

Still in the
Shadow of
NUCLEAR
WEAPONS

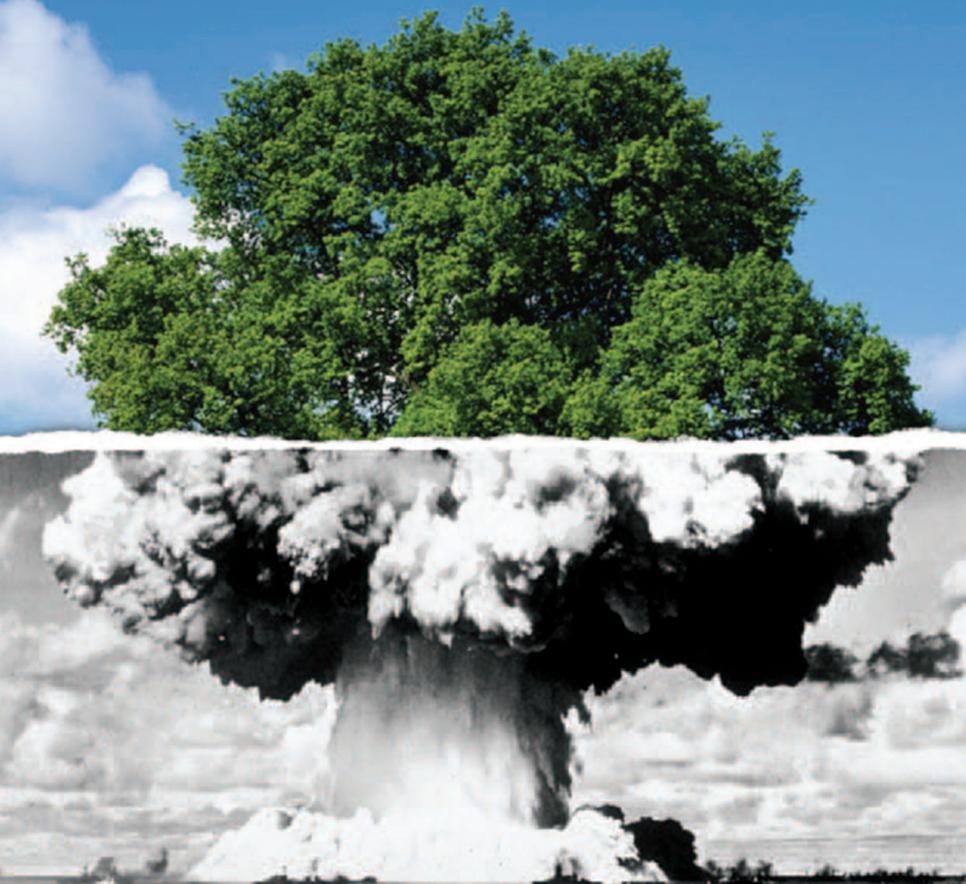




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In March 2006, Aaron Scherb revised and expanded Scott Stedjan's March 2004 publication *At the Crossroads: Disarmament or Re-nuclearization* to create the pamphlet *Still in the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons*.

Published by the Friends Committee on National Legislation. 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

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Introduction

2 I had just entered the room and said “Good morning” to colleagues and I was about to approach my desk when outside it suddenly turned bright red. I felt very hot on my cheeks...I realized that everybody including myself was lying at one side of the room. The desks and chairs had also blown off to one side. At the windows, there was no window glass and the window frames had been blown out as well...And I saw the mushroom cloud...I realized that my white shirt was red all over...I thought it was funny because I was not injured at all. I looked around and then realized that the girl lying near by was heavily injured, with lots of broken glass stuck all over her body. Her blood had splashed and made stains on my shirt...

I learned that the nuclear weapons which gnaw the minds and bodies of human beings should never be used. Even the slightest idea [of] using nuclear arms should be completely exterminated [from] the minds of human beings. Otherwise, we will repeat the same tragedy.

Testimony of Hiroshima survivor Hiroshi Sawachika,¹ who was about 2.5 miles from the hypocenter on August 6, 1945

*We should remain humbled by what we have learned from the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We cannot allow sixty years to soften our memories of how devastating such weapons are.*²

—IAEA Director General Mohammed ElBaradei, August 6, 2005

3 It has been more than 60 years since nuclear weapons have been used in war. Most Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors have died, and the use of nuclear weapons seems like textbook history with few living survivors to tell their stories about the horrific effects of nuclear weapons. When the Cold War ended, many people came to believe that the threat of nuclear annihilation was a thing of the past. 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 15 years, a serious nuclear threat remains. Some experts even argue that the threat of an attack with a nuclear device may be more potent today than during the height of the Cold War.

In response to the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush administration has attempted to rejuvenate the role that nuclear weapons would play in U.S. foreign policy. U.S. nuclear deterrence did not prevent the attacks of September 11, 2001, so developing new, “usable” nuclear weapons (rather than just having them for deterrence) became the dominating logic in the administration. The administration initially sought to develop a new, “usable” nuclear weapon called the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator. Often called the nuclear “bunker buster,” its planned development sparked opposition among concerned citizens and the arms control community. These groups succeeded in persuading Congress not to fund this new nuclear weapon system in 2004 and 2005. Absent the outpouring of citizen concern about the dangers of the nuclear “bunker buster,” it likely would have been developed over the next several years

¹ <http://www.inicom.com/hibakusha/hiroshi.html>

² <http://www.iaea.org/NewsCenter/PressReleases/2005/prn200508.html>



The Lingering Threat of Nuclear Weapons

Some government officials persist in their determination to expand the U.S. nuclear arsenal, however, and they equate U.S. security with developing new nuclear weapons. Recognizing that members of Congress who sit on key committees that control the fate of new nuclear weapons oppose such weapons, the administration has adjusted its approach. Stymied by congressional refusal for the last two years to fund the nuclear “bunker buster,” the Bush administration remains intent on developing another class of nuclear weapons, the “Reliable” Replacement Warhead, or RRW. However, U.S. nuclear weapons are not unreliable and do not need replacements.

It is necessary for the public to educate more members of Congress and ask questions about the dangers of building new nuclear weapons to the U.S. and the world. Concerned citizens stopped the nuclear “bunker buster,” and they can also stop the Reliable Replacement Warhead, since it cannot be developed without congressional approval. If enough citizens continue to unite and educate members of Congress, congressional supporters of new nuclear weapons can once again be turned into advocates for a world free of nuclear weapons.

4

As Congress contemplates funding new nuclear weapons, the U.S. remains in the shadow of nuclear weapons more than 15 years after the end of the Cold War. The defeat of the nuclear “bunker buster” has made the shadow shorter, but it has not disappeared. The U.S. must choose between a future that continues to, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said, “spiral down a militaristic stairway into the hell of nuclear annihilation,”³ or a future where problems are solved through reason, cooperation, and imagination. This pamphlet offers readers information for building a safer and more sane world free of nuclear weapons.

³ Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. “Address in Acceptance of Nobel Peace Prize.” Oslo, Norway, December 10, 1964.

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. Bush, 2001⁴

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 United States and the Soviet Union, these newer threats are extremely difficult to control.

5

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.⁵

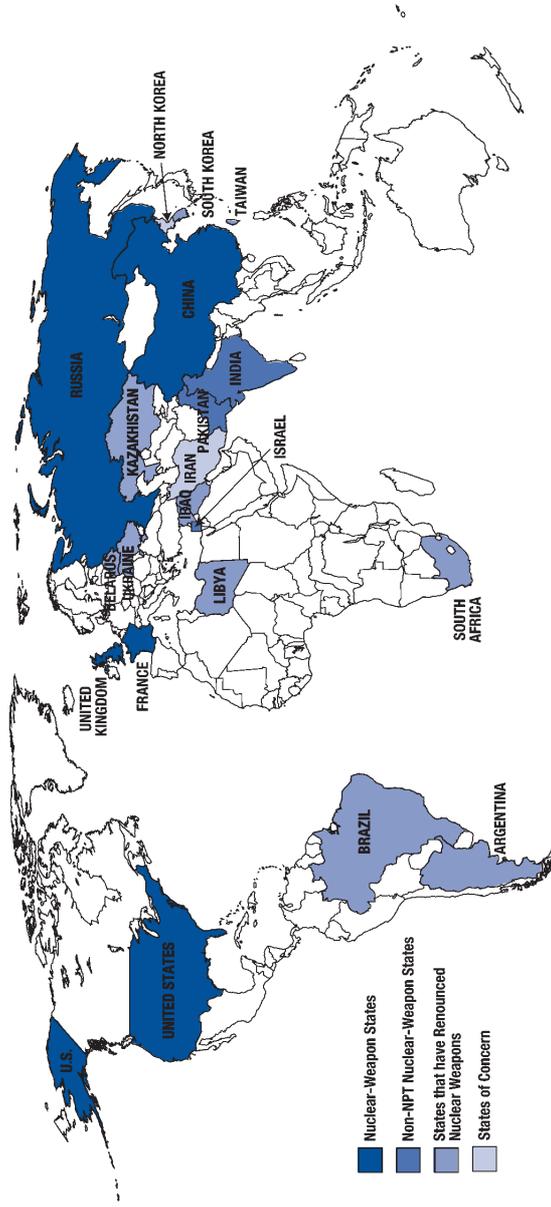
Although the threat of a nuclear war with Russia has significantly decreased, the U.S. and Russia still court nuclear disaster. Combined, the U.S. and Russia have about 2,500 nuclear warheads on hair-trigger alert.⁶ This means that both countries have nuclear weapons that are ready to fire thousands of warheads in

⁴ President George W. Bush, “Remarks by the President to Troops and Personnel.” Norfolk Naval Air Station, Virginia, February 13, 2001.

⁵ Back to the Brink Campaign. “Short Fuse to Catastrophe: The Case for Taking Nuclear Weapons Off Hair-trigger Alert.” February 2001, p. 3.

⁶ <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/npp/numbers/default.cfm>

Fig. 1



NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES
China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States:

These states have declared their nuclear weapons program and are recognized under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as nuclear weapons states.

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, and 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 and 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.

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, and Iran’s nuclear capabilities and intentions remain unclear. **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 made significant progress in curbing the spread of nuclear weapons through erecting a nonproliferation regime of interlocking treaties, organizations, and multilateral inspections. As a testament to the regime’s success, only three states have acquired and maintained nuclear weapons since 1964.

Number of Nuclear Warheads
 (Strategic and Tactical, both deployed and stored), **2005**

U.S.	Russia	China	France	UK	Israel ⁷	India ⁸	Pakistan ⁹	Total
~10,300	~16,000	410	350	200	100-170	75-110	50-110	~27,600

Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, www.carnegieendowment.org/npp/numbers/default.cfm

⁷ Israel is thought to possess enough nuclear material for between 100 and 170 nuclear weapons. The number of weapons assembled or capable of being assembled is unknown, but likely to be on the lower end of this range.

⁸ India is thought to have produced enough weapons-grade plutonium to produce between 75-110 nuclear weapons. The number of actual weapons assembled or capable of being assembled is unknown. No weapons are known to be deployed among active military units or on missiles.

⁹ Pakistan may have produced enough weapons-grade plutonium to produce up to 110 nuclear weapons. The number of actual weapons assembled or capable of being assembled is unknown. Pakistan’s nuclear weapons are reportedly stored in component form, with the fissile core separated from the non-nuclear explosives.

The nonproliferation regime was not designed to solve all the problems posed by the spread of nuclear weapons. Rather, it was intended 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 relatively successful, there are serious challenges ahead. The inability of the global community to detect nuclear programs in Iran, Iraq, Libya, and North Korea 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.”¹⁰ If powerful countries continue to rely on nuclear weapons for a sense of security, these horrific weapons will remain attractive to states like India, Iran, North Korea, and Pakistan. Possessing a nuclear weapon is still equated with world power. More than coincidentally, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and United States) all possess nuclear weapons.

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.¹¹ 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.”¹² 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 decades of the Cold War left thousands of tons of nuclear weapons material poorly protected and accounted for throughout the world. According to a Harvard University study, the world’s arsenals contain nearly 30,000 assembled nuclear weapons and enough separated plutonium and highly enriched uranium to make nearly a quarter million nuclear weapons.¹³ 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.

With the end of the Cold War in 1991, Sens. Sam Nunn (GA) and Richard Lugar (IN) helped pass the Cooperative Threat Reduction program, often called the “Nunn-Lugar” program, which secures nuclear weapons and material in the former Soviet Union. This program has been highly successful in reducing the threat of terrorists obtaining nuclear weapons and materials and has since been expanded to other countries. However, the U.S. is still very concerned about unsecured nuclear weapons being stolen, as evidenced by the Pentagon’s 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review, “The prospect that a nuclear-capable state may lose control of some of its weapons to terrorists is one of the greatest dangers the United States and its allies face.”¹⁴ At the current funding level, however, the U.S. will not secure Russian nuclear weapons and materials until 2020 to 2030.¹⁵

In addition to the Russian nuclear sites, 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.¹⁶ Some locations have

¹⁰ Thomas Graham Jr., “Time for a No-First-Use Policy.” *Christian Science Monitor*. January 28, 1999.

¹¹ “Lebed: Small Nuclear Weapons May be in Wrong Hands.” CNN.com, October 1, 1997.

¹² 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, p. 18.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 13.

¹⁴ Quadrennial Defense Review, February 6, 2006, p. 32.

¹⁵ Brian Finlay and Andrew Grotto, *The Race to Secure Russia’s Loose Nukes: Progress Since 9/11*, September 2005, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Report on the Status of 9/11 Commission Recommendations: Part III: Foreign Policy, Public Diplomacy, and Nonproliferation*, November 14, 2005, p. 3.

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.¹⁷ The attacks of September 11 demonstrated that the threat of an attack by a violent extremist group causing massive destruction is real. If just 30 pounds of HEU were fashioned into a crude nuclear weapon, and detonated in downtown New York, more than half a million people could be killed from the immediate effects of the explosion, and damage could be over \$1 trillion.¹⁸

Disarmament, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative.

—President Dwight Eisenhower,
January 17, 1961

The Policies of the Bush Administration



*In a nuclear war there would be no victors, only victims. The truth of peace requires that all—whether those governments which openly or secretly possess nuclear arms, or those planning to acquire them—agree to change their course by clear and firm decisions, and strive for a progressive and concerted nuclear disarmament.*¹⁹

—Pope Benedict XVI, “World Day of Peace,” January 1, 2006

The Bush administration wants to maintain a large number and several types of nuclear weapons with a wider range of possible uses. In its first year in office, the administration conducted a congressionally-mandated review of U.S. nuclear weapons policy. This review, called the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR), was completed 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 drastic 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 former Soviet Union is no longer appropriate. However, this assessment did not lead the Bush administration to advocate for nuclear 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 weapons.²⁰ Nuclear weapons will no longer solely be used to deter a nuclear war but also to deal with multiple contingencies and new threats.

¹⁷ Graham Allison. “How to Stop Nuclear Terror.” *Foreign Affairs*. January/February 2004, p. 66.

¹⁸ Matthew Bunn, Anthony Wier, and John P. Holdren, *Controlling Nuclear Warheads and Materials: A Report Card and Action Plan*, March 2003, pp. 16 and 18.

¹⁹ <http://www.zenit.org/english/visualizza.phtml?sid=81594>

²⁰ Nuclear Posture Review, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/policy/dod/npr.htm>, p. 48.

The NPR has two goals: 1) to build new nuclear weapons for new military missions, and 2) to maintain U.S. world nuclear dominance by rebuilding the U.S. nuclear weapons complex and keeping nuclear scientists' skills honed. The Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator was an example of the first goal; the Reliable Replacement Warhead is an example of the second. While still the official nuclear policy of the Bush administration, the NPR's first goal has been largely rejected by Congress, and now the administration has shifted focus to the second goal.

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 that the U.S. built for the Cold War is not appropriate for the post-Cold War missions 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.

12 Consistent with the NPR's recommendations, the administration attempted to develop new battlefield nuclear weapons. In its annual request to Congress for fiscal year 2005 (FY05), the administration asked for \$27.6 million to conclude a three-year study by the Energy Department on the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator (RNEP). This weapon is sometimes referred to as the nuclear "bunker buster" because it is intended to burrow into the ground to destroy underground military facilities. RNEP would have modified an existing large-yield nuclear device to penetrate a hard surface and then detonate. If fully funded and developed, the nuclear "bunker buster" would have a force more than 70 times that of the Hiroshima bomb.²¹ If used, one device could kill over one million people.

The administration has sought to develop the nuclear "bunker buster" in fiscal years 2004, 2005, and 2006. While only \$8.5 million was initially requested for research and development in FY06, this funding was projected to reach \$484.7 million through FY09.²² Members of Congress encountered resistance

to building the bunker buster from their constituents and the arms control community, however, and did not fund this new nuclear weapon for FY05 and 06. As a result, the administration did not request any money for RNEP in its FY07 budget request.

Reliable Replacement Warhead

While Congress has been unwilling to fund RNEP, it has acceded to the administration's request for funding another nuclear weapons program—the "Reliable" Replacement Warhead (RRW), a name that implies that the current nuclear arsenal is "unreliable." RRW is not a new battlefield weapon. Rather, it is a "family" of new warheads intended to simplify the design of the current arsenal. The Energy Department wants to replace current nuclear weapons, which have been tested and proven to work, with newer and more "cost-effective" nuclear warheads. It asserts this can be done without testing these new weapons.

The question must be raised: would the U.S. military accept such untested weapons? Development of RRW would be analogous to replacing a parachute that has been used for years with a new design but without testing it. RRW development poses the real concern that the Pentagon in the future would require that this weapon system be tested before being deployed. Any such testing would end the U.S. nuclear testing moratorium that has been in effect since 1992.

Between 1945 and 1992 the United States conducted more than 1,000 nuclear tests. The U.S., however, has not tested a nuclear weapon since the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) has been in effect even though the U.S. is not a signatory to the treaty.²³ Development of RRW could end this self-imposed U.S. moratorium and destroy the CTBT. Resumption of U.S. testing would almost certainly prompt testing by Russia and China.

While the nuclear bunker buster would have been a new weapons system, RRW does not represent a new system, but rather is considered by the Energy Department to be the redesign of current weapons. Congress allocated \$9 million for RRW in FY05 and

²¹ Sens. Carl Levin (MI) and Jack Reed (RI), *Congressional Record*, May 20, 2003.

²² Energy Department budget request, fiscal year 2004.

²³ U.S. Department of Energy, Nevada Operations Office, Office of External Affairs, *United States Nuclear Tests, July 1945 through September 1992*, DOE/NV-209, rev. 14, Dec. 1994, p. viii.

\$25 million in FY06, and the administration has asked for \$27.7 million for FY07.²⁴ However, nuclear weapons advocates see RRW as potentially a multi-billion dollar program that will provide employment for dozens of nuclear weapons designers and the refurbishment of the nuclear weapons complex. As a former White House budget official from the first Bush and Clinton administrations observed: “The weapons labs are more interested in job security than national security.”²⁵

The Policy of Preemption

The most troubling aspect of these nuclear weapons policies is the administration’s policy of preemption. One of the most important policies that developed from the Cold War was the idea that nuclear weapons are not to be used. Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev, at their 1985 summit, agreed that “a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.”²⁶ 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.”²⁷ Stated simply, the administration views nuclear weapons as no longer just weapons of last resort, but rather weapons that 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.²⁸ The administration could apply this directive to Iran and use nuclear weapons against its nuclear facilities.

²⁴ Energy Department budget request, fiscal year 2007.

²⁵ Robert Civiak, “Rumblings Over the Bomb: Slippery Slope to New Nukes,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 24, 2006, p. B9.

²⁶ Joint Soviet-United States Statement on the Summit Meeting in Geneva, November 21, 1985.

²⁷ Nuclear Posture Review,

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/policy/dod/npr.htm>, p. 48.

²⁸ Mike Allen and Barton Gellman, “Preemptive Strikes Part of U.S. Strategic Doctrine.” *Washington Post*. December 11, 2002, p. A1

The Dangers of the Nuclear Posture Review

Since the inception of the nuclear 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.

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 made worse 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 and North Korea for moving to produce weapons-grade nuclear materials. The U.S. has also expressed concerns that nuclear materials could fall into the hands of extremist groups, such as al Qaeda, which has reportedly sought to acquire or make a nuclear weapon.²⁹

The Bush administration is right to bring the dangers posed by nuclear weapons to the public’s attention once again. But, at the same time that the administration is criticizing others for having weapons, it plans to upgrade its own weapons complex. This “do what I say, not what I do” policy is evident to the world and antagonizes and exacerbates the situation with Iran and North Korea. If nuclear weapons are unacceptable for Iran and North Korea, they are unacceptable for the United States. Former Sen. Sam Nunn (GA) compared the U.S. development of new nuclear weapons to a chain smoker—other countries “have a hard time taking instructions from a chain smoker to quit smoking...”³⁰ Why would Iran and North Korea listen to the U.S. and stop their nuclear programs when the U.S. is developing its own at the same time? The administration seems to believe that nuclear weapons

²⁹ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, p. 381.

³⁰ <http://www.time.com/time/asia/mediakit/home/article/0,17540,1086721,00.html>

only present a problem when they are possessed by countries that 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.

To make a safer world, the U.S. government should put an end to its reliance on nuclear weapons. Real progress will be made when the President and Congress put the full resources and political will of the United States behind removing the threat of nuclear weapons.

Nuclear disarmament is a moral imperative and a practical security measure. It is immoral and fallacious reasoning to assert that the world can be safer by increasing the number of nuclear weapons.

—Joe Volk, FCNL Executive Secretary

Policies for a World Free from Nuclear Weapons



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, November 2003

Nuclear weapons, combined with the aggressive security policies of the administration, pose an unequaled danger to humanity and creation. Any hope of building a world free of war and the threat of war depends on new U.S. policies for a world free of nuclear weapons.

In the absence of a profound shift in global politics, the threat of nuclear weapons will remain for at least the next decade. While abolishing nuclear weapons will not happen in the short-term, many policy options could reduce the threats outlined in this report in the long term.

The United States should utilize its position as the strongest military and political power in the world and take unilateral initiatives 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 nuclear 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 United States should continue to work with Russia to reduce the threat posed by Russia's unsecured nuclear weapons and materials through threat reduction programs. The U.S. should take opportunities to work with other nations to safeguard nuclear weapons stockpiles and to persuade 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 peaceful prevention of war. The international nonproliferation regime provides the U.S. with important tools to curb proliferation. The U.S. government should support the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty regime and its implementing organizations, both politically and financially, as the first line of defense against proliferation.

In addition to strengthening the traditional nonproliferation tools, the U.S. should begin to think about additional ways to peacefully 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. Specifically, the U.S. should consider the political factors driving proliferation and then look to eliminate these motives.

Reducing incentives for proliferation would entail active U.S. diplomatic involvement to resolve regional disputes throughout the world. To stem proliferation of nuclear weapons, the U.S. should address the chronic disputes that create the greatest incentives for acquiring such weapons.

Finally, the U.S. should 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 abuse of human rights, the increasing divide between civilizations, and cultural humiliation. Nuclear weapons will do nothing to address the systemic violence that is at the root of global instability and insecurity. Such weapons 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.

Policy Recommendations

Unilateral Steps—Practicing Self Restraint

- 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.
- Cease new nuclear weapons programs.
- Continue the moratorium on nuclear testing.
- Ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.
- Abandon missile shield programs.
- Renew the START I treaty with Russia.³¹

Cooperative Steps

- Increase financial support for the Cooperative Threat Reduction and similar programs.
- Support use of bilateral diplomacy when appropriate.
- Increase financial support for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).
- Abandon the policy of preventive war.
- Negotiate a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty.
- Strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention.
- Support the use of preventive diplomacy.
- Address roots of insecurity and instability.

³¹ The START I Treaty with Russia is set to expire in 2009. It seeks to permanently reduce U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals to 6000 deployed strategic warheads each.



You Can Be an Agent for Change

Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed people can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.

—Margaret Mead

Congress and Nuclear Weapons

As required by the Constitution, Congress is responsible for funding 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 several departments in the executive branch. The Energy Department (DOE) is responsible for the design, development, testing, and production of nuclear weapons. The Defense Department (DoD) is responsible for deployment. Both departments share responsibility for the 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 military 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 by the Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittees in their respective appropriations bill (not the military appropriations bill). However, before funds can be appropriated for a nuclear weapons project, money must be authorized to be spent (appropriated) through the

military authorization bill. If congressional appropriators decide not to fund programs authorized by the military authorization bill, they will not be implemented. After the subcommittees have decided what to include or exclude in their respective versions, the bills are submitted to the House and Senate Appropriations Committees. From there they go to the 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 appropriations bills. After the final conference report has been approved by both chambers, the bill is sent to the president for his signature.

Throughout the process, numerous hearings and debates are held. Votes could be cast up to 12 times in a single year on any one nuclear weapons program. Additionally, almost all nuclear weapons programs are voted on over multiple years. This process gives disarmament advocates repeated opportunities to influence policy. **Fig. 2** (page 22)

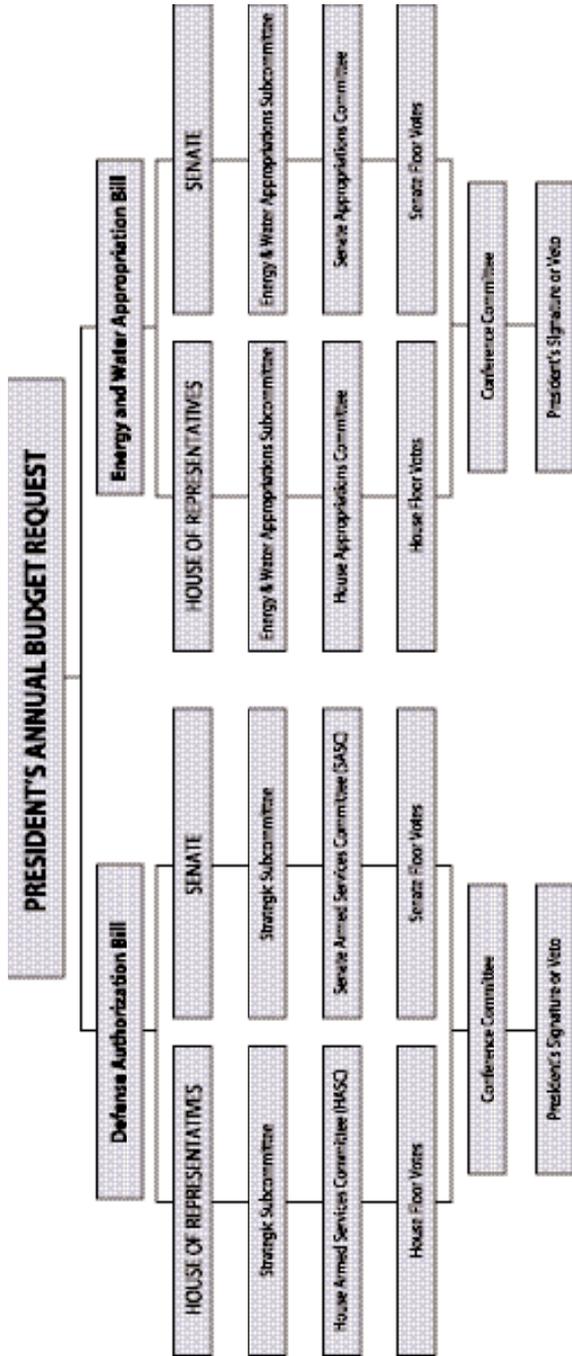
Momentum against re-nuclearization is building

Vote by vote, bill by bill, FCNL and its partners in 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, D.C., 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, 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.

Fig. 2



It is possible for a particular nuclear weapons proposal to pass through the military 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 military authorization bill, appropriators zeroed out the funds to maintain this program. Thus, the program was terminated.

You can help do this by raising issues of 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:

- Contacting your legislators, including lobby visits
- Shaping the agenda of the news media
- Organizing and mobilizing your community
- Voting and being involved in every election

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 disarmament. For a flyer on "Eight Tips for a Successful Lobby Visit," go to www.fcnl.org/pdfs/brochures/lobby_flyer1105.pdf

All members of Congress should hear from their constituents on nuclear weapons issues. Yet, due to the way funding for nuclear weapons is legislated, members who are on one of the committees shown on the chart in Figure 2 should especially hear from you.

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 are about to occur on the defense authorization bill or energy and water appropriations bill. 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 thousands of individuals via the email lists of other organizations. By regularly expressing your concern about over the hazards of re-nuclearization to your member of Congress, you can play a vital role in assisting the arms control community in defeating these destabilizing weapons. Individual communications, rather than mass email or letter campaigns, are the most effective ways to attract the attention of your legislators.

Online help for contacting legislators: To see if your representative or senator is on either the Armed Services Committee or the Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittee visit FCNL's Legislative Action Center. From the homepage www.fcnl.org, click on "Contact Congress" and enter your zip code. Then click on your member's picture and scroll down to see on which committees/subcommittees he or she serves.

GRASSROOTS ACTIVISM HELPED BUST THE NUCLEAR "BUNKER BUSTER!"

Working in concert with allies in the nuclear disarmament community, FCNL—its staff and grassroots supporters—achieved a significant victory in 2005 when Congress eliminated funding for the nuclear "bunker buster." FCNL's Quaker Nuclear Disarmament Program staff combined direct lobbying of key legislators with a series of communications to engage and activate constituents.

One focus of the campaign was the Senate Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittee, the key Senate subcommittee in deciding whether the bunker buster was funded. As part of its outreach, FCNL let the constituents of subcommittee chairman Sen. Pete Domenici (NM) know that their senator could decide the fate of this new nuclear weapon. FCNL's nuclear disarmament lobbyist and other disarmament experts visited New Mexico to speak at several town hall meetings. FCNL staff also met with religious leaders in New Mexico. These meetings resulted in thousands of individually-written letters from New Mexicans to Sen. Domenici. This key member of Congress was made aware that a significant number of voters in his state were deeply concerned about this issue. One FCNL constituent, who developed a relationship with Sen. Domenici's Albuquerque office staff and lobbied against the nuclear bunker buster, learned that the Albuquerque office had forwarded 900 individual letters against the bunker buster to Sen. Domenici's Washington, D.C., office in one day.

In October 2005, Sen. Domenici, who in many ways is still supportive of nuclear weapons, announced that the nuclear "bunker buster" would not be funded. Individually-generated, informed and thoughtful letters from his constituents may have aided his decision.

USING THE MEDIA

The editorial page of your local paper is an excellent forum for educating your community and bringing nuclear weapons to the attention of your legislators. Letters to the editor are effective ways to voice your opinion. When you write, mention your representative and senators by name and start with the specific legislative action you would like them to take. This will help ensure your letter catches the eye of your legislator.

Online help for working with local media: From FCNL's homepage, www.fcnl.org, click on Contact Congress and then click the Media menu 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 informed 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 an information table at a local event, networking with other organizations and individuals, speaking to church groups, etc. You can request a free video, *Last Best Chance*, which details what could happen if we don't act faster to secure unsecured nuclear materials and weapons. The free video can be ordered online from the Nuclear Threat Initiative at: <http://actnow.saferworld.org/video/>. 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

Online information at www.fcnl.org/nuclear. Many types of material ranging from congressional actions, advocate letters and statements, and links to other resources are included on the FCNL web site. The site includes information on topics such as new weapons development, threat reduction, nuclear weapons use policy, de-alerting, and weapons testing.



The FCNL *Nuclear Calendar* is a weekly email. It lists national and international events related to nuclear weapons and proliferation issues, including legislative actions, conferences, and hearings. Its more than 8,500 subscribers include U.S. and foreign government officials, congressional staff, journalists, non-governmental organizations' staff, grassroots activists, scientists, and academics. Subscribe to the email list or consult it directly on the FCNL web site: www.fcnl.org/NuclearCalendar.

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 read it directly on the FCNL web site.

Grassroots Toolkit page on the FCNL website has many tips for letter-writing, community organizing, and working with the media. From the homepage click on Grassroots Toolkit on the left column.

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).

*America cannot credibly preach
nuclear temperance from a barstool.*

—U.S. Rep. Ed Markey (MA)

Conclusion

*So, we need to delegitimize the nuclear weapon,
and by de-legitimizing...meaning trying to develop
a different system of security that does not depend
on nuclear deterrence.³²*

—IAEA Director General Mohammed ElBaradei, November 2, 2003

The U.S. should move its nuclear weapons policies into line with the will of the majority of citizens of this country. Political leaders in the United States have yet to understand what their constituents figured out a long time ago—nuclear weapons make everyone less secure. In a March 2005 Associated Press-Ipsos poll, 66 percent of Americans surveyed believed that no country should possess nuclear weapons.³³ A University of Maryland poll found that 84 percent of Americans supported the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty's requirement for total nuclear disarmament. The Maryland poll also found that the average U.S. citizen believes that the U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile is 200 nuclear weapons.³⁴ (The U.S. has more than 10,000 nuclear weapons). In fact, the nuclear weapons policy of the President and Congress does not reflect the will of the people.

The bipartisan rejection of the nuclear “bunker buster” in 2004 and 2005 by Congress is an encouraging sign that new nuclear weapons have no place in our society. In this new era, however, a vocal segment of the military and government invokes “9-11” to justify the continual development of U.S. nuclear weapons, such as the Reliable Replacement Warhead. Concerned citizens, who succeeded in defeating the nuclear “bunker buster,” may also influence the fate of RRW. The U.S. can never completely remove itself from the shadow of nuclear weapons if it continues to develop new nuclear weapons while at the same time telling other countries not to do so. By raising public awareness of the administration's nuclear weapons policies and asking their members of Congress difficult questions, citizens who understand the reality of nuclear war and are well informed can continue the process of casting new light on U.S. policymakers to dispel the nuclear shadow.

³² Arms Control Today interview, www.armscontrol.org/act/2003_11/ElBaradei_11.asp

³³ <http://www.ap-ipsosresults.com/> (March 30, 2005)

³⁴ http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/WMD/WMDreport_04_15_04.pdf (April 15, 2004)



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 verification and enforcement measures to ensure compliance.

Chemical Weapons Convention—The Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) is an international treaty that bans the production, stockpiling, and use of chemical weapons and requires the elimination of such weapons. 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. 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.

Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR)—Commonly known as the “Nunn-Lugar” program, CTR is a program 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, the program has substantially reduced the threat of weapons of mass destruction 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.

Deployed Nuclear Weapons—Those nuclear weapons which are ready to be used, as opposed to non-deployed weapons, which are in storage.

Fissile Material—Nuclear material capable of starting and sustaining a chain reaction

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 in which 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.

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.

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 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 to 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 co-operation 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 189 parties have joined the Treaty, including the five nuclear-weapons states. More countries have ratified the NPT than any other arms limitation and disarmament agreement, a testament to the Treaty's significance.

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 refers to efforts to prevent the commencement or escalation of conflicts between nations.

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

Strategic Nuclear Weapons—Strategic nuclear weapons are designed to destroy targets over 3,400 miles away. They are not designed for battlefield use. Intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) are examples.

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 thousands of these weapons pose dangers that can be equal to those of strategic nuclear weapons.

Additional Resources

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

Non-Governmental Organizations

American Friends Service Committee
www.afsc.org

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

Friends Committee on National Legislation
www.fcnl.org/nuclear

Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies
www.idds.org

National Resources Defense Council
www.nrdc.org

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation
www.nuclearfiles.org, www.wagingpeace.org

Nuclear Threat Initiative
www.nti.org

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Reaching Critical Will
www.reachingcriticalwill.org

Union of Concerned Scientists
www.ucsusa.org

Publications

Arms Control Today
www.armscontrol.org/act

The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists
www.thebulletin.org

Global Security Newswire
http://www.nti.org/a_home/a1_contactus.html

Nuclear Calendar
www.fcnl.org/NuclearCalendar

32 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 members 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 "Email Lists" at the top of the page.

You Can Add Your Support

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



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

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