9TH ANNUAL

Frank K. Kelly Lecture ON HUMANITY'S FUTURE

AMBASSADOR Max Kampelman

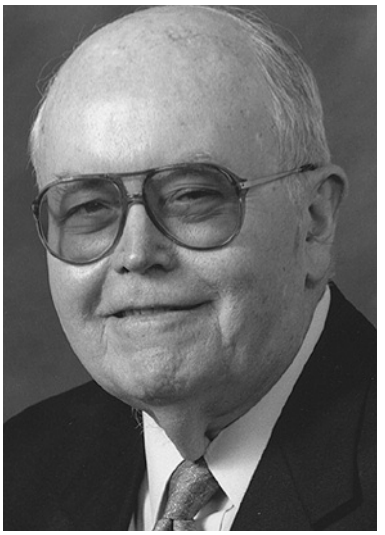
ZERO NUCLEAR WEAPONS

FOR A SANE AND SUSTAINABLE WORLD

NUCLEAR AGE PEACE FOUNDATION

Working for a World Free of Nuclear Weapons
EMPOWERING PEACE LEADERS
Strengthening International Law

Frank K. Kelly Lecture
ON HUMANITY'S FUTURE



The Frank K. Kelly Lecture on Humanity's Future was established by the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation in 2002. The lecture series honors Frank Kelly, a founder and senior vice president of the Foundation, whose vision and compassion are perpetuated through this ongoing lecture series. Each annual lecture is presented by a distinguished individual to explore the contours of humanity's present circumstances and ways by which we can shape a more promising future for our planet and all its inhabitants.

Mr. Kelly, for whom the lecture series is named, gave the inaugural lecture in 2002 on "Glorious Beings: What We Are and What We May Become." The lecture presented in this booklet, "Zero Nuclear Weapons for a Sane and Sustainable World," is the ninth in the series. It was presented by Ambassador Max Kampelman at Santa Barbara City College on February 25, 2010.

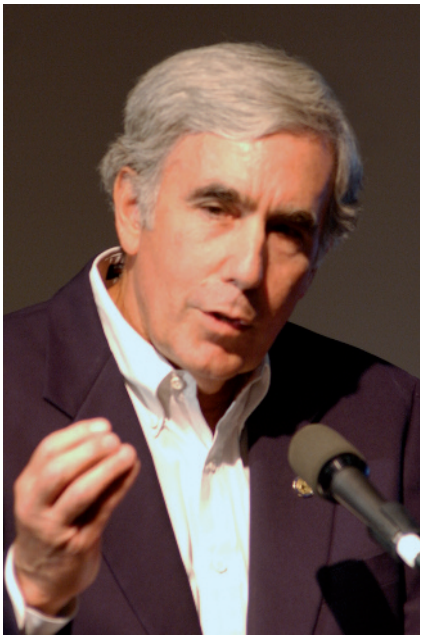
The 2009 lecture was presented by Frances Moore Lappé on "Living Democracy, Feeding Hope." The 2008 lecture was given by Colman McCarthy on "Teach Peace." The 2007 lecture was delivered by Jakob von Uexküll on "Globalization: Values, Responsibility and Global Justice." The 2006 lecture was presented by Nobel Peace Laureate Mairead Corrigan Maguire on "A Right to Live without Violence, Nuclear Weapons and War." The 2005 lecture was delivered by Dr. Robert Jay Lifton on "America and the Human Future: Surviving Vietnam, 9/11, and Iraq." The 2004 lecture in this series was presented by Dame Anita Roddick on "Kindness as a Key to Humanity's Future." Professor Richard Falk gave the 2003 lecture on "American Civil Liberties and Human Rights Under Siege."

Frank Kelly has had a remarkable life. He has been a science-fiction writer (later inducted into the Science Fiction Hall of Fame), a journalist, a soldier in World War II, a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University, a speechwriter for Harry Truman, the assistant to the US Senate Majority Leader, vice president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and a leader in the campaign to create the US Institute for Peace. He co-founded the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation in 1982. He is the author of ten books and countless articles.

Beyond all of his achievements, Frank has exhibited a remarkable faith in humanity and its future. He has lived with a spirit of optimism and hope. He has been a visionary advocate for humanity and has inspired many people through his writing and teaching to take action on behalf of humanity.

The lecture series is endowed to carry forward Frank's vision. If you would like to help support the lecture series by adding to the endowment, please let us know. We also invite you to learn more about the Frank K. Kelly Lecture series and about the work of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation by visiting our website: www.wagingpeace.org. Prior lectures in this series are available from the Foundation.

INTRODUCTION



Ambassador Max Kampelman has had a long and full life as an educator, lawyer and diplomat. As an educator, his first love, he has been a teacher of political science at the University of Minnesota, Bennington College, Claremont College, the University of Wisconsin and Howard University.

As a lawyer, Ambassador Kampelman has had a long association with the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson (now Fried Frank), and he is currently of counsel with the firm.

As a diplomat, he served under Presidents Carter and Reagan as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe from 1980 to 1983. From 1985 to 1989, he was President Reagan's chief arms control negotiator, serving as head of the U.S. delegation to the Negotiations with the Soviet Union on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva.

In 2006, Ambassador Kampelman wrote an influential op-ed in the *New York Times*, calling for US leadership for the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. He wrote, "Unfortunately, the goal of globally eliminating all weapons of mass destruction — nuclear, chemical and biological arms — is today not an integral part of American foreign policy; it needs to be put back at the top of our agenda." He has been a strong advocate of seeking agreement on the "ought" of a world without nuclear weapons and then finding the means to make this ought a reality.

For this article and other efforts, Ambassador Kampelman is viewed by many as a motivating force behind the series of influential *Wall Street Journal* op-eds calling for a world without nuclear weapons, which ran in 2007, 2008 and 2010, by former high-level policy makers George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn.

Ambassador Kampelman has received many awards for his work, including the Presidential Citizens Medal in 1989 from President Reagan, and the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1999 from President Clinton. In 2008, he received the Democracy Service Medal of the National Endowment for Democracy for his lifetime of achievement in advancing the principles of freedom, human rights and democracy.

In 2000, Ambassador Kampelman was selected by the Library of Congress as a Living Legend. It is an apt description of this very decent, charming and hardworking leader. We were honored to have him with us as the 2010 Kelly Lecturer on the occasion of our 9th Annual Frank K. Kelly Lecture on Humanity's Future, and we are pleased to present his written lecture in this booklet.

David Krieger
President
Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

2010 FRANK K. KELLY LECTURE ON HUMANITY'S FUTURE

ZERO NUCLEAR WEAPONS

FOR A SANE AND SUSTAINABLE WORLD

By Max M. Kampelman

It will take time, patience, pain and good fortune, but our welfare as human beings, indeed the survival for many, must be based on more than the threat of nuclear retaliation. A balance of nuclear terror is not an adequate basis for our survival as human beings or as a country, or for our country's strategic policy, although it did recently serve to permit the United States and Russia to substantially reduce the number of our strategic nuclear weapons. What does remain and cannot be ignored, however, is the existence of active rogue and terrorist forces in the world seeking nuclear capabilities for their dangerous purposes. I am convinced that zero nuclear weapons, urged by the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation and others, must be our immediate civilized goal.

Where are we heading? Are democracy and liberty our human destiny, as suggested by Francis Fukiyama? Or do we face an inevitable violent clash of civilizations on perhaps a worldwide scale, as suggested by Samuel Huntington?

Let me point out that during my childhood, one lifetime, strange as it may appear to the young among us, there were no vitamin tablets, no antibiotics, no televisions, no dial telephones, no refrigerators, no FM radios, no synthetic fibers, no dishwashers, no electric blankets, no airmail, no transatlantic airlines, no instant coffee, no Xerox, no air conditioning, no frozen foods, no contact lenses, no birth control pills, no ballpoint pens, no transistors. The list can go on.

In my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased perhaps more than tenfold. I am told that more than 80 percent of all scientists who ever lived are alive today. The average life span of the human being keeps steadily increasing. We now have complicated computers, new materials, new biotechnological processes and more, which are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, and even reproduction.

We are living in a period of information power with the telefax, electronic mail, the super computer, high definition television, the laser printer, the cellular phone, the optical disc, video conferences, the satellite dish – instruments which still appear to my eyes to be near miracles. No generation since the beginning of the human race has experienced or absorbed so much change so rapidly – and it is probably only the beginning. As an indication of that, more than 100,000 scientific journals annually publish the flood of new knowledge that pours out of the world's laboratories.

These developments are stretching our minds and our grasp of reality to the outermost dimensions of our capacity to understand them. Moreover, as we look ahead we must agree that we

Photo: White House

President Ronald Reagan greets Ambassador Max Kampelman in the Oval Office of the White House in the mid-1980s. Ambassador Kampelman was the chief US arms control negotiator with the Soviet Union during that period. George H.W. Bush, then Vice-President, is in the background.

Photo: Rick Carter

Ambassador Max Kampelman helped pursue President Reagan's goal of eliminating all nuclear weapons in his role as the top US arms control negotiator. In his Kelly Lecture, on February 25, 2010, he inspired a packed auditorium at Santa Barbara City College, encouraging us all to find a way to move from what "is" – a world with a risk of increasing global disaster – to what "ought" to be: a peaceful, civilized world free of nuclear weapons.

have only the minutest glimpse of what our universe really is. We also barely understand the human brain and its energy; and the endless horizons of space and the mysteries found in the great depths of our seas are still virtually unknown to us. Our science today is indeed still a drop, and our ignorance remains an ocean.

It has been said that necessity is the mother of invention. I suggest the corollary is also true; invention is the mother of necessity. Technology and communication are necessitating basic changes in our lives. Information has become more accessible in all parts of our globe, putting authoritarian governments at a serious disadvantage. The world is very much smaller. There is no escaping the fact that the sound of a whisper or a whimper in one part of the world can immediately be heard in all parts of the world – and consequences follow. And yet, the world body politic has not kept pace with the world of scientific and technological achievements. Just as the individual human body must adjust to the climate in which it lives, so is it necessary for governments and administrations to examine the atmosphere in which they live as new directions and changes become apparent.

It is important for the human race to seek security without associating it with destruction. Nuclear terror is not an adequate foundation for strategic policy. President Obama has made that clear during his political campaign and in his later appearances at the United Nations where he and President Medvedev of Russia called for zero nuclear weapons.

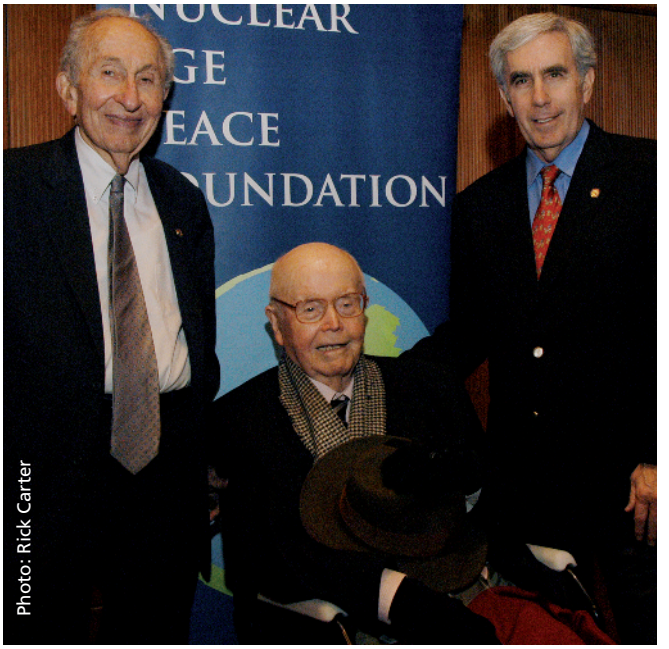
Photo: Rick Carter

Lou Cannon, distinguished journalist and the author of five books on Ronald Reagan, introduced Ambassador Kampelman.

It is increasingly evident that the developing constructive relationship between the United States and Russia should realistically reduce our reliance on nuclear weapons. Indeed, it provides the opportunity for more than prudent and even deep reductions. The developing constructive relationship between the United States and Russia permits both of us to lead the world toward an enforceable United Nations General Assembly agreement that the development and possession of nuclear weapons is considered to be an international punishable crime. The UN Security Council should then be charged by the UN General Assembly with the responsibility to eliminate nuclear cheating. This could be accomplished by the creation of a UN Bank to purchase all active nuclear military materials and convert that material into civilian nuclear power for energy starved

areas. Violations of zero should result in political, economic and social world isolation.

The task of the UN General Assembly is to establish a civilized "ought" for the world and the task of the UN Security Council is to create the machinery of civilization necessary to achieve the goal of zero, to prevent cheating and to provide for political, economic and social isolation as a price for cheating.



Ambassador Max Kampelman, Frank K. Kelly and Foundation President David Krieger.

The United Nations has been understandably disappointing to many, but it is alive and should be utilized. At the opening session that created the United Nations, President Truman welcomed its presence in the United States, and in his formal greeting called for the abolition of nuclear weapons on behalf of the United States government. He greeted the delegates from around the world and said that "there is nothing more urgent confronting the people of all nations than the banning of all nuclear weapons under a foolproof system of international control." It is time to remember that goal.

It is time once again for the United States to lead the world towards that goal and sanity. It is also time to achieve that goal of zero and to demonstrate that the United Nations is alive, that its goals are civilized and clear and that it can begin to earn civilized respect.

President Obama recently reminded us of the historic Truman message to the United Nations. He was joined by our Russian colleague, President Medvedev, as they both declared a commitment to a nuclear free world. In addressing the UN delegates from around the world, our President said: "there is nothing more urgent confronting the people of all nations than the banning of all nuclear weapons under an international set of agreements. . . ."

The President's message is clear. And yet we all appreciate that until that zero goal is reached, problems must be met and resolved. This reality should not be permitted to replace or postpone the goal we have set for ourselves as a nation. I note this here because of understandable reactions by our highly trained and committed officials who are inclined to emphasize reductions in nuclear weapons more clearly than those of us who aspire and call for zero nuclear weapons.

The time for us to achieve our goal of zero is now!

AMBASSADOR

Max Kampelman

A lawyer, diplomat and educator, Ambassador Max Kampelman helped pursue President Reagan's goal of eliminating all nuclear weapons in his role as the top US arms control negotiator. His official title was Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations with the Soviet Union on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva.

He is one of the very few people to be officially honored by two Presidents. He received the Presidential Citizens Medal from President Reagan in 1989 and the Freedom Medal from President Clinton in 1999. More recently, he has worked with Henry Kissinger, George Shultz, William Perry and Sam Nunn in their efforts to promote a world free of nuclear weapons.

"You can be an idealist and a realist at the same time," Ambassador Kampelman has written. "… American foreign policy [needs] ... to find a way to move from what "is" — a world with a risk of increasing global disaster — to what "ought" to be: a peaceful, civilized world free of weapons of mass destruction."

Photo: Rick Carter

Physicist and Nobel Prize Laureate Professor Walter Kohn shares a joyful moment with Kelly Lecturer Ambassador Max Kampelman.

NUCLEAR AGE PEACE FOUNDATION
Committed to a World Free of Nuclear Weapons

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NUCLEAR AGE PEACE FOUNDATION

VISION

Our vision is a world at peace, free of the threat of war and free of weapons of mass destruction.

MISSION

To advance initiatives to eliminate the nuclear weapons threat to all life, to foster the global rule of law, and to build an enduring legacy of peace through education and advocacy.

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation initiates and supports worldwide efforts to abolish nuclear weapons, to strengthen international law and institutions, and to inspire and empower a new generation of peace leaders. Founded in 1982, the Foundation is comprised of individuals and organizations worldwide who realize the imperative for peace in the Nuclear Age.

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation is a non-profit, non-partisan, international education and advocacy organization. It has consultative status to the United Nations Economic and Social Council and is recognized by the UN as a Peace Messenger Organization.

www.wagingpeace.org