

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

Box Folder 9 10c

Nuclear arms freeze, 1982-1988.

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

Mular

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 udderstand 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,



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

IS:eg Encl.

### noth

## 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 Depart-

ment 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 lec-

tures 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.



Scc Les nevas

### HARVARD UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

TEL. (617) 732-CABLE ADDRESS: NUTHARY, BOSTON

DEPARTMENT OF NUTRITION 665 HUNTINGTON AVENUE BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02115-9915

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

1

April 6, 1983

Dr. Bernard Lown Professor of Cardiology Harvard University Department of Nutrition 665 Huntington Avenue Boston. MA 12115-9915

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 deovted 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 Sakarov and Scharansky. I'm sure you have done this before now, but the pressure must beerbeenelexed

b/ I am told that Arbatov will be in the U.S. If this is so, I wounder 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,



### 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 sem 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, "Domenia-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.

Thanks to you for an important initiative on behalf of us all.

With kindest good wishes,

Deman

Sincerely

Bernard Lown, M.D. Professor of Cardiology

/cmk

Retain Pink Send Yellow & Blue to Shipping

DEPARTMENT

Nº 1547

Administration

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L. Benjamin by .

4/6/83 Date of order \_

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RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER PRESIDENT UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
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 negogiation 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,

February 11, 1983

Congressman Clement J. Zablocki, Chairman House Foreign Affairs Committee Room 2183 Rayburn Building Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman Zablocki:

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Furthermore, because any continuation of the arms race will decrease the security of both sides, I wish to ennourage the inclusion of the word "immediate" in the resolution.

Sincerely,

Mangage Land

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 ourselfes, no matter how worthy the cause. I do hope you understand our situation.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

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

Told by the

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 stronlgy 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

Could but

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

### Religious Task Force

# mobilization FOR SURVIVAL

85 SO. OXFORD ST., BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11217 (212) 858-6882

### BACKGROUND SHEET

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 Forcce 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

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

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 Justic 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
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.

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,

JBG/s

cc: Rabbi Randall M. Falk Rabbi David Saperstein Mr. Albert Vorspan

## אגוד הרבנים המתקדמים ENTRAL 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 evem 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

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

1/5

cc: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Mr. Albert Vorspan Rabbi David Saperstein

Mr. Earl Raab

Margary Land 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

c: 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 then 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:1b

cc: Albert Vorspan Rabbi David Saperstein North

June 28, 1982

Reverend Paul Mayer, National Co-Faciliator Mobilization for Survival 853 Broadway, Room 2109 New York, NY 10003

Dear Reverend Mayer:

## AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

This is to instruct you to delete my name from all future statements and mailings of the Mobilization for Survival.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Japan Japan

NORA LUMLEY LESLIE CAGAN REV. PAUL MAYER

National Co-Facilitators Committee for National "Mobilization for Survival:" EDWARD ASNER

HON. HERMAN BADILLO Former Congressman

HON, IRMA BADILLO Special Asst. to Gov. Carey, N.Y.

NORMA BECKER
Chairwoman, WarResisters League

LEONARD BERNSTEIN

HON. JULIAN BOND

EDGAR BOTTOME

HELEN CALDICOTT, M.D.

NOAM CHOMSKY

LEON DAVIS
President, Dist. 1199, Hospital and
Health Care Union, RWDSU, AFL-CIO

RUBY DEE

DAVE DELLINGER

HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS Congressman, Berkeley, Calf.

DANIEL ELLSBERG Author HON, WALTER E. FAUNTROY

Congressmon, D.C.
JULES FEIFFER

HON. DIANE FEINSTEIN

KIM FELLNER Union Information Director MR. HENRY FONDA

MR. HENRY FONDA JANE FONDA Actress

BETTY FRIEDAN

BUCKMINSTER FULLER Architect, Author

THE MOST REV. RAYMOND G. HUNTHAUSEN

HON. MAYNARD JACKSON

DR. MICHIO KAKU

Physics Dept., City College of New York

Physics Dept., City College of New York MRS. MARTIN LUTHER KING

ARTHUR KINOY

SIDNEY LENS Contributing Editor

THE MOST REV. LEROY T.
MATTHIESEN

MATTHIESEN Bishop of Amerillo

HON. RUTH MESSINGER City Councillumen, New York City

JACK NEWFIELD Senior Editor, Village Voice

GRACY PALEY

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

ERNEST STERNGLASS
Professor, University of Pittsburgh

THE MOST REV. WALTER E. SULLIVAN

GEORGE WALD Nobel Loureate, Horoord University HON. TED WEISS

Congressman, New York City
WILLIAM WINPISINGER

JOANNE WOODWARD

HON. ANDREW YOUNG

 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 notedly 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:

EMILY R. AND KIVIE KAPLAN BUILDING 2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 387-2800

Co-Director: ALBERT VORSPAN Co-Director & Counsel: RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN



## religious action center

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. Lassume that nothing has been done. We really ought to move as quickly as possible on this.

Enclosure

RDS/j+j

The is to instruct you to delite my name from all mailings of Mobilization of Survival just

The Religious Action Center is under the auspices of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, a joint instrumentality of the CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS and the UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS with its affiliates – National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, National Federation of Temple Pouth.

NORA LUMLEY LESIME CAGAN REV. PAUL MAYER

National Co-Facilitators Committee for National Mobilization for Survival:\* EDWARD ASNER

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

HON. IRMA BADILLO

NORMA BECKER

LEONARD BERNSTEIN

HON. JULIAN BOND

EDGAR BOTTOME

HELEN CALDICOTT, M.D.

NOAM CHOMSKY

LEON DAVIS President, Dut. 1199, Hospital and Health Care Union, RWDSU, AFL-CIO

RUBY DEE

DAVE DELLINGER

HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS

DANIEL ELLSBERG

HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

JULES FEIFFER

HON. DIANE FEINSTEIN

KIM FELLNER

MR. HENRY FONDA

JANE FONDA

BETTY FRIEDAN

BUCKNINSTER FULLER

THE MOST REV. RAYMOND G. HUNTHAUSEN

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MATTHIESEN

HON. RUTH MESSINGER

JACK NEWFIELD

**GRACY PALEY** 

DR. LINUS PAULING

SIDNEY PECK

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

SISTER MELINDA ROPER

RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER

DR. KELLY MILLER SMITH

ERNEST STERNGLASS

THE MOST REV. WALTER E.

SULLIVAN

GEORGE WALD

HON. TED WEISS

WILLIAM WINPISINGER

JOANNE WOODWARD

HON. ANDREW YOUNG

\* Organizations for identification purposes

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 notedly 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:



## religious action center

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/iti

CC: AL YORSPAN

NORA LUMLEY LESLIE CAGAN REV. PAUL MAYER

National Co-Facilitators Committee for National "Mobilization for Survival:" EDWARD ASNER

HON. HERMAN BADILLO Former Congressman

HON, IRMA BADILLO Special Asst. to Gov. Carey, N.Y.

NORMA BECKER
Chairwoman, WarResisters League

LEONARD BERNSTEIN

HON. JULIAN BOND

EDGAR BOTTOME

HELEN CALDICOTT, M.D.

NOAM CHOMSKY

LEON DAVIS
President, Dist. 1199, Hospital and
Health Care Union, RWDSU, AFL-CIO

RUBY DEE

DAVE DELLINGER

HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS Congressman, Berkeley, Calf.

DANIEL ELLSBERG Author HON, WALTER E. FAUNTROY

Congressmon, D.C.
JULES FEIFFER

HON. DIANE FEINSTEIN

KIM FELLNER Union Information Director MR. HENRY FONDA

MR. HENRY FONDA JANE FONDA Actress

BETTY FRIEDAN

BUCKMINSTER FULLER Architect, Author

THE MOST REV. RAYMOND G. HUNTHAUSEN

HON. MAYNARD JACKSON

DR. MICHIO KAKU

Physics Dept., City College of New York

Physics Dept., City College of New York MRS. MARTIN LUTHER KING

ARTHUR KINOY

SIDNEY LENS Contributing Editor

THE MOST REV. LEROY T.
MATTHIESEN

MATTHIESEN Bishop of Amerillo

HON. RUTH MESSINGER City Councillumen, New York City

JACK NEWFIELD Senior Editor, Village Voice

GRACY PALEY

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

ERNEST STERNGLASS
Professor, University of Pittsburgh

THE MOST REV. WALTER E. SULLIVAN

GEORGE WALD Nobel Loureate, Horoord University HON. TED WEISS

Congressman, New York City
WILLIAM WINPISINGER

JOANNE WOODWARD

HON. ANDREW YOUNG

 Organizations for identification purposes only.

# mobilization FOR SURVIVAL

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June 17, 1982

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A Coalition of Peace, Environmental, Religious, Women's, Labor and Community Groups Working for the Goals:

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

nora Lom le

National Facilitator

Paul Mayer

National Facilitator

Leslie Cagan

National Facilitator

helie Coyan

NATIONAL GROUPS: All African Peoples Revolutionary Party, American Friends Service Comittee: Association for World Education; Catholic Peace Fellowship; Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors; Clergy and Lairy Concerned; Communist Party; The Disarm Education Fund; Episcopal Peace Fellowship; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Gray Panthers: International Seminar for Training for Notwicent 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; Repeoductive 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; Wiln 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 Care: Women for Peace: Womancare: Abalone Alliance: Alliance for Survival, Hollywood: Allianae for Survival, Van Nuys, M. D. Diablo Peace Center: San Jose 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. HL: Ophia Alliance. IL: Applettee Alliance: Chicago MfS: Prairie Alliance; Sunshine Action Group, Tampa. GA: Feminist Women's Health Center. HL: Ophia Alliance. IL: Applettee Alliance: Chicago MfS: Prairie Alliance; Sinnissippi Alliance. IA: Christians for a Just Society: Dubuque MfS: lowa City MfS; Lowa City Mf LOCAL AND REGIONAL GROUPS (By State): AL: Safe Energy Alliance: Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice. AZ: Arizona MfS. WY: No Nukes of Wyoming

## 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 fo 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!

Naclas

June 18, 1982

Mr. Arthur I. Waskow Rainbow Sign 1747 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009

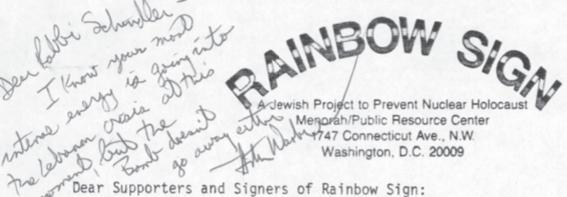
Bear Arthur:

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 the realm. I, too, have been ourspokenaand I assure you what I will continue to speak out for a nuclear freeze.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,



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.
- $\underline{\mathbf{3}}$ . 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  $\underline{\text{Menorah}}$  with sermonic 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  $\underline{is}$  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

an or rest

))

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!

To:

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 Pisar, 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.

w Sign onnecticut Ave., N.W. gton, 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.
<pre>I am enclosing a check to "Rainbow Sign" for /_/ \$18, /_/ \$36, /_/ \$72, /_/ \$144, /_/ Other, in order to help spread the word.</pre>
Signature Print Name Address City/State/Zip Phone(s)
Institution (for identification only)

Miles .

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 wware 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,

## 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.

AMERICAN JEWISH

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 benind 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;

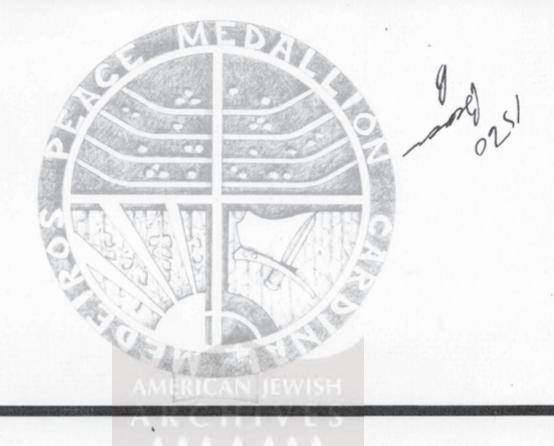
The Archdiocese of Boston respectfully awards the

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 biblic 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.

RSVP 227-2200

Regel

Misson

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 Rebrew 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.

30

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

foll.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler Union of American Hebrew Congregations 838 5th Avenue New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

AMERICAN IEWISH

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

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United States

# 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.

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 grassrroots 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

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 ICMB'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 transcendant—fact: That nuclear weapons are indeed "different." We and the Soviets must make clear to curselves 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 cur-

rently 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 de-

ployed 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 mo 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 offen-

against failure to achieve a strategic offen-sive arms reduction agreement. Starting January 1, 1987, the Soviet Union

sive 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) airlaunched 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

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 re-tired. 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

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

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.

head photography.

The deployment of silo-based ICBMs is verified from overhead photography.

Silos containing MIRVed ICBMs have characteristics (signatures) that are distinct

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

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 con-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

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 s development.

No implementation of ballistic missile ac-

curacy improvements (such as stellar-iner-tial 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.

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.

the total number Curtailment in 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 anticipat-

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

Retirement of the TU-95 Bear and Mya-4 Bison bomber

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.

#### CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - HOUSE

WARHEAD LOADINGS USED IN PROJECTIONS

Unless otherwise specified in the tables, all other bailistic missiles except the follow-ing are estimated or projected to carry a single independently-targetable reentry ve-

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

West distances							By	end of cal	endar year	-					1	
ICBM designation	1962	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	-1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	199
-18 (10 MIRV's) -18 (8 MIRV's) -19 (6 MIRV's) -17 (4 MIRV's) -18 (single) -19 (single) -17 (single) -17 (single) -13	75 175 300 120 58 60 32 60 518 0	75 175 300 120 58 60 32 60 518 0	75 175 300 120 58 60 32 60 468 50	75 175 300 120 58 60 32 60 418 100	75 175 300 120 58 60 32 60 368 150	0 170 300 120 58 60 32 60 0 280	90 300 120 58 60 32 60 0	0 10 300 120 58 60 32 60 0 440	230 - 120 - 58 - 60 - 32 - 60 0 - 520	0 0 150 120 58 60 32 60 0	0 70 120 58 60 32 60 0 680	0 0 0 110 58 60 32 60 0 760	0 0 30 58 60 32 60 0 840	0 0 0 8 60 32 60 0 920	0 0 0 0 0 20 60 0 1,000	1,0
Total	1,398	1,398	1,398	1,398	1,398	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,050	1,080	1,080	1,080	1,0

#### PROJECTED U.S. ICBM LAUNCHER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

	appeal designation					4			By	end of cal	endar year	-						
	ICBM designation		1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Monoteinan III (MK-12A) Monoteinan III (MK-12) Monoteinan II (MK-12) Minoteinan II MK-2	<i>y</i> - (128)		300 250 -450 52 0	300 250 450 52 0	300 250 450 52 0	300 250 450 52 0	380 250 450 52 0	300- 250 450 45 7	300 250 - 450 18 34	300 250 450 0 80	220 250 450 0 160	140 250 450 0 240	60 250 450 0 -320	0 230 450 0 400	0 150 450 0 480	0 70 450 0 560	450 630	45
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 SBBNS

Soviet SSBs and SSBNs are believed to have the following type and number of GLBM 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

	TOVA.	₩.	400			18		By	end of cal	endar yea	1-						17.11
SSB/SSBN CLASS (SLBM type)	(20)	1982	1983	1984	1985	1985	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Typhoon (SS-N-20) Delta III (SS-N-18) Delta II (SS-N-8) Delta II (SS-N-8) Typhoon (SS-N-8) Typhoon (SS-N-8)		1 15 4 18	3 15 4 18 1	5 15 4 18	7 15 4 18	7 15 4 18	8 15 4 18 1	8 15 4 18	8 15 4 18 1	8 15 4 18	8 15 4 18 1	8 15 4 18 1	15 4 13	8 15 4 18 1	8 15 4 18 1	15 4 18 1	15 15 18
SSBN-X (\$S-N-17).  Yanker   (\$S-N-6)  Hotel III (\$S-N-8)  Hotel III (\$S-N-5)  Golf III (\$S-N-8)  Golf IV (\$S-N-6)		22 1 6 1 0	3 20 1 4 1 0	5 18 1 2 1 0	7 16 1 0 0	9 13 1 0 0	11 11 0 0 0	13 9 1 0 0	15 7 1 0 0	17 5 1 0 0	19 3 1 0 0 0	21 1 0 0 0	22 0 1 0 0	22 0 1 0 0 0	- 0 - 1 0 0 0	22 0 1 0 0	2
Total		. 70	70	70	69	68	69	69	- 69	69	69	69	65	69	69	69	69

#### PROJECTED U.S. SSBN INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

Not the state of t		5-8				AC 8	By	end of cal	lendar yea	-						
SSNB class (SLBM type)	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991-	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Lafayette Poseidon Trident L Onio Trident I Trident II	31 (19) (12) 2 (2) (0)	31 (19) (12) 3 (3) (0)	31 (19) (12) 5 (5) (0)	31 (19) (12) 6 (6) (0)	30 (18) (12) 7 (7) (0)	25 (13) (12) 9 (9) (0)	20 (8) (12) 11 (11) (0)	15 (3) (12) 13 (13) (0)	(1) (12) (15) (15) (0)	12 (0) (12) 16 (16) (0)	11 (0) (11) , 18 (17) (0)	9 (0) (9) 18 (18) (0)	(0) (7) 19 (19) (0)	(0) (5) 20 (20) (0)	(0) (3) 21 (21) (0)	(1) (1) (2) (2) (2) (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

							Ву	end of cal	endar year	-					Him	
SLBM designation (SSB/SSBN class)	1982	1983	1984 -	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
SS-N-20 (Typhon) SS-N-18 (Delta III) SS-N-17 Yankee II SSBN-X SS-N-8 Delta II Delta II Golf III Golf III Golf IV SS-N-5 (Hotel III) SS-N-5 (Hotel III)	20 240 28 (12) (16) 292 (64) (216) (6) 352 (352) (0) 18	60 240 60 (12) (48) 292 (64) (216) (6) 320 (320) 12	100 240 92 (12) (80) 292 (64) (216) (6) (6) 288 (288) (0) 6	140 240 124 (12) (112) 286 (64) (216) (6) (0) 256 (256) (0) 0	140 240 156 (12) (144) 285 (64) (216) (6) (0) 208 (208) (0) 0	150 240 188 (12) (176) 286 (64) (216) (6) (76) (176) (176) (0) 0	160 240 220 (12) (208) 286 (64) (216) (6) (0) 144 (144) (0)	160 240 252 (12) (240) 286 (64) (216) (6) (112) (112) (0) 0	160 240 284 (12) (272) 286 (64) (216) (6) (80) (80) (0) 0	160 240 316 (12) (304) 286 (64) (216) (6) (6) (48) (48) (0) 0	160 240 348 (12) (335) 285 (64) (216) (6) (16) (16) 0	160 240 364 (12) (352) 286 (64) (216) (0) 0	160 240 364 (12) (352) 286 (64) (216) (6) (0) (0)	160 240 364 (12) (352) 286 (64) (216) (6) 0 (0) 0	160 240 364 (12) (352) 286 (64) (216) (0) 0 (0) 0	160 240 364 (12 (35) 288 (6) (21) (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	1,05

#### PROJECTED U.S. SLBM LAUNCHER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

	7					14.	Ву	end of cal	endar year	-	10:13					
- SLBM designation (SSBN class)	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Trident 1  Obio (Lafayette)  Poseidin Lafayette	(48) (192) (304)	264 (72) (192) 304 (304)	312 (120) (192) 304 (304)	336 (144) (192) 304 (304)	360 (168) (192) 288 (288)	408 (216) (192) 208 (208)	456 (264) (192) 128 (128)	504 (312) (192) 48 (48)	552 (360) (192) 16 (16)	576 (384) (192) 0 (0)	584 (408) (176) 0 (0)	576 (432) (144) 0 (0)	568 (456) (112) 0 (0)	560 (480) (80) 0 (0)	(504) (504) (48) 0 (0)	(528) (16) (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 By end of calendar year ICBM/SLBM designation 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1989 - 1990 1991 1982 1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 ICBM's 750 1,400 1,800 480 58 60 32 60 750 1,400 1,800 480 58 60 32 60 518 750 1,400 1,800 480 58 60 32 60 518 750 1,400 1,800 480 58 60 32 60 418 100 1,020 368 150 520 600 680 920 1,080 1,080 1,080 5,158 5,158 5,158 5,158 4,130 3,570 2,590 1,790 Subtotal. 5,158 1,600 1,680 364 286 . 0 1,600 1,680 348 286 16 1,600 1,680 364 286 1,600 1,680 364 285 200 1,680 20 292 352 1,600 1,680 364 285 1,680 1,600 220 286 144 252 286 112 286 256 285 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 5,010 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 PROJECTED U.S. DEPLOYED REENTRY VEHICLE INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START By end of calendar year-ICBM/SLBM designation 1997 1982 1989 1990 1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 Minuteman III (MX-12A) Minuteman III (MX-12) ... Minuteman II ... Titan II ... MX-2 ... 0 450 450 900 750 450 52 0 900 750 450 52 0 900 750 450 52 900 750 450 52 0 450 450 690 450 0 400 210 450 630 630 Subtotal 2,152 2,152 2,152 2,152 2,152 2,152 2,152 2.180 2.020 1.860 1,700 1 -1 540 1.380 1.220 1,080 1,080 SLBM's: Trident L. 4,352 4,480 4,416 4,672 4,608 4,544 4,608 2,496 2,736 3,264 1,872 3,648 1,152 4,352 4,544 4,416 Subtotal ... 4,656 4,848 5,232 5,424 5,472 5,136 4,800 4,464 4,568 4,508 4,672 4,608 4,480 5,432 6,148 Grand total... 6,808 7,000 7,384 7,576 7,524 7,288 6,952 6,644 6,588 6,468 6,372 PROJECTED SOVIET AGGREGATE STRATEGIC LAUNCHER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START Launcher type 1997 1982 1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1988 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 which the following are counted as MIRV'd ballistic missiles and gruise missile 820 360 60 820 260 820 820 340 400 120 Subtotal. 1.080 1.120 1.165 1.230 1.260 1.230 1.180 1 100 1.020 850 780 700 620 540 520 PROJECTED U.S. AGGREGATE STRATEGIC LAUNCHER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START By end of calendar year Launcher type 1987 1981 1984 1985 1986 1987 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1,080 544 200 1,941 2,013 1,938 1,851 1,824 Of which the following are counted as MIRV'd ballistic missiles and cruise missile tausching bombers: ICBM's SLBM's Bombers Subtotal 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 1987 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1996 1997 Soviet: 1 .SS-18 (10 RV's)... .SS-18 (8 RV's)... .SS-19 (6 RV's)... 750 1,400 1,800 750 1,400 1,800 1,400 Total. 3,950 0 0 0 690 900 750 900 750 900 750 900 750 900 750 900 750 900 750 660 750 420 750 180 750 450 210 900 750 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 \* (RV's/ICBM's): Soviet. United States..... 3.75 3.75 3.75 1.18 3.75 1.18 3.75 1.18 1.74 -2.99 1.53 2.40 1.28 0.83 0.39 0.64 0.42 0.19 <sup>1</sup> 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 suff <sup>2</sup> Assuming 100-percent availability and reliability of the missiles and warheads (an optimistic assumption), a strike ratio et al. of the reentry vehicles has a high single-shot-kill probability (SSKP) of destroying a silo, a strike ratio et PROJECTED SOVIET STRATEGIC BOMBER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START By end of calendar year Bomber designation 1983 1584 1985 1988 1990 1992 1993 1994 1995 1995 1997 1991 TU-95 Bear . Mya-4 Bison TU-X SWL ... 100 120 120 120 120 120 120 120 120 Total 156 156 148 120 120 120 120 120 120 -120 120 120 120 120 120 120 PROJECTED U.S. STRATEGIC BOMBER INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START By end of calendar year Bomber designation 1990 1985 1986 1987 1992 1993 1994 1997 1995 1996 B-520 B-52G B-52H B-52G CMC B-18 B-18 CMC 46 53 96 120 30 0 76 122 96 51 0 0 76 53 96 120 0 0 16 53 96 120 60 0 96 120 90 0 76 157 96 16 0 0 0 0 0 90 76 25 89 66 120 100 6 29 120 100 69

345

345

345

345

345

345

345

345

325

315

305

295

290

255

219

Total

#### PROJECTED SOVIET DEPLOYED BOMBER WEAPON INVENTORY UNDER PROPOSED START

	Bomber and weapon designation	-			Te A ?	1 1997	155	Ву	end of cal	endar yea	_						
	production and arraphic applications	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
TU-95 Bear: Kangaroo Bombs Mya-4 secon: Bombs		75 152 <b>8</b> 6	75 152 <b>3</b> 6	75 100 86	-75 60 0	60	30 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0,0,0	000	0 0	0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	- !
ALCM's Bomb's		0	0	60 20	360 120	720 740	1,080	1,440	1,440 480	1,400 480	1,440 480	1,440 480	1,440 480	1,440 480	1,440 480	1,440	1,44
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 cal	lendar yea	-						
Donne and Weapon designation	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
B-520- SRAM's Bontos B-520-	15? 304	152 304	152 304	152 304	152 304	92 184	- 32 64	0 0	0	0 0	0	0 0	0	.00	0	
SRAM's Bonto. 8-52H	- 628 - 628	488 488	348 348	212 212	212 212	212 212	_212 212	156 156	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	٠.
SRAM's Bombs B-52G CMC:	384 384	384 384	384 384	384	384 384	384 384	384 384	384 384	384 384	264 264,	166	24 24	0	. 0	0	
SRAM's Bombs. ALOM's B-1B	64 64 192	204 204 612	344 344 1,032	480 480 1,440	306 306 1,788	132 132 <b>2,</b> 136	0 0 2,400	0 0 2,400	0 0 2,400	0. 0 2,400	0 .0 2,400	0 0 2,400	0 0 1,800	0 0 1,080	0 0 360	
SRAM's Bombs B-1B CMC	_ 0	.0	0	0	0	240 120	480 240	720 360	800 400	800 400	.800 400	800 400	608 304	358 184	128 64	
ALCM's	. 0	0	D	0	0	0	0	. 0	0	0	0	0	600	1,320	2,040	2,40
SRAM's Bomb's	. 0	. 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	72 36	232 116	-392 196	552 276	712 356	800 400	800 400	· 80 40
Total	2,800	3,210	3,640	4,048	4,048	4,228	4,408	4,560	4,776	4,476	4,476	1,476	4,380	4,152	3,792	3,600

#### PROJECTED AGGREGATE OF DEPLOYED SOVIET STRATEGIC WARHEADS UNDER PROPOSED START

Delivery system		JI.V.	Total S	l f al	AN		By	end of cali	endar year-	-						
Control abatem	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
ACBM's/SLBM's Bombers	7,720 313	8,122 313	8,516 341	8,904 615	8,888 1,020	8,060 1,470	7,500 1,970	6,940 1,920	6.520 1,920	6,120 1,920	5,720 1,920	5,340 1,920	5,100 1,920	5,010 1,920	5,010 1,920	5,010
Totals	8,033	8,435	8,857	9,519	9,508	9,530	9,420		8,440				7,020	6,930	6,930	6,930

#### PROJECTED AGGREGATE OF DEPLOYED U.S. STRATEGIC WARHEADS UNDER PROPOSED START

Delivery system			7 - 3	6.74		ge.	By	end of cal	endar year-	-	1353					
bonoy system	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
ICBM's/SLBM's Bombers	6,808 2,800	7,000 3,210	7,384 3,640	7,576 4,848	7,524 4,048	7,288 - 4,228	6,952	6,644 4,560	6,588 4,776	6,468 4,476	6,372 4,476	6,148 4,476	5,924 4,380	-5,700 4,152	5,495	5,432
Totals	9,608			70.54.05												_

#### PROJECTED SOVIET STRATEGIC LAUNCHER RETIREMENT UNDER PROPOSED START

Luncher	1 2	- 1	- 7	160		150	D	uring cales	ndar year-	-							400
- Love	198	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	Totals
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Subtotal	0	0	0	0	16	80	80	80	32	16	16	32	32	32	32	32	480
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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	1,42
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Bombers: B-1B Stealth			0		0	30	30	30	10	0 20	0 20		0 20	0 11	0	0	100
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	30	30	30	19	20	20			11	0	0	
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

CCS: Rabbi Wurzberger, Rabbi Schindler, Al Vorspan, Rabbi Mandelbaum
The Religious Action Center is under the auspices of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, a joint instrumentality of the CENTRAL
CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS and the UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS with its affiliates—National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, National Federation of Temple Youth.

366

10/20

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 II 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 pemmit 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 Dawn

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 Wurzburger, 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.





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 waris 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 no 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 west gwlipy
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memo.

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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 alond with a letter from Archbishop Penney of Canada reporting on his efforts to enlist the support of Pope John Paul II. Wea are also approaching the Archbishop of Canterbruy, 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 peacful world for future generations.

Yours in Peace,

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

Religious Task Force

85 SO. OXFORD ST., BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11217



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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.

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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.

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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,

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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.



Religious Task Force

## mobilization FOR SURVIVAL

85 SO. OXFORD ST., BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11217 (212) 858-6882

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 posess 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 desparately 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.

Zer

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.)

Pario Halas Task Force

#### 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.
- 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.

ero Nuclear Weapons Ban Nuclear Power Stop the Arms Race Fund Human Need

Page 3.

5. Organize the Neekend 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 possibility 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:

- 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 <u>Ghoose Life Weekend</u>
  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 Recociliation, 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.

## ARCHIVES

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, .

Repronsus L. Perneg.

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 desparately 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-

Wolent 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 indigenus religious leaders with international delegates to link military spending and human needs.

Major Religous 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 \$	□ Please send me more information □ Please add my name to your mailing list □ I would like to be active in working group on:
CITY/STATE/ZIP	
ORGANIZATION (if any)	

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### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

TH 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,

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Edward J. Markey

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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 pruitful 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, nationashall 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 gernerations we pray will follow.

Dr. Bernard Lwon March 4, 1982 Page -2-

With best wishes for a meaningful Congress and with warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

AMERICAN JEWISH

Alexander M. Schindler

25.00

Please dieft letter for me al con help you D But glow it to me on Tuesday thouls.

### HARVARD UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

TEL. (617) 732- 1307
CABLE ADDRESS: NUTHARY, 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

# ARCHIVES

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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 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;
- 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.

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#### 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

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.
- Civil defense would be unable to alter the death and devastation described above to any appreciable extent.
- 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.
- 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 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 reciprocation, 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 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

- to inform yourselves, your colleagues, and the general public about the medical effects of nuclear war;
- 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 International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War

Airlie, Virginia March 20-25, 1981

#### Herbert L. Abrams, M.D. USA

Phillip H. Cook Professor of Radiology, Harvard Medical School

Chief, Department of Radiology, Brigham & Women's Hospital and Sidney Farber Cancer Institute

#### Regina Armbruster-Heyer, M.D.

West Germany Coordinator of Physicians Against Nuclear Energy

Stanley M. Aronson, M.D. USA Dean of Medicine, Brown University Program in Medicine Professor Medical Science, Brown University

A. Clifford Barger, M.D. USA Robert Henry Pfeiffer Professor of Physiology, Harvard Medical School

Donald Bates, M.D. Canada Chairman, Department of Humanities & Social Studies in Medicine, McGill University

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Thomas Cotton Professor of History of Medicine, McGill University

Robert W. Berliner, M.D. USA Dean, Yale University School of Medicine Professor of Physiology and Medicine, Yale University School of Medicine

Sune Bergstrom, M.D. Sweden Professor of Biochemistry, Karolinska Institute

Viola Bernard, M.D. USA

Clinical Professor Emeritus of Psychiatry, Columbia University College of Physicians & Surgeons

Former Vice-President, American Psychiatric Association

John W. Boag, D.Sc. United Kingdom Emeritus Professor of Physics as Applied to Medicine, Institute of Cancer Research, University of London

Past President, British Institute of Radiology

Past President, International Association Radiation Research

Nilolai P. Bochkov, M.D. USSR Member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences

Chief Learned Secretary, Presidium of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Director, Institute of Medical Genetics of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences President, National Scientific Society of Medical Genetics

#### John Burke, M.D. USA

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