

NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR US

People exposed within a half mile of the atomic fireball were seared to bundles of smoking char in a fraction of a second as their internal organs boiled away. The small black bundles now stuck to the streets and bridges and sidewalks of Hiroshima numbered in the thousands.¹

As of early 2022, nine countries in the world possess a total of 13,100 nuclear weapons. Roughly 9600 of these weapons are in military arsenals; the remaining weapons are retired and awaiting dismantlement. Approximately 3800 are operationally available, and some 2000 are on high alert and ready to use on short notice.²

Approximately 91 percent of nuclear weapons reside in Russia and the United States. Seven other nations possess them: France, China, the United Kingdom, Pakistan, India, Israel, and North Korea. Five European NATO countries host US nuclear weapons on their soil (Turkey, Italy, Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands), and roughly two dozen other countries claim to rely on US nuclear weapons in their military doctrines. Although the leaders of some nuclear-armed nations have expressed their vision for a nuclear weapon-free world, all are actively upgrading and modernizing their nuclear arsenals.

Nuclear weapons have been used twice in warfare—on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Close to a quarter of a million civilians were incinerated in an instant, or suffered agonizing deaths in the weeks and months after the attacks. Many thousands more have died in the seven decades since from radiation related illnesses. Most nuclear weapons today are many times more powerful than the bombs dropped on Japan.

The United Nations, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, and other relief agencies have declared that no adequate humanitarian response would be possible following a single nuclear detonation, let alone in the event of an all-out nuclear war.³

On July 7, 2017, on the floor of the United Nations General Assembly, 122 nations voted to adopt the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. The treaty bans the use, threatened use, possession, development, production, testing, deployment, or transfer of nuclear weapons under international law. On January 22, 2021, it entered into legal force for the 54 (and counting) ratifying nations. Though none of the nuclear weapons states are yet party to the treaty it has the effect of outlawing the weapons internationally. For the full treaty text and to follow as nations sign on and ratify the treaty go to the website for the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons at icanw.org and click on The Treaty.

*From 1970 to 1974, **Bruce Blair** was a US Air Force launch officer for Minuteman nuclear intercontinental ballistic missiles at Malmstrom Air Force Base in Montana. He was also a planner for the Strategic Air Command's "Looking Glass," an airborne command post that would assume command and control of all US nuclear forces should ground based command centers be destroyed or rendered inoperable.*

Coming from a fairly conservative mid-western background and having joined the Air Force, where I served for 4 years as a nuclear missile launch officer, I believed nuclear weapons played an essential role in protecting the nation.

My epiphany dawned suddenly, but it was the culmination of a learning experience that began in the underground launch centers, where I spent innumerable days and nights, and in the simulators where I practiced "fighting" hundreds of mock nuclear wars.

When you and another 20-something crewmate are responsible for firing up to 50 nuclear-armed missiles—each armed with a warhead 50 times more destructive than the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima—you begin to wonder. And when you watch the sausage being made, you see grave and urgent failings.

After leaving the Air Force, I sought to persuade Strategic Command to lock the launch switches in the underground silos, so that a crew could not go berserk and fire without authorization. When I served, there were no physical barriers to turning the keys to launch the many civilization-ending missiles under our control. A locking panel had been installed many years earlier, but the men at the top hated the idea and quietly set the unlock code to eight zeroes. We all knew the codes because our checklists required that we ensure just prior to launch that they all read 00000000!

This was just the beginning of a long saga of disturbing revelations about the operational risks run by the nuclear missile forces on land and sea, by the nuclear-armed bombers, and by the command, control, and communications networks responsible for their operation. Working as a staff scientist for the U.S. Congress, as a think tanker at the Brookings Institution, and in various other jobs I uncovered myriad risks of accidental and unauthorized launches, mistaken launch on false warning, terrorist capture and use of nuclear weapons, and escalation that spins out of control.

I reflected on my own danger-filled experiences, such as the time I was instructed to prepare to fire my missiles during a showdown with the Soviets during the 1973 Yom-Kippur war. On alert late one night, I received the order to begin launch preparations. My crewmate and I retrieved launch keys and codes from our safe, put them on our consoles, and strapped into our chairs to brace for an imminent nuclear strike in case this coercive “diplomacy” got out of hand.

I reflected on my discovery that hackers could slip inside the naval broadcast network and literally seize electronic control of the radio station used to transmit launch orders to submarines patrolling the Atlantic.

I reflected on the proliferation of nuclear weapons over the past two decades that put weapons in the hands of countries like India, Pakistan, and North Korea.

I reflected on the fact that the day before the Twin Towers fell, Osama bin Laden met with a top Pakistani nuclear expert to discuss nuclear weapons.

At some point, the accumulation of growing risks becomes overwhelming and one realizes that they simply cannot be contained indefinitely. If we do not eliminate them, these weapons will eventually—inevitably—be used. *We have no choice but to seek a world without them.* That was my epiphany 10 years ago, and I hadn’t even imagined how in 2017 erratic and belligerent leaders could bring us so close to the brink of nuclear war.

Beatrice Fihn is the Executive Director of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN). In December 2017, in Oslo, Norway, ICAN was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for “its work to draw attention to the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons and for its ground-breaking efforts to achieve a treaty-based prohibition of such weapons.” The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons is the fruit of their work, making nuclear weapons the last category of weapons of mass destruction to be prohibited by international law. Along with Setsuko Thurlow, a hibakusha (survivor of the atomic bombings), Fihn accepted the peace prize on behalf of ICAN; the following is her acceptance speech.

At dozens of locations around the world—in missile silos buried in our earth, on submarines navigating through our oceans, and aboard planes flying high in our sky—lay 15,000 objects of humankind’s destruction. Perhaps it is the enormity of this fact, perhaps it is the unimaginable scale of the consequences, that leads many to simply accept this grim reality. To go about our daily lives with no thought to the instruments of insanity all around us.

For it is insanity to allow ourselves to be ruled by these weapons. Many critics of this movement suggest that we are the irrational ones—the idealists with no grounding in reality—because nuclear-armed states will never give up their weapons.

But we represent the only rational choice. We represent those who refuse to accept nuclear weapons as a fixture in our world, those who refuse to have their fates bound up in a few lines of launch code. Ours is the only reality that is possible. The alternative is unthinkable.

The story of nuclear weapons will have an ending, and it is up to us what that ending will be. Will it be the end of nuclear weapons, or will it be the end of us? One of these things will happen. The only rational course of action is to cease living under the conditions where our mutual destruction is only one impulsive tantrum away.

Today I want to talk of three things: fear, freedom, and the future.

By the very admission of those who possess them, the real utility of nuclear weapons is in their ability to provoke fear. When they refer to their “deterrent” effect, proponents of nuclear weapons are celebrating fear as a weapon of war. They are puffing their chests by declaring their preparedness to exterminate, in a flash, countless thousands of human lives.

Nobel Laureate William Faulkner said when accepting his prize in 1950, that “There is only the question of ‘when will I be blown up?’” But since then, this universal fear has given way to something even more dangerous: denial.

Gone is the fear of Armageddon in an instant, gone is the equilibrium between two blocs that was used as the justification for deterrence, gone are the fallout shelters. But one thing remains: the thousands upon thousands of nuclear warheads that filled us up with that fear.

The risk of nuclear weapons use is even greater today than at the end of the Cold War. But unlike the Cold War, today we face many more nuclear armed states, terrorists, and cyber warfare. All of this makes us less safe.

Learning to live with these weapons in blind acceptance has been our next great mistake. Fear is rational. The threat is real. We have avoided nuclear war not through prudent leadership but good fortune. Sooner or later, if we fail to act, our luck will run out.

A moment of panic or carelessness, a misconstrued comment or bruised ego, could easily lead us unavoidably to the destruction of entire cities. A calculated military escalation could lead to the indiscriminate mass murder of civilians.

If only a small fraction of today’s nuclear weapons were used, soot and smoke from the firestorms would loft high into the atmosphere—cooling, darkening and drying the Earth’s surface for more than a decade. It would obliterate food crops, putting billions at risk of starvation. Yet we continue to live in denial of this existential threat.

But Faulkner in his Nobel speech also issued a challenge to those who came after him. Only by being the voice of humanity, he said, can we defeat fear; can we help humanity endure.

ICAN’s duty is to be that voice—the voice of humanity and humanitarian law; to speak up on behalf of civilians. Giving voice to that humanitarian perspective is how we will create the end of fear, the end of denial, and ultimately, the end of nuclear weapons.

That brings me to my second point: freedom.

As the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, the first ever anti-nuclear weapons organization to win this prize, said on this stage in 1985: “We physicians protest the outrage of holding the entire world hostage. We protest the moral obscenity that each of us is being continuously targeted for extinction.” Those words still ring true today.

We must reclaim the freedom to not live our lives as hostages to imminent annihilation. Man—not woman—made nuclear weapons to control others, but instead we are controlled by them. They made us false promises: that by making the consequences of using these weapons so unthinkable it would make any conflict unpalatable, that it would keep us free from war.

But far from preventing war, these weapons brought us to the brink multiple times throughout the Cold War. And in this century, these weapons continue to escalate us towards

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war and conflict—in Iraq, in Iran, in Kashmir, in North Korea. Their existence propels others to join the nuclear race. They don't keep us safe, they cause conflict.

As fellow Nobel Peace Laureate, Martin Luther King Jr., in 1964, called them from this very stage, these weapons are “both genocidal and suicidal”. They are the madman's gun held permanently to our temple. These weapons were supposed to keep us free, but they deny us our freedoms.

It's an affront to democracy to be ruled by these weapons. But they are just weapons. They are just tools. And just as they were created by geopolitical context, they can just as easily be destroyed by placing them in a humanitarian context.

And my third point I wish to talk about, the future.

I have the honor of sharing this stage today with Setsuko Thurlow, who has made it her life's purpose to bear witness to the horror of nuclear war. She and the *hibakusha* were at the beginning of the story, and it is our collective challenge to ensure they will also witness the end of it. They relive the painful past, over and over again, so that we may create a better future.

There are hundreds of organizations that together as ICAN are making great strides towards that future. There are thousands of tireless campaigners around the world who work each day to rise to that challenge. There are millions of people across the globe who have stood shoulder to shoulder with those campaigners to show hundreds of millions more that a different future is truly possible.

Those who say that future is not possible need to get out of the way of those making it a reality. As the culmination of this grassroots effort, through the action of ordinary people, this year the hypothetical marched forward towards the actual as 122 nations negotiated and concluded a UN treaty to outlaw these weapons of mass destruction.

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons provides the pathway forward at a moment of great global crisis. It is a light in a dark time. And more than that, it provides a choice. A choice between the two endings: the end of nuclear weapons or the end of us.

It is not naive to believe in the first choice. It is not irrational to think nuclear states can disarm. It is not idealistic to believe in life over fear and destruction; it is a necessity. All of us face that choice. And I call on every nation to join the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

The United States—choose freedom over fear. Russia—choose disarmament over destruction. Britain—choose the rule of law over oppression. France—choose human rights over terror. China—choose reason over irrationality. India—choose sense over senselessness. Pakistan—choose logic over Armageddon. Israel—choose common sense over obliteration. North Korea—choose wisdom over ruin.

To the nations who believe they are sheltered under the umbrella of nuclear weapons, will you be complicit in your own destruction and the destruction of others in your name?

To all nations—choose the end of nuclear weapons over the end of us!

This is the choice that the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons represents. Join this Treaty.

We citizens are living under the umbrella of falsehoods. These weapons are not keeping us safe, they are contaminating our land and water, poisoning our bodies and holding hostage our right to life. To all citizens of the world: Stand with us and demand your government side with humanity and sign this treaty. We will not rest until all States have joined, on the side of reason.

No nation today boasts of being a chemical weapon state. No nation argues that it is acceptable, in extreme circumstances, to use sarin nerve agent. No nation proclaims the right

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to unleash on its enemy the plague or polio. That is because international norms have been set, perceptions have been changed. And now, at last, we have an unequivocal norm against nuclear weapons. Monumental strides forward never begin with universal agreement. With every new signatory and every passing year, this new reality will take hold.

This is the way forward. There is only one way to prevent the use of nuclear weapons: prohibit and eliminate them.

Nuclear weapons, like chemical weapons, biological weapons, cluster munitions and land mines before them, are now illegal. Their existence is immoral. Their abolishment is in our hands. The end is inevitable. But will that end be the end of nuclear weapons or the end of us? We must choose one. We are a movement for rationality, for democracy, for freedom from fear. We are campaigners from 468 organizations who are working to safeguard the future, and we are representative of the moral majority: the billions of people who choose life over death, who together will see the end of nuclear weapons.

On September 26, 1983, during one of the tensest periods of the Cold War, in an underground Soviet Air Defense command bunker outside of Moscow, a radar screen showed that 5 Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missiles had been launched by the United States towards the Soviet Union. Lieutenant-colonel Stanislav Petrov, filling in for a sick officer, was faced with a huge red screen reading "LAUNCH" while a siren howled. The missiles would strike within 30 minutes.

The launch team was close to panic. Petrov was not at all certain, his gut told him to question the warning because he had been trained to expect an all-out US nuclear attack, and because more reliable Soviet ground radar could not confirm the launch.

If he reported it as a real launch, the top Soviet military brass and the Kremlin would have no time for extra analysis in the few minutes left before the incoming nuclear-tipped missiles hit Soviet territory. They likely would have ordered a retaliatory strike, triggering a nuclear war.

He decided to tell his commander that the system was giving false information.⁴

The incident remained classified for 15 years. The following is taken from various interviews.

I realized that I had to make some kind of a decision, and I was only 50/50...There was no rule about how long we were allowed to think before we reported a strike, but we knew that every second of procrastination took away valuable time, that the Soviet Union's military and political leadership needed to be informed without delay. All I had to do was to reach for the phone; to raise the direct line to our top commanders—but I couldn't move. I felt like I was sitting on a hot frying pan. My legs went limp, I felt like I couldn't even stand up...

I had all the data [to suggest there was an ongoing missile attack]. If I had sent my report up the chain of command, nobody would have said a word against it...

I was scared. I knew the level of responsibility at my fingertips...

I didn't want to be the one responsible for starting a third world war...

Twenty-three minutes later I realized that nothing happened. If there had been a real strike, then I would already know about it. It was such a relief...

I only did my job, but they were lucky it was me on shift that night.

The slightest false move can lead to colossal consequences—that hasn't changed [since 1983]. One way or another, you still need a person to order a launch of these weapons, a person can always make a mistake.

The false alarm was later determined to have been caused by the malfunction of a satellite which mistook the reflection of the sun off high clouds for a missile launch.



Four Star General Lee Butler had a 33 year Air Force career. From 1991 to 1994 he was commander of all US strategic nuclear forces, with authority over the nuclear triad of bombers, submarines, and land-based missiles. During his tenure he knew more than anyone in the world about US nuclear forces and was advisor to the president should there be a nuclear attack. Within years of retiring he began traveling the world as an outspoken nuclear abolitionist.

For all of my years as a nuclear strategist, operational commander and public spokesman, I explained, justified and sustained America's massive nuclear arsenal as a function, a necessity and a consequence of deterrence. Bound up in this singular term, this familiar touchstone of security dating back to antiquity, was the intellectually comforting and deceptively simple justification for taking the most extreme risks and the expenditure of trillions of dollars. It was our shield and by extension our sword. The nuclear priesthood extolled its virtues, and bowed to its demands. Allies yielded grudgingly to its dictates even while decrying its risks and costs. We brandished it at our enemies and presumed they embraced its suicidal corollary of mutual assured destruction. We ignored, discounted or dismissed its flaws and cling still to the belief that it applies in a world whose security architecture has been wholly transformed.

But now, I see it differently. Not in some blinding revelation, but at the end of a journey, in an age of deliverance from the consuming tensions of the Cold War. Now, with the evidence more clear, the risks more sharply defined and the costs more fully understood, I see deterrence in a very different light. Appropriated from the lexicon of conventional warfare, this simple prescription for adequate military preparedness became in the nuclear age a formula for unmitigated catastrophe. It was premised on a litany of unwarranted assumptions, unprovable assertions and logical contradictions. It suspended rational thinking about the ultimate aim of national security: to ensure the survival of the nation...

Deterrence was flawed equally in that the consequences of its failure were intolerable. While the price of undeterred aggression in the age of uniquely conventional weaponry could be severe, history teaches that nations can survive and even prosper in the aftermath of unconditional defeat. Not so in the nuclear era. Nuclear weapons give no quarter. Their effects transcend time and place, poisoning the earth and deforming its inhabitants for generation upon

generation. They leave us wholly without defense, expunge all hope for meaningful survival. They hold in their sway not just the fate of nations, but the very meaning of civilization...

I saw the arms race from the inside, watched as intercontinental ballistic missiles ushered in mutual assured destruction and multiple warhead missiles introduced genuine fear of a nuclear first strike. I participated in the elaboration of basing schemes that bordered on the comical and force levels that in retrospect defied reason. I was responsible for war plans with over 12,000 targets, many struck with repeated nuclear blows, some to the point of complete absurdity...And through every corridor, in every impassioned plea, in every fevered debate rang the rallying cry, deterrence, deterrence, deterrence...

Deterrence is a slippery conceptual slope...It gives easy semantic cover to nuclear weapons, masking the horrors of employment with siren veils of infallibility. At best it is a gamble no mortal should pretend to make. At worst it invokes death on a scale rivaling the power of the creator...

As a nation we have no greater responsibility than to bring the nuclear era to a close. Our present policies, plans and postures governing nuclear weapons make us prisoner still to an age of intolerable danger. We cannot at once keep sacred the miracle of existence and hold sacrosanct the capacity to destroy it. We cannot hold hostage to sovereign gridlock the keys to final deliverance from the nuclear nightmare. We cannot withhold the resources essential to break its grip, to reduce its dangers. We cannot sit in silent acquiescence to the faded homilies of the nuclear priesthood. It is time to reassert the primacy of individual conscience, the voice of reason and the rightful interests of humanity...⁵

If I could strike one word from the lexicon of the nuclear weapons enterprise, it would be “deterrence.” Because it’s easy. It’s lazy. It’s using rhetoric for a replacement of a really rigorous thinking about what is exactly implied by your actions. I would force people to actually describe what it is they think they are doing [by holding onto nuclear weapons] in very detailed terms, and then defend it on that basis...

Fifteen hundred nuclear warheads [deployed by both the US and Russia today] is still a mind boggling amount of destructive potential. Mind boggling. I can’t think of anything that underscores that better than how concerned we are about one falling into the wrong hands. We still readily accept 1,500 as a reasonable number. That’s the kind of “logic” that we get locked into in the nuclear era...

Rather than being concerned about the moral implications of these devices, we continue to pursue them as if they were our salvation—as opposed to the prospective engine of our utter destruction. Human beings are by far the most destructive species the planet has ever seen. We kill each other for a variety of reasons, ranging from pleasure to vengefulness to fear for survival. As long as these weapons exist, and people hold them in such high regard for reasons of national esteem, they act as a brake on our capacity for advancing our humanity...

The cold, hard fact of the matter is that a nuclear weapon is, at its very core, anti-ethical. It is simply a device for causing wholesale destruction. Nuclear conflict is essentially an irrational activity, because essentially what you’re doing is signing your own death notice.⁶

Setsuko Thurlow was 13 years old when the atomic bomb was dropped on her hometown of Hiroshima, Japan. In 1954 the US tested a thermonuclear bomb under the code name Castle Bravo. The bomb produced a 15 megaton explosion, more than 1,000 times as powerful as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. After that, Thurlow made it her life work to tell her story and to call for global nuclear disarmament. A leading figure in the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, the following is her 2017 Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech.

I speak as a member of the family of *hibakusha*—those of us who, by some miraculous chance, survived the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For more than seven decades, we have worked for the total abolition of nuclear weapons.

We have stood in solidarity with those harmed by the production and testing of these horrific weapons around the world; people from places with long-forgotten names, like Moruroa, Ekker, Semipalatinsk, Maralinga, Bikini; people whose lands and seas were irradiated, whose bodies were experimented upon, whose cultures were forever disrupted.

We were not content to be victims. We refused to wait for an immediate fiery end or the slow poisoning of our world. We refused to sit idly in terror as the so-called great powers took us past nuclear dusk and brought us recklessly close to nuclear midnight. We rose up. We shared our stories of survival. We said: humanity and nuclear weapons cannot coexist.

Today, I want you to feel in this hall the presence of all those who perished in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I want you to feel, above and around us, a great cloud of a quarter million souls. Each person had a name. Each person was loved by someone. Let us ensure that their deaths were not in vain.

I was just 13 years old when the United States dropped the first atomic bomb, on my city Hiroshima. I still vividly remember that morning. At 8:15, I saw a blinding bluish-white flash from the window. I remember having the sensation of floating in the air.

As I regained consciousness in the silence and darkness, I found myself pinned by the collapsed building. I began to hear my classmates' faint cries: "Mother, help me. God, help me."

Then, suddenly, I felt hands touching my left shoulder, and heard a man saying: "Don't give up! Keep pushing! I am trying to free you. See the light coming through that opening? Crawl towards it as quickly as you can." As I crawled out, the ruins were on fire. Most of my classmates in that building were burned to death alive. I saw all around me utter, unimaginable devastation.

Processions of ghostly figures shuffled by—grotesquely wounded people—they were bleeding, burnt, blackened and swollen. Parts of their bodies were missing. Flesh and skin hung from their bones—some with their eyeballs hanging in their hands. Some with their bellies burst open, their intestines hanging out. The foul stench of burnt human flesh filled the air.

Thus, with one bomb my beloved city was obliterated. Most of its residents were civilians who were incinerated, vaporized, carbonized—among them, members of my own family and 351 of my schoolmates. In the weeks, months and years that followed, many thousands more would die, often in random and mysterious ways, from the delayed effects of radiation. Still to this day, radiation is killing survivors.

Whenever I remember Hiroshima, the first image that comes to mind is of my four-year-old nephew, Eiji—his little body transformed into an unrecognizable melted chunk of flesh. He kept begging for water in a faint voice until his death released him from agony.

To me, he came to represent all the innocent children of the world, threatened as they are at this very moment by nuclear weapons. Every second of every day, nuclear weapons endanger everyone we love and everything we hold dear. We must not tolerate this insanity any longer.

Through our agony and the sheer struggle to survive—and to rebuild our lives from the ashes—we *hibakusha* became convinced that we must warn the world about these apocalyptic weapons. Time and again, we shared our testimonies.

But still some refused to see Hiroshima and Nagasaki as atrocities, as war crimes. They accepted the propaganda that these were "good bombs" that had ended a "just war". It was this myth that led to the disastrous nuclear arms race—a race that continues to this day.

Nine nations still threaten to incinerate entire cities, to destroy life on earth, to make our beautiful world uninhabitable for future generations. The development of nuclear weapons

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On the seventh of July this year, I was overwhelmed with joy when a great majority of the world's nations voted to adopt the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Having witnessed humanity at its worst, I witnessed, that day, humanity at its best. We *hibakusha* had been waiting for the ban for seventy-two years. Let this be the beginning of the end of nuclear weapons.

All responsible leaders will sign this treaty. And history will judge harshly those who reject it. No longer shall their abstract theories mask the genocidal reality of their practices. No longer shall "deterrence" be viewed as anything but a deterrent to disarmament. No longer shall we live under a mushroom cloud of fear.

To the officials of nuclear-armed nations and to their accomplices under the so-called "nuclear umbrella," I say this: Listen to our testimony. Heed our warning. And know that your actions are consequential. You are each an integral part of a system of violence that is endangering humankind. Let us all be alert to the banality of evil.

To every president and prime minister of every nation of the world, I beseech you: Join this treaty; forever eradicate the threat of nuclear annihilation.

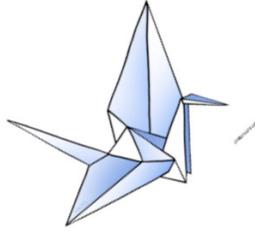
When I was a 13-year-old girl, trapped in the smoldering rubble, I kept pushing. I kept moving toward the light. And I survived. Our light now is the ban treaty. To all in this hall and all listening around the world, I repeat those words that I heard called to me in the ruins of Hiroshima: "Don't give up! Keep pushing! See the light? Crawl towards it."

Tonight, as we march through the streets of Oslo with torches aflame, let us follow each other out of the dark night of nuclear terror. No matter what obstacles we face, we will keep moving and keep pushing and keep sharing this light with others. This is our passion and commitment for our one precious world to survive.



NOTES

1. Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 1986), 714-715.
2. Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, "Status of World Nuclear Forces" (updated May, 2021), on the Federation of American Scientists website at fas.org.
3. Brochure from the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons
4. Greg Myre, Stanislav Petrov, "The Man who Saved the World," *Dies at 77*, National Public Radio, September 18, 2017.
5. General Lee Butler, *The Risks of Nuclear Deterrence: From Superpowers to Rogue Leaders*, speech at the National Press Club, February 2, 1998.
6. General Lee Butler, *Ex-Chief of Nuclear Forces General Lee Butler still dismayed by Deterrence Theory and Missiles on Hair-Trigger Alert*, interview with Robert Kael of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, May 27, 2015.



What can be done?

- ICAN's website (icanw.org) lists four Projects under its Resources menu: The ICAN Cities Appeal, The Parliamentary Pledge, the Paper Crane Project, and Don't Bank on the Bomb.
- Go to the Treaty Compliance Campaign at nuclearban.us.
- Consider withholding the portion of your federal taxes that pays for nuclear weapons, go to the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee website at nwtrcc.org.
- For local efforts in Hampton Roads, Virginia, contact the Norfolk Catholic Worker (below).

Photographs

1. Hiroshima one week after the bombing
2. Nagasaki one day after the bombing

edited by Steve Baggarly

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