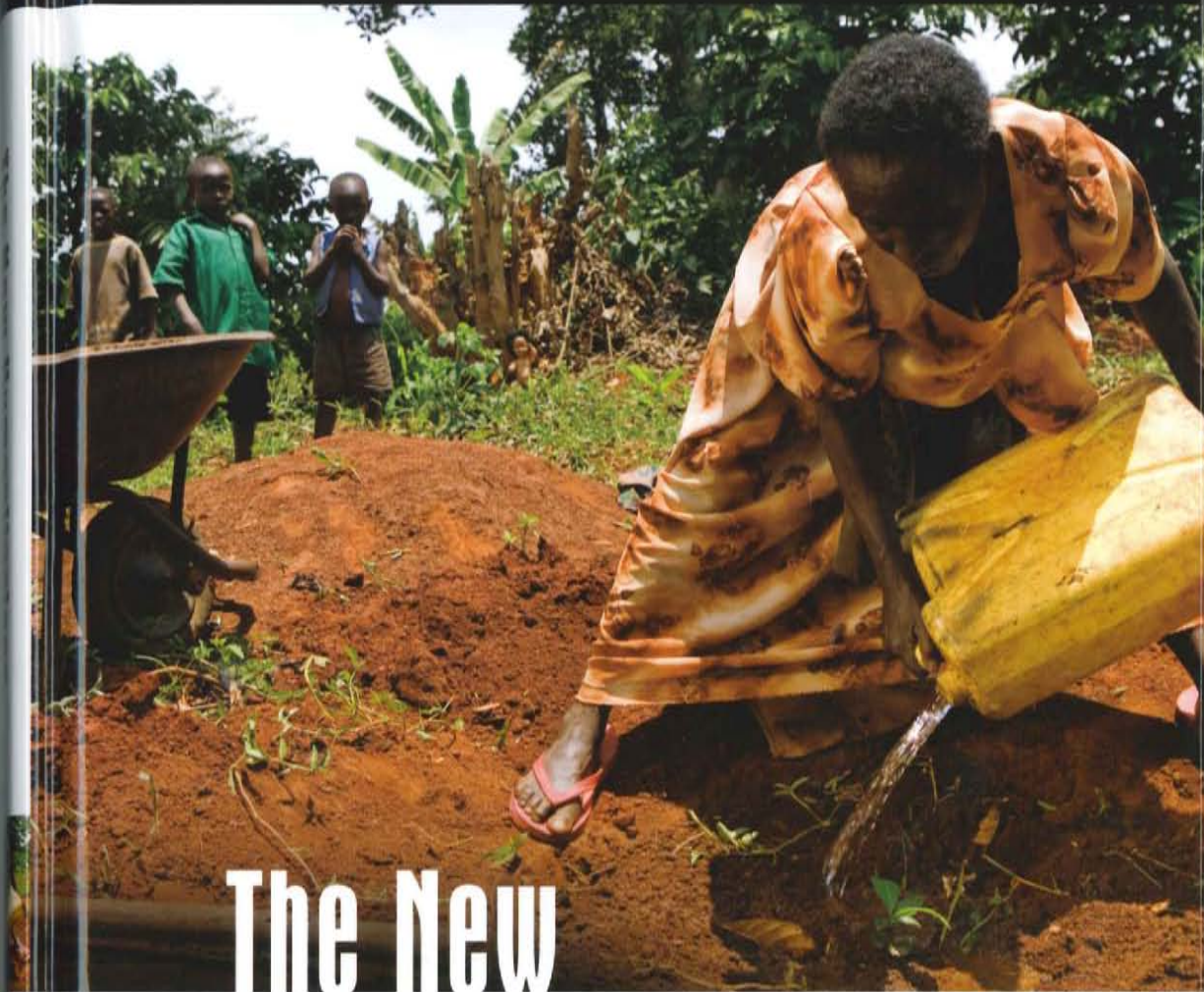


PRAEGER PERSPECTIVES



The New

Humanitarians

[INSPIRATION, INNOVATIONS,
AND BLUEPRINTS FOR VISIONARIES]

Edited by Chris E. Stout, PsyD • Foreword by Mehmet Oz, MD



*Changing Sustainable Development
and Social Justice*

The Global Security Institute: Seeking True Security for All through International Cooperation

Rhianna Tyson

Nuclear weapons are impractical, unacceptably risky and unworthy of civilization.

—Senator Alan Cranston

Nuclear weapons represent a thoroughly modern paradox: this means of pursuing security undermines the end of obtaining security.

—Jonathan Granoff

INTRODUCTION

On August 6, 1945, the United States detonated a 15-kiloton nuclear weapon in the atmosphere over the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Ninety thousand people were killed instantly, with 50,000 more dying of radiation sickness and other related effects in the subsequent months. Three days later, the United States detonated another nuclear weapon—this one a hydrogen bomb—over the city of Nagasaki, instantly killing 74,000 people and injuring 75,000 others. Both cities were utterly destroyed, leveling buildings and disintegrating roads, unleashing what former Nagasaki Mayor Icho Itoh called a “calamity that came upon Nagasaki like a preview of the Apocalypse.”¹

The unrivalled destructive capability of nuclear weapons, combined with the similarly unparalleled persistence of its deleterious effects, place nuclear weapons in a class of their own. No other weapon continues to kill and poison future generations. No other weapon so completely destroys the environment—the air quality, the soil, the groundwater, the entire ecosystem. Nuclear weapons can render all civilization obsolete. They are, as the visionary American senator Alan Cranston understood, immoral, and they are unworthy of civilization. With this

belief, he founded the Global Security Institute (GSI), a unique organization dedicated to strengthening international cooperation based on the rule of law, with a particular focus on nuclear arms control and disarmament.

Combating the scourge of nuclear weapons is the paramount challenge facing the twenty-first century. There are, of course, other prescient challenges to the survival of humanity and our planet, foremost of which being the threats posed by climate change and the persistent poverty of billions. However, the cooperation that is required for the negotiated elimination of nuclear weapons will set the cooperative framework that is needed to address the other most pressing threats facing humanity today, including climate change and poverty elimination. As GSI president Jonathan Granoff said while testifying as a representative of the International Peace Bureau to the World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates in 2007, addressing these global challenges “requires new levels of international cooperation. No state, nor even a powerful group of states, can succeed alone. Universal coordinated approaches using our highest values . . . are needed.”²

Such cooperation will remain impossible while under the Damocles sword that looms over our heads, in the form of thousands of deployed nuclear weapons, many of them loaded onto missiles that remain on high alert, ready to be launched within minutes. Senator Roméo Dallaire, the former head of the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda, used a suitable metaphor for this dilemma in a keynote address to a GSI-sponsored meeting in New York City in 2007. Asking governments to cooperate on climate change while under the threat of nuclear annihilation is akin to asking children to work out their differences while pointing loaded guns at each other’s temples.³ The Global Security Institute, therefore, believes that we must collectively negotiate the elimination of nuclear weapons, through the rule of law, as a primary step toward achieving an effective global security regime.

THE DELICATE BALANCE OF THE FIFTY-YEAR NUCLEAR SCOURGE

After the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, other countries rushed to join the United States in the “nuclear club”: the United Kingdom tested its first weapon in 1952, followed by the Soviet Union (1952), France (1960), and China (1964). By the 1980s, there were over 60,000 nuclear weapons in existence.⁴ Most of the weapons deployed today represent about eight times the destructive capacity as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. During the Cold War, the Soviets tested the RDS-220, or Big Ivan, a weapon equivalent to over 3,000 Hiroshimas at over 50 megatons, and the U.S. tested the B-41, a weapon equivalent to over 1,500 Hiroshimas. The destructive forces that loom over humanity’s head exceed the capacity of the mind to grasp. The good news is that not many countries have these devices, and over 95 percent of today’s nuclear weapons are in the arsenals of just two countries—the United States and Russia.

Without any restraints in place, and with the growing perception that nuclear weapons bring prestige to the country that develops them, it was widely believed that the number of nuclear armed countries would inevitably skyrocket.⁵ This fear incited the international community to limit the spread of nuclear weapons and work toward their elimination by negotiating and adopting the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which entered into force in 1970. Under the NPT, countries that do not possess these weapons promise never to acquire them, in exchange for nuclear energy technology and the promise that those who do possess them will work “in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament.”⁶ Eventually, all but three countries—India, Pakistan, and Israel⁷—signed the NPT, thus achieving the nonproliferation goal of the treaty, and confirming the NPT as “one of the three most important legal instruments of the 21st century.”⁸

For fifty years, the world was held hostage by the Cold War, whereby two countries possessed the capability to destroy the planet hundreds of times over. According to a study by Nobel Laureate Sune Bergstrom, a limited nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union would have killed a billion people immediately, with possibly more than 2 billion people in the immediate aftermath, rendering life for the survivors barbaric and brutally primitive in the ensuing “nuclear winter,” the semi-permanent cold climate resulting from the sun’s inability to penetrate the radioactive cloud-laden atmosphere.⁹

Miraculously, the fifty years of the Cold War came and went, and humanity survived—barely. Several times, tension between the two superpowers nearly resulted in a nuclear exchange, instances in which the planet very nearly escaped extinction. The most infamous instance took place in 1962, when U.S. spy planes discovered Soviet missiles in Cuba, shortly after Fidel Castro declared Cuba a socialist state and formalized an alliance with the USSR. Thirteen days passed, with both sides threatening to spark a nuclear war, before the United States and the Soviet Union came to an agreement: the United States would publicly vow never to invade Cuba in exchange for the dismantling of the Soviet missiles there.

In addition to this instance, there were thirty-two very serious accidents, false alarms, and malfunctions involving U.S. nuclear weapons before 1980, according to the U.S. government.¹⁰ One notorious example of a false alarm occurred in 1995, when a scientific rocket launched off the coast of Norway showed up on Russian radar as demonstrating a trajectory similar to that of a U.S. Trident missile. Russian operating rules allowed President Yeltsin fewer than ten minutes to decide a course of action: wait to see if it was a mistake, or launch a nuclear retaliatory strike. Thankfully, other early warning systems indicated conclusively that the rocket was not heading toward Russia, and Yeltsin did not destroy the planet.

Although the world narrowly avoided an all-out nuclear war, the nuclear age still managed to claim many victims. From uranium mining to nuclear explosion testing, millions of people have been sickened or killed in the pursuit of nuclear weapons. In the South Pacific, where France conducted 175 nuclear test explosions,¹¹ cancer and birth defect rates soared. Women in the Marshall Islands

repeatedly gave birth to “jellyfish babies,” transparent, boneless babies doomed to die only hours or days after their painful birth. Women in the western United States found that the baby teeth of their children were replete with strontium-90, a carcinogen produced by the nearby weapons testing undertaken at the Nevada Test Site. The people of Kazakhstan near Semipalatinsk, the preferred testing grounds for the Soviet Union, were similarly harmed.

Even though we have made great strides toward curbing the dangers of nuclear weapons, such as through treaties banning the atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons, further international safeguards on nuclear materials, and other such limited measures, nuclear weapons continue to impoverish humanity and keep us on the edge of annihilation.

- The United States spends over \$100 million per day to maintain its nuclear arsenal. This is the approximate annual budget of the International Atomic Energy Agency to safeguard nuclear materials worldwide.¹²
- Approximately 30,000 nuclear weapons remain in the world, with over 95 percent of them in the arsenals of Russia and the United States. The other 1,500 are possessed by China, the United Kingdom, France, Pakistan, India, and Israel.
- More than 4,500 warheads remain on hair-trigger alert.
- There are 2,360,000 pounds of existing Russian weapons-grade fissile material, with much of it vulnerable to theft or diversion by terrorists or hostile organizations.
- Only eight to ten pounds of fissile material are necessary to build a crude nuclear bomb. As little as eight pounds of plutonium is needed to build a bomb. A missile is not needed to deliver such a device; a tugboat or truck could be used.
- Forty-four countries are capable of developing nuclear weapons. These countries have access to the fissile material and technology to build nuclear weapons. With the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty jeopardized, nuclear weapons could quickly spread.

Such a security paradigm is untenable. It defies credibility to presume that, by accident or design, a catastrophic use of nuclear weapons will not ensue at some point. Any use remains unacceptable, and the ongoing persistence of some states that these weapons bring them unique and legitimate security value is the greatest stimulant to the quest by others to acquire them. Inequity breeds instability. Either all have a right to these devices, or none should have them. Moreover, at present, no major powers are squared off as existential mortal enemies, and pointing these weapons at one another is clearly senseless. The weapons cannot deter a terrorist unafraid of self-destruction. Using a nuclear weapon against a non-nuclear weapon state would be patently unacceptable, and using them against a nuclear weapon state would be suicidal. Thus, logic and morality compel working to obtain their universal, verifiable elimination.

REDEFINING SECURITY IN A POST-COLD WAR WORLD

The end of the Cold War presented an unprecedented opportunity for a new security paradigm, one that was not based on a notion of “mutually assured destruction” and where governments of the world could cooperate on new security challenges, freed from the Damocles sword of nuclear annihilation.

Toward this end, Senator Cranston developed a Global Security Program comprised of forty specialists drawn from around the world. These specialists met in Moscow in September 1993, in Washington, D.C., in May 1994, and in New Delhi in October 1994, where the Global Security Program was adopted. A report was published by the Rajiv Gandhi Institute, and its findings were presented by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York in October 1994. The final document was distributed widely to policymakers in Washington, D.C., and 600 copies were presented to national leaders and experts in scores of countries.

In an effort to transform the Global Security Program from dialogue to action, Senator Cranston launched the Nuclear Weapons Elimination Initiative in 1995 under the auspices of the State of the World Forum, providing a high-profile platform for the Nuclear Weapons Elimination Initiative to bring the message of nuclear abolition to elite decision makers and opinion shapers. Widely cited statements favoring abolition were compiled by the initiative under Senator Cranston’s direction, including a pair of statements by military leaders in 1996 and by civilian leaders in 1998.

As a way to institutionalize the Nuclear Weapons Elimination Initiative and ensure its continuation, Senator Cranston, along with Jonathan Granoff and other active State of the World Forum participants, created the Global Security Institute in 1999. Mr. Granoff served as GSI’s CEO and continued his work as vice president of Lawyers Alliance for World Security as well as the NGO (non-governmental organization) Committee on Disarmament at the UN. When Senator Cranston passed away on the eve of this new millennium, the board of directors elected Granoff to serve as president and Senator Cranston’s son, Kim Cranston, as GSI’s chairman. They quickly went about gathering other leaders in the field to work in a synergistic fashion and thus developed four dynamic, integrated programs, together designed to reduce threats posed by nuclear weapons, strengthen international cooperation and law, and advance rapidly toward a nuclear weapon-free world.

THE GLOBAL SECURITY INSTITUTE: A UNIQUE APPROACH

In today’s globalized world, governance is a multilevel process. A sea change in our approach to security—which is what is required if we are to reframe nuclear weapons as a source of insecurity—requires movement on all levels, at the head of state level, at the legislative level, and at the level of civil society, in all countries, everywhere. In sum, security must be understood in human terms—how people actually live. Otherwise, we risk creating a world where some states attempt to

become secure while neglecting the actual daily life needs of the vast majority of people. Nuclear weapons have no place in a road map to human security.

GSI is unique in working to affect change at multiple levels. It operates through four integrated programs, each targeting a different constituency of decision makers and influencers: governments, parliaments, and civil society leaders.

Through the Middle Powers Initiative (MPI), seven international NGOs—including two Nobel laureate organizations—are able to work primarily with the foreign ministries and, at times, the executive branches of key “middle-power” governments: politically and economically significant, internationally respected countries that have renounced the nuclear arms race, a standing that gives them significant political credibility. This type of “track 1½ diplomacy” is especially effective with middle-power countries—such as Canada, Japan, European non-nuclear states, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and Brazil—that then encourage and educate the nuclear weapon states to take immediate, practical steps to reduce nuclear dangers, and commence negotiations to eliminate nuclear weapons. MPI convenes top-level diplomats in off-the-record meetings, offering a noncombative atmosphere for the divergent players to work out the legal, political, and technical solutions to eliminating nuclear weapons, thereby building bridges between governments and constructing a global consensus.

MPI is composed of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), the International Association of Lawyers against Nuclear Arms (IALANA), the International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility (INES), the International Peace Bureau (IPB), the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (NAPF), and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

In Washington, D.C., GSI’s efforts are executed through the Bipartisan Security Group (BSG), a group of experts with experience in diplomacy, law, intelligence, and military affairs. Many BSG members are former high-level governmental officials, able to use their contacts and credibility to advance the consensus agenda promoted by MPI. Through regular briefings on the Hill, BSG provides reliable information and analysis of arms control and nonproliferation issues to members of Congress and their staffs.

Outside of Washington, the policies advocated by GSI are advanced through a program called the Parliamentarians for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament (PNND), a nonpartisan forum for parliamentarians, nationally and internationally, to share resources and information; develop cooperative strategies; and engage in nuclear disarmament issues, initiatives, and arenas. Through PNND, GSI helps parliamentarians become engaged in nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament initiatives, and to turn the ideas of MPI into national legislation. Parliamentarians, because of their close relationship to constituents and their connections with parliamentary colleagues worldwide, have a crucial role to play in crafting policies that meet the security needs of the citizens of their countries, regions, and the world. As former UN Under-Secretary-General Jayantha Dhanapala recognized, “The parliaments of the world are the bridges between

government and civil society. They provide the funds to pay for national initiatives. Through their deliberations, they help to shape policy, and through their investigative and oversight powers they build public accountability. They provide a bulwark to ensure that governments comply with their international commitments and pledges—a role that at times requires the enactment of domestic legislation. These functions are absolutely vital to the future of nuclear disarmament. They help to give disarmament not only vision, but also some backbone, muscle, and teeth.”¹³

Through the Disarmament and Peace Education (DPE) program, GSI encourages new leadership and promotes new thinking on nuclear weapons elimination through innovative educational activities. GSI collaborates with prominent leaders in other fields, including Nobel peace laureates, religious leaders, military experts, students, scientists, and environmentalists. Through special events, reports, and educational materials, GSI encourages others to incorporate nuclear abolition advocacy into their own important activities. GSI has successfully built a community of common purpose across a diverse spectrum of leadership by positioning global security as a collective human imperative.

Each of these programs reinforces its respective approaches. For example, the international perspective gained through working with significant middle-power countries is a unique approach, highly valuable in advocacy and education in Washington, which often lacks perspective beyond national interest. It is the firm belief of GSI that only a global approach to protecting the climate, addressing poverty, and eliminating nuclear weapons will be successful.

The coordinated efforts of the exceptionally dynamic leaders of each program are noteworthy. MPI has a steering committee with such outstanding figures as Kim Campbell, former prime minister of Canada and the first female head of government in North America; and Ambassador Miguel Marin-Bosch, former deputy foreign minister of Mexico. MPI’s driving force is the visionary world leader Senator Douglas Roche, O.C., former Canadian disarmament ambassador, who is the author of nineteen books on peace and disarmament. PNND Global Coordinator Alyn Ware nearly single-handedly traveled the world to create the PNND network. Lastly, the Bipartisan Security Group’s chairman and director are two of America’s most distinguished former ambassadors, Thomas Graham and Robert Grey. The members of the BSG ensure exceptionally high-level access to decision makers in Washington, a formidable reinforcement to PNND’s direct link to parliaments the world over. This networked, multidimensional approach allows the advancing of strategic policies in great depth, while concomitantly ensuring broad outreach. Each program makes efforts to circulate the advocacy materials produced by the others, thus enriching the international dialogue with varying perspectives and approaches to achieving the same results.

Although GSI’s programs stretch across the globe, the organization itself remains relatively small. Each of the four offices—in New York, Washington, D.C., Wellington, New Zealand, and Philadelphia, PA—has a small staff. A great deal of

its successful work is dependent upon volunteer efforts of its leaders and experts and their abilities to inspire others to join GSI's efforts.

GSI TODAY: RECENT ACTIVITIES AND NEW OPPORTUNITIES

In 2005 the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons ended without progress. No agreement could be reached on how to strengthen either side of the core bargain—the responsibility to eliminate nuclear arsenals and the obligation to effectively prevent their spread. The bitter disagreements that deadlocked the month-long conference threatened not only the international nonproliferation effort, but multilateralism itself.¹⁴

Incited by this failure, in 2005 the Middle Powers Initiative undertook its most focused project yet—the Article VI Forum, a creative initiative to bring together likeminded states and NGOs in a noncombative atmosphere, to brainstorm together on the technical, political, and legal requirements necessary for achieving a nuclear weapons-free world. Over thirty states have participated in this process since its launch at the United Nations in New York in 2006. The governments of Canada, Austria, and Ireland hosted and co-sponsored the third, fourth, and fifth meetings of the forum, a testament to the value that these middle-power countries see in this initiative. Other states, including Germany, Sweden, and Japan, are anticipated to host future gatherings.

The Article VI Forum helped identify a consensus agenda for strengthening both disarmament and nonproliferation to which all states should be able to agree. Moreover, the policies identified by the Article VI Forum process pass key tests: they do not diminish the security of any state; they reinforce the NPT and enhance the rule of law; they make the world safer now; and they move the world toward the elimination of nuclear weapons.¹⁵

The Article VI Forum will culminate in a conference in 2010, just prior to the next review of the NPT. It will be held at the prestigious Carter Center in Atlanta, GA, the third such time that GSI will have partnered with President Carter's esteemed institute.

The policies that are crafted through the Article VI Forum process are advanced throughout the world. With its headquarters just blocks from the United Nations, MPI regularly convenes decision makers in seminars, workshops, and special events to push these policies up the bureaucratic ladders of their respective foreign ministries. Beyond the UN, MPI sends high-level delegations directly to the capitals of key countries, delivering presentations to the parliaments and foreign ministries, and often holding audiences with foreign ministers or prime ministers directly. In 2006 the Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell, former prime minister of Canada and GSI advisory board member, successfully led MPI's fifth high-level delegation to the government of Canada since 1998. Other delegations included General Lee Butler, former head of U.S. Strategic Command, Robert McNamara, former U.S. secretary of defense, and actor and GSI supporter Michael Douglas. The fifth delegation included MPI chairman, the Hon. Douglas

Roche, O.C., BSG chairman Ambassador Thomas Graham, and GSI president Jonathan Granoff. The delegation was received by the prime minister, the deputy foreign minister, and the national defense minister. The delegation presented an MPI briefing paper prepared especially for the government of Canada. In addition, the delegation formally testified before the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. Even more recently, in January 2008, MPI chairman Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C., and the MPI program director were received by the foreign ministries of Dublin, Berlin, Oslo, and Madrid, presenting MPI briefs and effectively advancing the consensus agenda. In January of 2008, Granoff joined GSI advisor President Mikhail Gorbachev in a private meeting with UK prime minister Gordon Brown, where they presented MPI's most recent briefing materials, *Towards 2010: Priorities for NPT Consensus*¹⁶ and *Visible Intent: NATO's Responsibility to Nuclear Disarmament*,¹⁷ along with significant declarations produced at the Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates.¹⁸

As we move closer to the next Review Conference of the NPT, more hopeful signs of progress abound. In January 2007—and again in January 2008—a group of establishment conservatives published an op/ed in the *Wall Street Journal*, calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons. The path toward abolition spelled out by these former U.S. officials, including former secretaries of state Henry Kissinger and George Schultz, former defense secretary William Perry, and former senator Sam Nunn, were nearly identical to the steps advocated by GSI and its programs. This op/ed—produced through a process convened by the Hoover Institute and to which several BSG members, including Ambassador Graham actively contributed—and the momentum that it helped build, forever put to rest the myth that abolition was impractical, radical, or at worst, anti-American. Such momentum reinvigorates and impels GSI, despite its small pool of funding sources, to expand its programs and seize the opportunities.

In October 2007, the PNND Global Council elected five dynamic female parliamentarians as their new co-presidents. Each of these parliamentarians is a leader in her own country, and a formidable spokesperson and campaigner for nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation. Alexa McDonough (Canada), Marian Hobbs (Aotearoa-New Zealand), Lee Mikyung (South Korea), Uta Zapf (Germany), and Senator Abacca Anjain Madisson (Marshall Islands) will lead this emerging force of 500 legislators from over seventy countries in global parliamentary initiatives to prevent nuclear proliferation and advance nuclear disarmament.

To highlight the power of the new female leadership of the network, GSI organized a panel event at the United Nations when diplomats gathered for the sixty-second session of the General Assembly. Joining two of the new co-presidents on the panel was civil society leader Cora Weiss and cultural icon Christie Brinkley, a remarkable demonstration of the confluence of the parliamentary, diplomatic, and civil society leadership of the abolition movement. Moderated by GSI senior officer Rhianna Tyson, the event brought together women who are working on all levels to prevent conflict involving nuclear weapons. Such an all-women panel, as the chairwoman pointed out, was a rare occurrence at the UN, particularly for an event

geared toward delegates attending the General Assembly's First Committee on Disarmament and International Security. This rarity, however, "does not reflect the reality of the movement to abolish nuclear weapons," said Ms. Tyson, "a movement in which women have always played a leadership role."¹⁹ It was particularly timely, then, that this nuclear abolition panel was held on the eve of the seventh anniversary of the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325, which calls for greater women's participation at all levels of conflict resolution and prevention decision making.

The Bipartisan Security Group, too, continues to grow in efficacy and strength. Over the past several years, it has published a laudable number of respected policy briefs, which form the basis of its advocacy with members of Congress and their staffs, who are educated through regular briefings on the Hill. In many ways, the quiet, ongoing meetings of BSG, and in particular those of its director, Ambassador Grey, with senior staff on Capitol Hill, remain the backbone of GSI's efforts.

Beyond these informal presentations, BSG offers official, on-the-record input to governmental proceedings as well. Both BSG chairman Ambassador Thomas Graham and GSI president Jonathan Granoff testified before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations as part of a panel focusing on the topic, "Weapons of Mass Destruction: Current Nuclear Proliferation Challenges." Subcommittee Chairman Christopher Shays, R-CT, called the testimonies "some of the most substantive, interesting, demanding, and valuable in my decades in Congress."²⁰

Substantial inroads have been made through the DPE program, too. In 2006 the Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates issued the Rome Declaration, the first statement by these morally authoritative voices calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons. GSI president Jonathan Granoff, a senior adviser to the Summit Secretariat and representative of the Nobel laureate organization to the International Peace Bureau, was instrumental in this process. MPI chairman Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C., and GSI advisory board member Jayantha Dhanapala, also contributed to this historic summit.²¹ At the 2007 Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates, Mr. Granoff chaired two sessions, including the closing press conference, a panel featuring Nobel laureates Mikhail Gorbachev, HH Dalai Lama, Betty Williams, Muhammed Yunus, and Mairead Corrigan Maguire.

Taking a comprehensive vision toward security, GSI has begun working closely with the Secure World Foundation to advance a cooperative security regime in space and to prevent an arms race there. If space is weaponized, the moral imperative to eliminate nuclear weapons will become all the more difficult to obtain. From this values-based perspective, GSI works assiduously to integrate practical analysis into its advocacy. In this regard, GSI has co-hosted presentations on the subject at key UN events with the governments of Sweden, Russia, and China, and with the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research.

In an interview with *Banning the Bomb*, Granoff said, "It is time that we started looking at nuclear weapons with the same disgust as we look at the plague as a weapon. No one would say that the plague is a legitimate weapon in the hands of

some people but illegitimate in the hands of other people; the plague itself is illegitimate as a weapon. Thus we need to carefully climb down this ladder of nuclearism that we have . . . by taking steps that will make us safer, that will reduce the value of nuclear weapons and the threat that we live under."²²

CONCLUSION

Fewer than 200 years ago, enslavement of human beings was an accepted practice in much of the world. Dozens of economies were dependent on the trade of human beings as slaves. Despite the enormity of the task, the moral imperative of abolishing slavery finally triumphed over the vested, powerful, institutionalized interests that sought to preserve it, and after nearly a century of struggle, humanity finally rid itself of the evil of slavery. Who today could excuse the enslavement of people as anything less than an abomination? Does anyone doubt that it is a violation of humanity with which humanity cannot co-exist?

The parallels between the movements to abolish slavery and nuclear weapons are striking. MPI chairman, the Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C., in a presentation to the European Parliament in 2007, elaborated on these similarities:

- Nuclear weapons are the slavery of the twenty-first century. With their threat of Armageddon, they enslave all of humanity. They are the "ultimate evil."
- As this century progresses, the political structure must learn that nuclear weapons and humanity cannot coexist, just as slavery and human rights cannot co-exist. Nuclear weapons are a denial of the range of human rights opened up by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- We cannot only deal with nuclear weapons by making the conditions of their acceptance more palatable any more than Wilberforce could accept merely a lessening of pressure of the chains around slaves' necks; the total abolition of slavery was required. So too, it will not be enough to have full ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty or successful negotiations to ban the production of fissile material; nuclear weapons in their entirety must be done away with. The only hope for peace in the twenty-first century is the total abolition of nuclear weapons. This can be achieved when the social, economic and political structures turn against these weapons of mass murder. . . . Like the slavery abolitionists, nuclear weapons abolitionists have history on our side. Despite the seemingly impregnable hold of the powerful, new counter-forces are developing and need but the concerted action of enlightened parliamentarians aided by an energized civil society to prevail.²³

The Global Security Institute is just one element making up this "energized civil society" that, despite the enormity of the task, is confident of prevailing. We know that if we do not eliminate nuclear weapons, the weapons will surely eliminate us. Their abolition is the moral, legal, and political imperative of our time.

In 2002 Jonathan Granoff delivered a presentation at the closing ceremony of the Gandhi and King Season for Nonviolence at the United Nations in New York. Speaking from the heart that beats in every person who has dedicated his or her life and work to the imperative of nuclear abolition, he said:

I believe that the mystery that has placed the power of destruction in the binding forces of the atom has placed the healing power of love in our hearts and further gifted us with both the courage and wisdom to use that power effectively. . . . I commit to work to cause my country to disavow its unlawful, immoral posture of failing to negotiate the elimination of nuclear weapons. I commit to work through national and international legal mechanisms to curtail, control and abolish these devices. Will not some of you join this call from the conscience of humanity?²⁴

To find out more about the Global Security Institute and how you can support its efforts, contact us through www.gsinstitute.org.

ORGANIZATIONAL SNAPSHOT

Organization: Global Security Institute

Founder: Senator Alan Cranston

Executive Director: Jonathan Granoff

Mission/Description: Global Security Institute is dedicated to strengthening international cooperation and security based on the rule of law with a particular focus on nuclear arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament. GSI was founded by Senator Alan Cranston, whose insight that nuclear weapons are impractical, unacceptably risky, and unworthy of civilization continues to inspire GSI's efforts to contribute to a safer world. GSI has developed an exceptional team that includes former heads of state and government, distinguished diplomats, effective politicians, committed celebrities, religious leaders, Nobel peace laureates, disarmament and legal experts, and concerned citizens.

Website: <http://www.gsinstitute.org>

Address: One Belmont Ave. Suite 400

Bala Cynwyd, PA 19004 USA

Phone: 610-668-5488

E-mail: general@gsinstitute.org

NOTES

1. As quoted in "The Power Over the Ultimate Evil: In the Footsteps of Gandhi and King," by Jonathan Granoff, presented at the closing ceremony of the 2002 Gandhi and King Season for Nonviolence, United Nations, New York, April 9, 2002. Available at http://www.gsinstitute.org/docs/Gandhi_King.pdf.

2. See "Axis of Responsibility: Addressing the Critical Global Issues of the 21st Century," presentation by Jonathan Granoff, President of the Global Security Institute, to the 8th Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates, December 12, 2007. Available at http://www.gsinstitute.org/gsi/pubs/12_2007_Axis.pdf.
3. See "Preventing Nuclear Genocide," keynote luncheon address by Senator Roméo Dallaire, Special Representative of Parliamentarians for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament, at the PNND Global Council meeting, New York, October 12, 2007. Available at <http://www.gsinstitute.org/pnnd/index.html>.
4. See *Table of Global Nuclear Weapons Stockpile: 1945-2002*, Natural Resources Defense Council, at <http://www.nrdc.org/nuclear/nudb/datab19.asp>.
5. Many countries did indeed develop nuclear weapons programs. Argentina, Brazil, South Korea, and Taiwan at one point started domestic nuclear programs, but eventually renounced them and joined the NPT. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the newly independent countries of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine inherited the nuclear weapons left on their territories, but each of them returned the weapons to Russia and joined the NPT as non-nuclear weapon states. The South African apartheid government was secretly developing nuclear weapons, which the post-apartheid government dismantled in a transparent and internationally verified manner, joining the NPT in 1991. Iraq, too, had an active nuclear weapons program in the 1980s. Following their defeat in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the UN-mandated inspections dismantled the last of the program. And in December 2003, Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi voluntarily, and unexpectedly, renounced his country's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) programs.
6. Article VI of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Full text of the treaty is available at <http://disarmament.un.org/wmd/npt/npttext.html>.
7. India first detonated a nuclear explosion on May 18, 1974, which the government described as a "peaceful nuclear explosion." On April 8, 1998, India detonated a nuclear weapon device, two days after a missile test in Pakistan. For its part, Pakistan tested its first nuclear weapon on May 28, 1998. Israel maintains a policy of "ambiguity," neither confirming nor denying the existence of nuclear weapons in the country. According to the Federation of American Scientists, the CIA reported in 1968 that Israel had successfully produced nuclear weapons, and by the 1970s, Israel had approximately thirteen 20-kiloton atomic weapons. Currently, it is believed that Israel possesses 100-200 nuclear weapons. See <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/israel/nuke/index.html>.
8. *Banning the Bomb* interview with Jonathan Granoff, president of the Global Security Institute, April 2007. See http://www.vermont.be/banningthebomb/2007vienna/vidfiles/JonathanGranoff_WS.mov.
9. Sune Bergstrom's study is cited in Carl Sagan, *The Nuclear Winter*, Council for a Livable World Education Fund (Boston, MA: 1983), and summarized in "Preventing an Accidental Nuclear Winter" by Dean Babst, June 28, 2001: http://www.wagingpeace.org/articles/2001/06/28_babst_nuclear-winter.htm.
10. See "US Nuclear Weapons Accidents: Danger in our Midst," *Defense Monitor*, 10(5), Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C.: 1981. Reprinted with permission at <http://www.milnet.com/cdiart.htm>.
11. Of these, 41 were exploded in the atmosphere and 134 underground. When combined with the tests undertaken in the Sahara desert, France's total number of nuclear tests amounts to 192. See <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/france/nuke.htm>.

12. Stephen I. Schwartz, *Atomic Audit: The Costs and Consequences of US Nuclear Weapons Since 1940*. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1998).
13. Cited in the brochure of the network of Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (see <http://www.pnnd.org>).
14. See Douglas Roche, O.C., "Deadly Deadlock: Political Analysis of the 2005 NPT Review Conference," at <http://www.gsinstitute.org/2005NPTpoliticalanalysis.pdf>.
15. See "Towards 2010: Priorities for NPT Consensus," MPI paper for the 2007 NPT Preparatory Committee, (Vienna: April 2007). Available at http://www.gsinstitute.org/mpi/docs/Towards_2010.pdf.
16. *Towards 2010* is available at <http://www.gsinstitute.org/mpi/docs/Towards2010.pdf>.
17. *Visible Intent* is available at http://www.gsinstitute.org/mpi/pubs/NATO_brief_2008.html.
18. The Rome Declaration (2006) can be found at http://www.gsinstitute.org/docs/Rome_Declaration_2006.pdf. The Charter for a World without Violence (2007) can be found at http://www.nobelpeace-summits.org/ENG/PDF/2007/CHARTER_ULTIMATE.pdf. "Three Questions to Fulfill Our Duty to the Next Generation" (2007) can be found at http://www.nobelpeace-summits.org/ENG/PDF/2007/THREE_QUESTIONES.pdf.
19. The full transcript of these remarks is available at <http://www.gsinstitute.org/gsi/archives/303tyson.html>.
20. The testimonies of GSI president Jonathan Granoff, BSG chairman Ambassador (Ret.) Thomas Graham Jr., GSI advisory board member Dr. Frank von Hippel, Dr. Hans Blix, and other arms control experts from the House subcommittee can be found at <http://www.gsinstitute.org/bsg/index.html>.
21. Read the presentations delivered by Jonathan Granoff, Senator Roche, and Jayantha Dhanapala to the Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates at http://www.gsinstitute.org/docs/Rome06_speeches.pdf.
22. Video footage of the interview is available at <http://www.npt-webcast.info/video.php?ID=88>.
23. Douglas Roche, "Lessons from William Wilberforce: Priorities for Nuclear Weapons Abolition," Address to European Parliament International Conference on Nuclear Disarmament (Brussels: April 19, 2007). Available at http://www.gsinstitute.org/mpi/docs/04_19_07_Roche_EP.pdf.
24. The full text of these remarks is available at http://www.gsinstitute.org/docs/Gandhi_King.pdf.

Search for Common Ground

John Marks and Susan
Collin Marks

OUT OF MAD

It was 1982. The superpowers, the United States and the USSR, were caught up in an arms race, framed by the nuclear doctrine of mutually assured destruction, or MAD. John Marks was looking for a paradigm shift. He saw the Cold War, metaphorically, as two boys standing knee deep in a room full of gasoline. One held twelve matches; the other held nine—and they were arguing over who had the most. John acknowledged that the mix of matches was important and that certain combinations were more dangerous than others. Still, he noted, attention was focused on rearranging the mix—on arms control. John, above all, was concerned that one match could ignite everything. For the world to be truly safe, in his view, the gasoline would have to be drained from the room.

This meant transforming the very framework or context in which the United States and the USSR were confronting each other. John believed that both countries would only become secure when the other one was secure. He became an advocate of common security, which reflected a very different—indeed, transformational—way of dealing with international security questions. He was convinced that there had to be better ways of resolving differences—that confrontational, win-lose techniques were not only dangerous, but in the end, ineffective and unworkable. So in 1982 he founded a non-profit organization in Washington, D.C., called Search for Common Ground (Search), to find concrete ways of shifting how the world deals with conflict—away from adversarial, you-or-me approaches to nonadversarial, you-and-me solutions.

It was an audacious vision, and, at the beginning, Search had only two employees—John and one other. Then, as now, funds were needed to give concrete form to the vision. He realized that fundraising provided the very lifeblood