



Friends Committee on
National Legislation
245 Second Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002-5795

We seek

*a world free of war and
the threat of war*

We seek

*a society with equity
and justice for all*

We seek

*a community where
every person's
potential may
be fulfilled*

We seek

an earth restored

© FCNL

At the Crossroads:

Disarmament or Re-Nuclearization



The Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL) is a non-partisan public interest lobby founded in 1943 by members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). FCNL seeks to bring the concerns, experiences and testimonies of Friends to bear on policy decisions in the nation's capital. People of many religious backgrounds participate in this work. FCNL's staff and volunteers work with a nationwide network of thousands of people to advocate for social and economic justice, peace, and good government.

The FCNL Education Fund is a 501(c)3 organization that exists in parallel with FCNL to support the research, analysis and education for which FCNL is known and respected. Thousands of individuals and organizations rely on FCNL Education Fund's resource materials, background information on policy issues, and details of national legislation.

Published by the Friends Committee on National Legislation
March 2004. Individual copies of this booklet are free. For bulk orders, please inquire.

Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 Second St., NE
Washington, DC 20002
800-630-1330 Email: fcnl@fcnl.org
www.fcnl.org

Printed on recycled paper
(100% post consumer waste, processed chlorine free) with vegetable based inks



Printed with electrical power generated 100% at wind farms.

Table of Contents



Introduction	2
The Lingering Threat of Nuclear Weapons	4
The Policies of the Bush Administration	9
Alternative Policies for a More Secure World	13
Opportunities to Influence Policy	16
Conclusion	23
Glossary	24
Additional Resources	27



When the Cold War ended, many people came to believe that the threat of nuclear annihilation was a thing of the past. Since nuclear weapons were built to wage the Cold War, the fall of the Soviet Union would lead to the end of the nuclear threat. Tragically, the hopes of the 1990s bred complacency rather than action. Although the likelihood of a nuclear war between superpowers has diminished over the past ten years, a serious nuclear threat remains. Some experts are even arguing that the threat of an attack with a nuclear device may be more potent today than during the height of the Cold War.

Ironically, as the nuclear threat has grown in recent years, it has become increasingly difficult for policymakers to stay focused on the disarmament agenda. The attacks of September 11, 2001, transformed the U.S. sense of security. Terrorism is now thought to be the most urgent security concern facing the United States. Many in Congress are now so consumed by fear of terrorism that policies unfathomable five years ago are now being supported. Policies of “preemptive” nuclear strikes, new “usable” nuclear weapons, and resumption of nuclear testing are now openly discussed in Washington. After 50 years of congressional support for a global system of nuclear restraint, norms, and agreements, many in Congress and the Bush Administration are attempting to re-write the rules of international security in the name of fighting terrorism.

The U.S. finds itself at a crossroads between re-nuclearization and disarmament. Congress has tough choices to make in the coming years. The U.S. must choose between a future that continues to, as Dr. Martin Luther King said, “spiral down a militaristic stairway into the hell of nuclear annihilation,”¹ or a future where problems are solved through reason, cooperation, and imagination.

The public will play a key role in shaping the outcome of this debate. Throughout the past 50 years, governments have grudgingly adopted nuclear arms control and disarmament policies due in great part to public pressure. The public has shown the ability to turn staunch supporters of the war system into ardent nuclear abolitionists. Concerned citizens can do this again by raising issues of conscience, asking tough questions, and insisting that elected officials focus on their constituents’ concerns. This short report offers readers the information they need to embark upon the mission of building a safer and saner world free of nuclear weapons.

¹Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. “Address in Acceptance of Nobel Peace Prize.” Oslo, Norway, December 10, 1964.

The Lingering Threat of Nuclear Weapons

The grave threat from nuclear, biological and chemical weapons has not gone away with the Cold War. It has evolved into many separate threats, some of them harder to see and harder to answer.

—President George W. Bush²

The nuclear threat has dramatically changed in the past two decades. The likelihood of a massive deliberate nuclear attack against the U.S. is far less than the risk of an unintended or unauthorized missile launch, the use of a nuclear weapon in a regional conflict, or the threat of nuclear materials falling into the hands of violent extremist groups. Unlike the relatively predictable nuclear stalemate that existed historically between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, these newer threats are extremely difficult to control.

4

The Threat of Hair-Trigger Alert

In 1995, the United States and Norway launched a research rocket from an island off Norway's northwest coast. Within seconds, Russia's early warning system indicated a possible nuclear attack. This triggered Russia's emergency nuclear decision process. President Boris Yeltsin was within minutes of ordering a nuclear strike on the U.S. when a Russian radar crew saw the rocket was headed out to sea.³

Although the threat of a nuclear attack from Russia has decreased, the U.S. and Russia still court nuclear disaster. The U.S. and Russia each have about 2,500 nuclear warheads on hair-trigger alert. This means that both countries have nuclear

² President George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President to Troops and Personnel." Norfolk Naval Air Station, Virginia, February 13, 2001.

³Back to the Brink Campaign. "Short Fuse to Catastrophe: The Case for Taking Nuclear Weapons Off Hair-trigger Alert." February 2001, 3.

weapons that are ready to fire thousands of warheads in as little as three minutes. Maintaining weapons on high alert allows a small mistake to quickly become a nuclear holocaust.

The Threat of Nuclear Proliferation

Nuclear proliferation, or the spread of nuclear weapons, is one of the greatest security threats in the world. There are eight countries that possess nuclear weapons: the United States (since 1945), Russia (1949), the United Kingdom (1952), France (1960), China (1964), Israel (1967), India (1974), and Pakistan (1989). Additionally, some analysts believe that North Korea may possess one or two nuclear warheads. **Fig. 1** (page 6)

Since the first detonation of an atomic device, many officials and experts have feared that the proliferation of this deadly technology could spin out of control. Each additional country that joins the "nuclear club" increases the likelihood that these catastrophic weapons may be used. In 1963, President John F. Kennedy predicted that by 1975 some 15 to 20 countries would have nuclear arms. Thankfully, this has not occurred. The world community has done a great job of curbing the spread of nuclear weapons through erecting a nonproliferation regime of interlocking treaties, organizations, and multilateral inspections.⁴ As a testament to the regime's successes, only three states have acquired and maintained nuclear weapons since 1964.

5

Number of Nuclear Warheads, 2003

U.S.	Russia	China	France	UK	Israel	India	Pakistan
10,640	8,600	400	350	200	75-200	30-35	24-48

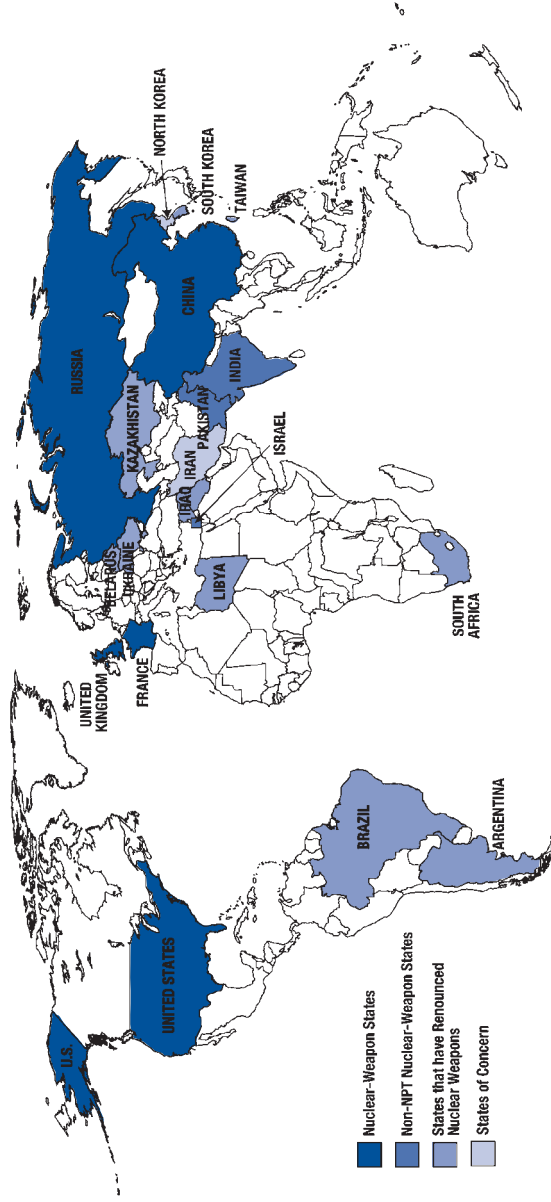
Source: Natural Resources Defense Council⁵

The nonproliferation regime was not designed to solve all the problems posed by the spread of nuclear weapons. Rather, it was designed to give the international community tools to limit the number of states with nuclear weapons until such weapons are abolished. And while the nonproliferation regime has been

⁴Joseph Cirincione, Jon Wolfsthal, and Miriam Rajkumar. *Deadly Arsenals: Tracking Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002, 25.

⁵ Natural Resources Defense Council. "Archive of Nuclear Data." Available online at <http://www.nrdc.org/nuclear/nudb/datainx.asp>.

Fig. 1



NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES
China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States: These states have declared their nuclear weapons program and are recognized under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a nuclear weapons state.

NON-NPT NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES
India, Israel, Pakistan: These states are not members of the NPT and possess nuclear weapons.

STATES THAT HAVE RENOUNCED NUCLEAR WEAPONS
Argentina, Belarus, Brazil, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Libya, South Africa, South Korea, Taiwan, Ukraine: The states in this category had, or were believed to have had, active nuclear weapons programs. These states went on to renounce—some voluntarily and some through force—such activities.

STATES OF CONCERN

Iran, North Korea: These states have taken steps in the recent past to acquire nuclear weapons.

Sources: *Arms Control Today and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.*

relatively successful, there are serious challenges ahead. The inability of the global community to detect nuclear programs in Iraq, Iran, North Korea, and Libya shows that there are holes in the system. While there are opportunities to close some of the holes, these are short-term solutions.

As long as some states are allowed to have nuclear weapons while others are not, there will be a power imbalance leading to insecurity. The U.S. has the most powerful conventional military force in the world. Yet, as long as the U.S. continues to see nuclear weapons as central to its security, other states will also see these weapons as instruments of power and security. After its nuclear weapons tests of 1998, the Indian prime minister said, “India is a big country now because it has demonstrated that it has nuclear weapons.”⁶ If powerful countries continue to rely on nuclear weapons for a sense of security, these horrific weapons will remain attractive to states like India, Pakistan, North Korea, and Iran.

The Threat of Nuclear Terrorism

In 1997, retired Russian Gen. Alexander Lebed announced that at the time of the demise of the Soviet Union, Moscow lost track of more than 100 suitcase-sized nuclear weapons.⁷ In October 2001, U.S. intelligence sources received a report that “a violent extremist group had acquired a 10-kiloton nuclear bomb and was planning on smuggling it into Manhattan.”⁸ Fortunately, both these reports turned out to be false or lacking sufficient evidence. These events illuminated, however, the frightening reality that, at the time, the U.S. could not dismiss the possibility that these reports were true. Such events could indeed happen.

The two cases above illustrate that the continued existence of nuclear weapons and materials allows for the possibility that they might fall into the hands of a violent extremist group. The five

⁶ Thomas Graham Jr., “Time for a No-First-Use Policy.” *Christian Science Monitor*. January 28, 1999.
⁷ “Lebed: Small Nuclear Weapons May be in Wrong Hands.” *CNN.com*, October 1, 1997.
⁸ Mathew Bunn, Anthony Wier, and John Holdren. *Controlling Nuclear Warheads and Materials*. Nuclear Threat Initiative and the Project on Managing the Atom, Harvard University, March 2003, 18.

decades of the Cold War left thousands of tons of nuclear weapons material poorly protected and accounted for throughout the world. According to a study by Harvard University, the world's arsenals contain some 30,000 assembled nuclear weapons and enough separated plutonium and highly enriched uranium to make nearly a quarter million nuclear weapons.⁹ The collapse of the Soviet Union left tens of thousands of nuclear weapons, and the material for tens of thousands more weapons in poorly guarded facilities.

In addition to the Russian arsenal, there are unsecured nuclear materials located at hundreds of sites throughout the world. Many of the world's 130 highly-enriched uranium (HEU)-fueled research facilities have little security. At some locations there is no more security than a chain link fence. Nearly every month someone is apprehended attempting to smuggle or steal nuclear materials or weapons somewhere in the world.¹⁰ The attacks of September 11 demonstrated that the threat of an attack by a violent extremist group causing massive destruction is real. If even a small amount of nuclear material were stolen, weaponized, and used in a city, the consequences would be devastating.

8

⁹ Ibid, 13.

¹⁰ Allison, Graham. "How to Stop Nuclear Terror." *Foreign Affairs*. January/February 2004, p. 66.

The Policies of the Bush Administration



For some to say that nuclear weapons are good for them but not for others is simply not sustainable... The most powerful nations must remember that as they do, so shall others do.

—Nobel Peace Laureates, 2003¹¹

In its first year in office, the Bush Administration conducted a congressionally-mandated review of U.S. nuclear weapons policy. This review, called the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR), was submitted to Congress in a classified version in December 2001. The review was intended to provide guidance for U.S. nuclear strategy, doctrine, force structure, and infrastructure for the next five to 10 years. This review has led to dramatic changes in U.S. nuclear weapons policy.

The NPR rightly argues that the international security environment has dramatically changed in the last two decades. It contends that a nuclear posture based on the threat of nuclear war with the Soviet Union is no longer appropriate. However, these truths did not lead the Bush Administration to advocate for disarmament. Rather, the Administration argues for maintaining thousands of nuclear weapons for the foreseeable future. According to the NPR, nuclear weapons will continue to "play a critical role in the defense capabilities of the United States, its allies and friends." Additionally, the NPR promotes a more "flexible" role for nuclear weapons¹². Nuclear weapons will no longer solely be used to deter a nuclear war, but also to deal with multiple contingencies and new threats. That is, the Administration wants to maintain a large number and types of nuclear weapons with a wider range of possible uses.

9

¹¹ Final Statement of the 4th World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates. Rome, November 30, 2003.

¹² Nuclear Posture Review. Available at <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/policy/dod/npr.htm>. 48.

Nuclear Posture Review Initiatives

The NPR focuses on nuclear capabilities deemed necessary for various military missions rather than primarily to deter or counter a Russian nuclear attack. The nuclear arsenal the U.S. built for the Cold War is not suitable for the post-Cold War missions for nuclear weapons envisioned by the Bush Administration. To expand the possible uses of nuclear weapons, the U.S. would need to modify existing nuclear weapons or develop new ones.

Consistent with the NPR's recommendations, the Administration is working on developing new battlefield nuclear weapons. In its annual request to Congress for fiscal year 2005, the Administration asked for \$27.6 million to conclude a three-year study by the Energy Department on a Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator (RNEP). These weapons are sometimes referred to as "bunker busters" because they would be designed to burrow into the ground to destroy underground military facilities. The RNEP would modify an existing large-yield nuclear device to penetrate a hard surface and then detonate.

10 In addition to the RNEP, at the request of the Administration, Congress in 2003 repealed the 10-year old statutory ban on research leading to the production of low-yield nuclear weapons, sometimes called "mini-nukes." Known as the "Spratt-Furse" provision in recognition of its original sponsors, the prohibition has

BUSH'S "PREEMPTIVE" WAR DOCTRINE

Article 51 of the United Nations Charter reserves to states the right of self-defense against military attack. "Preemptive" war may be justified under the Charter if the military threat is so imminent, substantive (combining capability and intention), and substantial that an attack is virtually certain. However, the Bush Doctrine, as presented in the September 2002 National Security Strategy and implemented in the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, upends the concept of self-defense and proposes preventive wars. The doctrine asserts that all the U.S. needs to justify a preventive war is a unilateral determination that at some undefined future time, using means that might be acquired or developed, another country possibly could constitute a challenge to U.S. national interests. Because these conditions do not meet the prerequisites for preemptive self-defense under international law, the word "preemptive" will be placed in quotation marks throughout this booklet.

served as a significant barrier to the development and production of "mini-nukes." "Mini-nukes" are believed by some to be more "usable" than the large-yield strategic nuclear weapons because their explosive power is less than one-third the size of the Hiroshima bomb.

The Policy of "Preemption"

The most troubling aspect of these nuclear weapons policies is in the context of the Bush Administration's policy of "preemption." One of the most important policies that came out of the Cold War was the idea that nuclear weapons are not to be used. Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev, at their 1985 Geneva summit, agreed that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought."¹³

The norm of non-use is being challenged by some in the Bush Administration. The NPR proposes "greater flexibility" with respect to nuclear forces, and it suggests that nuclear weapons are useful to "hold at risk a wide range of target types." Stated simply, nuclear weapons are no longer only weapons of last resort, but could be used in a variety of roles, including on the battlefield.

"Preemption" and new nuclear weapons have never been explicitly linked publicly by the Administration. However, a classified version of National Security Presidential Directive 17, signed by President Bush in September 2002, reportedly authorized "preemptive" strikes with U.S. nuclear weapons on sites believed to store or manufacture chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons.¹⁴

The Dangers of the Nuclear Posture Review

Since the inception of the atomic era, U.S. presidents have differentiated between nuclear and conventional weapons. U.S. policy has assumed that nuclear weapons would only be used if the United States were attacked with nuclear weapons. President Truman went so far as to place the U.S. nuclear arsenal under the jurisdiction of the Atomic Energy Commission, rather than the Pentagon, to separate nuclear weapons from the conventional war-fighting

¹³ Joint Soviet-United States Statement on the Summit Meeting in Geneva, November 21, 1985.

¹⁴ Mike Allen and Barton Gellman, "Preemptive Strikes Part of U.S. Strategic Doctrine." *Washington Post*. December 11, 2002, A1.

arsenal. This precedent remains to this day, with nuclear weapons falling under the jurisdiction of the Energy Department.

The NPR, as well as other Bush Administration national security documents, reversed this policy and outlined a strategy that makes nuclear war-fighting acceptable. Developing new types of nuclear weapons for battlefield use blurs the distinction between conventional and nuclear arms. The danger is greatly enhanced by a policy allowing for the “preemptive” use of nuclear weapons. These policies taken together could significantly lower the threshold for the use of nuclear weapons.

Along with terrorism, weapons of mass destruction have dominated White House rhetoric for the past few years. The main justification for war in Iraq was its alleged pursuit of such weapons. The U.S. has strongly criticized Iran, Libya, and North Korea for moving to obtain equipment to produce weapons-grade nuclear materials. The U.S. government has also expressed concerns that nuclear materials could fall into the hands of extremist groups, such as al Qaeda.

12

The Bush Administration is right to bring the dangers posed by nuclear weapons to the public eye once again. But, at the same time that the Administration is criticizing others for having weapons, it is upgrading its own weapons complex. This “do what I say, not what I do” policy is evident to the world. If nuclear weapons are unacceptable for Iran and North Korea, they are unacceptable for the U.S. The Administration seems to believe that nuclear weapons only present a problem when they are possessed by people who do not support the U.S. Instead of reducing the threat of nuclear weapons, this policy only enhances the idea that nuclear weapons are sources of power and prestige.

With all the nuclear dangers in the world, it is counterproductive for the Bush Administration to start re-emphasizing nuclear weapons in U.S. security policy. The U.S. should be working to de-emphasize nuclear weapons, not making them more usable by legitimizing nuclear war-fighting.

In order to make a safer world for generations to come, the U.S. government must put an end to its dependence on nuclear weapons. Real progress will be made only when the President and Congress put the full resources and political will of the United States behind removing the threat of nuclear weapons.

Alternative Policies for a More Secure World



Although national security is widely perceived to depend on military strength, more weapons do not provide enduring security. Military expansion provokes fear and potential retaliation. Threats tend to increase the hostility and distrust that lead to war... We urge multilateral disarmament, supported by the conversion of military industries to the production of civilian goods and services, and the retraining of personnel toward that end. We also advocate that the United States take unilateral steps toward its own disarmament, believing that other nations will respond affirmatively to this example.

— FCNL Statement of Legislative Policy

13

Nuclear weapons, combined with the aggressive security policies of the Bush Administration, pose an unequaled danger to humanity and creation. Alternative U.S. nuclear policies are required if there is to be any hope of building a world free of war and the threat of war.

In the absence of a profound shift in global politics, the threat of nuclear weapons will remain for at least the next decade. While there is not much hope for abolishing nuclear weapons in the short-term, there are many policy options available that over time could reduce the threats outlined in this report.

The U.S. should utilize its position as the strongest military and political power in the world and take unilateral steps that would lead to a more secure world. The global community has declared its desire for a nuclear-free world on numerous occasions. Transparent unilateral disarmament measures by the U.S. will likely be reciprocated by other nuclear states. If other states feel confident that the U.S. is lowering its reliance on nuclear weapons, they will likely follow suit.

The U.S. should continue to work with Russia to reduce the threat posed by its crumbling nuclear weapons infrastructure through threat reduction programs or other bilateral measures. There may also be opportunities for the U.S. to work bilaterally with other nations to safeguard existing nuclear weapons stockpiles or to prevent other nations from acquiring nuclear weapons and materials.

The Iraq war was the first application of the Bush Administration's preventive war policy, a policy promoting war to prevent the spread of unconventional weapons. The U.S. should discard the policy of preventive war and instead adopt a new national security strategy based on international cooperation, international law, and the prevention of war. The concept of "human security" should be the overarching norm. The international nonproliferation regime provides the U.S. with important tools to curb proliferation. The U.S. government should fully support this regime and its implementing organizations, both politically and financially, as the first line of defense against proliferation.

14

In addition to strengthening the traditional nonproliferation tools, the U.S. should begin to think about additional ways to prevent proliferation. An effective policy of preventing proliferation would mean vigorously supporting the use of preventive diplomacy, such as the use of mediation, arbitration, and confidence-building measures to de-escalate tensions and resolve conflicts.¹⁵ Specifically, the U.S. should consider the motivating factors driving proliferation and then look to eliminate these motives.

Reducing incentives for proliferation would entail active involvement to resolve regional disputes throughout the world, especially the Indian-Pakistani conflict. To stem proliferation of nuclear weapons, the U.S. must address the chronic disputes that create the greatest incentives for acquiring such weapons. Such engagement would include significant amounts of time and money, but it is a small price compared to the potential loss of human life that would result from a nuclear war and the ongoing cost of maintaining a nuclear arsenal and building missile shields.

¹⁵ For more examples of preventive diplomacy, see "If War is Not the Answer, What Is? The Peaceful Prevention of Deadly Conflict" available from FCNL.

Finally, the U.S. must begin to address the root causes of insecurity and instability that give rise to violent extremist groups, including economic inequality, the chronic lack of good governance and human rights, and the increasing divide between cultures and civilizations. Nuclear weapons will do nothing to address the systemic violence that is at the root of global instability and insecurity. It will only aggravate these problems. The ever increasing military budgets of the world are taking resources away from meeting essential human needs. Peace in the 21st century demands a shift from the 20th century's expenditures on the military to civilian programs that safeguard human welfare and security.

15

Specific Policy Recommendations

Unilateral Steps—Practicing Self Restraint

- Formally reaffirm commitment to nuclear disarmament.
- Renounce the first use of nuclear weapons.
- Take nuclear weapons off hair-trigger alert status.
- Retire all tactical nuclear weapons.
- Abandon programs to build new nuclear weapons.
- Continue testing moratorium and ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.
- Abandon missile shield programs.

Cooperative Steps

- Increase support—both financial and political—for cooperative threat reduction programs.
- Support use of bilateral diplomacy when appropriate.
- Strongly support—both politically and financially—the global nonproliferation regime.
- Abandon the policy of preventive war.
- Negotiate and enact a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty.
- Strengthen the Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions.
- Support the use of preventive diplomacy.
- Address roots of insecurity and instability.



Opportunities to Influence Policy

In democracies, we, the people, have the power to shape national and international policy—to seek the good and shun evil...To have this power and fail to use it makes us accomplices of the killers. The job now is to spread the word and inspire public confidence that the good we want can prevail.

—Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Congress and Nuclear Weapons

As required by the Constitution, Congress is responsible for legislating the funding for all activities carried out by the federal government. The way Congress funds weapons systems is complex. Nuclear weapons funding goes through the legislative process in an especially complicated way due to the fact that these weapons fall under multiple executive branch jurisdictions. The Energy Department (DOE) is responsible for the design, development, procurement, and testing of nuclear weapons. The Defense Department (DoD) is responsible for deployment. Both departments share responsibility for maintenance and storage of warheads. Thus, nuclear weapons fall under the jurisdictions of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, and the House and Senate Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittees.

Each February, the executive branch submits to Congress its budget requests for the following fiscal year. Policy issues relating to the U.S. nuclear stockpile are considered in the annual defense authorization bill. This bill addresses the size and capabilities of the U.S. nuclear arsenal and authorizes funding for these programs. The House and Senate Armed Services Committees have jurisdiction over this bill. They hold hearings and decide what to include or exclude in the bill. After the committees complete their work, the bills are submitted to their respective chambers for consideration.

Funds are appropriated for nuclear weapons proposals by the Energy and Water Development Appropriations Subcommittee in

their appropriations bill (not the defense appropriations bill). If congressional appropriators decide not to fund the policies authorized by the defense authorization bill, these programs will not be implemented. After the subcommittees have decided what to include or exclude in their respective versions, the bills are submitted to the full House and Senate Appropriations Committees. From there they go to the full House and Senate floor for consideration.

After the House and Senate have approved their respective versions, a conference committee, comprised of members of both chambers, is appointed to reconcile differences between the two bills. When the conference report has been approved by both chambers, the bill is sent to the President for his signature.

Throughout the process there are numerous hearings and debates. Votes could be cast up to 12 times in a single year on any one nuclear weapons proposal. Additionally, some nuclear weapons proposals are voted on over multiple years. This gives disarmament advocates repeated opportunities to influence policy. **Fig. 2** (page 18)

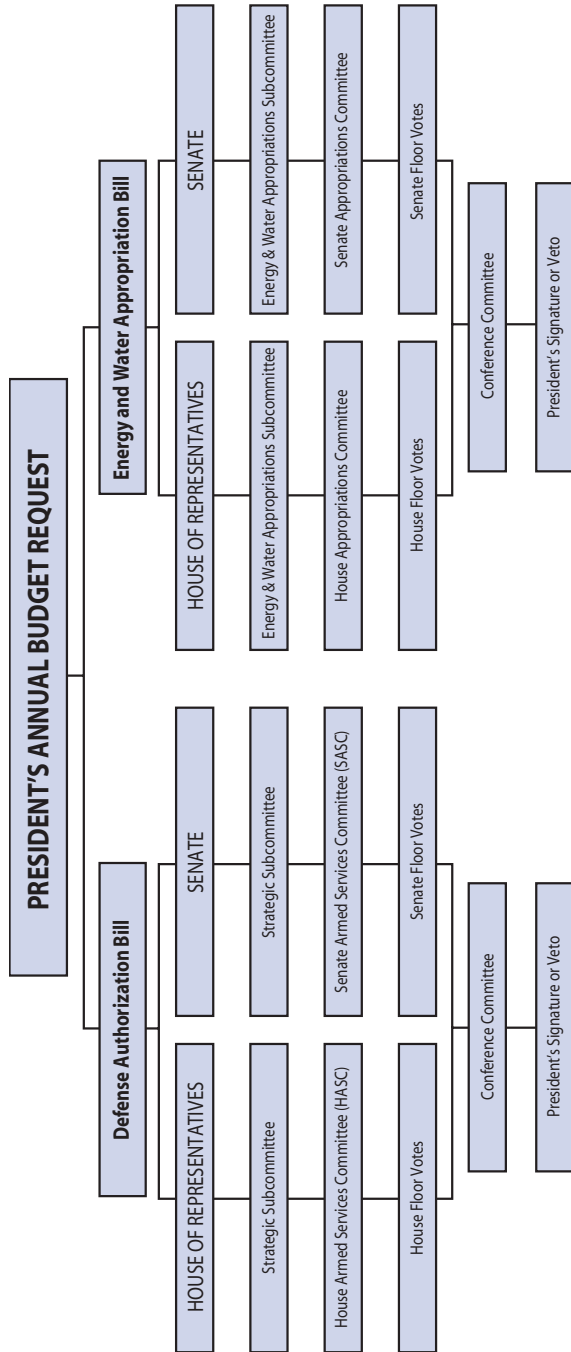
Momentum against re-nuclearization is building

Vote by vote, bill by bill, FCNL and the arms control community are racking up a series of successes restricting further expansion of nuclear weapons research. Nuclear weapons proponents are facing unexpected, strong, and organized opposition to their efforts to build new weapons. Arms control advocates in Washington, DC and around the country are succeeding at slowing down the approval process for weapons research—and ultimately nuclear weapon projects themselves. Join Us!

What You Can Do

At important junctures in world history, concerned citizens allying with arms control organizations played a central role in curbing the nuclear arms race and preventing nuclear war. A similar movement is needed today. Although there is not much room for progress toward nuclear disarmament in the current political climate, it is important that the public stand up against the re-nuclearization of the U.S. arsenal. You can help do this again by raising issues of

Fig. 2



It is possible for a particular nuclear weapons proposal to pass through the defense authorization process and then have the funds cut in the energy and water appropriations bill. For example, the Department of Energy maintained facilities on Johnston Atoll in the South Pacific to permit the swift resumption of atmospheric testing from 1964 to 1993. Although these programs were extended in the 1993 defense authorization bill, appropriators zeroed out the funds to maintain this program. Thus, the program was terminated.

conscience, asking tough questions, and insisting that elected officials focus on their constituents' concerns. There are numerous methods you can use to influence national policies, including:

- Voting in every election
- Direct contact with your legislators
- Influencing the media
- Community outreach

BUILDING A RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR LEGISLATOR

Communicating with your members of Congress about issues is one of the most important and fundamental ways that you can participate in the policymaking process. Your visits, letters, phone calls, faxes, and emails let elected officials know that their constituents are well informed, are watching what they do, and care about nuclear weapons.

It is important for all members of Congress to hear from constituents on nuclear weapons issues. Yet, due to the way nuclear weapons are legislated, it is particularly important for those whose members are on one of these committees to speak out.

As part of FCNL's Quaker Nuclear Disarmament Program, constituents in key districts and states are frequently contacted (usually via email) to take specific actions when individual votes in the defense authorization or energy and water appropriations process are about to occur. If your member of Congress sits on one of the committees or subcommittees voting on this legislation, the direct communications you and others send to the member can influence his or her vote. FCNL action alerts are frequently distributed to hundreds of thousands of individuals via the email lists of other organizations. By flooding legislative offices with constituent messages against re-nuclearization, arms control activists are continuing to make slow, steady progress.

On-line help for contacting legislators: To see if your representative or senator is on either the Arms Services Committee or the Energy and Water Appropriations Committee visit FCNL's Legislative Action Center. From the homepage www.fcnl.org click on **Legislative Action Center**. Click the tab Elected Officials and enter your zip code or search by state for your legislators. **Here you can find which Congressional committees/subcommittees your legislators are assigned to.**

The commitment and actions of one individual made a difference!

With advice and encouragement from FCNL staff in Washington, DC, a volunteer began working with the defense aide and the district director of his representative, an influential, conservative member of Congress. He passed along FCNL Legislative Action Alerts opposing nuclear weapons to his local peace group which has 1,000 or so members on its email list. He also organized a district-wide delegation in January 2003 to meet with his representative. This key member of Congress was made aware that a significant group of voters in his district were deeply concerned about this issue.

In June 2003 this representative decided that he would offer an amendment on the floor of the House to cut the funding of the nuclear bunker buster. The threat that this floor amendment would be offered by this influential member of Congress was an important factor in convincing the House Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittee to take out most of the money for the nuclear bunker buster before the bill moved to the House floor.

USING THE MEDIA

The editorial page of your local paper can be an excellent forum for educating your community and bringing nuclear weapons to the attention of your legislators. Letters to the editor and op-eds are easy ways to voice your opinion. When you write, mention your representative or senator by name and start with the specific legislative action you would like him or her to take. This will help ensure your op-ed or letter catches the eye of your legislator.

Editorials endorsing a particular issue or piece of legislation can change even the most committed policymaker's mind. This particular method of making your voice heard requires more organization than a letter to the editor or op-ed, but will allow you to cultivate a relationship with your local newspaper and may influence more readers.

On-line help for working with local media: From the homepage www.fcnl.org click on **Legislative Action Center**. Click the tab Media Guide and enter your zip code or search by state to identify contact information for print, radio, and television media for your region. National contacts are included as well. Sample letters on specific issues are available on this page, as well as the ability to immediately email or fax your letter to the media outlet you select.

COMMUNITY OUTREACH

While it is important to lobby your legislators directly, creating public support for nuclear disarmament can dramatically increase your effectiveness. Numbers do make a difference, and legislators will be more inclined to vote your way if they feel there is a groundswell of support for a particular measure or issue.

Help create that momentum by educating your community. You can do this by holding a house party, setting up a table at a local event, networking with other organizations and individuals, speaking to church groups, etc. There are many ways to bring attention to an issue in your community. Be creative.

LET FCNL HELP YOU TAKE ACTION TO STOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS

FCNL has many resources to assist you. If you do not have web access, we can mail written material to you.

On-line information at www.fcnl.org: Many types of material ranging from congressional actions, advocate letters and statements, positions of the 2004 presidential candidates, and links to other resources. The web site includes information on topics such as new weapons development, threat reduction, nuclear weapons use policy, de-alerting, weapons testing.

The Nuclear Calendar is a weekly web-based publication with updates of events (including public broadcasts) concerning nuclear weapons, disarmament, and non-proliferation. Subscribe to the email list or consult it directly on the website (link from homepage).



The FCNL Legislative Action Message (LAM) is distributed weekly when Congress is in session, and frequently addresses nuclear weapons related legislation. You can receive the LAM via email or directly from the FCNL website.

Grassroots Advocate Page on the FCNL website has many tips for letter-writing, community organizing, and working with the media. From the homepage click on Get Involved (from the navigation bar), then click on Grassroots Advocate Page.

If you have questions or need advice, please contact us via email: field@fcnl.org or phone or postal mail (contact information on inside back cover).

Conclusion

The U.S. should move its nuclear weapons policies into line with the will of the majority of the people on earth. Political leaders in the United States have yet to understand that which most people figured out a long time ago—nuclear weapons make us all less secure.

To move beyond the specter of nuclear war, imagination, ingenuity, and cooperation to an extent that is rarely seen in contemporary international relations is needed. A sustained and vigorous campaign on all levels of society is required. Most importantly, vigilant people, unwilling to settle for anything less than a nuclear-free world must make their voices heard. Ending the threat of nuclear annihilation and ensuring survival is the calling of all humanity. People of good will must not rest until this is accomplished.

A longer, more detailed version of this booklet entitled, "U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policies: The Choice Before Us," is available through the Friends Committee on National Legislation. Copies can be requested by calling (800) 630-1330, or by writing to FCNL at 245 2nd Street NE, Washington, DC 20002, or by email to fcnl@fcnl.org.



Biological Weapons Convention—The Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), entering into force in 1975, was the first international treaty to ban an entire class of weapons. The convention bans the development, production, stockpiling, acquisition, and retention of microbial or other biological agents or toxins, in types and in quantities that have no justification for peaceful purposes. It also bans weapons, equipment, or means of delivery designed to use such agents or toxins for hostile purposes or in armed conflict. However, the treaty lacks effective verification and enforcement measures to ensure compliance.

Chemical Weapons Convention—The Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) is an international treaty that bans the production and use of chemical weapons and aims to eliminate chemical weapons, everywhere in the world. The CWC entered into force in 1997. The Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) at the Hague oversees the inspection and verification proceedings.

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty—The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) is an international agreement to prohibit all nuclear weapons test explosions anywhere in the world. In order to verify compliance with its provisions, the treaty establishes a global network of monitoring facilities and allows for on-site inspections of suspicious events.

Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty—A Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty would ban the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons. A cut-off treaty on fissile material would effectively put a limit on the size of nuclear arsenals. It would also make weapons reductions irreversible if the fissile material were disposed.

Hair-Trigger Alert—Hair-trigger alert is a nuclear weapons posture where nuclear weapons are poised for quick launch. Keeping nuclear weapons on a hair-trigger means that leaders on both sides have just minutes to assess whether a warning of an attack is real or false.

Human Security—Human security, often referred to as “people-centered security” or “security with a human face,” places human beings—rather than states—at the focal point of security considerations. Human security emphasizes the complex relationships and often-ignored linkages between disarmament, human rights, and development.

Missile Shield—First purposed as President Reagan’s “star-wars” system, a missile shield, or missile defense, is a system designed to protect against a ballistic missile attack. In 2002, the Bush Administration withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. With the treaty’s abrogation, the Administration has accelerated construction of a missile shield system. Though unproven, the Bush Administration plans to deploy strategic missile defense by September 30, 2004.

Negative Security Assurances—Negative security assurances are pledges by the nuclear states not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states.

Nevada Test Site—The Nevada Test Site (NTS) is a massive outdoor laboratory and experimental center 65 miles north of Las Vegas. The NTS is larger than the state of Rhode Island, approximately 1,375 square miles, making this one of the largest restricted access areas in the United States. Over 900 atomic explosions were detonated at the Nevada Test Site during the years 1951–1992.

Nonproliferation Regime—The nonproliferation regime is a network of interlocking treaties, organizations, and multilateral inspections designed to halt the spread of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)—The NPT is an international treaty whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament. Opened for signature in 1968, the Treaty entered into force in 1970. A total of 187 parties have joined the Treaty, including the five nuclear-weapon States. More countries have ratified the NPT than any other arms limitation and disarmament agreement, a testament to the Treaty's significance.



Nuclear Terrorism—Nuclear terrorism is the use of a nuclear device by a extremist group to cause massive devastation. Detonating a nuclear bomb, dispersing of fissionable radioactive materials, such as a dirty bomb and assaulting nuclear power plants are also examples of nuclear terrorism.

Preemption—Preemption is military action undertaken before an imminent attack. Preemptive war may be justified under the UN Charter if the military threat is so imminent, substantive (combining capability and intention), and substantial that an attack is virtually certain.

Preventive Diplomacy—Preventive diplomacy is usually used in the international arena and refers to efforts to prevent the commencement or escalation of conflicts between nations.

Preventive War—Preventive war is military action undertaken before evidence of an imminent threat.

Tactical Nuclear Weapons—Tactical nuclear weapons, also known as “battlefield” or “non-strategic” nuclear weapons, are nuclear weapons designed for battlefield use. These weapons come in the form of bombs, mines, and artillery shells. Tactical nuclear weapons are not monitored or controlled by any existing treaties or formal agreements, even though these thousands of weapons pose dangers that can be equal to those of strategic nuclear weapons.

Threat Reduction Programs—Threat reduction programs are programs to help the countries of the former Soviet Union destroy nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons of mass destruction and associated infrastructure, and establish verifiable safeguards against the proliferation of those weapons. Since its inception by Congress, the program has substantially reduced the weapons of mass destruction threat by helping to better account for weapons previously aimed at the United States and reduce their delivery systems. Recently the program has been expanded beyond the former Soviet Union.

Additional Resources

There are many good sources of information on nuclear weapons available on the Internet. Some of the most useful are listed below.

Non-Governmental Organizations

The Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy
www.acronym.org.uk

American Friends Service Committee
www.afsc.org/newengland/nepeace.htm

Arms Control Association
www.armscontrol.org

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
www.proliferationnews.org

Center for Defense Information
www.cdi.org

The Center for Nonproliferation Studies
<http://cns.miis.edu>

Council for a Livable World
www.clw.org

Federation of American Scientists
www.fas.org

Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies
www.idds.org

National Resources Defense Council
www.nrdc.org

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation
www.nuclearfiles.org

Nuclear Threat Initiative
www.nti.org

Publications

Arms Control Today
www.armscontrol.org/act

The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists
www.thebulletin.org

U.S. Government

House Armed Services Committee
www.house.gov/hasc

National Nuclear Security Administration
www.nnsa.doe.gov

Senate Armed Services Committee
<http://armed-services.senate.gov>

U.S. Department of Defense
www.defenselink.mil

28

U.S. Department of Energy
www.energy.gov

Inter-Governmental Organizations

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization
www.ctbto.org

International Atomic Energy Agency
www.iaea.org

United Nations
<http://disarmament.un.org>

Use FCNL's Information and Resources

Web site: Visit us at www.fcnl.org for current information about important legislative issues, information on Congress, status of bills, tips on how to effectively engage you member of Congress, and much more.

Washington Newsletter: This monthly report provides news and analysis for a selection of domestic and international issues with a primary focus on peace, disarmament, international cooperation, and social and economic justice. It is sent free upon request and automatically to current donors.

Indian Report: This quarterly publication supports FCNL's Native American advocacy program. It is sent to all *Washington Newsletter* recipients as well as to tribal leaders and others with a particular interest in FCNL's Native American program.

Email Lists: FCNL maintains email lists for sending out updates on legislative and policy matters, particularly those needing constituent calls and letters to members of Congress or the Administration. To join an email list, go to www.fcnl.org and click on "FCNL's email alerts."

Nuclear Calendar: weekly updates of events concerning nuclear weapons, disarmament, and non-proliferation.

fcnl-news: weekly Legislative Action Messages and periodic InfoLine messages.

fcnl-prevent war: updates and action messages on peaceful prevention of deadly conflict and other foreign policy issues.

fcnl-library-friends: background information, updates, and action messages about civil liberties issues affecting libraries and bookstores.

fcnl-nalu: periodic alerts on Native American issues.

You Can Add Your Support

FCNL's many educational resources are made possible through the generous contributions of individuals, foundations, and groups from around the country. Donations to FCNL [a 501(c)(4) organization] are not tax-deductible and go toward public interest lobbying. Gifts to the FCNL Education Fund [a 501(c)(3) organization] are tax-deductible and support non-partisan research and education. Mail your checks to FCNL at 245 Second Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002. Visa and Mastercard are accepted both by phone (800-630-1330) and online (www.fcnl.org, then click on the "Support FCNL Financially" button on the navigation bar).

Friends Committee on National Legislation

245 Second St., NE • Washington, DC 20002 • 800-630-1330

Email: fcnl@fcnl.org • www.fcnl.org