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Perspectives

SADAKO AND THE SHAKUHACHI
by David Krieger

We remember Hiroshima not for the past, but for the future. We remember Hiroshima so that its past will not become our future. Hiroshima is best remembered with the plaintive sounds of the bamboo flute, the Shakuhachi. It conjures up the devastation, the destruction, the encompassing emptiness of that day. The Shakuhachi reveals the tear in the fabric of humanity that was ripped open by the bomb.

Nuclear weapons are not weapons at all. They are a symbol of an imploding human spirit. They are a fire that consumes the crisp air of decency. They are a crossroads where science joined hands with evil and apathy. They are a triumph of academic certainty wrapped in the convoluted lie of deterrence. They are Einstein’s regret. They are many things, but not weapons -- not instruments of war, but of genocide and perhaps of omnicide.

Those who gather to retell and listen to the story of Hiroshima and of Sadako are a community, a community committed to a human future. We may not know one another, but we are a community. And we are part of a greater community gathered throughout the world to commemorate this day, seeking to turn Hiroshima to Hope.

If we succeed, Sadako of a thousand cranes will be remembered by new generations. She will be remembered long after the names and spirits of those who made and used the bomb will have faded into the haunting sounds of the Shakuhachi.

INTERNATIONAL JU-JITSU: USING UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1540 TO ADVANCE NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT
by Alyn Ware

Introduction: Ju-Jitsu and Resolution 1540

In the 16th Century Shirobei Akiyama, a Japanese man studying medicine in China, noticed that in a heavy blizzard branches of most strong trees broke while the elastic branches of the willow tree bent and efficiently freed themselves from the snow. He thus developed a martial art called Ju-Jitsu, which aims not to neutralize power with power but rationally absorb an attack and convert that energy to the opponent's own detriment.

On April 28, 2004, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1540 requiring all States to take measures to prevent non-State actors from acquiring or developing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons in general.

Critics of the resolution fear that it provides a mandate for the powerful countries that already possess nuclear weapons, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council (P5), to impose pressure or even use force to prevent other States and non-State actors to acquire such weapons themselves (see United Nations Security Council Unanimously Passes WMD Resolution, The Sunflower, May 2004).

While there are definitely problems with the resolution, peace activists would be well advised to adopt the Ju-Jitsu approach and utilize the political momentum for action required by the UN resolution to move their governments to strengthen the norms and controls not only against the spread of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, but also against those possessed and deployed by the P5.

Thankfully, last minute changes in the resolution, made at the insistence of non-P5 Security Council members, provide political opportunities to do just this.

To read the full article, please visit: http://www.waging-peace.org/articles/2004/07/00_ware_ju-jitsu.htm
SADAKO PEACE DAY: COMMEMORATE THE 59TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ATOMIC BOMBINGS OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI

Each year the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation hosts a public commemoration on August 6th to remember and pay tribute to the victims of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during WWII and to all innocent victims of war. The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation sponsors this event involving music, poetry and reflection at La Casa de Maria Retreat Center’s Sadako Peace Garden, 800 El Bosque Road, Montecito, CA, from 5:00pm to 6:00pm. The event is free and open to the public. For more information, call (805) 965-3443.

NATIONAL EVENTS COMMEMORATING THE 59TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOMBINGS OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI

The BE SAFE of the Center for Health, Environment and Justice has catalogued over sixty events taking place in 21 states during August observing the anniversary of the atomic bombings in Japan. To find an event in your area, visit: http://www.besafenet.com/NWCalendar.htm

BOOKS NOT BOMBS YOUTH CONVERGENCE

The National Youth and Student Peace Coalition has organized a one day convergence on 28 August 2004 at Saint Mark’s Church 131 East 10th St., New York City. All youth and student organizers are invited to descend upon New York to demonstrate for a new agenda based on peace and justice. For more information, visit: http://www.nyspc.net/

ATTEND THE NUCLEAR POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE SYMPOSIUM, NUCLEAR POWER AND CHILDREN’S HEALTH: WHAT YOU CAN DO

From 15 - 16 October 2004 the Nuclear Policy Research Institute will hold a symposium in Chicago, Illinois addressing:

- The dangers of nuclear power plants and the threat of terrorism
- The hidden costs of nuclear energy
- Protecting your health from exposure to nuclear materials and waste
- Risks of transport and disposal of nuclear waste
- Recycling nuclear materials into household goods
- Non-nuclear alternative energy sources

Featured Speakers include Dr. Helen Caldicott, President of the Nuclear Policy Research Institute; David Lochbaum, Nuclear Safety Engineer, Union of Concerned Scientists; Oscar Shirani, Nuclear Industry Whistle-Blower; Arjun Makhijani, President of the Institute for Energy and Environmental Research; Steven Strong, Solar Design Associates; Diane D’Arrigo, Director of the Radioactive Waste Project, Nuclear Information and Resource Service; and a special address from Dr. Patch Adams of the Gesundheit! Institute.

For more information, visit: http://www.nuclearpolicy.org/EventArticle.cfm?EventID=60

Proliferation

SENIOR DIPLOMAT IDENTIFIES US FIRM AMONG NUCLEAR BLACK MARKET

On 9 July 2004, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Director General Mohamed ElBaradei announced that the nuclear black market has spread to firms in more than 20 countries, some of them in North America.

Demanding anonymity, a senior diplomat said at least one of the firms was based in the US. He declined to elaborate, saying that the IAEA “was not yet at the bottom of that story.” However, he said what is known about that company sheds new light on the activities of the nuclear black market.

The diplomat also said that Syria and Saudi Arabia are being investigated as buyer nations, beyond Iraq, Iran, Libya and North Korea - the countries known to have contact with A.Q. Khan and his clandestine nuclear network. However, the diplomat said that beyond suspicions prompting a continuing investigation, “there has been no proof” on Syria and Saudi Arabia that would warrant them being reported to the IAEA board of governors.


ISRAEL’S NUCLEAR AMBIGUITY

On 29 July 2004, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon said his country would only reconsider the need for its “deterrent capability” when there is peace across the Middle East and its neighbors abandon weapons of mass destruction. Under a policy of “strategic ambiguity,” Israel refuses to admit or deny it has nuclear weapons. However, international experts today estimate the country has arsenal of 100 to 200 nuclear warheads.

In a meeting of his right-wing Likud party in Tel Aviv, Sharon stated, “It could be that one day when we arrive at a comprehensive peace and everyone disarms completely, we will also be ready to consider taking steps.” However, he said Israel still faces an “existential danger” from numerically superior regional enemies and that the US, Israel’s main ally, had made clear the Jewish state “is not to be touched when it comes to its deterrent capability.”

The Sunflower, eNewsletter of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, No. 87 August 2004 2
Earlier in July, International Atomic Energy Agency Director Mohammed ElBaradei said Sharon told him for the first time in public that he could discuss ridding the region of nuclear arms but only as part of a broader peace process in the future.

Israel has not signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty and therefore does not have to permit IAEA inspection of its facilities. This lack of international scrutiny is a source of anger for many Middle Eastern countries.

The viability of Israel's policy of "strategic ambiguity" on its nuclear program has been in question since Mordechai Vanunu, a former technician at the Dimona nuclear reactor, revealed his work to the UK Sunday Times in 1986. For this, Vanunu was sentenced to 18 years in prison and only released in April 2004. On 29 July, just two days after the Israeli Supreme Court overruled the nuclear whistleblower's request to remove the limitations imposed on him after his release, a full interview with him was published in the London-based Arabic weekly, al-Wassat. In the interview, Vanunu stated, "Israel possesses between 100-200 nuclear weapons, including a neutron bomb and hydrogen bombs, which are tenfold in their effect." In addition, Vanunu said he will fight till his dying day for a permit to leave Israel and seek political asylum abroad. He also stated, "I will call for an international convention in Cairo, including Israel, for dismantling nuclear weapons."

Sources: Albawaba, 29 July 2004; Reuters, 29 July 2004.

**MORE BACK AND FORTH ON IRAN**

On 28 July 2004, diplomats claimed that Iran has defied international concerns and resumed clandestine work linked to uranium enrichment, testing equipment, and producing hexafluoride gas, which, when injected into centrifuges and spun can be enriched to a level high enough to make nuclear warheads. Speaking on condition of anonymity, diplomats said that while Iran seems to be only testing the machinery, it has apparently produced some of the gas as a side effect, but they do not know how much gas has been produced or when testing was resumed. This, coupled with disclosures on 28 July that Iran has restarted building centrifuges, is creating heightened concern that Iran is moving toward full uranium enrichment.

Iran continues to dismiss accusations that it is interested in making nuclear weapons, claiming that its main interest in nuclear power is to generate electricity. Under the Non-Proliferation Treaty, Iran is allowed to make centrifuges and other parts for peaceful nuclear energy. However, in the past 18 months, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors have uncovered an escalating series of contradictions in Iranian statements, along with evidence that nuclear specialists consider strongly suggestive of a clandestine nuclear weapons program. France, Germany and the UK are working to offer diplomatic incentives to persuade Iran to give up its nuclear program.

According to the Israeli newspaper Haaretz, Israel has started a diplomatic offensive to win support for its view that Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons. According to reports, the Israeli cabinet has been told that Iran could make a bomb by between 2007 and 2009. However, Israel's Army Chief of Staff General Moshe Yaalon said all diplomatic efforts should be exhausted before considering more drastic measures to stop Iran's nuclear program. Although Tel Aviv ordered the bombing of Iraq's Osiraq reactor in 1981, Yaalon said Israel does "not necessarily" have to resort to military action to counter the alleged threat. Iran has vowed harsh retaliation if its nuclear facilities are attacked by Israeli forces.

According to US State Department officials, the US is pressing for strong measures against Iran. The Bush administration strongly believes that Iran is developing nuclear weapons and some are even saying they are afraid that the US invaded the "wrong country" by going to Iraq. The Bush administration says it is imperative that France, Germany and the UK demonstrate to Iran that it must suffer consequences for not fulfilling its October 2003 pledge to fully suspend its nuclear program. In addition to lobbying its three European allies, the Bush administration has been attempting to persuade all members of the IAEA that it is time to refer Iran's nuclear activities to the UN Security Council.


**BOCKSCAR PILOT PASSES AWAY**

General Charles W. Sweeney, who flew the B-29 Superfortress that dropped the atomic bomb on Nagasaki on 9 August 1945, passed away on 16 July 2004, Trinity Day, at the age of 84.

Army Air Force Major Sweeney accompanied the Enola Gay, piloted by Colonel Paul W. Tibbets Jr., in his bomber, Great Artiste, on 6 August 1945. When the Enola Gay dropped its uranium-235 bomb, called "Little Boy" on the city of Hiroshima, Major Sweeney's plane dropped instruments to detect heat, blast and radiation. Three days later, Major Sweeney piloted a B-29 called Bockscar, carrying an even more powerful plutonium-239 bomb called "Fat Man." At 11:01 am on 9 August 1945, "Fat Man" was dropped on the city of Nagasaki, immediately killing more than 40,000 people.

In his autobiography, Sweeney recalled that nuclear weapon dropped on Nagasaki seemed "more intense, more angry." He stated, "It was a mesmerizing sight, at once breathtaking and ominous."

Six days after the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan surrendered to the US and World War II ended. In the immediate aftermath of the war, the crews who flew the atomic missions were viewed as heroes and the Truman administration claimed that dropping the bombings had averted enormous US casualties. However, since the bombings, many questions have been raised as to whether the Truman administration needed to drop the bombs in order to end the war.
A few weeks after WWII ended, the two atomic-bomb pilots visited Nagasaki. In his memoir, War's End: An Eyewitness Account of America's Last Atomic Mission, General Sweeney wrote, "I took no pride or pleasure then, nor do I take any now, in the brutality of war, whether suffered by my people or those of another nation. Every life is precious. But I felt no remorse or guilt that I had bombed the city where I stood. The true vessel of remorse and guilt belonged to the Japanese nation, which could and should call to account the warlords who so willingly offered up their own people to achieve their visions of greatness."

Major Sweeney, a recipient of the Silver Star, left military service after the WWII and became co-owner of the Kelley & Sweeney Leather Company in Boston. He served with the Massachusetts Air National Guard and retired from it in 1976 as a major general.

Today, the Enola Gay is on display outside Dulles Airport in Virginia at the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum. Bockscar is at the United States Air Force Museum in Dayton, Ohio.

In May 1995, General Sweeney appeared before a US Senate committee hearing arising out of complaints by veterans groups that the proposed text for an Enola Gay exhibition at the Smithsonian’s air museum in Washington portrayed the Japanese as victims and the Americans as vengeful. At the hearing, General Sweeney stated, "I do not stand here celebrating the use of nuclear weapons. Quite the contrary. I hope that my mission is the last such mission ever flown. We as a nation should abhor the existence of nuclear weapons. I certainly do. But that does not mean that, back in August of 1945, given the events of the war and the recalcitrance of our enemy, President Truman was not obliged to use all the weapons at his disposal to end the war. I agreed with Harry Truman then, and I still do today."


**Plutonium Cancer Risk May Be Higher Than Thought**

The New Scientist reported on 18 July that a new report written by radiation experts for the UK government highlights the cancer risk from exposure to plutonium may be ten times higher than is allowed for in calculating international safety limits. The experts are unanimous in saying that low-level radiation emitted by plutonium may cause more damage to human cells than previously believed.

Over the last 60 years, nuclear weapons tests and nuclear power plants have released several tons of plutonium into the environment. Concern over the harmfulness of plutonium is growing because of discoveries about the subtle effects of low-level radiation. Researchers in Europe and North America have shown that the descendants of cells that seem to survive radiation unharmed can suffer delayed damage, a phenomenon known as "genomic instability."

Cells adjacent to those that are irradiated can also sustain damage, known as "the bystander effect." An increase was found in the number of mutations in small pieces of DNA called mini-satellites that are passed from one generation to the next. The fear is that these effects could trigger cancers and other ill effects.

Written by the Committee Examining Radiation Risks from Internal Emitters (CERRIE), the report is due to be published in the next few months. The committee includes 12 specialists from the UK government's National Radiological Protection Board, the nuclear industry, universities and environmental groups.

All members of the committee agree that the margin of uncertainty over the risks of plutonium and similar radionuclides inside the body "could extend over at least an order of magnitude." CERRIE Chairman Dudley Goodhead, stated, "This should be borne in mind by those making judgments and policy decisions on low-level internal radiation."


**NEW DOE SICK WORKER RESOURCE FACILITY AT LIVERMORE**

On 23 July, Representative Ellen O. Tauscher (D-CA) announced that a new resource facility for workers employed by the Department of Energy (DoE) is set to open in August in Livermore, California. Representative Tauscher began asking DoE Secretary Abraham to establish a permanent Energy Employee Compensation Resource Center in December 2002. She was concerned about the lack of assistance for ex-DoE employees who had been exposed to radiation during their employment. Various other centers operate around the country to assist sick workers, but until now there was no center to assist former employees at any of the 35 DoE sites, some of which are the biggest in the nation.

Representative Tauscher stated, "I am thrilled that former DoE employees in the Bay Area, who became ill while serving our nation's energy and nuclear infrastructure, will finally have a resource center to turn to for help in filing claims and receiving assistance. These men and women endure unacceptably long backlogs and horribly inadequate services, adding insult to injury. As the only member of Congress with two nuclear laboratories in my district, I am honored by these workers' sacrifice, and I am proud to announce this center, which will assist them in obtaining compensation."

Inga Olson, Program Director at Tri-Valley CARES, a Livermore-based nonprofit group that worked with Representative Tauscher and Senator Feinstein to establish the Resource Center in Livermore said, "Over 1,000 claims have been filed by sick Livermore Lab employees, retirees or family members of deceased employees. The new resource center is a step in the right direction of finally beginning to provide these workers the fair treatment and justice they deserve."

At the new center, former DOE employees will be aided in filling out Energy Employees Occupational Illness Compensation Program (EEOICP) claims to receive assistance with health expenses related to their radiation exposure.

LOS ALAMOS NATIONAL LABORATORY SHUTS DOWN...AGAIN

On 15 July, the University of California halted all classified work at Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL) in order to search for missing computer disks containing classified information and to allegedly shore up some faulty security protocols. A day later, LANL Director Pete Nanos stopped nearly all work at the lab. The recent episode is only the latest in a two-decade-long span of security lapses, computer data mishandling, safety hazards and financial mismanagement under the management of the University of California.

Work only began to recommence on 29 July. The shutdown comes at enormous cost to taxpayers. The LANL yearly budget totals about $2.2 billion. Each day that LANL is offline, it costs a little over $3 million in lost productivity. For the period of 15-29 July, LANL wasted some $45.2 million and for each additional day that operations are not at 100% capacity, this number grows.

Since the Manhattan Project, the University of California has been the default contractor to manage the nation's primary nuclear weapons laboratories - Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL) and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) - under a contract with the US Department of Energy (DoE). However, for the first time ever, UC is facing a serious threat to its contracts to run the labs, at least at LANL. The present contract expires in September 2005. Potential competitors for the contract include, the University of Texas, Lockheed Martin, Bechtel, and Batelle Labs. The LLNL contract expires in September 2007.

Since at least the late 1970s, the labs have had serious problems ranging from the loss of thousands of classified documents, to cost overruns in the hundreds of millions of dollars, to the hiring of inadequate security guards. At LANL in 1979, thermonuclear bomb design information was found in a public library. At LLNL in 1990, $45 million in property went missing, including explosives and in 1991, 12,000 secret documents on weapons went missing. In 1999 at LANL, 78 percent of security personnel failed a test of required skills and in 2003, there was deficient safety involving about 3,300 pounds of plutonium at LLNL.

In a 2004 report by the Government Accounting Office (GAO), the agency stated that it still considered the labs "a high-risk area vulnerable to fraud, waste, abuse and mismanagement. As of February 2004, this high-risk designation was still in effect."

Despite the security and managerial lapses, the DoE has continued to award the UC new contracts without competition because the DoE claims it is impressed with UC's "scientific excellence."

To learn more about UC's involvement in managing the nation's nuclear weapons laboratories and the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation's campaign to get UC out of the nuclear weapons business, please visit http://www.ucnuclearfree.org.

Sources: AP, 30 July 2004; San Francisco Gate, 1 August 2004; ucnuclearfree.org; utnuclearfree.org.

Non-Proliferation

US CHANGES POSITION ON FMCT

On 29 July, the Bush administration announced at the 65-nation Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva that it now supports negotiating a treaty to end the production of highly enriched uranium (HEU) and plutonium - also called fissile materials - for weapons. The Bush administration's decision to move forward on the treaty came after an exhaustive interagency policy assessment to review the US position on the treaty that was launched last year. However, US Representative to the CD Jackie Sanders said that the US has "serious concerns" about the verifiability of such a treaty, despite previous US support for the negotiation of a verifiable ban.

Speaking on the condition of anonymity, one senior conference diplomat cautioned that "if the Americans agree to negotiations with no preconditions it will be accepted, but whether all will accept a ban with no verification is another matter." Algerian Ambassador Salah Dembri said the US initiative meant "there was now a glimmer of hope" for the Fissile Materials Cut-off Treaty (FMCT), which he said was the best way of combating attempts to produce nuclear weapons.
According to Dr. Frank von Hippel, co-director of the Program on Science and Global Security at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University, "Negotiating a verifiable FMCT will be a political challenge, but it is technically feasible to establish the means to effectively monitor and verify compliance with the treaty in order to detect and deter clandestine nuclear bomb production efforts. The goal in past years has been to negotiate an all-inclusive treaty with strict and necessary monitoring measures to provide confidence that no country is secretly producing bomb-grade uranium and plutonium for weapons. That should still be the ultimate objective."

The five declared nuclear-weapon states - China, France, Russia, the UK, and the US - have all said they are no longer producing fissile material for weapons. On the other hand, India and Pakistan have active production programs for both HEU and plutonium, and it is likely that their stocks of weapon-grade material are increasing. It is not clear whether Israel is continuing to produce fissile material for weapons purposes. Under the guise of civilian nuclear energy research, other states, including Iran, have built facilities capable of producing fissile material for weapons.

In the final document of the 2000 Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), all of the state parties to the treaty, including the US, agreed to completing a verifiable FMCT in five years.


### Missiles and Missile Defense

**US AND ISRAEL CONDUCT TEST OF JOINT MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM**

On 29 July, Israel and the US conducted a test of the Arrow anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system off the coast of California. This was the first "realistic" test of the system in two years. With US financial backing, Israel has been developing the Arrow ABM system since the first Gulf War in 1991, when the US Patriot system proved less than successful with very few missiles managing to intercept the Scuds launched at Israel.

According to the Israeli Defense Ministry and the Israel Aircraft Industries, the Arrow ABM system successfully intercepted the incoming Scud ballistic missile, in flight over the Pacific Ocean. At approximately 8:25 pm Israeli Time and 9:25 am Pacific Daylight Time, a Scud missile, allegedly confiscated by the US from Iraq, was launched from the US Naval Air Warfare Center at Point Magu. The Scud was identified and fixed by the Arrow system's radar, Green Pine. The radar then directed an Arrow missile to intercept the Scud. This was the 12th test of an Arrow missile and the 7th of the overall system, that includes the Green Pine radar.

According to the Israeli Defense Ministry Shaul Mofaz, the "realistic scenario could not be carried out in Israel because of safety reasons." Mofaz described the results of the test as "being further proof for the technological superiority of the Israeli defense industries. We are in an age of uncertainty. Countries in the third sphere continue in their efforts to acquire non-conventional capabilities along with abilities at long-range launches."

Aryeh Herzog, in charge of the project at the Defense Ministry and the Israel Air Force, said, "The operational implication [of the test] is that the Air Force has an exceptional system. We have known it all along, but now we have added proof. We will continue development. We want to achieve capabilities against future threats, such as those being developed in Iran."

The Arrow has been operational for some years, and two Arrow units are currently deployed in central Israel.


**US EXPANDING MISSILE DEFENSE ALLIANCE AND PROGRAM**

On 13 July, it was reported that the US administration is negotiating with Poland and the Czech Republic to position the biggest missile defense site outside the US in central Europe. Polish government officials confirmed that talks have been going on with the US for eight months and made clear that their country was eager to become a partner. Similarly, officials from Czech Republic also confirmed that talks were under way to establish US advanced radar stations in the country as part of the missile defense program.

Polish Foreign Ministry Spokesman Boguslaw Majewski stated, "We're very interested in becoming a concrete part of the arrangement. We have been debating this with the Americans since the end of last year." Other sources in Poland said Pentagon officers have been scouting the mountain territory in the southern part of the country to pinpoint suitable sites for two or three radar stations connected to the so-called "Son of Star Wars" program. Polish officials also say they want to host a missile interceptor site, a large reinforced underground silo from where long-range missiles would be launched to "intercept" and "destroy" incoming intercontinental ballistic missiles.
Under Bush administration plans, two missile interceptor sites are scheduled to become "operational" by the end of the year at Fort Greely in Alaska and Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. An interceptor site in Poland would be the first outside the US and the only one in Europe. Former Polish Defense Minister Janusz Onyszczkiewicz stated, "An interceptor site would be more attractive. It wouldn't be a hard sell in Poland."

The proposed radar site, extending to 100 sq km, in the Czech Republic could be declared extraterritorial and a sovereign US base. However, Czech officials stressed that talks are at the exploratory stage and no decisions have been made. The negotiations, led by US Undersecretary for Arms Control John Bolton, have been kept confidential, angering senior defense officials in the region who have been kept in the dark. Milos Titz, Deputy Chairman of the Czech parliament's Defense and Security Committee, only learned of the talks in mid-July and immediately called Defense Minister Miroslav Kostelka to demand an explanation.

According to the Arms Control Association, the Pentagon has already requested modest funding for preliminary studies on a third missile interceptor site based in Europe. Lieutenant General Ronald Kadish, Director of the Pentagon's Missile Defense Agency (MDA), told Congress this year of plans to construct a missile shield base abroad. Kadish stated, "We are preparing to move forward when appropriate to build a third [ground-based interceptor] site at a location outside the United States."

In addition to Poland and the Czech Republic, the Arms Control Association also reported in July that the US has also been talking to Hungary about possible involvement in the missile defense program. Sources in Poland said the US was also talking to Romania and Bulgaria. On 7 July, Australia joined Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, South Korea, Spain and the UK among countries working with the US on developing, testing and deploying missile defense systems. Under the 25-year agreement, Australia and the US laid the groundwork to jointly develop, test and possibly run such a system, with early work on an advanced radar that the Pentagon claims can help detect ballistic missiles soon after launch. According to the Pentagon, another early aim would be to equip a new Australian destroyer with missile defense capability.

The US Missile Defense Agency claims that the two interceptor sites being built in Alaska and California are primarily to insure against potential ballistic missile attack on the US by North Korea. The argument for a European site is being justified to insure against potential ballistic missile attacks from the Middle East, notably Syria or Iran. However, many believe that any such facility in Poland mainly concerns Russia. Polish officials are insisting that any plans must be "squared" with Russia first for fear of creating military tension in that region.

While the US is moving forward with and expanding its plans, missile defense is still a largely unproven technology. In a 2003 report, the US General Accounting Office charged, "As a result of testing shortfalls and the limited time avail- able to test the BMDS [Ballistic Missile Defense Systems] being fielded, system effectiveness will be largely unproven when the initial capability goes on alert..." In other words, there is no evidence to demonstrate that missile defense currently works and even Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld has admitted to this. Earlier this year, he stated that "...if one looks at any complicated system, you'll find that it does not work perfectly 100 percent of the time. It may be .9; it may be .7 success; that's plenty."

Additionally, the development program for missile defense systems is currently the most expensive program in the Pentagon budget. The US Missile Defense Agency's 2005 budget is $10.2 billion. Under the Bush administration, some $20 billion has been poured into missile defense and a 2003 study by leading economists estimated that a ground-based missile defense system employed until 2015 will cost between $120 and $150 billion, not including costs such as support and maintenance.


UKRAINE MISSING MISSILES

Since March 2004, Ukraine's Defense Minister Yevhen Marchuk has been searching for missing missiles and other weapons that could have fallen into the hands of terrorists or been sold to states seeking to acquire the technology. Marchuk became Ukraine's Defense Minister in June 2003 and he raised a domestic storm when he publicly announced the Defense Ministry had no unified accounting system. He immediately ordered an inventory that revealed that some $170 million of military stock was probably missing. After learning of the shocking results of the investigation, Marchuk ordered another inventory that uncovered an additional $20 million worth of equipment was missing.

Marchuk has complained that there is no data available to him regarding the quantity of military equipment Ukraine inherited after the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. For example, in 1990-1991, 1,942 S-185 missiles were delivered to the Zhytomir military base, west of Kiev to be dismantled. However, only 488 of the 1,942 can in fact be accounted for. What has happened to the missiles is anyone's guess. Marchuk stated, "We are looking for several hundred missiles. They have already been decommissioned, but we can't find them."

Ukraine's officially declared revenue from the sale of military equipment is $3 billion. But, according to Jane's Defense, this only represents a small fraction of the real volume of Ukraine's military exports.


MISSILE DEFENSE AT THE OLYMPICS

In addition to almost 300 surveillance cameras, dozens of new Patriot Advanced Capability (PAC 3) missiles were armed and in position beginning on 27 July at three locations including the Tatoi military base near the athletes' Olympic Village, to provide a "defense umbrella" over Athens from now until the end of the games on 29 August.
Squadron leader Lieutenant-Colonel Agamemnon Koliakos stated, "This particular squadron, along with other missile guided squadrons, is part of an anti-missile umbrella formed in the Athens region for the protection of the Olympic Games."

Greece has put in place the most expensive Olympic security plan ever with a total cost of some $1.22 billion. Greece has set up a seven-nation security advisory group, including Australia, France, Germany, Israel, Spain, the UK and US to provide intelligence and training, and has called on NATO for air and sea patrols.

Despite the elaborate security measures, the government has assured there is no indication, or intelligence "chatter," of a potential attack in Greece during the Games, a statement that has been backed by the international police organization Interpol.


COLUMBIA GENERATING STATION EMERGENCY SHUTDOWN

On 30 July 2004, the only nuclear reactor in the Northwest US had to be shutdown manually when its automated shutdown systems failed. Two of 185 control rods at the Columbia Generating Station failed to move into place and had to be inserted manually by reactor engineers.

Rob Harper, a spokesman for the Washington State Emergency Operations Center said no radiation was released and there was no danger to the public. Nonetheless, local emergency officials followed protocols and activated the Emergency Operations Center at Camp Murray 250 miles west of the reactor. It is unknown how long the reactor will remain offline following the emergency shutdown.

The Columbia Generating Station, also known as WNP2, is a boiling water reactor that first produced electricity in 1984. The generating capacity is 1,157 megawatts, enough to power the city of Seattle with more than 560,000 residents. Electricity service will not be interrupted because existing power in the Northwest network can substitute for the loss of the Columbia reactor.

Sources: KVEW TV Channel 42, 30 July 2004; Seattle Post Intelligencer, 30 July 2004; KGW Channel 8, 30 July 2004; The San Diego Tribune, 30 July 2004.

VERMONT YANKEE NUCLEAR REACTOR, PART DEUX

Following a fire that shut down the Vermont Yankee nuclear reactor for 19 days, the reactor resumed operation on 6 July 2004. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission announced the cause of the fire was not related with the proposal to increase the reactor's energy output. However, on 8 July 2004 the Vermont Yankee fire brigade responded to yet another emergency. Black smoke was billowing from a furnace until the fuel supply was turned off. No damages or injuries were reported.

On the brighter side, an investigation on 13 July 2004 revealed that two of the reactors highly radioactive spent fuel rods that went missing nearly three months ago, have been properly stored the entire time. Officials are nevertheless dismayed that the radioactive rods were not properly accounted for. Vermont Governor Jim Douglas said it was worrisome that Vermont Yankee couldn't account for its nuclear waste.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) has announced it will conduct a special investigation into the breakdown of Vermont Yankee's record-keeping. NRC regional spokesman Neil Sheehan said the NRC investigation would be "to get a read on the overall health of [the Vermont Yankee] nuclear materials accountability program."

In addition to the concerns over Vermont Yankee's record-keeping, the NRC is also interested in cracks found in the steam dryer, where radioactive steam is desiccated after leaving the nuclear core. Additional concerns have been raised over the proposed boost in output, which would generate more problematic radioactive waste.

Sources: WPTZ Channel 5, 7, 8 15, 19, 24 July 2004; WCAX Channel 3, 8, 15 July 2004.

RUSSIAN NUCLEAR FACILITIES BURDENED, VULNERABLE AND UNPOPULAR

In 2001, the Russian Ministry for Atomic Power began an international waste reprocessing project. Russian President Vladimir Putin signed into law three acts which permit the importation of nuclear waste into Russia. The Ministry estimated revenues of $20 billion over 10 years for storing and reprocessing spent fuel from international sources. The first year of operation generated just $100 million, 40 times less revenue than was expected. After three years of operation, the project reveals that Russian nuclear reprocessing and waste facilities are in terrible condition.
Only two facilities are capable of properly storing waste - Mayak and Krasnoyarsk-26, whose total combined capacity is between just 2,000 and 2,500 tons.

Vladimir Slivyak and Alisa Nikoulina, from Ecodefense, issued a report in which they identified the Mayak and Krasnoyarsk-26 facilities as prime terrorist targets. Furthermore, the report recommends halting the transport of spent nuclear fuel to both locations because necessary security cannot be provided en route.

The Ecodefense report cites widespread Russian discontent with the waste reprocessing scheme. According to recent opinion polls, 93 percent of Russian citizens oppose the import of spent fuel and 90 percent of Russians fear nuclear energy.

The report concludes, in Silvyak and Nikoulina's words, "Unless import of spent nuclear fuel is stopped, Russia will become the world's leading nation by amount of radioactive waste, and then by the number of nuclear waste dumps."

The full report is available as a PDF download from: http://www.antiatom.ru/download/040615report.pdf


FEDERAL AUDIT FINDS HANFORD CLEANUP NOT WORKING

According to a federal audit released on 27 July, efforts to clean up contaminated groundwater around the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in the southern part of Washington state have been "largely ineffective." Thus far, the US Department of Energy (DoE) has spent $85 million attempting to clean the groundwater, including $8 million a year on its pump-and-treat system, which pulls groundwater out of the ground, runs it through filters, and puts it back. However, the system doesn't work and, according to the audit, the DoE knows it doesn't work and yet it is not doing much to find alternative methods. The report recommends that the DoE shut down current treatments, establish concrete goals, and try new technologies. In the mean time, polluted water is draining into the Columbia River.


MISSING NUCLEAR WEAPON FOUND?

On 22 July, Retired Air Force Colonel Derek Duke and others using equipment that detects radiation and large metal objects to scour an area the size of a football field in Wassaw Sound said they may have discovered a missing hydrogen bomb that the Air Force accidentally dropped off the Georgia coast more than 45 years ago. The crew of a B-47 accidentally dropped the 7,600-pound Hydrogen bomb near Wassaw Sound - a shallow area near Tybee Beach that is about 12 miles from Hilton Head Island - in 1958 after it collided with another jet fighter. The military searched for the bomb for three months.

According to Duke, the radiation levels were seven to 10 times greater than normal in one spot. He also said the group detected a massive underwater object. Duke stated, "It might be nothing. Our big question now is, 'What do we do next?'" He and others are concerned that there is a plutonium capsule inside the bomb.

Duke plans to take the results of the search to labs for analysis. He is considering whether to hand over his findings to the Air Force or Georgia environmental officials. He stated, "If this is indeed the spot where the bomb is, the Air Force needs to come in and come clean."

Associate Director of the Air Force Nuclear Weapons and Counter-proliferation Agency Billy Mullins said the bomb is best left alone and is probably entombed in 20 feet of mud. Mullins stated, "If you want to determine for sure that it was the (nuclear bomb), you would have to dig it up with a big dredging type of operation." According to Mullins this presents two risks: The dredge could hit the bomb and detonate the high explosives, threatening the salvage crew, and an explosion might blow a hole in a clay layer protecting an aquifer that supplies drinking water to Savannah.

Mullins stated, "We really don't think it's in the best interest in the safety of Savannah to be digging around there when it's perfectly safe where it is." Mullins said that the bomb contains uranium and 400 pounds of explosives, but doesn't have a plutonium capsule. With no capsule, the bomb is incapable of creating a nuclear explosion.

Bill Mottel, former head of the Savannah River Site and currently a member of Hilton Head's Town Council, said people should not worry about salvage operations detonating a nuclear explosion. Although Mottel was not involved in operations
involving the bomb, he said he was aware when the bomb was lost and later briefed more thoroughly as plant manager. Mottel stated, "It's totally safe, based on my judgment and experience. It's not something you can kick and make it go 'boom.'"

Hilton Head Mayor Tom Peeples said he hadn't heard the bomb may have been found and he did not have enough information to comment on the possibility of removing it.


JOHN BOLTON: US WON'T BE FOOLED AGAIN BY NORTH KOREA

Demonstrating the insanity of US nuclear policy double standards, on 21 July, Undersecretary for Arms Control John Bolton said the US would not be "fooled again" by North Korea's offer of a nuclear freeze. He said North Korea should follow the Libyan model and unconditionally scrap its nuclear weapons program.

Speaking just before a summit meeting on 21 July between Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi and South Korean President Roh Moo-Hyun on efforts to end to the 21-month-old nuclear standoff, Bolton said that 10 years ago North Korea pledged a nuclear freeze under the 1994 Agreed Framework before breaking its word and deciding to "flip a switch and unfreeze its programs." Bolton stated, "We have a saying: 'Fool me once, shame on you. Fool me twice, shame on me.' We will not be fooled again."

Under the Bush administration, the US has taken a hard-line stance toward North Korea. Although the US appeared to soften its stance in June during six-nation talks (China, Japan, North Korea, Russia, South Korea, and US) held in Beijing, Bolton stated on 21 July that no specific rewards would be offered to North Korea for complying with US demands for the complete dismantlement of all nuclear programs. Bolton stated, "Our experience with Libya shows that a freeze is unnecessary, and moreover, would simply delay the time when the people of North Korea could reap the benefits of rejoining the international community."

At the talks, the US made its first specific proposal for a workable solution, saying it would approve heavy oil shipments by Japan, South Korea, China and Russia and provisionally guarantee the safety of the North Korean regime if the country froze its nuclear programs with a promise of eventual dismantlement. As a reward for complete dismantlement of its nuclear program, the US offered to remove North Korea from its list of terrorism-supporting nations and lift economic sanctions as a prelude to normalizing diplomatic relations. For its part, North Korea made clear that under its proposed freeze it will not manufacture, transfer or test nuclear weapons.

The softened stance by the Bush administration in June now appears to be more of a response to a foreign policy speech given by Democratic Presidential Candidate John Kerry on 1 June in West Palm Beach, Florida. In his speech, Kerry said he would take a different approach to negotiating the elimination of North Korea's nuclear program than the current administration. He stated, "We should maintain the six-party talks, but we must also be prepared to talk directly with North Korea. This problem is too urgent to allow China, or others at the table, to speak for us. And we must be prepared to negotiate a comprehensive agreement that addresses the full range of issues of concern to us and our allies."

For its part, North Korea has accused the US of demanding disarmament as a prelude to overthrowing the North Korean regime. Bolton argues that the Libya case proves the North Korean regime could survive without nuclear weapons. He stated, "This is important to show that one can give up weapons of mass destruction in a context where the regime, as a next-step decision, stays in power."

In December 2003, Libya agreed to dismantle the country's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programs and renounce the pursuit of such weapons. In April 2004, the US lifted most sanctions against the country. Bolton said the experience of Libya should make it clear to North Korea that it stood to gain by agreeing to scrap its nuclear programs. According to Bolton, "The principle, though, of not rewarding outlaw regimes merely for coming back into compliance with their past obligations is an important one for the United States to uphold. It is not only anathema to our values - it is a bad policy."

The fourth round of the six-nation talks is scheduled for September. Following the summit with Japanese leader Koizumi, South Korean President Roh said he expected rapid progress at the September talks. Roh stated, "We two leaders appreciate that the negotiations aimed at resolving the nuclear issue enter a stage for substantial negotiations with concrete proposals put forward at the third round of six-way talks."

However, Bolton said a resolution of the standoff was impossible unless North Korea acknowledged running a uranium program. He stated, "So there is no misunderstanding - North Korea's continued denial of its uranium enrichment program precludes a solution to this problem."

FOUNDATION PRESIDENT SPEAKS IN EUROPE

Foundation President David Krieger has just returned from a speaking tour in Europe. From 3-6 July, David participated in meetings of the International Council and Executive Committee of the International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility (INES) in Sopron, Hungary, a small town near the border of Austria. Members of INES are strongly engaged scientists and engineers who are concerned about the impact of science and technology on society. There were representatives at the meetings from throughout Europe as well as from Russia and Latin America. Future plans of INES include organizing for the International Einstein Year 2005, in which it is playing a leading role. Starting this November, INES will begin a series of meetings on Einstein's views on peace, disarmament and social responsibility.

On 5 July, in Sopron, Hungary, David gave the keynote address, entitled "Nuclear Disarmament in a time of Globalization," at the 40th anniversary meeting of the International Peace Research Association. On 8 July, David spoke to some 150 participants from throughout Europe at the International Summer Academy of the Schlaizing Peace Center on "The US Peace Movement in a Time of 'War against Terrorism.'" During the trip, David also gave a talk to the International Institute for Peace in Vienna.

The full report of David's trip to Europe can be viewed online at http://www.wagingpeace.org/articles/2004/07/00_krieger_report-europe.htm

David's Speech, "Nuclear Disarmament in a Time of Globalization" can be read online at: http://www.wagingpeace.org/articles/2004/07/05_krieger_nuclear-disarmament-globalization.htm

FOUNDATION STAFF MEMBER RETURNS FROM LIBYA

From 29 June to 11 July, Carah Ong, the Foundation's Communications and Development Officer, visited Libya as a member of the first non-governmental delegation of Americans to officially visit the country since the US removed its more than twenty-year embargo on the country in April 2004. The delegation was organized by the Libyan Foreign Affairs Department and the Revolutionary Committees Movement (RCM) of Libya.

The purpose of the trip was to open dialogue between the government of Libya and civil society organizations in Libya and the US. The delegation held discussions and exchanged views and ideas regarding democracy, weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and US foreign policy with their hosts. The delegation also participated in site visits to the Libyan National Teacher's Syndicate, the National Medical Center, the Center for Communicable Diseases, the Center for Green Book Studies and the Great Man-Made River Project. The delegation was treated to many cultural exchanges in various cities and met with local officials in the ancient Roman cities of Leptis Magna and Sabratha, as well as in the cities of Abu Aisha and Shibirat Zauyia.

Carah stated, "Having no idea what to expect of Libya, I was very impressed with the country and the social and economic strides the people of Libya have taken despite US sanctions. In speaking with people in the market and on the streets, I discovered that Libyans are very positive about Americans and they gave us a warm welcome wherever we visited. People thanked me for coming to their country and expressed how glad they are that relations are beginning to normalize between the governments. For me, this trip underlined the importance of people to people relations. While governments and political systems may come and go, it is relationships with people that last."

The full report of Carah's trip entitled, "To the Shores of Tripoli," is available as a pdf download on the Foundation's website at http://www.wagingpeace.org.

Resources

THE SOVEREIGNTY REVOLUTION

The Sovereignty Revolution is the late Senator Alan Cranston's analysis of the problems created by our current conception of sovereignty, "with every nation supreme inside its own borders and acknowledging no master outside them." As such, it is the last testament of a senior statesman with a deep moral commitment to nuclear disarmament.
This book is an impassioned argument that these conceptions of sovereignty, and in turn the role of international institutions, must change before humanity can effectively resolve the world's increasingly global challenges, from international terrorism and the proliferation of nuclear weapons to climate change and poverty. Cranston argues that for humanity to survive the twenty-first century, we must adopt a more encompassing understanding of sovereignty, one that acknowledges the primacy of the individual, while emphasizing the importance of strengthening international law and increasing the authority of multilateral institutions, such as the United Nations. The book includes a foreword by Mikhail Gorbachev, an Introduction by Jonathan Schell, and response essays by Jane Goodall and Jonathan Granoff.

To order a copy, visit: http://www.gsinstitute.org/gsi/books_sovereignty.html

**REBUILDING IRAQ: RESOURCE, SECURITY, GOVERNANCE, ESSENTIAL SERVICES, AND OVERSIGHT ISSUES**

In June 2004, the US General Accounting Office (GAO) issued the report on Iraqi reconstruction. Despite the fact that rebuilding Iraq is a US national security and foreign policy priority, Iraq remains worse off than before the war began in 2003. According to the GAO report:

-77% of Iraqis receive fewer hours of electricity per day than before the war;
-Iraqi civil defense units are poorly equipped, receive little training and are deserting in large numbers; and
-The number of violent attacks has almost tripled since the beginning of 2004.

Ranking Democrat from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Joseph Biden, said in a written statement, "So while we've handed over political sovereignty, we haven't handed over practical capacity - that is, the ability for the Iraqis themselves to provide security, defend their borders, defeat the insurgency, deliver basic services, run a government and set the foundation for economic progress."

Of the $58 billion in funds contributed by US appropriations, the Development Fund for Iraq, Vested and Seized Assets, and International pledges for relief and reconstruction of Iraq, only $13.7 billion has actually been disbursed.

The report is available as a PDF download from: http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d04902r.pdf

**NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION: DOE NEEDS TO TAKE ACTION TO FURTHER REDUCE THE USE OF WEAPONS-USABLE URANIUM IN CIVILIAN RESEARCH REACTORS**

In July 2004, the US General Accounting Office (GAO) issued a report on nuclear proliferation, calling upon the US Department of Energy (DoE) to take action to further reduce the use of weapons-usable uranium in civilian research reactors.

According to the author's analysis, conversion to low-enriched uranium (LEU) fuel is technically feasible for 35 of the 66 research reactors in DoE's reactor conversion program that still use highly-enriched uranium (HEU) fuel, but most do not have plans to convert. In the United States, 8 research reactors, including 6 university reactors, could convert to LEU fuel, but the DoE has not provided the necessary funding (estimated by DoE at about $5 million to $10 million per reactor). In addition, a university research reactor that converted to LEU in 2000 is still storing HEU fuel because the DoE has not removed it. DOE officials said they have not made the conversion of the 6 university research reactors a priority because the reactors use only a small amount of HEU fuel. Officials at Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which regulates most of the US research reactors included in DOE's reactor conversion program, said that they consider the conversion of the university reactors a security enhancement and one of their priorities and that the delay is purely a matter of funding.

The report is available as a PDF download from: http://www.gao.gov/cgi-bin/getrpt?GAO-04-807

**A BASIC GUIDE TO MISSILE DEFENSE AND WEAPONIZATION OF SPACE**

The British American Security Information Council (BASIC) has produced a brochure on Missile Defense and Weaponization of Space. Although specifically designed for a British audience, the brochure illuminates a pressing global issue which affects all people. Free copies of the brochure can be ordered from nchamberlain@basicint.org.

The brochure is also available as a PDF download from: http://www.basicint.org/nuclear/NMD/mdflier.pdf
The Knowers Ark Educational Foundation has released an updated and expanded Middle East Educational Wall Poster. The poster is an impartial and non-partisan educational reference that displays maps and charts of the Middle East. The double sided poster measures 27” x 36” and focuses on important regional issues: water, economics, religion, military forces, and oil. You can order the map online from: http://www.sunship.com/mideast/poster/index.shtml

**Looking for a Demarcation Between Nuclear Transparency and Nuclear Secrecy**

The Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) has published Looking for a Demarcation Between Nuclear Transparency and Nuclear Secrecy, by Senior Research Fellow Dr. Annette Schaper. PRIF Report No. 68 compares the transparency of states that possess nuclear weapons. The report finds that future progress in nuclear arms control and disarmament will rely on the availability of technical information for verification.

The entire report is available as a PDF document from: http://www.prif.org/downloads/PRIF-68.pdf

**US Nuclear Policy After the Cold War**

The Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) has published US Nuclear Policy After the Cold War by Executive Director Harald Müller and Senior Research Fellow Dr. Annette Schaper. The report discusses the relationship between democratic institutions and nuclear weapons. It analyzes the need for a concerned citizenry that can critically question the development of security paradigms.

The report is available as a PDF download from: http://www.hsfk.de/downloads/PRIF-69.pdf

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**Quotable**

“In 1984 I said to the Democratic Convention: ‘This is not a perfect party. We are not a perfect people. Yet we are called to a perfect mission - to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to house the homeless, to teach the illiterate, to provide jobs for the jobless, and to choose the human race over the nuclear race.’”

-Reverend Jesse Jackson, from an Op-Ed in the Boston Globe, 26 July 2004

“Today, the risk of an accidental or unauthorized launch of a nuclear weapon is unacceptably high. We are running the irrational risk of an Armageddon of our own making. It is time to find a safer form of deterrence and security. If both the United States and Russia remove nuclear weapons from hair-trigger status, we can immediately eliminate the threat of rapid assured destruction and dramatically reduce the chance of an accidental, mistaken, or unauthorized launch. By taking this step, we will de-emphasize the role of nuclear weapons and make them less relevant.”


“I do not stand here celebrating the use of nuclear weapons. Quite the contrary. I hope that my mission is the last such mission ever flown. We as a national should abhor the existence of nuclear weapons. I certainly do.”

- General Charles W. Sweeney speaking before a Senate committee on the controversial Enola Gay exhibit at the Smithsonian in May 1995. Sweeney piloted Bockscar on 9 August 1945 when a plutonium bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. General Charles W. Sweeney died 15 July 2004.

“War remains the decisive human failure”


“I have to accept that we have not found them and we may not find them.”

-British Prime Minister Tony Blair referring to weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, 6 July 2004.
“We could take the city, but we would have to kill everyone in it.”

-Iraq’s director of national intelligence, Mohammed Abdullah Shahwani, speaking about the 284,000 people living in Falluja, 8 July 2004.

“\[I\] don’t have any idea of what we’re trying to do out here. I don’t know what the (goal) is, and I don’t think our commanders do either. I feel deceived personally. I don’t trust anything (Defense Secretary Donald) Rumsfeld says, and I think (Deputy Defense Secretary Paul) Wolfowitz is even dirtier.”

-Staff Sergeant A.J. Dean speaking during patrol in Ramadi, Iraq, 21 July 2004.

“The enemy declared war on us, and you just got to know nobody wants to be the ‘war President.’ I want to be the ‘peace President.’”


“The president had an amazing opportunity to bring the country together under his slogan of compassionate conservatism and to unite the world in the struggle against terror. Instead, he and his congressional allies made a very different choice. They chose to use that moment of unity to try to push the country too far to the right and to walk away from our allies, not only in attacking Iraq before the weapons inspectors had finished their work, but in withdrawing American support for the climate change treaty and for the international court on war criminals and for the anti-ballistic missile treaty and from the nuclear test ban treaty. Now, now at a time when we’re trying to get other people to give up nuclear and biological and chemical weapons, they are trying to develop two new nuclear weapons which they say we might use first.”

-Former US President Bill Clinton speaking at the opening day of the Democratic National Convention, 26 July 2004.

“Aware that the establishment of peace on Earth represents the primary condition for the survival of humankind, recognizing that the maintenance of a peaceful life for peoples is a sacred duty of each state, solemnly proclaims that the peoples of our planet have a sacred right to peace.”