

Preface

Over the past thirty years I have been exposed to almost every facet of nuclear war except, I am thankful, nuclear war itself. In the aftermath of Hiroshima and Nagasaki I studied the effects of nuclear explosions, first for the Atomic Energy Commission and later for the Defense Department. Later while working for the Central Intelligence Agency, I analyzed Soviet nuclear weapons and the military systems for delivering them and compared these with our own. Since sound technical intelligence is an essential prerequisite to nuclear arms control, I soon became involved in looking for ways by which the ever-growing dangers of nuclear war could be lessened. Then I moved to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, where I continued my efforts to reduce the nuclear threat not only from a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union but also from the spread of these weapons to additional nations or groups.

Based on my observations from all these vantage points, I am convinced that a nuclear war would be an unparalleled disaster for mankind; I am convinced that each day is carrying us closer to the outbreak of a nuclear war; I am also convinced that the only way for our civilization to avoid this disaster is to start now to bring the development, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons under control. Unless we do, one day they will be used again and the world will never be the same.

The MX missile is only one in a long line of nuclear weapons, and unfortunately it will probably not be the last. It epitomizes all that is most dangerous and bad in nuclear weapons, however, and I have chosen it as the centerpiece of this book in order to focus attention on the issues that nuclear weapons present. But we must not be misled into believing that the problems of nuclear war will be solved if we succeed in dealing with the MX. That will be only the first step, but we may have learned much in taking that step.

I first became deeply involved in the MX in November 1979 when I was invited to Salt Lake City by State Senator Frances

Farley, who inspired me, as she has many, many others, to make this issue the centerpiece of my activities for the next two years. She foresaw before most others not only the impact the MX program could have on that region of the country but, more important, the dangers it created for all people. By asking questions and by not accepting pat answers, she and her associates made the MX the subject for a broad national debate. I am truly grateful to her, her associate Chad Dobson, to Jeff Van Ee, Bill Vincent, Sylvia Baker, Joe Griggs, Glenn Miller, and to the countless others in Nevada and Utah not only for the help they have provided me in preparing this book but also for having made the MX issue come alive.

I should also like to thank my colleagues on the board of the Council for a Livable World and Jerome Grossman, its president, for having urged me to undertake the writing of this book and for providing assistance in getting the project underway. The financial aid that members of the council made to defray some of the publication costs is greatly appreciated. Without this encouragement and support it would never have come to pass. I am particularly grateful to George Kistiakowsky, Kosta Tsipis, and John Isaacs, who spent many hours reading and providing invaluable comments on the manuscript.

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I am particularly grateful to Ralph Ingersoll for his inspiration and advice based on a lifetime in communicating with the public.

And above all I must express my deep gratitude to Barbara Givens, who translated my verbal meanderings into written words, deciphered my unique scrawls and corrections, and then

transferred them again and again and again into a readable copy. Without her tireless work, the deadlines would never have been met.

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