

# Thinking the Unthinkable

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[Herman Kahn](#) coined the phrase, "thinking about the unthinkable" in his 1960 book, [On Thermonuclear War](#)<sup>1</sup>. In my minimal contact with him at [RAND Corporation](#) he manifested no difficulty in thinking about nuclear annihilation, including his proposed Doomsday Machine<sup>1</sup> that could be detonated in Kansas and achieve the same result as the policy of [Mutual Assured Destruction](#) {"MAD"}, and it would save all those unnecessary transportation costs! No, this was not unthinkable, not by Kahn, not by the nuclear establishment. What was, and remains, "unthinkable" is nuclear disarmament [except by the likes of Ted Turner who carries an excerpt from the [Non Proliferation Treaty \[NPT\]](#) text requiring "good faith" negotiations for nuclear disarmament, and managed to read it on CSPAN, and by others, like the [Nuclear Age Peace Foundation](#), whom the corporate media generally ignore<sup>2</sup>].

Some four decades ago [Morton Halperin](#) wrote an article in the [Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists](#)<sup>ii</sup> about the Chinese position on nuclear proliferation quoting [Chen Yi](#)<sup>iii</sup>, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, "*Any country with a fair basis in industry and agriculture and in science and technology will be able to manufacture atomic (sic) bombs themselves,.... and it would be better for a greater number of countries to come into possession of atom (sic) bombs.*"<sup>iv</sup> In the Chinese analysis, the US government would not accept nuclear disarmament until a great deal of proliferation eroding their nuclear monopoly *cum* oligopoly had occurred. Has that time now come? Has the adversity of nuclear proliferation [["The nth Country Problem"](#)] finally opened opportunities for nuclear disarmament? --opportunity to shed the [illegal nukes](#)<sup>v</sup> that could potentially destroy us, or anyone, within any given 20 minutes?--opportunity to shed the "nuclear **in**security blanket" and achieve the relative security of universal nuclear disarmament essentially agreed in the NPT<sup>3</sup>/--opportunity to eliminate perhaps even a more severe threat that evolves from non-state actors that might gain access to some of the massive amounts of fissile material that has been produced in the intervening "lost opportunity" years, that is inadequately monitored and secured. Deterrence loses its effectiveness if there is no identifiable geographic target [["non-state nuclear terrorism"](#)]. The origins of a vaporized cargo container or yacht can not be traced like a missile or bomber

After WWII nuclear euphoria prevailed. It was proclaimed that humanity had progressed through Stone Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age, and was now entering the "Nuclear Age" in which power would be "too cheap to meter". The nucleus was viewed as the fount of both military and economic power. Nuclear proliferation spread as rapidly as science,

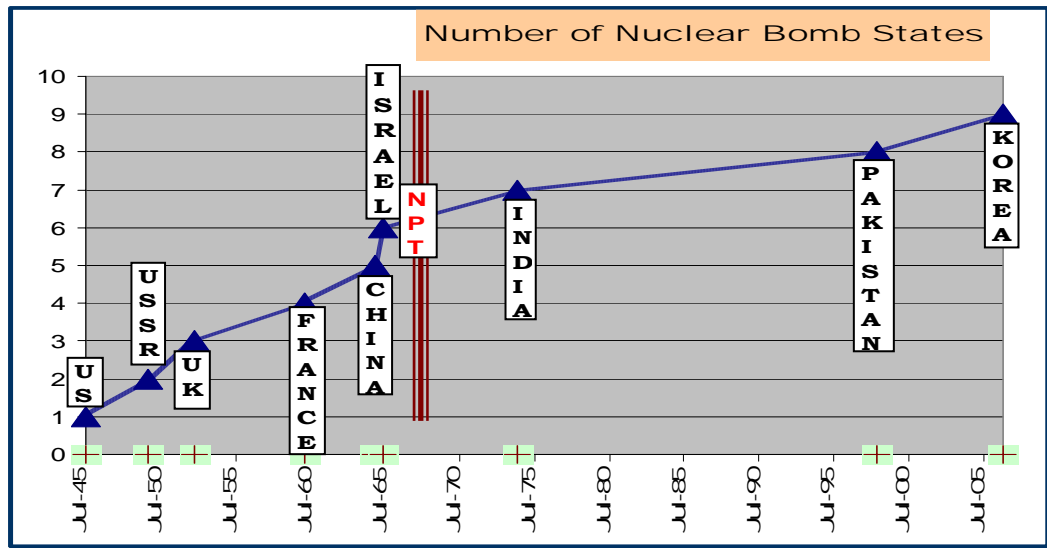
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<sup>1</sup> A computer programmed to automatically detonate a stockpile of fusion bombs when it was either given an order, or if it sensed an attack by the USSR Stanley Kubrick's 1964 film, *Dr. Strangelove or: How I learned to stop worrying and love the bomb*, featured it in its finale to the music of Vera Lynn's famous WWII song, "We'll Meet Again, Don't Know Where Don't Know When". [Ref. [On Thermonuclear War](#), pp. 232-252.]

<sup>2</sup> When I was assigned to work on a proposal to assess the number of "Megadeaths" [treated as a technical term, like "kilovolts"] that a nuclear bomb would cause I reached the end on my tolerance for the "unthinkable" and broke with the military industry to return to academia, where, nonetheless, the military still lurks.

<sup>3</sup> "Good faith" negotiations to achieve universal nuclear disarmament. The NPT also obligates nuclear states "to facilitate... the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy" to non-nuclear NPT signatories.

technology, economics, and diplomacy permitted<sup>4</sup>. By 1964 all of the major victorious WWII allies that constitute the non-elected ["Permanent"] members of the UN Security Council had nuclear bombs. From 1945 until 1998 only the unelected members of the Security Council were admitted nuclear powers<sup>5</sup>. [With the aid of France<sup>vi</sup>, [Israel developed nukes c. 1965](#)<sup>vii</sup>.] To establish a diplomatic obstacle to further proliferation, the Orwellian 1968 [Nuclear Proliferation Treaty](#) (NPT) was ratified in which the nuclear privileges of "first class sovereigns" were codified. Nuclear proliferation then slowed somewhat with [India exploding a "civilian" nuclear bomb](#) in 1975 [using the same rationale as was offered for the US government's Operation Ploughshares].



The NPT Nuclear Club					Additional Nuclear Countries				
1-Jul-45	29-Aug-49	3-Oct-52	1-Feb-60	15-Oct-64	19-May-65	July 1968 NPT	18-May-74	28-May-98	9-Oct-06
US	USSR	UK	France	China	Israel		India	Pakistan	Korea
<b>Major WWII Victors</b>									
<b>Unelected ["Permanent"] Members of the UN Security Council</b>									

#### Bombs and Deterrence

Napoleon: *"Bayonets are wonderful! One can do anything with them, except sit on them!"*

Dittmann: *"Nukes are wonderful! One can do anything with them, except use<sup>6</sup> them!"*

Apartheid South Africa developed nukes with Israel, but has now abandoned them along with Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus<sup>7</sup>. Fourteen

<sup>4</sup> The "enemy states", as described in the UN Charter, including Japan and Germany, have never declared any intention to acquire nuclear bombs.

<sup>5</sup> Israel still does not admit possessing nuclear bombs. India proclaimed its 1974 detonation "civilian".

<sup>6</sup> In order to rob a bank it may only be necessary for the clerk to suspect that the robber has one. Brandishing the gun is the next escalation, then a shot into the ceiling [which has been proposed with nukes]. Another historical technique, "mutual assured destruction", was for the robber to open his coat showing sticks of dynamite and threaten, "Give me the money or I'll blow us to kingdom come!" If he fussed up his hair, looked wild-eyed, and behaved eccentrically, his chances of success were increased. The "Cuban missile crisis" was an example of this type of behavior.

<sup>7</sup> Belarus acceded to the NPT on **22 Jul 93**; Kazakhstan on **14 Feb 94**; Ukraine on **5 Dec 94**.

others have abandoned nuclear ambitions, presumably due to recognition of their limited military utility.<sup>viii</sup> Over 95% of UN members don't possess the nukes that the US government argues are necessary for security, presumably because they have little choice but to tolerate the insecurity and intimidation, but also because of diplomatic pressure and the recognition of their limited, perhaps counterproductive military utility. The political deterrence that would render a nuclear attack against them counterproductive due to global revulsion is little recognized. Nonetheless, the US government's continues implicit threats<sup>8</sup> to nuke non-nuclear states ["first use<sup>9</sup>"]. Threats against non-nuclear states, refusals to sign non-aggression pacts, withholding diplomatic recognition, and even economic boycotts are obvious motivations for further nuclear proliferation.

The illegality of nukes<sup>ix</sup> doesn't guarantee that criminals won't use them, if available. Nor do ["no first use" pledges](#).

For many reasons, proliferation was slower than was predicted on the basis of scientific, technological, and economic capability. Political pressure and recognition of their limited military utility<sup>10</sup> in the face of both nuclear and political deterrence has actually resulted in several countries abandoning nukes and nuclear bomb programs. Currently there are nine nuclear bomb countries, with as many as 30 others identified as pending or potential. Rep. Royce (R, CA), didn't mention Israel, but proclaimed, "*If **Iran** were to go nuclear, many other countries in this combustible region, including Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Turkey, to name a few, might follow<sup>x</sup>*", a commonly shared sentiment. Much spent nuclear fuel from research reactors has now decayed to radiation levels low enough to tempt even non-state actors to seek to extract the fissile [bomb] material<sup>xi</sup>.

Recently, this opportunity [and necessity] in the midst of adversity has been recognized by the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission [["Blix Commission"](#)] which has released sixty concrete proposals to achieve universal disarmament of weapons of mass destruction<sup>xii</sup>.

Nukes must be eliminated, with controls, starting at the uranium mines!, to forever prevent their development. We have a chance to recapture lost opportunities to remove this threat to our security<sup>11</sup>. That is the short term goal to eliminate this threat to national security. However, disarmament will remain a chimera as long as governments are under the impression that they can gain advantages for the vested interests they represent by funding military forces. In the Wild West gangs fought for advantage. Civilization requires law and order. In the long run, only global law and order can provide national security—"National security through international security", or, as the American Bar Association put it long ago, ["World Peace through World Law"](#)<sup>xiii</sup>.

### **The Orwellian Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT]**

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<sup>8</sup> George W Bush recently said, *'This notion that the United States is getting ready to attack Iran is simply ridiculous.'* (pause) *'And having said that, all options are on the table.'* [weapons.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\_east/4919804.stm]

<sup>9</sup> "First use" is a nuclear attack against a country that lacks a nuclear deterrent. The first, second, and to date, only examples of "first use" were Hiroshima and Nagasaki. "First strike" is a nuclear attack designed to reduce a retaliatory nuclear attack to "tolerable proportions".

<sup>10</sup> [The notorious MAD policy of Mutual Assured Destruction was challenged by the Nuclear Use Theorists ("NUTs") ("First Strike" and "First Use"), who hoped to restore the military utility of nukes].

<sup>11</sup> The theory that nukes help deter major conflicts may have some merit, however, the best security is enforceable international legitimate law and order with justice.

*All sovereign nations are equal, [UN Charter]<sup>12</sup>  
But some are more equal than others [NPT Treaty]*

To discourage further proliferation, the NPT<sup>xiv</sup> was signed in 1968, formalizing Eisenhower's 1953 "Atoms for Peace"<sup>xv</sup> program that abetted the transfer of nuclear technology for power generation, which Israel, India, and Pakistan [all non-signers] diverted to the proliferation of the very bombs that the program was designed to prevent. NPT nuclear states are obligated to "undertake to facilitate" the transfer of nuclear technology to non-nuclear states for civilian purposes<sup>xvi</sup>. Second class signatory states agreed to refrain from developing nukes (to which they mostly probably didn't aspire in the first place) in return for nuclear technology (**that ironically could be used to develop nukes!**<sup>13</sup>), and for the [unfulfilled] promise of good faith negotiations for universal nuclear disarmament and a nuclear free zone in the Middle East<sup>xvii</sup>. It is time to abide by that treaty. The International Atomic Energy Agency<sup>xviii</sup> was established, with its [Safeguards](#) program to monitor nuclear programs and to ensure compliance with the NPT Treaty, but only on the part of the non-nuclear NPT ratifiers.

### **The Nuclear Insecurity Blanket**

The US is endowed with oceans East and West, and weak and friendly neighbors North and South. Until 911, only nukes threatened the US. For whatever reasons (class conflict *cum* imperial ambition<sup>14</sup>), the US government clings to its "nuclear insecurity blanket" and rejects proposals for universal nuclear disarmament out of hand. Were the US government to abandon its imperial nuclear ambition, it would be nigh impossible for other governments to resist the pressure to follow suit through an [IAEA](#) monitored process.

### **Lost Opportunities**

The best chances for nuclear disarmament occurred during the diplomatically busy year of 1946, shortly after the US government dropped bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On 24 January 1946 the UN General Assembly<sup>xi</sup> passed its first resolution that included a ban on nuclear bombs [and all other weapons of mass destruction] under international controls<sup>xx</sup> and to promote peaceful nuclear applications. At the behest of J. Robert Oppenheimer, this was followed [16 Mar 1946] by the [Acheson-Lilienthal Plan](#) to establish international control of nuclear technology (without banning bombs)<sup>xxi</sup>. On 14 June 1946 [Bernard Baruch presented his proposal](#) to the [UN Atomic Energy Commission](#)<sup>xxii</sup> that proposed establishing an international organization similar to the current IAEA and suggested that the US, with its nuclear monopoly,

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## **<sup>12</sup> The UN Charter Article 2 The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.**

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the **sovereign equality** of all its Members.

<sup>13</sup> As the founder of Israel's nuclear bomb program, Ernst David Bergmann, put it, There is only one nuclear energy not two {fast release and slow release} [Ref. Cohen, Avner, "Israel and the Bomb", Columbia University Press, NY (1998) 16. Cited by Col. Warner D. "Rocky" Farr in Counterproliferation Paper #2, Air War University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, p3.

<sup>14</sup> The primary adversary, the USSR, abruptly changed from defeated imperial ally to class enemy when it was forged out of Tsarist Russia at the conclusion of WWI. A temporary alliance was formed during WWII when support for Adolph Hitler and the National Socialist Party ["Nazi"] as an anti-worker, anti-communist, anti-Bolshevik anti-Semitic force ["The Anti-Communist Crusade *cum* Holocaust"] backfired. The Crusade ["Cold War"] resumed after WWII when Truman established the "National Security" state, with a permanent military—a watershed moment in US history.

would abandon its nuclear bombs if it unilaterally deemed controls to be adequate<sup>xxiii</sup>, and if it had guaranteed security<sup>xxiv</sup>, according to its own assessment. The USSR responded with the Gromyko plan<sup>xxv</sup> (immediate universal nuclear disarmament with controls to be established<sup>xxvi</sup>), which was unacceptable to the then nuclear monopolist, perhaps misled by [Gen Groves'](#)<sup>xxvii</sup> estimation that it would take the USSR decades to develop nukes, "if ever".

Immediately after WWII there was hardly any fissile material in the world. Fissile material can't be mined. It must be manufactured either through enrichment or transmutation. Nuclear disarmament with monitoring and enforcement would have been relatively easy, but the resumption of the Anti-Communist Crusade intervened. Now, with nine nuclear states and more pending, with current nuclear arsenals, copious supplies of fissile material, and loose inventories, the task is more imposing. However, on the other hand, crucially important international institutions, like the IAEA, that didn't exist then, that are capable of monitoring the disarmament process and of preventing acquisition of bombs, are now well established. The fix won't be quick. It will take time, but the longer we wait the more intractable the problem will become and the longer it will require. Current arsenals will have to be disposed of. It may take some time for missing fissile material to be found.

The main obstacle to nuclear disarmament remains nuclear military imperial ambition—the perception that spoils of war [or threats of war] are still achievable. The experience with the [at least] \$2 trillion<sup>xxviii</sup> Operation Iraqi Liberation [[Stiglitz](#) estimate] has disabused many of the notion of "spoils of war", but not the oil and military industries. [What better for the profits of an oil company than to give a war in the oilfields—as long as it is competitors' oil that is kept off the market?]

Empires rely upon power, ultimately military power, which is the power to massively dispatch death and destruction. Imperialists have been seduced by the enormous destructive power of nukes, but proliferation and deterrence, both military and political, have essentially reduced them to counterproductive threats to national security.

### **Conflicting Ideologies**

*"Grab 'em by the balls and their hearts and minds will follow"*  
—reportedly uttered by a Viet Nam war "pacification" officer.

Militaristic imperial ideology drives the acquisition of nukes. Recognition of their threat to civilization and to national security drives the effort to confront and prosecute war criminals, to win "hearts and minds", and to establish international rule of law. It is essentially a choice between malevolence and benevolence. I suspect that Indians and Pakistanis, Jews and Gentiles, Orientals and Occidentals -- everyone would feel more secure knowing that the world was free of nukes, and would stay that way, and that our common habitat, our planet, could be better managed; that "Right Makes Might" prevails over "Might Makes Right"; that violence is outlawed and rendered counterproductive, especially for the perpetrators. It is time to unite victims [and potential victims] of imperialism both domestic and foreign, to build legitimate, democratic, supranational and international organizations, to resurrect diplomacy [similar to, but not necessarily the same Gromyko plan] to achieve universal disarmament of these illegal nukes, [then to continue on to shift from warfare and collective punishment to the principle of individual culpability, as

codified in the International Criminal Court]. Of the 191 nations in the world, 182 are already nuclearly disarmed, including four that had nuclear bombs and gave them up and many more that abandoned their nuclear bomb programs—only nine to go [If we expedite!]

<sup>i</sup> Princeton University Press (1960) [ISBN 0-313-20060-2](#). Two years later he published a book with the title, **Thinking about the Unthinkable**, New York

<sup>ii</sup> "China and Nuclear Proliferation II" by Morton H. Halperin, **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists** XXII (10) December 1966 pp.18-24.

<sup>iii</sup> Chen Yi (陈毅, [Pinyin](#): Chén Yì (26 August 1901-6 June 1972) was a Chinese military commander, comrade of Lin Biao, and politician, son of a magistrate, was born in Lezhi, Sichuan' A comrade of [Lin Biao](#) from their guerilla days, Chen was a commander of the [New Fourth Army](#) during the [Sino-Japanese War \(1937-1945\)](#), spearheaded the [Shandong](#) counter-offensive during the [Chinese Civil War](#), and later commanded the Communist armies that defeated the KMT forces at [Huai-Hai](#) and conquered the lower [Yangtze](#) region in 1948-49. He was made a Marshal of the [People's Liberation Army](#) (PLA) in [1955](#). After the founding of the [People's Republic of China](#), Chen became mayor of [Shanghai](#). He also served as vice premier from 1954 to 1972 and foreign minister from 1958 to 1972 and president of the [China Foreign Affairs University](#) from 1961 to 1969. During the [Cultural Revolution](#), he was purged in 1967, but not officially dismissed, so [Zhou Enlai](#) performed the duties of foreign minister in his place. [Ref. Wikipedia]

<sup>iv</sup> Quoted from a press conference held in Beijing.

<sup>v</sup> 24Jan46 The very first (unanimous) resolution of the UNGA: To establish a Commission charged with making proposals for "the elimination from national armaments of atomic (sic) weapons and all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction." [Implying the existence of WMD other than nukes.] [¶101] This was followed by many similar resolutions. 8Jul96 ICJ unanimous advisory opinion issued at the "urgent" 15Dec94 request [Y79, N43, Abstain 38, Absent 18] of the UNGA: "There exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring it to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control." [¶105(2)F]

(2)C "A threat or use of force by means of nuclear weapons that is contrary to Article 2, Section 4 of the UN Charter, and that fails to meet all of the requirements of Article 51 [Right to defense **after** being attacked] is unlawful." [Because no evidence was submitted that nukes could be used without violating Humanitarian Law ("Geneva Law": Conventions of 1864, 1906, 1929, and 1949; 1899 Martens Clause of the Hague Convention II with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land; 1946 Nuremberg Crimes against Humanity), [similar to Geneva Accord "rules of engagement"], viz.,

Unnecessary harm to combatants [¶¶78.92,95];

Incapable of distinguishing between military and civilian targets [¶¶78,95];;

Kills people in a neutral state [¶78];

Not a proportional response [¶78];

Permanently damages the habitat [¶¶32, 33, 35].

<sup>vi</sup> Presumably a return favor for Israel's support during the Suez crisis. [Ref. Col. Warner D. "Rocky" Farr in Counterproliferation Paper #2, Air War University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama.]

<sup>viii</sup> Since this impasse, the number of nuclear states has climbed from one [US] to nine [In chronological order, US (1945), Russia, UK, France, China, Israel, India, Pakistan, Korea with others accused by the US government, pending]. Some countries that were part of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan, Byelorussia, and Ukraine, have relinquished their nukes. Fourteen others<sup>viii</sup> have abandoned nuclear bomb programs.

<sup>ix</sup> Ann Fagan Ginger, **Nuclear Weapons Are Illegal (The Historic Opinion of the World Court and How It Will Be Enforced)**

<sup>x</sup> Resolution of Condemnation Regarding Iran. [House of Representatives 16 Feb 06]

<sup>xi</sup> Alexander Glaser and Frank von Hippel, "Thwarting Nuclear Terrorism", **Scientific American** 294 (2) pp.56-63 [February 2006].

<sup>xii</sup> [www.wmdcommission.org](#). Dr. Hans Blix, chairman of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (WMDC), "Weapons of Terror: Freeing the World of Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Arms", which consists of some sixty proposals to rid the world of WMD and provide a rising sea of security that raises all boats, making us all more secure.

<sup>xiii</sup> Title of a seminal book by Louis B. Sohn and Grenville Clark. Harvard University Press (1958),

<sup>xiv</sup> **Date of adoption**: 12 June 1968; **Place of adoption**: [United Nations, New York](#); **Date of entry into force**: 5 March 1970

<sup>xv</sup> Address before the General Assembly of the United Nations on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, New York City, 8 December 1953.

<sup>xvi</sup> **Article IV**

1. Nothing in this Treaty shall be interpreted as affecting the inalienable right of all the Parties to the Treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with articles I and II of this Treaty.

2. All the Parties to the Treaty undertake to facilitate, and have the right to participate in, the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Parties to the Treaty in a position to do so shall also cooperate in contributing alone or together with other States or international organizations to the further development of the applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, especially in the

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territories of non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty, with due consideration for the needs of the developing areas of the world.

<sup>xvii</sup> Resolution of the 11 May 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference in NY.

<sup>xviii</sup> Founded in 1957, the IAEA superseded the UN Atomic Energy Commission, inspired by President Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" address to the General Assembly on 8 December 1953 with a triple mission - nuclear verification and security, nuclear safety, and nuclear technology transfer. It developed its "Safeguards" program to implement the non-proliferation part of the NPT, but never divorced nuclear power promotion from nuclear power regulation for safety. To this day there is no UN Nuclear Regulatory Commission to regulate the safe operation of nuclear power plants even though radiation released into the atmosphere or water doesn't respect national borders.

<sup>xix</sup> **24 January 1946**

General Assembly adopts its [first resolution](#). Its main focus: peaceful uses of atomic energy and the elimination of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction.

<sup>xx</sup> The resolution of the General Assembly, passed January 24, 1946 in London reads:

#### **Section V. Terms of References of the Commission**

The Commission shall proceed with the utmost dispatch and enquire into all phases of the problem, and make such recommendations from time to time with respect to them as it finds possible. In particular the Commission shall make specific proposals:

- a. For extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends;
- b. For control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes;
- c. For the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction;
- d. For effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect compliant States against the hazards of violations and evasions.

<sup>xxi</sup> Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy (more commonly referred to as the Acheson-Lilienthal Report) on March 16, 1946.

<sup>xxii</sup> 14 June 1946 The United States proposes the creation of an International Atomic Development Authority, to which should be entrusted all phases of the development and use of atomic energy, starting with the raw material and including:

1. Managerial control or ownership of all atomic-energy, activities potentially dangerous to world security.
2. Power to control, inspect, and license all other atomic activities.
3. The duty of fostering the beneficial uses of atomic energy.
4. Research and development responsibilities of an affirmative character intended to put the Authority in the forefront of atomic knowledge and thus to enable it to comprehend, and therefore to detect, misuse of atomic energy. To be effective, the Authority must itself be the world's leader in the field of atomic knowledge and development and thus supplement its legal authority with the great power inherent in possession of leadership in knowledge.

<sup>xxiii</sup> When an adequate system for control of atomic energy, including the renunciation of the bomb as a weapon, has been agreed upon and put into effective operation and condign punishments set up for violations of the rules of control which are to be stigmatized as international crimes, we propose that ["subject of course to our constitutional processes" (transferred from another part of the transcript)]:

1. Manufacture of atomic bombs shall stop;
2. Existing bombs shall be disposed of pursuant to the terms of the treaty; and
3. The Authority shall be in possession of full information as to the know-how for the production of atomic energy.

Significantly, he proposed a restriction on what was even then referred to as the "veto" [actually, the requirement that substantive resolutions of the SC have unanimous concurrence of the non-elected members, of the WWII major victorious allies]: *"There must be no veto to protect those who violate their solemn agreements not to develop or use atomic energy for destructive purposes"*.

<sup>xxiv</sup> But before a country is ready to relinquish any winning weapons it must have more than words to reassure it. It must have a guarantee of safety, not only against the offenders in the atomic area but against the illegal users of other weapons - bacteriological, biological, gas - perhaps - why not! - against war itself.

<sup>xxv</sup> The United States insisted on retaining control of its nuclear weapons while all fissile material was put under international control, while the Soviet Union demanded that the United States cede its weapons to international control before other countries gave up their fissile material. In addition, not only did the Soviet proposal mandate the cessation of the development, storage, and deployment of atomic bombs, it also directed that all preexisting weaponry be destroyed within six months of entrance into the convention.

The Soviet Union objected to several other points in the Baruch Plan. Another critical difference was the Soviet disagreement with the proposal that called for automatic sanctions for noncompliance with the proposed regulations. Discussions between the two countries lasted for several years, but it was evident early on that because of irreconcilable differences the Baruch Plan would never be implemented.

<sup>xxvi</sup> The Soviet Union rejected the Baruch Plan on the grounds that it would interfere with the national sovereignty and internal affairs of states and that the provision denying a permanent member of the Security Council the right of veto was contrary to the UN Charter. In turn, the Soviet Union submitted a draft convention, called the [Gromyko Plan](#) (after the Soviet delegate who later became Foreign Minister), which reversed the priorities put forward by the USA. The basic differences between the two positions concerned, first, the stage at which atomic weapons were to be prohibited, i.e., whether a convention outlawing these weapons and providing for their destruction should precede or follow the establishment of a control system; and second, the role of the UN Security Council in dealing with possible violations, i.e., whether the rule of veto would be applicable. [Jozef Goldblat, Arms Control, (London: PRIO, 1994), pp.30-31., pp.31-32.]

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<sup>xxvii</sup> Gen. Groves headed the Manhattan Project to develop nukes.

<sup>xxviii</sup> ["The Economic Costs of the Iraq War,"](#) with Linda Bilmes, NBER Working Paper 12054, February 2006, originally presented at the Allied Social Sciences Association annual conference, January 2006, Boston, MA