



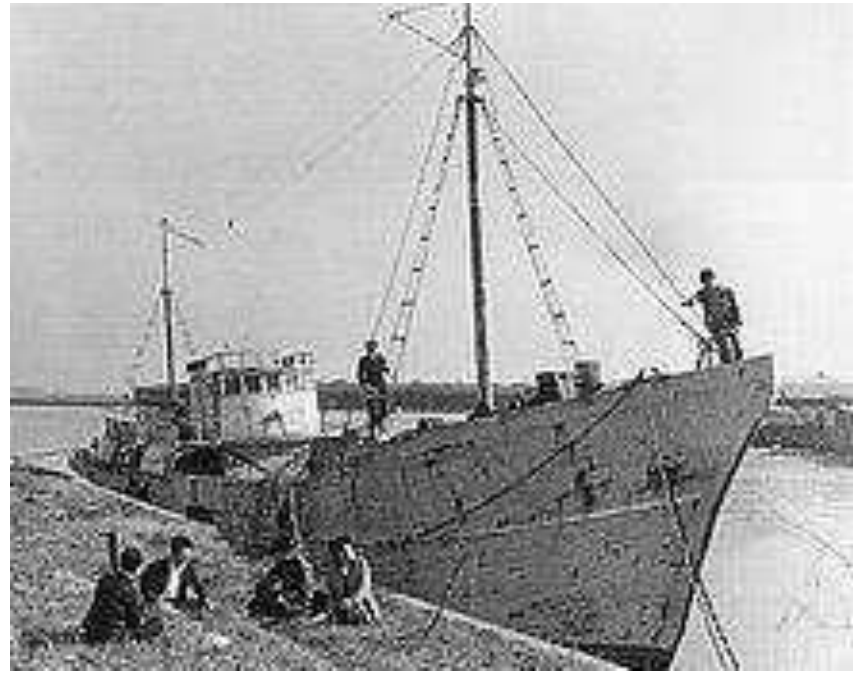
Bertrand Russell, 1955



Francesco Calogero & Joseph Rotblat, 1995

Pugwash: Origins and Accomplishments

Matthew Evangelista, Cornell University



On 1 March 1954, the United States detonated a hydrogen bomb, code-named CASTLE BRAVO, equivalent to 17 megatons of TNT, 1,300 times the destructive force of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

Radioactive fallout contaminated the crew of the Japanese fishing vessel, the Lucky Dragon 第五福竜丸, killing one member and infecting its catch of tuna, setting off a panic in Japan.

The Lucky Dragon incident inspired



a worldwide Ban the Bomb protest movement against nuclear testing.



Russell-Einstein correspondence, April 1955

5 April, 1955.
41, Queen's Road,
Richmond, Surrey.

Dear Einstein,

I have been turning over in my mind, and discussing with various people, the best steps for giving effect to the feeling against war among the great majority of men of science. I think the first step should be a statement by men of the highest eminence, Communists and anti-Communists, Western and Eastern, about the disasters to be expected in a war. I enclose a draft of such a statement, and I very much hope that you will be willing to sign it. I enclose also a list of those whom I am asking to sign. If sufficient signatures are obtained, I think the next step should be an international scientific congress which should be invited by the signatories to pass a resolution on the lines of the draft resolution which I enclose. I hope that in this way both Governments and public opinion can be made aware of the seriousness of the situation.

On the whole, I have thought that it was better at this stage to approach only men of science and not men in other fields, such as Arnold Toynbee whom you mentioned. Scientists have, and feel that they have, a special responsibility, since their work has unintentionally caused our present dangers. Moreover, widening the field would make it very much more difficult to steer clear of politics.

Yours sincerely,
Bertrand Russell

Received April 11, 55

April 11, 1955

Lord Bertrand Russell
41, Queen's Road
Richmond, Surrey
England

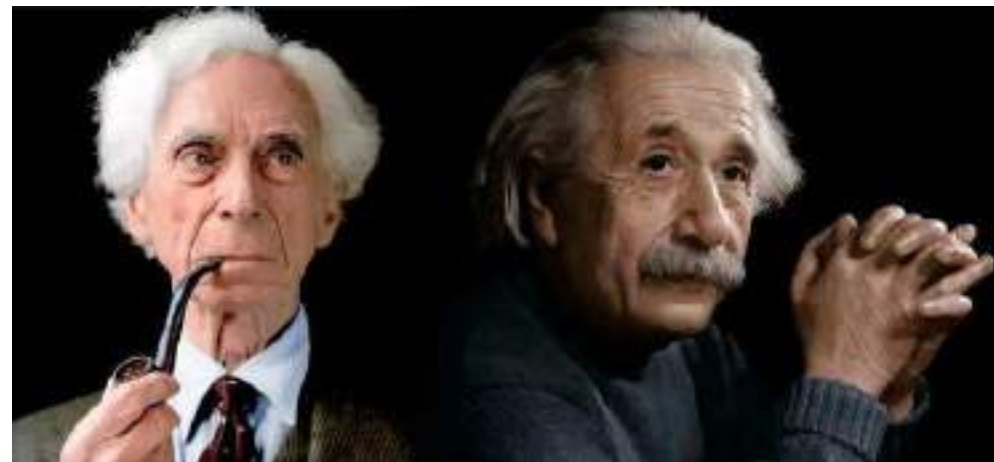
Dear Bertrand Russell,

Thank you for your letter of April 5th.

I am gladly willing to sign your excellent statement.

I also agree with your choice of the prospective signers.

With kind regards,
A. Einstein
Albert Einstein.





Bertrand Russell, press conference, 9 July 1955

“We have to learn to think in a new way. We have to learn to ask ourselves, not what steps can be taken to give military victory to whatever group we prefer, for there no longer are such steps; the question we have to ask ourselves is: what steps can be taken to prevent a military contest of which the issue must be disastrous to all parties?...There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge, and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal as human beings to human beings: **Remember your humanity, and forget the rest.** If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death....

...In view of the fact that in any future world war nuclear weapons will certainly be employed, and that such weapons threaten the continued existence of mankind, **we urge the governments of the world to realize, and to acknowledge publicly, that their purpose cannot be furthered by a world war, and we urge them, consequently, to find peaceful means for the settlement of all matters of dispute between them.”**

First meeting, Pugwash, Nova Scotia, July 1957



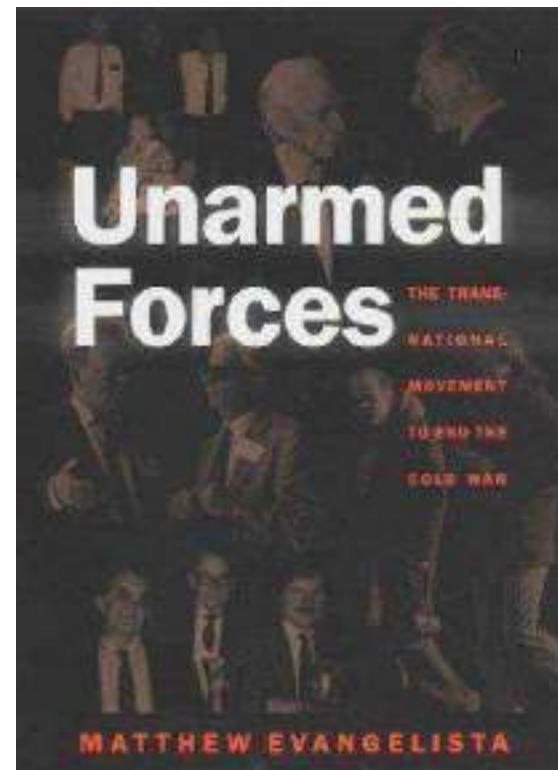
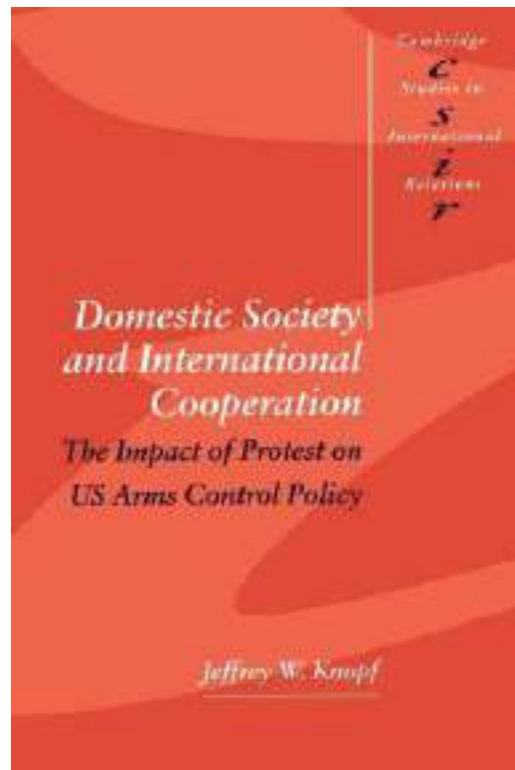
<https://pugwash.org/history/>

First meeting, Pugwash, Nova Scotia, July 1957



Joseph Rotblat Ruth Adams

During the Cold War, the greatest progress in controlling nuclear weapons came when elite-level efforts were combined with mass popular mobilization.



Pugwash in the broader context of transnational activism

- Joint Policy Proposals
- Target Other Side's Public Opinion/Legislature
- Direct Action

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A Soviet assessment of the accomplishments of Pugwash (1972)

“In fifteen years the participants of this movement have examined many important proposals having substantial significance for the resolution of problems of disarmament and the achievement of a reduction in international tensions. Several of these proposals later became subjects of examination at the government level and were used in working out international agreements and treaties.”

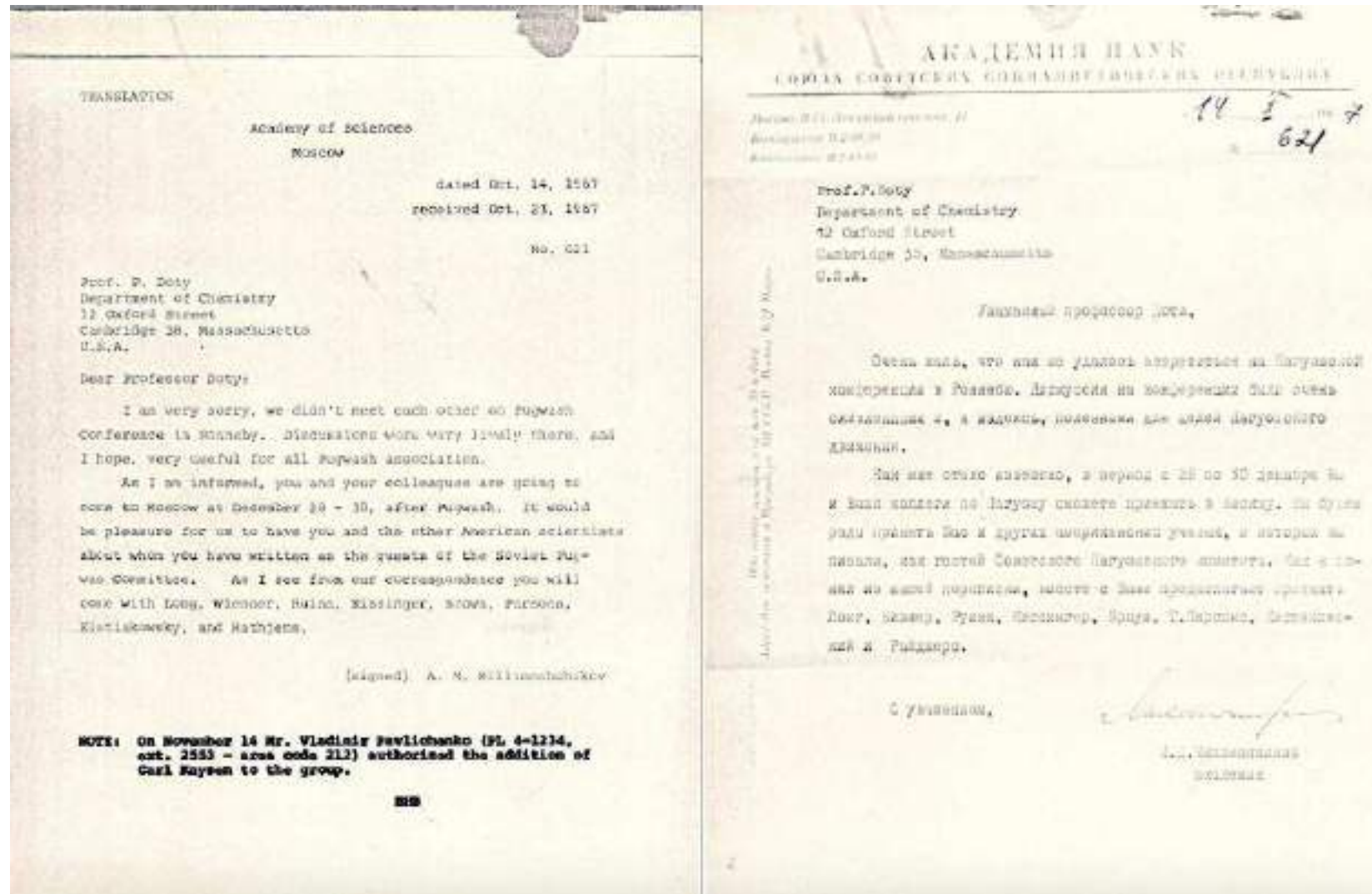
“Proekt (dokladnyi zapiski) v Prezidium Akademii nauk SSSR ob itogakh 15-ti letnei deiatelnosti Paguoshskogo dvizheniia uchenykh,” September 24, 1972, M. Millionshchikov papers, fond 1713, opis’ 2, delo I.5.2, no. 209, Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Russian Federation.



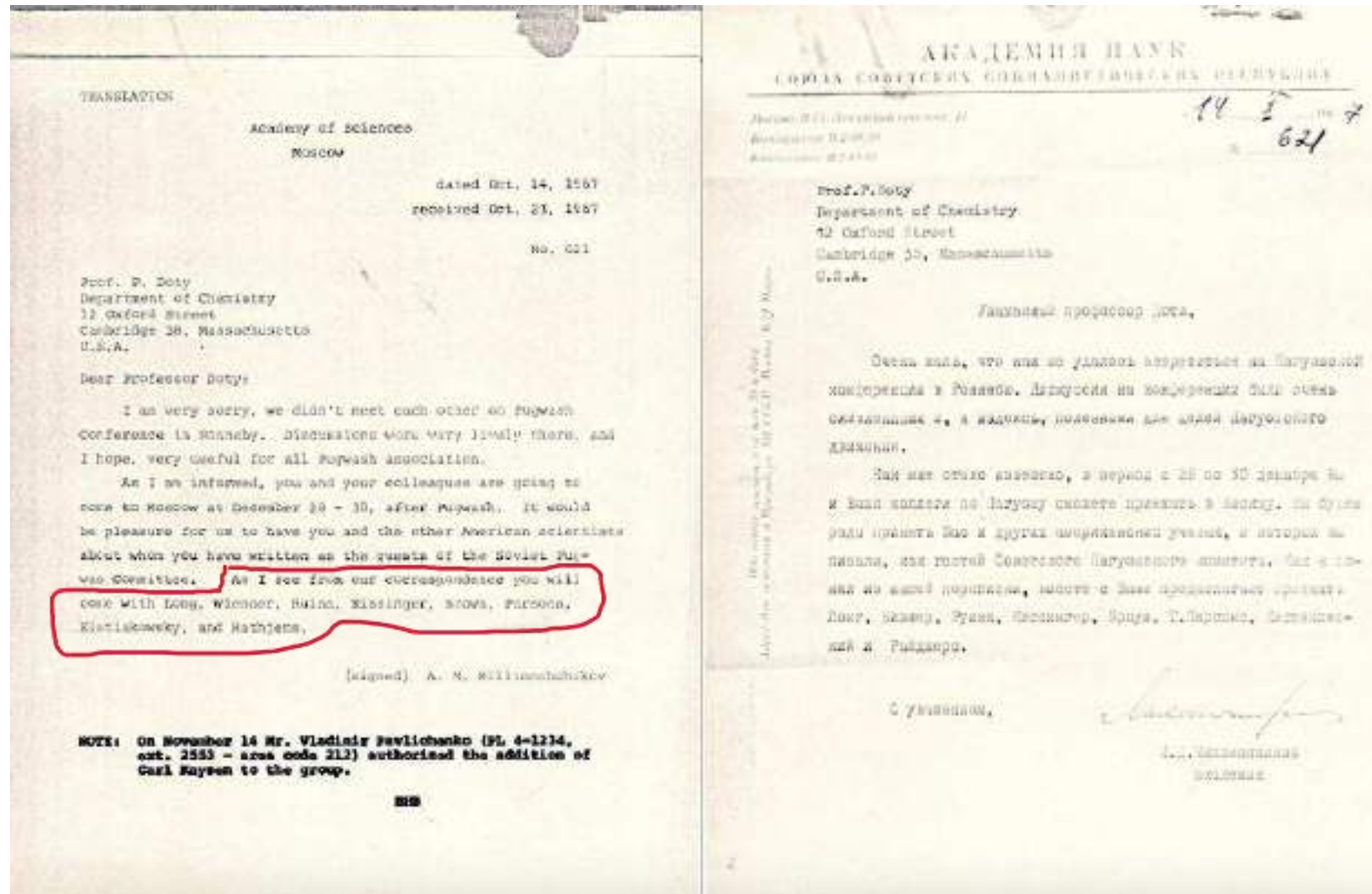
Among the agreements that, in Millionshchikov's view, resulted from Pugwash proposals, he lists:

- Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
- Limited Test-Ban Treaty
- Seabed Treaty
- Biological Weapons Convention
- Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty
- SALT I Treaty

“The importance of the Pugwash meetings consists precisely in the fact that a dialogue takes place there between people who know the problems well and who can unofficially inform those government bodies which deal with these problems through state-to-state channels.”



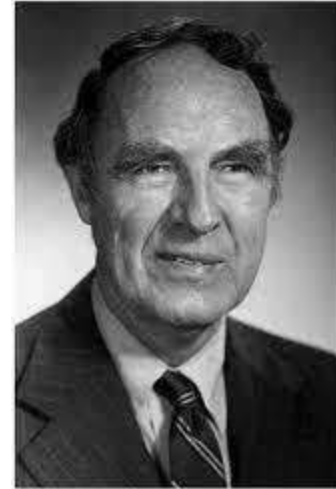
“The importance of the Pugwash meetings consists precisely in the fact that a dialogue takes place there between people who know the problems well and who can unofficially inform those government bodies which deal with these problems through state-to-state channels.”



Harvard-MIT Arms Control Seminar, circa 1960



Participants included Thomas Schelling, Henry Kissinger, Walt Rostow, McGeorge Bundy, Abram Chayes, Morton Halperin, Jerome Weisner, Milton Katz, Paul Doty.



Frank Long



Paul Doty



George Kistiakowsky



Jerome Wiesner



Soviet-American Disarmament Study Group, bilateral offshoot of Pugwash

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SADS [Soviet-American Disarmament Studies], 1962-1976

FOUND IN: [Harvard University Archives](#) / [Paul M. Doty personal archive](#) / [Resource files, 1940-2011](#) / [Institutions, 1945-2011](#) / [SADS \[Soviet-American](#)



**Linus & Ava Helen Pauling
and friends
Los Angeles Peace March
1960**

**Bertrand Russell and friends
London Disarmament Sit-in
1961**



Pugwash in the broader context of transnational activism

- Joint Policy Proposals
- Target Other Side's Public Opinion/Legislature
- Direct Action

TARGETING THE OTHER SIDE'S PUBLIC OPINION/LEGISLATURE

- Effects of nuclear war
- Nuclear testing and verification
- Links between human rights, offensive military strategies, and nuclear disarmament
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or “Star Wars”



TARGETING THE OTHER SIDE'S PUBLIC OPINION/LEGISLATURE: SDI

You people are saying that if we go ahead with Star Wars, there can be no disarmament. I agree, but you should turn it around. You should see that if both sides go ahead with disarmament, there can be no Star Wars.

Disarmament in and of itself might be the answer to Star Wars. **With offensive reductions underway, there would be no political support for Star Wars** [in the United States]. On the other hand, if there are no offensive reductions in prospect, there will be all the more support for Star Wars. You need political restraints, not further legal assurances concerning the ABM treaty.

Jeremy Stone, FAS
Moscow, April 1985



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Natural Resources Defense Council/Soviet Academy of Sciences Seismic Verification Project



*Natural Resources
Defense Council*

1350 New York Ave.,
Washington, DC 20005
202 783-2800

NATURAL RESOURCES DEFENSE COUNCIL NUCLEAR TEST BAN VERIFICATION PROJECT

STATUS REPORT
NOVEMBER 1986

On May 28, 1986, the Natural Resources Defense Council entered into an historic agreement with the Soviet Academy of Sciences to establish three seismic monitoring stations around the principal nuclear weapons test site in each nation. The purpose of the project is to demonstrate that verification is not an obstacle to a nuclear test moratorium or ban. The project will also collect seismic data to improve estimates of yields of nuclear weapons tests, under the current treaty limit of 150 kilotons or a possible lowered threshold. In just five months, NRDC has made remarkable progress in the implementation of one of the largest and most important private scientific exchanges ever undertaken with the Soviet Union.

SEMPALATINSK SEISMIC STATIONS

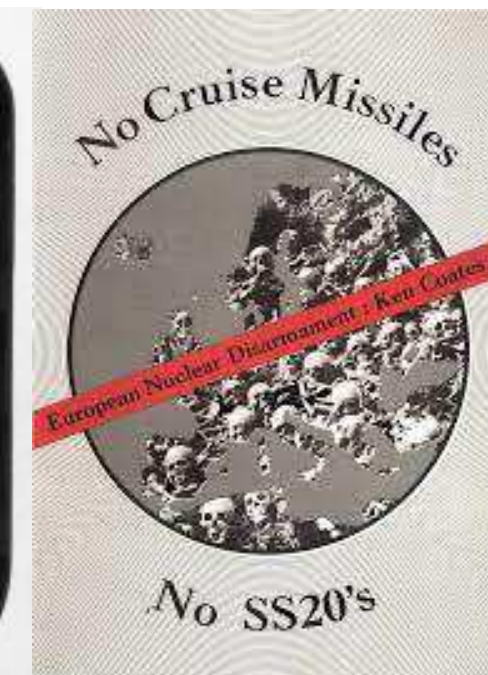
Since late summer, NRDC scientists have been operating surface seismometers at three locations around the major Soviet nuclear weapons test near Semipalatinsk, about 1800 miles southeast of Moscow in the Republic of Kazakhstan. The Soviets have virtually completed construction of the three permanent stations at Karkaralinsk, Bayanaul, and Karasu. These stations are to be equipped with state-of-the-art seismic equipment.





Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement







Greenham Common



The Women's Peace Camp 1981 - 2000



Protesters at the Greenham Common Peace Camp, 1984

Women protesting the stationing of nuclear weapons at the site maintained a presence at the site for 19 years from 5 September 1981.

<http://www.iwm.org.uk/upload/package/22/greenham/index.htm>

Wolność i Pokój (WiP) Freedom and Peace



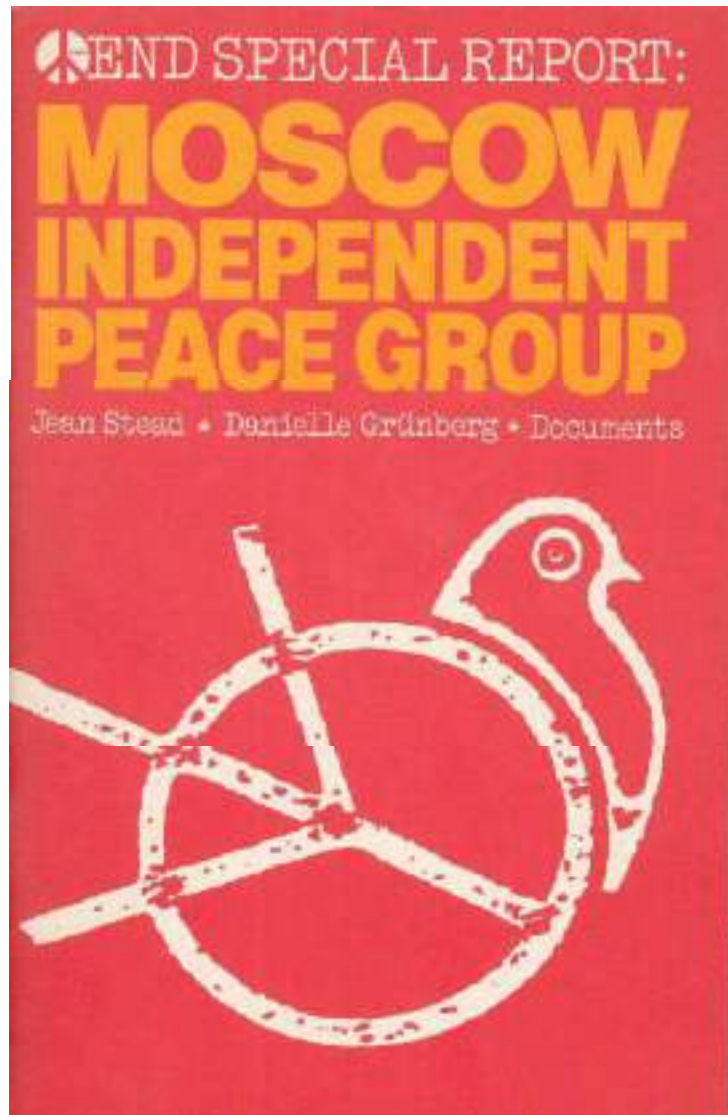


Mitglieder der Gruppe Initiative Frieden und Menschenrechte [members of the Group Initiative for Peace and Human Rights]

Ost-Berlin, um 1986

Photographie Ulrike Poppe, Berlin

© Stiftung Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland



(Pugwash) research on nonnuclear alternatives



Lutz Unterseher



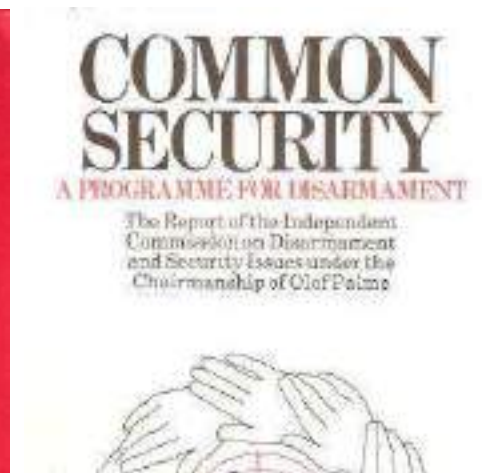
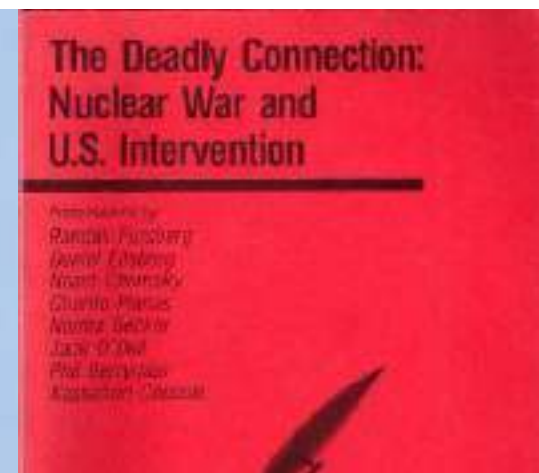
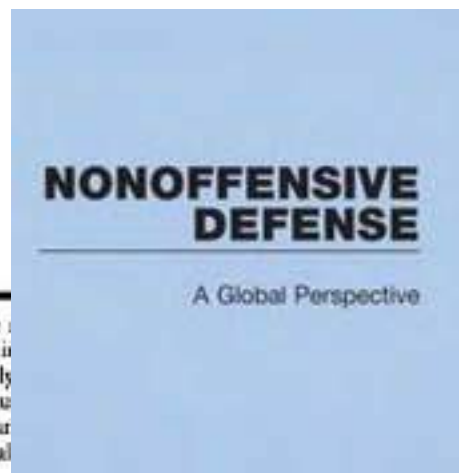
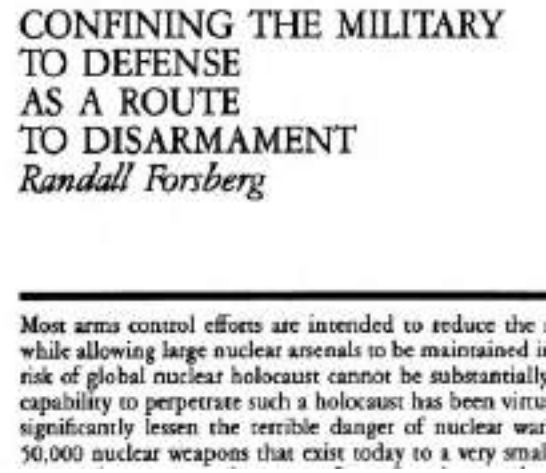
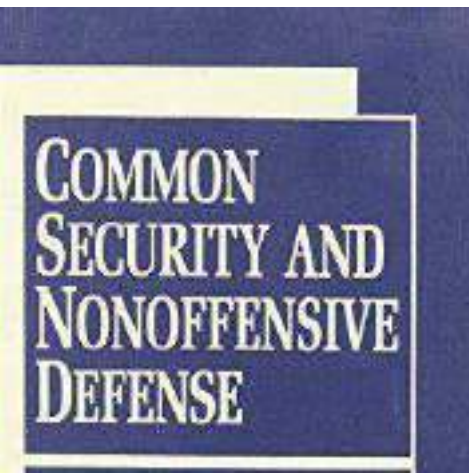
Randall Forsberg



Andrei Kokoshin



Aleksei Arbatov



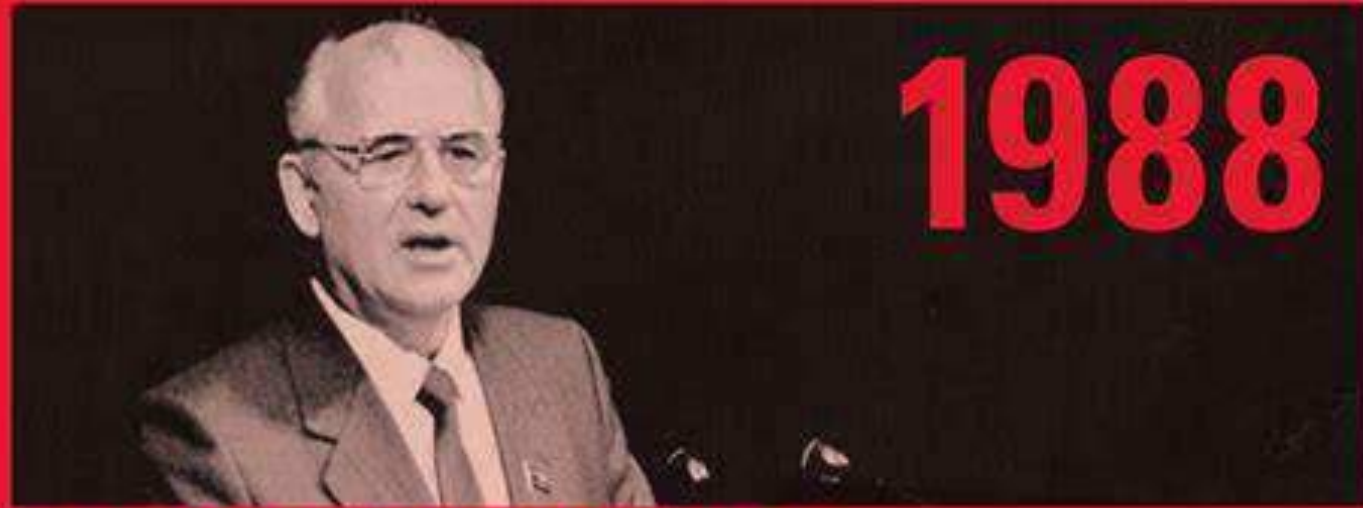
Mikhail Gorbachev is persuaded

Speech to United Nations. December 1988

Unilateral reduction
of 500,000 troops

Disbanding of
6 tank divisions

Withdrawal of
50,000 troops
and 5000 tanks
from Europe



**GORBACHEV ENDS
THE COLD WAR**

“Freedom of
choice”
for political
systems of
East European
allies

“All remaining Soviet divisions on the territory of our allies
will be reorganized [and] will become unambiguously defensive.”

Some successes and partial successes of the transnational movement

- Restraints on nuclear testing
- Limits on ballistic-missile defenses
- Withdrawal of short- and intermediate-range nuclear missiles
- Defensive restructuring and withdrawal of Soviet troops from Europe
- Acceptance of intrusive on-site inspections