

"AS TIME GOES BY"

Making the Case for Love In a Time of Fear

An Annual Assessment of Our Nuclear World

Words and Music by HERMAN HUPPEL, D.

Andante *mp*

You must re-mem-ber this, a kiss is still a kiss, A sigh is just a sigh:

4 5 2 3 2

A7 Am7 A7 D

United Nations Day
October 24, 2004

mf

The fun - da - men - tal things ap - ply. As time goes

3 5 2

E7

mp

by when two lov - ers woo, they

4 3 2 1 2

D D6 D D6 Em7 A7

mf

still say, "I love you." On that you can re - ly.

2 3 2 1 2 3

Am7 A7 D

mf

mat-ter what the fu - ture brings. As time goes by.

2 3 2 1 3

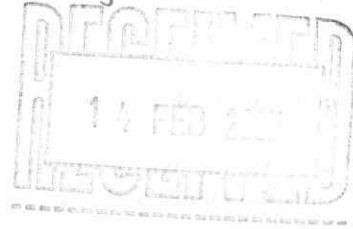
E7 A7sus4 A7 D G/D D D7

An Atomic Mirror Production
By Janet Bloomfield and Pamela S. Meidell



The Atomic Mirror

"creativity is the antidote to destruction"
transforming our nuclear world through the arts



10 February 2005

Dear friends and supporters around the country,

Thanks to you, the Atomic Mirror this year celebrates ten years of invoking art and spirit to transform our nuclear world. We are grateful for each and every one of you. Yes, we still live in a nuclear world, but the good news is that fresh energy and new initiatives enliven our work in 2005. We have many things to celebrate from 2004: official status with the United Nations as an affiliated organization, and our new website, www.atomicmirror.org, launched on UN Day, October 24, in New York. As a gift, we're sending you our latest production: ***As Time Goes By: Making the Case for Love in a Time of Fear, An Annual Assessment of our Nuclear World.***

Today, we still feel the same urgency to abolish nuclear weapons that gave birth to our first project, the Atomic Mirror Pilgrimage on the 50th anniversary of the Nuclear Age, ten years ago. Nuclear issues dominate the headlines, and awareness about weapons of mass destruction is reawakening after a long post Cold War lull. Through our work in Britain as a founding partner of the *Weapons of Mass Destruction Awareness Program* (www.comeclean.org.uk), we know that people are concerned and want to know and do more.

If you continue to share our vision, we ask for your support as we enter the ***Year of Remembrance and Action for a Nuclear Free World*** in the 60th anniversary year of the Nuclear Age. This year, the Atomic Mirror, as a founding member of the *Abolition Now! Campaign*, is partnering with *Mayors for Peace* in a renewed call for nuclear abolition (www.abolitionnow.org).

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We invite you to join in the many events and initiatives planned for the year. In 2005, the Atomic Mirror will focus our efforts on two key events: the May 2005 Review Conference of the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT, the centerpiece of global disarmament and nonproliferation efforts), and the Nuclear Age 60th anniversaries in July and August. We will:

***Bring the message of Nobel Peace Laureate, Professor Joseph Rotblat, to the NPT delegates and the world, including translations into all official UN languages. (Professor Rotblat is the only Manhattan Project scientist who walked away from the project and called for abolishing nuclear weapons.)**

*The Atomic Mirror is a program of the EarthWays Foundation,
a 501(c)3 charitable and educational organization*

*Create a local model for bringing mayors and citizen delegations to New York in May, by working with the only US mayor to participate in the international delegation of Mayors for Peace to the United Nations last April. Dr. Gabino Aguirre, Mayor of Santa Paula, California, joined 30 mayors from around the world to bring the voices and concerns of people and local communities to UN nuclear decision-makers.

*Support the participation of Motarilavo Hilda Lini, former Minister of Health of the Pacific Island nation of Vanuatu, in the NPT Review Conference, through our Testimony Fund.

*Host Atomic Mirror salons during the NPT meeting, bringing together delegates and activists for off the record gatherings.

*Continue our trainings for dialogue with nuclear decision-makers.

Our efforts, joined by millions around the world, will culminate in the nuclear anniversaries of July 16 (Trinity Test in New Mexico) and August 6 and 9 (the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki).

We are already planning for 2006. On the 20th anniversary of the Chernobyl accident, we will use our reader's theater script, *Mother, What Ails Thee? Imagining Chernobyl*, to continue efforts at grassroots and diplomatic levels to bring attention to the need for sustainable energy.

Please help us keep nuclear issues alive in the public's mind and heart and on the agendas of the nuclear decision makers. In our first ten years, we have operated on the principle that small, focused, creative efforts can be an antidote to nuclear fear and can have homeopathic, healing effects on the body politic. Please help us to enhance these healing energies in this challenging time. We have enclosed our latest brochure which includes a return form for donations. All gifts and contributions of whatever amount are very welcome.

"It's all about flowers and song, flowers and song," says Mayor Gabino Aguirre. In the enclosed booklet, *As Time Goes By*, we offer you both: the theme song of the classic movie, *Casablanca*, conjures up the necessity of love and courage in a time of war, danger and uncertainty; the cherry blossoms raining down on a signing ceremony at the UN to get rid of nuclear weapons offer a possible outcome of the May NPT meeting. Could it happen? With your help, we believe that it can.

Yours for a nuclear free world,
Janet and Pamela



P.S. Please visit our new website www.atomicmirror.org the next time you're online.

P.P.S. If you would like more copies of "As Time Goes By" they are available for £1.00 each including post and packing. See the order form on our website at www.atomicmirror.org/reportorderform.htm



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The Atomic Mirror

"creativity is the antidote to deaf nuclear"

The Atomic Mirror uses the creative arts (film, music, images, writing, performance, ceremony) to reveal the consequences of the nuclear age, and to inspire people to take action for a nuclear-free world. From our offices in England and California, we work with activists, artists, and indigenous peoples from nuclear sites worldwide to develop initiatives and joint activities. We welcome inquiries about potential collaborations.

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The Atomic Mirror

1994-2004:

***Ten Years of Reflecting and
Transforming Our Nuclear World
through the Arts***

***Official United Nations NGO Status
A Project of the EarthWays Foundation***



Since our beginning in 1994, the Atomic Mirror employs the creative arts, creative analysis, and creative partnerships to reawaken the need to turn away from nuclear technology to nurture a sustainable way of life.

CREATIVE ARTS

- **Original Scripts and Performances on Nuclear Issues:** Producing four original performances on nuclear issues in over 10 cities around the world and the United Nations; making the scripts and production notes available for use by community groups.
- **Films:** Producing and distributing films, such as "And the Fence Came Tumbling Down" a 10-minute short about the transformation of Greenham Common from nuclear base to common land.
- **Atomic Mirror Pilgrimages:** Organizing and documenting international, multi-faith Atomic Mirror Pilgrimages to sacred and nuclear sites in the US, Japan, and Britain.

CREATIVE ANALYSIS

- **Political Analysis:** Ongoing political analysis of nuclear issues from an international perspective.
- **Annual Abolition 2000 Report Card:** Since 1996, producing annual assessments of progress toward a nuclear-free world.

CREATIVE PARTNERSHIPS

- **Testimony Fund:** Maintaining a fund to bring people most immediately affected by nuclear development to testify at international government events and citizen events.
- **Advocacy and Training:** Advocating for nuclear abolition on local, national, and international levels through resource development (including the annual Abolition 2000 Report Card since 1996) and offering trainings in dialogue with decision-makers (in collaboration with the Oxford Research Group, www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk).
- **Networking:** Working in collaboration with like-minded organizations to promote a nuclear-free world. Founding member and original organizational host for Abolition 2000: A Global Network to Eliminate Nuclear Weapons (www.abolition2000.org). Affiliated with the United Nations Department of Public Information and United Nations Department of Disarmament Affairs Education Project.



brush art by Mayumi Oda

SUPPORTING THE WORK OF THE ATOMIC MIRROR

If you support our vision, we invite you to consider supporting the Atomic Mirror in any of the ways listed below. Thank you for your help. We look forward to hearing from you.

Please add me to your mailing list

Please send me more information about the Atomic Mirror's scripts.

Please send me the Atomic Mirror's latest annual report on the state of our nuclear world. (£1).

Please send me "And the Fence Came Tumbling Down" film and pack (£12.50).

I enclose the suggested donation of £ _____ for the above Atomic Mirror materials (postage and handling included.)

I enclose _____ £10 _____ £15 _____ £25 _____ £50 _____ £100 _____ other amount to further the work of the Atomic Mirror.

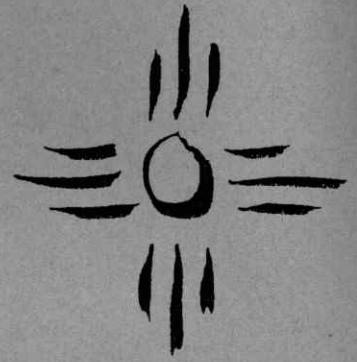
Name and Address:

Telephone/Fax:

E-mail:

"AS TIME GOES BY"

Making the Case for Love In a Time of Fear
An Annual Assessment of Our Nuclear World



An Atomic Mirror Production

By Janet Bloomfield and Pamela S. Meidell

United Nations Day

October 24, 2004

Although "As Time Goes By" was written in 1931, and used as the theme song for the classic movie, **Casablanca**, in 1942, we find that it may still have relevance for us today. Time is going by, as the song says, and in the world of nuclear weapons, the more that time lapses without a timeline for achieving the promised legal goals of nuclear disarmament, the more dangerous our world becomes. By invoking this song to guide us, we show how we can summon the will and the willingness to set a timetable to implement these promises of the world's governments, and bring about a nuclear-free world.

*This day and age were living in
Gives cause for apprehension
With speed and new invention
And things like fourth dimension*

*Yet we get a trifle weary
With Mr. Einstein's theory
So we must get down to earth at times
Relax relieve the tension*

*And no matter what the progress
Or what may yet be proved
The simple facts of life are such
They cannot be removed.*

*You must remember this
A kiss is still a kiss
A sigh is still a sigh
The fundamental things apply
As time goes by*

*And when two lovers woo
They still say: "I love you"
On that you can rely
No matter what the future brings
As time goes by*

*Moonlight and love songs - never out of date
Hearts full of passion - jealousy and hate
Woman needs man - and man must have his mate
That no one can deny*

*It's still the same old story
A fight for love and glory
A case of do or die
The world will always welcome lovers
As time goes by*

*Lyrics by Herman Hupfeld
Copyright 1931 Warner Brothers Music*



"AS TIME GOES BY"

Making the Case for Love In a Time of Fear An Annual Assessment of Our Nuclear World

The Fundamental Things Apply: Moonlight and Love Songs Never Out of Date

Everyone who hears the words "Play it again, Sam!" knows that what Ilsa is asking Sam, the piano player, to play is "As Time Goes By." It's "their" song, Ilsa's and Rick's, from the joyous days when they were in love in Paris. But all was not as it seemed in Paris. Their world turned inside out, and in another time, another place—Casablanca, to be precise—the characters return to play out their new roles. The story goes that during the filming of *Casablanca* even Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman didn't know the ending of the film until they were handed the scripts just before they were to go in front of the cameras. Just like them, we don't know the outcome of the nuclear scenarios currently being played out on our planet. But we do know that next spring in New York at the United Nations, we will have an opportunity to rewrite our scripts and transcend our roles, and possibly even embark on the "beginning of ... beautiful friendships..." between nation states, their diplomats, and their citizens in such various capacities as local elected officials (mayors), and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs).

In May 2005, the world's governments and citizen representatives from around the planet will gather in New York for the Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).¹ This meeting will take place in the midst of the 60th anniversary year of the beginning of the Nuclear Age, the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the founding of the United Nations. The United Nations has also declared 2005 "International Year of Physics" to mark the centenary of Albert Einstein's *Annus Mirabilis* (miracle year), in which a young patent clerk in Bern, Switzerland introduced the famous formula $E=mc^2$, as part of

the special theory of relativity.² This theory forever changed humanity's view of time and space, and provided one of the key intellectual building blocks for the creation of nuclear weapons. As we approach the year 2005, the time is ripe for an assessment of where we have come from, where we are, and where we are heading.

To go back to the beginning, we have to go back to a song. The Chumash people, native to the Central Coast of California, home to the US nuclear missile-testing center (Vandenberg Air Force Base) and Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Station, say that the world began with a song. According to Pilulaw Khus, Medicine Elder of the Bear Clan of the Chumash Nation,

"A long time ago, to begin with, there was a movement in the atmosphere, and that movement was very small. Then it began to build. It built from a particle into a wave and began to circle the earth. The wave began to take on substance. That wave became a song, and it was the most beautiful song. It circled the earth and all things came into being. As time went by, people began to move away from the song."³

With our report this year, we will use a song – "As Time Goes By" from the movie, *Casablanca* – to look at the state of our nuclear world, with the hope that we can return to the beautiful song that circles our earth. We invite our readers to stretch their imaginations, in the spirit of Albert Einstein when he said, "I am enough of an artist to draw freely upon my imagination. Imagination is more important than knowledge. Knowledge is limited. Imagination encircles the world."⁴

¹ The NPT was adopted in 1968, and entered into force in 1970. Since then, countries that are part of the NPT regime, gather every 5 years to review the treaty and determine whether its agreements are being fulfilled. For a primer on the NPT, see Here There Be Dragons, October 24, 2003, p. 2, at www.atomicmirror.org/cards.html

² In 1905, Einstein's *Annus Mirabilis*, or miracle year, the scientist published three of his most important papers and completed most of the work for his doctoral degree, which he received in 1906. Einstein's three papers dealt with the light quantum hypothesis, Brownian motion, and special relativity.

³ From the proceedings of the Nuclear Truth Commission, May 1, 2000. See www.reachingcriticalwill.org/social/truthcommission.pdf

⁴ Imagination inspires many of the initiatives underway as part of the *Annus Mirabilis*. For example, the UK Institute of Physics has commissioned a new choreographic work from the Rambert Dance Company to be based on physics and Einstein's theories, which will debut in May 2005. See <http://plus.maths.org/issue26/news/Einstein/>

You Must Remember This: A Case of Do or Die

In our 2003 report *Here There Be Dragons*,⁵ we ended with this appeal,

"Unless a breakthrough takes place soon in disarmament, we will face an acceleration of aggressive nuclear postures and an increase in the number of states acquiring nuclear weapons. The consequences will be disastrous for all of us. What can be done to concentrate minds and generate political will? Setting a deadline helped create the momentum for a successful conclusion to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty negotiations in 1996. Time is not on our side with regard to the development and spread of nuclear weapons. By setting deadlines for the implementation of the 13 points⁶ agreed at the 2000 NPT Review Conference, time could become our ally."



What has happened since this same time last year? The events of the last twelve months have, sadly, only confirmed that the world has become increasingly unstable and insecure. The US has continued its aggressive nuclear posture, and several states have acquired or are closer to acquiring nuclear weapons. North Korea has remained out of the NPT, bilateral and multilateral talks have broken down as of this writing, and the world now assumes that North Korea has at least several nuclear weapons. The skirmish between Iran, the International Atomic Energy Agency, IAEA, the US, and the Western European powers of Britain, France, and Germany continues to play out on the world stage. Iran says it wants to use its prerogative under the NPT to develop nuclear power, while the ever-watchful countries mentioned above fear that Iran is using the nuclear power option as

cover to develop nuclear weapons. These events plus war in Iraq show us that we need a new approach. What has gone wrong? What can we do to turn around?

We propose a thought experiment à la Einstein: to travel back in time to 1990, to the end of the Cold War, hailed as such a marvelous opportunity to put our nuclear toys away forever. Then we will pause in the present to assess the current state of our world. Then we propose traveling forward to the year 2020, to entertain various scenarios that could result from our current situation. We will then return to the present with the wisdom of our travels and propose next steps we can take to create a nuclear-free world.

As Time Goes By: A Return to the End of the Cold War

To go back in time to 1990 is to return to the exhilaration surrounding the fall of the Berlin Wall and the joyous hopes for peace in the planet's peoples. One of the architects of those hopes was Mikhail Gorbachev, the original practical nuclear abolitionist. A few years earlier, in 1987, he had proclaimed in Moscow, at a summit for a nuclear-free world:⁷

"We rejected the right of the leadership of any country, be it the USSR, the USA or any other country, to pass a death sentence on mankind. We are not judges and billions of people are not criminals to be punished. So the nuclear guillotine must be taken apart. The nuclear powers must overstep their nuclear shadow and enter into a nuclear-free world, thus ending politics' isolation from the general ethical stands of humanity.

"In view of the growing danger of a new spiral in the arms race and of the drastic aggravation of regional and so-called global problems, we must waste no more time trying to outplay each other and to gain unilateral advantages. The stake in such a game is too high – the survival of humanity. Therefore, it is now important to take the crucial factor of time into account."

In 1990, three years after this speech, the fourth NPT Review Conference ended in disarray in Geneva without adopting a "final declaration" reaffirming the countries' common commitment to the NPT. Mexico, resisting the pressure of the US, held out for a pledge on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty that was not forthcoming. Politicians from the nuclear weapons states did not heed Gorbachev's advice and still played nuclear hardball at a moment when the door was wide open to diminish the world's nuclear arsenals.

Five years later, in 1995, the NPT was extended indefinitely and unconditionally. Some governments, NGOs and experts advocated a limited ten- to twenty-five year extension to increase the pressure for implementation, but the nuclear weapons states exerted their own enormous pressure for the other option. In 2000, the first NPT Review Conference of the 21st century gave us the renowned "13 points" and the "unequivocal undertaking" of the nuclear weapons states to get rid of

⁵ See www.atomicmirror.org/cards.html

⁶ See www.reachingcriticalwill.org/legal/npt/13point.html

⁷ See www.comeclean.org.uk/articles.php?articleID=47

their nuclear arsenals, in an outcome that was widely welcomed as positive. Since 2000, as we all know, a new administration has taken power in Washington, and terrorists have struck the cultural/financial and political capitals of the United States. The world has witnessed new US policies of preemptive first use of nuclear weapons against non nuclear weapons states,⁸ a green light for development of new, more "useable" nuclear weapons, wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and a declaration of a global "war on terror."

Clearly, the promises and opportunities of the end of the Cold War lie tattered at our collective feet.⁹ But the thinking that produced the Cold War still permeates our halls of power and even our citizen initiatives. We all have difficulty emerging from the old bi-polar mind set.

It's Still The Same Old Story: From Political Will to Political Willingness in Today's Nuclear World

Today, we find ourselves in an era of globalization, terrorism and pre-emptive war. Many of the international agreements and institutions so carefully developed in the preceding decades have been ignored or dismantled; the ones that remain are increasingly fragile. Time moves faster and faster as many watch mesmerized in fear, waiting for things to fall apart. Well they could, unless we summon the courage and vision to stop them. Albert Einstein characterized this reality when he said:

"The splitting of the atom has changed everything save our mode of thinking and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe... We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them."

Clearly, our old way of thinking does not serve our common, collective life. Given today's realities, how do we change our minds? How do we change our way of thinking?

As we have reviewed our annual assessments,¹⁰ in the years since 1995, we see our endless refrain, calling for the unleashing of the political will of the world's peoples. We, the world's peoples clearly want a world without nuclear weapons, as the majority of the world's countries do NOT possess them,¹¹ and numerous decision-makers in the world's nuclear weapons states say they provide no value in their arsenals given that the weapons' only purpose is to scare people to death (by not using them) or to incinerate them to death (by using them). Perhaps in addition to summoning political will, we need to summon political willingness.

The war in Afghanistan and Iraq, the "war on terror," and the vast uprising of people across the globe in response to these events demonstrate that political will is alive and well on the planet. But what about political willingness? How can

we keep political will alive and at the same time nurture the conditions that will generate the political willingness to enter the uncharted waters evoked by Hungarian Ambassador to the UN, Laszlo Molnar, at the opening of the NPT Preparatory Committee meeting in Geneva in May 2003?¹² What are we willing to do to create the conditions for a nuclear-free world?

Business as usual will not suffice. In an oral addition to her prepared remarks, Ambassador Paulette Bethel of the Bahamas, speaking on behalf of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) at the NPT Preparatory Committee in May 2004, referred to the plans of a number of states to maintain their nuclear arsenals for at least another 50 years. She looked ahead and saw that, if nothing were done, the NPT will still be a treaty waiting to be fulfilled on its 100th anniversary in 2068! In the world of business, in domestic politics, in military planning and in major public projects, such as the Olympics, such tardiness would lead to bankruptcy, regime change, disciplinary measures and unemployment for those involved. Imagine for a moment if members of the Athens Olympics organizing committee had said, "Well, we might put on the Games in 2004, but we might also do it in 2007. We might have to be careful and wait until perhaps 2014. Putting the pressure of a deadline on us will make it very difficult for us to do our job." If the original members of the Manhattan Project had shared this sense of delay and perpetually put-off deadlines, perhaps we wouldn't be facing the nuclear dangers we face today. The citizens of the world deserve a greater sense of urgency from their political officials, as well as fuller implementation of promises made on their behalf. Ultimately, treaties such as the NPT belong to the people, and the peoples' representatives in government would do well to remember it.

⁸ See www.whitehouse.gov/msc/nss3.html

⁹ See *The Furies are Mad as Hell*, April 26, 2004, p. 2 at www.atomicmirror.org/political.html

¹⁰ See www.atomicmirror.org/cards.html

¹¹ See *The Majority Opinion*, October 24, 2002 at www.atomicmirror.org/cards.html

¹² See *Here There Be Dragons*, October 24, 2003 at www.atomicmirror.org/cards.html

No Matter What The Future Brings: The Clear Lens of 2020 Vision

At the local level, elected officials are working with their citizens to take responsibility for a nuclear-free future. The Mayors for Peace Emergency Campaign¹³ sets out a vision, calling for the full implementation of the NPT through a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) by 2020, fifteen years from now. The campaign, called 2020 Vision, uses the symbol of clear lenses to replace the lenses melted in a pair of spectacles damaged by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in 1945.¹⁴ The Mayors' powerful, yet apt symbol, and call for clarity is refreshing amidst the muddy rhetoric of the current global political climate. Mayors for Peace is a fast-growing network of mayors and other local elected officials, currently linking over 600 cities in over 100 countries around the world. They speak for their citizens: the people who live in cities, the main targets for nuclear weapons. As Mayor Gabino Aguirre¹⁵ of Santa Paula, California says,

"In any war, it is cities and the people living in them that suffer. As Hiroshima and Nagasaki attest, this suffering becomes total destruction when nuclear weapons are involved. To protect their citizens' lives, it is incumbent on all mayors to make every effort to prevent war and eliminate nuclear weapons."

The Mayors for Peace (and their citizens¹⁶) recognize that the time is now ripe for full implementation of the NPT. The negotiation of Nuclear Weapons Convention offers a path and timeline to follow to make the Mayors' vision a reality. A model of this treaty, in draft form,¹⁷ is already available for use by the world community. In November 17, 1997, Costa Rica introduced to the United Nations a draft treaty, called a Model NWC that includes all of these elements.¹⁸

As Time Goes By: A Timeline for Nuclear Abolition

Enacting a Nuclear Weapons Convention is the best way to set deadlines for implementation of the "13 points" agreed at the 2000 NPT Review Conference, and thus to fully implement the NPT. In the visionary Model NWC circulated at the United Nations, we have all the strategy, goals, and timelines we need to eliminate nuclear weapons from our beautiful planet. The laying out of such a timeline helps to generate the political will and willingness to make it happen. When this draft treaty was first unveiled in the Dag Hammarskjöld Library at the United Nations in New York on April 17, 1997, we listened in awe as the drafters cited the litany of what would happen each year as we moved toward the total abolition of nuclear weapons. It sounded something like this:

2005:

Agree to open negotiations on a NWC

2008:

Complete negotiations on a NWC

2009:

Parliaments, congresses and diets ratify the NWC in country capitals around the world with appropriate ceremonies

2010:

NWC enters into force, becoming the law of the planet

2011-2020:

Begin and complete the elimination of nuclear weapons, which includes the following steps: make public declarations of all nuclear weapons, material, facilities, and delivery vehicles; remove targeting coordinates and navigational information from all nuclear weapon delivery systems; disable and dealert all nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles; designate for decommissioning and closure or conversion all nuclear weapons testing, research, and production facilities; stop producing proscribed nuclear material; stop all nuclear activities; stop producing nuclear weapons components and equipment; stop funding for nuclear weapons research; submit plans for fully implementing all obligations of the NWC.

¹³ See www.abolition2000.org/now/mayors.html

¹⁴ See the *Mayors for Peace video* (with 2, 5, 45 minutes versions), available at www.abolition2000.org/now/resources.html#video

¹⁵ Dr. Gabino Aguirre was the only US mayor who participated in the Mayors for Peace international delegation to the NPT Preparatory Committee meeting in April 2004.

¹⁶ A companion citizen-based campaign, *Abolition Now*, works collaboratively with the Mayors for Peace initiative. See www.abolitionnow.org for resources and links.

¹⁷ UN document A/C.1/52/7 For the complete text, please see www.lcnp.org/mnwc/index.htm

¹⁸ By definition, a Nuclear Weapons Convention is an international treaty, or package of agreements, achieved through negotiations by all relevant countries, which would prohibit the development, testing, production, stockpiling, transfer, use and threat of use of nuclear weapons, and would provide a phased plan for their complete elimination. The NWC would include procedures for verifying compliance, clarifying or resolving disputes relating to these obligations, and measures to enforce the treaty obligations. It would provide a non-discriminatory approach to nuclear disarmament, which would apply equally to nuclear weapons countries, nuclear capable countries, non-nuclear countries, and non-state actors (i.e., terrorists) equally.

If we can imagine it, we can do it. Einstein teaches us this great lesson, which we need to learn over and over again. All great enterprises require planning, and this timeline gives

us a detailed mental map to guide us as we set out together on the road to a nuclear-free world.

The Fundamental Things Apply: Basic Awareness about WMD

How do we cultivate the political willingness to bring NPT countries together to create a safer world for all of us? Where can we find the strength, wisdom and positive energy we need to create a sustainable future? If we think a Nuclear Weapons Convention is a naïve dream, given the world we live in, we need only look to the example of Mikhail Gorbachev—the first statesman on the world stage to believe that the abolition of nuclear weapons is an achievable goal. On September 23, 2004, former Soviet President Gorbachev addressed a press conference in London to launch the Weapons of Mass Destruction Awareness Program.¹⁹

During the press conference, the BBC correspondent asked President Gorbachev: *“Isn’t it naïve to think that we can abolish nuclear weapons, given the current world situation?”*

Mr. Gorbachev replied: *“I’ve been accused on many occasions of being naïve. On January 15, 1986, when I first called for*

the elimination of nuclear weapons by 2000, there were two reactions: one, this is propaganda; two, this is an illusion. But let me remind you. We did eliminate two full classes of nuclear weapons. We need to continue to reduce nuclear weapons drastically, with the goal of complete abolition. We need to put forward the issue of eliminating all weapons of mass destruction. With respect to global terrorism, nuclear weapons should of course be safeguarded and protected from theft, but ultimately they must be eliminated. Again, you may accuse me of being naïve. But I am not stupid. I believe what I say, and I know what I am talking about.”

Later that evening, President Gorbachev offered an eloquent, precise analysis and prescription that encourage us to fulfill the promises enshrined in the NPT, and finish the work he had begun with US President Reagan in the 1980s. We appeal to our political leaders and representatives to open their minds and hearts and hear its wise message.²⁰

A Fight for Love and Glory: Nuclear Weapons Free Zones Lead the Way

Political leaders of the countries bound by Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ) treaties do not need to be convinced of this approach. Virtually the entire Southern Hemisphere of our planet is covered by one NWFZ treaty or another.²¹ In fact, Brazil and Aotearoa/New Zealand have called for the creation of a Southern Hemisphere NWFZ treaty, uniting the current zones around the planet. We also welcome the initiative of Mexico, in calling for an international Conference of the Parties to Nuclear Weapons Free Zones treaties. Such a conference has never been convened before, and would bring together over 100 countries from the “majority world,”²² none of them nuclear weapons states. If such a conference could take place before the NPT Review Conference in May 2005, it would give the countries with the most experience of living without nuclear weapons the opportunity to discuss,

strategize and make decisions that may bring us all closer to a nuclear-free planet.

By holding such a conference, the members of NWFZs demonstrate their political willingness to move ahead in ways that have not been possible in other diplomatic arenas such as the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, preparatory meetings and review conferences of the NPT, and even the First Committee of the United Nations itself.²³ The world’s Nuclear Weapons Free Zones form the heart of the untold success story of the road to a nuclear-free world; they are one of our best hopes for bringing it into being. NWFZs are preventive disarmament measures that can be negotiated by regional bodies as a way of taking action independent of the will of the nuclear weapons states.²⁴

¹⁹ The essential proposals of the WMD Awareness Program are (1) to create a global inventory of all WMD and their production sites, and (2) to oversee an international guardianship for all WMD sites.

See www.comeclean.org.uk and www.joannamacy.net/html/nuclear.html for more on Nuclear Guardianship.

²⁰ See www.comeclean.org.uk/articles.php?articleID=50 for the full transcription of his evening lecture.

²¹ Currently, NWFZ treaties cover nearly half the globe, and include most of the global Southern Hemisphere: the first landmark Treaty of Tlatelolco (Latin America and the Caribbean), the model for all later NWFZ treaties; Treaty of Rarotonga (South Pacific); Treaty of Bangkok (Southeast Asia); Treaty of Pelindaba (Africa). Mongolia is a declared NWFZ. NWFZs in the Middle East, South Asia, Northeast Asia, and Central Europe are currently under discussion at the UN and in respective regions. The Central Asian countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan may be the next region to join this illustrious roster.

²² The term “majority world,” coined at the end of the Cold War, is commonly used in academic circles to describe the 80% of the world population who are not part of the North American system.

²³ The First Committee of the United Nations considers matters related to Disarmament and International Security. See www.reachingcriticalwill.org for further information about its regular meetings each fall during October and November.

²⁴ See The Majority Opinion, October 24, 2002, p. 5 at www.atomicmirror.org/cards.html

At a time when people and governments of nearly every persuasion look for better ways to be safe and create the conditions for their children and societies to flourish, the citizens and governments of the world's NWFZs have much to teach us. Collectively, they are ensuring genuine security for their communities by putting the needs that support life at the top of their priorities, and dedicating the resources of their environments and labors to meeting those needs. As our theme song says, *"And no matter what the progress, Or what may yet be proved, The simple facts of life are such, They cannot be removed."*

The governments of NWFZ countries don't need to protect their countries and regions with technologically flawed missile defense "shields." They already have the best "shields" in the world: agreements of trust and cooperation with their regional neighbors, and the legally-secured promises of the nuclear weapons countries not to attack them with nuclear weapons. By virtue of the treaties themselves, the entire Southern Hemisphere is under a "missile defense shield," mandated and guaranteed by the nuclear weapons states themselves!!

The kind of political willingness exemplified in NWFZ treaties (which we can envision being extended to embrace the policy exchanges between nations) appeared recently on the front page of the *New York Times*.²⁵ The article opens with Jorge Castaneda, former Foreign Minister of Mexico, noting President Bush's change in demeanor from charming to brusque after the September 11 attacks, with the implied message to allies that the US needed their nonnegotiable support. The article continues: *"Mexico's hesitant stance at the United Nations on the war in Iraq became a source of tension. Yet Mr. Castaneda said, 'I was never asked, 'What is it you need in order to be more cooperative with us? What can we do to help?'"*

We suggest that the asking of such questions would contribute greatly to the creation of the political willingness that we advocate.²⁶ We suggest that this kind of approach will do more to meet the needs of the world's governments and peoples for security and sovereignty than the current "war on terror."

"At a time when people and governments of nearly every persuasion look for better ways to be safe and create the conditions for their children and societies to flourish, the citizens and governments of the world's NWFZs have much to teach us."

²⁵ "Challenging the Rest of the World with a New Order, The Bush Record, Fifth article in a series: Foreign Policy," Roger Cohen, David E. Sanger, Steven R. Weisman, *The New York Times*, p. 1, October 12, 2004.

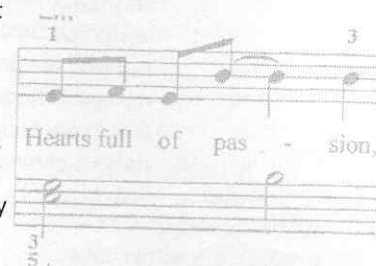
²⁶ We are indebted to Marshall Rosenberg's questions of Nonviolent Communication. See www.cnvc.org for an amplification of the four modes of observing, feeling/valuing, needing, requesting.

A Case of Do or Die: As Time Goes By

We all carry an urgent responsibility in the coming months to educate and engage the public about the crisis facing the NPT, and the need to work together to save, strengthen and implement it. The people of the world, led by the Mayors for Peace and the citizen groups of Abolition Now, propose that their governments put the NPT Review Conference in May 2005 at the top of their agendas, and that the governments send Heads of State to attend the important opening days. The stakes are incredibly high. In this matter, we are not engaging in an academic exercise in diplomacy and "policy-wonking" but in matters of life and death.²⁷ The outcome of May's meeting will shape the future of our world. We cannot allow the NPT regime to unravel. We cannot allow more and more countries to acquire nuclear weapons while existing nuclear weapons countries develop new systems and strategies for their use.²⁸

Hearts Full of Passion - Jealousy and Hate: Through a Lens Clearly or Through a Glass Darkly?

While the Mayors for Peace, leaders of Nuclear Weapons Free Zones, and citizens throughout the world organize and plan to avert the dissolution of the NPT and to create the conditions for a nuclear-free world, political and military planners in the nuclear weapons states up the nuclear ante in their preparations for grimmer realities. The clear vision of the Mayors for Peace Emergency Campaign, culminating in the total elimination of nuclear weapons by 2020, contrasts starkly with the updated National Security Strategy of the United States.²⁹ Despite legal pledges (enshrined in the NWFZ treaties, among others) and decades of an implicit policy not to use nuclear weapons against non nuclear weapons states, the US declares its option of preemptive war by stating: "we will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self defense by acting preemptively." Unfortunately, the world has witnessed the consequences of the implementation of this strategy in the war in Iraq. Russian President Vladimir Putin, in the aftermath of the terrible terrorist slayings in Beslan, invoked this "right" to act preemptively, demonstrating that the domino theory is alive and well in the nuclear capitals of our world.



We cannot be safe unless everyone is safe; and no one is safe in a world with nuclear weapons. Nightmare scenarios of spiraling accusations and attacks in the diplomatic arenas of our world, and more visceral and bloody attacks on the ground, only shrink our hearts and make us more afraid. They do not address our genuine concerns for security, the meeting of our basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, and education, and a clean, healthy environment in which to live and share with all of life.

"The world is a dangerous place to live; not because of the people who are evil, but because of the people who don't do anything about it."

"Any fool can make things bigger, more complex, and more violent. It takes a touch of genius—and a lot of courage—to move in the opposite direction."

Albert Einstein

²⁷ Each nuclear weapon in the arsenals of the nuclear weapons countries today average a destructive force equal to seven to 40 times the power of the atomic weapons that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Some nuclear weapons have even greater destructive force. An average-sized nuclear weapon (around eight times the size of the Hiroshima bomb) would immediately kill everything within a radius of several square miles. The radiation exposure would continue to injure and kill people over a longer period of time and over a greater geographic area. The area of radiation exposure would depend upon prevailing winds, and could spread across and beyond continents.

²⁸ No less an authority than former CIA Director, John Deutch has proclaimed: "We live in a Trident world." The US has 18 Trident submarines, 10 in the Pacific, 8 in the Atlantic. The UK has 4 Trident submarines. How lethal is a Trident nuclear submarine? Each one can carry 128 nuclear warheads (16 missiles with 8 warheads each). Each warhead has an explosive power of 100 kilotons, or seven and a half times the power of the first atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945 (13 kilotons). Ten Trident submarines (1 British and 9 US) are continuously on submerged patrol, in both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, carrying the equivalent of approximately 10,000 Hiroshimas.

²⁹ www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html

As Time Goes By: A Nuclear-Free World

As the Old Testament Proverbs say, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."³⁰

But which vision will it be? We have the opportunity to choose a future that enhances life for everyone on the planet. Nuclear weapons do not enhance that life. We can choose to be dominated by ever increasing weapons systems deployed on land, sea, in the sky and in outer space. Or we can run the film backwards, and watch the exploding mushroom clouds collapse back into nothingness.



In honor of the *Hibakusha*, the aging survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we offer this vision of what is possible next May:

Under the blossoming cherry trees next to the East River at United Nations Headquarters in New York, the heads of state of all NPT member states, starting with the nuclear weapons states, file one by one to a table dusted with cherry blossoms. On the table rests a document laying out the promise to commence negotiations on a Nuclear Weapons Convention, thus fulfilling the promise of Article 6³¹ of the NPT. Each president or prime minister, in front of the rolling cameras of the world's press, signs the paper and hands the pen to the next person in line. The signing ceremony takes a long time. But all the witnesses watch quietly, letting the breezes caress them and carry the cherry blossoms over them.

We have called on ourselves to meet great challenges in the past: to abolish slavery, to send a man to the moon, to eradicate smallpox. It is within our power to abolish nuclear weapons and dismantle the last atomic bomb. Since we began our report with a song, we give the last line to a singer:

American singer, Michael W. Smith, told the following story at a recent concert:³²

When Bono (of U2) shared his new album title, ***How to Dismantle an Atomic Bomb***, with Smith, Bono asked Smith, "Do you know how to dismantle an atomic bomb?" When Smith said, "No," Bono answered his own question: "Love. With love."

Or, as Sam, the piano player, sings it,

*"The world will always welcome lovers
As time goes by."*

*We must act as if we have all the time in the world
We must act as if this is the only moment we have.*

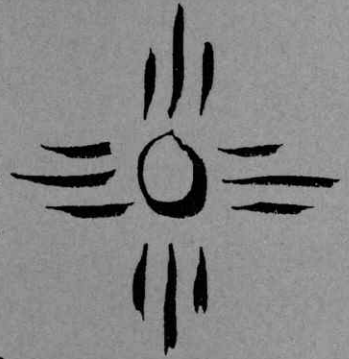
Shelley Douglass

³⁰ Proverbs 29:18.

³¹ Article 6 states: "Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control." The International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion on the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons (July 6, 1996) obligates the nuclear weapons states to complete such negotiations, not just pursue them.

³² www.atu2.colm/news/article/src?ID-34444. The U2 CD will be released on November 22, 2004.

Dedication & Acknowledgements



With this 2004 edition of our annual report, "*As Time Goes By*", we invoke the question of time and love by recalling the theme song of the classic movie, *Casablanca*. Time is going by, as the song says, and in the world of nuclear weapons, the more that time lapses without a timeline for achieving the promised legal goals of nuclear disarmament, the more dangerous our world becomes. Our theme song found fame in the 1942 film set in a time of war, refugees, fear and terror. Yet, the characters chose to stand up for what they believed in and take the consequences with love, courage, and humor.

We offer our report to you, our readers, in that same spirit, and in the spirit of Thich Nhat Hanh, the Vietnamese Zen priest and peace activist who once asked why peace activists didn't write more love letters. "You're very good at writing protest letters," he said. "But you're not very good at writing love letters."

We dedicate this "love letter" edition of our annual report to Albert Einstein and all the nuclear physicists who have taken their moral responsibilities seriously by speaking out about the dangers of the misuse of science and technology. We especially honor Sir Professor Joseph Rotblat, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate (with Pugwash) for his work to abolish nuclear weapons, and the only Manhattan Project scientist to walk away. He inspired the creation of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Awareness Program mentioned in our text and launched on September 23, 2004 in London.

We also dedicate this "love letter" to our beloved colleagues in the nuclear abolition community who have stuck with the issue for so many years without giving up their vision for a nuclear-free world. You know who you are! You continue to inspire us in so many ways.

Great thanks to many friends and colleagues near and far who inspired and guided our thinking in the development and writing of this report. We are especially grateful this year to Marshall Rosenberg, whose teachings on Nonviolent Communication helped us to reshape our words and approach. The responsibility for the final form and content remains, of course, with us, the authors.

Both of us owe our enchantment with song to two singers in our families. We offer our personal dedication of this "love letter" to Harold Johnson, Janet's grandfather, and to Erik Meidell, Jr., Pamela's father. We can never thank our families enough for their continuous support.

This year, 2004, marks the 10th anniversary of the Atomic Mirror. All of our work over the past ten years would not have been possible without the financial (and other kinds of) support of our many funders. In North America: the EarthWays Foundation, the Flow Fund, the Lifebridge Foundation, the Lyman Fund, Project Ploughshares, Canada (Anti-Nuclear War Fund), the Samuel Rubin Foundation, the Threshold Foundation, the Tides Foundation. In the UK: the Ted Dunn Fund for the Institute for Law and Peace, the Alan and Nesta J. Ferguson Trust, the Polden Puckham Charitable Foundation, the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, and the W.F. Southall Trust. In addition to these foundations, we are thankful for the continuous support of our many individual contributors. We couldn't do anything without our far-flung team, and the spirit of perseverance and good humor that animates our work together. Thank you!!

This production of our annual report, "*As Time Goes By*", was made possible with financial support from the EarthWays Foundation, the Threshold Foundation, the Ted Dunn Fund of the Institute for Law and Peace and the W.F. Southall Trust. Thank you! Previous report cards for 1996-2003, tracking annual progress toward a nuclear-free world, can be seen at www.atomicmirror.org and under "annual reports" on the Abolition 2000 website at www.abolition2000.org/reports/

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October 24, 2004

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The Atomic Mirror is a project of the EarthWays Foundation of Malibu, California, a 501(c)3 charitable and educational organization. The Atomic Mirror reflects the truths of our nuclear era and transforms them through creativity and the arts. The EarthWays Foundation acts as a catalyst for personal and global awareness and social and environmental activism.

G 1 4 B7 Em 1 3

Moon-light and love... songs nev - er out of date, Hearts full of pas - sion,

Fdim Bm 1 2 Bm7 4 E7

jeal - ous - y and hate; Wom-an needs man... and man must have his mate, That

A 5 Adim 2 A7 4 Em7 A7 3

no one can de - ny. It's still the same old sto - ry, a

mp

Am7 A7 D 3

fight for love and glo - ry. A case of do or die! The

mf

E7 D Ebdim Em7 A7 D

world will al - ways wel - come lov - ers, As time goes by.

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