

REMEMBERING THE 1960'S

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Introduction¹

Lessons for today from the 1960's

Everyone agrees that the 1960's were very special. Those of us who lived through that era remember it as a time when the danger of a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union was very real indeed. The world came extremely close to disaster during the Cuban Missile Crisis. In response to the threat of nuclear destruction, there were massive public protests against nuclear weapons. Millions of people all over the world took to the streets.

Where is that passion and engagement today? When the Cold War supposedly ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall, everyone heaved a sigh of relief, and decided that the threat of global nuclear annihilation had gone away. But it has not gone away. It is still with us, and is perhaps greater today than ever before. Why do we not protest? Where are the millions of protesters that we saw in the 1960's?

A time of change; A time of hope

The 1960's were characterized by revolutionary conflicts, often suppressed with great violence, and by great hopes for change. The Civil Rights Movement in the United States was opposed by forces using vicious dogs, violent beatings and jailings of protesters, and even assassinations. At the same time there was hope that equal rights under the law would eventually be won.

Enthusiasm and dedication in protests

The great protest movements of the 1960's can inspire us today. We can remember Bob Dylan, Pete Seeger and Joan Baez. We can remember the protests against the Vietnam War. We can remember Woodstock and the musical, *Hair*. We can remember the women of Greenham Common in England, who were ultimately victorious in their protests against the Greenham nuclear weapons base.

¹This book makes use of some of my previously published book chapters, but most of the material is new,

Renunciation of wars

We can learn much by remembering in detail the horrors of the Vietnam War. If we had learned our lessons properly, we might have been spared the destruction and the terrible loss of life that has characterized recent wars in the Middle East and Afghanistan, not to mention trillions of dollars wasted. The Vietnam War was based on governmental lies, and a close examination of recent wars shows that they too were also based on lies.

Awareness of nuclear dangers

In the 1960's, everyone was acutely aware of the danger of an all-destroying thermonuclear war. The massive anti-nuclear protests of the 1960's are proof of this awareness. Then, when the Cold War supposedly ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall, everyone heaved a sigh of relief and concluded that the danger had gone away. But it has not gone away. Despite the recent Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, the arsenals and missiles are still there. They have spread to more nations. There is a black market in fissionable materials, and it is possible that subnational criminal or terrorist organizations may acquire nuclear weapons. There is a danger that a nuclear weapons state with an unstable government may undergo a revolutions which will put nuclear weapons into terrorist hands. All in all, the danger of a cataclysmic nuclear war is perhaps even greater today than it was in the 1960's. We need to make the younger generation more aware of these dangers. We need to revive the anti-nuclear protest movements of the 1960's.

Awareness of the history of racism

Recently the murder of George Floyd by police officers, as well as the similar police murders of many other people of color, sparked world-wide protests. In the United States, Donald Trump was elected on an overtly racist platform, and he continues to be a racist in both word and deed. Thus the issue of racism is very much in our minds today. Against this backdrop, it is useful to remember the passion and dedication of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's. The protests of that era, as well as the non-violent methods used, can inspire us today.



Optimism

The 1960's can inspire us today because as well as being a period of change, the decade was characterized by hope and optimism. We need hope. We need optimism. Without hope, all is lost. As 15-year-old Greta Thunberg said in her Stockholm Tedx talk, "And yes, we do need hope, of course we do. But the one thing we need more than hope is action. Once we start to act, hope is everywhere. So instead of looking for hope, look for action. Then, and only then, hope will come."

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Chapter 1

PASSION AND DEDICATION OF PROTESTERS

1.1 Progressives from the 1960's can inspire us today

It is worthwhile today to remember the passion and dedication of the progressives of the 1960's. It was an era that saw the civil rights movement, protests against the Vietnam War, and the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr., John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy. The brave resistance of American progressives of that time can inspire us today.

1.2 Woodstock

Wikipedia states that “Woodstock was a music festival held on a dairy farm in the Catskill Mountains, northwest of New York City, between August 15-18, 1969, which attracted an audience of more than 400,000.

“Billed as ‘An Aquarian Exposition: 3 Days of Peace & Music’, it was held at Max Yasgur’s 600-acre dairy farm near White Lake in Bethel, New York, 43 miles (70 km) southwest of Woodstock.

“Over the sometimes rainy weekend, 32 acts performed outdoors. It is widely regarded as a pivotal moment in popular music history, as well as the definitive nexus for the larger counterculture generation. Rolling Stone listed it as number 19 of the 50 Moments That Changed the History of Rock and Roll.

“The event was captured in the Academy Award-winning 1970 documentary movie *Woodstock*, an accompanying soundtrack album, and Joni Mitchell’s song ‘Woodstock’, which commemorated the event and became a major hit for both Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young and Matthews Southern Comfort. Joni Mitchell said, ‘Woodstock was a spark of beauty’ where half-a-million kids ‘saw that they were part of a greater organism’. In 2017, the festival site was listed on the National Register of Historic Places...

“There was worldwide media interest in the 40th anniversary of Woodstock in 2009. A number of activities to commemorate the festival took place around the world. On August



Figure 1.1: **The Woodstock Festival, 1969: “Give peace a chance!”**. An estimated 400,000 people attended the event.

15, at the Bethel Woods Center for the Arts overlooking the original site, the largest assembly of Woodstock performing alumni since the original 1969 festival performed in an eight-hour concert in front of a sold-out crowd...

“Another event occurred in Hawkhurst, Kent (UK), at a Summer of Love party, with acts including two of the participants at the original Woodstock, Barry Melton of Country Joe and the Fish and Robin Williamson of The Incredible String Band, plus Santana and Grateful Dead cover bands. On August 14 and 15, 2009, a 40th anniversary tribute concert was held in Woodstock, Illinois, and was the only festival to receive the official blessing of the ‘Father of Woodstock’, Artie Kornfeld. Kornfeld later made an appearance in Woodstock with the event’s promoters.

“Also in 2009, Michael Lang and Holly George-Warren published *The Road to Woodstock*, which describes Lang’s involvement in the creation of the Woodstock Music & Arts Festival, and includes personal stories and quotes from central figures involved in the event...

“Reports in late 2018 confirmed the plans for a 50th Anniversary event on the original site to be operated by the Bethel Woods Centre for the Arts. The scheduled date for the *Bethel Woods Music and Culture Festival: Celebrating the golden anniversary at the historic site of the 1969 Woodstock festival* was August 16-18 2019. Partners in the event are Live Nation and INVNT. Bethel Woods described the festival as a ‘pan-generational music, culture and community event’.”

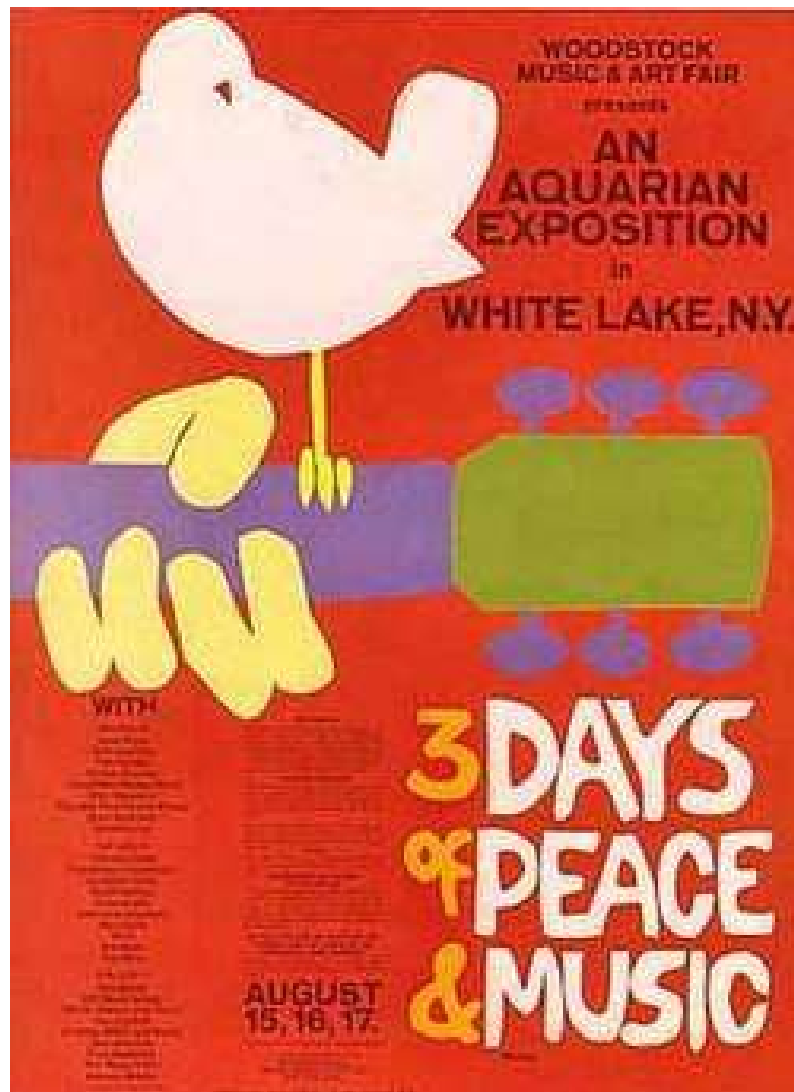


Figure 1.2: The Woodstock logo.



Figure 1.3: **Yes!.**



Figure 1.4: **The 50th anniversary event.**

1.3 Joan Baez

Joan Baez is an American folk-singer and activist who has been highly influential since her breakthrough 60 years ago. Her father was a Mexican-American physicist who is credited with inventing the X-ray microscope. While her father was working at MIT, Joan Baez gave her first concert in 1958 at Club 47 in Cambridge. In 1959, Bob Gibson invited Baez to perform at the Newport Folk Festival, where her astonishingly clear and expressive voice produced a sensation. Joan Baez promoted the career of Bob Dylan, at a time when she was a star while he was unknown, by inviting him to join her on the stage for duets. Wholeheartedly engaged in many anti-war, human rights and environmental causes, including opposition to the Viet Nam and Iraq wars, she regards her activism as more important than her singing. In 2011, Amnesty International introduced the yearly Joan Baez Award for outstanding service to human rights, giving the first award to Baez herself.

A few things that Joan Baez said

I would say that I'm a nonviolent soldier. In place of weapons of violence, you have to use your mind, your heart, your sense of humor, every faculty available to you...because no one has the right to take the life of another human being.

Action is the antidote to despair.

You don't get to choose how you're going to die, or when. You can only decide how you're going to live. Now.

I went to jail for 11 days for disturbing the peace; I was trying to disturb the war.

I think music has the power to transform people, and in doing so, it has the power to transform situations - some large and some small.

To sing is to love and affirm, to fly and to soar, to coast into the hearts of the people who listen to tell them that life is to live, that love is there, that nothing is a promise, but that beauty exists, and must be hunted for and found.

The easiest kind of relationship for me is with ten thousand people. The hardest is with one.

I have hope in people, in individuals. Because you don't know what's going to rise from the ruins.

As long as one keeps searching, the answers will come.

Only you and I can help the sun rise each coming morning. If we don't, it may drench itself out in sorrow.

All of us are survivors, but how many of us transcend survival?

If you don't have music, you have silence. There is power in both.

To sing is to praise God and the daffodils, and to praise God is to thank Him, in every note within my small range, and every color in the tones of my voice, with every look into the eyes of my audience, to thank Him. Thank you, God, for letting me be born, for giving me eyes to see the daffodils lean in the wind, all my brothers, all my sisters, for giving me ears to hear crying, legs to come running, hands to smooth damp hair, a voice to laugh with and to sing with...to sing to you and the daffodils.

The point on nonviolence is to build a floor, a strong new floor, beneath which we can no longer sink.

There's a consensus out that it's OK to kill when your government decides who to kill. If you kill inside the country you get in trouble. If you kill outside the country, right time, right season, latest enemy, you get a medal.

If you're going to sing meaningful songs, you have to be committed to living a life that backs that up.

Instead of getting hard ourselves and trying to compete, women should try and give their best qualities to men - bring them softness, teach them how to cry.

We're not really pacifists, we're nonviolent soldiers.

If it's natural to kill, how come men have to go into training to learn how?

If people have to put labels on me, I'd prefer the first label to be human being, the second label to be pacifist, and the third to be folk singer.

You may not know it, but at the far end of despair, there is a white clearing where one is almost happy.

I don't think of myself as a symbol of the sixties, but I do think of myself as a symbol of following through on your beliefs.



Figure 1.5: Joan Baez (born 1941) on the 1962 cover of Time Magazine.



What have they done to the rain?

Just a little rain falling all around
The grass lifts its head to the heavenly sound
Just a little rain, just a little rain
What have they done to the rain
Just a little boy standing in the rain
The gentle rain that falls for years
And the grass is gone, the boy disappears
And rain keeps falling like helpless tears
And what have they done to the rain
Just a little breeze out of the sky
The leaves nod their head as the breeze blows by
Just a little breeze with some smoke in its eye
What have they done to the rain

Just a little boy standing in the rain
The gentle rain that falls for years
And the grass is gone, the boy disappears
And rain keeps falling like helpless tears
And what have they done to the rain
What have they done to the rain

We shall overcome

We shall overcome,
We shall overcome,
We shall overcome, some day.

Oh, deep in my heart,
I do believe
We shall overcome, some day.

We'll walk hand in hand,
We'll walk hand in hand,
We'll walk hand in hand, some day.

Oh, deep in my heart,
I do believe
We'll walk hand in hand, some day.

We shall live in peace,

We shall live in peace,
We shall live in peace, some day.

Oh, deep in my heart,
I do believe
We shall live in peace, some day.

We shall all be free,
We shall all be free,
We shall all be free, some day.

Oh, deep in my heart,
I do believe
We shall all be free, some day.

We are not afraid,
We are not afraid,
We are not afraid, today.

Oh, deep in my heart,
I do believe
We are not afraid, today.

We shall overcome,
We shall overcome,
We shall overcome, some day.

Oh, deep in my heart,
I do believe
We shall overcome, some day.

1.4 Bob Dylan

An outstanding influence on music, poetry and the anti-war movement over six decades, Bob Dylan was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2016.

Bob Dylan was born in 1941 into a Jewish immigrant family named Zimmerman. He later changed his name to Dylan because of his admiration for the Welsh poet, Dylan Thomas. As a highschool student Bob Dylan initially formed a rock and roll band, but later realized that folk music was much more meaningful. Explaining this change, he said “The thing about rock’n’roll is that for me anyway it wasn’t enough... There were great catch-phrases and driving pulse rhythms... but the songs weren’t serious or didn’t reflect

life in a realistic way. I knew that when I got into folk music, it was more of a serious type of thing. The songs are filled with more despair, more sadness, more triumph, more faith in the supernatural, much deeper feelings.”

Bob Dylan greatly admired folk singer Woodie Guthrie. Describing Guthrie’s influence, he wrote: “The songs themselves had the infinite sweep of humanity in them... [He] was the true voice of the American spirit. I said to myself I was going to be Guthrie’s greatest disciple.”

Wikipedia states that “Many early songs reached the public through more palatable versions by other performers, such as Joan Baez, who became Dylan’s advocate as well as his lover. Baez was influential in bringing Dylan to prominence by recording several of his early songs and inviting him on stage during her concerts. ‘It didn’t take long before people got it, that he was pretty damned special,’ says Baez.”

Here are a few things that Bob Dylan said:

Behind every beautiful thing, there’s some kind of pain.

I accept chaos, I’m not sure whether it accepts me.

Don’t criticize what you can’t understand.

Sometimes it’s not enough to know what things mean, sometimes you have to know what things don’t mean.

I think women rule the world and that no man has ever done anything that a woman either hasn’t allowed him to do or encouraged him to do.

People seldom do what they believe in. They do what is convenient, then repent.

Gonna change my way of thinking, make myself a different set of rules. Gonna put my good foot forward and stop being influenced by fools.

When you’ve got nothing, you’ve got nothing to lose.

You can never be wise and be in love at the same time.

When you feel in your gut what you are and then dynamically pursue it - don’t back down and don’t give up - then you’re going to mystify a lot of folks.

It frightens me, the awful truth, of how sweet life can be...

Blowin' in the wind

How many roads must a man walk down
Before you call him a man?
How many seas must a white dove sail
Before she sleeps in the sand?
Yes, and how many times must the cannonballs fly
Before they're forever banned?

The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind
The answer is blowin' in the wind

Yes, and how many years can a mountain exist
Before it's washed to the sea?
Yes, and how many years can some people exist
Before they're allowed to be free?
Yes, and how many times can a man turn his head
And pretend that he just doesn't see?

The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind
The answer is blowin' in the wind

Yes, and how many times must a man look up
Before he can see the sky?
Yes, and how many ears must one man have
Before he can hear people cry?
Yes, and how many deaths will it take 'til he knows
That too many people have died?

The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind
The answer is blowin' in the wind



Figure 1.6: One of Bob Dylan's paintings



Figure 1.7: Another Dylan painting. His work has been exhibited by major museums.

1.5 Pete Seeger

Here are a few things that Pete Seeger said:

Do you know the difference between education and experience? Education is when you read the fine print; experience is what you get when you don't.

Any darn fool can make something complex; it takes a genius to make something simple.

If it can't be reduced, reused, repaired, rebuilt, refurbished, refinished, resold, recycled or composted, then it should be restricted, redesigned or removed from production.

Participation - that's what's gonna save the human race.

Well, normally I'm against big things. I think the world is going to be saved by millions of small things. Too many things can go wrong when they get big.

Once upon a time, wasn't singing a part of everyday life as much as talking, physical exercise, and religion? Our distant ancestors, wherever they were in this world, sang while pounding grain, paddling canoes, or walking long journeys. Can we begin to make our lives once more all of a piece? Finding the right songs and singing them over and over is a way to start. And when one person taps out a beat, while another leads into the melody, or when three people discover a harmony they never knew existed, or a crowd joins in on a chorus as though to raise the ceiling a few feet higher, then they also know there is hope for the world.

I've never sung anywhere without giving the people listening to me a chance to join in - as a kid, as a lefty, as a man touring the U.S.A. and the world, as an oldster. I guess it's kind of a religion with me. Participation. That's what's going to save the human race.

It's a very important thing to learn to talk to people you disagree with.

This banjo surrounds hate and forces it to surrender.

Singing with children in the schools has been the most rewarding experience of my life.

The key to the future of the world, is finding the optimistic stories and letting them be known.

The nice thing about poetry is that you're always stretching the definitions of words. Lawyers and scientists and scholars of one sort or another try to restrict the definitions, hoping that they can prevent people from fooling each other. But that doesn't stop people from lying.

Cezanne painted a red barn by painting it ten shades of color: purple to yellow. And he got a red barn. Similarly, a poet will describe things many different ways, circling around it, to get to the truth.

My father also had a nice little simile. He said, "The truth is a rabbit in a bramble patch. And you can't lay your hand on it. All you do is circle around and point, and say, 'It's in there somewhere'."

Keep your sense of humor. There is a 50-50 chance the world can be saved. You - yes you - might be the grain of sand that tips the scales the right way.

The world is like a seesaw out of balance: on one side is a box of big rocks, tilting it its way. On the other side is a box, and a bunch of us with teaspoons, adding a little sand at a time. One day, all of our teaspoons will add up, and the whole thing will tip, and people will say, 'How did it happen so fast?'

Our technology and our economic system seem to produce the present bad situation: millions of people feel themselves poor and powerless; millions feel that music is something to be made only by experts.

It all boils down to what I would most like to do as a musician. Put songs on people's lips instead of just in their ears.

Where have all the flowers gone?

Where have all the flowers men gone,
Long time passing,
Where have all the flowers men gone,
Long time ago,
Where have all the flowers men gone,
Young girls picked them every one,
When will they ever learn?
When will they ever learn?

Where have all the young girls gone,
Long time passing,
Where have all the young girls gone,
Long time ago,

Where have all the young girls gone,
Gone to husbands every one,
When will they ever learn?
When will they ever learn?

Where have all the young men gone,
Long time passing,
Where have all the young men gone,
Long time ago,
Where have all the young men gone,
Gone to soldiers every one,
When will they ever learn?
When will they ever learn?

Where have all the soldiers gone,
Long time passing,
Where have all the soldiers gone,
Long time ago,
Where have all the soldiers gone,
They've gone to graveyards every one,
When will they ever learn?
When will they ever learn?

Where have all the graveyards gone,
Long time passing,
Where have all the graveyards gone,
Long time ago,
Where have all the graveyards gone,
Gone to flowers every one,
When will we ever learn?
When will we ever learn?

What did you learn in school today?

What did you learn in school today,
Dear little boy of mine?
What did you learn in school today,
Dear little boy of mine?

I learned that Washington never told a lie.
I learned that soldiers seldom die.
I learned that everybody's free,

And that's what the teacher said to me.

I learned our Government must be strong;
It's always right and never wrong;
Our leaders are the finest men
And we elect them again and again.

I learned that war is not so bad;
I learned about the great ones we have had;
We fought in Germany and in France
And someday I might get my chance.

That's what I learned in school today,
That's what I learned in school.

Die gedanken sind frei

Die gedanken sind frei
My thoughts freely flower
Die gedanken sind frei
My thoughts give me power
No scholar can map them
No hunter can trap them
No man can deny
Die gedanken sind frei

I think as I please
And this gives me pleasure
My conscience decrees
This right I must treasure
My thoughts will not cater
To duke or dictator
No man can deny
Die gedanken sind frei

Tyrants can take me
And throw me in prison
My thoughts will burst forth
Like blossoms in season
Foundations may crumble
And structures may tumble
But free men shall cry



Figure 1.8: Pete Seeger entertaining Eleanor Roosevelt (center), honored guest at a racially integrated Valentine's Day party marking the opening of a Canteen of the United Federal Labor, CIO, in then-segregated Washington, D.C., 1944.

Die gedanken sind frei

We will love, or we will perish

We will love or we will perish

We will learn the rainbow to cherish

Dare to struggle, dare to danger

Dare to touch the hand of a stranger



Figure 1.9: Pete Seeger in 1979.



Figure 1.10: Pete Seeger at the Cklearwater Festival in June, 2007.



Figure 1.11: Seeger at 86 on the cover of Sing Out! (Summer 2005), a magazine he helped found in 1950.

1.6 Protests against the Vietnam War

Stay down here where you belong

Down below

Down below

Sat the Devil talking to his son

Who wanted to go

Up above

Up above

He cried, "It's getting too warm for me down here and so

I'm going up on Earth where I can have a little fun".

The Devil simply shook his head and answered to his son:

Stay down here where you belong

The folks who live above you don't know right from wrong.

To please their kings they've all gone out to war

And not a one of them knows what they're fighting for.

Way up above they say that I'm a Devil and I'm bad

Kings up there are bigger devils than your dad.

They're breaking the hearts of mothers

Making butchers out of brothers

You'll find more hell up there than there is
down below.

Kings up there

They don't care

For the mothers who must stay at home

Their sorrows to bear

Stay at home

Don't you roam

Although it's warm down below,

you'll find it's warmer up there

If e'er you went up there, my son,

I know you'd be surprised

You'd find a lot of people are not civilized.

Mothers, daughters, wives

The first time it was fathers

the last time it was sons



Figure 1.12: Protests against the Vietnam War in Washington, D.C., on October 21, 1967.



Figure 1.13: U.S. Marshals dragging away a Vietnam War protester in Washington, D.C., 1967.



Figure 1.14: John Filo's Pulitzer Prize-winning photograph of Mary Ann Vecchio kneeling over the body of Jeffrey Miller minutes after he was fatally shot by the Ohio National Guard.



Figure 1.15: Berkeley anti-war protests.



Figure 1.16: An anti-Vietnam War march in San Francisco on April 15, 1967.



Figure 1.17: Members of Jefferson Airplane performing at the KFRC Fantasy Fair and Magic Mountain Music Festival in Marin County, California, United States in June, 1967.



Figure 1.18: Vietnam War protesters in Vienna in 1968.

And in between your husbands
marched away with drums and guns
And you never thought to question
you just went on with your lives
because all they'd taught you who to be
was mothers, daughters, wives.

You can only just remember
the tears your mothers shed
As they sat and read the papers
through the lists and lists of dead
And the gold frames held the photographs
that mothers kissed each night
And the doorframes held the shocked
and silent strangers from the fight

And it was 21 years later
with children of your own
The trumpet sounded once again
and the soldier boys were gone
And you drove their trucks and made their guns
and tended to their wounds
And at night you kissed their photographs
and prayed for safe returns

And after it was over
you had to learn again
To be just wives and mothers
when you'd done the work of men
So you worked to help the needy
and you never trod on toes
And the photos on the pianos
struck a happy family pose

Then your daughters grew to women
and your little boys to men
And you prayed that you were dreaming
when the call-up came again
But you proudly smiled and held your tears
as they bravely waved goodbye
And the photos on the mantelpieces
always made you cry
And now your growing older



Figure 1.19: One of a series of prints which the German artist Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945) made as a protest against the atrocities of World War I.

and in time the photos fade
And in widowhood you sit back
and reflect on the parade
Of the passing of your memories
as your daughters change their lives
Seeing more to our existence
than just mothers, daughters, wives.



Figure 1.20: Another anti-war print by Käthe Kollwitz.

Anti-war songs from the Vietnam War

Here are a few protest songs from the Vietnam War, again collected by Holger Terp.

Dodging the Draft

First you tell your draft board you're hooked on dope.
 You don't need the army 'cause you've seen Bob Hope.
 Walk around the floor kinda nice and loose.
 Tell 'em your fiancée's name is Bruce.

When they ask about your schooling, then you say
 That you studied under Cassius Clay.
 Then put some lipstick on when you're photographed,
 And that's what I call dodging the draft!

Then you show the captain a note from mom,
 Stand there while he reads it and suck your thumb.
 When he takes your family history, state with pride,
 "Benedict Arnold was on my father's side"

He'll hand you an IQ test, just look at it with gloom,
 Then fold it like an airplane and sail it 'cross the room.
 If they believe you don't know your fore from your aft,
 That's what I call...shirking your military responsibility.

Clump around the floor like your feet are flat.
When they ask about your hearing, just say, "How's that?"
If the sergeant wants a cigarette, treat him right,
Set fire to your draft card, and offer him a light.

When you see the eyechart, don't worry at all.
Say, "I'll be glad to read it, just point me at the wall."
And if the draft board acts in the usual way,
You'll be what I call 1-A.

Fields of Vietnam

Oh brothers though we're strangers and your land and mine are far apart,
And though your name lies awkwardly and strange upon my tongue.
As the needle's drawn towards the pole,
So I am drawn both heart and soul,
To sing of your great struggle in the fields of Vietnam.

Your barefoot farmers would not wear the yoke and chains of slavery -
For four long bitter years they fought the armies of Japan;
Your flesh opposed their armoured might
You harried them by day and night -
And you drove them from the jungles and the fields of Vietnam.

Before you could draw peaceful breath more death was raining from the skies,
The French came, and for nine more years your land they overran;
But the enemy could not subdue.
They broke at Dien Bien Phu -
And their dead lay all around them in the fields of Vietnam.

The French had scarcely left your shores when more invading armies came,
Equipped with all the latest tools men use to kill a man;
"We've come to show you," was their cry,
"All the ways a man can die -
And we'll make a bloody desert of the fields of Vietnam.

The skies by day were dark with planes, with hungry flames the nights were red,
The stench of death lay on the air with reek of spent napalm;
Death bloomed in every paddy field,
And still your people would not yield -
To American invaders in the fields of Vietnam.

For thirteen years the U.S. Army's sown your soil with blood and tears,
 Impartially they deal out death to women, child and man,
 And still no victory - instead
 They count their own dishonoured dead,
 And contempt's their only harvest in the fields of Vietnam.

O, brothers, where did you find the strength to fight so long for freedom's
 cause?

A quarter-century has passed since first your fight began;
 Long have you fought, and valiantly,
 And as long as men love liberty -
 They will sing of your great struggle in the fields of Vietnam.

1.7 The Greenham Common Song Book

The Women's Peace Camps at Greenham Commons, Berkshire, England, refer to a 19-year-long series of women's protests against the use of common land, which ought to belong to the people, to house a base with US nuclear weapons. The women in the movement used their identity as mothers and grandmothers to protest against preparations for a nuclear war that could kill hundreds of millions of young children and make large portions of the earth uninhabitable.

The first protests began in 1981, when a Welsh group, *Women for Life on Earth* arrived at Greenham Common to protest the decision to store US Cruise Missiles at an army base there. In December, 1982, 30,000 women participated in an *Embrace the Base* event, when they joined hands to encircle the Greenham military base. Another such event took place in 1983, when 70,000 women joined hands to form a human chain between Greenham Common and the munitions plants at Aldermaston.

Frequently, during the 19 years of protests, the women chained themselves to the fence surrounding the Greenham military base, or cut down sections of the fence, or even entered the base, activities for which many of them were arrested and imprisoned.

The Greenham Commons women often composed songs, and used them as an instrument of protest. Holger Terp, the founder and editor of the Danish Peace Academy's enormous and popular website, has compiled an extensive study of the Greenham Common protests, which includes the songs composed and sung at the camps. Holger's study can be found on the following link:

<http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/abase/sange/greenham/greenham.pdf>

Many other peace songs, as well as their recorded performances, can be found on Holger's website by typing **fredsakademiet.dk sange** into a search engine.



Figure 1.21: A small part of the crowd of 400,000, after the rain, Woodstock, United States, August 1969.



Figure 1.22: Recording “Give Peace a Chance”. Left to right: Rosemary Leary (face not visible), Tommy Smothers (with back to camera), John Lennon, Timothy Leary, Yoko Ono, Judy Marcioni and Paul Williams, June 1, 1969.



Figure 1.23: Women at Greenham Common protesting the use of common land for a US nuclear weapons base.



Figure 1.24: Although what the government was doing was illegal, many of the women were arrested.



Figure 1.25: The best defense of any country against nuclear weapons is to be free of them.



Figure 1.26: Future generations depend on our actions today.



Figure 1.27: What we all want.



1.8 Summer of Love

According to Wikipedia,

“The Summer of Love was a social phenomenon that occurred during mid-1967, when as many as 100,000 people, mostly young people sporting hippie fashions of dress and behavior, converged in San Francisco’s neighborhood of Haight-Ashbury. More broadly, the Summer of Love encompassed the hippie music, drug, anti-war, and free-love scene throughout the American west coast, and as far away as New York City.

“Hippies, sometimes called flower children, were an eclectic group. Many were suspicious of the government, rejected consumerist values, and generally opposed the Vietnam War. A few were interested in politics; others were concerned more with art (music, painting, poetry in particular) or spiritual and meditative practices.

“Inspired by the Beat Generation of authors of the 1950s, who had flourished in the North Beach area of San Francisco, those who gathered in Haight-Ashbury during 1967 allegedly rejected the conformist and materialist values of modern life; there was an emphasis on sharing and community. The Diggers established a Free Store, and a Free Clinic where medical treatment was provided.

“The prelude to the Summer of Love was a celebration known as the Human Be-In at Golden Gate Park on January 14, 1967, which was produced and organized by artist Michael Bowen.

“It was at this event that Timothy Leary voiced his phrase, ‘turn on, tune in, drop out’. This phrase helped shape the entire hippie counterculture, as it voiced the key ideas of 1960s rebellion. These ideas included communal living, political decentralization, and dropping out. The term “dropping out” became popular among many high school and college students, many of whom would abandon their conventional education for a summer of hippie culture.

“The event was announced by the Haight-Ashbury’s hippie newspaper, the San Francisco Oracle: ‘A new concept of celebrations beneath the human underground must emerge, become conscious, and be shared, so a revolution can be formed with a renaissance of compassion, awareness, and love, and the revelation of unity for all mankind.’ ...

“The media’s coverage of hippie life in the Haight-Ashbury drew the attention of youth from all over America. Hunter S. Thompson termed the district ‘Hashbury’ in The New York Times Magazine, and the activities in the area were reported almost daily.

“The event was also reported by the counterculture’s own media, particularly the San Francisco Oracle, the pass-around readership of which is thought to have exceeded a half-million people that summer, and the Berkeley Barb.

“The media’s reportage of the “counterculture” included other events in

California, such as the Fantasy Fair and Magic Mountain Music Festival in Marin County and the Monterey Pop Festival, both during June 1967. At Monterey, approximately 30,000 people gathered for the first day of the music festival, with the number increasing to 60,000 on the final day. Additionally, media coverage of the Monterey Pop Festival facilitated the Summer of Love as large numbers of hippies traveled to California to hear favorite bands such as The Who, Grateful Dead, the Animals, Jefferson Airplane, Quicksilver Messenger Service, The Jimi Hendrix Experience, Otis Redding, The Byrds, and Big Brother and the Holding Company featuring Janis Joplin.

“Musician John Phillips of the band The Mamas & the Papas wrote the song ‘San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair)’ for his friend Scott McKenzie. It served to promote both the Monterey Pop Festival that Phillips was helping to organize, and to popularize the flower children of San Francisco. Released on May 13, 1967, the song was an instant success. By the week ending July 1, 1967, it reached number four on the Billboard Hot 100 in the United States, where it remained for four consecutive weeks. Meanwhile, the song charted at number one in the United Kingdom and much of Europe. The single is purported to have sold more than 7 million copies worldwide.”

1.9 “Hair”, the musical

Wikipedia reports the following:

“*Hair*: The American Tribal Love-Rock Musical is a rock musical with a book and lyrics by Gerome Ragni and James Rado and music by Galt MacDermot. The work reflects the creators’ observations of the hippie counterculture and sexual revolution of the late 1960s, and several of its songs became anthems of the anti-Vietnam War peace movement. The musical’s profanity, its depiction of the use of illegal drugs, its treatment of sexuality, its irreverence for the American flag, and its nude scene caused much comment and controversy. The musical broke new ground in musical theatre by defining the genre of ‘rock musical’, using a racially integrated cast, and inviting the audience onstage for a ‘Be-In’ finale.

“*Hair* tells the story of the ‘tribe’, a group of politically active, long-haired hippies of the ‘Age of Aquarius’ living a bohemian life in New York City and fighting against conscription into the Vietnam War. Claude, his good friend Berger, their roommate Sheila and their friends struggle to balance their young lives, loves, and the sexual revolution with their rebellion against the war and their conservative parents and society. Ultimately, Claude must decide whether to resist the draft as his friends have done, or to succumb to the pressures of his parents (and conservative America) to serve in Vietnam, compromising his pacifist principles and risking his life.

"After an off-Broadway debut on October 17, 1967, at Joseph Papp's Public Theater and a subsequent run at the Cheetah nightclub from December 1967 through January 1968, the show opened on Broadway in April 1968 and ran for 1,750 performances. Simultaneous productions in cities across the United States and Europe followed shortly thereafter, including a successful London production that ran for 1,997 performances. Since then, numerous productions have been staged around the world, spawning dozens of recordings of the musical, including the 3 million-selling original Broadway cast recording. Some of the songs from its score became Top 10 hits, and a feature film adaptation was released in 1979. A Broadway revival opened in 2009, earning strong reviews and winning the Tony Award and Drama Desk Award for Best Revival of a Musical. In 2008, *Time* wrote, 'Today Hair seems, if anything, more daring than ever.'...

"The theme of opposition to the war that pervades the show is unified by the plot thread that progresses through the book - Claude's moral dilemma over whether to burn his draft card. Pacifism is explored throughout the extended trip sequence in Act 2. The lyrics to 'Three-Five-Zero-Zero', which is sung during that sequence, evoke the horrors of war ('ripped open by metal explosion'). The song is based on Allen Ginsberg's 1966 poem, 'Wichita Vortex Sutra'. In the poem, General Maxwell Taylor proudly reports to the press the number of enemy soldiers killed in one month, repeating it digit by digit, for effect: 'Three-Five-Zero-Zero.' The song begins with images of death and dying and turns into a manic dance number, echoing Maxwell's glee at reporting the enemy casualties, as the tribe chants 'Take weapons up and begin to kill'. [The song also includes the repeated phrase 'Prisoners in niggertown/ It's a dirty little war'.

"'Don't Put It Down' satirizes the unexamined patriotism of people who are 'crazy for the American flag'. 'Be In (Hare Krishna)' praises the peace movement and events like the San Francisco and Central Park Be-Ins. [Throughout the show, the tribe chants popular protest slogans like 'What do we want? Peace! - When do we want it? Now!' and 'Do not enter the induction center'. The upbeat song, 'Let the Sun Shine In', is a call to action, to reject the darkness of war and change the world for the better."

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Chapter 2

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

2.1 Slavery in the United States

The authors of the Declaration of Independence wrote “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” Did they really mean **all** men? What about slaves? Many of the Founding Fathers possessed them.

The American Civil War was fought over the question of whether slavery should be extended to the western territories and whether states’ rights could overrule federal authority. Lincoln’s chief aim was to save the union. He said “If I could save the union without freeing any slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that.” Later, however, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing all of the slaves.

In his Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln refers to the words of the Declaration of Independence, by saying “Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.”

Although freed by the Emancipation Proclamation and by the victory of the North in the Civil War, African Americans did not have equal rights. In the South, the Klu Klux Klan was organized to terrorize and suppress them. It was not until the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960’s that some degree of equality was established; but even today there is much discrimination, for example in police treatment of suspects.

Progressives today would like to eliminate all forms of discrimination, whether based on race, religion, ethnicity, or gender. They feel that they are fighting for the basic values on which America was built, fighting for America’s soul.

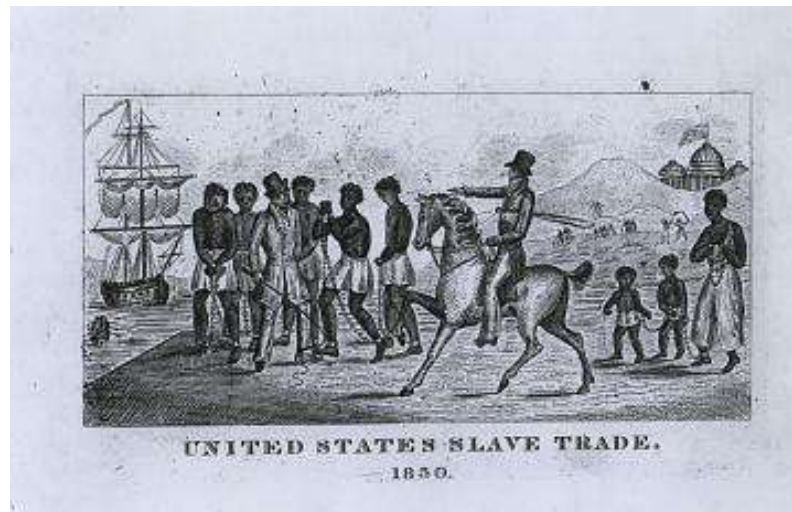


Figure 2.1: An estimated 600,000 enslaved African Americans were bought and sold in the United States in the decades before the Civil War. More than half of those sales separated parents and children.

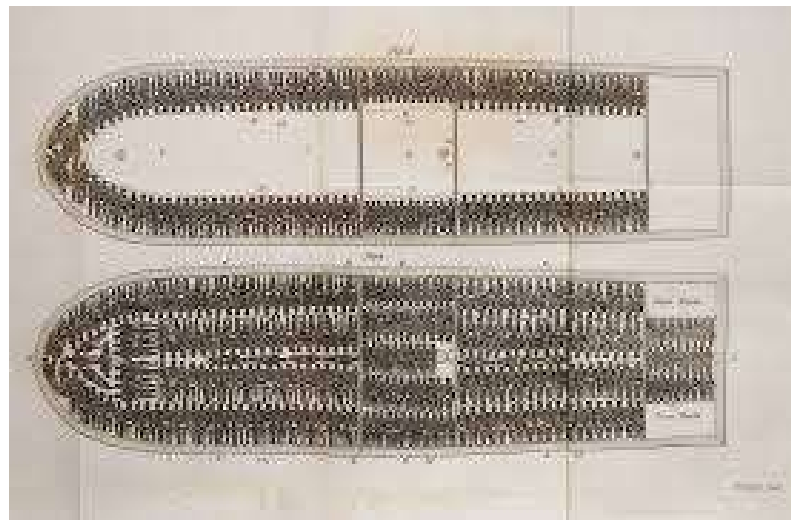


Figure 2.2: Diagram of a slave ship. A considerable proportion of the slaves being transported in this way, died during the voyage, and their bodies were thrown overboard.

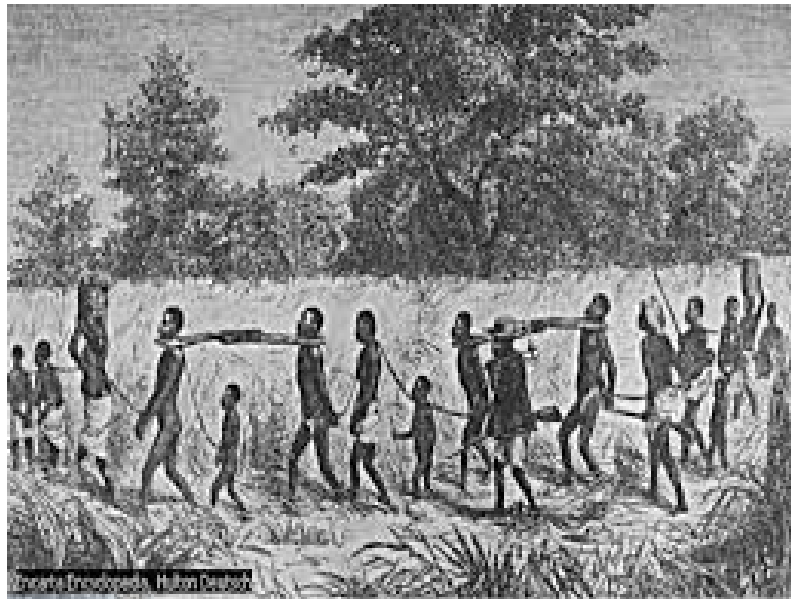


Figure 2.3: A captured Africans being marched towards slave ships.



Figure 2.4: A slave auction.

2.2 The Klu Klux Klan

Following the defeat of the Confederate states in the US Civil War, the original Klu Klux Klan was established in the south to overthrow northern rule, and to terrorize freed slaves who were thought to be a threat to white womanhood. Large numbers of black people and their sympathizers were lynched and murdered by the original KKK. The organization was outlawed in 1871.

The Klu Klux Klan was revived in 1915, inspired by D.W. Griffith's influential but controversial film *The Birth of a Nation*, which depicted the original Klan in a positive light. In this second incarnation which lasted until the mid-1920's, the KKK sought to maintain Protestant white supremacy, and opposed both Roman Catholicism and the influence of Jews.

The third incarnation of the Klu Klux Klan came in the 1950's. Local groups have opposed civil rights activists, and murdered many of them. The KKK is classified as a hate group by the Anti-Defamation League.

Wikipedia states that "The second and third incarnations of the Ku Klux Klan made frequent references to America's 'Anglo-Saxon' blood, hearkening back to 19th-century nativism. Although members of the KKK swear to uphold Christian morality, virtually every Christian denomination has officially denounced the KKK".



Figure 2.5: KKK rally in Chicago, c. 1920.



Figure 2.6: Three Ku Klux Klan members at a 1922 parade. Trump's father was a well-known Klansman in New York and New Jersey in his hey days.



Figure 2.7: Cross burning was introduced by William J. Simmons, the founder of the second Klan in 1915.



Figure 2.8: Klu Klux Klan members at a cross burning in 2005.



Figure 2.9: Klu Klux Klan members march down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. in 1928.



Figure 2.10: Historically, the Klu Klux Klan has been responsible for innumerable lynchings.

2.3 Rosa Parks

Rosa Louise McCauley Parks (1913-2005) is remembered as the person who started the Montgomery Alabama bus boycott in 1955, the first major battle of the Civil Rights Movement. On December 1, 1955, Mrs. Parks was asked by a bus driver in Montgomery to give up her seat in the black section of the bus to a white passenger. When she refused, she was arrested. The result was a strike in which members of the city's black community refused to ride on busses.

Martin Luther King Jr. had been pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery Alabama for only a year when he was chosen to lead a boycott protesting segregation in the Montgomery buses. Suddenly thrust into this situation of intense conflict, he remembered both the Christian principle of loving one's enemies and Gandhi's methods of non-violent protest. In his first speech as President of the Montgomery Improvement Association (a speech which the rapid pace of events had forced him to prepare in only twenty minutes, five of which he spent in prayer), he said:

"Our method will be that of persuasion, not coercion. We will only say to people, 'Let your conscience be your guide'. Our actions must be guided by the deepest principles of our Christian faith. Love must be our regulating ideal. Once again we must hear the words of Jesus echoing across the centuries: 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you.' If we fail to do this, our protest will end up as a meaningless drama on the stage of history, and its memory will be shrouded by the ugly garments of shame. In spite of the mistreatment that we have confronted, we must not become bitter and end up by hating our white brothers. As Booker T. Washington said, 'Let no man pull you down so low as to make you hate him.'"

"If you will protest courageously, and yet with dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written in future generations, the historians will have to pause and say, 'There lived a great people, a black people, who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization.' This is our challenge and our overwhelming responsibility."

Victory in the court of public opinion

This speech, which Dr. King made in December 1955, set the tone of the black civil rights movement. Although the protesters against racism were often faced with brutality and violence; although many of them, including Dr. King were unjustly jailed; although the homes of the leaders were bombed; although they constantly received telephone calls threatening their lives; although many civil rights workers were severely beaten, and several of them killed, they never resorted to violence in their protests against racial discrimination. Because of this adherence to Christian ethics, public opinion shifted to the side of the civil rights movement, and the United States Supreme Court ruled bus segregation to be unconstitutional.



Figure 2.11: Rosa Parks with 26-year-old Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in the background..

2.4 The March on Washington

According to Wikipedia,

“The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, also known as the March on Washington or The Great March on Washington, was held in Washington, D.C. on Wednesday, August 28, 1963. The purpose of the march was to advocate for the civil and economic rights of African Americans. At the march, Martin Luther King Jr., standing in front of the Lincoln Memorial, delivered his historic ‘I Have a Dream’ speech in which he called for an end to racism.

“The march was organized by A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, who built an alliance of civil rights, labor, and religious organizations that came together under the banner of ‘jobs and freedom.’ Estimates of the number of participants varied from 200,000 to 300,000, but the most widely cited estimate is 250,000 people. Observers estimated that 75-80% of the marchers were black. The march was one of the largest political rallies for human rights in United States history. Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, was the most integral and significant white organizer of the march.

“The march is credited with helping to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and preceded the Selma Voting Rights Movement which led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965...

“On June 22, the organizers met with President Kennedy, who warned against creating ‘an atmosphere of intimidation’ by bringing a large crowd to Washington. The civil rights activists insisted on holding the march. Wilkins pushed for the organizers to rule out civil disobedience and described this proposal as the ‘perfect compromise’. King and Young agreed. Leaders from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), who wanted to conduct direct actions against the Department of Justice, endorsed the protest before they were informed that civil disobedience would not be allowed. Finalized plans for the March were announced in a press conference on July 2. President Kennedy spoke favorably of the March on July 17, saying that organizers planned a peaceful assembly and had cooperated with the Washington, D.C., police.”



Figure 2.12: **The March on Washington.**



Figure 2.13: The March on Washington, where Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his famous “I have a dream” speech, August 28, 1963.

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Chapter 3

THE VIETNAM WAR

3.1 McNamara's Evil Lives On

Here are some quotations from an article by Robert Sheer entitled *McNamara's Evil Lives On*, published in The Nation on July 8, 2008.¹

Why not speak ill of the dead?

Robert McNamara, who died this week, was a complex man - charming even, in a blustery way, and someone I found quite thoughtful when I interviewed him. In the third act of his life he was often an advocate for enlightened positions on world poverty and the dangers of the nuclear arms race. But whatever his better nature, it was the stark evil he perpetrated as secretary of defense that must indelibly frame our memory of him.

To not speak out fully because of respect for the deceased would be to mock the memory of the millions of innocent people McNamara caused to be maimed and killed in a war that he later freely admitted never made any sense. Much has been made of the fact that he recanted his support for the war, but that came 20 years after the holocaust he visited upon Vietnam was over.

Is holocaust too emotionally charged a word? How many millions of dead innocent civilians does it take to qualify labels like holocaust, genocide or terrorism? How many of the limbless victims of his fragmentation bombs and land mines whom I saw in Vietnam during and after the war? Or are America's leaders always to be exempted from such questions? Perhaps if McNamara had been held legally accountable for his actions, the architects of the Iraq debacle might have paused.

Instead, McNamara was honored with the Medal of Freedom by President Lyndon Johnson, to whom he had written a private memo nine months earlier offering this assessment of their Vietnam carnage: 'The picture of the world's greatest superpower killing or seriously injuring 1,000 noncombatants a week,

¹<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/mcnamaras-evil-lives/>

while trying to pound a tiny backward nation into submission on an issue whose merits are hotly disputed, is not a pretty one.'

He knew it then, and, give him this, the dimensions of that horror never left him. When I interviewed him for the Los Angeles Times in 1995, after the publication of his confessional memoir, his assessment of the madness he had unleashed was all too clear:

'Look, we dropped three to four times the tonnage on that tiny little area as were dropped by the Allies in all of the theaters in World War II over a period of five years. It was unbelievable. We killed - there were killed - 3,200,000 Vietnamese, excluding the South Vietnamese military. My God! The killing, the tonnage - it was fantastic. The problem was that we were trying to do something that was militarily impossible - we were trying to break the will; I don't think we can break the will by bombing short of genocide.'

We - no, he - couldn't break their will because their fight was for national independence. They had defeated the French and would defeat the Americans who took over when French colonialists gave up the ghost. The war was a lie from the first. It never had anything to do with the freedom of the Vietnamese (we installed one tyrant after another in power), but instead had to do with our irrational cold war obsession with 'international communism.' Irrational, as President Richard Nixon acknowledged when he embraced detente with the Soviet communists, toasted China's fierce communist Mao Tse-tung and then escalated the war against 'communist' Vietnam and neutral Cambodia.

It was always a lie and our leaders knew it, but that did not give them pause. Both Johnson and Nixon make it quite clear on their White House tapes that the mindless killing, McNamara's infamous body count, was about domestic politics and never security.

The lies are clearly revealed in the Pentagon Papers study that McNamara commissioned, but they were made public only through the bravery of Daniel Ellsberg. Yet when Ellsberg, a former Marine who had worked for McNamara in the Pentagon, was in the docket facing the full wrath of Nixon's Justice Department, McNamara would lift not a finger in his defense. Worse, as Ellsberg reminded me this week, McNamara threatened that if subpoenaed to testify at the trial by Ellsberg's defense team, 'I would hurt your client badly.'

Not as badly as those he killed or severely wounded. Not as badly as the almost 59,000 American soldiers killed and the many more horribly hurt. One of them was the writer and activist Ron Kovic, who as a kid from Long Island was seduced by McNamara's lies into volunteering for two tours in Vietnam. Eventually, struggling with his mostly paralyzed body, he spoke out against the war in the hope that others would not have to suffer as he did (and still does). Meanwhile, McNamara maintained his golden silence, even as Richard Nixon managed to kill and maim millions more. What McNamara did was evil - deeply so.

3.2 The Pentagon Papers

Wikipedia states that:

The Pentagon Papers, officially titled *Report of the Office of the Secretary of Defense Vietnam Task Force*, is a United States Department of Defense history of the United States' political and military involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1967. The papers were released by Daniel Ellsberg, who had worked on the study; they were first brought to the attention of the public on the front page of The New York Times in 1971. A 1996 article in The New York Times said that the Pentagon Papers had demonstrated, among other things, that the Johnson Administration 'systematically lied, not only to the public but also to Congress.'

More specifically, the papers revealed that the U.S. had secretly enlarged the scope of its actions in the Vietnam War with the bombings of nearby Cambodia and Laos, coastal raids on North Vietnam, as well as Marine Corps attacks, none of which were reported in the mainstream media. For his disclosure of the Pentagon Papers, Ellsberg was initially charged with conspiracy, espionage, and theft of government property, but the charges were later dismissed after prosecutors investigating the Watergate scandal discovered that the staff members in the Nixon White House had ordered the so-called White House Plumbers to engage in unlawful efforts to discredit Ellsberg...

To ensure the possibility of public debate about the papers' content, on June 29, US Senator Mike Gravel, an Alaska Democrat, entered 4,100 pages of the papers into the record of his Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds. These portions of the papers, which were edited for Gravel by Howard Zinn and Noam Chomsky, were subsequently published by Beacon Press, the publishing arm of the Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations. A federal grand jury was subsequently empaneled to investigate possible violations of federal law in the release of the report. Leonard Rodberg, a Gravel aide, was subpoenaed to testify about his role in obtaining and arranging for publication of the Pentagon Papers. Gravel asked the court (in *Gravel v. United States*) to quash the subpoena on the basis of the Speech or Debate Clause in Article I, Section 6 of the United States Constitution.

Daniel Ellsberg believed that when U.S. citizens discovered that the Vietnam War was based on lies, the war would end. However, it continued for many more years.



Figure 3.1: Victims of the Mai Lai Massacre.



Figure 3.2: Napalm burn victims during the war being treated at the 67th Combat Support Hospital. 1967-1968 Innocent children become burn victims in the Vietnam War.



Figure 3.3: Frightened children flee from an air attack in Vietnam.

3.3 Effects of Agent Orange

Wikipedia states that:

“Up to four million people in Vietnam were exposed to the defoliant. The government of Vietnam says as many as three million people have suffered illness because of Agent Orange,[4] and the Red Cross of Vietnam estimates that up to one million people are disabled or have health problems as a result of Agent Orange contamination. The United States government has described these figures as unreliable, while documenting higher cases of leukemia, Hodgkin’s lymphoma, and various kinds of cancer in exposed US military veterans. An epidemiological study done by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention showed that there was an increase in the rate of birth defects of the children of military personnel as a result of Agent Orange. Agent Orange has also caused enormous environmental damage in Vietnam. Over 3,100,000 hectares (31,000 km² or 11,969 mi²) of forest were defoliated. Defoliants eroded tree cover and seedling forest stock, making reforestation difficult in numerous areas. Animal species diversity sharply reduced in contrast with unsprayed areas.”



Figure 3.4: Nguyen Xuan Minh lies in a crib at the Tu Du Hospital May 2, 2005 in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.



Figure 3.5: A disabled and malformed victim of foliant Agent Orange, begs on the streets of Saigon to make a living, 1996.

3.4 Bombing of Cambodia and Laos

According to an article by Jessica Pearce Rotondi entitled *Why Laos Has Been Bombed More Than Any Other Country*²,

“The U.S. bombing of Laos (1964-1973) was part of a covert attempt by the CIA to wrest power from the communist Pathet Lao, a group allied with North Vietnam and the Soviet Union during the Vietnam War.

“The officially neutral country became a battleground in the Cold War between the United States and Soviet Union, with American bombers dropping over two million tons of cluster bombs over Laos - more than all the bombs dropped during WWII combined. Today, Laos is the most heavily bombed nation in history. Here are facts about the so-called secret war in Laos.

“Laos is a landlocked country bordered by China and Myanmar to the North, Vietnam to the East, Cambodia to the South and Thailand and the Mekong River to the West.

“Its proximity to Mao Zedong’s China made it critical to Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Domino Theory of keeping communism at bay. ‘If Laos were lost, the rest of Southeast Asia would follow,’ Eisenhower told his National Security Council. On the day of his farewell address in 1961, President Eisenhower approved the CIA’s training of anti-communist forces in the mountains of Laos. Their mission: To disrupt communist supply routes across the Ho Chi Minh Trail to Vietnam.

“Eisenhower’s successors in the White House: John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard Nixon, all approved escalating air support for the guerrilla fighters, but not publicly. The 1962 International Agreement on the Neutrality of Laos, signed by China, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, the United States and 10 other countries, forbid signees from directly invading Laos or establishing military bases there. The secret war in Laos had begun...

“In Laos, the legacy of U.S. bombs continues to wreak havoc. Since 1964, more than 50,000 Lao have been killed or injured by U.S. bombs, 98 percent of them civilians. An estimated 30 percent of the bombs dropped on Laos failed to explode upon impact, and in the years since the bombing ended, 20,000 people have been killed or maimed by the estimated 80 million bombs left behind.”

By 1975, one tenth of the population of Laos had been killed by the bombs, and a quarter of the population were refugees.

²<https://www.history.com/news/laos-most-bombed-country-vietnam-war>

Cambodia

Here are some quotations from an article by Maximillian Wechsler entitled *America's 'Secret War' and the Bombing of Southeast Asia*³:

“On March 18, 1969, USAF Strategic Air Command (SAC) B-52 bombers began carpet bombing Cambodia on the order of President Nixon. The overall covert operation was code-named ‘Operation Menu’, with various phases named ‘Breakfast’, ‘Lunch’, ‘Dinner’, ‘Snack’, ‘Supper’ and ‘Dessert’.

“President Nixon ordered the campaign without consulting Congress and even kept it secret from top military officials. Five members of Congress were informed several months after the start of Operation Menu, but it was kept secret from the American people until The New York Times broke the story in May 1969. Henry Kissinger, President Nixon’s National Security Adviser, was reportedly outraged over the leaked information in the story and ordered the FBI to wiretap the phones of top White House aides and reporters to find the source.

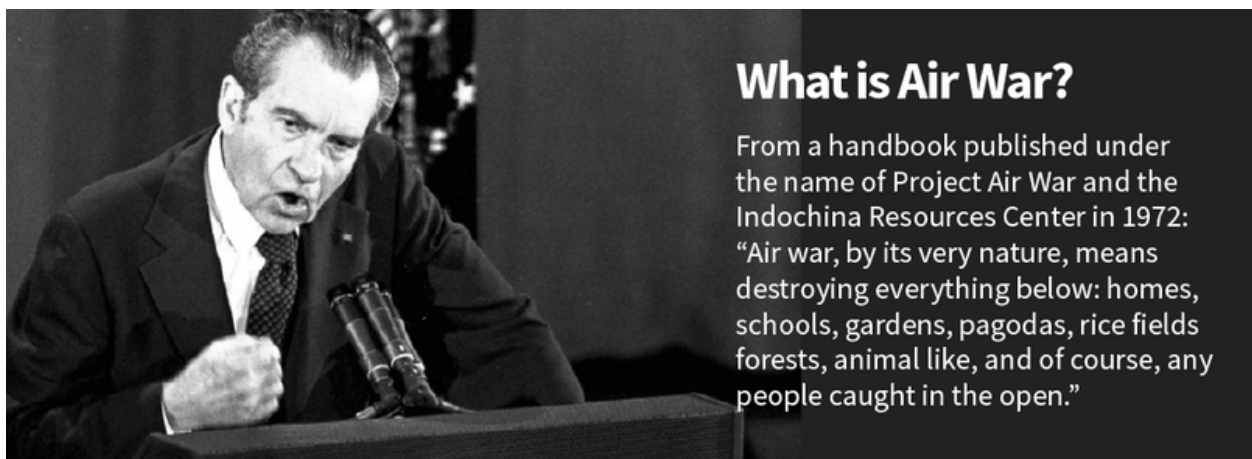
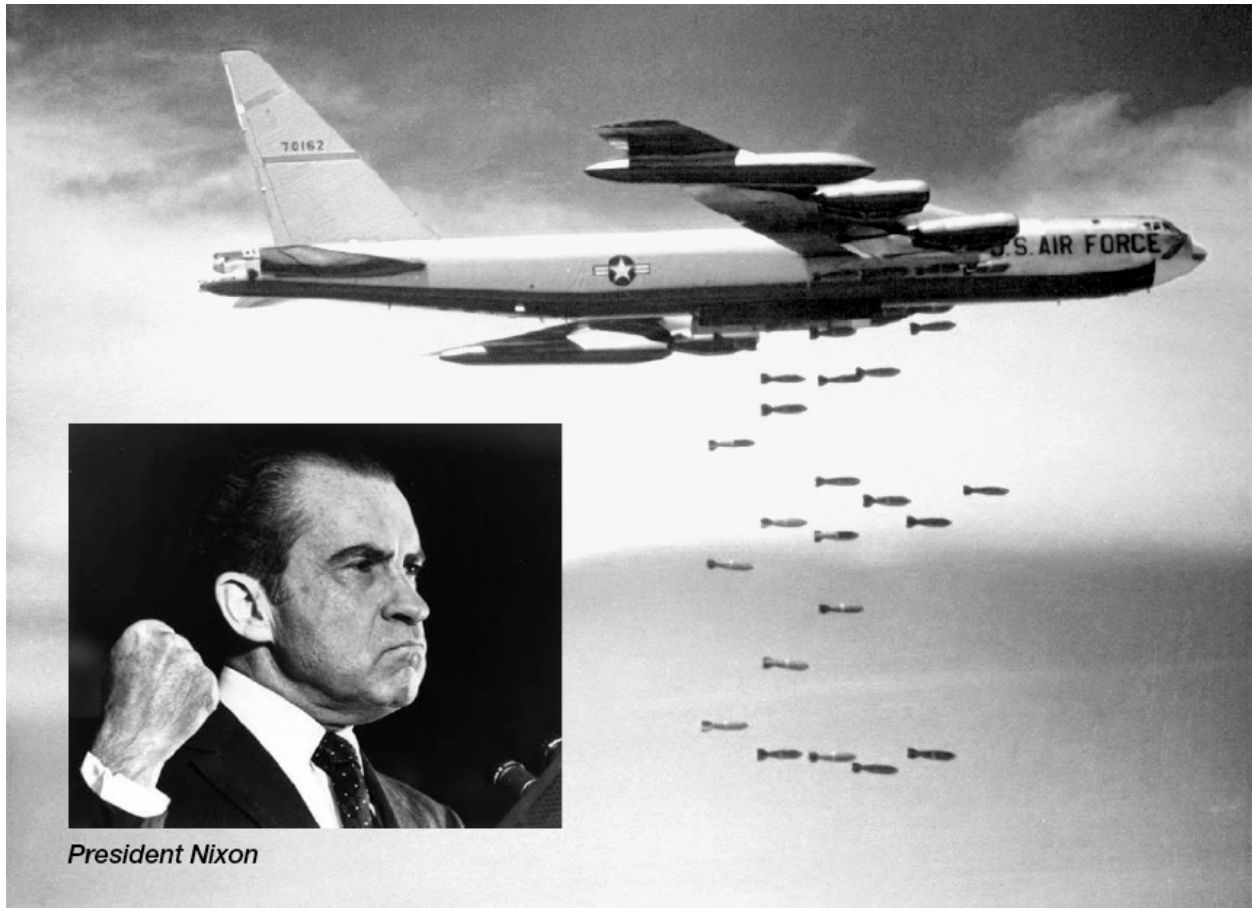
“More reports of the secret bombing campaign surfaced in the press and records of Congressional proceedings, but it was not until 2000 that official the USAF records of US bombing activity over Indochina from 1964 to 1973 were declassified by President Bill Clinton.

“Some sources say that during the first phase of the bombings lasting until April 1970, ‘Operation Breakfast’, the SAC conducted 3,630 sorties and dropped 110,000 tons of bombs and that in the entire four-year campaign the US dropped about 540,000 tons of bombs. In the book *Bombs Over Cambodia*, historians Ben Kiernan and Taylor Owen state that, based on their analysis of the declassified documents, 2,756,941 tons of ordnance was dropped during Operation Menu, more than the US dropped on Japan during World War II.

“The authors also say that US planes flew 230,516 sorties over 113,716 sites. Estimates of casualties vary widely as well, but it is believed that somewhere between 100,000 and 600,000 civilians died in the bombing and two million became homeless. Some sources say that hundreds of thousands more Cambodians died from the effects of displacement, illness or starvation as a direct result of the bombings.

“The carpet bombing of Cambodia lasted until August 1973. It devastated the countryside and the chaos and upheaval it unleashed played a big part in the installation of the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime led by Pol Pot. The Khmer Rouge was responsible for the deaths of up to two million Cambodians through executions, forced labour and starvation.”

³<https://www.thebigchilli.com/feature-stories/americas-secret-war-and-the-bombing-of-southeast-asia>



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Chapter 4

THE BAY OF PIGS INVASION

4.1 JFK Presidential Library's account

Below is an account of the Bay of Pigs Invasion, quoted from the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library; ¹

“On April 17, 1961, 1,400 Cuban exiles launched what became a botched invasion at the Bay of Pigs on the south coast of Cuba.

“In 1959, Fidel Castro came to power in an armed revolt that overthrew Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista. The US government distrusted Castro and was wary of his relationship with Nikita Khrushchev, the leader of the Soviet Union.

“Before his inauguration, John F. Kennedy was briefed on a plan by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) developed during the Eisenhower administration to train Cuban exiles for an invasion of their homeland. The plan anticipated that the Cuban people and elements of the Cuban military would support the invasion. The ultimate goal was the overthrow of Castro and the establishment of a non-communist government friendly to the United States.

“President Eisenhower approved the program in March 1960. The CIA set up training camps in Guatemala, and by November the operation had trained a small army for an assault landing and guerilla warfare.

“José Miró Cardona led the anti-Castro Cuban exiles in the United States. A former member of Castro's government, he was the head of the Cuban Revolutionary Council, an exile committee. Cardona was poised to take over the provisional presidency of Cuba if the invasion succeeded.

“Despite efforts of the government to keep the invasion plans covert, it became common knowledge among Cuban exiles in Miami. Through Cuban intelligence, Castro learned of the guerilla training camps in Guatemala as early as October 1960, and the press reported widely on events as they unfolded.

¹<https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/jfk-in-history/the-bay-of-pigs>



Figure 4.1: Che Guevara (left) and Castro, photographed by Alberto Korda in 1961.

“Shortly after his inauguration, in February 1961, President Kennedy authorized the invasion plan. But he was determined to disguise U.S. support. The landing point at the Bay of Pigs was part of the deception. The site was a remote swampy area on the southern coast of Cuba, where a night landing might bring a force ashore against little resistance and help to hide any U.S. involvement. Unfortunately, the landing site also left the invading force more than 80 miles from refuge in Cuba’s Escambray Mountains, if anything went wrong.

“The original invasion plan called for two air strikes against Cuban air bases. A 1,400-man invasion force would disembark under cover of darkness and launch a surprise attack. Paratroopers dropped in advance of the invasion would disrupt transportation and repel Cuban forces. Simultaneously, a smaller force would land on the east coast of Cuba to create confusion.

“The main force would advance across the island to Matanzas and set up a defensive position. The United Revolutionary Front would send leaders from South Florida and establish a provisional government. The success of the plan depended on the Cuban population joining the invaders.

“The first mishap occurred on April 15, 1961, when eight bombers left Nicaragua to bomb Cuban airfields.

“The CIA had used obsolete World War II B-26 bombers, and painted them to look like Cuban air force planes. The bombers missed many of their targets and left most of Castro’s air force intact. As news broke of the attack, photos of the repainted U.S. planes became public and revealed American support for the invasion. President Kennedy cancelled a second air strike.

“On April 17, the Cuban-exile invasion force, known as Brigade 2506, landed at beaches along the Bay of Pigs and immediately came under heavy fire. Cuban planes strafed the invaders, sank two escort ships, and destroyed half of the exile’s air support. Bad weather hampered the ground force, which had to work with soggy equipment and insufficient ammunition.

“Over the next 24 hours, Castro ordered roughly 20,000 troops to advance toward the beach, and the Cuban air force continued to control the skies. As the situation grew increasingly grim, President Kennedy authorized an “air-umbrella” at dawn on April 19 - six unmarked American fighter planes took off to help defend the brigade’s B-26 aircraft flying. But the B-26s arrived an hour late, most likely confused by the change in time zones between Nicaragua and Cuba. They were shot down by the Cubans, and the invasion was crushed later that day.

“Some exiles escaped to the sea, while the rest were killed or rounded up and imprisoned by Castro’s forces. Almost 1,200 members of Brigade 2506 surrendered, and more than 100 were killed.

“The brigade prisoners remained in captivity for 20 months, as the United States negotiated a deal with Fidel Castro. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy made personal pleas for contributions from pharmaceutical compa-

nies and baby food manufacturers, and Castro eventually settled on \$53 million worth of baby food and medicine in exchange for the prisoners.

“On December 23, 1962, just two months after the end of the Cuban Missile Crisis, a plane containing the first group of freed prisoners landed in the United States. A week later, on Saturday, December 29, surviving brigade members gathered for a ceremony in Miami’s Orange Bowl, where the brigade’s flag was handed over to President Kennedy. “I can assure you,” the president promised, “that this flag will be returned to this brigade in a free Havana.”

“The disaster at the Bay of Pigs had a lasting impact on the Kennedy administration. Determined to make up for the failed invasion, the administration initiated Operation Mongoose - a plan to sabotage and destabilize the Cuban government and economy, which included the possibility of assassinating Castro.”

4.2 Castro asks Khrushchev for defensive help

The Bay of Pigs Invasion contained the seeds of the Cuban Missile Crisis, during which the world came extremely close to an all-destroying thermonuclear war. Fearing another US invasion, Fidel Castro asked Nikita Khrushchev for help in defending Cuba. Khrushchev responded by sending a number of intermediate-range ballistic missiles to Cuba. These were photographed by a high-altitude U2 spy plane flying over Cuba, and the Kennedy administration went into an alarm mode. The details of what happened will be described in the next chapter.

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Chapter 5

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

5.1 The world came close to thermonuclear destruction

Here are some quotations from Wikipedia's article on the Cuban Missile Crisis:

The Cuban Missile Crisis, also known as the October Crisis of 1962 (Spanish: Crisis de Octubre), the Caribbean Crisis... was a 13-day (October 16-28, 1962) confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union initiated by Soviet ballistic missile deployment in Cuba. The confrontation is often considered the closest the Cold War came to escalating into a full-scale nuclear war.

In response to the failed Bay of Pigs Invasion of 1961 and the presence of American Jupiter ballistic missiles in Italy and Turkey, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev agreed to Cuba's request to place nuclear missiles on the island to deter a future invasion. An agreement was reached during a secret meeting between Khrushchev and Fidel Castro in July 1962, and construction of a number of missile launch facilities started later that summer.

Meanwhile, the 1962 United States elections were under way, and the White House had denied charges for months that it was ignoring dangerous Soviet missiles 90 miles (140 km) from Florida. The missile preparations were confirmed when an Air Force U-2 spy plane produced clear photographic evidence of medium-range (SS-4) and intermediate-range (R-14) ballistic missile facilities.

When this was reported to President John F. Kennedy he then convened a meeting of the nine members of the National Security Council and five other key advisers in a group that became known as the Executive Committee of the National Security Council (EXCOMM). After consultation with them, Kennedy ordered a naval blockade on October 22 to prevent further missiles from reaching Cuba. The US announced it would not permit offensive weapons to be delivered to Cuba and demanded that the weapons already in Cuba be

dismantled and returned to the Soviet Union.

After several days of tense negotiations, an agreement was reached between Kennedy and Khrushchev. Publicly, the Soviets would dismantle their offensive weapons in Cuba and return them to the Soviet Union, subject to United Nations verification, in exchange for a US public declaration and agreement to avoid invading Cuba again. Secretly, the United States agreed that it would dismantle all US-built Jupiter MRBMs, which had been deployed in Turkey against the Soviet Union; there has been debate on whether or not Italy was included in the agreement as well.

When all offensive missiles and Ilyushin Il-28 light bombers had been withdrawn from Cuba, the blockade was formally ended on November 21, 1962. The negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union pointed out the necessity of a quick, clear, and direct communication line between the two Superpowers. As a result, the Moscow-Washington hotline was established. A series of agreements later reduced US-Soviet tensions for several years until both parties began to build their nuclear arsenals even further.

5.2 The Joint Chiefs of Staff advocate invading Cuba

One of the circumstances that made the Cuban Missile Crisis so dangerous was the fact that U.S. military leaders advocated an invasion of Cuba. Luckily Kennedy rejected this idea. Here are more quotations from the Wikipedia article:

The Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously agreed that a full-scale attack and invasion was the only solution. They believed that the Soviets would not attempt to stop the US from conquering Cuba. Kennedy was sceptical:

‘They, no more than we, [Kennedy said] can let these things go by without doing something. They can’t, after all their statements, permit us to take out their missiles, kill a lot of Russians, and then do nothing. If they don’t take action in Cuba, they certainly will in Berlin.’

Kennedy concluded that attacking Cuba by air would signal the Soviets to presume ‘a clear line’ to conquer Berlin. Kennedy also believed that US allies would think of the country as ‘trigger-happy cowboys’ who lost Berlin because they could not peacefully resolve the Cuban situation.



Figure 5.1: More than 100 US-built missiles having the capability to strike Moscow with nuclear warheads were deployed in Italy and Turkey in 1961.



Figure 5.2: A U-2 reconnaissance photograph of Cuba, showing Soviet nuclear missiles, their transports and tents for fueling and maintenance.

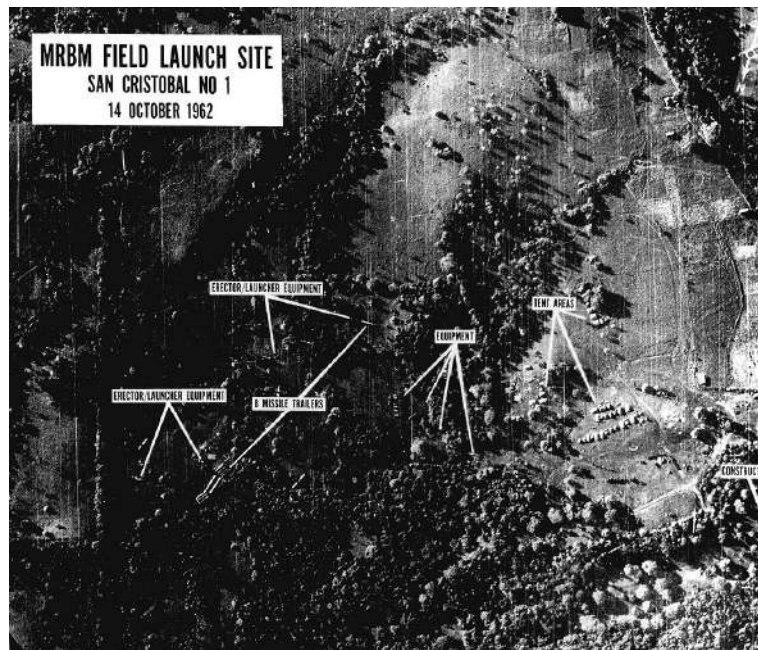


Figure 5.3: One of the first U-2 reconnaissance images of missile bases under construction shown to President Kennedy on the morning of October 16, 1962.



Figure 5.4: President Kennedy meets in the Oval Office with General Curtis LeMay and the reconnaissance pilots who found the missile sites in Cuba.



Figure 5.5: President Kennedy and Secretary of Defense McNamara in an EX-COMM meeting.



Figure 5.6: President Kennedy meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in the Oval Office (October 18, 1962).



Figure 5.7: A US Navy P-2H Neptune of VP-18 flying over a Soviet cargo ship with crated Il-28s on deck during the Cuban Crisis.



Figure 5.8: President Kennedy signs the Proclamation for Interdiction of the Delivery of Offensive Weapons to Cuba at the Oval Office on October 23, 1962.

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Chapter 6

ASSASSINATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

6.1 What really happened?

The Warren Commission concluded that Harvey Lee Oswald was solely responsible for the tragic assassination of John F. Kennedy, and that he acted alone. However, many people doubt the accuracy of the Commission's report.

Wikipedia's article on Jean L. Hill

According to the article,

“Hill was present along with her friend Mary Moorman across from the grassy knoll, and was one of the very nearest witnesses to the presidential limousine when shots were fired at President Kennedy. Moorman can be seen in the Zapruder film taking pictures, which Hill stated were later taken and bleached out by unknown parties[citation needed]. At Zapruder frame 313, when Kennedy was shot in the head, Hill was only 21 feet (6.4 m) away, leftward, and slightly behind him. In her Warren Commission testimony, she stated that a Secret Service agent told her right after the attack that another Secret Service agent, watching from the courthouse, saw a bullet strike ‘at my feet’ and kick up debris. Hill was also one of several witnesses who stated that at the end of the assassination they saw smoke lingering near the grassy knoll picket fence corner...

“Hill stated that she received death threats and that the brake lines of her automobile were cut after the assassination. Hill apparently always thought of herself as a survivor after many of the other witnesses to the assassination died shortly after President Kennedy's death under what some considered to be mysterious circumstances. The assertions of the mysterious deaths connected



Figure 6.1: Picture of President Kennedy in the limousine in Dallas, Texas, on Main Street, minutes before the assassination. Also in the presidential limousine are Jackie Kennedy, Texas Governor John Connally, and his wife, Nellie.

with the assassination became a much more well known part of the popular conspiracy debate after appearing in the epilogue of the film *Executive Action*, which purports to show how a conspiracy could have been carried out. The film's epilogue states that 'of 18 witnesses: all but two of whom died from unnatural causes within three years of the assassination'."



Figure 6.2: Jack Ruby shooting Oswald, who was being escorted by police detective Jim Leavelle (tan suit) for the transfer from the city jail to the county jail.



Figure 6.3: Cecil Stoughton's iconic photograph of Lyndon B. Johnson being sworn in as President as Air Force One prepares to depart Love Field in Dallas. Jacqueline Kennedy (right), still in her blood-spattered clothes, looks on.

6.2 Oliver Stone's film, *JFK*

Here are some quotations from Wikipedia's article about the film;

“Despite the controversy surrounding its historical depiction, JFK received critical praise for the performances of its cast, Stone's directing, score, editing, and cinematography. The film gradually picked up momentum at the box office after a slow start, earning over \$205 million in worldwide gross, making it the sixth highest-grossing film of 1991 worldwide.

“*JFK* was nominated for eight Academy Awards, including Best Picture, Best Director for Stone and Best Supporting Actor for Jones and won two for Best Cinematography and Best Film Editing. It was the most successful of three films Stone made about American presidents, followed by Nixon with Anthony Hopkins in the title role and W. with Josh Brolin as George W. Bush...”

Plot

“The film opens with newsreel footage, including the farewell address in 1961 of outgoing President Dwight D. Eisenhower, warning about the build-up of the ‘military-industrial complex’. This is followed by a summary of John F. Kennedy's years as president, emphasizing the events that, in Stone's thesis, would lead to his assassination. This builds to a reconstruction of the assassination on November 22, 1963.

“New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison subsequently learns about potential New Orleans links to the JFK assassination. Garrison and his team investigate several possible conspirators, including private pilot David Ferrie, but are forced to let them go after their investigation is publicly rebuked by the federal government. Kennedy's suspected assassin Lee Harvey Oswald is killed by Jack Ruby, and Garrison closes the investigation.

“The investigation is reopened in 1966 after Garrison reads the Warren Report and notices what he believes to be multiple inaccuracies. Garrison and his staff interrogate several witnesses to the Kennedy assassination, and others involved with Oswald, Ruby, and Ferrie. One such witness is Willie O'Keefe, a male prostitute serving five years in prison for soliciting, who reveals he witnessed Ferrie discussing a coup d'état. As well as briefly meeting Oswald, O'Keefe was romantically involved with a man called ‘Clay Bertrand’.

“Jean Hill, a teacher who says she witnessed shots fired from the grassy knoll, tells the investigators that Secret Service threatened her into saying three shots came from the book depository, revealing changes that were made to her testimony by the Warren Commission. Garrison's staff also test the single bullet theory by aiming an empty rifle from the window through which Oswald was alleged to have shot Kennedy. They conclude that Oswald was

too poor a marksman to make the shots, indicating someone else, or multiple marksmen, were involved.

“In 1968, Garrison meets a high-level figure in Washington D.C. who identifies himself as ”X”. He suggests a conspiracy at the highest levels of government, implicating members of the CIA, the Mafia, the military-industrial complex, Secret Service, FBI, and Kennedy’s vice-president and then president Lyndon Baines Johnson as either co-conspirators or as having motives to cover up the truth of the assassination. X explains that the President was killed because he wanted to pull the United States out of the Vietnam War and dismantle the CIA. X encourages Garrison to keep digging and prosecute New Orleans-based international businessman Clay Shaw for his alleged involvement. When Shaw is interrogated, the businessman denies any knowledge of meeting Ferrie, O’Keefe or Oswald, but he is soon charged with conspiring to murder the President...

“Some key witnesses become scared and refuse to testify while others, such as Ferrie, are killed in suspicious circumstances. Before his death, Ferrie tells Garrison that he believes people are after him, and reveals there was a conspiracy around Kennedy’s death.

“The trial of Clay Shaw [Clay Bertrand] takes place in 1969. Garrison presents the court with further evidence of multiple killers and dismissing the single bullet theory, and proposes a Dealey Plaza shots scenario involving three assassins who fired six total shots and framing Oswald for the murders of Kennedy and officer J. D. Tippit, but the jury acquits Shaw after less than one hour of deliberation. The film reflects that members of that jury stated publicly that they believed there was a conspiracy behind the assassination, but not enough evidence to link Shaw to that conspiracy. Shaw died of lung cancer in 1974, but in 1979, Richard Helms testified that Clay Shaw had been a part-time contact of the Domestic Contacts Division of the CIA. The end credits claim that records related to the assassination will be released to the public in 2029.”

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Chapter 7

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

7.1 King applies nonviolent principles to the Civil Rights movement

The son of a southern Baptist minister, Martin Luther King, Jr received his Ph.D. in theology from Boston University in 1955. During his studies, he had admired Thoreau's essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience," and he had also been greatly moved by the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

Martin Luther King Jr. had been pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery Alabama for only a year when he was chosen to lead a boycott protesting segregation in the Montgomery buses. Suddenly thrust into this situation of intense conflict, he remembered both the Christian principle of loving one's enemies and Gandhi's methods of non-violent protest. In his first speech as President of the Montgomery Improvement Association (a speech which the rapid pace of events had forced him to prepare in only twenty minutes, five of which he spent in prayer), he said:

"Our method will be that of persuasion, not coercion. We will only say to people, 'Let your conscience be your guide'. Our actions must be guided by the deepest principles of our Christian faith. Love must be our regulating ideal. Once again we must hear the words of Jesus echoing across the centuries: 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you.' If we fail to do this, our protest will end up as a meaningless drama on the stage of history, and its memory will be shrouded by the ugly garments of shame. In spite of the mistreatment that we have confronted, we must not become bitter and end up by hating our white brothers. As Booker T. Washington said, 'Let no man pull you down so low as to make you hate him.'"

"If you will protest courageously, and yet with dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written in future generations, the historians will have to pause and say, 'There lived a great people, a black people, who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization.' This is our challenge and our overwhelming responsibility."

7.2 Victory in the court of public opinion

This speech, which Dr. King made in December 1955, set the tone of the black civil rights movement. Although the protesters against racism were often faced with brutality and violence; although many of them, including Dr. King were unjustly jailed; although the homes of the leaders were bombed; although they constantly received telephone calls threatening their lives; although many civil rights workers were severely beaten, and several of them killed, they never resorted to violence in their protests against racial discrimination. Because of this adherence to Christian ethics, public opinion shifted to the side of the civil rights movement, and the United States Supreme Court ruled bus segregation to be unconstitutional.

7.3 Welcomed to India by Nehru

In 1959, while recovering from an almost-fatal stabbing, Martin Luther King Jr. visited India at the invitation of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr. King and his wife Coretta were warmly welcomed by Nehru, who changed his schedule in order to meet them. They had an opportunity to visit a religious community or “ashram” that Gandhi had founded, and they discussed non-violence with many of Gandhi’s disciples.

7.4 King is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize

In 1964, the change in public opinion produced by the non-violent black civil rights movement resulted in the passage of the civil rights act. In the same year, Dr. King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He accepted it, not as an individual, but on behalf of all civil rights workers; and he immediately gave all the prize money to the movement.

7.5 Opposition to the Vietnam War

In 1967, a year before his assassination, Dr. King forcefully condemned the Viet Nam war in an address at a massive peace rally in New York City. He felt that opposition to war followed naturally from his advocacy of non-violence. Speaking against the Viet Nam War, Dr. King said: “We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move on or be destroyed by our bombs ... primarily women and children and the aged watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals. So far we may have killed a million of them, [in Vietnam by 1967] mostly children. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the

children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.”

An excerpt from Martin Luther King, Jr.’s Riverside Church speech

This I believe to be the privilege and the burden of all of us who deem ourselves bound by allegiances and loyalties which are broader and deeper than nationalism and which go beyond our nation’s self-defined goals and positions. We are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for the victims of our nation and for those it calls ”enemy,” for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers.

And as I ponder the madness of Vietnam and search within myself for ways to understand and respond in compassion, my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula. I speak now not of the soldiers of each side, not of the ideologies of the Liberation Front, not of the junta in Saigon, but simply of the people who have been living under the curse of war for almost three continuous decades now. I think of them, too, because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution there until some attempt is made to know them and hear their broken cries.

They must see Americans as strange liberators. The Vietnamese people proclaimed their own independence in 1954 – in 1945 rather – after a combined French and Japanese occupation and before the communist revolution in China. They were led by Ho Chi Minh. Even though they quoted the American Declaration of Independence in their own document of freedom, we refused to recognize them. Instead, we decided to support France in its reconquest of her former colony. Our government felt then that the Vietnamese people were not ready for independence, and we again fell victim to the deadly Western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere for so long. With that tragic decision we rejected a revolutionary government seeking self-determination and a government that had been established not by China – for whom the Vietnamese have no great love – but by clearly indigenous forces that included some communists. For the peasants this new government meant real land reform, one of the most important needs in their lives.

For nine years following 1945 we denied the people of Vietnam the right of independence. For nine years we vigorously supported the French in their abortive effort to recolonize Vietnam. Before the end of the war we were meeting eighty percent of the French war costs. Even before the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, they began to despair of their reckless action, but we did not. We encouraged them with our huge financial and military supplies to continue the war even after they had lost the will. Soon we would be paying almost the full costs of this tragic attempt at recolonization.

After the French were defeated, it looked as if independence and land reform would come again through the Geneva Agreement. But instead there came the United States, determined that Ho should not unify the temporarily divided nation, and the peasants watched again as we supported one of the most vicious modern dictators, our chosen man, Premier Diem. The peasants watched and cringed as Diem ruthlessly rooted out all opposition, supported their extortionist landlords, and refused even to discuss reunification with the North. The peasants watched as all this was presided over by United States' influence and then by increasing numbers of United States troops who came to help quell the insurgency that Diem's methods had aroused. When Diem was overthrown they may have been happy, but the long line of military dictators seemed to offer no real change, especially in terms of their need for land and peace.

The only change came from America, as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept, and without popular support. All the while the people read our leaflets and received the regular promises of peace and democracy and land reform. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us, not their fellow Vietnamese, the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move on or be destroyed by our bombs.

So they go, primarily women and children and the aged. They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals with at least twenty casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. So far we may have killed a million of them, mostly children. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.

What do the peasants think as we ally ourselves with the landlords and as we refuse to put any action into our many words concerning land reform? What do they think as we test out our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe? Where are the roots of the independent Vietnam we claim to be building? Is it among these voiceless ones?

We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing – in the crushing of the nation's only non-Communist revolutionary political force, the unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men.

Now there is little left to build on, save bitterness. Soon, the only solid – solid physical foundations remaining will be found at our military bases and in the concrete of the concentration camps we call "fortified hamlets." The peasants may well wonder if we plan to build our new Vietnam on such grounds as these. Could we blame them for such thoughts? We must speak for them and raise the questions they cannot raise. These, too, are our brothers.

Perhaps a more difficult but no less necessary task is to speak for those who have been designated as our enemies. What of the National Liberation Front, that strangely anonymous group we call "VC" or "communists"? What must they think of the United States of America when they realize that we permitted the repression and cruelty of Diem, which helped to bring them into being as a resistance group in the South? What do they think of our condoning the violence which led to their own taking up of arms? How can they believe in our integrity when now we speak of "aggression from the North" as if there were nothing more essential to the war? How can they trust us when now we charge them with violence after the murderous reign of Diem and charge them with violence while we pour every new weapon of death into their land? Surely we must understand their feelings, even if we do not condone their actions. Surely we must see that the men we supported pressed them to their violence. Surely we must see that our own computerized plans of destruction simply dwarf their greatest acts.

How do they judge us when our officials know that their membership is less than twenty-five percent communist, and yet insist on giving them the blanket name? What must they be thinking when they know that we are aware of their control of major sections of Vietnam, and yet we appear ready to allow national elections in which this highly organized political parallel government will not have a part? They ask how we can speak of free elections when the Saigon press is censored and controlled by the military junta. And they are surely right to wonder what kind of new government we plan to help form without them, the only party in real touch with the peasants. They question our political goals and they deny the reality of a peace settlement from which they will be excluded. Their questions are frighteningly relevant. Is our nation planning to build on political myth again, and then shore it up upon the power of new violence?

Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and nonviolence, when it helps us to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves. For from his view we may indeed see the basic weaknesses of our own condition, and if we are mature, we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition.

So, too, with Hanoi. In the North, where our bombs now pummel the land, and our mines endanger the waterways, we are met by a deep but understandable mistrust. To speak for them is to explain this lack of confidence in Western words, and especially their distrust of American intentions now. In

Hanoi are the men who led the nation to independence against the Japanese and the French, the men who sought membership in the French Commonwealth and were betrayed by the weakness of Paris and the willfulness of the colonial armies. It was they who led a second struggle against French domination at tremendous costs, and then were persuaded to give up the land they controlled between the thirteenth and seventeenth parallel as a temporary measure at Geneva. After 1954 they watched us conspire with Diem to prevent elections which could have surely brought Ho Chi Minh to power over a united Vietnam, and they realized they had been betrayed again. When we ask why they do not leap to negotiate, these things must be remembered.

Also, it must be clear that the leaders of Hanoi considered the presence of American troops in support of the Diem regime to have been the initial military breach of the Geneva Agreement concerning foreign troops. They remind us that they did not begin to send troops in large numbers and even supplies into the South until American forces had moved into the tens of thousands.

Hanoi remembers how our leaders refused to tell us the truth about the earlier North Vietnamese overtures for peace, how the president claimed that none existed when they had clearly been made. Ho Chi Minh has watched as America has spoken of peace and built up its forces, and now he has surely heard the increasing international rumors of American plans for an invasion of the North. He knows the bombing and shelling and mining we are doing are part of traditional pre-invasion strategy. Perhaps only his sense of humor and of irony can save him when he hears the most powerful nation of the world speaking of aggression as it drops thousands of bombs on a poor, weak nation more than eight hundred – rather, eight thousand miles away from its shores.

At this point I should make it clear that while I have tried in these last few minutes to give a voice to the voiceless in Vietnam and to understand the arguments of those who are called "enemy," I am as deeply concerned about our own troops there as anything else. For it occurs to me that what we are submitting them to in Vietnam is not simply the brutalizing process that goes on in any war where armies face each other and seek to destroy. We are adding cynicism to the process of death, for they must know after a short period there that none of the things we claim to be fighting for are really involved. Before long they must know that their government has sent them into a struggle among Vietnamese, and the more sophisticated surely realize that we are on the side of the wealthy, and the secure, while we create a hell for the poor.

Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak of the – for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home, and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as one who loves America, to the leaders of our own

nation: The great initiative in this war is ours; the initiative to stop it must be ours.

This is the message of the great Buddhist leaders of Vietnam. Recently one of them wrote these words, and I quote: "Each day the war goes on the hatred increases in the heart of the Vietnamese and in the hearts of those of humanitarian instinct. The Americans are forcing even their friends into becoming their enemies. It is curious that the Americans, who calculate so carefully on the possibilities of military victory, do not realize that in the process they are incurring deep psychological and political defeat. The image of America will never again be the image of revolution, freedom, and democracy, but the image of violence and militarism".

If we continue, there will be no doubt in my mind and in the mind of the world that we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam. If we do not stop our war against the people of Vietnam immediately, the world will be left with no other alternative than to see this as some horrible, clumsy, and deadly game we have decided to play. The world now demands a maturity of America that we may not be able to achieve. It demands that we admit that we have been wrong from the beginning of our adventure in Vietnam, that we have been detrimental to the life of the Vietnamese people. The situation is one in which we must be ready to turn sharply from our present ways. In order to atone for our sins and errors in Vietnam, we should take the initiative in bringing a halt to this tragic war.

I would like to suggest five concrete things that our government should do [immediately] to begin the long and difficult process of extricating ourselves from this nightmarish conflict:

Number one: End all bombing in North and South Vietnam.

Number two: Declare a unilateral cease-fire in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation.

Three: Take immediate steps to prevent other battlegrounds in Southeast Asia by curtailing our military buildup in Thailand and our interference in Laos.

Four: Realistically accept the fact that the National Liberation Front has substantial support in South Vietnam and must thereby play a role in any meaningful negotiations and any future Vietnam government.

Five: Set a date that we will remove all foreign troops from Vietnam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreement...

In 1957, a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past ten years, we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression which has now justified the presence of U.S. military advisors in Venezuela. This need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counterrevolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Cambodia and why American napalm and Green

Beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru.

It is with such activity in mind that the words of the late John F. Kennedy come back to haunt us. Five years ago he said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable." Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken, the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investments. I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin...we must rapidly begin the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

A true revolution of values will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. On the one hand, we are called to play the Good Samaritan on life's roadside, but that will be only an initial act. One day we must come to see that the whole Jericho Road must be transformed so that men and women will not be constantly beaten and robbed as they make their journey on life's highway. True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar. It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring.

A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa, and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say, "This is not just." It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of South America and say, "This is not just." The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just.

A true revolution of values will lay hand on the world order and say of war, "This way of settling differences is not just." This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice, and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

7.6 Opposition to nuclear weapons

In his book, "Strength to Love", Dr. King wrote, "Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete. There may have been a time when war served a negative good



Figure 7.1: Martin Luther King Jr. speaking in Washington. Source: American Civil Liberties Union of Virginia, acluva.org

by preventing the spread of an evil force, but the power of modern weapons eliminates even the possibility that war may serve as a negative good. If we assume that life is worth living, and that man has a right to survival, then we must find an alternative to war ... I am convinced that the Church cannot be silent while mankind faces the threat of nuclear annihilation. If the church is true to her mission, she must call for an end to the nuclear arms race.”

7.7 Assassination

On April 4, 1968, Dr. King was shot and killed. A number of people, including members of his own family, believe that he was killed because of his opposition to the Viet Nam War. This conclusion is supported by the result of a 1999 trial initiated by members of the King family. Summing up the arguments to the jury, the family’s lawyer said “We are dealing in conspiracy with agents of the City of Memphis and the governments of the State of Tennessee and the United States of America. We ask that you find that a conspiracy existed.” After two and a half hour’s deliberation, the jury found that Lloyd Jowers and “others, including governmental agencies, were parties to this conspiracy”. The verdict of the jury remains judicially valid today, and it has never been overturned in a court of law,

although massive efforts have been made to discredit it.

Redemptive love

Concerning the Christian principle of loving one's enemies, Dr. King wrote: "Why should we love our enemies? Returning hate for hate multiplies hate, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate. Only love can do that ... Love is the only force capable of transforming an enemy into a friend. We never get rid of an enemy by meeting hate with hate; we get rid of an enemy by getting rid of enmity... It is this attitude that made it possible for Lincoln to speak a kind word about the South during the Civil War, when feeling was most bitter. Asked by a shocked bystander how he could do this, Lincoln said, 'Madam, do I not destroy my enemies when I make them my friends?' This is the power of redemptive love."

To a large extent, the black civil rights movement of the '50's and '60's succeeded in ending legalized racial discrimination in America. If the methods used had been violent, the movement could easily have degenerated into a nightmare of interracial hatred; but by remembering the Christian message, "Love your enemy; do good to them that spitefully use you", Martin Luther King Jr. raised the ethical level of the civil rights movement; and the final result was harmony and understanding between the black and white communities. Later the nonviolent methods of Gandhi and King were successfully applied to the South African struggle against Apartheid by Nelson Mandela and his followers.

Here are a few more things that Martin Luther King said

I have decided to stick to love...Hate is too great a burden to bear

Faith is taking the first step even when you can't see the whole staircase.

Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter.

In the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends.

If you can't fly then run, if you can't run then walk, if you can't walk then crawl, but whatever you do you have to keep moving forward.

Only in the darkness can you see the stars.

There comes a time when a person must take a position that is neither safe, nor politic, nor popular, but he must take it because conscience tells him it is right.

Everybody can be great...because anybody can serve. You don't have to have a college degree to serve. You don't have to make your subject and verb agree to serve. You only need a heart full of grace. A soul generated by love.

Forgiveness is not an occasional act, it is a constant attitude.

We must accept finite disappointment, but never lose infinite hope.

There is some good in the worst of us and some evil in the best of us. When we discover this, we are less prone to hate our enemies.

We must live together as brothers or perish together as fools.

Intelligence plus character - that is the goal of true education.

True peace is not merely the absence of tension; it is the presence of justice.

Science investigates; religion interprets. Science gives man knowledge, which is power; religion gives man wisdom, which is control. Science deals mainly with facts; religion deals mainly with values. The two are not rivals.

The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor, it must be demanded by the oppressed.

Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy.

The time is always right to do what is right.

For when people get caught up with that which is right and they are willing to sacrifice for it, there is no stopping point short of victory.

All we say to America is, 'Be true to what you said on paper.' If I lived in... any totalitarian country, maybe I could understand the denial of certain ba-

sic First Amendment privileges, because they hadn't committed themselves to that over there. But somewhere I read of the freedom of assembly. Somewhere I read of the freedom of speech. Somewhere I read of the freedom of the press. Somewhere I read that the greatness of America is the right to protest for right.

We've got some difficult days ahead. But it really doesn't matter with me now because I've been to the mountaintop . . . I've looked over and I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land.

Chapter 8

PROTESTS AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS

“The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our ways of thinking, and thus we drift towards unparalleled catastrophes.”

“I don’t know what will be used in the next world war, but the 4th will be fought with stones.”

Albert Einstein

8.1 Eisenhower’s farewell address, 1961

In his famous farewell address, US President Dwight Eisenhower eloquently described the terrible effects of an overgrown Military-industrial complex. Here are his words:

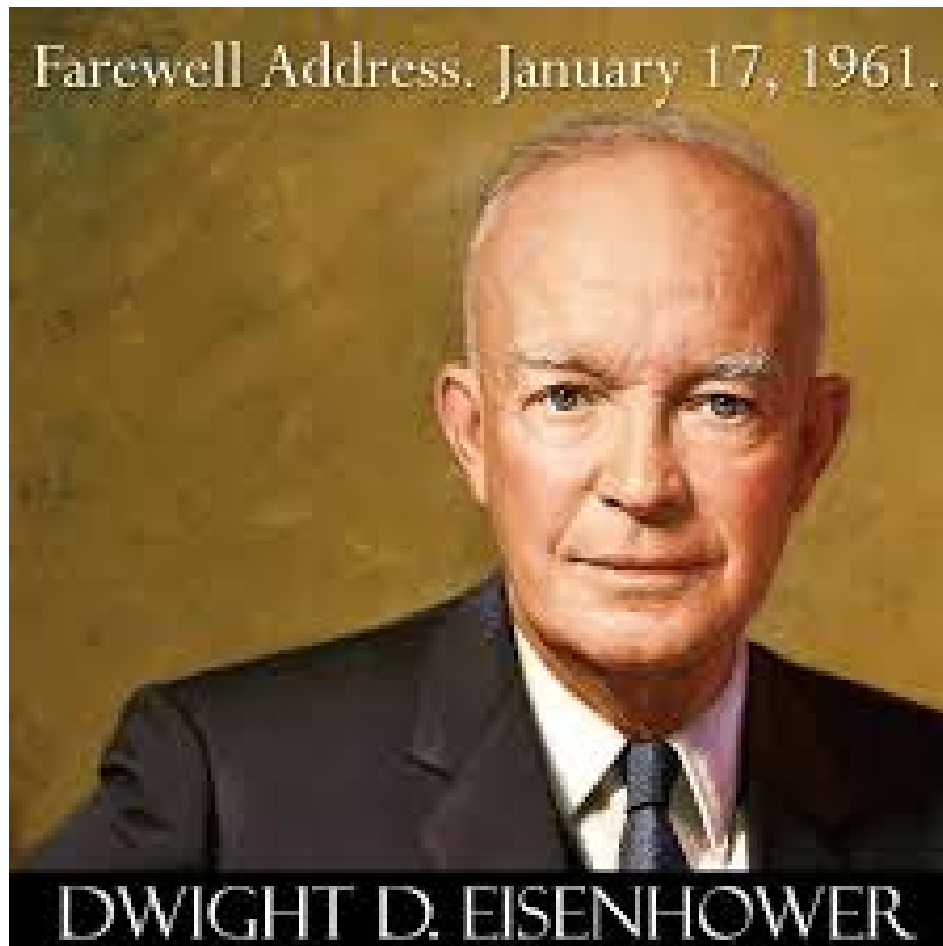


Figure 8.1: “In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the Military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.”



"We have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions.... This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence, economic, political, even spiritual, is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government...[and] we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

"In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the Military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

In another speech, he said: "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children."

Today the world spends more than 1.7 trillion dollars (\$ 1,700,000,000,000) every year on armaments. This vast river of money, almost too large to be imagined, is the "devil's dynamo" driving the institution of war. Politicians notoriously can be bought with a tiny fraction of this enormous amount; hence the decay of democracy. It is also plain that if the almost unbelievable sums now wasted on armaments were used constructively, most of the pressing problems now facing humanity could be solved.

Because the world spends almost two thousand billion dollars each year on armaments, it follows that very many people make their living from war. This is the reason why it is correct to speak of war as an institution, and why it persists, although we know that it is the cause of much of the suffering that inflicts humanity.



Figure 8.2: The United States exploded a hydrogen bomb near the island of Enewetak in the South Pacific in 1952. The explosive force of the bomb was 500 times greater than the bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Soviet Union tested its first hydrogen bomb in 1953. In March, 1954, the US tested another hydrogen bomb at the Bikini Atoll in the Pacific Ocean. It was 1000 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb. The Japanese fishing boat, Lucky Dragon, was 130 kilometers from the Bikini explosion, but radioactive fallout from the test killed one crew member and made all the others seriously ill. (Public domain)



Figure 8.3: After discussing the Bikini test and its radioactive fallout with Joseph Rotblat, Lord Russell became concerned for the future of the human gene pool if large numbers of such bombs should ever be used in a war. To warn humanity of the danger, he wrote what came to be known as the Russell-Einstein Manifesto. On July 9, 1955, with Rotblat in the chair, Russell read the Manifesto to a packed press conference. The document contains the words: “Here then is the problem that we present to you, stark and dreadful and inescapable: Shall we put an end to the human race, or shall mankind renounce war?... There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal as human beings to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest.” Lord Russell devoted much of the remainder of his life to working for the abolition of nuclear weapons. Here he is seen in 1962 in Trafalgar Square, London, addressing a meeting of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. (Public domain)

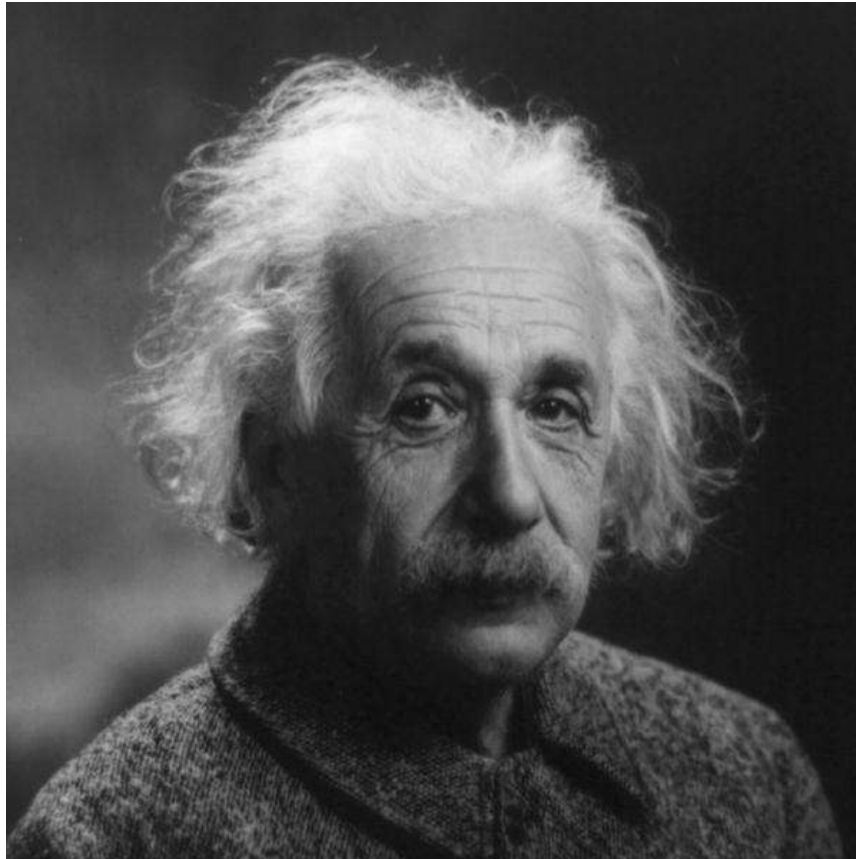


Figure 8.4: Albert Einstein wrote: “The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophes.” He also said, “I don’t know what will be used in the next world war, but the 4th will be fought with stones.” (Wikimedia)



Figure 8.5: Joseph Rotblat was the only scientist who withdrew from the Manhattan Project when it became apparent that Germany would not acquire nuclear weapons. He devoted the remainder of his life to working for peace and for the abolition of nuclear weapons. Joseph Rotblat became the president and guiding spirit of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, an organization of scientists and other scholars devoted to these goals. In his 1995 Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, Sir Joseph Rotblat (as he soon became) emphasized the same point that had been made in the Russell-Einstein Manifesto - that war itself must be eliminated in order to free civilization from the danger of nuclear destruction. The reason for this is that the knowledge of how to make nuclear weapons can never be forgotten. Even if they were eliminated, these weapons could be rebuilt during a major war. Thus the final abolition of nuclear weapons is linked to a change of heart in world politics and to the abolition of the institution of war.

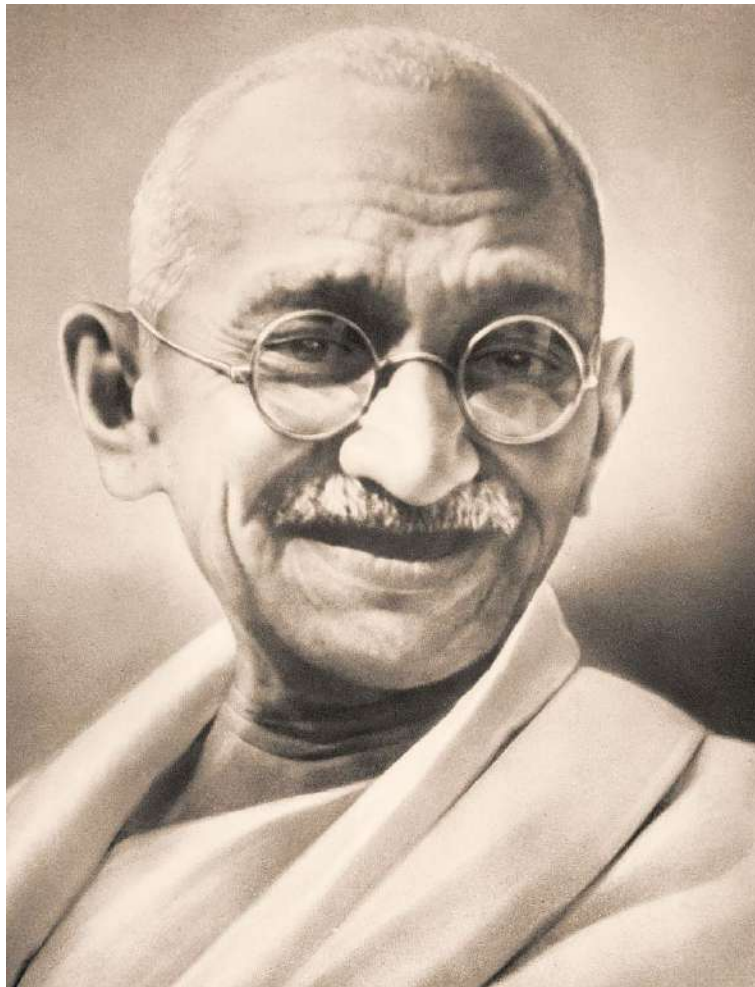


Figure 8.6: To the insidious argument that “the end justifies the means”, Mahatma Gandhi answered firmly: “They say ‘means are after all means. I would say ‘means are after all everything. As the means, so the end. Indeed the Creator has given us control (and that very limited) over means, none over end... The means may be likened to a seed, and the end to a tree; and there is the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life.” In other words, if evil means are used, the end achieved will be contaminated by the means used to achieve it. Gandhi’s insight can be applied to the argument that the nuclear bombings that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki helped to end World War II and were therefore justified. In fact, these terrible events lead to a nuclear arms race that still casts an extremely dark shadow over the future of human civilization. (Public domain)

8.2 Excerpts from Linus Pauling's Nobel Peace Prize Lecture, 1963

"...the 1954 superbomb, contained less than one ton of nuclear explosive. The energy released in the explosion of this bomb was greater than that of all of the explosives used in all of the wars that have taken place during the entire history of the world, including the First World War and the Second World War.

"Thousands of these superbombs have now been fabricated; and today, eighteen years after the construction of the first atomic bomb, the nuclear powers have stockpiles of these weapons so great that if they were to be used in a war hundreds of millions of people would be killed, and our civilization itself might not survive the catastrophe...

"We see that science and peace are related. The world has been greatly changed, especially during the last century, by the discoveries of scientists. Our increased knowledge now provides the possibility of eliminating poverty and starvation, of decreasing significantly the suffering caused by disease, of using the resources of the world effectively for the benefit of humanity. But the greatest of all the changes has been in the nature of war the several million fold increase in the power of explosives and corresponding changes in methods of delivery of bombs.

"These changes have resulted from the discoveries of scientists, and during the last two decades scientists have taken a leading part in bringing them to the attention of their fellow human beings and in urging that vigorous action be taken to prevent the use of the new weapons and to abolish war from the world.

"The first scientists to take actions of this sort were those involved in the development of the atomic bomb. In March, 1945, before the first nuclear explosion had been carried out, Leo Szilard prepared a memorandum⁴ to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in which he pointed out that a system of international control of nuclear weapons might give civilization a chance to survive. A committee of atomic scientists, with James Franck as chairman, on June 11, 1945, transmitted to the U.S. Secretary of War a report urging that nuclear bombs not be used in an unannounced attack against Japan, as this action would prejudice the possibility of reaching an international agreement on control of these weapons.

"In 1946 Albert Einstein, Harold Urey, and seven other scientists⁸ formed an organization to educate the American people about the nature of nuclear weapons and nuclear war. This organization, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists (usually called the Einstein Committee), carried out an effective educational campaign over a five-year period. The nature of the campaign is indicated by the following sentences from the 1946 statement by Einstein:

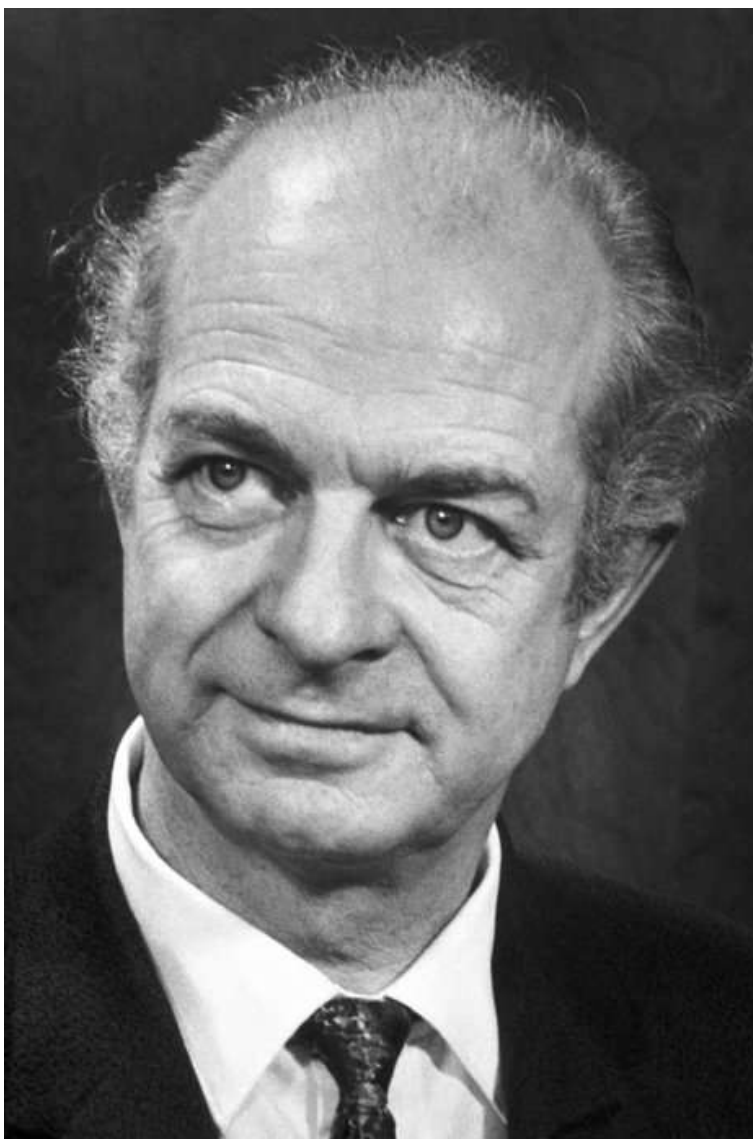


Figure 8.7: Linus Carl Pauling, (1901-1994), Nobel Peace Prize, 1962. Professor Pauling also won an individual Nobel Prize for Chemistry. He was the only person ever to have received two individual Nobel prizes. His lecture, quoted here, was given in 1963.

8.2. EXCERPTS FROM LINUS PAULING'S NOBEL PEACE PRIZE LECTURE, 1963119

“ ‘Today the atomic bomb has altered profoundly the nature of the world as we know it, and the human race consequently finds itself in a new habitat to which it must adapt its thinking... Never before was it possible for one nation to make war on another without sending armies across borders. Now with rockets and atomic bombs no center of population on the earth's surface is secure from surprise destruction in a single attack... Few men have ever seen the bomb. But all men if told a few facts can understand that this bomb and the danger of war is a very real thing, and not something far away. It directly concerns every person in the civilized world. We cannot leave it to generals, senators, and diplomats to work out a solution over a period of generations... There is no defense in science against the weapon which can destroy civilization. Our defense is not in armaments, nor in science, nor in going underground. Our defense is in law and order... Future thinking *must* prevent wars.’

“On July 15, 1955, a powerful statement, called the Mainau Declaration, was issued by fifty-two Nobel laureates. This statement warned that a great war in the nuclear age would imperil the whole world, and ended with the sentences: ‘All nations must come to the decision to renounce force as a final resort of policy. If they are not prepared to do this, they will cease to exist.’

“A document of great consequence, the Russell-Einstein Appeal, was made public by Bertrand Russell on July 9, 1955. Russell, who for years remained one of the world's most active and effective workers for peace, had drafted this document some months earlier, and it had been signed by Einstein two days before his death, and also by nine other scientists. The Appeal began with the sentence: ‘In the tragic situation which confronts humanity, we feel that scientists should assemble in conference to appraise the perils that have arisen as a result of the development of weapons of mass destruction...’ And it ended with the exhortation: ‘There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge, and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal, as human beings, to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death.’

“This Appeal led to the formation of the Pugwash Continuing Committee, with Bertrand Russell as chairman, and to the holding of a series of Pugwash Conferences (eleven during the years 1957 to 1963). Financial support for the first few conferences was provided by Mr. Cyrus Eaton, and the first conference was held in his birthplace, the village of Pugwash, Nova Scotia.

“Among the participants in some of the Pugwash Conferences have been scientists with a close connection with the governments of their countries, as well as scientists without government connection. The Conferences have permitted the scientific and practical aspects of disarmament to be discussed informally in a thorough, penetrating, and productive way and have led to some valuable proposals. It is my opinion that the Pugwash Conferences were significantly

helpful in the formulation and ratification of the 1963 Bomb Test Ban Treaty.

“Concern about the damage done to human beings and the human race by the radioactive substances produced in nuclear weapons tests was expressed with increasing vigor in the period following the first fission-fusion-fission bomb test at Bikini on March 1, 1954. Mention was made of radioactive fallout in the Russell-Einstein Appeal and also in the statement of the First Pugwash Conference. In his Declaration of Conscience issued in Oslo on April 24, 1957, Dr. Albert Schweitzer described the damage done by fallout and asked that the great nations cease their tests of nuclear weapons. Then on May 15, 1957, with the help of some of the scientists in Washington University, St. Louis, I wrote the Scientists’ Bomb Test Appeal, which within two weeks was signed by over two thousand American scientists and within a few months by 11,021 scientists, of forty-nine countries. On January 15, 1958, as I presented the Appeal to Dag Hammarskjöld as a petition to the United Nations, I said to him that in my opinion it represented the feelings of the great majority of the scientists of the world. The Bomb Test Appeal consists of five paragraphs. The first two are the following:

“ ‘We, the scientists whose names are signed below, urge that an international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs be made now.

“Each nuclear bomb test spreads an added burden of radioactive elements over every part of the world. Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasm such as to lead to an increase in the number of seriously defective children that will be born in future generations.’...

“It is my estimate that about 100,000 viable children will be born with gross physical or mental defects caused by the cesium 137 and other fission products from the bomb tests carried out from 1952 to 1963, and 1,500,000 more, if the human race survives, with gross defects caused by the carbon 14 from these bomb tests. In addition, about ten times as many embryonic, neonatal, and childhood deaths are expected-about 1,000,000 caused by the fission products and 15,000,000 by carbon 14. An even larger number of children may have minor defects caused by the bomb tests; these minor defects, which are passed on from generation to generation rather than being rapidly weeded out by genetic death, may be responsible for more suffering in the aggregate than the major defects...

“Moreover, it is known that high-energy radiation can cause leukemia, bone cancer, and some other diseases. Scientists differ in their opinion about the carcinogenic activity of small doses of radiation, such as produced by fallout and carbon 14. It is my opinion that bomb-test strontium 90 can cause leukemia and bone cancer, iodine 131 can cause cancer of the thyroid, and cesium 137 and carbon 14 can cause these and other diseases. I make the rough estimate that, because of this somatic effect of these radioactive substances that now pollute the earth, about 2,000,000 human beings now living will die five or

ten or fifteen years earlier than if the nuclear tests had not been made. The 1962 estimate of the United States Federal Radiation Council was 0 to 100,000 deaths from leukemia and bone cancer in the U.S. alone, caused by the nuclear tests to the end of 1961...

“A single 25-megaton bomb could largely destroy any city on earth and kill most of its inhabitants. Thousands of these great bombs have been fabricated, together with the vehicles to deliver them.

“Precise information about the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons has not been released. The participants in the Sixth Pugwash Conference, in 1960, made use of the estimate 60,000 megatons. This is 10,000 times the amount of explosive used in the whole of the Second World War...

“No dispute between nations can justify nuclear war. There is no defense against nuclear weapons that could not be overcome by increasing the scale of the attack. It would be contrary to the nature of war for nations to adhere to agreements to fight ‘limited’ wars, using only ‘small’ nuclear weapons - even little wars today are perilous, because of the likelihood that a little war would grow into a world catastrophe.

“The only sane policy for the world is that of abolishing war.”

8.3 The Non-Proliferation Treaty, 1968

In the 1960s, negotiations were started between countries that possessed nuclear weapons, and others that did not possess them, to establish a treaty that would prevent the spread of these highly dangerous weapons, but which would at the same time encourage cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The resulting treaty has the formal title “Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons” (abbreviated as the NPT). The Treaty also aimed at achieving general and complete disarmament. It was opened for signature in 1968, and it entered into force on the 11th of May, 1970.

190 parties have joined the NPT, and more countries have ratified it than any other arms limitation agreement, an indication of the Treaty’s great importance. Four countries outside the NPT have nuclear weapons: India, Pakistan, North Korea and Israel. North Korea had originally joined the NPT, but it withdrew in 2003.

The NPT has three main parts or “pillars”: 1) non-proliferation, 2) disarmament, and 3) the right to peaceful use of nuclear technology. The central bargain of the Treaty is that “the NPT non-nuclear weapon states agree never to acquire nuclear weapons and the NPT nuclear weapon states agree to share the benefits of peaceful use of nuclear technology and to pursue nuclear disarmament aimed at the ultimate elimination of their nuclear arsenals”.

Articles I and II of the NPT forbid states that have nuclear weapons to help other nations to acquire them. These Articles were violated, for example, by France, which helped Israel to acquire nuclear weapons, and by China, which helped Pakistan to do the same. They are also violated by the “nuclear sharing” agreements, through which US tactical nuclear weapons will be transferred to several countries in Europe in a crisis

situation. It is sometimes argued that in the event of a crisis, the NPT would no longer be valid, but there is nothing in the NPT itself that indicates that it would not hold in all situations.

The most blatantly violated provision of the NPT is Article VI. It requires the member states to pursue “negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament”, and negotiations towards a “Treaty on general and complete disarmament”. In other words, the states that possess nuclear weapons agreed to get rid of them. However, during the 47 years that have passed since the NPT went into force, the nuclear weapon states have shown absolutely no sign of complying with Article VI. There is a danger that the NPT will break down entirely because the majority of countries in the world are so dissatisfied with this long-continued non-compliance.

Looking at the NPT with the benefit of hindsight, we can see the third “pillar”, the “right to peaceful use of nuclear technology”, as a fatal flaw of the treaty. In practice, it has meant encouragement of nuclear power generation, with all the many dangers that go with it. The enrichment of uranium is linked to reactor use. Many reactors of modern design make use of low enriched uranium as a fuel. Nations operating such a reactor may claim that they need a program for uranium enrichment in order to produce fuel rods. However, by operating their ultracentrifuge a little longer, they can easily produce highly enriched (weapons-usable) uranium.

The difficulty of distinguishing between a civilian nuclear power generation program and a military nuclear program is illustrated by the case of Iran. In discussing Iran, it should be mentioned that Iran is fully in compliance with the NPT. It is very strange to see states that are long-time blatant violators of the NPT threaten Iran because of a nuclear program that fully complies with the Treaty.

I believe that civilian nuclear power generation is always a mistake because of the many dangers that it entails, and because of the problem of disposal of nuclear waste. However, a military attack on Iran would be both criminal and insane. Why criminal? Because such an attack would also violate the UN Charter and the Nuremberg Principles. Why insane? Because it would initiate a conflict that might escalate uncontrollably into World War III.

During the Cold War, a number of international treaties attempting to reduce the global nuclear peril had been achieved after much struggle. Among these, the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) has special importance. The NPT was designed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons beyond the five nations that already had them; to provide assurance that “peaceful” nuclear activities of non-nuclear-weapon states would not be used to produce such weapons; to promote peaceful use of nuclear energy to the greatest extent consistent with non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; and finally, to ensure that definite steps towards complete nuclear disarmament would be taken by all states, as well steps towards comprehensive control of conventional armaments (Article VI).

The non-nuclear-weapon states insisted that Article VI be included in the treaty as a price for giving up their own ambitions. The full text of Article VI is as follows: “Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament,

and on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict international control.”

The NPT has now been signed by 187 countries and has been in force as international law since 1970. However, Israel, India, Pakistan, and Cuba have refused to sign, and North Korea, after signing the treaty, withdrew from it in 1993. Israel began producing nuclear weapons in the late 1960s (with the help of a reactor provided by France) and the country is now believed to possess 100-150 of them, including neutron bombs. Israel's policy is one of “nuclear opacity” - i.e., visibly possessing nuclear weapons while denying their existence.

South Africa, with the help of Israel and France, also produced nuclear weapons, which it tested in the Indian Ocean in 1979. In 1991 however, South Africa signed the NPT and destroyed its nuclear weapons.

India produced what it described as a “peaceful nuclear explosion” in 1974. By 1989 Indian scientists were making efforts to purify the lithium-6 isotope, a key component of the much more powerful thermonuclear bombs. In 1998, India conducted underground tests of nuclear weapons, and is now believed to have roughly 60 warheads, constructed from Pu-239 produced in “peaceful” reactors.

Pakistan's efforts to obtain nuclear weapons were spurred by India's 1974 “peaceful nuclear explosion”. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who initiated Pakistan's program, first as Minister of Fuel, Power and Natural Resources, and later as President and Prime Minister, declared: “There is a Christian Bomb, a Jewish Bomb and a Hindu Bomb. There must be an Islamic Bomb! We will get it even if we have to starve - even if we have to eat grass!” As early as 1970, the laboratory of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, (a metallurgist who was to become Pakistan's leading nuclear bomb maker) had been able to obtain from a Dutch firm the high-speed ultracentrifuges needed for uranium enrichment. With unlimited financial support and freedom from auditing requirements, Dr. Khan purchased restricted items needed for nuclear weapon construction from companies in Europe and the United States. In the process, Dr. Khan became an extremely wealthy man. With additional help from China, Pakistan was ready to test five nuclear weapons in 1998. The Indian and Pakistani nuclear bomb tests, conducted in rapid succession, presented the world with the danger that these devastating bombs would be used in the conflict over Kashmir. Indeed, Pakistan announced that if a war broke out using conventional weapons, Pakistan's nuclear weapons would be used “at an early stage”.

In Pakistan, Dr. A.Q. Khan became a great national hero. He was presented as the person who had saved Pakistan from attack by India by creating Pakistan's own nuclear weapons. In a Washington Post article¹ Pervez Hoodbhoy wrote: “Nuclear nationalism was the order of the day as governments vigorously promoted the bomb as the symbol of Pakistan's high scientific achievement and self-respect, and as the harbinger of a new Muslim era.” Similar manifestations of nuclear nationalism could also be seen in India after India's 1998 bomb tests.

Early in 2004, it was revealed that Dr. Khan had for years been selling nuclear secrets and equipment to Libya, Iran and North Korea. However, observers considered that it was unlikely that Khan would be tried for these offenses, since a trial might implicate

¹1 February, 2004

Pakistan's army as well as two of its former prime ministers. Furthermore, Dr. Khan has the strong support of Pakistan's Islamic fundamentalists. Recent assassinations emphasize the precariousness of Pakistan's government. There is a danger that it may be overthrown by Islamic fundamentalists, who would give Pakistan's nuclear weapons to terrorist organizations. This type of danger is a general one associated with nuclear proliferation. As more and more countries obtain nuclear weapons, it becomes increasingly likely that one of them will undergo a revolution, during the course of which nuclear weapons will fall into the hands of subnational organizations.

Article VIII of the Non-Proliferation Treaty provides for a conference to be held every five years to make sure that the NPT is operating as intended. In the 1995 NPT Review Conference, the lifetime of the treaty was extended indefinitely, despite the general dissatisfaction with the bad faith of the nuclear weapon states: They had dismantled some of their warheads but had taken no significant steps towards complete nuclear disarmament. The 2000 NPT Review Conference made it clear that the nuclear weapons states could not postpone indefinitely their commitment to nuclear disarmament by linking it to general and complete disarmament, since these are separate and independent goals of Article VI. The Final Document of the conference also contained 13 Practical Steps for Nuclear Disarmament, including ratification of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), negotiations on a Fissile Materials Cutoff Treaty, the preservation and strengthening of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, greater transparency with regard to nuclear arsenals, and making irreversibility a principle of nuclear reductions. Another review conference is scheduled for 2010, a year that marks the 55th anniversary of the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Something must be said about the concept of irreversibility mentioned in the Final Document of the 2000 NPT Review Conference. Nuclear weapons can be destroyed in a completely irreversible way by getting rid of the special isotopes which they use. In the case of highly enriched uranium (HEU), this can be done by mixing it thoroughly with ordinary unenriched uranium. In natural uranium, the rare fissile isotope U-235 is only 0.7%. The remaining 99.3% consists of the common isotope, U-238, which under ordinary circumstances cannot undergo fission. If HEU is mixed with a sufficient quantity of natural uranium, so that the concentration of U-235 falls below 20%, it can no longer be used in nuclear weapons.

Getting rid of plutonium irreversibly is more difficult, but it could be cast into large concrete blocks and dumped into extremely deep parts of the ocean (e.g. the Japan Trench) where recovery would be almost impossible. Alternatively, it could be placed in the bottom of very deep mine shafts, which could afterwards be destroyed by means of conventional explosives. None of the strategic arms reduction treaties, neither the SALT treaties nor the 2002 Moscow Treaty, incorporate irreversibility.

The recent recommendation by four distinguished German statesmen that all short-range nuclear weapons be destroyed is particularly interesting [13]. The strongest argument for the removal of US tactical nuclear weapons from Europe is the danger of collapse of the NPT. The 2005 NPT Review Conference was a disaster, and there is a danger that at the 2010 Review Conference, the NPT will collapse entirely because of the discriminatory

position of the nuclear weapon states (NWS) and their failure to honor their commitments under Article VI. NATO's present nuclear weapon policy also violates the NPT, and correcting this violation would help to save the 2010 Review Conference from failure.

At present, the air forces of the European countries in which the US nuclear weapons are stationed perform regular training exercises in which they learn how to deliver the weapons. This violates the spirit, and probably also the letter, of Article IV, which prohibits the transfer of nuclear weapons from an NWS to a non-NWS. The "nuclear sharing" proponents maintain that such transfers would only happen in an emergency; but there is nothing in the NPT saying that the treaty would not hold under all circumstances. Furthermore, NATO would be improved, rather than damaged, by giving up "nuclear sharing".

8.4 The Marshall Islands sue nuclear weapons states

Violations of Article VI of the NPT

One can gain a small idea of the terrible ecological consequences of a nuclear war by thinking of the radioactive contamination that has made large areas near to Chernobyl and Fukushima uninhabitable, or the testing of hydrogen bombs in the Pacific, which continues to cause leukemia and birth defects in the Marshall Islands more than half a century later.

In 1954, the United States tested a hydrogen bomb at Bikini. The bomb was 1,300 times more powerful than the bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Fallout from the bomb contaminated the island of Rongelap, one of the Marshall Islands 120 kilometers from Bikini. The islanders experienced radiation illness, and many died from cancer.

Even today, half a century later, both people and animals on Rongelap and other nearby islands suffer from birth defects. The most common defects have been "jelly fish babies", born with no bones and with transparent skin. Their brains and beating hearts can be seen. The babies usually live a day or two before they stop breathing.

A girl from Rongelap describes the situation in the following words: "I cannot have children. I have had miscarriages on seven occasions... Our culture and religion teach us that reproductive abnormalities are a sign that women have been unfaithful. For this reason, many of my friends keep quiet about the strange births that they have had. In privacy they give birth, not to children as we like to think of them, but to things we could only describe as 'octopuses', 'apples', 'turtles', and other things in our experience. We do not have Marshallese words for these kinds of babies, because they were never born before the radiation came."

The Republic of the Marshall Islands is suing the nine countries with nuclear weapons at the International Court of Justice at The Hague, arguing they have violated their legal obligation to disarm.

The Guardian reports that "In the unprecedented legal action, comprising nine separate cases brought before the ICJ on Thursday, the Republic of the Marshall Islands accuses the nuclear weapons states of a 'flagrant denial of human justice'. It argues it is justified



Figure 8.8: **In 1954, the United States tested a hydrogen bomb at Bikini. The bomb was 1,300 times more powerful than the bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki.**

in taking the action because of the harm it suffered as a result of the nuclear arms race.”

“The Pacific chain of islands, including Bikini Atoll and Enewetak, was the site of 67 nuclear tests from 1946 to 1958, including the ‘Bravo shot’, a 15-megaton device equivalent to a thousand Hiroshima blasts, detonated in 1954. The Marshallese islanders say they have been suffering serious health and environmental effects ever since.”

“The island republic is suing the five ‘established’ nuclear weapons states recognized in the 1968 nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) - the US, Russia (which inherited the Soviet arsenal), China, France and the UK - as well as the three countries outside the NPT who have declared nuclear arsenals - India, Pakistan and North Korea, and the one undeclared nuclear weapons state, Israel.”

On July 21, 2014, the United States filed a motion to dismiss the Nuclear Zero lawsuit that was filed by the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) on April 24, 2014 in U.S. Federal Court. The U.S., in its move to dismiss the RMI lawsuit, does not argue that the U.S. is in compliance with its NPT disarmament obligations. Instead, it argues in a variety of ways that its non-compliance with these obligations is, essentially, justifiable, and not subject to the court’s jurisdiction.

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (NAPF) is a consultant to the Marshall Islands on the legal and moral issues involved in bringing this case. David Krieger, President of NAPF, upon hearing of the motion to dismiss the case by the U.S. responded, “The U.S. government is sending a terrible message to the world - that is, that U.S. courts are an improper venue for resolving disputes with other countries on U.S. treaty obligations.



Figure 8.9: Babies with severe birth defects are still being born on the Marshall Islands, 60 years after the Bikini test.



Figure 8.10: **A just system of international law is our only hope for the future.**

The U.S. is, in effect, saying that whatever breaches it commits are all right if it says so. That is bad for the law, bad for relations among nations, bad for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament - and not only bad, but extremely dangerous for U.S. citizens and all humanity.”

David Krieger continued, “In 2009, President Obama shared his vision for the world, saying, ‘So today, I state clearly and with conviction America’s commitment to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons.’ This lawsuit provides the perfect opportunity for President Obama to move his vision forward. Yet, rather than seizing that opportunity, the U.S. government is seeking dismissal without a full and fair hearing on the merits of the case.”

Our only hope for the future is to replace brutal rule by military power by a just system of international law.

8.5 Flaws in the concept of nuclear deterrence

Before discussing other defects in the concept of deterrence, it must be said very clearly that the idea of “massive nuclear retaliation” is completely unacceptable from an ethical point of view. The doctrine of retaliation, performed on a massive scale, violates not only the principles of common human decency and common sense, but also the ethical principles of every major religion. Retaliation is especially contrary to the central commandment of Christianity which tells us to love our neighbor, even if he or she is far away from us, belonging to a different ethnic or political group, and even if our distant neighbor has seriously injured us. This principle has a fundamental place not only in Christianity but also in Buddhism. “Massive retaliation” completely violates these very central ethical principles, which are not only clearly stated and fundamental but also very practical, since they prevent escalatory cycles of revenge and counter-revenge.

Contrast Christian ethics with estimates of the number of deaths that would follow a US nuclear strike against Russia: Several hundred million deaths. These horrifying estimates shock us not only because of the enormous magnitude of the expected mortality, but also because the victims would include people of every kind: women, men, old people, children and infants, completely irrespective of any degree of guilt that they might have. As a result of such an attack, many millions of people in neutral countries would also die. This type of killing has to be classified as genocide.

When a suspected criminal is tried for a wrongdoing, great efforts are devoted to clarifying the question of guilt or innocence. Punishment only follows if guilt can be proved beyond any reasonable doubt. Contrast this with the totally indiscriminate mass slaughter that results from a nuclear attack!

It might be objected that disregard for the guilt or innocence of victims is a universal characteristic of modern war, since statistics show that, with time, a larger and larger percentage of the victims have been civilians, and especially children. For example, the air attacks on Coventry during World War II, or the fire bombings of Dresden and Tokyo, produced massive casualties which involved all segments of the population with complete disregard for the question of guilt or innocence. The answer, I think, is that modern war has become generally unacceptable from an ethical point of view, and this unacceptability is epitomized in nuclear weapons.

The enormous and indiscriminate destruction produced by nuclear weapons formed the background for an historic 1996 decision by the International Court of Justice in the Hague. In response to questions put to it by WHO and the UN General Assembly, the Court ruled that “the threat and use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and particularly the principles and rules of humanitarian law.” The only *possible* exception to this general rule might be “an extreme circumstance of self-defense, in which the very survival of a state would be at stake”. But the Court refused to say that even in this extreme circumstance the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be legal. It left the exceptional case undecided. In addition, the World Court added unanimously that “there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith *and bring to a conclusion* negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under

strict international control.”

This landmark decision has been criticized by the nuclear weapon states as being decided “by a narrow margin”, but the structuring of the vote made the margin seem more narrow than it actually was. Seven judges voted against Paragraph 2E of the decision (the paragraph which states that the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be generally illegal, but which mentions as a possible exception the case where a nation might be defending itself from an attack that threatened its very existence.) Seven judges voted for the paragraph, with the President of the Court, Muhammad Bedjaoui of Algeria casting the deciding vote. Thus the Court adopted it, seemingly by a narrow margin. But three of the judges who voted against 2E did so because they believed that no possible exception should be mentioned! Thus, if the vote had been slightly differently structured, the result would have been ten to four.

Of the remaining four judges who cast dissenting votes, three represented nuclear weapons states, while the fourth thought that the Court ought not to have accepted the questions from WHO and the UN. However Judge Schwebel from the United States, who voted against Paragraph 2E, nevertheless added, in a separate opinion, “It cannot be accepted that the use of nuclear weapons on a scale which would - or could - result in the deaths of many millions in indiscriminate inferno and by far-reaching fallout, have pernicious effects in space and time, and render uninhabitable much of the earth, could be lawful.” Judge Higgins from the UK, the first woman judge in the history of the Court, had problems with the word “generally” in Paragraph 2E and therefore voted against it, but she thought that a more profound analysis might have led the Court to conclude in favor of illegality in all circumstances. Judge Fleischhauer of Germany said in his separate opinion, “The nuclear weapon is, in many ways, the negation of the humanitarian considerations underlying the law applicable in armed conflict and the principle of neutrality. The nuclear weapon cannot distinguish between civilian and military targets. It causes immeasurable suffering. The radiation released by it is unable to respect the territorial integrity of neutral States.”

President Bedjaoui, summarizing the majority opinion, called nuclear weapons “the ultimate evil”, and said “By its nature, the nuclear weapon, this blind weapon, destabilizes humanitarian law, the law of discrimination in the use of weapons... The ultimate aim of every action in the field of nuclear arms will always be nuclear disarmament, an aim which is no longer utopian and which all have a duty to pursue more actively than ever.”

Thus the concept of nuclear deterrence is not only unacceptable from the standpoint of ethics; it is also contrary to international law. The World Courts 1996 advisory Opinion unquestionably also represents the opinion of the majority of the worlds peoples. Although no formal plebiscite has been taken, the votes in numerous resolutions of the UN General Assembly speak very clearly on this question. For example the New Agenda Resolution (53/77Y) was adopted by the General Assembly on 4 December 1998 by a massively affirmative vote, in which only 18 out of the 170 member states voted against the resolution.²

²Of the 18 countries that voted against the New Agenda resolution, 10 were Eastern European countries hoping for acceptance into NATO, whose votes seem to have been traded for increased probability of

The New Agenda Resolution proposes numerous practical steps towards complete nuclear disarmament, and it calls on the Nuclear-Weapon States “to demonstrate an unequivocal commitment to the speedy and total elimination of their nuclear weapons and without delay to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to the elimination of these weapons, thereby fulfilling their obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)”. Thus, in addition to being ethically unacceptable and contrary to international law, nuclear weapons also contrary to the principles of democracy.

Having said these important things, we can now turn to some of the other defects in the concept of nuclear deterrence. One important defect is that nuclear war may occur through accident or miscalculation - through technical defects or human failings. This possibility is made greater by the fact that despite the end of the Cold War, thousands of missiles carrying nuclear warheads are still kept on a “hair-trigger” state of alert with a quasi-automatic reaction time measured in minutes. There is a constant danger that a nuclear war will be triggered by error in evaluating the signal on a radar screen. For example, the BBC reported recently that a group of scientists and military leaders are worried that a small asteroid entering the earths atmosphere and exploding could trigger a nuclear war if mistaken for a missile strike.

A number of prominent political and military figures (many of whom have ample knowledge of the system of deterrence, having been part of it) have expressed concern about the danger of accidental nuclear war. Colin S. Grey³ expressed this concern as follows: “The problem, indeed the enduring problem, is that we are resting our future upon a nuclear deterrence system concerning which we cannot tolerate even a single malfunction.” General Curtis E. LeMay⁴ has written, “In my opinion a general war will grow through a series of political miscalculations and accidents rather than through any deliberate attack by either side.” Bruce G. Blair⁵ has remarked that “It is obvious that the rushed nature of the process, from warning to decision to action, risks causing a catastrophic mistake.”... “This system is an accident waiting to happen.”

Today, the system that is supposed to give us security is called Mutually Assured Destruction, appropriately abbreviated as MAD. It is based on the idea of deterrence, which maintains that because of the threat of massive retaliation, no sane leader would start a nuclear war.

Before discussing other defects in the concept of deterrence, it must be said very clearly that the idea of “massive nuclear retaliation” is a form of genocide and is completely unacceptable from an ethical point of view. It violates not only the principles of common human decency and common sense, but also the ethical principles of every major religion.

Having said this, we can now turn to some of the other faults in the concept of nuclear deterrence. One important defect is that nuclear war may occur through accident or miscalculation, through technical defects or human failings, or by terrorism. This possibility

acceptance.

³Chairman, National Institute for Public Policy

⁴Founder and former Commander in Chief of the United States Strategic Air Command

⁵Brookings Institute

is made greater by the fact that despite the end of the Cold War, thousands of missiles carrying nuclear warheads are still kept on “hair-trigger alert” with a quasi-automatic reaction time measured in minutes. There is a constant danger that a nuclear war will be triggered by error in evaluating the signal on a radar screen.

Incidents in which global disaster is avoided by a hair’s breadth are constantly occurring. For example, on the night of 26 September, 1983, Lt. Col. Stanislav Petrov, a young software engineer, was on duty at a surveillance center near Moscow. Suddenly the screen in front of him turned bright red.

An alarm went off. It’s enormous piercing sound filled the room. A second alarm followed, and then a third, fourth and fifth. “The computer showed that the Americans had launched a strike against us”, Petrov remembered later. His orders were to pass the information up the chain of command to Secretary General Yuri Andropov. Within minutes, a nuclear counterattack would be launched. However, because of certain inconsistent features of the alarm, Petrov disobeyed orders and reported it as a computer error, which indeed it was.

Most of us probably owe our lives to his coolheaded decision and knowledge of software systems. The narrowness of this escape is compounded by the fact that Petrov was on duty only because of the illness of another officer with less knowledge of software, who would have accepted the alarm as real.

Narrow escapes such as this show us clearly that in the long run, the combination of space-age science and stone-age politics will destroy us. We urgently need new political structures and new ethics to match our advanced technology. Modern science has, for the first time in history, offered humankind the possibility of a life of comfort, free from hunger and cold, and free from the constant threat of death through infectious disease. At the same time, science has given humans the power to obliterate their civilization with nuclear weapons, or to make the earth uninhabitable through overpopulation and pollution. The question of which of these paths we choose is literally a matter of life or death for ourselves and our children.

Will we use the discoveries of modern science constructively, and thus choose the path leading towards life? Or will we use science to produce more and more lethal weapons, which sooner or later, through a technical or human failure, will result in a catastrophic nuclear war? Will we thoughtlessly destroy our beautiful planet through unlimited growth of population and industry? The choice among these alternatives is ours to make. We live at a critical moment of history, a moment of crisis for civilization.

No one alive today asked to be born at a time of crisis, but history has given each of us an enormous responsibility. Of course we have our ordinary jobs, which we need to do in order to stay alive; but besides that, each of us has a second job, the duty to devote both time and effort to solving the serious problems that face civilization during the 21st century. We cannot rely on our politicians to do this for us. Many politicians are under the influence of powerful lobbies. Others are waiting for a clear expression of popular will. It is the people of the world themselves who must choose their own future and work hard to build it.

No single person can achieve the changes that we need, but together we can do it. The

problem of building a stable, just, and war-free world is difficult, but it is not impossible. The large regions of our present-day world within which war has been eliminated can serve as models. There are a number of large countries with heterogeneous populations within which it has been possible to achieve internal peace and social cohesion, and if this is possible within such extremely large regions, it must also be possible globally.

We must replace the old world of international anarchy, chronic war, and institutionalized injustice by a new world of law. The United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Criminal Court are steps in the right direction. These institutions need to be greatly strengthened and reformed. We also need a new global ethic, where loyalty to one's family and nation will be supplemented by a higher loyalty to humanity as a whole. Tipping points in public opinion can occur suddenly. We can think, for example, of the Civil Rights Movement, or the rapid fall of the Berlin Wall, or the sudden change that turned public opinion against smoking, or the sudden movement for freedom and democracy in the Arab world. A similar sudden change can occur soon regarding war and nuclear weapons.

We know that war is madness. We know that it is responsible for much of the suffering that humans experience. We know that war pollutes our planet and that the almost unimaginable sums wasted on war prevent the happiness and prosperity of mankind. We know that nuclear weapons are insane, and that the precariously balanced deterrence system can break down at any time through human error or computer errors or through terrorist actions, and that it definitely will break down within our lifetimes unless we abolish it. We know that nuclear war threatens to destroy civilization and much of the biosphere.

The logic is there. We must translate into popular action which will put an end to the undemocratic, money-driven, power-lust-driven war machine. The peoples of the world must say very clearly that nuclear weapons are an absolute evil; that their possession does not increase anyone's security; that their continued existence is a threat to the life of every person on the planet; and that these genocidal and potentially omnicidal weapons have no place in a civilized society.

Modern science has abolished time and distance as factors separating nations. On our shrunken globe today, there is room for one group only: the family of humankind. We must embrace all other humans as our brothers and sisters. More than that, we must feel that all of nature is part of the same sacred family; meadow flowers, blowing winds, rocks, trees, birds, animals, and other humans, all these are our brothers and sisters, deserving our care and protection. Only in this way can we survive together. Only in this way can we build a happy future.

"But nobody can predict that the fatal accident or unauthorized act will never happen", Fred Ikle of the Rand Corporation has written, "Given the huge and far-flung missile forces, ready to be launched from land and sea on on both sides, the scope for disaster by accident is immense... In a matter of seconds - through technical accident or human failure - mutual deterrence might thus collapse."

Another serious failure of the concept of nuclear deterrence is that it does not take into account the possibility that atomic bombs may be used by terrorists. Indeed, the threat of

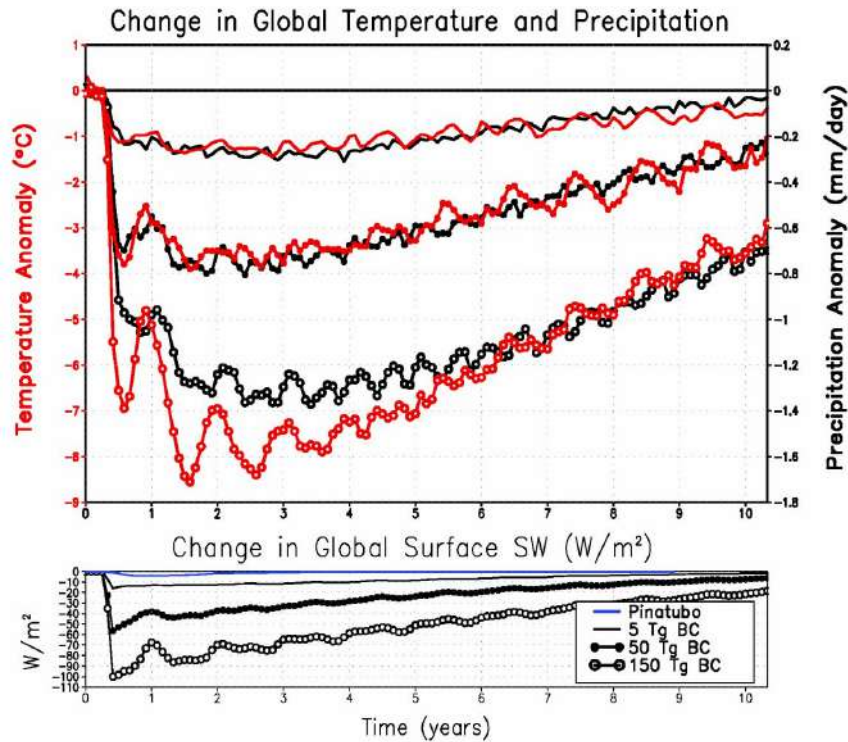


Figure 8.11: Recent studies by atmospheric scientists have shown that the smoke from burning cities produced by even a limited nuclear war would have a devastating effect on global agriculture. The studies show that the smoke would rise to the stratosphere, where it would spread globally and remain for a decade, blocking sunlight and destroying the ozone layer. Because of the devastating effect on global agriculture, darkness from even a small nuclear war (e.g. between India and Pakistan) would result in an estimated billion deaths from famine. (O. Toon, A. Robock and R. Turco, “The Environmental Consequences of Nuclear War”, *Physics Today*, vol. 61, No. 12, 2008, p. 37-42)

nuclear terrorism has today become one of the most pressing dangers that the world faces, a danger that is particularly acute in the United States.

Since 1945, more than 3,000 metric tons (3,000,000 kilograms) of highly enriched uranium and plutonium have been produced - enough for several hundred thousand nuclear weapons. Of this, roughly a million kilograms are in Russia, inadequately guarded, in establishments where the technicians are poorly paid and vulnerable to the temptations of bribery. There is a continuing danger that these fissile materials will fall into the hands of terrorists, or organized criminals, or irresponsible governments. Also, an extensive black market for fissile materials, nuclear weapons components etc. has recently been revealed in connection with the confessions of Pakistan's bomb-maker, Dr. A.Q. Khan. Furthermore, if Pakistan's less-than-stable government should be overthrown, complete nuclear weapons could fall into the hands of terrorists.

On November 3, 2003, Mohamed ElBaradei, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, made a speech to the United Nations in which he called for "limiting the processing of weapons-usable material (separated plutonium and high enriched uranium) in civilian nuclear programmes - as well as the production of new material through reprocessing and enrichment - by agreeing to restrict these operations to facilities exclusively under international control." It is almost incredible, considering the dangers of nuclear proliferation and nuclear terrorism, that such restrictions were not imposed long ago. Nuclear reactors used for "peaceful" purposes unfortunately also generate fissionable isotopes of plutonium, neptunium and americium. Thus all nuclear reactors must be regarded as ambiguous in function, and all must be put under strict international control. One might ask, in fact, whether globally widespread use of nuclear energy is worth the danger that it entails.

The Italian nuclear physicist Francesco Calogero, who has studied the matter closely, believes that terrorists could easily construct a simple gun-type nuclear bomb if they were in possession of a critical mass of highly enriched uranium. In such a simple atomic bomb, two grapefruit-sized subcritical portions of HEU are placed at opposite ends of the barrel of an artillery piece and are driven together by means of a conventional explosive. Prof. Calogero estimates that the fatalities produced by the explosion of such a device in the center of a large city could exceed 100,000.

We must remember the remark of U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan after the 9/11/2001 attacks on the World Trade Center. He said, "*This time* it was not a nuclear explosion". The meaning of his remark is clear: If the world does not take strong steps to eliminate fissionable materials and nuclear weapons, it will only be a matter of time before they will be used in terrorist attacks on major cities. Neither terrorists nor organized criminals can be deterred by the threat of nuclear retaliation, since they have no territory against which such retaliation could be directed. They blend invisibly into the general population. Nor can a "missile defense system" prevent terrorists from using nuclear weapons, since the weapons can be brought into a port in any one of the hundreds of thousands of containers that enter on ships each year, a number far too large to be checked exhaustively.

In this dangerous situation, the only logical thing for the world to do is to get rid of both fissile materials and nuclear weapons as rapidly as possible. We must acknowledge that the

idea of nuclear deterrence is a dangerous fallacy, and acknowledge that the development of military systems based on nuclear weapons has been a terrible mistake, a false step that needs to be reversed. If the most prestigious of the nuclear weapons states can sincerely acknowledge their mistakes and begin to reverse them, nuclear weapons will seem less glamorous to countries like India, Pakistan, North Korea and Iran, where they now are symbols of national pride and modernism.

Civilians have for too long played the role of passive targets, hostages in the power struggles of politicians. It is time for civil society to make its will felt. If our leaders continue to enthusiastically support the institution of war, if they will not abolish nuclear weapons, then let us have new leaders.

Establishment opinion shifts towards nuclear abolition

Today there are indications that the establishment is moving towards the point of view that the peace movement has always held: - that nuclear weapons are essentially genocidal, illegal and unworthy of civilization; and that they must be completely abolished as quickly as possible. There is a rapidly-growing global consensus that a nuclear-weapon-free world can and must be achieved in the very near future.

One of the first indications of the change was the famous Wall Street Journal article by Schultz, Perry, Kissinger and Nunn advocating complete abolition of nuclear arms [1]. This was followed quickly by Mikhail Gorbachev's supporting article, published in the same journal [2], and a statement by distinguished Italian statesmen [3]. Meanwhile, in October 2007, the Hoover Institution had arranged a symposium entitled "Reykjavik Revisited; Steps Towards a World Free of Nuclear Weapons" [4].

In Britain, Sir Malcolm Rifkind, Lord Hurd and Lord Owen (all former Foreign Secretaries) joined the former NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson as authors of an article in The Times advocating complete abolition of nuclear weapons [5]. The UK's Secretary of State for Defense, Des Brown, speaking at a disarmament conference in Geneva, proposed that the UK "host a technical conference of P5 nuclear laboratories on the verification of nuclear disarmament before the next NPT Review Conference in 2010" to enable the nuclear weapon states to work together on technical issues.

In February, 2008, the Government of Norway hosted an international conference on "Achieving the Vision of a World Free of Nuclear Weapons" [7]. A week later, Norway's Foreign Minister, Jonas Gahr Støre, reported the results of the conference to a disarmament meeting in Geneva [8]. On July 11, 2008, speaking at a Pugwash Conference in Canada, Norway's Defense Minister, Anne-Grete Strøm-Erichsen, reiterated her country's strong support for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons [9].

In July 2008, Barack Obama said in his Berlin speech, "It is time to secure all loose nuclear materials; to stop the spread of nuclear weapons; and to reduce the arsenals from another era. This is the moment to begin the work of seeking the peace of a world without nuclear weapons."

Later that year, in September, Vladimir Putin said, "Had I been told just two or three years ago I wouldn't believe that it would be possible, but I believe that it is now quite

possible to liberate humanity from nuclear weapons...”

Other highly-placed statesmen added their voices to the growing consensus: Australia’s Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, visited the Peace Museum at Hiroshima, where he made a strong speech advocating nuclear abolition. He later set up an International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament co-chaired by Australia and Japan [10].

On January 9, 2009, four distinguished German statesmen (Richard von Weizsäcker, Helmut Schmidt, Egon Bahr and Hans-Dietrich Genscher) published an article entitled “Towards a Nuclear-Free World: a German View” in the International Herald Tribune [12]. Among the immediate steps recommended in the article are the following:

- The vision of a nuclear-weapon-free world... must be rekindled.
- Negotiations aimed at drastically reducing the number of nuclear weapons must begin...
- The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) must be greatly reinforced.
- America should ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty.
- All short-range nuclear weapons must be destroyed.
- The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty must be restored. Outer space may only be used for peaceful purposes.

Going to zero

On December 8-9, 2008, approximately 100 international leaders met in Paris to launch the Global Zero Campaign [11]. They included Her Majesty Queen Noor of Jordan, Norway’s former Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, former UK Foreign Secretaries Sir Malcolm Rifkind, Margaret Beckett and David Owen, Ireland’s former Prime Minister Mary Robinson, UK philanthropist Sir Richard Branson, former UN Under-Secretary-General Jayantha Dhanapala, and Nobel Peace Prize winners President Jimmy Carter, President Mikhail Gorbachev, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Prof. Muhammad Yunus. The concrete steps advocated by Global Zero include:

- Deep reductions to Russian-US arsenals, which comprise 96% of the worlds 27,000 nuclear weapons.
- Russia and the United States, joined by other nuclear weapons states, cutting arsenals to zero in phased and verified reductions.
- Establishing verification systems and international management of the fuel cycle to prevent future development of nuclear weapons.

The Global Zero website [11] contains a report on a new public opinion poll covering 21 nations, including all of the nuclear weapons states. The poll showed that public opinion overwhelmingly favors an international agreement for eliminating all nuclear weapons according to a timetable. It was specified that the agreement would include monitoring. The average in all countries of the percent favoring such an agreement was 76%. A few results of special interest mentioned in the report are Russia 69%; the United States, 77%; China, 83%; France, 86%, and Great Britain, 81%.

In his April 5, 2009 speech in Prague the newly-elected U.S. President Barack Obama said: “To reduce our warheads and stockpiles, we will negotiate a new strategic arms reduction treaty with Russia this year. President Medvedev and I will begin this process in London, and we will seek an agreement by the end of the year that is sufficiently bold. This will set the stage for further cuts, and we will seek to involve all nuclear weapon states in this endeavor... To achieve a global ban on nuclear testing, my administration will immediately and aggressively pursue U.S. ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.”

A few days later, on April 24, 2009, the European Parliament recommended complete nuclear disarmament by 2020. An amendment introducing the “Model Nuclear Weapons Convention” and the “Hiroshima-Nagasaki Protocol” as concrete tools to achieve a nuclear weapons free world by 2020 was approved with a majority of 177 votes against 130. The Nuclear Weapons Convention is analogous to the conventions that have successfully banned chemical and biological weapons.

8.6 The role of public opinion

Public opinion is extremely important for the actual achievement of complete nuclear abolition. In the first place, the fact that the public is overwhelmingly against the retention of nuclear weapons means that the continuation of nuclear arsenals violates democratic principles. Secondly, the weapons are small enough to be easily hidden. Therefore the help of “whistle-blowers” will be needed to help inspection teams to make sure that no country violates its agreement to irreversibly destroy every atomic bomb. What is needed is a universal recognition that nuclear weapons are an absolute evil, and that their continued existence is a threat to human civilization and to the life of every person on the planet.

Our aim must be to delegitimize nuclear weapons, in much the same way that unnecessary greenhouse gas emissions have recently been delegitimized, or cigarette smoking delegitimized, or racism delegitimized. This should be an easy task because of the essentially genocidal nature of nuclear weapons. For half a century, ordinary people have been held as hostages, never knowing from day to day whether their own lives and the lives of those they love would suddenly be sacrificed on the alter of thermonuclear nationalism and power politics. We must let the politicians know that we are no longer willing to be hostages; and we must also accept individual responsibility for reporting violations of international treaties, although our own nation might be the violator.

Most of us grew up in schools where we were taught that duty to our nation was the



Figure 8.12: **Women Strike for Peace during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962.**(Public domain)

highest duty; but the times we live in today demand a change of heart, a higher loyalty to humanity as a whole. If the mass media cooperate in delegitimizing nuclear weapons, if educational systems cooperate and if religions ⁶ cooperate, the change of heart that we need - the global ethic that we need - can quickly be achieved.

Complete abolition of nuclear weapons

Although the Cold War has ended, the danger of a nuclear catastrophe is greater today than ever before. There are almost 16,000 nuclear weapons in the world today, of which more than 90 percent are in the hands of Russia and the United States. About 2,000 of these weapons are on hair-trigger alert, meaning that whoever is in charge of them has

⁶As an example of the role that religions can play, we can consider the Buddhist organization Soka Gakkai International (SGI), which has 12 million members throughout the world. SGI's President Daisaku Ikeda has declared nuclear weapons to be an absolute evil and for more than 50 years the organization has worked for their abolition.

only a few minutes to decide whether the signal indicating an attack is real, or an error. The most important single step in reducing the danger of a disaster would be to take all weapons off hair-trigger alert.

Bruce G. Blair, Brookings Institute, has remarked "It is obvious that the rushed nature of the process, from warning to decision to action, risks causing a catastrophic mistake... This system is an accident waiting to happen." Fred Ikle of the Rand Corporation has written, 'But nobody can predict that the fatal accident or unauthorized act will never happen. Given the huge and far-flung missile forces, ready to be launched from land and sea on both sides, the scope for disaster by accident is immense... In a matter of seconds, through technical accident or human failure, mutual deterrence might thus collapse."

Although their number has been substantially reduced from its Cold War maximum, the total explosive power of today's weapons is equivalent to roughly half a million Hiroshima bombs. To multiply the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by a factor of half a million changes the danger qualitatively. What is threatened today is the complete breakdown of human society.

There is no defense against nuclear terrorism. We must remember the remark of U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan after the 9/11/2001 attacks on the World Trade Center. He said, 'This time it was not a nuclear explosion". The meaning of his remark is clear: If the world does not take strong steps to eliminate fissionable materials and nuclear weapons, it will only be a matter of time before they will be used in terrorist attacks on major cities. Neither terrorists nor organized criminals can be deterred by the threat of nuclear retaliation, since they have no territory against which such retaliation could be directed. They blend invisibly into the general population. Nor can a "missile defense system" prevent terrorists from using nuclear weapons, since the weapons can be brought into a port in any one of the hundreds of thousands of containers that enter on ships each year, a number far too large to be checked exhaustively.

As the number of nuclear weapon states grows larger, there is an increasing chance that a revolution will occur in one of them, putting nuclear weapons into the hands of terrorist groups or organized criminals. Today, for example, Pakistan's less-than-stable government might be overthrown, and Pakistan's nuclear weapons might end in the hands of terrorists. The weapons might then be used to destroy one of the world's large coastal cities, having been brought into the port by one of numerous container ships that dock every day. Such an event might trigger a large-scale nuclear conflagration.

Today, the world is facing a grave danger from the reckless behavior of the government of the United States, which recently arranged a coup that overthrew the elected government of Ukraine. Although Victoria Nuland's December 13, 2013 speech talks much about democracy, the people who carried out the coup in Kiev can hardly be said to be democracy's best representatives. Many belong to the Svoboda Party, which had its roots in the Social-National Party of Ukraine (SNPU). The name was an intentional reference to the Nazi Party in Germany.

It seems to be the intention of the US to establish NATO bases in Ukraine, no doubt armed with nuclear weapons. In trying to imagine how the Russians feel about this, we might think of the US reaction when a fleet of ships sailed to Cuba in 1962, bringing

Soviet nuclear weapons. In the confrontation that followed, the world was brought very close indeed to an all-destroying nuclear war. Does not Russia feel similarly threatened by the thought of hostile nuclear weapons on its very doorstep? Can we not learn from the past, and avoid the extremely high risks associated with the similar confrontation in Ukraine today?

In general, aggressive interventions, in Iran, Syria, Ukraine, the Korean Peninsula and elsewhere, all present dangers for uncontrollable escalation into large and disastrous conflicts, which might potentially threaten the survival of human civilization.

Few politicians or military figures today have any imaginative understanding of what a war with thermonuclear weapons would be like. Recent studies have shown that in a nuclear war, the smoke from firestorms in burning cities would rise to the stratosphere where it would remain for a decade, spreading throughout the world, blocking sunlight, blocking the hydrological cycle and destroying the ozone layer. The effect on global agriculture would be devastating, and the billion people who are chronically undernourished today would be at risk. Furthermore, the tragedies of Chernobyl and Fukushima remind us that a nuclear war would make large areas of the world permanently uninhabitable because of radioactive contamination. A full-scale thermonuclear war would be the ultimate ecological catastrophe. It would destroy human civilization and much of the biosphere.

One can gain a small idea of the terrible ecological consequences of a nuclear war by thinking of the radioactive contamination that has made large areas near to Chernobyl and Fukushima uninhabitable, or the testing of hydrogen bombs in the Pacific, which continues to cause cancer, leukemia and birth defects in the Marshall Islands more than half a century later.

The United States tested a hydrogen bomb at Bikini in 1954. Fallout from the bomb contaminated the island of Rongelap, one of the Marshall Islands 120 kilometers from Bikini. The islanders experienced radiation illness, and many died from cancer. Even today, half a century later, both people and animals on Rongelap and other nearby islands suffer from birth defects. The most common defects have been ‘jelly fish babies’, born with no bones and with transparent skin. Their brains and beating hearts can be seen. The babies usually live a day or two before they stop breathing.

A girl from Rongelap describes the situation in the following words: ‘I cannot have children. I have had miscarriages on seven occasions... Our culture and religion teach us that reproductive abnormalities are a sign that women have been unfaithful. For this reason, many of my friends keep quiet about the strange births that they have had. In privacy they give birth, not to children as we like to think of them, but to things we could only describe as octopuses, apples, turtles and other things in our experience. We do not have Marshallese words for these kinds of babies, because they were never born before the radiation came.’

The Republic of the Marshall Islands is suing the nine countries with nuclear weapons at the International Court of Justice at The Hague, arguing they have violated their legal obligation to disarm. The Guardian reports that ‘In the unprecedented legal action, comprising nine separate cases brought before the ICJ on Thursday, the Republic of the Marshall Islands accuses the nuclear weapons states of a ‘flagrant denial of human justice.

It argues it is justified in taking the action because of the harm it suffered as a result of the nuclear arms race.

The Pacific chain of islands, including Bikini Atoll and Enewetak, was the site of 67 nuclear tests from 1946 to 1958, including the Bravo shot, a 15-megaton device equivalent to a thousand Hiroshima blasts, detonated in 1954. The Marshallese islanders say they have been suffering serious health and environmental effects ever since.

The island republic is suing the five 'established nuclear weapons states recognized in the 1968 nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT), the US, Russia (which inherited the Soviet arsenal), China, France and the UK, as well as the three countries outside the NPT who have declared nuclear arsenals: India, Pakistan and North Korea, and the one undeclared nuclear weapons state, Israel. The Republic of the Marshall Islands is not seeking monetary compensation, but instead it seeks to make the nuclear weapon states comply with their legal obligations under Article VI of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and the 1996 ruling of the International Court of Justice.

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (NAPF) is a consultant to the Marshall Islands on the legal and moral issues involved in bringing this case. David Krieger, President of NAPF, upon hearing of the motion to dismiss the case by the U.S. responded, ' 'The U.S. government is sending a terrible message to the world, that is, that U.S. courts are an improper venue for resolving disputes with other countries on U.S. treaty obligations. The U.S. is, in effect, saying that whatever breaches it commits are all right if it says so. That is bad for the law, bad for relations among nations, bad for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, and not only bad, but extremely dangerous for U.S. citizens and all humanity.'

The RMI has appealed the U.S. attempt to reject its suit in the U.S. Federal Court, and it will continue to sue the nine nuclear nations in the International Court of Justice. Whether or not the suits succeed in making the nuclear nations comply with international law, attention will be called to the fact the nine countries are outlaws. In vote after vote in the United Nations General Assembly, the peoples of the world have shown how deeply they long to be free from the menace of nuclear weapons. Ultimately, the tiny group of power-hungry politicians must yield to the will of the citizens whom they are at present holding as hostages.

It is a life-or-death question. We can see this most clearly when we look far ahead. Suppose that each year there is a certain finite chance of a nuclear catastrophe, let us say 2 percent. Then in a century the chance of survival will be 13.5 percent, and in two centuries, 1.8 percent, in three centuries, 0.25 percent, in 4 centuries, there would only be a 0.034 percent chance of survival and so on. Over many centuries, the chance of survival would shrink almost to zero. Thus by looking at the long-term future, we can clearly see that if nuclear weapons are not entirely eliminated, civilization will not survive.

Civil society must make its will felt. A thermonuclear war today would be not only genocidal but also omnicidal. It would kill people of all ages, babies, children, young people, mothers, fathers and grandparents, without any regard whatever for guilt or innocence. Such a war would be the ultimate ecological catastrophe, destroying not only human civilization but also much of the biosphere. Each of us has a duty to work with

dedication to prevent it.

One important possibility for progress on the seemingly intractable issue of nuclear disarmament would be for a nation or group of nations to put forward a proposal for a Nuclear Weapons Convention for direct vote on the floor of the UN General Assembly. It would almost certainly be adopted by a massive majority. I believe that such a step would be a great achievement, even if bitterly opposed by some of the nuclear weapons states. When the will of the majority of the world's peoples is clearly expressed in an international treaty, even if the treaty functions imperfectly, the question of legality is clear. Everyone can see which states are violating international law. In time, world public opinion will force the criminal states to conform with international law.

In the case of a Nuclear Weapons Convention, world public opinion would have especially great force. It is generally agreed that a full-scale nuclear war would have disastrous effects, not only on belligerent nations but also on neutral countries. Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, former Secretary-General of the United Nations, emphasized this point in one of his speeches: "I feel", he said, "that the question may justifiably be put to the leading nuclear powers: by what right do they decide the fate of humanity? From Scandinavia to Latin America, from Europe and Africa to the Far East, the destiny of every man and woman is affected by their actions. No one can expect to escape from the catastrophic consequences of a nuclear war on the fragile structure of this planet. ..."

"No ideological confrontation can be allowed to jeopardize the future of humanity. Nothing less is at stake: today's decisions affect not only the present; they also put at risk succeeding generations. Like supreme arbiters, with our disputes of the moment, we threaten to cut off the future and to extinguish the lives of innocent millions yet unborn. There can be no greater arrogance. At the same time, the lives of all those who lived before us may be rendered meaningless; for we have the power to dissolve in a conflict of hours or minutes the entire work of civilization, with all the brilliant cultural heritage of humankind.

"...In a nuclear age, decisions affecting war and peace cannot be left to military strategists or even to governments. They are indeed the responsibility of every man and woman. And it is therefore the responsibility of all of us... to break the cycle of mistrust and insecurity and to respond to humanity's yearning for peace."

The eloquent words of Javier Pérez de Cuéllar express the situation in which we now find ourselves: Accidental nuclear war, nuclear terrorism, insanity of a person in a position of power, or unintended escalation of a conflict, could at any moment plunge our beautiful world into a catastrophic thermonuclear war which might destroy not only human civilization but also much of the biosphere.

A model Nuclear Weapons Convention already exists. It was drafted in 1996 and updated in 2007 by three NGOs: International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms, International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Nuclear Proliferation and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. The Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) can be downloaded in many languages from the website of Unfold Zero. It could be put to a direct vote at the present session of the UN General Assembly. The mechanism for doing this could exactly parallel the method by which the Arms Trade

Treaty was adopted in 2013. The UN Ambassador of Costa Rica could send a copy of the NWC to Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, asking him, on behalf of Costa Rica, Mexico and Austria to put it to a swift vote in the General Assembly.

There is strong evidence that the NWC would be passed by a large majority. For example, Humanitarian Initiative Joint Statement of 2015 was endorsed by 159 governments. Furthermore, the consensus document of the NPT Review Conference of 2010, endorsed by 188 state parties, contains the following sentence: ‘ ‘The Conference expresses its deep concern at the humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons and reaffirms the need for all States at all times to comply with applicable international law, including international humanitarian law”.

We can expect that the adoption of a Nuclear Weapons Convention will be opposed by the states that currently possess these weapons. One reason for this is the immense profits that suppliers make by ‘ ‘modernizing” nuclear arsenals. For example, the Arms Control Association states ‘ ‘The U.S. military is in the process of modernizing all of its existing strategic delivery systems and refurbishing the warheads they carry to last for the next 30-50 years.” It adds ‘ ‘Three independent estimates put the expected total cost over the next 30 years at as much as \$1 trillion.” We should notice that these plans for long-term retention of nuclear weapons are blatant violations of Article VI of the NPT.

Money is often the motive for crimes, and in this case, a vast river of money is driving us in the direction of a catastrophic nuclear war. If we wait for the approval of the nuclear weapon states, we will have to wait forever, and the general public, whose active help we need in abolishing nuclear weapons, will feel more and more helpless and powerless. To prevent this, we need concrete progress rather than endless delay.

There are strong precedents for the adoption of the NWC against the opposition of powerful states. The Arms Trade Treaty is one precedent, the International Criminal Court is another and the Ottawa Treaty is a third.

The adoption of an Arms Trade Treaty is a great step forward; the adoption of the ICC, although its operation is imperfect, is also a great step forward, and likewise, the Antipersonnel Land-Mine Convention is a great step forward. In my opinion, the adoption of a Nuclear Weapons Convention, even in the face of powerful opposition, would also be a great step forward. When the will of the majority of the worlds peoples is clearly expressed in an international treaty, even if the treaty functions imperfectly, the question of legality is clear. Everyone can see which states are violating international law. In time, world public opinion will force the criminal states to conform to the law.



Figure 8.13: Fireball of the Tsar Bomba (RDS-220), the largest weapon ever detonated (1961). Fission-fusion-fission bombs of almost unlimited power can be constructed by adding a layer of inexpensive ordinary uranium outside a core containing a fission-fusion bomb. Such a bomb would completely destroy a city even if it missed the target by 50 kilometers. (Fair use: “Tsar Bomba”, Wikimedia)

In the world as it is, the nuclear weapons now stockpiled are sufficient to kill everyone on earth several times over. Nuclear technology is spreading, and many politically unstable countries have recently acquired nuclear weapons or may acquire them soon. Even terrorist groups or organized criminals may acquire such weapons, and there is an increasing danger that they will be used.

In the world as it could be, both the manufacture and the possession of nuclear weapons would be prohibited. The same would hold for other weapons of mass destruction.



Figure 8.14: Walks from Aldermaston to London. Aldermaston is British atomic research center.



Figure 8.15: Nearly 70,000 persons pack in Trafalgar Square, London on April 18, 1960, in demonstration that climaxed four-day “Ban the Bomb” march from Aldermaston to the British capital.



Figure 8.16: Earl Russell speaking from the plinth of Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square at a protest meeting organized by The Committee of 100, the anti-bomb organization. Date: 29/10/1961



Figure 8.17: Guitar strumming youths and banner bearers march into London on April 18, 1960 in the 20,000 strong procession of anti a bomb demonstrators protesting against the manufacture of nuclear weapons? The procession is heading for Trafalgar Square London, where huge anti bomb rally is scheduled.



Figure 8.18: East joins West in anti-nuclear protests.



Figure 8.19: One million people gather in New York City's Central Park in support of the nuclear freeze movement. It is the largest anti-war demonstration in history.

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Chapter 9

PARIS IN 1968

9.1 A social revolution

Here is Wikipedia's account of the protests in France that took place in May, 1968:

“Beginning in May 1968, a period of civil unrest occurred throughout France, lasting some seven weeks and punctuated by demonstrations, general strikes, and the occupation of universities and factories. At the height of events, which have since become known as May 68, the economy of France came to a halt. The protests reached such a point that political leaders feared civil war or revolution; the national government briefly ceased to function after President Charles de Gaulle secretly fled France to Germany at one point. The protests spurred movements worldwide, with songs, imaginative graffiti, posters, and slogans.

“The unrest began with a series of student occupation protests against capitalism, consumerism, American imperialism and traditional institutions. Heavy police repression of the protesters led France's trade union confederations to call for sympathy strikes, which spread far more quickly than expected to involve 11 million workers, more than 22% of the total population of France at the time. The movement was characterized by spontaneous and decentralized wildcat disposition; this created a contrast and at times even conflict internally amongst the trade unions and the parties of the left. It was the largest general strike ever attempted in France, and the first nationwide wildcat general strike.

“The student occupations and general strikes initiated across France were met with forceful confrontation by university administrators and police. The de Gaulle administration's attempts to quell those strikes by police action only inflamed the situation further, leading to street battles with the police in the Latin Quarter, Paris.

“However, by late May, the flow of events changed. The Grenelle accords

concluded on 27 May, between the government, trade unions and employers, won significant wage gains for workers. A counter-demonstration organised by the Gaullist party on 29 May in central Paris gave De Gaulle the confidence to dissolve the National Assembly and call for parliamentary elections for 23 June 1968. Violence evaporated almost as quickly as it arose. Workers went back to their jobs, and when the elections were held in June, the Gaullists emerged stronger than before.

“The events of May 1968 continue to influence French society. The period is considered a cultural, social and moral turning point in the history of the country. Alain Geismar - one of the leaders of the time - later stated that the movement had succeeded ‘as a social revolution, not as a political one.’ ”

9.2 Photos from the New York Times article

Below are some photographs of the protests, taken from an article entitled *May 1968: A Month of Revolution That Pushed France Into The Modern World*, by Alissa J. Rubin, May 5, 2018.



Figure 9.1: The aftermath of a night of rioting



Figure 9.2: A student hurling rocks at the police in Paris during the May 1968 student uprising. The protests transformed France.



Figure 9.3: Jacques Sauvageot, center right, one of the protest leaders, and other students marching in Paris. Universities across the country shut down during the protests.



Figure 9.4: Students passing cobble stones to build barricades in Paris on May 10.



Figure 9.5: Students in the Latin Quarter being led to a police station on May 11. Hundreds of students were arrested during the protests that night, and hundreds more hospitalized, as were a number of police officers.



Figure 9.6: The French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, right, addressing students at the Sorbonne on May 20, 1968.



Figure 9.7: A May Day demonstration in Paris against the bombings in North Vietnam by United States forces.

Suggestions for further reading

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Chapter 10

REMEMBERING LONDON IN THE 1960S

10.1 Imperial College

After receiving an M.Sc. in theoretical physics at the University of Chicago, I studied theoretical chemistry at Imperial College of Science and Technology, a part of the University of London, where I completed a Ph.D. in 1965. I must say that London was a splendid place to live in the 1960's and early 1970's. This was the era of "swinging London", the era of the Beatles, Twiggy and Mary Quant. If you went to King's Road in Chelsea on a Saturday you could see young people dressed in absolutely mad costumes which they had purchased at stores like *I Was Lord Kitchener's Valet*. It was also the era of Aldermaston Marches, which I joined, and I was a member of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science.

Imperial College of Science and Technology (IC) was a part of the University of London when I worked there. It is now an independent university, with many more departments. IC began its existence as the Royal College of Science, shortly after the Great Exhibition of 1850. Many beautiful buildings had been left after the Exhibition, and Prince Albert suggested that they be used to house a new Royal College of Science.

Later the name was changed and the range of subjects taught was much enlarged. After Prince Albert's death, the Albert Memorial and the Royal Albert Hall were built, both only a few hundred yards away from IC. In fact, that whole section of London (including the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Natural History, Geology and Science Museums, IC, the Royal Albert Hall and the Albert Memorial) has been nicknamed "Albertsville".

I had been working with the great biochemist Albert Szent-Györgyi at the Marine Biological Laboratory in Woods Hole Massachusetts, although I had not completed my Ph.D.. The work with Szent-Györgyi had to do with applying quantum theory to biological problems, in particular to the primary process in photosynthesis. I knew that Ronald Mason was also applying quantum theory to biological problems, and so I contacted Ron. He brought me to IC and arranged for me to do a Ph.D. degree in theoretical chemistry,

which I completed in 1965. After that, I became a lecturer at IC.

10.2 Early computers

Ronald Mason had been interested in using Hückel calculations on polycyclic aromatic compounds to distinguish those that were carcinogenic from those that were not. He was successful in making this distinction from the calculations, but was in the middle of an argument with the pioneering French quantum biochemists Alberte and Bernard Pullman over who had done it first.

When I arrived at IC in 1962, Ronald Mason's crystallographic group was using the Mercury computer at University College to do the calculations needed to arrive at structures. This gave me the chance to use Mercury to do quantum chemical calculations. I used to go over to University College with the crystallographers at night, because time on the computer was so expensive that we could only afford to use it at night. I would make a bed for myself out of three chairs in a row and would try to sleep. At 3 AM or 4 AM they would wake me up and would say "Now it's your turn".

Mercury was as big as a house, but could do far less than a modern laptop. It had 50,000 or so vacuum tubes which required cooling. The cooling system sometimes broke down, and one or another of the vacuum tubes sometimes failed, so one had to be grateful for the periods when Mercury was working. Our programs were written on punched tape in a language called CHLF3. (The letters stood for Cambridge, London, Harwell and Farnborough, the four places that had Mercury's). After we had read the paper tape into the computer, the program was converted into a magnetic form on a rapidly rotating drum, and then checked against the original input. If it did not check, we had a so-called "drum parity", which meant that we had to stop the computer and restart it by hand, using a bewildering array of manual controls.

After finishing the work on Mercury at 6 AM or so, I would walk home, passing through the almost-deserted streets of Soho, and seeing pale-faced teenagers who had been up all night, high on amphetamines. They were sitting on the pavement near an underground station, waiting for it to open.

After we had used Mercury for two years or so, IBM gave Imperial College one of their early computers. Using this was much better. Programs for the IBM machine were written on punched cards. We just went over to the machine with our punched cards and stood in line to have them read into the computer. Then a few minutes later we were handed a printout of the output.

The IBM was much better than the machines that were available in eastern Europe, and for this reason I was contacted by Janos Ladik and his group at the Hungarian Academy of Science, who proposed a collaboration. We worked together for several years, calculating the electronic structure of a number of polypeptides and polynucleotides.

A little later, I was asked to give a course at our department on quantum theory for chemists. I made notes for the course, which developed the needed mathematical tools as the subject developed, and which included many biographical details about the great

scientists who had contributed to the theory. The students liked the notes very much, and after a while, someone from McGraw Hill came to me and said: “I hear that you have a very popular set of notes on quantum theory. Would you like to develop them into a book for us?” If he had not said this, I would never have thought of writing a book, but given the opportunity, I developed the notes into “The Quantum Theory of Atoms, Molecules and Photons”, which was published by McGraw Hill in 1972. It was later translated into Spanish, and it made me many friends in the Spanish-speaking world. There is even a pirated Chinese edition.

Because of my work with Szent-Györgyi, I was also approached by the London manager of Plenum Press, and invited to start a new journal, which later became “The Journal of Bioenergetics and Biomembranes”. Besides founding the journal, I served as its Managing Editor between 1969 and 1980. I am proud to say that the journal helped to spread the ideas of Peter Mitchell who later won a Nobel Prize for his chemiosmotic hypothesis and the work of J.C. Skou who won a Nobel Prize for his research on the mechanism of active transport.

Another memory from that time was going to a nearby pub with everyone from the lab. at 6 PM, when most of us stopped work. It was a nice tradition, and there was something about the pub’s combination of roast beef, pickled onions, potato salad and bitter that was especially good.

I remember how beautiful our old Victorian chemistry building was, and I was sad when it was torn down. I also remember, when I first arrived at IC in 1962, standing in the long upstairs corridor of the building and seeing people disappear into the indoor fog as they walked down the corridor.

10.3 Sir Geoffrey Wilkinson and Lady Lise

I have many memories about Prof. Wilkinson and his family, because, as I mentioned, I continued to see them very regularly even after I moved to Denmark. Lady Wilkinson came from a much-respected Danish academic family. Her father was the Rector of the Pharmaceutical College of the University of Copenhagen, and her brother later held the same position. Lady Wilkinson first studied pharmacology. After she had finished that education, she took a degree in biochemistry at the University of California in Berkeley under the famous biochemist Melvin Calvin.

It was at Berkeley’s International House that she met Prof. Wilkinson. They remained unusually devoted to each other as long as they both lived, sharing all their interests, ideas and activities. When Prof. Wilkinson died in 1996, Lady Wilkinson was completely heartbroken, and she remained inconsolable for several years afterwards.

In London, Lady Wilkinson had a dream job, writing books on the history of medicine for the Wellcome Trust. She wrote a number of books while holding this position, for example histories of virology, and histories of the relationship between human diseases and animal diseases. Her daughter, Prof. Anne Wilkinson, later followed in her footsteps, doing research on the history of medicine and public health for the Wellcome Trust.



Figure 10.1: **Professor Sir Geoffrey Wilkinson (1921-1996).** He revolutionized inorganic chemistry and synthesized innumerable industrially valuable catalysts, achievements for which he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1973. He and Lady Wilkinson were always extremely kind to me.

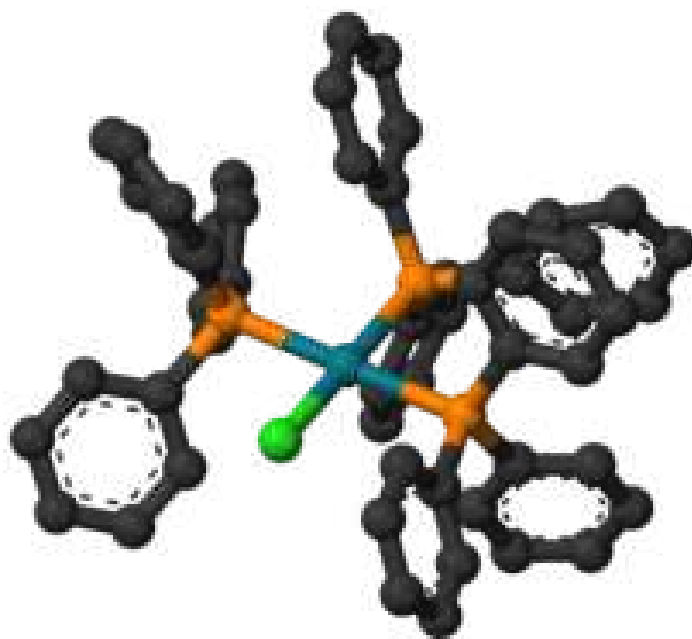


Figure 10.2: **Wilkinson's catalyst, $\text{RhCl}(\text{PPh}_3)_3$.**

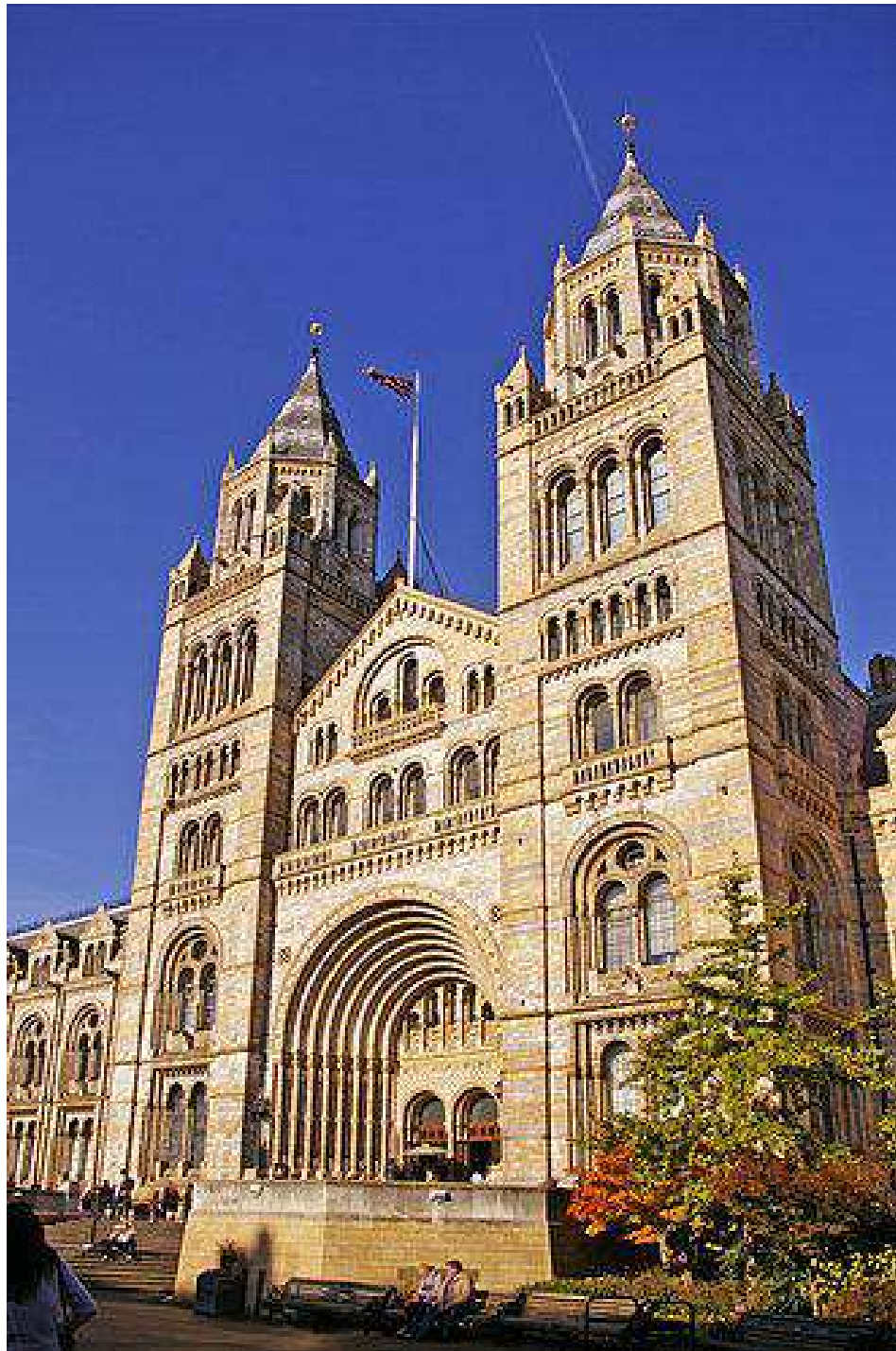


Figure 10.3: This photo shows the entrance to the Natural History Museum, which was very close to Imperial College. I often ate my lunch at the museum cafeteria.



Figure 10.4: The Victoria and Albert Museum, shown here, was also very near to IC, and for lunch, I alternated between the cafeterias at the two museums.



Figure 10.5: This beautiful old Victorian building was the Chemistry Department of Imperial College when I started to work there. Sadly it was later torn down and replaced by a modern building.



Figure 10.6: The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) organized marches from London to Aldermaston every Easter to protest against nuclear weapons.



Figure 10.7: Twiggy, 12 August, 1966



Figure 10.8: Popular fashion model Twiggy was known for her big eyes, and for being very very thin: “Forget Biafra, feed Twiggy!”



Figure 10.9: There was a store called “I Was Lord Kitchener’s Valet”.



Figure 10.10: A few of the things you could buy there to wear on King’s Road on Saturdays.



Figure 10.11: The Beatles. Working-class boys from Liverpool broke through to the top of the heap.



Figure 10.12: "Cool Britannia!"



Figure 10.13: Poster for a Mary Quant fashion exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Her designs were simple, strong, imaginative and playful. Mary Quant invented the miniskirt, or at least promoted it.



Figure 10.14: In the early 1960's, people talked about “angry young men”, a concept that was crystallized by the film “Look Back in Anger”. What the young men were angry about was the fact that talent and intelligence made no difference. The class system made sure that good jobs and upper class women were reserved for those who had gone to the right schools.

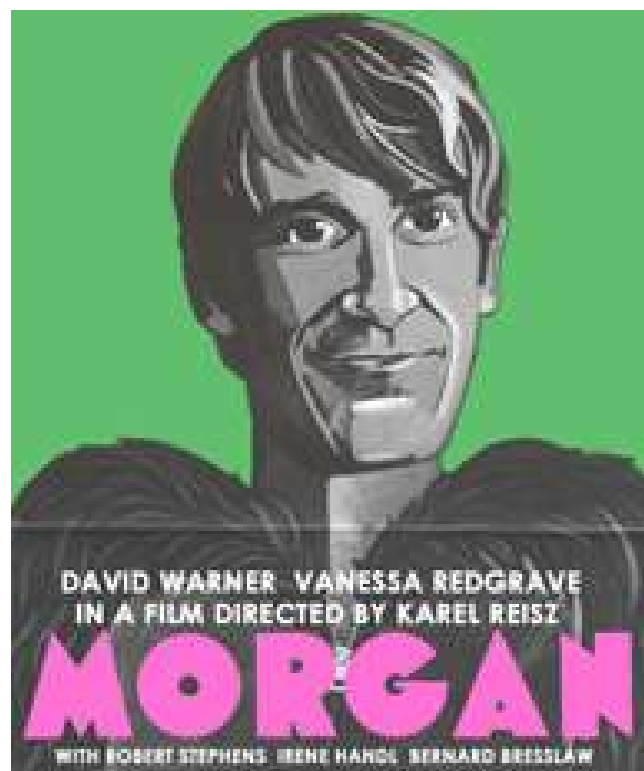


Figure 10.15: By 1966, the situation had changed, class barriers had been broken, and the same theme was treated as a comedy in the film “Morgan”.



Figure 10.16: Left: David Hemmings poised provocatively over model Veruschka in ‘Blow-Up’ (1966). Right: Christine Keeler in a famous portrait by Lewis Morley. Model and showgirl Christine Keeler became a notorious icon of the new, promiscuous youth culture when the details of her multiple affairs with political figures emerged in the “Profumo Affair.” Finding herself a daily tabloid figure, Keeler intended to make a film called “The Keeler Affair” (it never happened) and posed for publicity photos in 1963 that became emblematic of a perceived sexual permissiveness among young Londoners. In the Profumo Affair, Harold Macmillan’s Secretary of State for War, John Profumo, was forced to resign because of his sexual relationship with 16-year-old Keeler, who was also intimate with the Soviet Naval Attaché, Captain Yevgeny Ivanov. Some of what happened took place on the estate of Lord Astor, near to Windsor Castle on the upper Thames. The scandal led to the resignation of Macmillan’s Conservative government, and it gave newspapers much to write about.



Figure 10.17: Earls Court, London, where I lived for some time with my Swedish family. Near to the underground station there was a bulletin board where you could see notices such as “Room-mate wanted, boy or girl, both are OK”, or “Come with us overland to Australia. Expenses shared.” In those days it was possible to travel by car almost all the way to Australia. The practice was to buy a car in England, and to drive through Yugoslavia, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, and down into India. The automobile was then sold for a profit in India, and one took a boat the rest of the way to Australia. In the 1960’s, much of London’s special character was due to the fact that young people from many places were living in “bed sitters” in places like Earls Court. They were free from any social restraints because of the anonymity of the huge city. Hence “Swinging London”.

10.4 Swinging London

According to Wikipedia:

“Swinging London is a catch-all term applied to the fashion and cultural scene which flourished in London, in the 1960s. It was a phenomenon which emphasized the young, the new and the modern. It was a period of optimism and hedonism, and a cultural revolution. One catalyst was the recovery of the British economy after post-World War II hard times had lasted through much of the 1950s...

“ ‘Swinging London’ was defined by Time magazine in its issue of 15 April 1966, and celebrated in the name of the pirate radio station, Swinging Radio England, that began shortly afterward. However, ‘swinging’ in the sense of hip or fashionable, had been used since the early 1960s. In 1965, Diana Vreeland, editor of Vogue magazine, said ‘London is the most swinging city in the world at the moment’.

“Although The Beatles came from Liverpool, The Rolling Stones, and the rest of the new culture was London-based. Most of the new fashion designers, models and photographers were young, and packed into a small area in Soho around Carnaby Street, W1., and another area round the King’s Road, Chelsea.

“During the time of Swinging London, fashion and photography were featured in Queen magazine, which drew attention to fashion designer Mary Quant.

“The model Jean Shrimpton was another icon and one of the world’s first supermodels. She was the world’s highest paid and most photographed model of the time. Shrimpton was called ‘The face of the ’60s’, in which she has been considered by many as ‘the symbol of Swinging London’, and the ‘embodiment of the 1960s’.[Other popular models of the era included Veruschka, and Twiggy. Twiggy was called ‘the Queen of Mod’, a label she shared with others, such as Cathy McGowan, who hosted the television rock show, Ready Steady Go! from 1964 to 1966.

“Mod-related fashions such as the miniskirt stimulated fashionable shopping areas such as Carnaby Street and the Kings Road, Chelsea. The fashion was a symbol of youth culture.

10.5 What can the 1960’s teach us today?

Enthusiasm and dedication in protests

The great protest movements of the 1960’s can inspire us today. We can remember Bob Dylan, Pete Seeger and Joan Baez. We can remember the protests against the Vietnam War. We can remember Woodstock and the musical Hair. We can remember the women of

Greenham Common in England, who were ultimately victorious in their protests against the Greenham nuclear weapons base.

Renunciation of wars

We can learn much by remembering in detail the horrors of the Vietnam War. If we had learned our lessons properly, we might have been spared the destruction and the terrible loss of life that has characterized recent wars in the Middle East and Afghanistan, not to mention trillions of dollars wasted. The Vietnam War was based on governmental lies, and a close examination of recent wars shows that they too were also based on lies.

Awareness of nuclear dangers

In the 1960's, everyone was acutely aware of the danger of an all-destroying thermonuclear war. The massive anti-nuclear protests of the 1960's are proof of this awareness. Then, when the Cold War supposedly ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall, everyone heaved a sigh of relief and concluded that the danger had gone away. But it has not gone away. Despite the recent Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, the arsenals and missiles are still there. They have spread to more nations. There is a black market in fissionable materials, and it is possible that subnational criminal or terrorist organizations may acquire nuclear weapons. There is a danger that nuclear weapons states with unstable governments may undergo revolutions which will put nuclear weapons into terrorist hands. All in all, the danger of a cataclysmic nuclear war is perhaps even greater today than it was in the 1960's. We need to make the younger generation more aware of these dangers. We need to revive the anti-nuclear protest movements of the 1960's.

Awareness of the history of racism

Recently the murder of George Floyd by police officers, as well as the similar police murders of many other people of color sparked world-wide protests. In the United States, Donald Trump was elected on an overtly racist platform, and he continues to be a racist in both word and deed. Thus the issue of racism is very much in our minds today. Against this backdrop, it is useful to remember the passion and dedication of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's. The protests of that era, as well as the non-violent methods used, can inspire us today.

Optimism

The 1960's can inspire us today because as well as being a period of change, the decade was characterized by hope and optimism. We need hope. We need optimism. Without hope, all is lost. As 15-year-old Greta Thunberg said in her Stockholm Tedx talk, "And yes, we do need hope, of course we do. But the one thing we need more than hope is action. Once



we start to act, hope is everywhere. So instead of looking for hope, look for action. Then, and only then, hope will come.”

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