

**THE AMERICAN CIVIL SOCIETY AND
NUCLEAR ISSUES IN 1990s**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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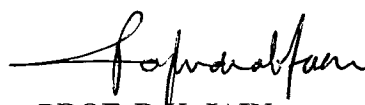
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled, "The American Civil Society and Nuclear Issues in 1990s", Submitted by Sanjeev Kumar Shrivastava, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY" is his own work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university.

We therefore, recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


PROF. CHRISTOPHER S. RAJ
(Supervisor)


PROF. R.K. JAIN
(Chair Person)

Dedicated to

*Those who sacrificed their precious lives in Hiroshima and Nagasaki
in Nuclear bombs attack on 6th August and 9th August 1945*

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PREFACE

Public life in the United States has long been rooted in voluntary membership groups as well as competitive elections. From Churches and unions to social groups and reform crusades, membership associations have provided paths into active citizenship, allowing Americans to build community, pursue shared goals and influence social and political affairs. Classic American voluntary membership groups are widely presumed to have been spontaneous and particular creations, fashioned within relatively bounded local communities: neighbors and friends coalesced outside politics and apart from involvement with extra local government. American social scientists as latest 1999 have examined cross national survey data and have revealed the extraordinary proclivity of Americans to participate in voluntary groups which had been central to help the American democracy. The question of nuclear disarmament also engaged the American civil society ever since the first Atomic bomb that was dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6th and 9th August 1945 respectively. There are more than 100 big, medium and small non voluntary organisations which are actively advocating, campaigning and promoting the cause of disarmament.

The first chapter is an attempt to understand the nature and evolution of American civil society. The Chapter also analyses

the concept of civil society and evaluates the reality of American civil society.

In the second chapter attempt has been made to analyse, one of the major nuclear issues START treatise which took place in 1990s and what has been the response of American civil society towards it. In this chapter brief introduction about Non Governmental Organisations (NGO's), think tanks, church, and other religious organizations have been given. So that there could not be any difficulty to understand their nature and role in this chapter as well as rest of the chapters.

In third chapter attempt has been made to analyse the American civil society's response towards CTBT and what impact the U.S. senate rejection had made on it. And another focus has been to know that what were the attempts made by civil society when it was being negotiated.

Fourth chapter is focused on National Missile Defense (NMD) programme. This programme has come as a set back for all disarmament efforts till now. American civil society has strongly opposed this programme. Attempt has been made to understand the nature of opposition to this newly emerged crisis. Map, data and graphs have been frequently used wherever it was needed.

Finally in last chapter some concluding observations have been made.

Chapter I

THE AMERICAN CIVIL SOCIETY - CONCEPT AND REALITY

Public life in the United States has long been rooted in voluntary membership as well as competitive elections. From churches, unions to social groups and reform crusades membership association have provided path into active citizenship, allowing Americans to build community, pursue shared goals and influence social and political affairs.

In America membership associations emerged early in U.S. history and converged towards the institutional form of the representatively governed federation. This form enabled leaders and members to spread interconnected groups across an expanding nation. This classic American civic engagement and activism has created a rigid dichotomy between state and civil society.

Before analyzing the reality of American civil society it would be important and significant to analyse the conceptual framework and historic evolution of the civil society.

Civil Society - Major Concepts and its Historical Evolution

The vocabulary of politics is today strewn with terms as 'civil society, social movements. Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's) Non-Profit Organizations (NPS's) Private Voluntary

Organisations (PVO's), Independent Advocacy Groups (IAG's), Principled Issue Networks (PIN's), Segmented Polycentric Ideologically Integrated Networks (SPIN's) and more. Civil society is the oldest of these concepts dating back to English Political thought of sixteenth century¹. Before analyzing the concepts of civil society it would be relevant to clarify what is not "civil society".

First point, to be noted would be that civil society is not the state. It is non-official, non-governmental. Civil society groups are not formally part of the state apparatus; nor do they seek to gain control of the state office. On this criterion political parties should be excluded from civil society. It is generally agreed that civil society lies outside the 'public sector' of official governance.

Secondly, civil society is not the market: it is non-commercial realm. The distinction between civil society and market is in practice sometimes far from absolute. For example companies often organize and fund non-profit bodies, including prominent foundations like Packard and Sasakwa that bear corporate name. The environmental lobby Greenpeace has considered licensing its name as a brand.² Clearly, the precise boundaries of 'non-governmental' activity are a matter of debate. Nevertheless it is generally agreed that civil society lies outside the private sector of the market economy.

¹ E. M wood, "*The uses and Abuses of Civil society*" in R- Miliband et. al, (eds), *socialist Register 1990*, London, Merlin 1990 P.61.

² *The Limits to Growth?* *The Economist* 348 (1August 1998) P. 79

The term 'civil society' became a part of the general political discourse in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. At this time theorists of democracy invoked this concept to define a democratic form of government rooted in the rights of citizens.

In thirteenth century when the established Roman Catholic Church exercised considerable hegemony over social and political life, the concept 'Societies Civilis' was coined to depict a zone which was free from papal influence and was governed by laws that were not of divine origin. As such civil society symbolised the autonomy of the temporal realm in relation to the ecclesiastical. Within civil society people had right to choose their kind and be governed by laws that pursued the minimum shared interests of the people³.

At this stage, civil society questioned the centrality that was previously accorded to religious institutions and allowed for emergence of an alternative pattern of society and government. Later theorists build upon this conceptions and by the seventeenth century civil society came to designate a distinct form of political society one in which the rights to individuals received primacy over all else.

This concept of civil society emerged most forcefully in the writings of John Locke and it formed the basis of much of the

³ Colas, Dominique, "*Civil society and fanaticism ; conjoined Histories*" Stanford University Press, California 1977, P9-21

subsequent thinking on civil society and democracy. John Locke differentiated civil society both from state of nature as well as a political society. At general level Locke maintained that civil society comes into existence when men possessing the natural right to life, liberty and estate (property) come together, sign a contract and constitute a common public authority or the supreme sovereign established through a voluntary contract, has the right to promulgate and administer laws that are required to exercise and enjoy rights that are given to men by nature. So Locke contracts civil society with the state of nature. According to Locke civil society emerges only when the citizen's right to life, liberty and property is guaranteed by law. Locke had conceived civil society as a democratic state in which the rights of individual receive priority⁴.

Writing in the nineteenth century, GWF Hegel reaffirmed this idea albeit by interrogating the liberal Lockean understanding of freedom, law and state. Like his predecessor, Hegel maintained that civil society represents a system of relations that support and enhance freedom of all. However he disagreed with Locke's negative conception of law and freedom. According to Hegel, Locke counterpoises individual's subjective will to universal law. The latter is presented as being external to the self: that is as an object that constrains the subjective particular will. Hence in Locke's

⁴ Locke, J, *Two treatise on civil government* Political or civil society introduction by W.H. Carpenter Book 3, London, J.M. Dent, 1970, P44-62.

writings universality enters only as a negative category⁵ that limits the self will; and law appears to be in conflict with subjective will and freedom. Indeed for Hegel the universal law represents 'reflective' or "self conscious" will. Beginning with this understanding Hegel defines civil society as form of ethical life in which subjective and objective co-exist with harmony. Within the civil society self acknowledges the other, forges a link with it and recognizes the rights of each subjectivity the self and the other. This recognition of rights allow for the construction of a system through idea of freedom is actualized in the world. Civil society becomes the objective embodiment of the idea of freedom in the world as it represents institutions and structures that acknowledge the mutual rights of the self and the other. So civil society for Hegel, is a collective body or for that matter, any collective body whose members are conceived as "self-subsistent person⁶". Hegel made the idea which is concerning the proper relation between state and civil society as separate spheres.

In twentieth century, second half of it witnessed a loss of faith in the institution of the state and this led to a reconsideration of the earlier concept of civil society. Rethinking on the concept of state and civil society occurred in three quite diverse contexts:

⁵ Hegel, GWF, "*Philosophy of right*" (Oxford, Clarendon, 1953) p. 33.

⁶ Ibid, P148.

- i. As a corollary of the Marxian understanding of relationship between the economic interest and political institution. Within this framework civil society came to be portrayed primarily as the domain of particular interests and not collective freedom.

In the critique of Hegel's philosophy of right, 'Marx emphasized the nexus between economic interests and political institutions. Focusing on the right to property sanctioned by civil society, he maintained that latter lacked the ability to express universal interests common to society as whole⁷. Like capitalist states it remained the voice of the ruling class.

For Marx, following on from Hegel any such separation of spheres had to be overcome entirely because the supposedly impartial 'universal' state actually furthered the dominance of the bourgeois class over subordinate classes in the market realm which was civil society. Political freedom could only be attained if the working class took over otherwise alienated state functions, which also meant abolishing the selfish, individualistic pluralism of civil society⁸.

Antonio Gramsci developed this idea further, albeit by associating the state with instruments of direct concession and civil

⁷ Marx, Karl, "*Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*" (edited) by Joseph O Malley, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1977, P.81

⁸ Ibid, p. 124.

society with the creating of Hegemony⁹. While apparatus of state relies on coercive power to legally enforce discipline on groups, civil society organizes “spontaneous consent given by great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group¹⁰.” Gramsci’s again isolated civil society as a category of importance in its own right. Gramsci characterized civil society as having the potential for dual autonomy from both the state and the economy. He was therefore the first to articulate the idea that civil society could actually be resistant to state power as, in his well known phrase, so many ‘earthworks’ and buttresses¹¹.

Gramsci more political – agency centered emphasis is reflected in most contemporary accounts. As Jenney Pearce points out, civil society is therefore used to identify an arena of unwilling non purposive arena of human interaction”¹². For these theorists civil society being communicative and self reflexive, creates ‘a public sphere’ whose boundaries it must then protect from the intrusion of economic and bureaucratic power¹³.

⁹ Gramsci Antonio, “selections from the Prison Note Book’s, International Publishers, (New York), p.12-13, 1975.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 12

¹¹ Ibid, p. 230.

¹² Pearce, J “*Civil society the market and democracy in Latin America*”, *Democratization* 4(2), p. 50, 1997.

¹³ Cohen J.A. and Arato A, “*Civil Society and Political theory*”, (Cambridge MA , MIT Press, 1992), p. 63.

Whether in terms of society's freedom from state interference, or of the pluralist representation of diverse interests or of reducing the scope of economic and bureaucratic power, all see civil society autonomous and self limiting as Cohen and Arato write.

"The self limiting revolution avoids the total destruction of its enemy, which would inevitably mean putting itself into the place of the sovereign, thereby depriving society of its self organization and its self defence. The common core of all the interpretation (of self-limiting revolution) is the rather some of the components of this concept. All agree that civil society represents a sphere other than and even distinct from the state."

The concept of civil society as formulate by Cohen and Arato is the most useful conceptual foundation to a research project. Cohen and Arato "locate the genesis of *democratic* legitimacy and the chances for direct participation within a highly differentiated model of civil society itself." It follows from this premise that civil society can be found far and wide, in any place where "free and unconstrained association and discussion" reign.

So there are two dominant conception of civil society today. In the first, more popular view civil society is defined in opposition to the state. It is identified with voluntary associations and community bodies through which individuals govern themselves. The non governmental, Non-Party Associations of civil society are here seen as forums of direct participation. The second views civil

society is associated with a set of institutions that mediate between individual and the state.

A broader definition of civil society can be given as:

“As web of autonomous associations independent of state, which bind citizens together in matters of common concern and by their existence or actions could have an effect on public policy if civil society is more like this, then a much wider range of non-state organization needs to be included.”

So those activity at present, would be considered the part of civil society when they involve a deliberate attempt from outside the state and the market and in some other organized fashion to shape policies, norms and/or deeper social structures.

In a word civil society exist when people make concerted efforts through voluntary associations to mould rules, both official, formal legal arrangement and informal social contracts. Civil society encompasses enormous diversity. In terms of membership and constituencies, for example it includes academic institutions, business associations, community based organizations, development cooperation groups, environmental campaigns, ethnic lobbies, foundations, farmers group, human right advocates, labour unions, belief organization, pacifists and peace activists, think tanks, professional bodies religious institutions, women’s network, youth campaign and more.

In terms of organizational forms, civil society includes formally constituted and officially registered groups as well as informal associations that do not appear in any directory. Indeed different cultures may hold highly diverse notion of what constitutes an organization.¹⁴

In terms of capacity levels, civil society includes some bodies that are very generously resourced and other that struggle for survival. Frequently without success, sometimes civil organizations are richly endowed with members, funds, trained staff, office space, communications technology and data banks. Some times civil organizations have a clear vision and value orientation, a powerful analysis, an absolutely conceived campaign, a set of symbol and language that can mobilize a broad constituencies and an effective leadership.

In terms of tactics, civil society organizations use a wide variety of means to pursue their aims. Many groups directly lobby official agencies and market actors. Other also or instead put emphasis on mobilizing the general public through symposia, rallies, petitions, letter writing, campaigns and boycotts. Some appeals from civil society aim primarily at the heart (with images, music, and slogans), while other aim primarily at the mind (with

¹⁴ Hann C. and Dunn. E. (eds): *"Civil Society: Challenging Western Models"* London - Routledge, 1996

publications, statistics and debates).¹⁵ Quite a few civil associations are apt users of mass media (even hiring professional communications, consultants for this purpose) while others rely wholly on face to face contacts. Some civil society organizations make great use of internet including list servers and websites as well as person to person e-mail messages. On broader tactical issues, some civil organisations pursue their aims through co-operation public authorities and /or market agents while other adopt a confrontational stance and reject all engagements with established powers centers.

Finally in terms of objectives, civil society includes conformists, reformists and radicals. The general distinction is important. Conformists are those civil groups that seek to uphold and reinforce existing norms. Business lobbies, professional associations, think tanks and foundation often fall into conformist category. Reformists are those civil groups that wish to correct what they see flaws in the existing regimes, while leaving underlying social structures intact. For example social democratic groups challenge liberalist economic policies but accept the deeper structure of capitalism. Many academic institutions, consumer protection bodies, human rights groups relief organisations and trade unions promote a broadly reformist agenda.

¹⁵ P. Spiro; *"New Global communities: Non-governmental Organisations in International Decision making institution"*, Washington Quarterly, 18 (1994), p.45-46.

Meanwhile radicals are those civic associations that aim comprehensively to transfer the social order. These part of civil society are frequently termed “social movements”. They include anarchists, environmentalists, pacifists, feminists, religious revivalists with their respective implacable opposition to the state, liberal values, patriarchy, militarism and secularism.

The distinction between means and ends needs to be stressed. It would be mistaken to assume that quite lobbying pain staking research and collaboration with authorizes ipso facto imply a conformist programme. On the contrary reformists and radicals can and often do adopt such tactics too. Like wise it would be wrong to suppose that street demonstration, impassioned television spots and a refusal to engage with officials agencies ipso facto imply a radical vision.

In short while assessing civil society’s activity it is important to distinguish between tactics and objectives. The height of the profile sought can bear little relation to the depth of the transformation pursued.¹⁶

In sum civil society exist whenever people mobilise through voluntary associations in initiative to shape the social order. Civil groups have a wide range of constituencies, forms, capacities, tactics and goals. Apart from this broad definition and the

¹⁶ *ibid*, p.74-83.

acknowledgement that civil society is highly diverse, it is difficult to generalize about the phenomenon.

The American Realities

Civil society in America in form of voluntary membership groups have been existing from very beginning of American civilization. Classic American voluntary membership groups are widely presumed to have been spontaneous and particular creations, fashioned within relatively bounded local communities, neighbors and friends coalesced outside politics and apart from involvement's with extra-local government.¹⁷ Pundits and normative theorists regularly espouse this vision of Americans civic past.

Peter Drucker contrasts America's traditions of voluntary group action from below to the collectivism of organised governmental action from above¹⁸ George Will portrays voluntary groups as neighbourly "little battalions" doing battle with "the federal government's big battalions."¹⁹ "Before the modern age" write conservative political theorists Michael Joyce and Willium Schambara in a crisp formulation of conventional wisdom,

¹⁷ Scokpol, Theda, Marshall Ganz and Ziad Munson, 'A nation of organisers: the institutional, origins of civic voluntarism in the unite states.' *American Political Science Review*, Vol-94, NO.3, September 2000, p.1.

¹⁸ Drucker, Peter F, "*The Ecological vision, Reflections on the American condition*", New Bruns Wick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993, p.9

¹⁹ Mill, George, "Look at All the lonely Bowls", *Washington Post*, Jan-5, 1995, p.A29.

“American life.... was characterized by both its self containment and its cohesiveness. Individuals were closely bound to one another by strong families, tightly knit neighborhoods and active voluntary and fraternal groups. Through these small local ‘human-scale’ associations, American not only achieved a sense of belonging and connectedness but also tackled the full range of social and human problems that today have largely become the province of government.”²⁰

Liberal theorists become the province of government, get communications such as Sandel suggests that national intervention have compromised local civic virtue. ²¹ As Beem shows in a wide ranging reviews of current scholarship and theorists of all stripes focus on local communities and consider “governmental actions and Large political organisations..... at least irrelevant to, and at worst inimical” to democratic civil society.²²

So there are two schools of thought contesting each other on the question of the development of civic associational life in the United States. As one group of theorists have become the exponents of ‘small is beautiful’ school of civil virtue. In this perspective “horizontally” but not “vertically” organised group fosters and

²⁰ Joyce, Michael S. and Milliam. A. Schambra, “*A New Civic Life, In to Empowers people*”, 2nd ed., etd. Michael Novak, Washington D.C., AEI Press 1996 p.11.29

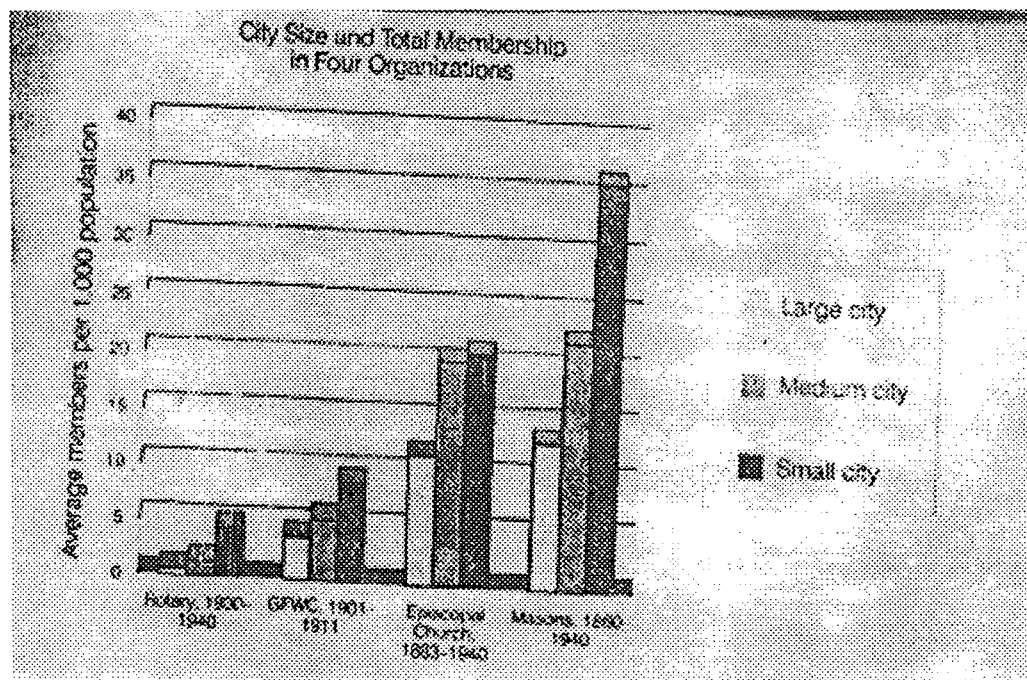
²¹ Sandel, Michael J., “*Democracy’s Discontent: America in search of a public philosophy*”, Cambridge, (MA: Harvard University Press, 1996). p.75-89.

²² Beem Christopher, “*The necessity of politics: Declaiming American Public life*” Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1999. P. 172-194.

sustain face to face networks essential for healthy democracy. As Putnam argues that small groups teach self discipline easily as well as foster societal trust and governmental efficiency.²³ Theorists of this school of thought portray U.S. voluntary groups as local informal and profusely varied – until industrial modernization brought standardization and bureaucracy. Offering a variable of this conventional wisdom political scientist Gerald Gamm and

Robert Putnam use U.S city directories from 1840 to 1940 to tally groups they assume mere “obscure scattered and often small”²⁴

Graph 1.1



²³ Putnam, Robert D. *Making Democracy work: civic Traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ Princeton University Press, 1993 PP. 90.

²⁴ Gamm, Gerald and Robert D. Putnam, *The Growth of voluntary Associations in America, 1840-1940*. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* .29 (spring): 511-557

Gamm and Putnam claim that Associationalism was strongest in smaller cities and towns. They choose four types of associations-Rotary clubs, General Federation of women's club, Episcopal churches and Masons. By pressing the above given figure they claimed that pattern of growth of these organisations were same as it was better in smaller cities in through out the nineteen and early twentieth century America.²⁵ Later on they argue that U.S. "civic core was in the periphery" because associations were created and sustained most easily "in slow-growing" communities that were "relatively small and homogeneous".²⁶ This view has been endorsed by number of scholars of this school such as David T. Beito, Robert H. Miebe, Mary P. Ryan etc.

Contrasting these view another school of thought emerged with the writings Arthur Schlesinger, as; in his article "Biography of a nation of joiners". He focuses on "voluntary bodies of sizable membership, reasonably long duration and fairly large territorial extent,". Schlesinger portrays the development of a "vast and intricate mosaic' of large-scale associations "reaching out with interlocking membership to all parts of the country."²⁷

In colonial America, Schlesinger argues voluntary groups were few and usually tied to local church congregations. But the

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 545-549

²⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 551

²⁷ Schlesinger, Arthus M. [sr.], "Biography of a Nation of Joiners". *American Historical Review* 50 (october): 1944, pp. 1-25.

struggle for independence from Britain taught “men from different sections valuable lessons in practical co-operation. and the adoption of the constitution stimulated still further applications of the collective principle.”²⁸

A new associational model crystallized in the early 1800s, a time of flux and experimentation in the democratizing republic. Ambitious organisers developed a standard approach. They chose an “imposing’ name, “sent forth agents on the wide public” and multiplied “subsidiary societies on the length and breadth of the land”. Associations began to organise along the lines of “the Federal political system with local units loosely linked together in state branches and these in turn sending representatives to a national body.”²⁹ Subsequently the civil war brought a “heightened sense of nationality” “redoubled” Northern endeavors to plan far-lung undertakings,” and so gave “magnified force’ to association building in the late 1800s.³⁰

More than a century earlier similar views were presented by Alex de Tocquille. He had contended in his famous argument that the abundance of American civic associations contributed to the stability of American democracy and he further insisted that civic associations were more crucial than political associations to a

²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 5.

²⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 11.

³⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 16.

democratic society. He said 'If the inhabitants of democratic communities had neither the right nor the taste for uniting for political objects their independence would run great risks.... if they did not learn some habits of acting together in the affairs daily life, civilization itself would be in peril.'³¹

Tocqueville was deeply impressed by the level of voluntary activity that he found in the United States and he regarded the American case as an exemplar for the democratizing world. Supporting the Tocqueville argument, Skocpol demonstrated that the nation's dense network of associations flourished alongside mass party organisation³². Although not explicitly theoretical, Schlesinger's overview highlights the role of national organisers who learned from political experience and it suggests that translocal federations fostered local chapters.

This school of thought has been joined by many theorists such as Sheri Berman, Peter Evans, Margaret Hevi, Sidney Tarrow, Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson.

Sidney Tarrow has criticised the "small is beautiful" school of thought by putting his argument, that the character of state is external "to the' social capital model" (as small is beautiful school of thought known as this title) because civic privacy is seen as a

³¹ Tocqueville, Alex de. *Democracy in America* (ed J.P. Mayer, trans, George Lawrence Garden city, NY: Doubleday, Anchor. 1969.

³² Skocpol, Theda, *The Tocqueville problem: civil Engagement in American Democracy*. *Social Science History*, XXI 1997, pp. 463.

native soil in which state structure grow rather than one shaped by the pattern of state building”³³

Reinforcing doubts about such thinking, Schlesinger suggests that American voluntary groups developed in close relationship to the representative and federal institutions of the U.S. state. In their recent article Scockol, Ganz and Munson have claimed that large voluntary associations were existing in pre-industrial American as well. Moral crusades and political movements, labor unions, and farmer associations, veteran’s and moment’s group recreational and civic associations and fraternal groups of many sort were existing.

Table 1.1
Large U.S. voluntary associations

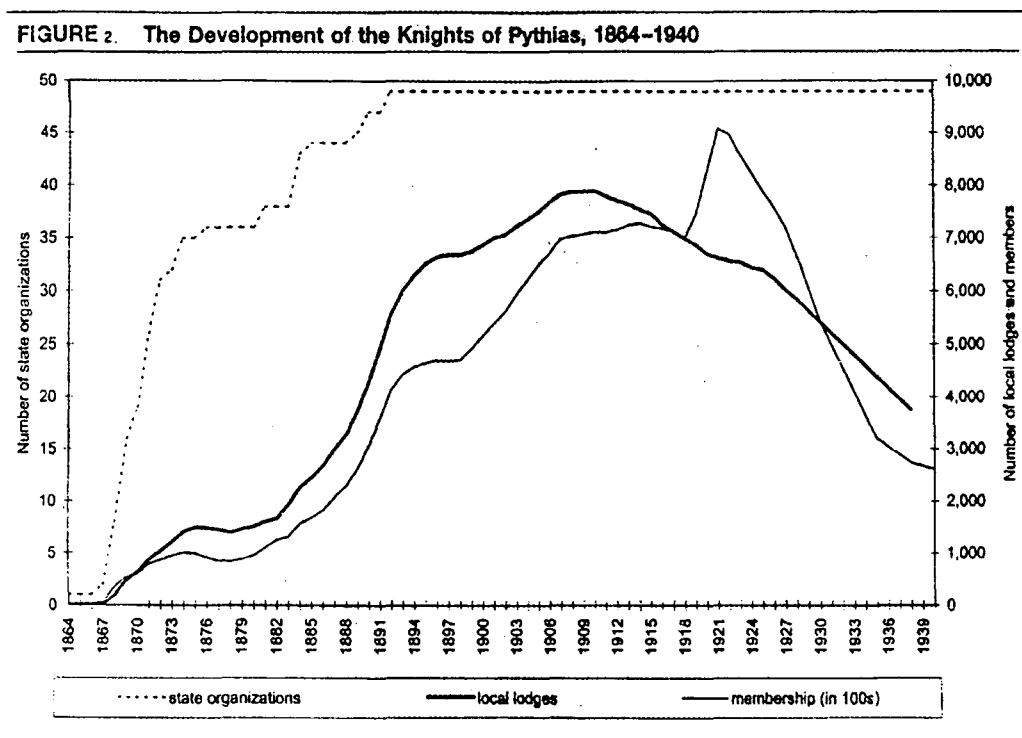
Founding Era	International Portal	Local Focused on City or State	National	Combination of Existing Groups	Total Large Associations Founded
Colonial Period (prior to 1790)	1	0	0	0	1
Early national (1819-59)	2	3	5	0	10
Post-Civil War (1860-99)	0	6	18	3	27
Twentieth Century (1900-40)	0	0	5	3	8
Total	3	9	28	6	46

³³ Tarrow, Sidney, “States and opportunities: The political structuring of social movements”, In Contemporary Perceptives on social movements. 9ed) Cambridge University Press ,1996 b, pp. 395.

As their Data collection have shown in Table-I, these large associations attracted hundreds of thousands or millions of members. To be sure some large membership associations passed out of existence after brief campaigns to attain a policy goal and other flared up and died down within just a few years. More than two- fifth of the existing associations crossed 1% membership threshold before 1900 and more than three quarters exceeded this mark before 1920. Large membership voluntary associations name flourished in early history of United States.

To show the development of large associations these theorist have presented an example of the development of a giant fraternal group which emerged at the end of the civil war called Knights of Pythias. The development has been shown in graph 1.2

Graph 1.2



The American revolution and debate over constitution along with contentious and evangelical religious movements in new nation spurred early Americans to organize all kind of voluntary groups, even in tiny towns. In the same era, non-political groups also moved toward national projects and institutions of these by far the most important was the independent order of odd fellows, which was destined to become an organizational model and seed beds for hundreds other membership federations.

Till now focus of the discussion has been on the emergence and initial spread of popularly rooted U.S membership federations, and also during the Great Depression. They have highlight the symbiotic partnership between the federal government and large voluntary federations that helped the nation mobilize for world war I and II, culminating in remarkably voluntary membership spurts after each great conflict.

Although particular groups rose and fell, chapter based federations of the sort that first took shape between the mid-1800s and the 1920s continued to underpin U.S. civil society through the first two third of the 20th century. Only after the mid-1960s did membership federations in general experienced sharp decline as new social movements and professionally run advocacy associations transformed civil life in unprecedented ways.

At present many Americans are so disillusioned with national government and politics, with all authoritative institutions that they

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are prepared to picture "Tocqueville's America' as a collection of spontaneous local effort detached from government and politics".

An institutional approach to civic life suggests that state, politics and society are for better or worse inevitably intervened. From this perspective, the key to civic health lies not in local face to face interactions alone but in the nature of connections between powerful super local institutions and local or particular endeavors.

As title statement of an organization called "Knights of Labor" of North America which prevailed in 1883 portrays that "When bad men combine, the good must associate, else they will fail. One by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle".

As civic organizations have been action in every arena of civil life in United States, in same way for security and peace also they have been active. As World War-II ended with Nuclear Catastrophe in Herosima and Nagasaki in Japan from that time onwards in United States as well civil society groups have been very much concern to the existing danger and as been active for the Nuclear disarmament. United States has experienced the peace movements against nuclear weapons. These movements were organised by churches, religions organisations and non governmental organisations and had attained great success in mobalizing and in creating awareness among masses against nuclear weapons.

In United States churches have been contributing the most vital part in peace movements. The following some Christian civic organisation very active in United States.

- Pat Christi-USA
- American North Christian Peace Conference.
- Federation for Catholics.

At present a large numbers of civic organisations are active in campaigning against nuclear bombs not only in United States but having a global approach and ambition. Among large numbers of non-governmental organisations there are few prominent and successful organisations, which are being mentioned below.

- ◆ Carnegie Endowment for International peace – USA
- ◆ Coalition to reduce nuclear Dangers-Washington DC
- ◆ Council for a livable world-USA
- ◆ Federation of American Scientist-USA
- ◆ Friends committee on national Legislation.
- ◆ Lawyers Alliance for world security-USA
- ◆ Nuclear age peace Foundation-USA
- ◆ Coalition for peace action-USA
- ◆ Mobilization for survival
- ◆ Nuclear control institute*
- ◆ Peace action

- ◆ Peace Links
- ◆ U.S. Peace Council
- ◆ War and Peace Foundation
- ◆ Pugwash conference on science and world affairs.
- ◆ 20/20 vision
- ◆ Fourth Freedom Forum
- ◆ Friends committee on National Legislation.
- ◆ Global action to prevent war
- ◆ International Physicians for the prevention of Nuclear war.
- ◆ National resources Defense Council-USA
- ◆ The peace Studies Association
- ◆ Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-proliferation.
- ◆ Heritage foundation.

Apart from these prominent NGO's active in United States there are various think tanks which are part of civil society in United States. There are list of few prominent think tanks. Arms Control Association Washington DC;

- ◆ The Brookings Institution-Washington DC Think tank US
- ◆ The Carter Center, USA
- ◆ Centre for Defence Information, Washington DC
- ◆ Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University.

- ◆ Center for science and international Affairs – Harvard University
- ◆ Henry L. Stimson center Washington DC think tank
- ◆ Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies .Cambridge.
Mass USA
- ◆ Los Alamos study Group-USA
- ◆ RAND corporation-USA

Chapter II

THE AMERICAN CIVIL SOCIETY AND STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATIES -(START- I, START-II, PROPOSED START -III)

As it is evident that American Civil Society has deep historical roots and very efficiently it has showed its presence in American Society. World War-II ended with a painful shock that was the attack by Nuclear Weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively on 6th August and 9th August 1945.

From that time onwards there begins a journey for Nuclear disarmament in all over the world and because attack was done by American Government so American civil society felt that pain, shock and disappointment much deeper than rest of the world.

Before analyzing the American civil society's response towards START treaties, it would be proper to look at the provision of the treaties, how much and how for it has been implemented and what progress and impact it has made towards Arms control or disarmament.

START - I

START- I was signed on July 31, 1991 by United States and Soviet Union. Five months later, Soviet Union dissolved, leaving four independent states in possession of Strategic nuclear weapons- Russia, Belarus , Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. On May 23,

1992, the United States and the four nuclear capable states, successor to Soviet Union signed the "Lisbon Protocol", which makes all five nations party to the START-I agreement.

START-I agreement

START- I, entered into force on December 5, 1994, when the five treaty parties exchanged instruments of ratification in Budapest. The treaty's implementation dead line is December 2001.

Basic Terms -

- 1,600 deployed Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), Sub-marine- Launched Missiles (SLBMs) and heavy bombers for each side.
- 6,000 "accountable" warheads on ICBMs; and heavy of which no more than 4,900 maybe on ICBMs and SLBMs, 1540 on heavy missiles (The soviets SS-18) and 1,100 on mobile ICBMs.
- Ballistic missile throw - weight (Lifting power) is limited to 3,600 metric tons on each side.

Counting Rules

- Heavy bombers equipped only with bombs and Short Range Attack Missiles (SRAMs) are counted as carrying one war head each.

- US heavy bombers may carry no more than 20 long range air-launched cruise missiles (ALLMs) each. The first 150 of these bombers count as carrying only 10 ALCMs each
- On other hand Soviet Heavy bombers may carry no more than 16 ALCMs each. The first 180 of these bombers count as carrying only eight ALCMs each.
- No more than 1,250 war heads may be “Downloaded” and not counted on existing multiple warhead ballistic missiles.

Other Provision

- START – I runs for 15 years with an option to extend for successive five year periods based on commitments made at the March 1997 Helsinki summit, the sides agreed in principle to negotiate a separate agreement making the START- treaties unlimited in duration
- Separate “politically binding” agreements limits sea launched cruise missiles with ranges above 600 kilometers to 880 for each side and the Soviet back fire bomber to 500¹.

This treaty was signed by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev and US president George Bush. As above facts shows that Soviet

¹ Source for this document is *defence/ arms control*, brooking university Press, [http:// www.armscontrol.org](http://www.armscontrol.org), June 2001

Union agreed to 35% cut on its strategic warheads, the United States agreed to 25% cut.

The treaty provided for complex verification procedure, including on site inspections and suspect site inspections.

The two powers agreed to setup a joint commission on verification and inspection. The treaty was to be valid for 15 years unless superseded earlier, by a subsequent agreement. Thereafter treaty could be extended for successive five- years period if both the side agreed.

With the impact of START- I Bush administration, on 27 September 1991, announced unilateral disarmament to make the world a better place than even before in nuclear age. He asserted that this would take nuclear tactical weapons out of European soil and immediately reduce the possibility of any accidental war. He grounded all U.S Strategic bombers and took them off the alert status. Bush administration also ordered for alert status all missile covered by strategic arms reduction treaty (START). President Bush urged Soviet Union to match the Nuclear arms cut.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev responded positively to the Bush proposals and on 5 October 1991, announced extensive cuts in tactical nuclear weapons. He ordered to remove nuclear weapons from ships and submarines, take heavy bombers off battle alert and withdraw nuclear weaponry. He also offered to reduce

Soviet armed forces by 7,00,000 as against 5,00,000 offered by United States.

Above all Soviet Union also announced one year moratorium on nuclear testing. It may be observed that the favorable response of the two powers to put on end to disarmament race was due both to the changed international scenario characterized by end of cold war developments in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union as well as domestic compulsion.

START -II has been a very significant step towards nuclear Arms control and disarmament. On 25 May, 2000, the Ukrainian defense Ministry announced that Ukraine would destroy its remaining strategic bombers and cruise missiles by the end of 2001, thus meeting its commitment under START - I².

START- II

The most significant step in the direction of nuclear arms control was taken on 3 January, 1993 when U.S. President Bush and Russian President (By this time USSR was disintegrated) Boris Yeltsin signed the Nuclear arms control treaty which seeks to bring about two thirds reduction in world's most dangerous and terrifying weapons.

² News briefs, "Ukraine to Meet 2001 START - I Deadline" Arms control Today, July/ August 2001, Vol, 30 ,No.6, pp. 3-5

Under the treaty U.S nuclear weapons stockpile has been limited to the position of 1960's while that of Russia has been reduced to the level of mid 1970's size.

In terms of the treaty U.S. will wind up 1728 strategic warheads at sea and the Russians with 1600 to 1650 . The land based missiles with multiple war heads will be however dismantled by 2003 or as early as 2004 A.D if US helps Russia to get rid of its SS- 18s and SS-19s.

The Treaty limited the nuclear warheads with which heavy bombers of the two sides can be equipped. This limit varies from 750 to 1250 units of nuclear warheads of any type. The two countries however reserved the right to reorient up to 100% heavy bombers for the fulfillment of non- nuclear tasks.

It may be noted that treaty was subject to the ratification by the US senate and the Duma. President Yeltsin submitted START-II to the Duma for ratification on 14 April 2001. The Russian Duma (Lower House of the Parliament) ratified the START-II and its extension protocol by the vote of 288- 131 with four abstentions.

Extension Protocol

On 26th September 1997 codifying the commitment made by Secretary of State Madeline Albright and her Russian counterpart Yevgany Primikov signed a protocol in New York extending the dead

line for the elimination of Strategic Nuclear Delivery Vehicle (SNDVs) under START-II from 1 January,2003 to 31 December, 2007. On January 2, 1996, The U.S. Senate overwhelmingly approved START- II by a vote of 87-4.

It had been felt that main shortcomings of START-I had been insufficient arms reductions and therefore START- II was signed between USA and Russia.

It was the result of the efforts made for a more comprehensive strategic nuclear arms control treaty between the two countries. With the signing of START-II, there concluded the most sweeping nuclear arms reduction treaty in history³.

Main provisions

The Treaty consists of eight articles, two protocols and a memorandum of understanding.

START-II has set equal numerical ceilings for strategic nuclear weapons that may be deployed by either side. The agreed ceilings were to be reached in two stages.

Stage One:- The first stage is to be completed seven years after the entry into force of the START -I and by the end of this period, each side should have reduced the total number. So it

³ D. Lookwood, "*Nuclear Arms control*", SIPRI year book 1993 : world armament and disarmament), Oxford University Press: (1993), Oxford, pp. 574-08

deployed strategic nuclear warheads to 3,800- 4,250 of these warheads no more than 1,200 could be deployed on MIRVed ICBM; no more than 2,160 on deployed SLBMs and no more than 650 on deployed heavy ICBMs.

Stage Two:- This stage had to be completed by 2003 or even earlier i.e. by the end of 2000 if the USA could help, finance the elimination of strategic nuclear arms in Russia. By the end of this stage, each side should have reduced the total number of its deployed strategic nuclear warheads to 3000-3500 of these retained warheads, now could be on MIRVed ICBMs, including heavy ICBMs. Only ICBMs carrying a single warhead would be allowed

Entry into force an duration

START-II enters into force on the date of the exchange of instrument of ratification , but not before the entry into force of START-I, since START- II builds upon START -I, it must remain in force throughout the duration of the later. As in START-I, each side has the right to withdraw form the treaty if it decides that extraordinary efforts have jeopardized its supreme interests.

Ratification and Implementation

It was understood that for START -II to enter into force, three steps had to be taken –

- a- The Russian Duma had to ratify the Treaty.
- b- US senate had to ratify the Treaty.
- c- START-I must be in force.

START - III

Deriving from their March 1997 Summit meeting in Helsinki, U.S President Bill Clinton, and Russian President Boris Yeltsin agreed on the basic elements of START -III.

At the Moscow Summit in September 1998, Clinton and Yeltsin reiterated their commitment of having formal negotiations on START-III as soon as Russia ratifies START- II.

Basic Elements: By December 31, 2007, coterminous with START-II, the united states and Russia will deploy no more than 2000 to 2,500 strategic nuclear war heads on Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles, Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles, and heavy bombers Russian officials have stated that they are willing to consider negotiated levels as low as 1500 strategic nuclear warheads within the context of a Start-III agreement.

The United States and Russia will negotiate measures relating to the transparency of strategic nuclear warhead inventories and the destruction of strategic nuclear war heads as well as other jointly agreed technical and organizational measures to promote the irreversibility of deep reductions.

The United States and Russia will resolve issues related to the goal of making the current START- treaties unlimited in duration⁴ .

The Response of the American Civil Society Towards START-Treaties

American non governmental organizations have responded positively towards this initiative.

Arms Control Association, founded in 1971 is a national non partisan membership organization dedicated to promoting public understanding of and support for effective arms control policies. Through its public education and media programme and its magazine "Arms control Today" ACA provides policy makers the press and the interested public with authoritative information, analysis and commentary on arms control proposals negotiation, agreements and related national security issues. In additions to regular press briefing, ACA holds seminars on major arms control developments.

On 17 April 2000 President and Executive Director of Arms Control Association Mr. Spurgeon M. Keeny spoke in a press conference organised by Arms control Association, praising the START- II approval by Russian Duma. Keeny said that, this was a

⁴ START -I, which entered in to force on December 1994, runs for 15 years with an option to extend for successive five years periods. START-II will remain in force as long as START- I is in force

major break through in the arms reduction process but the actual implementation of START- II has serious barriers to overcome. The Duma while ratifying START-II made some very strong conditions. The most important is on Article 9 relating to the resolution of ratification⁵.

It stated that the instruments of ratification will only be exchanged with the United States when the U.S. senate in this case carries out a number of actions. One, the foremost was that the United States must also update the START- II that the senate originally ratified. Article 2 of the resolution gives right to withdraw from START- II in the event that United States violates or withdraws from ABM Treaty. Besides Article 4 states that Russia will “take decisions” relating to START-II if a START-III agreement has not been completed by the end of 2003. Arms control association had welcomed the treaty and was continuously active to create public opinion in favor of the START –treaties.

Coalition to Reduce nuclear dangers - This NGO is a non-partisan alliance of 16 non-governmental and non-proliferation organizations working together to support a practical, step by step programme to reduce and eliminate nuclear dangers. Coalition to reduce nuclear dangers believe that entry into force of START-I was

⁵ Document, START-II, Resolution of ratification – Arms control today, May 2000.

the success for Clinton administration. Another success of Clinton administration was a frame work agreement on START-III.

Considering the hurdles before START negotiation, Coalition warned against some danger signs. The coalition pointed out that entry into force of START- II created congressional hurdles, while progress on implementing the START-III frame work, agreement has been blocked by U.S. pursuit of National Missile Defence (NMD). Besides, negotiations for even deeper cuts in threatening nuclear forces are being resisted by elements in congress and the American military establishment.

Coalition to reduce nuclear dangers thus gives a call for action. It demands to achieve entry into force of START-III treaty that would further reduce U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals and / or supplement these invitation with parallel, reciprocal and verifiable reductions. It demands from U.S. government to improve command and control system and reduce the alert status of existing nuclear weapons system.⁷ Expressing his views on future prospects for START-II, Executive Director of the Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers Mr. Dargl Kimball said.

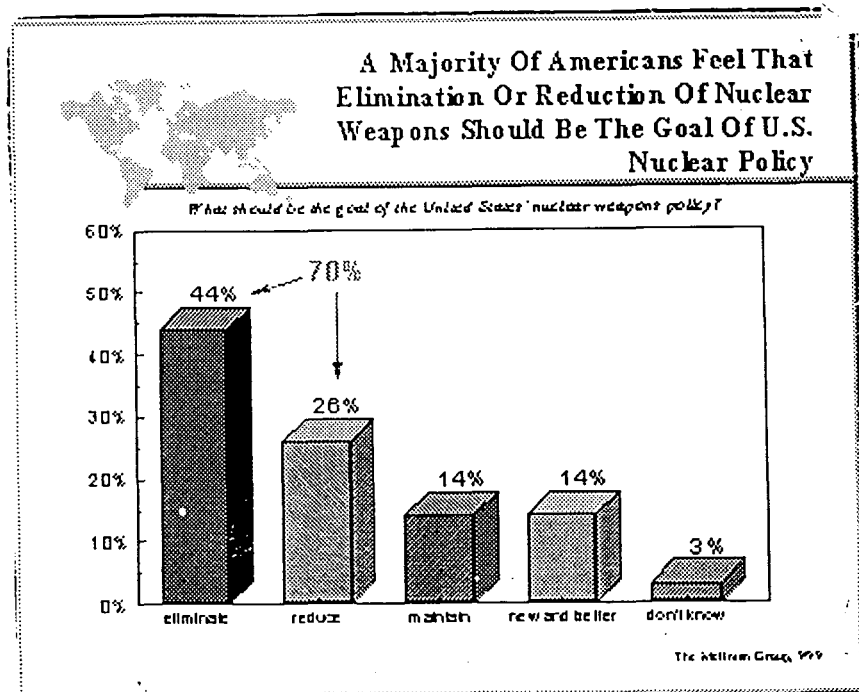
“START- II is helpful, but we have to acknowledge that the cold war nuclear doomsday machine is still going to be outline well after 2007, the scheduled completion date for START-II, so what seems to me to be most significant and helpful aspect of Russian

⁷ Coation of reduce nuclear dangers web site- <http://ww.crnd.org>

Duma approval of START –II is the opportunity for deeper, more meaningful and irreversible cuts through START – III⁸.

Kimball made important note by these view that it is important to remember that the American public has been largely absent from this debate over the last several years because of the perception end of the cold war has led to the elimination of these nuclear arsenals by the United States, and Russia. The public still does back deep reductions in nuclear arsenals and a nation wide poll that was conducted on April 7-9 by the Mellman group for this organization found that 68% of Americans believe that the reduction or the elimination of nuclear weapons should be the goal of U.S. Policy. 40% people favoured that the complete elimination of nuclear weapon should be the U.S. goal and 20% people favoured the reduction should be the goal. So according to Kimball public support for START-treaties makes some room for optimism.

Graph 2.1



8 Kimball, Daryl, "Implications of the Duma's approval of START- II" Arms control today, May 2000 P.8

Council for a livable world:

This NGO was founded in 1962 by physicist Leo Szilard to combat the menace of nuclear war. Later on it expanded its programme to include others weapons of mass- destruction both chemical and biological.

Council for a livable world also operates a political action committee that endorses candidates for the U.S. senate who are supportive of Arms Control. Council believes that a major challenge for this century would be to struggle for a world without war and free of nuclear weapons. Council has a broad range of policy makers and opinion shapers in Washington D.C. and as well as across fifty states. Council for a livable world provides an effective organization to mobilize political sentiments at the grassroots level on nuclear issues. Council lobbyists provide the means and organisation through which individual voters can make their voice heard. Council does this work by adopting following methods:

- 1- The most important role of the lobbyist is to raise an issue with a member of congress.
- 2- Council encourage and support leadership by member of congress on particular issues. In 1995 council worked closely with Michigan Senator Carl Levin, New Mexico, Senator Jelf Bingaman and others on both Starwar and START-II.

- 3- Lobbyist gather pertinent information on specific issues for the member of congress, the media and constituencies. In 1995 council prepared 80 pages briefing books on START –II.
- 4- Council try to build a widespread coalition – inside and outside congress – on various issues as far as possible; for example, the council helped to circulate letters endorsing prompt action on START –II that was signed by 36 senators
- 5- The council worked closely with the Clinton administration to seek its lobbying assistance on START-II.
- 6- Council organizes editorial and grassroots campaigns to call for action for arms control.

Council has raised doubts on proposed National Missile Defence program as it sees the withdrawal of Russia from START-II would result in increasing arms race in the world⁹. Council for a livable world has done its very best on Arms control issues and have welcomed START negotiations since 1991. Since its inception the council has become a formidable voice for arms control and nuclear disarmament in United States. American civil society has been greatly benefited by the Council for a Liable World¹⁰.

Federation of American Scientists (FAS)

⁹ Cornor, W. Robert *"In the Idea of civil society"*, Research Triangle Park, N.C. National Humanities centre, 1991, pp. 1-46.

¹⁰ Council for Livable world web side – <http://www.Clw.org>

This was founded as the federation of Atomic scientists in 1945 by members of the Manhattan project who produced the first atomic bomb. FAS has supported START negotiations and actively involved in the process of making it successful by carrying out research to develop the basis for new policy initiative and organizing international workshop. At present FAS is working toward transparent and verifiable dismantlement of U.S. and Russian nuclear warheads as it was agreed in START- I and START -II. FAS is also urging U.S. and RUSSIA to move away from hair trigger nuclear alert by advocating de-alerting nuclear weapons¹¹.

Though FAS believes in deterrence unless total elimination of nuclear weapons is not ensured. So it supports only arms control initiative as it is apparent that it had widely backed START- I and START- II .

FAS is making efforts to achieve a world wide moratorium on the production of plutonium an highly enriched uranium for weapons as a first step towards a Fissile – Cutoff Treaty.

Green Peace :- green peace¹² is an international non governmental organization but it has been playing a very active role in United States and strengthen the American civil society. It has raised its voice against nuclear armament. In 1971, a group of

¹¹ Federation of American Scientists website- [http:// www.fas.org](http://www.fas.org)

¹² Green Peace website:- <http://www.greenpeace.org>

12 Americans and Canadian activists chartered a boat and sailed straight into nuclear test site in Amchitka Alaska. That famous voyage 30 years ago sparked an international outcry against nuclear weapons and formed one of the most influential watchdog groups, GREEN PEACE.

From that first protest onwards Green Peace's disarmament campaign has challenged the testing and proliferation of nuclear weapons in every corner of the globe. Between 1986 to 1993, Green Peace activists participated in annual protests at the Nevada Test site involving 3000 to 9000 people, that maintained public awareness of nuclear testing and the continuing nuclear arms race. In 1988 alone over 14,000 people attended two demonstrations at the test site with over 4,000 people arrested for non-violent civil disobedience.

In 1992 Green Peace welcomed the START-I Treaty, when in 1992 the USSR initiated a nuclear testing moratorium, Green Peace activists staged non-violent direct action in front of the White House calling on then President George Bush to initiate a U.S. moratorium.

After a sustained national grass roots lobbying campaign led by Green Peace and other disarmament groups, the United States Senate adopted the "Hatfield-Exon-Mitchell" amendment that would effect a 9 months U.S. testing moratorium place strict conditions

on any further U.S. testing and require the President to complete CTBT negotiations by September 1996.

On 23 September 1992 United States conducted its 1,030th and last nuclear test. By 24 September 1996, since the inception of nuclear bomb 2,046 nuclear weapons explosions had taken place on 20 different locations on earth. So considering these danger Green Peace intensifying its 'No Nukes' programs in all over the world .

War Resisters League (WRL)

WRL¹³ was organized in 1923 by men and women who had opposed world war-I. Many of them had been jailed for refusing military service during world war-II. Hundreds of the members were imprisoned in the US for refusing to fight. The league was radicalized when these resisters left prison after the war. In 1960s the league was the first peace group to call for US withdrawal from Vietnam war. WRL sponsored the dynamic magazine WIN throughout the 1970s and consolidated work against nuclear weapons with action against nuclear powers.

WRL believe in a statement given by Late A.J. Muste "There is no way to peace, peace is the way," WRL has supported and hold demonstrations in many places in America against nuclear weapons.

¹³ War Resisters League websites <http://www.warresisters@gn.epc.org>

To show public rejection against nuclear armament and war, WRL believes in War Tax Resistance and Peace Tax Fund so that public money which goes for nuclear weapons and war must go for developmental works.

National War Tax Coordinating Committee (NWTCC) – This committee calls upon the U.S. citizen to refuse to pay taxes which goes for military spendings and national campaign for a Peace Tax Fund calls upon the tax payer to directly give their taxes to Peace Tax Fund so that it could be used for peaceful purposes. It makes an effort to pass a legislation to allow tax payers to direct their tax dollars to be used for peaceful purposes.

Apart from these prominent non-governmental organization there are churches and Christian organizations which have played very dynamic role towards nuclear disarmament.

Pax Christi- USA

Pax Christi USA has been committed to a world free of nuclear weapons since its founding nearly 25 years ago. As followers of Jesus Christ, Pax Christi rejects the system that suggests that security can be achieved through the threat of annihilation or so called policy of deterrence.

As Pax Christi says “We remembers the victims mostly indigenous peoples without a voice on world stage, who have

suffered the effects of more than 2000 nuclear test explosions over the past fifty years. We remember the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and we are heartened by this important step toward ending the nuclear age". Pax Christi remains committed to complete nuclear abolition. In 1998 Pax Christi urged then U.S. President Bill Clinton to release of all those currently imprisoned for their conscious witness against nucleus weapons".

Pax Christi¹⁴ has always encouraged steps which have been taken for nuclear disarmament such as START- treaties. Pax Christi condemns the policy of nuclear deterrence. As it says that nuclear deterrence as a national policy must be condemned as morally abhorrent because it is the excuse and justification for the continued possession and further development of nuclear weapons. This statement was jointly given by 75 U.S. catholic bishops in a report recently.¹⁵

The Fellowship of reconciliation

This religious organization organized a people's campaign for non-violence that consisted prayer, protest and peacemaking for forty days.

On 1st July to August 9, 2000, people from every religion, class, and way of life gathered throughout the summer to call for

¹⁴ Pax Christi Release, June 10, 1998.

¹⁵ Pax Christi USA website-<http://www.non-voilence.org/pcusa>

an end culture of violence and for the creation of the culture of non-violence and justice. On July 3, 2000, the first public witness and direct action for the people's campaign for non-violence was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, which was held in Lafayette park across from the White House. This was the direct action for nuclear disarmament in which nearly 200 people participated. The demonstration began with a silent vigil along Pennsylvania Avenue, during which members of the group displayed posters and handed out hundreds of information flyers calling for nuclear disarmament.

On 4 July 2000, which was American independence day, also about 100 people spend the afternoon in prayer, vigil for nuclear disarmament. On 10th July 2000 the fellowship organized campaign with War Resisters League. On the 16 July 2000, on 55th anniversary of the first nuclear bomb test 20 members of abolition 2000 (an global NGO) gathered in the rain in the National Mall for to celebrate nuclear abolition Day.

On 6th August and 9th August 2000 Fellowship organized a demonstration on the occasion of 55 anniversary of U.S Atomic bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. So Church as a vital part of civil society praised the START initiative and it has taken direct actions for nuclear disarmament. This has become the source of inspiration for other NGO's in America, who are struggling for nuclear disarmament.

After discussing American non-governmental organizations church and religions organizations, it would be important to analyse the response of Think tanks which are having a very significant role to play in American civil society. Indeed it has been playing very significant role in START negotiations too.

The Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies. (IDDS)

This a Think tank on ways to reduce the risk of war, minimize the burden of military spending and promote nuclear disarmament. The institute aims to multiply the numbers of individuals who have informed opinions on matters of war and peace and play an active role in shaping policy on these matters. It publishes studies of global Arms Control Policies in three forms. Reference works, Policy Studies and free Reprints. This Think tank has supported START-I, II and proposed START-III, considered all these action to be a benchmark for Arms control.

Research and Development (RAND)

RAND is a non-profit institution that helps improve policy and decision making through research and analysis. RAND support U.S Arms control initiatives but not at the cost of U.S Supreme interest. RAND reports have observed that President Bush should pursue negotiations with Russia on nuclear arms reductions, and pursue a comprehensive nuclear effort including comprehensive

Test Ban Treaty and a verifiable freeze of North Korea's ballistic missile programme.

Stimson Center

Henry L. Stimson center is Think tank dedicated to offer practical solutions to the problems of national and international security. The nuclear non-proliferation project examine the panoply of issues associated with nuclear weapons. The project initially centered on preparation at home and abroad to implement the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) of 1972. In addition to the utility of international treaties as threat control and reduction mechanism, the project research reports also addressed topics including weapons destruction technology, the utility of export control, terrorism involving nuclear weapons etc. Stimson centers backs START talks and build opinion through its publications in favour of nuclear Arms control.

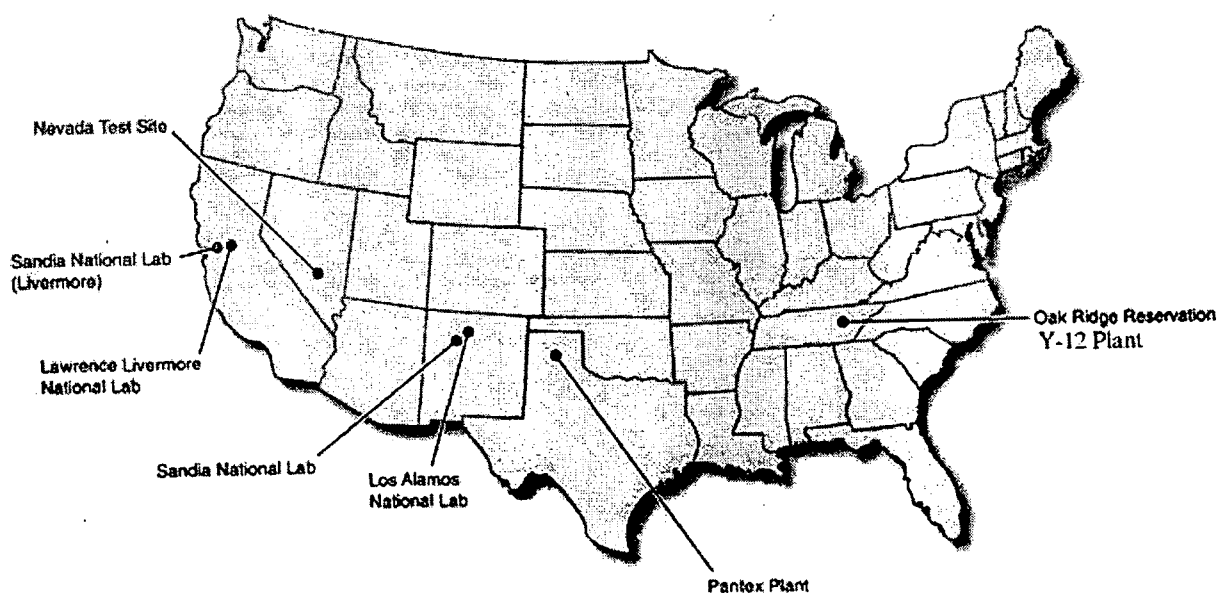
Los Alamos Study Group

Los Alamos Study Group is group of physicists who are active for disarmament cause in United States. This group conducts research on various aspect of Arms control and nuclear disarmament. For example, when on 8 July 1996, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the judicial branch of United Nations issued its advisory opinion "The legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons", ICJ found that the threat or use of nuclear

weapons “would generally be contrary” to humanitarian and other international law regulating the conduct of warfare. The opinion and its implications are summarized in the introduction to a book written by Dr. John Burroughs. This group favors START negotiation considering as a step forwards towards Arms control of this group. ¹⁶

Along with these civil society groups there are many peace groups who are constantly monitoring the U.S. active nuclear weapons facility centers all across United States and organising demonstrations and public campaigns.

Map 2.1: Map of the United State’s Active Nuclear Weapons Facilities



¹⁶ Burroughs John, “The legality of the Treat or use of nuclear weapons- A guide to the historic opinion of the international court of Justice.” Hit, verlag, Muenster 1997 pp.1-87.

In above picture U.S active nuclear weapons facilities centers have been indicated which are being monitored by many groups of American civil society and making constant efforts for the reduction of weapons.

1--Y-2 Plant which include Oak Ridge National Lab and the K-25 Plant which is situated in Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

This site is being monitored by Oak Ridge Environmental Peace Alliance.¹⁷

2. **Pantex Plant**- It is based in Texas, is being monitored by Peace Farm.

3. **Lawrence Livermore National Lab** which is based in California. This site is being monitored by Western State Legal Foundation, a civil society Group.

4. **Los Alamos National Laboratory.**

It is based in New Mexico. This site is being monitored by Los Alamos study Group.

5. **Nevada Test site** – It is based in 65 miles north west of Los Vegas. It has witnessed the number of Nuclear Tests. This site is monitored by Oak Ridge Environmental Peace Alliance so it can be said that Arms control efforts have been taken by

¹⁷ For details- visit website <http://www.stop the bombs.org>.

American civil society constantly and START-I, START-II and proposed START-III programme has been endorsed and encouraged by these groups as their main concern is to save the humanity from nuclear catastrophe.

In 1999 a public opinion survey was conducted by Council of a Livable World on START negotiations and results were following. More than four in 10 Americans (44%) believe that the complete elimination of nuclear weapons should be U.S policy. There have been strong public support to restart START-III as 67% believe that START-III Negotiations are relevant and must start as soon as possible.

Chapter III

THE AMERICAN CIVIL SOCIETY AND COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY (CTBT)

The next very important step in the direction of disarmament was the signing of CTBT. On 24 September 1996 at United Nation General Assembly in New York. The treaty was approved by 150 countries while India, Pakistan and Israel opposed it and five countries abstained . The treaty would however come in to force only after 44 nuclear capable states would sign it.

The treaty places ban on all kinds of nuclear weapons test explosions. It envisages an international monitoring system to check treaty violations. A network of 20 stations would be set up which shall be able to detect underground, atmospheric or underwater explosions more powerful than equivalent 1000 tons of conventional explosives. Under treaty any country would be able to request for inspection to see whether an explosion had been carried out. Such request can be based on information collected by the international system or through surveillance but not through spying activities.

The seat of the CTBT organization would be in Vienna (Austria). All decision on behalf of the organization would be made by a 51 member executive council to be constituted on the basis of

regional representation. The treaty would enter into force 180 days after it is certified by 44 countries that have nuclear powers or nuclear power research reactors on their soil. In United States treaty was not ratified by the senate. The rejection of ratification has damage the future prospects of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Response of American civil society towards CTBT

When treaty was signed in 1996 in New York, it was widely endorsed in United State and it was a very significant stop towards nuclear disarmament but the rejection of the treaty by U.S. senate came as a surprise and shock for American civil society.

Arms Control Association – This organization held a press conference to assess the damage done by rejection of the treaty by U.S. senate. United States senate voted 51-48 to reject the treaty¹. President and executive director of the Arms Control Association expressed the views of the Arms Control Association on CTBT rejection.

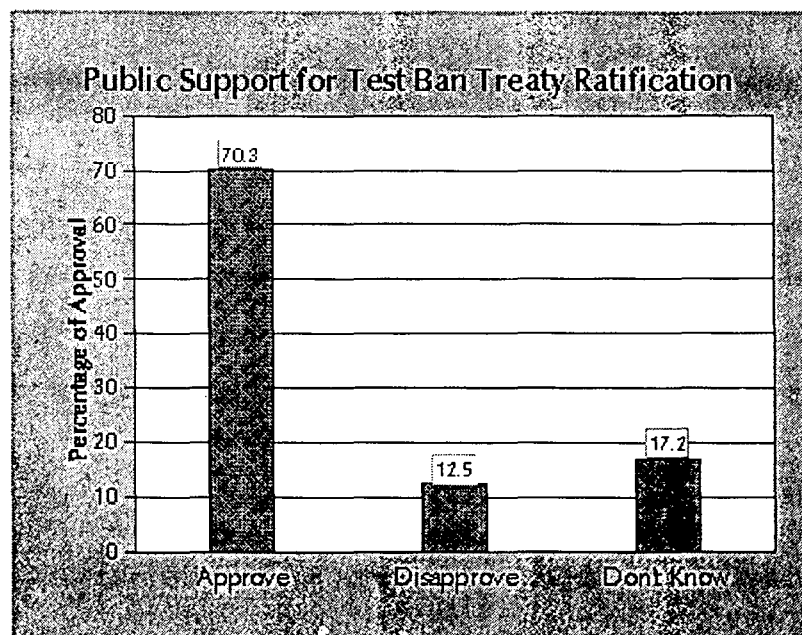
According to M. Keeny, Jr, “The senate repudiation of CTBT was a shock to all of us, senate action is the most serious set back to the arms control regime in the last 40 years since president Eisenhower first introduced the Comprehensive Test Ban in 1950.

¹ Holumn, Jhon, D, “*CTBT and nuclear disarmament: The US view*”, *Journal international affairs*, 57(1), 1997, pp. 263-81.

It seriously under cuts the ability of the United States to play a leadership role in its central foreign policy objectives of preventing further proliferation of nuclear weapons and also in its goal, a further progress in arms control in general”.

According to Kenny world will see the action as a repudiation of this clear U.S. commitment. Criticizing the quality of debate in senate on CTBT, Keeny said that “I was shocked at particularly of those who opposed the treaty. “The most disturbing charges that treaty would endanger the U.S. deterrence. This was something like shouting fire in a crowd theater. The Most distressing aspect was the complete disregard for the advice of the military on this subject. As it was evident that the chairman of the joint chief of staffs, the vice chairman and the heads of the four services all joined in supporting the treaty. According to Arms Control Association Director, it is critical to have a bipartisan approach to arms control, there is no choice now but to make this a partisan issue and take a it to the people who have demonstrated their strong support for arms control and particularly the Comprehensive Test Ban.

Graph 3.1



After the rejection some treaty critique have proposed that the long term benefit/ risk calculation could be improved by renegotiating key treaty provisions. Others have suggested that simply continue the situation². One proposal made by treaty critiques is to seek international support for renegotiations to give the treaty a “sunset clause” requiring that it be renewed and re-ratified or abandoned after a certain period of time. Other proposals are to make the treaty’s enforcement more automatic or to change its scope to permit nuclear explosions at yields up to some level in order to prevent an asymmetry between U.S. fidelity to a zero- yield ban and potential undetected cheating by other countries.

Arms Control Association suggests that if CTBT is not ratified by senate then U.S. must rely on unilateral moratoriums. A prolonged moratorium would do less damage to U.S. non proliferation objectives and diplomatic standing than would a resumption of nuclear testing but most of the benefits that the Test Ban Treaty can provide would be lessened or lost without ratification. While uncertainties and risks would grow more over other countries, would be more likely to sustain their testing moratoriums if they are viewed as interim measures pending the test ban treaty’s entry into force, rather than an end point in itself.

² Rielly, Jhon E(ed) *“American Public Opinion and US foreign policy”*, Chicago IL, The Chicago council on foreign relations, 1999, p.15.

As long as state honoured its moratorium inability to test would place technical constraints on nuclear weapons development. However other countries can renounce their moratorium of more easily than the United States³. According to Arms Control Association if the United States were to stop working seriously toward test ban treaty ratification, it could exacerbate uncertainties about proliferation, verification and stockpile stewardship.

The CTBT would clearly outweigh the forthcoming risks.

1. The test ban treaty will complicate and slow down the efforts of aspiring nuclear states, especially regarding more advanced types of nuclear weapons.
2. It will hamper the development by Russia and China of nuclear weapons based on new design and will essentially rule out certain advances.
3. It will add to legal and political constraints that nations must consider when they form their judgement about national defense policies.
4. The test Ban treaty is vital to the long term health of the nuclear non proliferation treaty, and will increase support for other elements of a comprehensive non – proliferation strategy.

³ Young, Elizabeth, counter proliferation : common sense, neo- imperialism or wild goose chase? World Today, 53(1), January 1997, pp. 16-18

5. The United States is having safer and sufficient nuclear deterrence under the Test Ban Treaty.
6. The verification regime established under the Treaty will enhance the United States 'own very capable nuclear test moratorium system and foster new techniques to improve verification .

The treaty will be easier to mobilize domestic and international support for certifying ambiguous situations and for responding vigorously if any nation conducts a nuclear tests .So Arms Control Association strongly favours CTBT and does its best to make it successful.

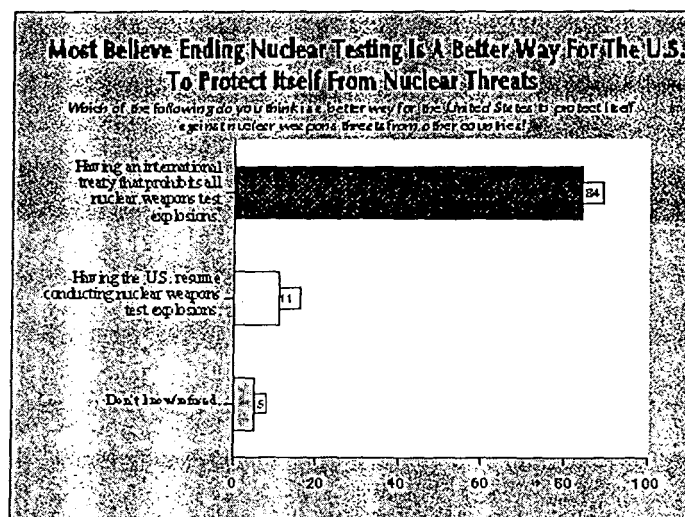
Council for a livable world ⁴ has conducted project called **“Target 2000” project** in which they conducted studies on many non- proliferation and Arms control issues. Council says that the CTBT is a major unfinished work of the past decade in multilateral arms control and non proliferation . During the campaign Bush agreed that our nation should continue its moratorium on (Nuclear) testing “However he opposed the CTBT it self, claiming that it does not stop proliferation especially in renegade regimes. It is non verifiable. It is non enforceable. And it would stop us from ensuring safety and reliability of our nations deterrent”. The present Secretary of state General Colin Powell, who had supported

⁴ Council for a Livable World website <http://www.clw.org>.

the CTBT earlier has now changed his position. Council for a livable world says that although 160 states have signed the treaty and 69 have ratified including Britain, France and Russia. However, Article XIV of the CTBT requires 44 nuclear capable states must also ratify before the treaty enter into force.

In essence United States test ban policy is in a state of “limbo” that does not benefit U.S. security until U.S. ratifies the CTBT. It denies itself the benefits of the treaty’s extensive nuclear test monitoring and on site inspection provisions and it denies the U.S. moral and legal authority to encourage other nations not to conduct nuclear weapons test explosions. And given that the U.S. nuclear arsenal is certified as safe, reliable and given that there is no military requirement for new weapons now or in the foreseeable future it is self defeating for the United States to further delay ratification and entry into force⁵. A realistic view of U.S. national security interests recognize that the U.S. had return to nuclear testing would be colossal security policy blunder with unpredictable and potentially lethal consequences.

Graph 3.2



⁵ Aries Oscar, Economics and disarmament after the cold war”: Human security, or common responsibility- Strategic Digest, 27 (7), July 97, pp. 95-61.

Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers⁶ which is a non partisan alliance of 16 non governmental organization strongly supports the CTBT. It says that by banning all nuclear weapon test explosions, the CTBT will impede the development of advanced , new types of nuclear warheads that are smaller, lighter, more accurate and more deadly. The CTBT makes it much harder for the countries with advanced nuclear weapons to develop and produce new and more threatening types of nuclear warheads. In particular the CTBT, by blocking further Chinese nuclear testing, can slow the Chinese nuclear modernization program help prevent China's ability to develop MIRV missiles.

The CTBT will also prevent nations with smaller arsenals-like India and Pakistan- and nations seeking nuclear arms like Iran and Iraq – from making advanced nuclear warheads which are more easily deliverable by ballistic missiles. The CTBT is particularly relevant in south Asia where nuclear establishment in India is pressing for additional nuclear tests to perfect new, smaller, lighter, nuclear, warhead design that would give India longer range and more accurate nuclear delivery capabilities.

Coalition to reduce nuclear dangers calls upon for action to secure U.S. ratification and global entry into force of the CTBT.

⁶ Coalition to reduce nuclear dangers web site- [http:// www.crnd.org](http://www.crnd.org).

The test ban treaty will not disarm America. America has the safest, most sophisticated nuclear arsenal in the world. A test ban will help verifiably, keep it that way. As Bush signaled out that proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as the greatest threat America faces. The test ban would better track the proliferation habits of others. Coalition says that CTBT is still in America's interest but the Bush administration is befuddled on whether to end nuclear blasts⁷.

During the course of recent consultation between president Bush's envoys and key United States allies, the controversy over missile defense has overshadowed deep differences on other vital non-proliferation issues, most notable CTBT. The Bush administration has been isolated and unsuccessful in its effort to delete references to the CTBT from the joint communiqués of the 29 May NATO foreign ministerial meeting and the 7 June NATO defence ministerial meeting.

The case for CTBT remains strong as the following opinion column from The Economist describes "the test ban treaty will not disarm America, nor will it stop someone building a crude fission bomb, untested but it will slow the proliferation of more complex weapons design that do need testing⁸". A public opinion survey

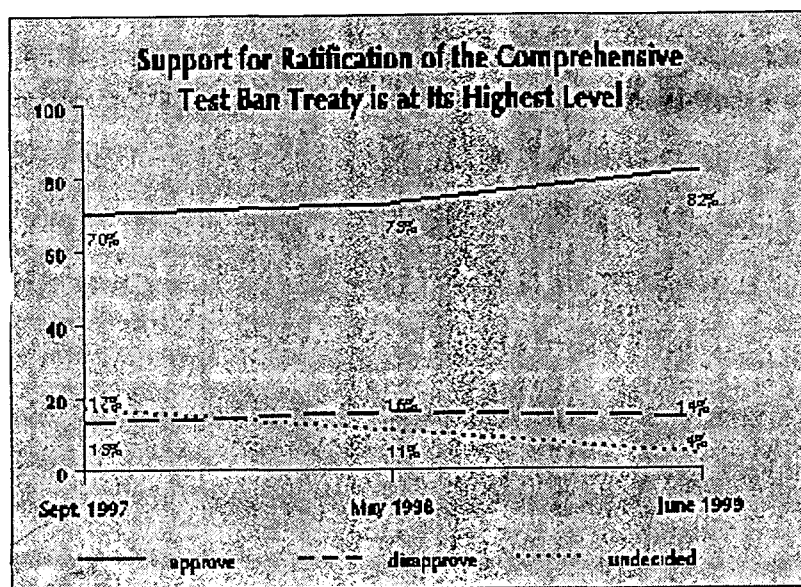
⁷ Coalition to reduce nuclear dangers issue brief, volume 5, no13, June 8, 2001, pp. 6-8.

⁸ The Economist, May 24, 2001.

conducted by coalition to reduce nuclear danger shows strong support for CTBT in America. Eight in ten American support CTBT⁹. An overwhelming majority of American voters want the U.S. senate to approve the CTBT. According to new bipartisan survey, the CTBT will ban all nuclear test explosions and help prevent nations for making new and more deadly types of nuclear weapons.

Americans had supported the ratification of CTBT very strongly as survey data shows.

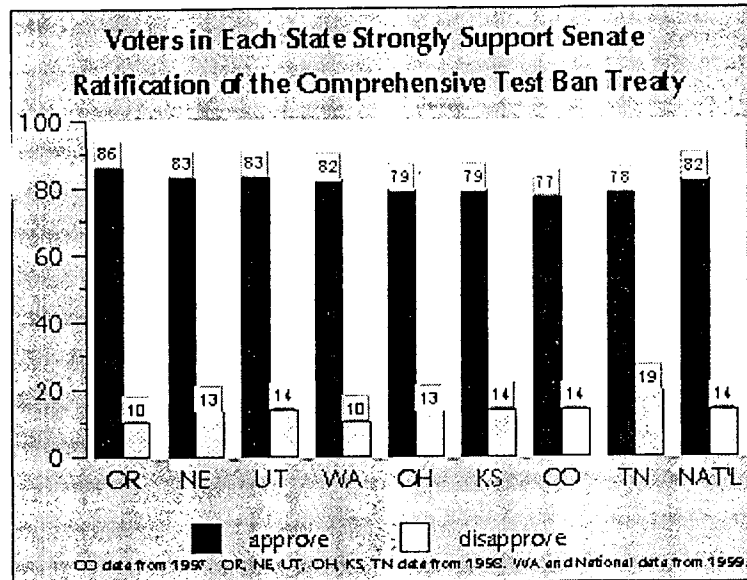
Graph 3.3



Survey had been conducted in separate states and every states strongly supported the ratification of the CTBT.

⁹ News release, Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers, July 20, 1999.

Graph 3.4



Coalition to Reduce Nuclear dangers Executive Director Daryl Kimball said:

“The senate failure to ratify the CTBT undermines efforts to protect the U.S. from nuclear proliferation and the possibility of nuclear war. Americans clearly want their senators and the president to work together to ratify and implement the CTBT to help, make the world safer for future generations. The CTBT will improve our nations ability to detect, inspect and dates nuclear test explosions, there by helping to block the development of new bomb types countries like China. By failing to consider and approve the CTBT the senate leaves the door open to nuclear proliferation and renewed nuclear arms”.

The survey conducted by Coalion revealed that 62% Americans stated that they would vote to a senate candidate who would support CTBT in senate thus far from being a partisan issue, support for a nuclear test ban treaty comes from all sides of the political and ideological spectrum.

The Lawyers Alliance for World Security ¹⁰ is a non partisan, non-governmental organization that advocates prudent and practical policies designed to reduce the danger posed by nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. LAWS operates on the belief that in a democratic society a private non-profit organization can play a significant role in foreign and defense policy development and that in the post cold war era the need for such a group is greater than even before. LAWS seeks to increase awareness among the public of the dangers by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction through public and media educational out reach in the United States and abroad.

Commenting on the rejection of the CTBT, LAWS President Thomas Graham Jr., said “the senate’s inability to approve CTBT ratification is far and away the most disastrous development in international non-proliferation policy in recent years. It is a decision in the Versailles treaty tradition and we know where that took us”. There is also something wrong when a majority of the senate votes down a treaty that 82% of the American public not only wants ratified but wants ratified promptly.

This vote could have disastrous implications. This is the most serious setback to U.S. national security in recent years. As President Chirac of France, Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and Chancellor Schroder of Germany said in a

¹⁰ Lawyers Alliance of world security website :- <http://www.Lawscns.org>.

statement “As we look to the next century, our greatest concern is proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and chiefly nuclear proliferation. We have to face the stark truth that nuclear proliferation remains the major threat to world safety¹¹”.

According to Garham, the NPT regime is the fundamental component of international efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation. CTBT rejection has raised the prospect of the NPT regime gradually unraveling, perhaps beginning at the April 2000 NPT review conference, with nuclear weapons spreading widely around the world. This would create a night Merish situation for U.S. and world security. Also CTBT rejection creates a fundamental divide between U.S. and NATO allies. According to Graham Jr. “We (America) are a nations that believes in the level of law. Therefore, we should keep our commitments and rectify the CTBT”.

Federation of American Scientists (FAS), a non-government organization in U.S. has also supported the CTBT and was upset by senate’s rejection of the treaty. **International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA)** , is an NGO which consist of lawyers of U.S. as well as abroad. Referring to the international court of justice advisory opinion presented before

¹¹ The New York Time, October 8, 2000.

general assembly, They affirmed the illegality of possessing nuclear weapons¹².

War Resisters League (WRL) has been supporting CTBT and was disappointed with the rejection of CTBT by U.S. senate and they step up their campaign against proposed Nuclear Missile Defense (NMD). As they made appeal to common people not to pay taxes for military spendings as well as appeal to the congress to legislate a law to redirect the taxes for peaceful purposes rather than wasting it for military spendings¹³.

Green Peace has been registering its protest by adopting various tactics from 1972 onward. They strongly campaigned when September, 1995 France resumed its nuclear tests and U.S. was planning to begin its sub-critical tests in Nevada Test site in 1996. At the same time of when talks in Geneva on CTBT ended without producing an agreement, Green Peace launched a grass roots campaign to cancel those tests.

Churches in United States have been critical of the rejection of CTBT as churches and related religious institutions does not believe in the theory of deterrence, on the basis of which CTBT was rejected.

¹² Legality of the threat of the use of nuclear weapons, Advisory opinion , Communiqué No. 96/23, July 8, 1996 ICJ, The Hague.

¹³ War resisters league web site:- [http:// www.warresisters@gn.apc.org](http://www.warresisters@gn.apc.org).

Pax Christi USA, the national catholic peace movement was encouraged by the CTBT. Endorsing the CTBT agreement Pax Christi had said in a statement released, "This signing represents the achievement of a world consensus that it is time to put the nuclear age behind us forever"¹⁴. This was the statement released by the Pax Christi in 1996. At that time Pax Christi had appealed to President Clinton to actively pursue ratification of CTBT within six month. But rejection of treaty by senate was a matter of shock for the Pax Christi USA.

In a report prepared by 75 catholic bishop of Pax Christi titled "The morality of Nuclear deterrence"¹⁵, nuclear deterrence as a national policy was criticized. Pax Chriti has stated in the report that:

"Nuclear weapons are incompatible with of the peace we seek for the 21st century. They can not be justified. They deserve condemnation. The preservation of the non proliferation treaty demands an unequivocal commitment to their abolition. This is a moral challenge, a legal challenge and a political challenge. That multi-based challenge must be met by the application of our humanity".

Think tanks in United States have also criticized the U.S. senate rejection of the CTBT. The Brookings institution which was founded by Robert S. Brookings is a very prestigious research think Tank in U.S. John Steinbruner, a senior fellow at the Brookings

¹⁴ Pax Christi website- [http:// www.nonviolence .org/pcusa](http://www.nonviolence.org/pcusa).

¹⁵ "The Morality of Nuclear Deterrence", An evaluation by Pax Christi Bishops in the United States June 1998.

institutions expressed his disappointment on this shocking development. He said that American civil society has unquestionably experienced some very serious damage as a result of the senate's action.

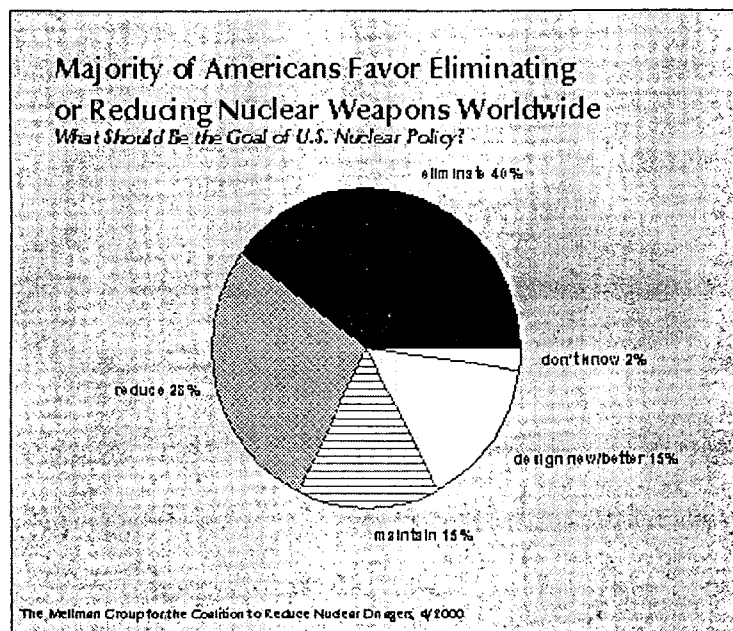
According to the Brookings scholar, this act was a partisan maneuver within the American political system, and other nations will predictably find it very difficult to comprehend because the CTBT is widely judge to be overwhelmingly in the interest of the United States. It is therefore probable that much of the world does not yet know what to do. John Steinbruner while expressing his hope for ratification despite setback said: "I think that most of the world will choose to believe that some how this decision will be reversed, leading to ultimate ratification by the United States. So it is still possible to believe that this is a temporary setback form which we can recover". "If the repudiation of the CTBT foreshadows the end of the ABM treaty and offensive strategic restraints and the NPT, we will be in an entirely new and very dangerous situation"¹⁶. Steinbruner added.

The Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies (IDDS), a Think tank has also criticized the CTBT rejection by the senate. Another significant Think tank **Research And Development (RAND)** expressed its concern over rejection and

¹⁶ Press conference Arms control association damage assessment: The senate rejection of CTBT.

said - "Rather than rush toward deployment of an unproven NMD System, President Bush should pursue deep, verifiable U.S. and Russian nuclear arms reduction, elimination of dangerous, cold war launch on - warning and targeting plans, and pursue a comprehensive nuclear proliferation effort including the comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty." The Stimson center, Carter center as well as other Think tank consider that CTBT ratification would be in America's interest. This would be a great step forward towards world security. A survey conducted by the Mellman group for the coalition to reduce nuclear dangers 2000, shows that majority of Americans favours eliminating or reducing nuclear weapons world wide.

Graph 3.5.



So, Americans Civil society have been widely and unanimously in favor of CTBT. Not only civil society but American common citizen's majority have been in favor of ratification of the treaty. So rejection of CTBT has gone against the common will of people of America . Despite these setbacks American civil society is continuing its struggle until ultimate goal is achieved and struggle must be on as Martin Luther King Jr. warned us.-

“It can not be disputed that full scale nuclear war could be utterly catastrophic. Hundreds of millions of People would be killed outright by the blast and heat and by the ionizing radiation produced at the instant of the explosion. All of this leads me to say that the principal objective of all nations must be the total abolition of war and a definite move towards disarmament. War must be finally eliminated or the whole of mankind will be plunged into the abyss of annihilation”.

Chapter IV

THE AMERICAN CIVIL SOCIETY AND NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE (NMD)

The idea for an U.S. NMD came about in the late 1950's and, over the years, has grown from strength. Succeeding U.S. administrations have faced with the question to deploy or not to deploy. Deployment would mean a violation of the ABM Treaty of 1972 which would directly affect US relations with Russia vis-à-vis strategic arms control. This initiative is a set back to hardwon Arms control regimes.

A brief Chronology of U.S. National Missile Defense Programme

- On July 4, 1945, despite conclusions by U.S. industry that available technology precludes building an effective defense, the army makes it first recommendation to begin a research and development effort to counter ballistic missiles.
- In 1955, after 50,000 stimulated ballistic missile intercepts on an analog computer, Bell Laboratory scientists conclude that "hitting a bullet with another bullet" is possible.
- On October 4, 1957, sputnik is launched into space, initiating the era of long- range ballistic missiles.

- On November 10, 1966, Secretary of Defense McNamara publicly confirms that the USSR is deploying its Global Anti Ballistic Missile (ABM) system.
- On May 26, 1972, President Nixon and Soviet General secretary Brezhnev sign the ABM treaty that prohibits a nation-wide missile defense while permitting each side two deployment sites limited to 100 interceptors at each location.
- On July 3, 1947, the ABM treaty is amended to permit only one defensive missile site for each party.
- On January 8, 1982, a private group of advisors recommend to President Reagan that he launch a crash program to develop missile defenses.
- On February 11, 1983, the joint chief of staffs advises president Reagan of the need to emphasize strategic defensive systems.
- On March 23, 1983, President Reagan delivers a national television address in which he calls for research into defenses that would make “Nuclear weapons important and obsolete”.
- In October 1983, the Hoffman Report is completed. It states that missile defenses could enhance deterrence and development of tactical missile defenses could contribute toward development of a NMD system. The initial draft of the Fletcher Report is completed. It recommends to research options, one funded at \$

20.9 billion between fiscal years 1984-1989 and a less preferred, more fiscally restrained alternatives.

- On October 11-12, 1986, President Reagan declines to agree to limitations on SDI proposed by soviet President Gorbachev.
- On March 15, 1991, an independent review of SDI endorses Brilliant Pebbles. The review also details what becomes the Global Protection Against Limited Strikes (GPALS) concept.
- On December 15, 1991, president Bush signs the Missile Defense Act of 1991 (part of H.R. 2001) which mandates DoD “Develop for Deployment” by the earliest date allowed by the availability of appropriate technology or by Fiscal year 1996 a cost effective, operationally effective, and ABM treaty compliant anti-ballistic missile system ... Designed to protect the United States against limited ballistic missile threats, including accidental or unauthorized launches or third world attacks”. The Act directs that “Brilliant pebbles” space- based interceptors not be part of any initial deployment.
- In May 1993, secretary of defense Les Aspin renames Strategic Defense Initiative Organisation (SDIO), the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization (BMDO) and reorients priorities, developing Theatre Missile Defenses (TMD).
- On January 21, 1997, A new version of the “Defend America Act” is introduced in the senate, but it does not come too a vote.

- On September 25, 1997, The Pentagon-created “Task force on Reducing Risk in Ballistic Missile Defense flight test programs” (the Welch report) meets for the first time.
- On March 19, 1998, senator Thad Cochran (R- MS) introduces the American Missile Protection Act which says it will be “U.S. policy to deploy, as soon as technologically, a National missile defense system”.
- On April 30, 1998, in a contract worth \$1.6 billion (but potentially as much as \$ 6 billion) the Pentagon names Boeing the lead systems integrator for NMD.
- On May 13, 1998, the attempt to debate the “American Missile Protection Act” is defeated by a single vote in the senate.
- On July 15, 1998, the Rumsfeld Commission states that the Ballistic Missile Threat to the U.S. could emerge with little warning and likely will appear sooner than U.S. intelligence agencies have estimated some panel members dissent.
- On July 27,1998, the Pentagon announces the selection of the booster for the NMD Ground – Based Interceptor (GBI).
- On August 31, 1998, North Korea Launches a Taepo Dong, three stage missile over Japan, but the third stage malfunctions and fails to put the satellite payload in orbit.

- On September 9, 1998, in the aftermath of the North Korean Launch, senate Republicans again try to begin debate on the “American Missile Protection Act” but again fail by one vote.
- On March 16, 1999, “The National Missile defense act of 1999,” Which declares as U.S. policy that America will “deploy as soon as Technology possible an effective National Missile Defense System”, passes the senate.
- On July 23, 1999, in signing “The National Missile Defense act of 1999. President Clinton states the four criteria, he will consider in making his decision to deploy: the threat, the cost, the technological status of NMD, and adherence to a renegotiated ABM Treaty.
- On August 17, 1999, the U.S. and the Russia resume strategic arms talk that include a modification of the ABM treaty to allow the U.S. to deploy a Limited Missile Defense System (LMDS).
- On September 1999, the Welch Panel’s second look at the reconfigured timelines for NMD again concludes that the program is “High risk” and recommends that the President, June 2000, decision be considered a “feasibility” rather than a “readiness to deploy” judgement. A new NIE, “Foreign Missile Development” and the ballistic missile threat to the United States through 2015, “Judge that” during the next 15 years the united states most likely will face ICBM threats form Russia,

China, and North Korea, probably from Iran, and possible from Iraq”.

- On October 2, 1999, the first Integrated Flight Test (IFT 3) that attempts to bring down a target missile employing elements of the proposed NMD system is hailed by the Pentagon as an unqualified success, later it is revealed that the kill vehicle initially homed in on the single decoy released by the target.
- On January 18, 2000, the second attempt intercept (IFT 4) fails when the infra-red sensor on the kill vehicle malfunctions. The Pentagon nevertheless declares the test a success because it “learns” so much even from a failure.

The response of American civil Society towards NMD

Reacting on US decision to deploy NMD Arms Control Association President and the Executive Director Spurgeon M. Keeny said that the issue of National Missile Defense is so central that it deserves America’s full attention with regard to the threat. He pointed out that the world has reacted with puzzlement and disbelief to the U.S. concern with the possibility of a North Korean nuclear attack¹. Senior administration officials proclaim in alarm that North Korea will have a capability to attack the United States by 2005, or maybe even much sooner. Keeny affirmed that it is this

¹ Klare Michael, Rogue states and nuclear outlaws universal book traders, New Delhi, 1995,P, P-11.

date, which had no basis in fact, that has been driving the need for an early decision.

The intelligence community has been pushed to say that a capability to attack the United States could exist in the next 10 to 15 years. This is strictly a conceivable technical capability and according to Keeny we will find intelligence analysts, taking real world factors into consideration believe, it is extremely unlikely that North Korea or other 'rouge' states will develop such a capability by 2005. In any event, the notion that North Korea would attack the United States with of few weapons is really absurd. The idea that somehow these rough enough states are not deterred by U.S. power is very far fetched.² According to Mr. Keeny, a country as weak as North Korea to attempt to blackmail the United States, inviting pre-emptive action, would be "an act madness" and "is not credible".

Expressing his view on the impact of arms control objectives, Keeny said that deployment of NMD would mean end prospects for START-III; it would probably mean Russia would withdraw from START-II and it would conceivably end START-I and as well as if Russia decides that U.S. intensions are so threatening that they would be better of abandoning parity and focusing on building an optimum system meeting their own needs. Amending the treaty

² Arms Control Today, Evaluating the criterion for NMD deployment, April 2000,pp.8-10.

could have also same effect. It certainly would have even if accepted by Russia, a chilling effect on any further force reductions at this time.

Discussing about Chinese opposition to NMD Keeny pointed out that China is very upset by the prospect of such a deployment which they consider was being directed at them. China, discounts the North Korean threat as non-existent and looking at the nature of the proposed deployment, concludes by the NMD system's location and size, that the system is focussed on China³. Expressing his disappointment, Keeny said "Regarding the rest of the world, I think that we are painfully going to find at the five year review conference on the Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) that the over-whelming majority of the non-nuclear weapon state look at this as a circumvention or abandonment of U.S. obligations under Article VI to move toward a reduction of nuclear forces and ultimately nuclear disarmament, and is instead a new input into the nuclear arms race"⁴.

According to Keeny deployment is a political opportunism by Republicans. In fact Republicans are puzzled as to why it does not have more popular response. It was part of their republican platform in the past and they see this as a sure fire issue for 2000.

³ Spurgeon M. KENNY (Jr) "*The Theatre missile defense threat to US security*" Arms control today , September, 1994.

⁴ Keeny, Spurgeon M. Jr., "Evaluating the criterion for the NMD deployment", Arms Control Today, April 2000, pp. 8-10.

Keeny criticized Bush administration for spending tens of billions of dollars for a very thin defense that would lead America into a complicated future because either it will be a total failure or people will want to keep it improving. There is intensive rivalry between military services to develop and deploy their own Ballistic Missile Defense System which is reminiscent of the rivalries at the beginning of the cold war.

According to Keeny the way the nuclear test war was decided in the 1950s was that all the services got involved in the nuclear business and every system had to have a version with nuclear war head from field artillery to cruise missile. In case of NMD it is the same.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace promotes disarmament cause in U.S. and around the global as well. The Endowment's Director of the non-proliferation project, Mr. Joseph, Crinicione criticized NMD deployment. According to Crinicione America have spent over \$ 120 billion, trying to find an effective defense against long range ballistic missiles and have not been able to achieve it. But more recently it has become center of attraction because of a highlighted threat perceptions⁵.

The official assessment of the threat, is of course, the National Intelligence Estimate [NIE] that was released in September

⁵ Broad, Millian J, "Defense came in several packages- all flawed" The New York, Times September 4, 2000.

1999. This estimate is the consensus report of all the various intelligence agencies of the United States and it differs from all previous National Intelligence Estimates of threat. It concludes that over the next 15 years the United States most likely will face ICBM threats from Russia, China, and North Korea, probably from Iran and possibly from Iraq. However, such intelligence estimate of threat to U.S. is not shared by important American think tanks. They upheld that damage could be done to the United States from attack has vastly decreased.

Council for a livable⁶ world expressed its reaction through its project Target 2000. According to council, the central problem with NMD is that it will certainly lead China and Russia to take steps to ensure that their offensive forces retain the capability to deter. China because it has only 20 long range missile would have to significantly increase the numbers of its strategic arsenal to maintain a credible minimum deterrence against the United States⁷. The China believe that the NMD system is actually aimed at them, not North Korea, because U.S. officials both in the Clinton and Bush administrations have talked about being able to defeat a force of about 20 warheads⁸. Even Russia may come out of START-II, I and ending prospects for START -III forever. The Council report

⁶ Council For a Livable World, "web site <http://www.s&w.org>

⁷ Christensen, Thoma J., "China,. The US- Japan alliance and the security dilemma in East Asia, International Security, Vol. 23, No - 4, April 1996, pp. 55-57.

⁸ Porteous, Holly, "China view of strategic weapons", Janes' Intelligence Review, Vol 8, N.3, March 1996, p.135.

has highlighted that NMD would finish the Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) of 1972. In report Council quoted the statement of Russian foreign minister Igor Ivanov who stated that the ABM treaty was a foundation of a system of international accords on arms control and disarmament and if foundation is destroyed, then this interconnected system will collapse nullifying the 30 years of efforts by world community. So council for a livable world has strongly opposed the deployment of NMD.

Lawyer Alliance for World Security (LAWS) has been active on the issues of arms control and disarmament in America. Expressing his expert view on NMD Vice President of LAWS Mr. Jack Mendelsohn said that because of NMD, Russian problem is not much ground based interceptors as it is future sensors related. Secondly the near term impact and response to NMD is likely to be greater for China than for Russia. Mendelson also observed that Russia was much concerned because NATO allies are focussing more on de-coupling and extending deterrence and also because of collapse of nuclear non-proliferation regime, especially ABM treaty with the inception of National Missile Defense programme. Even NATO allies had also initially criticized NMD deployment decision. France stated that NMD will have impact on global strategic equilibrium and this would be a defeat to CTBT. So Lawyer Alliance

of World Security condemned the decision and made appeal to Bush administration to rethink over it⁹.

The Mellman Group, a polling and consulting firm in United States have been active in conducting public surveys on disarmament issues. The CEO of this group Mark Mellman expressed his view on NMD. According to Mellman, it is quite clear that people are not just interested in this debate. In a recent CNN/USA today poll 11% of the American public said they were following the debate about National Missile Defense.

In a poll group when it was asked to the people, what is most important issue facing America and a list was given to them that had options including to maintain a strong national defense and developing a missile defense. 4% of the American public selected to maintain a strong national defense was the most important problem facing the country, less than 1% said a National Missile Defense was the most important.

In the same survey when people were asked, which was more important project on which money should be spend whether on education or on NMD. By 77% - 14% people said education was more important. When it was asked about social security and Medicare against NMD, by 72% - 17% people said spending on this sector was important. When NMD was compared with crime control, 49% people said crime control was more important. It is clear that

⁹ Lawyer alliance for world security web site - [http:// laws.org](http://laws.org)

voters are reluctant to allow federal government, to spend money on NMD deployment which has not guarantee whether it would work or not when it is needed. So according to Mellman it is apparent that it is an issue which people are not paying attention to, and they are not following the debate on it. Indeed, it is an issue where they agree with the fundamental premise that money should not be spend on deployment.

Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers has strongly criticized the Bush's plan to deploy National Missile Defense. According to coalition to convince Russia on NMD deployment. Bush administration has promised deep, unilateral cuts in U.S. strategic nuclear force, but failed to provide specific on those reductions nor have they explained why they expect Russia to agree to reduce its nuclear capabilities and stand down its forces from dangerous hair trigger alert status in the face of a robust U.S. NMD deployment¹⁰. Russians are extremely reluctant on United States's NMD deployment probably would never be agree on this programme despite these offers also, made by U.S. According to the Executive Director of Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers Daryl Kimball, NATO countries and key Asian allies are unconvinced by the

¹⁰ Grounlund, Lisbeth "Highly capable Theatre Missile Defense and the ABM Treaty", Arms Control Today, Vol 24, No 83 April 2000, p. 394.

rational for Bush's radical missile defense scheme due to the extreme ambiguity of the framework¹¹.

According to Kimball, unilateral nuclear reductions could start the stalled arms reduction process. But the ultimate goal of the U.S. policy should be to get Russia to reciprocate. But U.S. NMD deployment will only encourage Russia to keep its approximately 6000 strategic nuclear bombs on a high level of alert to pressure their ability to respond to a possible U.S. first strike. This perpetuates the danger of a nuclear war by accident or miscalculation. Ironically, Bush's new strategic formulation could rein-force, rather than reduce cold war Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) policies¹².

Kimball further added that Bush strategic framework is short on non - proliferation solutions. Senate hard liners like Jesse Helms and some Bush advisors are pushing for the repudiation of the CTBT and end the U.S. funding for the International Monitoring System (IMS). Further more, some advisors, promote researching new low yield nuclear weapons which would require nuclear testing. Other Bush officials like secretary of state Colin Powell support continuing the U.S. test moratorium, funding the IMS

¹¹ Kimball, Daryl, "The Fuzzy Logic of president Bush strategic frame work" Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Danger , immediate release May 25, 2001, pp. 12-15

¹² Ibid, pp.12-15

and possibly ratifying the CTBT in future. Bush nuclear test ban policy is unclear and out of step with times¹³. Kimball concluded.

Public debate on NMD is crucial. According to Gallup analyst David Moore, the public surveys conducted by Mellman group, do illustrate how variable public opinion is on the matter of a missile defense system, suggesting that the current level of support could quickly erode if there is a highly publicized public debate on the issue, In fact “very few Americans are familiar with NMD. In the March 2001 New York times/ CBS news-poll, 64% of the respondents in country believed that the United States “currently has” a missile defense system, while 15% of the Americans did not know what was NMD and only 21% said that United States does not have National Missile Defense. Only 7% of the respondent had heard “a lot” about debate over NMD, while 32% had heard “some” and 60% had heard “not much” or nothing “at all” about National Missile Defence.

Moore explains the vast change in responses is reflecting “the low level of knowledge of Americans about a possible missile defence shield. Ordinary Americans are a lot smarter than missile defence boosters and politicians in Washington. President Bush has a lot of explaining to do about his ambitious, costly and destabilizing missile defense proposals.

¹³ Kunin, Valentin “Washington has to Admit the obvious”, Ria novosti, November 20, 2000.

In April 2000 another survey was conducted by the Mellman Group for the coalition to reduce nuclear dangers, the Council For a Livable, World Education Fund and the Fourth Freedom Forum. The survey result showed that 15% believe we should design new and better nuclear weapon for United States. Majority of the people opposed the National Missile Defense more so, many newspaper editors criticized the Bush administrations insistence on unilaterally deploying of NMD regardless of Russia, China reaction. Many editors feared, NMD would negatively affect the stability of Russia's nuclear arsenal and would disturb the United States relations with its allies. They also had doubts about the cost and technological feasibility of such a system.

Editor of the Atlanta Journal and constitution wrote "The United States does not yet have a workable missile defense system and may be many years away from developing one until there is something to replace it, we do not have luxury to dismissing the ABM treaty as antiquated"¹⁴

Editor of New York Times wrote that "if Washington withdraws from the 1972 ABM treaty, Moscow will set a side START-II treaty and put multiple warheads on its missile force. The white house should take Mr Putin's warning seriously."¹⁵

¹⁴ Editorial, "Diplomacy beats bullying in dealings with Russians", Atlanta Journal and Constitution, June 20, 2001.

¹⁵ Editorial, "Invitation to an arms race", New York Times, June 20, 2001.

Editor of Los Angeles Times wrote about NMD deployment as “Moscow fears the defensive system is in fact a US effort to gain strategic superiority by neutralizing the effectiveness of Russia’s missiles force. That perception has not been adequately addressed by the Administration”.¹⁶

Federation of American scientists¹⁷ NGO has criticized that NMD move. A senior fellow in FAS, J. Pike expressed his views on NMD. Pike said that in America, very important decisions are being made for relatively trivial domestic considerations. That is the matter of worry¹⁸. Because of this U.S. move nuclear weapons would spread in all over the world. Bush administration must reconsider this decision.

Churches and Christian religious organizations such as Pax Christi, Fellowship of Reconciliation etc have criticized the NMD deployment with full voice and asked president Bush to reconsidered it. Pax Christi in a statement released on NMD said “Instead of progressing nuclear disarmament we are witnessing the institutionalization of nuclear deterrence”.¹⁹ Fellowship Of Reconciliation has also conducted demonstrations and non violent actions against NMD in different places in USA.

¹⁶ Editorial, “Bush’s New Chum” LOS Angles Times, June 19, 2001.

¹⁷ FAS Websites, WWW.Fas.org/faspir/v52m6ahtm.

¹⁸ Pike J, Ballistic missile defnese: Is the U.S. Rushing to failure? Journal of the Federation of American scientist No/ Dec, 1999, Vol 52. No 6 .

¹⁹ An evaluation by Pax Christi Bishops in the United States, “ The Morality of Nuclear deferrence” Gods premise and our response June 1998, P 6-8

Green Peace has registered strong protest against NMD. As Green Peace in a statement stated. "Known as the National Missile defense (NMD) this new system will cost at least \$ 60 billion, not only would US tax payer's money be wasted, it would also cost the people of the world, the hard won progress already made on nuclear arms control and disarmament²⁰." According to Green Peace, the real solution is not NMD or star wars but a policy of persuasive diplomacy, negotiations and economic incentives. United State should receive the message that developing missiles nuclear chemical and biological weapons will simply not meet their security concerns, rather they would make them worse. The US has already adopted this approach with North Korea and created a threat for itself.

This approach must be changed. In fact there should be determined negotiations by all nation to implement control on Ballistic Missile Technology and to outlaw the development production and stock-piling of any nuclear chemical and biological warheads. Green Peace Statement concluded with this remark.

War Resisters League (WRL), has also strongly opposed the NMD. Some prominent Think tanks have shown their concern on the NMD move and criticized it. Stimson center, Carter center, RAND corporation in their reaction showed concern over NMD deployment. So NMD has become as a biggest setback for the Arms

²⁰ Green Peace website <http://greenpeace.org>

control and disarmament. It will compel and encourage other states to go for nuclear arms race. It will disturb the global strategic security equilibrium and endangered the future of human beings so American civil society strongly protesting against it.

Civil society's role has become extremely necessary and vital because no other option seems left who would lead the world towards nuclear disarmament. So civil society has to lead in this struggle. But Bush administration should not forget these words expressed by great Martin Luther King (JR).

“America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world can lead the way in the revolutions of values. There is nothing except a tragic death wish to prevent us from reordering our priorities, so that pursuit of peace must take precedence over the pursuit of war.”

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

America has been endowed by a very enriched and by vibrant civil society from the very beginning of its history. American civil society flourished in various forms when ever needed it grew and made its contribution towards national development. During the freedom struggle, American civil society participated in movements, later on some times for women and child development, some times for health care and some times for old age revolutionary pensions etc. Later on civil society became active in black civil rights movements.

As Theda Skopol has rightly said “ If the United States originally became a civic nation that is because of translocal federations grew parallel to the institution of national government.” American civil society has been a big factor to make America what She is today. Without American civil society’s contribution this big progress was never possible . With the inception of nuclear age in 1945 American civil society faced a new challenge, the most serious challenge, civil society had ever faced especially in attaining the nuclear arms control and disarmament. It is a challenge to save humanity from annihilation. In 1946, Albert Einstein had written, *“a new type of thinking is essential if mankind is to survive”*.

From time to time, there has been efforts for nuclear disarmament by the American civil society in which NGO, churches, think tanks and institutions had been involved. American peace movement which took place in 1980s was a bright reflection of this opposition.

In 1957, peace groups in the United States launched a campaign against nuclear testing. The campaign was co-ordinated by a new organisation called SANE. During the period Euro-missile crisis (1977-1982), peace movement in Europe specially Churches, peace movement in America including big catholic church had rejected the deterrence doctrine and advocated nuclear disarmament. It is significant to be noted that during the period of 1985 to 1989 peace movement and specially the civil society in America had been dormant on nuclear disarmament issues. However the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 relevance of vertical nuclear proliferation specially deterrence doctrine was strongly criticised by civil society groups in America. It may also be relevant to state here the time framework. The focus of present study reveals that the presidency specially Clinton and Bush administrations, the legislature and Judiciary understood the need for nuclear disarmament but were postponing the issue therefore, the present study found, during the period under study, American civil society groups attempting to provide leadership for attaining an environment which would sustain the cause of nuclear

disarmament and influence the American decision makers to be sensitive to nuclear disarmament.

The present study reveals that in 1990s, the American Civil society groups have advocated nuclear disarmament in the context of the START treaty negotiations, CTBT treaty negotiations and ratification and National Missile Defense (NMD) programme. It has been observed that American Civil Society groups are all not united on the nuclear disarmament issues. Some civil society groups have been advocating nuclear arms control rather than nuclear disarmament. This type of stand by the civil society groups benefit the American decisions makers and especially the presidency.

It has been observed that some American civil society groups advocate total nuclear disarmament but such are weak because of poor network among themselves or a broader coalition formation. Hence, these American civil society groups are not able to bring sufficient pressure or sensitivity on the American decision making leadership specially the presidency and Congressional leadership.

It has been observed in the context of the frame work of our study, the American civil society groups have acquired some window of opportunity influencing American decision makers on nuclear disarmament issues. It has been found that American civil society groups are not only campaigning groups of nuclear disarmament but due to the support in society they got for nuclear

disarmament issues, have found a place for them in the official negotiations forum on the relating nuclear disarmament issues.

In the 2000 NPT review conference, for the first time a session was convened specifically to allow non governmental organizations attending review conference in New York, to speak directly to government officials from NPT parties. There seems to be three reasons why NGO's were given opportunity to speak at the review conference.

1. NGOs had lobbied assiduously for the opportunity to take part in the conference.
2. Governments are more inclined than ever before to take on board views given by NGO's
3. At international conferences like, UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, international conference on population and development in Cairo 1994, Ottawa process and Treaty in 1997 set the standard for similar presentations.

After the disintegration of soviet union and end of the cold war a new strategic scenario has emerged in 1990s. America is only super power but as far as arms control and disarmament is concerned U.S. is worried about its own future. Though good progress had been made by the U.S. with agreement with Russia on

arms reduction or Test Ban Treaty but from 1998 onwards U.S again started thinking on Star wars programs and Bush administration seems determined at present to deploy national missiles defense network. This has posed a serious question mark on the initiative and success of nuclear disarmament. So when states are finding difficult to go ahead with nuclear arms control and disarmament programs. Civil society remains the only option and hope to look upon. Because it is non government in nature, there is greater chance of influencing the decision by raising debate in the society. It is evident from record of the performance of the civil society that American civil society is shaping it self to perform that role. Road towards disarmament is rough and tough. Nature of struggle is also different.

American civil society will have to be united not only within America but around the globe. It will have to have global connectedness, because this is not the only question of survival of an American but it is question the survival of humanity itself. Unless entire humanity becomes one voice against nuclear bombs, world is not going to disarm. Strong civil society for disarmament in U.S. but a weak civil society in Russia or China or anywhere would make America nuclear disarmament movement weaker and with result U.S. government would crush the movement. The efforts for disarmament must be global. Any unilateral protest would not solve

the nuclear disarmament goal and would lead nowhere. It has to be world wide.

Religious organisations can play a very creative role to bring people from different countries on one platform. Church in fact had played an important role during peace movement in Europe and America in 1980s. Other religions and religious institutions all over the world for the cause of world security could come together to discuss the matters to launch mass campaigns for nuclear disarmament.

In this era of economic liberalization and globalization, global network and e-mail state sovereignty is losing its grip and market is occupying important place. Welfare state is “a departing concept” now.

So in this new situation welfare can be done by civil society only. American civil society though have been active in this process but for disarmament issues American civil society has to be global then only success can be achieved. It does not have to criticize U.S. government only but every government in the world who ever is planning to develop nuclear weapons.

Recently one of the major triumph of the civil society have been on the issue of banning of landmines when Ottawa treaty was signed by 132 nations in 1998. The success of the story was, civil society could organise on global level a combine effort and

networking with all the NGO's of different states of the globe campaigning unitedly for the banning the land mines. Simultaneously the success was result of the NGO's of each state who are committed to banning land mines, included as members of governmental delegations that was involved in landmines ban negotiations. Hence, it is suggested the case of nuclear disarmament would depend on scale on which the nuclear disarmament civil society groups are able to globally united under one umbrella and find a place in the governmental delegations that are involved on nuclear disarmament negotiations.

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