3,600

PROJECTED AGGREGATE OF DEPLOYED SOVIET STRATEGIC WARHEADS UNDER PROPOSED START

Delivery system	By end of calendar year—															
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
ICBM's/SLBM's	7,720	8,122	8,516	8,904	8,888	8,060	7,500	6,940	6,520	6,120	5,720	5,340	5,100	5,010	5,010	5,010
Bombers	313	313	341	615	1,020	1,470	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920	1,920
Totals	8,033	8,435	8,857	9,519	9,908	9,530	9,420	8,860	8,440	8,040	7,640	7,260	7,020	6,930	6,930	6,930

PROJECTED AGGREGATE OF DEPLOYED U.S. STRATEGIC WARHEADS UNDER PROPOSED START

Delivery system	By end of calendar year—															
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
ICBM's/SLBM's	6,808	7,000	7,384	7,576	7,624	7,288	6,952	6,644	6,588	6,466	6,372	6,148	5,924	5,700	5,496	5,432
Bombers	2,800	3,210	3,640	4,048	4,048	4,228	4,408	4,560	4,776	4,476	4,476	4,476	4,380	4,152	3,792	3,600
Totals	9,608	10,210	11,024	11,624	11,672	11,516	11,360	11,204	11,364	10,944	10,848	10,624	10,304	9,852	9,288	9,032

PROJECTED SOVIET STRATEGIC LAUNCHER RETIREMENT UNDER PROPOSED START

Launcher	During calendar year—																Totals
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
ICBM's																	
SS-11	0	0	50	50	50	368	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	518
SS-18 MIRV'd	0	0	0	0	0	80	80	80	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	250
SS-19 MIRV'd	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	70	80	70	0	0	0	0	300
SS-17 MIRV'd	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	80	30	0	0	120
SS-18 single	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	8	0	58
SS-19 single	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	60	0	60
SS-17 single	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	20	32
Subtotal	0	0	50	50	50	448	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	20	1,338
SLBM's																	
SS-N-8 (Golf II)	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
SS-N-6 (Yankee II)	48	32	32	32	48	32	32	32	32	32	32	16	0	0	0	0	400
SS-N-5 (Hotel II)	0	6	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
Subtotal	48	38	38	44	48	32	32	32	32	32	32	16	0	0	0	0	424
Bombers																	
TU-95 Bear	0	0	13	10	30	30	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	113
Mya-4 Bison	0	0	0	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43
Subtotal	0	0	13	53	30	30	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	156
Grand total	48	38	101	147	128	510	142	112	112	112	112	96	80	80	80	20	1,918

PROJECTED SOVIET STRATEGIC LAUNCHER NEW DEPLOYMENT UNDER PROPOSED START

Launcher	During calendar year—																Totals
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
ICBM's: SS-X subtotal	0	0	50	50	130	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	20	1,020
SLBM's:																	
SS-N-20 (Typhoon)	20	40	40	40	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	160
SS-N-18 (Delta II)	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
SS-N-17 (SSBN-X)	16	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	16	0	0	0	0	352
Subtotal	52	72	72	72	32	32	52	32	32	32	32	16	0	0	0	0	528
Bombers: TU-X SWL (subtotal)	0	0	5	25	30	30	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	120
Grand total	52	72	127	147	112	192	162	112	112	112	112	96	80	80	80	20	1,668

PROJECTED U.S. STRATEGIC LAUNCHER RETIREMENT UNDER PROPOSED START

Launcher	During calendar year—																Totals
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
ICBM's:																	
Minuteman III (MX-12A)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	80	80	80	60	0	0	0	0	300
Minuteman III (MX-12)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	80	80	70	0	250
Titan II	0	0	0	0	0	7	27	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	7	27	18	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	0	602
SLBM's:																	
Poseidon (Lafayette)	0	0	0	0	16	80	80	80	32	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	304
Trident I (Lafayette)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	32	32	32	32	32	476
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	16	80	80	80	32	16	16	32	32	32	32	32	480
Bombers:																	
B-52D	0	0	0	0	0	30	30	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	76
B-52G	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	33	0	0	0	30	36	36	18	173
B-52H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	30	30	6	0	0	0	96
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	30	30	36	33	30	30	30	36	36	36	18	345
Grand total	0	0	0	0	16	117	137	134	145	126	126	142	148	148	138	50	1,427

PROJECTED U.S. STRATEGIC LAUNCHER NEW DEPLOYMENT UNDER PROPOSED START

Launcher	During calendar year—																Totals
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
ICBM's: MX-2 (subtotal)	0	0	0	0	0	7	27	46	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	0	630
SLBM's: Trident I (Ohio class) (subtotal)	24	24	48	24	24	48	48	48	48	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	504
Bombers:																	
B-1B	0	0	0	0	0	30	30	30	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Stealth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	20	20	20	20	11	0	0	100
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	30	30	30	19	20	20	20	20	11	0	0	200
Grand total	24	24	48	24	24	85	105	124	147	124	124	124	124	115	94	24	1,334



EMILY R. AND KIVIE KAPLAN BUILDING
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
(Code 202) 387-2800

Co-Director: ALBERT VORSPAN

Co-Director and Counsel: RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

Religious Action Center

Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

צדק צדק תרדף

Justice, Justice Shalt Thou Pursue

March 23, 1982

Reverend Paul Mayer
85 S. Oxford Street
Brooklyn, NY 11217

Dear Paul;

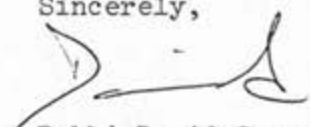
I feel terrible about the confusion over the Jewish participation on the disarmament statement. I have worked for many years with you. You have always been someone of the highest integrity. I know that you must be deeply chagrined at the mix-up.

There are several points which need to be made:

- 1.) It is my understanding that Rabbis Schindler and Wurzberger intended to sign only the statement. Outside of the amorphous allusion in the statement to the events, they signed specifically on the understanding that they would not be endorsing the Shabbat activities or any particular group including Mobilization for Survival. Apparently from our conversations today, it was not the intent of Mobilization to imply that the signers of the statement were endorsing either the activities in the box (i.e., including the Shabbat activities) or Mobilization. But to all of us, that is the clear meaning of the material.
- 2.) While Rabbi Schindler and I understood convocation to mean a service, I do understand how there was a misreading of that by the Synagogue Council.
- 3.) I suggest the following: a. While the initial mailings cannot be stopped, if there is to be future mailings and/or mass production of existing materials, please remove the fundraising plug for Mobilization and remove the implicit endorsement of the Shabbat activities or put an asterisk indicating that because the activities fall on Shabbat, the Jewish signators can neither endorse or participate in it. If that is not possible, then I suggest that you remove the names of Rabbi Schindler and Rabbi Wurzberger. In other words, let's go back to the original arrangement. The rabbis wished to endorse the statement but not any organizations or specific activities. While I do not speak for them, I feel confident that this arrangement would be fair, just and realistic.

I am sorry that this has happened. Please keep in touch.

Sincerely,


Rabbi David Saperstein

February 3, 1982

Mr. Paul Mayer
Religious Task Force
Mobilization for Survival
85 So. Oxford Street
Brooklyn, NY 11217

Dear Mr. Mayer:

Thank you for your letter of January 20 in regard to an international appeal in support of the aims of the 11 United Nations Special Session on Disarmament (SSD) scheduled for June, 1982. I thank you for sharing the various materials on the proposed World Appeal.

By means of this letter I am writing to authorize my signature on the letter which is to be distributed in connection with this Appeal.

At the moment I do not know if my schedule will permit me to participate in the International Religious Convocation to take place on Friday, June 11. It is quite possible that I will have to be out of the country. If not, be assured that I will make every effort to be in attendance.

With every good wish and kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Rabbi David Saperstein

MEMORANDUM

From Annette Daum

Date Feb. 2, 1982

To Rabbi Alexander Schindler

Copies Albert Vorspan; Alex Ross; Rabbi David Saperstein

Subject PARTICIPATION IN WORLD APPEAL FOR DISARMAMENT BY RELIGIOUS LEADERS

The appeal, attached, is designed to call attention to the need for nuclear disarmament. This will be the first step in a series of events designed to call attention to the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in June.

You are one of three world Jewish leaders who has been asked to sign the appeal, which is based on the passage from Deuteronomy urging all people to CHOOSE LIFE. The other two are Dr. Immanuel Jakobovitz, Chief Rabbi of England, and Rabbi Walter Wurzbarger, president of the Synagogue Council. Your signature on the appeal would call public attention to our commitment to prevent nuclear warfare.

The appeal also refers to a CHOOSE LIFE WEEKEND, to take place on Memorial Day weekend, coinciding with Shavuoth, Pentecost and immediately preceding the Special Session on Disarmament. Our congregations should be encouraged to participate, wherever possible on an interreligious basis.

Your participation in the service on June 11 (it will take place around noon), immediately preceding the demonstration, would also be important.

David and I both protested the selection of our Sabbath for the demonstration. At the meeting I attended there was some very vocal support for changing the date to accommodate us, but plans had already gone too far. The minutes of a previous meeting indicated an attempt by a few people to add support for "self-determination for indigenous people" (the usual ploy), which was defeated.

There are many reasons for our participation -- both principled and pragmatic.

AS



Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

CHOOSE LIFE SO THAT YOU AND YOUR CHILDREN WILL LIVE.

World Religions and Disarmament:
An Appeal to Religious People Everywhere,
January, 1982

Sisters and Brothers:

Although we speak with the many voices of the world's diverse religious traditions, we are one in our belief in the sacredness of life and the holiness of the earth. It is from this common faith that we wish to speak out in the name of present and future generations.

Today as never before the survival of humanity is threatened by the possibility of nuclear extermination. Even if these fearsome weapons are not actually used they attack the poor through an unchecked arms race that consumes the very resources—\$500 billion annually—which should feed, clothe, house, and heal the world's people.

In 1978 the first United Nations Special Session on Disarmament declared in its Final Document:

"Removing the threat of a world war—a nuclear war—is the most acute and urgent task of the present day. (Humanity) is confronted with a choice, we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation." (paragraph 18)

Unfortunately, this solemn warning has been largely ignored and even during these last three short years the world has been pushed closer to the possibility of a nuclear holocaust.

In the face of this grave danger to humanity we still wish to announce 1982 as a Year of Hope. Our hope comes from the fact that the representatives of the nations of the world will once again gather together in New York City in June, 1982 for a United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. The grave responsibility which the First Special Session on Disarmament laid upon this Second Special Session on Disarmament is nothing less than the development of a Comprehensive Program for Disarmament with specific time frames leading to the abolition of nuclear weapons, and general and complete disarmament. This must be done.

We urge the governments represented at the United Nations, especially the nuclear powers, to seriously participate in this process and to address this task, to freeze and reverse the arms race as a first and crucial step towards disarmament. These efforts should include specific treaties and lead to a strengthening of the United Nations' peacekeeping role. The billions of dollars saved should be placed at the service of developing a better life for all, especially for the world's poor.

At the same time we call on all people of good will to support the Special Session on Disarmament and to raise their collective voices in the name of the earth's children, insisting that war, especially nuclear war, be abolished as a means of resolving international conflicts. To this end we urge all believers to recognize the Special Session on Disarmament as a sacred responsibility as well as a unique opportunity to make themselves heard. During the coming months let them focus their spiritual energies on a broad range of religious,

educational, and political activities in the name of disarmament and peace.

On the weekend before the Special Session on Disarmament (Friday, Saturday, Sunday, May 28, 29, 30) to be known as Choose Life Weekend, we invite religious people all over the world to participate in intensive prayer, fasting, vigils, and other actions in their respective churches, mosques, pagodas, synagogues, temples, and holy places in the name of this sacred cause. We also encourage these communities to send delegates to represent them at the religious events to be held in connection with the Special Session on Disarmament in New York City.

This appeal goes out to the followers of the Buddhist, Christian, Confucian, Hindu, Jain, Jewish, Moslem, Shinto, Sikh, Taoist, Zoroastrian, and indigenous religious traditions, as well as to all believers everywhere.

In the name of the Spirit of Life may the work of those within the United Nations and outside of it during the Special Session on Disarmament be blessed with the vision and courage to turn the nuclear tide while there is still time. Together let us choose life so that we and our children will live.

Annette went to
meeting, will give you
memo.

Also ~~protestations~~ ^{protestations} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~survival~~
I don't

see how we
can go along
on banning
nuclear power,
civil disobedience,
passive and
tax resistance -
3rd world
orientation — H

Religious Task Force

mobilization FOR SURVIVAL

85 SO. OXFORD ST., BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11217 (212) 858-6882

January 20, 1982

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 5th Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Rabbi David Saperstein to invite you to join a group of world religious leaders in issuing an international appeal in support of the aims of the II United Nations Special Session on Disarmament (SSD) scheduled for June, 1982. This Appeal will initiate an international campaign in support of this sacred cause as described in the enclosed materials.

Enclosed you will also find a copy of the proposed World Appeal along with a letter from Archbishop Penney of Canada reporting on his efforts to enlist the support of Pope John Paul II. We are also approaching the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Patriarch of Moscow, the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches as well as Buddhist, Hindu, Moslem and other world leaders. Archbishop John Roach, the President of the U.S. Catholic Conference, and two presidents of the World Council of Churches have already agreed to sign.

Please give us your response at your earliest convenience, since we hope to release the World Appeal as soon as possible. We list list organizational affiliation "for identification purposes only".

We would also be greatly honored if you would consider personally participating in the International Religious Convocation to take place in New York City during the SSD on Friday, June 11, 1982.

Any other support for the SSD Campaign would be greatly appreciated, including the publicizing of this effort on behalf of human survival. Many thanks for considering this request and we hope to hear from you soon. May our common prayers and efforts create a peaceful world for future generations.

Yours in Peace,

Paul Mayer
Paul Mayer

Enclosures

Zero Nuclear Weapons

Ban Nuclear Power

Stop the Arms Race

Fund Human Needs

"Therefore choose life so that you and your children will live . . ." Deut. XXX. 19

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FOR SURVIVAL mobilization

Religious Task Force

85 SO. OXFORD ST., BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11217 (212) 858-6882



"Therefore choose life so that you and your children will live . . ." Deut. XXX. 19
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Religious Task Force

mobilization FOR SURVIVAL

85 SO. OXFORD ST., BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11217 (212) 858-6882

The International Religious Campaign for Human Survival:
A Project for the United Nations Special Session on
Disarmament II

Background:

At this moment in history the human family faces an unprecedented threat to its survival. The United States and the USSR between them possess approximately 50,000 nuclear warheads and the capacity to destroy each other's civilian population dozens of times. Today the U.S. is in the process of creating a new generation of even more dangerous first-strike nuclear weapons and a strategy based on the possibility of engaging in limited nuclear wars. The Soviet Union and other nuclear powers will undoubtedly follow suit quickly making the possibility of nuclear war either by intent or by accident greater than ever before.

At the same time the growing international sale of nuclear energy technology will shortly enable new countries such as Brazil, Argentina, South Africa, Pakistan, and Libya to join the nuclear club. In addition to the escalation on the nuclear front, the even more costly conventional arms race squanders the earth's riches which the developing countries of the Third World desperately need to overcome the daily threats of poverty, hunger, diseases, and despair. Nor are the peoples of the industrialized societies, especially the poor, immune to this theft of their daily bread and of the possibility of a dignified life by the global military buildup.

The United Nations Special Session on Disarmament II (U.N. SSD II) planned for the spring of 1982 is seen by people all over the world as one great last chance to stay the hand of the nuclear executioner. It is significant that it is being called primarily by the non-aligned and Third World countries, who see themselves held in a kind of nuclear blackmail by the superpowers, while the arms race consumes the resources upon which they depend for social and economic development. It is especially the peoples of these non-aligned nations joined by some courageous voices from other countries who are calling for massive action by independent citizens movements all over the world in support of the aims of the SSD. Here in the U.S. the Mobilization for Survival (MFS) and its Religious Task Force (RTF) is already taking the initiative in exploring plans for the Spring of 1982.



Zero Nuclear Weapons

Ban Nuclear Power

Stop the Arms Race

Fund Human Needs

"Therefore choose life so that you and your children will live . . ." Deut. XXX, 19

In April 1981 the World Assembly for Religious Workers for Nuclear and General Disarmament in Tokyo brought almost 600 religious leaders and others from 58 countries to Tokyo. There the representatives of all the great world religions began to lay plans for internationally coordinated religious activities during the SSD in 1982. The RTF helped to organize the U.S. delegation which included the President of the Leadership Conference of Women Religious, representatives from the National Council of Churches, Reformed Judaism, the Black Church, and various religious peace groups. The World Assembly's plan to have the global religious community focus its spiritual energies on the SSD has given additional impetus and inspiration to activities that were already being planned and discussed in the U.S. by the RTF and other groups. (The RTF hopes that its experience in coordinating the successful religious activities during the SSD I in 1978 will enable it to be of help in facilitating the kind of religious campaign which corresponds to the even greater crisis existing two years later.)

Project:

The International Religious Campaign for Human Survival will be an effort to arouse and activate religious persons, local religious congregations and groups, national denominations, and world traditions both in the U.S. and worldwide to recognize the SSD both as a unique opportunity and as a sacred responsibility. The ideal of the Campaign would be to create a new level of religious consciousness concerning the imminent threat to human survival, and the need to make the work before and during the SSD a major priority for religious believers the world over. The work of the Campaign for Human Survival would include:

1. An appeal (or separate appeals) would be issued in early 1982 by world religious leaders such as Pope John Paul II, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mother Theresa, Venoba Bhavi, Venerable Fujii, Billy Graham, Philip Potter of the WCC, along with other leaders of Judaism, Islam, and all of the world religions to signal the opening of the SSD. The appeal would call on believers to engage in a Choose Life broad variety of activities focussed on the SSD including a ☒ Weekend of intense prayer, fasting, celebrations and vigils in synagogues, churches, mosques, pagodas, and temples all over the world at the beginning of the SSD. It would also urge communities to send delegations to the religious gathering in New York City during the SSD.
2. Coordinate other activities in local congregations in the U.S.: educational material, worship and sermon resources, speakers, discussion group resources. Begin process of organizing delegations to N.Y.C. for SSD.
3. Communicate with religious bodies and leaders in other countries (especially those from the Third World/Non-aligned nations) concerning coordinated international activities and those in New York during the SSD.
4. Establish and/or strengthen links and cooperative efforts with Black, Hispanic, and other minority religious communities before and during the SSD linking social injustice and military spending as a kind of domestic implementation of the development vs. the arms race focus of Third World countries at SSD.

5. Organize the Choose Life Weekend in N.Y.C. in coordination with national and international efforts.
6. Coordinate the International Religious Convocation for Human Survival during the early period of the SSD in New York City (to be coordinated with other events of the national MFS and other groups such as a mass rally, international conference of peace representatives etc.) The Convocation would include:
 - a. Witness for Survival- opening religious events in the South Bronx or Harlem linking the arms race and domestic poverty and organized by the indigineous leadership with our cooperation, which would be attended by international religious representatives.
 - b. Interreligious Worship Service- a major celebration involving religious leaders from all countries and traditions.
 - c. Planning conference to discuss ongoing coordinated religious activity for survival in the U.S. and abroad.
7. Explore the possiblitiy of a religious expression of non-violent civil disobedience during the SSD inspired by recent activities such as the actions of the Plowshares 8; the call of Archbishop Hunthausen of Seattle to tax resistance and the statement of the World Religious Assembly in Tokyo:

"Individuals should respond to the calls of their spiritual leaders and give spiritual laws priority over human-made laws. Actions could include non-violent responsible direct action."

The full details concerning time-line, budget, adequate staffing, involved groups and funding sources are still in the process of being negotiated. Activities during this period would include:

1. Establish basic communication with world religious leaders either directly or through the network of the Tokyo World Assembly to prepare for the release of the World Appeal in early 1982.
2. Communicate with the broadest possible network of religious denominations and organizations to secure their commitment (financial, staff time, material production, etc.) to cooperate with coordinated planning for the Campaign. This would require a major meeting/planning conference in the early fall 1981.
3. Secure funding or in kind commitment from a broad range of foundations, individuals, denominations, and other religious organizations.
4. Set up meetings in early fall 1981 here and possibly abroad to begin working on preparatory local activities, on the specifics of the Choose Life Weekend May 1982, and on the events during the International Religious Convocation

for Human Survival in New York City during the SSD.

We believe that this Campaign could have a significant impact on world public opinion concerning the SSD, on the U.N. delegates to the SSD and on the religious consciousness of believers all over the world. With God's help millions of people could be affected and perhaps some change in the world's political climate could be created. It needs to be noted that the significant mass activities now being planned outside of religious circles would also be a major part of these efforts on behalf of human survival.

Religious Task Force:

The RTF of the MFS is organized to mobilize the religious community within the United States in support of four goals: 1). Zero Nuclear Weapons 2). Ban Nuclear Power 3). Stop the Arms Race 4). Meet Human Needs. The RTF is one of seven task forces within the MFS which is a national coalition of over 100 peace, environmental, religious, anti-nuclear energy, community, and labor organizations.

The RTF is a coalition of religious groups which includes Clergy and Laity Concerned, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Jewish Peace Fellowship, Friends Peace Committee, Intercommunity Center for Justice and Peace, the Unitarian Universalist Association, Catholic Peace Fellowship, New York Friends Meeting House. Other groups which work with the RTF on a regular or occasional basis include Leadership Conference of Women Religious, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, National Council of Churches, National Association of Women Religious, Pax Christi, National Conference of Black Churchmen, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Episcopal Diocese of New York, the Integral Yoga Institute, the Women's Division of the Methodist Church, the YWCA, the YMCA, various Native American spiritual groups and many individual religious bodies.



OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

P.O. BOX 37
ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND
A1C 5H5

September 24, 1981

Mr. Paul Mayer,
Religious Task Force,
Mobilization for Survival,
85 So. Oxford Street,
Brooklyn, N. Y., 11217,
U. S. A.

Dear Paul,

I wish to acknowledge your letter of July 2, 1981, and the circular letter of July 30, 1981, which I received August 24, 1981; the delay was due to our National postal strike.

At the recent meeting of the Board of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops I raised the request of the World Assembly of Religious Workers for General and Nuclear Disarmament seeking a public statement of support for the special U. N. Session on Disarmament from world religious leaders. I also informed them of your letter exploring the possibility of the C.C.C.B. using its good offices of including the support of our Holy Father Pope John Paul II through the medium of a public message.

The Board has directed that a letter be sent immediately to the Cardinal Secretary of State, informing him of this request and the importance which the Conference gives it. The Board has also approved that this item be included in the topics for discussion by the President and Vice-President with the Cardinal Secretary of State during their imminent visit to Rome.

I was very pleased with the wholehearted positive response which the Board gave to this request.

On a local basis our Archdiocesan Social Action Commission is considering ways and means to promote support for the second Special Session and also raising the consciousness of people to the terrible dangers inherent to nuclear armament, as well as the consequences of nuclear war.

With kind regards and every good wish,

Sincerely in the Lord, .

Alphonse L. Perre

Archbishop of St. John's



**Choose Life
So That You
and Your
Children
Will Live**

**Come & Witness
at the
Second
United Nations
Special Session
on
Disarmament in
New York City
June, 1982**

Religious Task Force
Mobilization for Survival
85 South Oxford Street
Brooklyn, New York 11217
(212) 858-6882

Second UN Special Session on Disarmament

At this moment in history the human family faces an unprecedented threat to its survival. The United States and the USSR between them possess approximately 50,000 nuclear warheads and the capacity to destroy each other's civilian population dozens of times. Today the U.S. is in the process of creating a new generation of even more dangerous first-strike nuclear weapons such as the MX Missile and a strategy based on the possibility of engaging in limited nuclear wars. The Soviet Union and the other nuclear powers will undoubtedly quickly follow suit, thus fueling a new arms race that leads straight to World War III.

In addition to the escalation on the nuclear front, the even more costly conventional arms race squanders the earth's riches which the developing countries of the Third World as well as many Americans desperately need to overcome the daily threats of poverty, hunger, disease, and despair.

In spite of the war clouds hanging over us, people all over the world including many in the religious community are finding hope and determination in planning for the U.N. Special Session on disarmament (SSD) scheduled for the Spring of 1982 in New York City. The SSD has been called by the non-aligned and Third World countries to protest their being held hostage by the nuclear blackmail of the superpowers and to demand that the world's resources be used for the social and economic development of their peoples instead of for armaments.

Intensive planning is already underway for an international campaign to involve believers of all traditions in making the SSD a time of serious spiritual and political activity in the name of disarmament and development. It will be coordinated with cultural events, conferences, non-

violent civil disobedience, a World Peace March led by Japanese Buddhist monks and a massive demonstration in New York city.

Campaign activities

● **World Appeal** (January 1982) to be issued by world religious leaders announcing 1982 as a Year of Hope and calling on people of faith to make a deep commitment to the SSD campaign.

● **Events In Local Congregations**—education, worship services, forums, speakers, study groups, local actions, events with minority churches linking the arms race and budget cuts.

● **Choose Life Weekend** (May 28-29-30) To coincide with Peace Sabbath in the U.S. Three days of fasting, prayer, vigils and actions in mosques, synagogues, churches and pagodas around the world immediately before the SSD. Local congregations will delegate their representatives to the SSD activities in New York City.

● **Interreligious Convocation in New York City**—June 1982

Witness for Survival—opening religious event in a New York City poverty community (e.g. South Bronx, Harlem) led by indigenous religious leaders with international delegates to link military spending and human needs.

Major Religious Celebration—will bring Buddhist, Jewish, Christian, Hindu, Moslem, Native American and other spiritual leaders from around the world to pray with one voice for future generations.

International Religious Conference—Religious leaders, congregational members and religious activists will come together to share, worship, be empowered and to strategize towards building a massive international religious movement.

Organizations involved in planning (in formation)

Ethical Culture Society ● United Ministries in Education ● World Conference on Religion & Peace ● Church Women United ● Sojourners Peace Ministry ● Friends World Committee ● Interfaith Peace Fellowship ● Leadership Conference of Women Religious ● Friends Peace Committee ● National Black Pastors Conference ● Pax Christi ● United Church of Christ, Office of Church & Society ● Mennonite Central Committee ● National Assembly of Women Religious ● Women International League for Peace & Freedom ● Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament ● Raja Yoga Center ● Diocese of Paterson, Dept. of Social Action ● Vieques Support Network ● Jonah House ● Nuclear Freeze Campaign ● Benedictines for Peace ● Catholic Peace Fellowship ● Fellowship of Reconciliation ● American Friends Service Committee ● Intercommunity Center for Justice and Peace ● Integral Yoga Institute ● Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace ● Jewish Peace Fellowship ● Clergy & Laity Concerned ● Riverside Church Disarmament Program ● National Council of Churches ● Unitarian Universalist Association

Religious Task Force, Mobilization for Survival
85 South Oxford Street
Brooklyn, New York 11217
(212) 858-6882

Here is my donation of \$ _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

ORGANIZATION (if any) _____

☐ Please send me more information

☐ Please add my name to your mailing list

☐ I would like to be active in working group on:

Interreligious Convocation ☐ Conference ☐

Witness for Survival ☐ Local Activities ☐

Mass Demonstration ☐

Nuclear Freeze



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

EDWARD J. MARKEY
7TH DISTRICT
MASSACHUSETTS

March 18, 1982

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 5th Avenue
New York, NY 10115

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Just a quick note to express my personal appreciation for the eloquent statement you made last week at American University. Your leadership on the issue of nuclear war and how to prevent it is crucial to any progress in the Congress. We currently have 150 co-sponsors in the House on the nuclear weapons freeze and reduction resolution introduced by Rep. Silvio Conte (R-MA) and myself last week. I expect a successful vote on the resolution later this year.

Please stay in touch with me on this crucial national debate. I hope you will contact my office if I can be of any assistance to you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Ed'.

Edward J. Markey

Ed Markey

March 4, 1982

Dr. Bernard Lown
President, IPPNW
2nd Congress
Cambridge, England

Dear Dr. Lown:

The forthcoming International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War 2nd Congress is an auspicious and important gathering. It is most fitting that men and women whose lives are committed to the saving of human life, through daily and individual contact with patients or through dedication to medical research, are so deeply committed to the prevention of nuclear holocaust. I want to take this opportunity to wish you well; may your discussions be fruitful in making an impact on the wider human community.

I will be interested in learning of any resolutions which come out of the 2nd Congress. Representing, as I do, one of the major American religious communities, I know that Reform Jews will be vitally interested in knowing more about your deliberations. It is urgent that thinking men and women, from every corner of the world and from every walk of life, join together in coalitions committed to bringing the arms race to a halt, to seek to prevent nuclear war and the havoc and destruction it would wreak upon this precious earth and all its inhabitants.

The prophetic words of Isaiah -- VECHITETU CHARBOTAM LE-ITIM VECHANITOTEHEN LEMAZMEROT- And they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore. -- echo through the centuries. They have had meaning for every generation. Today, for this generation and the generations we pray will come after us, their meaning is ever more precious and ever more urgent. The totality of humankind is at stake. We will prevent nuclear war or we will perish.

Every community in every time is faced with a multitude of problems. To my mind, we who inhabit the earth and the fullness thereof here and now, are faced with an enormous, almost incomprehensible threat. But we also have the opportunity to join our voices and cry out together to seek to put to an end the proliferation of nuclear arms, to make our voices heard across the universe so that our earth will remain verdant and green for the many generations we pray will follow.

Dr. Bernard L~~un~~
March 4, 1982
Page -2-

With best wishes for a meaningful Congress and with warmest regards,
I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Please draft
letter for me -
Al can help
you.

But show it to
me on Tuesday
thouls.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

TEL. (617) 732-1307
CABLE ADDRESS: NUTHARV, BOSTON

DEPARTMENT OF NUTRITION
665 HUNTINGTON AVENUE
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02115

February 22, 1982

Rabbi A. Schindler
6 River Way
Westport, CT 06880

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

It was a pleasure to meet you and your wife. I appreciated the Presidential Address and especially the section entitled "An Obsession with Force." It minced no words, it was direct, incisive and well said.

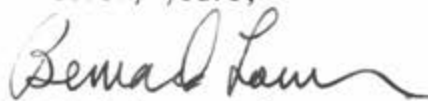
As I have indicated, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) will be holding its Second Congress at Cambridge University, April 2-7, 1982. Our first gathering, held last year, had a profound impact on the medical community as well as the public at large (see enclosed Summary of Proceedings). We shall be receiving letters from religious, political, and cultural leaders world wide. I would like to invite a statement from you. This can be sent to the above address and directed to:

Dr. Bernard Lown
President, IPPNW
2nd Congress
Cambridge, England

I know how overcommitted you are and regret the need to impose on you, but over the long span of civilization no hazard to health and life has loomed as large as that posed by the massive stockpiling of thermonuclear weapons. Even if war is prevented, the arms race is imposing debilitating economic, psychologic and moral costs.

I look forward to seeing you in the autumn.

Sincerely yours,



Bernard Lown, M.D.
Professor of Cardiology

/cmk
enclosure

Summary Proceedings of the First Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War

Airlie, Virginia
March 20-25, 1981

This document drafted during the last day of the congress, represents the combined efforts and conclusions of seventy three physicians from the following twelve countries:

Canada
France
Israel
Japan
the Netherlands
Norway
Sierra Leone
Sweden
the United Kingdom
the United States
the Soviet Union
West Germany

**International Physicians for the
Prevention of Nuclear War, Inc.**

635 Huntington Avenue, 2nd floor
Boston, Massachusetts 02115
Telephone (617) 738-9404

Dear Colleagues:

The multiplying stockpiles of nuclear weapons of ever increasing destructiveness threaten humankind with an unimaginable catastrophe. The peoples of North America, the Soviet Union and Europe are held hostage by the accelerating arms race. A war without winners endangers not only human survival but the fragile ecology of our planet.

Physicians charged with responsibility for the lives of their patients and the health of the community must begin to explore a new province of preventive medicine, the prevention of nuclear war.

We gathered here because we do not accept the inevitability of nuclear conflict. We met here because we reject the utilization of technology for nuclear weapons rather than for improving the quality of life. We met here because we do not believe that differences between political systems can be resolved by the use of nuclear weapons. We met here because of our abiding faith in the concept that what humanity creates, humanity can control.

Our aim is to alert physicians world-wide of the mortal peril to the public health. Our hope is that physicians will help educate their communities, for only an aroused and informed citizenry can change the course of events.

Bernard Lown, M.D.
President
International Physicians for the
Prevention of Nuclear War

Airlie, Virginia
March, 1981

Preamble

Nuclear war would be the ultimate human and environmental disaster.

The immediate and long-term destruction of human life and health would be on an unprecedented scale, threatening the very survival of civilization.

The threat of its occurrence is at a dangerous level and is steadily increasing.

Even in the absence of nuclear war, invaluable and limited resources are being diverted unproductively to the nuclear arms race, leaving essential human, social, medical, and economic needs unmet.

For these reasons, physicians in all countries must work toward the prevention of nuclear war and for the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

Physicians can play a particularly effective role because they

1. are dedicated to the prevention of illness, care of the sick and protection of human life;
2. have special knowledge of the problems of medical response in nuclear war;
3. can work together with their colleagues without regard to national boundaries;
4. are educators who have the opportunity to inform themselves, their colleagues in the health professions, and the general public.

The following statements were developed by working groups at the First Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, meeting at Airlie, Virginia, March 20-24, 1981.

Predictable and Unpredictable Effects of Nuclear War

The consequences of the nuclear attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were disastrous. Yet even they do not serve as adequate precedents for the amount of death and destruction that would follow nuclear warfare today. Given any scenario of a massive nuclear strike in present conditions, the fate of the inhabitants of those two cities would be shared by tens to hundreds of millions of people. Even a single one-megaton nuclear bomb explosion (80 times more powerful than that dropped on Hiroshima) over an urban area would cause death and injury to people on a scale unprecedented in the history of mankind and would present any remaining medical services with insoluble problems. In the event of a major nuclear war there would be thousands of such explosions.

We must distinguish between the immediate and the delayed effects of nuclear war. Among the immediate effects are mass deaths in the first hours, days, and weeks after an explosion. These are caused by the simultaneous effects of blast, heat and large doses of penetrating radiation. The number of such deaths would be magnified catastrophically by the destruction of buildings, by secondary fires, by disruption of all life-support systems including electric power, communication and transportation, and by the destruction and contamination of the water supply and of foodstocks.

It is difficult for us, even as physicians, to describe adequately the human suffering that would ensue. Hundreds of thousands would suffer third-degree burns, multiple crushing injuries and fractures, hemorrhage, secondary infection, and combinations of all of these. When we contemplate disasters, we often assume that abundant medical resources and personnel will be available. But contemporary nuclear war would inevitably destroy hospitals and other medical facilities, kill and disable most medical personnel, and prevent surviving physicians from coming to the aid of the injured because of widespread radiation dangers. The hundreds of thousands of burned and otherwise wounded people would not have any medical care as we now conceive of it: no morphine for pain, no intravenous fluids, no emergency surgery, no antibiotics, no dressings, no skilled nursing, and little or no food or water. The survivors would envy the dead.

It is known from the Japanese experience that in the immediate aftermath of an explosion, and for many months thereafter, the survivors suffer not only from their physical injuries—radiation sickness, burns, and other trauma—but also from profound psychological shock caused by their exposure to such overwhelming destruction and mass death.

The problem is social as well as individual. The social fabric upon which human existence depends would be irreparably damaged.

Those who did not perish during the initial attack would face serious—even lifelong—dangers. Many exposed persons would be at increased risk, throughout the remainder of their lives, of leukemia and a variety of malignant tumors. The risk is emotional as well as physical. Tens of thousands would live with the fear of developing cancer or of transmitting genetic defects, for they would understand that nuclear weapons, unlike conventional weapons, have memories—long, radioactive memories. Children are known to be particularly susceptible to most of these effects. Exposure of fetuses would result in the birth of children with small head size, mental retardation, and impaired growth and development. Many exposed persons would develop radiation cataracts and chromosomal aberrations.

Delayed radioactive fallout from multiple nuclear detonations would render large areas of land uninhabitable for prolonged periods of time, making it impossible to produce the food upon which the survival of whole populations would depend. Aside from the severe effects in the areas most immediately affected by explosion or local fallout, there would occur effects from both ground and air bursts throughout the world. Fallout would increase the incidence of cancers and of genetic defects in nations and populations far from the targeted areas. These and other effects are difficult to quantify, but it is known that they would occur.

The use of nuclear weapons with an aggregate yield greatly exceeding that of all the explosions (including atomic explosions) in human history poses dangers to the entire planet, and to all of mankind. Among these are profound disruptions of the ecological balance—disturbances to all living organisms, crops, and the atmosphere, with consequences of a nature and magnitude we can only guess at. For example, the release into the atmosphere of large quantities of nitrogen, formed during multiple nuclear explosions, could disturb the ozone layer of the atmosphere, which protects the surface of the earth from the penetrating component of ultraviolet radiation; this would probably cause the death of vegetation and animals and injury to people. In the magnitude, duration, and variety of the dangers it poses to biological and social survival, nuclear war has no precedent in the experience of mankind. The survival of civilized life is at stake.

In one likely and specific scenario that we have considered—an all-out nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union in the mid-1980's—it is likely that

1. The population would be devastated.
Over 200,000,000 men, women, and children would be killed immediately.
Over 60,000,000 would be injured.
Among the injured,
 - 30,000,000 would experience radiation sickness,
 - 20,000,000 would experience trauma and burns,
 - 10,000,000 would experience trauma, burns, and radiation sickness.
2. Medical resources would be incapable of coping with those injured by blast, thermal energy, and radiation.
 - 80% of physicians would die.
 - 80% of hospital beds would be destroyed.
 - Stores of blood plasma, antibiotics and drugs would be destroyed or severely compromised.
 - Food and water would be extensively contaminated.
 - Transportation and communication facilities would be destroyed.
3. Civil defense would be unable to alter the death and devastation described above to any appreciable extent.
4. The disaster would have continuing consequences.
 - Food production would be profoundly altered.
 - Fallout would constitute a continuing problem.
 - Survivors with altered immunity, malnutrition, an unsanitary environment, and severe exposure problems would be subject to lethal enteric infections.
5. A striking increase in leukemia and other malignancies would be observed among long-term survivors. It would be most severe in those who were children at the time of exposure.
6. Profound changes would occur in weather caused by particulates and reduction of atmospheric ozone with attendant alterations in man, animal, and plant species.
7. The effect on adjacent countries is incalculable.

The Role of Physicians in the Post-Attack Period

Considering the known thermal, blast and radiation effects of a one megaton thermonuclear explosion over an industrial city of about four million persons, we know that from 200,000 to nearly 500,000 immediate deaths would result, with an additional 400,000 to over 600,000 injured, depending on the nature of the attack.

Instantaneous death would occur as a result of temperatures greater than in the sun itself and from immense blast effects. Physical structures would be converted into unrecognizable rubble and social organization would disintegrate. Many injured would die as a consequence of huge fires and intense radioactive fallout. Neither doctors nor the hospitals in which they work would be spared.

In addition to the dead, there would be the injured—some walking with clothes in shreds and skin peeling in sheets from burns, some trapped in buildings and basements. Many of these would die. Many who were rescued would not survive the crush injuries, multiple fractures or hemorrhages. Others would die in days or in weeks from burns, traumatic wounds or radiation exposure.

Many of those injured by a nuclear blast would have combinations of burns, extensive lacerations and sublethal doses of neutron and gamma radiation. Grave psychological trauma affecting both physician and patient would further aggravate the already severe problems of diagnosis and treatment. These many factors complicate the outcome of therapy and would critically affect medical decisions about who should receive care and who could only be allowed to die with such minimal supportive measures as might be available. Burn and radiation injuries, regardless of other complications, would place the greatest strain on medical personnel and facilities. From the British experience in wartime London, it is estimated that the acute treatment of only 34,000 serious burn cases would require 170,000 health professionals and 8,000 tons of supplies.

A city struck by a single one megaton bomb would find its electrical, water and food supplies totally disrupted. The techniques of modern medical care would be seriously compromised if not entirely halted. Much of the essential supply of blood, antibiotics and other materials would be destroyed. A target nation, however, might cope partially with the consequences of having one city struck by a single nuclear bomb. The surviving doctors and other health professionals could respond, supported by help from outside the stricken city, but with severe limitations. The response would fall much below acceptable medical standards.

In peacetime the medical care system can cope successfully with a very small number of the kind of casualties which can be expected in huge numbers from the explosion of a single nuclear bomb. Successful treatments of extensive burns, of crushing injuries, of fractures and lacerations, of perforating wounds of abdomen and thorax, and of sublethal to near-lethal doses of radiation all require the full availability of modern medical technology and the finely developed skills of medical and other support personnel. The medical capacity of any nation would be severely strained, if not for a period overwhelmed, by dealing with the victims of even a single nuclear bomb.

Nuclear war, however, is very likely to involve more than the appalling destruction from a single nuclear bomb, or even a few bombs. With more than 50,000 nuclear weapons in existing stockpiles we must face the prospect of the explosion of hundreds and perhaps thousands of bombs, many possessing hundreds of times the explosive power of those that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As tens or hundreds of cities are simultaneously attacked, death and casualties escalate geometrically. The fabric of society would disintegrate and the medical care system, deprived of the facilities developed over the years, would revert to the level of earlier centuries. The surviving walking wounded, physician and layman alike, could only provide what mutual comfort the remnants of their individual humanity would permit. The earth would be seared; the skies would be heavy with lethal concentrations of radioactive particles; and no response to medical needs could be expected from medicine.

The Social, Economic, and Psychological Costs of the Nuclear Arms Race as Related to Health Needs

Preface

The health of mankind is inseparably connected with social, economic, and psychological strengths. The greatest risk of the arms race to health is that it increases the likelihood of nuclear war. Even without such a war, precious human, social, medical, and economic resources are presently diverted unproductively to the nuclear arms race, and this diversion adversely affects health.

Social Costs

Any social undertaking of the magnitude of the arms buildup is bound to affect social structure and social values, regardless of the basis on which that society is built. In particular, activities develop which generate further pressure for more arms and thus establish a dangerous cycle. Moreover, as the scale of arms escalation increases relative to the size of the social institutions and to the strengths of social values, the latter become subverted to, and begin to reflect, the same unproductive and impoverishing priorities and values inherent in the buildup of arms.

Economic Costs

Consideration of economic issues ranges beyond the special expertise of physicians. However, we believe that these issues cannot be completely ignored. The diversion of a major portion of the world's economic resources to armaments increases the likelihood of a nuclear war that would result in death and disability for much of the world's population. This is the ultimate health cost of the arms race and would devastate economic and social organization. The arms buildup weakens the application of existing knowledge, technology, and resources to the prevention and treatment of health problems that currently affect large numbers of the world's population. The arms race increasingly burdens much of the world's population who live in less developed countries. These countries can least afford to use their scarce resources for arms and will suffer grave health and social consequences in doing so. Of greatest importance is that the use of economic resources for armaments diminishes development of knowledge, technology, and manpower that could address global ecological and overpopulation problems. The strains these problems place on the world's limited resources will result, if not resolved, in dire health consequences and, in themselves, increase the likelihood of a nuclear war.

Psychological Costs and Effects

As physicians we can speak about human psychological responses with confidence based on our professional knowledge and experience. Nuclear arms have created a new reality for humanity with profound and widespread psychological effects. The consequences of the use of nuclear weapons defy human comprehension because of the enormity of their destructiveness. This danger grows steadily more acute as nuclear weapons production continues. Studies indicate among other effects, that living in this threatening context is undermining individual confidence in the possibility of a meaningful personal future. Further studies are needed of the psychological impact of the nuclear arms race upon various groups both in societies which possess nuclear weapons as well as in those that do not.

Living with the possibility of imminent annihilation in a massive nuclear exchange creates an unprecedented threat to individual human beings. Not only does one have to deal with the possibility of one's own agony or sudden death, but one must also confront the potential destruction of all that one loves—humanity itself—forever.

We have identified several psychological mechanisms which can have short adaptive value for the individual in protecting himself from such disturbing emotions as terror and guilt. At the same time these defense mechanisms increase the likelihood that nuclear war will actually occur because they impair the realistic perspectives of those who possess nuclear arms. This prevents the development and use of measures that could take control of the arms race.

1. *Avoidance.* The problem is regarded as too big to handle, too overwhelming, too technical. We leave it to others, to the leaders and the experts, to solve. We become numbed and turn away.

2. *Drawing upon old ways of thinking.* In the face of the terror evoked by an adversary we seek security, as humanity has traditionally done, through developing ever more dangerous weapons in increasing numbers, and from spurious notions of strength dominated by false concepts of winning and losing. Such thought patterns have become outmoded by the realities of nuclear weapons.

3. *Fear and impulsivity.* The climate of terror created by the superpower confrontation engenders a vicious cycle of fear and mistrust. Fear destroys the capacity for rational thinking and adaptive discrimination and promotes panic-driven, impulsive actions. Such actions provoke fear and similar panic responses in adversaries that further escalate the danger of conflict.

4. *Perceptual distortion.* As a response to threat, regression to archaic thinking patterns occurs, dividing the world into percepts of total goodness and total evil. An adversary comes to be perceived as an enemy that is completely evil, a process which impedes the discovery of areas of common purpose and reduces the ability to deal realistically with actual threat or danger from this or other sources.

5. *Dehumanization.* In order to further justify our hostility toward the adversary we deny to its leaders and people any human value or worthy motives. The distorted perception of human beings as inanimate objects tends to remove inhibitions against destroying them. The impersonality of graphs and pins on targets, or charts of megatonnage and throw weights (in fact the whole obscene jargon of the nuclear weapons race), destroys not only the appreciation of the humanity of an adversary, but one's own humanity as well.

Concluding Remarks

War is not an inevitable consequence of human nature. War is a result of interacting social, economic and political factors; it has been a social institution widely used over time to manage conflicts.

To argue that wars have always existed and that this social phenomenon cannot be eliminated ignores history, which has demonstrated a human capacity to change institutions and practices that are no longer useful or are socially destructive. Slavery, cannibalism, dueling, and human sacrifice are among the practices which the human race has recognized to be improper and has abandoned.

The genocidal nature of nuclear weapons has rendered nuclear war obsolete as a viable means for resolving conflict. Because inter-group tensions and conflicts are innate and thus inevitable, effective means for conducting and resolving conflict are indispensable. Human beings have developed and widely used such methods as avoidance/withdrawal, assertive non-violent behavior, unilateral initiative inviting reciprocity, competitive coexistence, negotiation, arbitration, and cooperation.

Rationality and foresight are unique human characteristics which have enabled individuals and groups to override primitive responses, to anticipate future consequences of behavior and to choose courses of action which offer maximal ultimate benefit.

Wars begin in the mind, but the mind is also capable of preventing war.

What Physicians Can Do To Prevent Nuclear War

Review available information on the medical implications of nuclear weapons, nuclear war and related subjects.

Provide information by lectures, publications and other means to the medical and related professions and to the public on the subject of nuclear war.

Bring to the attention of all concerned with public policy the medical implications of nuclear weapons.

Encourage studies of the psychological obstacles created by the unprecedented destructive power of nuclear weapons and the ways in which these obstacles prevent realistic appraisal of the dangers of nuclear weapons.

Develop a resource center for education on the dangers of nuclear weapons and nuclear war.

Initiate discussion to develop an international law banning the use of nuclear weapons similar to the laws which outlaw the use of chemical and biological weapons.

Seek the cooperation of the medical and related professions in all countries for these aims.

Encourage the formation in all countries of groups of physicians and committees within established medical societies to pursue the aims of education and information on the medical effects of nuclear weapons.

Establish an international organization to coordinate the activities of the various national medical groups working for the prevention of nuclear war.

An Appeal To the Heads of All Governments and To the United Nations

Advances in technology in the 20th century have benefitted humankind but have also created deadly instruments of mass destruction. The enormous accumulation of these nuclear weapons has made the world less secure. A nuclear conflict would ravage life on earth.

We speak as physicians in the interests of the people whose health we have vowed to protect. The scientific data concerning the medical consequences of the use of such instruments of mass destruction convince us that effective medical care of casualties would be impossible. We therefore urge that elimination of this threat be given the highest priority. No objective is more vital than to preserve the conditions that make possible the continuation of civilized life on earth.

As physicians, we know that the eradication of smallpox, coordinated by the World Health Organization, required intense international communication, cooperation, and dedication. Nuclear war is a far greater threat to humanity. Continuing discussion among the nuclear powers and other countries will be needed to achieve an early cessation of the race to produce these instruments of mass destruction, to prevent their spread, and ultimately to eliminate them.

Respectfully yours,

Participants in the First Congress
of International Physicians for the
Prevention of Nuclear War

Airlie, Virginia
March 23, 1981

An Appeal to the President of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan, and To the Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev

We, physicians from eleven nations, guided by our concern for human life and health, are well aware of the great responsibility you carry and of the enormous contribution you can make to the prevention of nuclear war.

As physicians and scientists, we have for the past several days reviewed the data on the nature and magnitude of the effects that the use of nuclear weapons would bring. We have considered independently prepared medical and scientific analyses from many sources. Our unanimous conclusions are

1. Nuclear war would be a catastrophe with medical consequences of enormous magnitude and duration for both involved and uninvolved nations.
2. The holocaust would in its very beginning kill tens to hundreds of millions of people. Most of the immediate survivors, suffering from wounds and burns, affected by nuclear radiation, deprived of effective medical care or even water and food, would face the prospect of a slow and excruciating death.
3. The consequences of nuclear war would continue to affect succeeding generations and their environment for an indefinite period of time.

Science and technology have placed the most deadly weapons of mass destruction in the hands of the two nations you lead. This huge accumulation imperils us all. The interests of the present and all future generations require that nuclear war be avoided.

The medical consequences persuade us that the use of nuclear weapons in any form or on any scale must be prevented. To achieve this, we offer you our sincere support.

As physicians, we remember that the eradication of smallpox required intense international communication, cooperation, and dedication. Nuclear war is a far greater threat to humankind. It will require even more intense collaboration among the nuclear powers to achieve an early cessation of the race to produce these instruments of mass destruction.

Respectfully yours,

Participants in the First Congress
of International Physicians for the
Prevention of Nuclear War

Airlie, Virginia
March 23, 1981

An Appeal To the Physicians of the World

Dear Colleagues:

We address this message to you who share our commitment to the preservation of health. Our professional responsibility has brought us together to consider the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons.

We have participated in full and open discussion of the available data concerning the medical effects of nuclear war and its effects on our planet. Our conclusion was inescapable—a nuclear exchange would have intolerable consequences.

Enormous numbers would perish in the first hours and days of a nuclear war. The wounded survivors, burned and affected by nuclear radiation, would face unbearably difficult conditions, without effective medical aid, water or food. The consequences of a nuclear war would also be disastrous to succeeding generations. A major nuclear exchange would inevitably bring extensive long-term consequences even to countries not directly involved.

No one should be indifferent to the nuclear threat. It hangs over hundreds of millions of people. As physicians who realize what is at stake, we must practice the ultimate in preventive medicine—avoidance of the greatest hazard the world will ever know. Your help is needed in this great endeavor. We urge you

1. to inform yourselves, your colleagues, and the general public about the medical effects of nuclear war;
2. to discuss the medical consequences of nuclear war at meetings of members of medical societies, special symposia, and conferences;
3. to prepare and publish in the medical press and specialized journals articles about medical consequences of the use of nuclear weapons;
4. to speak about medical consequences of nuclear war to medical students and to your community;
5. to use your influence and knowledge to help strengthen the movement of physicians for the prevention of nuclear war.

Respectfully yours,

Participants of the First Congress
of the International Physicians for the
Prevention of Nuclear War

Airlie, Virginia
March 23, 1981

**Delegates To the First Congress of
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March 20-25, 1981

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