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TO: Dr. M. Meselson

FROM: Tom Graham

TELEPHONE NUMBER: 212-852-8489

SUBJECT: the following, as promised. I look forward to your comments.

MESSAGE:

New Nuclear Abolition Paradigm: A Working Document

This is a working document, dividing governments, non-government organizations, and individuals into various categories. Underlined names are represented on the Canberra Commission for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. Those names or organizations followed by an (*) have signed the 12/95 Stimson Center report. End notes (which are not necessarily printed with this copy) are my private notes explaining why I have placed a person in a particular category. Many of those without an end-note have been interviewed by Mike Mazarr of CSIS, but he has not yet reviewed this table. Since I have not yet contacted people listed in this chart, please treat this as a confidential draft document and do not circulate. Thanks -- Thomas W. Graham

	Active Pro-Abolition	Passive Pro-Abolition	Swing	Passive Anti-Abolition	Active Anti-Abolition
<i>Governments</i>	Argentina	<u>Brazil</u> ²	India ⁹	Iran ¹⁰	China ¹³
	<u>Australia</u> ¹	Chile ³		Iraq ¹¹	<u>France</u> ¹⁴
	Indonesia	<u>Egypt</u> ⁴		<u>United Kingdom</u> ¹²	Israel ¹⁵
	Mexico	Germany ⁵			Pakistan ¹⁶
	New Zealand	<u>Japan</u> ⁶			<u>Russia</u> ¹⁷
	South Africa	<u>Malaysia</u> ⁷			<u>United States</u> ¹⁸
	<u>Sri Lanka</u>	Nigeria ⁸			
	<u>Sweden</u>				

	Active Pro-Abolition	Passive Pro-Abolition	Swing	Passive Anti-Abolition	Active Anti-Abolition
<i>Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)</i>	<p>Atlantic Council¹⁹</p> <p>Council for a Livable World</p> <p>Federation of American Scientists</p> <p>Gorbachev Foundation</p> <p><u>International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War</u>²⁰</p> <p>Kim Dae Jung Foundation</p> <p><u>Parliamentarians for Global Action</u></p> <p>Ploughshares Fund</p> <p><u>Pugwash</u>²¹</p> <p>Rockefeller Foundation²²</p> <p>Stockholm International Peace Research Institute</p> <p>Stimson Center</p> <p>W.A. Jones Foundation²³</p>	<p>Brookings Institution²⁴</p> <p>Carter Center</p> <p>Ford Foundation²⁵</p> <p>MacArthur Foundation</p>	<p>Arms Control Association</p> <p>Carnegie Corporation²⁶</p> <p>Council on Foreign Relations</p> <p>International Institute for Strategic Studies²⁷</p> <p>United Nations Association</p>	<p>CSIA-Harvard</p> <p>CSIA-Stanford</p> <p>CSIS-Georgetown</p> <p>Pew Trusts</p> <p>US Institute of Peace</p>	<p>Bradley Foundation</p> <p>Heritage Foundation</p> <p>Institute for Defense Analysis</p> <p>Olin Fund</p> <p>RAND</p> <p>Smith Richardson Foundation</p>

	Active Pro-Abolition	Passive Pro-Abolition	Swing	Passive Anti-Abolition	Active Anti-Abolition
<i>Individuals</i>	Gen. William F. Burns (USA, ret)* <u>Gen. Lee Butler</u> (USAF, ret) Andrew Goodpaster* Mikhail Gorbachev Morton H. Halperin ²³ Gen. Charles A. Horner (USAF, ret)* Amb. Max Kampelman ²⁴ Robert S. McNamara ²⁵ Paul Nitze* Gen. W. Y. Smith (USAF, ret)*	Jimmy Carter Zbigniew Brzezinski ²⁰ Fred Ikle ²¹ Gen. David C. Jones (USAF, ret) ²² William W. Kaufmann ²³ Spurgeon Keeny Gen. Edwin C. Meyer (USA, ret) ²⁴ Colin Powell ²⁵	Graham Allison McGeorge Bundy ²⁶ Arnold Kantor ²⁷ Gen. William Odom ²⁸ Larry K. Smith Thomas Schelling Larry K. Smith	Harold Brown Ashton Carter Richard Cheney Richard Haass Steve Hadley Henry Kissinger Sam Nunn ²⁹ Walt Slocombe Steven Solarz	Lynn Davis John Deutch John Mearsheimer Frank Miller James Schlesinger ³⁰ Brent Scowcroft Jim Thomson Paul Wolfowitz

Underlined = Represented on Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons whose report is due in August 31, 1996.

* Signed 12/95 Stimson Center report, "An Evolving US Nuclear Posture: Second Report of the Steering Committee, Project on Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction."