The Yukawa-Tomonaga Declaration "Beyond Nuclear Deterrence"

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In the spirit of the Russell-Einstein Manifesto of twenty years ago, which called for the abolition of war in the nuclear age and warned of the danger to human survival, we issue this appeal as human being to human being.

Thirty years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we live at a dangerous time when the menace of nuclear weapons seems to grow worse and worse, a time in which it will be decided whether nuclear weapons will continue to evolve and proliferate or whether the necessarily drastic steps will finally be taken to create every possible assurance for humanity that these terrible weapons will never be used.

We have been striving to eliminate warfare and nuclear weapons. However, we find ourselves not in a position to praise our success, but must rather grieve over our lack of achievement.

When the Russell-Einstein Manifesto was issued, the abolition of thermonuclear weapons was considered to be only a first step toward a peaceful world. Unfortunately we have failed even to stop the nuclear arms race, much less remove the danger of nuclear war. We have failed despite elaborate efforts undertaken within the framework of arms control, including the negotiation of several measures.

We believe that we must give up the hope that nuclear arms control can bring any solution and affirm our belief in the necessity of nuclear disarmament. Arms control presupposes the validity of nuclear deterrence as a security doctrine. The serious quest for nuclear disarmament requires, first of all, that we reject this false doctrine of nuclear deterrence and fundamentally change our way of thinking.

We realize that it is critically important to eliminate every type of weapon of mass destruction, non-nuclear as well as nuclear, and to reduce and eventually get rid of conventional weapons. Nevertheless, we believe that our most urgent task at this time is to secure the elimination of all nuclear weapon systems.

It is also evident that nuclear disarmament is only an intermediate goal on the way to general and complete disarmament. Even nuclear disarmament, however, will not become feasible unless coupled with the satisfaction of certain political, economic and social preconditions.

We recognize that our ultimate goal must be the creation of a new world order based upon economic well-being, social justice, ecological balance, and the fulfilment of human potentialities.

A nuclear war would bring catastrophic suffering and destruction, it would make impossible the achievement of a better world, and it would produce far worse human conditions than has ever been known in modern times. For these reasons it is our conviction that the threat or use of nuclear weapons is the gravest of all possible crimes against mankind. The gravity of the nuclear peril is such that we must work to achieve nuclear disarmament at the earliest possible time.

We appeal to the people of the world, and especially to scientists and engineers, to join us in this urgent undertaking before it is too late. We insist as a first step that all governments renounce forever and without conditions the threat or use of nuclear weapons.

This declaration was presented at a symposium on "A New Design towards Complete Nuclear Disarmament" held in Kyoto, Japan, August 28-September 1, 1975, under the sponsorship of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs and endorsed by the following 26 scientists.

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DAVIDON, William C. USA

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