

X-Sender: flick@pop.igc.org
Date: Mon, 1 Oct 2001 14:15:46 -0500
To: updates@reachingcriticalwill.org
From: Felicity Hill <flick@igc.org>
Subject: INVITATION TO JOIN LIST
Cc: wilpf-news@igc.org

Dear friends working toward a nuclear weapon free world,

Please respond to this message if you would like to receive weekly reports about the 2001 United Nations General Assembly First Committee on Disarmament and International Security.

Each year the General Assembly First Committee on Disarmament and International Security meets for 4-6 weeks to produce around 50 resolutions on a whole range of disarmament subjects. This year the First Committee begins on October 8 and goes for five weeks, and is chaired by **André Erdős of Hungary**.

Last year, a group of NGOs came together to share the monitoring and reporting responsibilities, trying to open the UN First Committee up to those who were not in New York by:

1. putting all speeches and draft resolutions on the Reaching Critical Will web site on the day released at <http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org>
2. producing a weekly summary report;
3. providing information to individuals emailing or calling us with particular requests about their country's positions and statements.

We also offered to place all NGO materials on tables outside meetings to be taken by delegates. PLEASE DO SEND YOUR PUBLICATIONS TO THE ADDRESS BELOW IF YOU WOULD LIKE GOVERNMENTAL DELEGATES TO RECEIVE THEM (there are 189 members states of the UN, so send 200 copies if you can. While NGOs cannot even enter the UN building at this time, we can make our materials available.

This year WILPF's Reaching Critical Will project (Felicity Hill, Dimity Hawkins) Emily Schroeder), Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy (Jim Wurst) and the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War/Physicians for Social Responsibility (Merav Datan) will be providing this same information service.

We intend to cluster our areas of focus as follows:

1. Missiles, ABM Treaty, Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space (WILPF)
2. Nuclear disarmament resolutions, New Agenda, Nuclear Weapon Free Zones (LCNP)
3. Non-Proliferation Treaty (WILPF)
4. International Court of Justice, Nuclear Weapons Convention (IPPNW/PSR)
5. Small arms, conventional weapons, landmines (LCNP)

6. Biological weapons (IPPNW/PSR)
7. Fourth Special Session on Disarmament (WILPF)
8. Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (IPPNW/PSR)

We intend to put our report out on Friday under these headings.

For more general information about the First Committee to go:

UN web site: <http://www.un.org/ga/56/first/>

Reaching Critical Will: <http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/1com/1comindex.html>

best wishes

Felicity Hill
Coordinator, Reaching Critical Will,
WILPF UN Office

To: Felicity Hill <flick@igc.org>
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Re: INVITATION TO JOIN LIST
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To: <a05100304b7de4a181e2c@[192.168.0.2]>
References:

At 02:15 PM 10/1/01 -0500, you wrote:

> Dear friends working toward a nuclear weapon free world,
> Please respond to this message if you would like to receive weekly reports
>Disarmament and International Security.

Yes, please put me on your list. Thanks for doing this.

Howard Hallman
mupj@igc.org

>

Date: 1 Oct 2001 08:47:47 PDT
From: PeaceWithJustice <justpeace@usa.net>
To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: PEACE WITH JUSTICE website
X-Mailer: USANET web-mailer (34FM.0700.21.01)

"Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org> wrote:

At 06:28 PM 9/29/01 PDT, you wrote:

>www.cal-pac.org/peace

>www.myafghan.com

>

>Dear Howard Hallman,

>

>Our PWJ Missionary, JoAnn, forwarded your Sep.28 Action Alert to our committee

>members, and so we are now in contact with you.

>

>Why did you not advertise the Sep.29 Peace Rally: Act Now to Stop War & End

>Racism at 12noon in DC? Is it because the AFSC or UMC did not support it,

>or no one knew about it? Tomorrow rallies will take place nation-wide.

Dear Carl,

With our limited resources we are concentrating primarily on nuclear disarmament issues. There many other worthy causes and events, but we are unable to get involved with and publicise them.

I'll put you on our action alert list.

Thanks for your interest,
Howard

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice
1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a membership association of laity and clergy. It has no affiliation with any Methodist denomination.

DEAR HOWARD, 10/01/01 www.Peace-Justice.org

WOULD YOU LIKE TO USE MY UNUSED WEBSITE FOR MUPJ COMMUNICATIONS?

www.peace-justice.org
Carl Peetz

May God's peace stay with you.

Get free e-mail and a permanent address at <http://www.amexmail.com/?A=1>

To: PeaceWithJustice <justpeace@usa.net>
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Re: PEACE WITH JUSTICE website
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To: <20011001154747.28876.qmail@cpdvg201.cms.usa.net>
References:

At 08:47 AM 10/1/01 PDT, you wrote:

>
>DEAR HOWARD, 10/01/01 www.Peace-Justice.org
>
>WOULD YOU LIKE TO USE MY UNUSED WEBSITE FOR MUPJ COMMUNICATIONS?
>
>www.peace-justice.org
>Carl Peetz
>
>May God's peace stay with you.

Dear Carl,

I would like to explore your offer. We have talked about creating a website but never have taken steps to do so. There is a lot of information on public policy issues that we could post -- missile defense, nuclear disarmament, other matters -- and also statements of religious organizations on these issues. I'm chair of the Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, so a website could have linkages with other denominations.

So, please tell me more about the website, how we could use it, costs, etc.

Shalom,
Howard

X-Sender: jdi@[63.106.26.66]
X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Version 4.3.1
Date: Tue, 02 Oct 2001 10:26:43 -0400
To: "John Isaacs" <jdi@clw.org>
From: John Isaacs <jdi@clw.org>
Subject: Sen. Robert Byrd on debate about missile defense

October 1, 2001 - Senate floor speech

SENATOR ROBERT BYRD. Mr. President, up until a few days ago, the Senate was moving with lightning-like speed to complete consideration of the Defense authorization bill. Complications arose last week and slowed the bill down, but it appears that the Senate may be poised to shift back into high gear--or something like it--tomorrow and attempt to finish the bill. A cloture motion was filed last week. If cloture is invoked on Tuesday, passage of the bill will be more nearly assured.

Clearly, the Senate has many weighty matters to consider, both in this bill and in other measures waiting in the wings. We should proceed with all due haste to complete our work. The September 11 terrorist attack on the United States reordered our priorities and imposed a new measure of urgency on much of the business that is yet to come before the Senate.

But in the heat of the moment, in the crush of recent events, I fear we may be losing sight of the larger obligations of the Senate. Our responsibility as Senators is to carefully consider and fully debate major policy matters, to air all sides of a given issue, and to act after full deliberation. Yes, we want to respond quickly to urgent needs, but a speedy response should not be used as an excuse to trample full and free debate.

I am concerned that the Defense bill may be a victim of this rush to action, despite the respite offered by last week's delays. For example, the Defense bill, as reported by the Senate Armed Services Committee, contained language conditioning the expenditure of missile defense funds on U.S. compliance with the Antiballistic Missile Treaty, the ABM Treaty. I worry that that language--which was somewhat controversial in committee and which was only narrowly approved--was dropped without a word of debate being uttered on the Senate floor. I understand the reluctance to engage in divisive public debate at a time when we are all seeking unity, but I caution that debate over such an important subject as the ABM Treaty is not to be lightly dismissed. There is no question about the unity. The unity is here. And certainly, insofar as I am concerned, debate over an issue of this kind is not going to be an apple of discord thrown into the mix. We may just happen to disagree on some matters with respect to the ABM Treaty.

So I cannot understand why there needs to be such ``unity" that it would require keeping our voices completely mute on a matter of this kind. It would be no indication of disunity in this country and our need to be unified in dealing with the terrorists or nations that harbor terrorists. As a matter of fact, the mere fact that we would disagree on a matter before the Senate--the ABM Treaty, for example--is no indication of disunity when

it comes to facing the common foe. Not to me, at least.

The Defense authorization bill provides up to \$8.3 billion for missile defense, including activities that may or may not violate the ABM Treaty in the coming months. Many experts believe the ABM Treaty is the cornerstone of international arms control and that to abrogate or withdraw from the treaty can only lead to a new, dangerous, and costly international arms race. Other experts, on the other hand, are of the opinion that the ABM Treaty has outlived its usefulness, that it is a relic of the cold war that makes it impossible for the United States to protect its citizens against a new world order of rogue nations armed with ballistic missiles and transnational terrorists who may very well be armed with chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.

This is a major policy issue. That is what it is--a major policy issue. I am not sure where I stand on the ABM Treaty, but I do know I am not prepared to trade it in on a still-to-be-developed, still-to-be-proven national missile defense program without giving the matter a great deal of thought and consideration.

The language that was dropped from the Defense bill would have provided Congress the opportunity to vote on funding any missile defense expenditure that would violate the ABM Treaty. It was a sensible provision, as I see it. I would have supported it, probably, and I would have been eager to engage in debate over it. Although I might have little to say, I would still like to hear it. I would like to hear others. That opportunity was given away to avoid what? To avoid a debate that some might have called divisive on this bill. So be it. But having postponed that debate on this bill, we have an obligation to find another venue in which to have that debate. And we should have that debate sooner rather than later.

John Isaacs
Council for a Livable World
110 Maryland Avenue, NE - Room 409
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 543-4100 x.131
www.clw.org

Reply-To: <jcbridgman@earthlink.net>
From: "Jim Bridgman" <vze2vbyn@verizon.net>
To: "Jim Bridgman" <jcbridgman@earthlink.net>
Subject: Breakout of Domenici, Reid, Bingaman amenment to boost NNSA Weapons Activities budget
Date: Tue, 2 Oct 2001 11:03:25 -0400
X-MSMail-Priority: High
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook, Build 10.0.2627
Importance: High
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.50.4133.2400

**UPDATE ON DOMENICI AMENDMENT TO ADD \$339 MILLION TO NNSA WEAPONS
ACTIVITIES IN DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION BILL**

What follows is the text of a fax sent to me by Wayne Glass in Sen.
Bingaman's office after talking to him this morning.

In Wayne's words, this is needed so the Senators have nothing to
complain about when the CTBT comes up again for consideration in the
future. He admitted that there is nothing in here for nonproliferation,
though he mentioned the \$400 million in spending on nonproliferation
that Sen. Bingaman had recommended earlier this year. (Some of the
nonproliferation programs did receive extra funding in the Senate Def.
Auth and E&W approps, but others (e.g., immobilization) did not. You can
see a complete breakdown by going to www.ananuclear.org/NNSABudget.pdf).

Wayne said that Sen. Bingaman is recommending some of the supplemental
funding go for immobilization, but that the letter has not been sent
yet. They are waiting on Sen. Daschle's office to review it.

Finally, Wayne said that they would not be pushing the amendment very
hard and that Sens. Domenici and Reid are the main force behind it.
(Interestingly enough, I received a similar note of disinterest from
Sen. Reid's staffer). I have yet to speak directly to Sen. Domenici's
staff. Wayne also noted that the amendment may well be ruled out of
order.

To view our alert (adopted from FCNL's alert) on this amendment, please
go to <http://www.ananuclear.org/domenicialert.html>.

Here's the fax, reprinted exactly as received, except no tabs:

Amendment No. Ex. Calendar No. 163

Purpose: To authorize a total appropriation of \$6,062,891,000 for
weapons activities of the National Nuclear Security Administration.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES-- 107th Cong. 1st Sess.

S.1438 To authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for military
activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and
for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to proscribe

personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. Domenici, Mr. Reid, and Mr. Bingaman

At the appropriate place in Division C, Title XXXI, Subtitle A, Insert a new section as follows:

"Sec. 31___. For weapons activities, an additional \$338,944,000 is authorized to be appropriated to the Department of Energy for fiscal year 2002 for the activities of the National Nuclear Security Administration."

On page 399, line 22, strike "\$1,018,394,000" and replace with "\$1,357,338,000".

Domenici, Reid, Bingaman Nuclear Stockpile Stewardship Program

1. Restores overall funding consistent with the energy and water appropriations bill which was marked up July 13 before recess.
2. In these times of uncertainty, maintaining the core competency of our nuclear deterrent is critical in light of adhering to our comprehensive test ban commitments which prohibit any real testing of nuclear weapons systems.
3. Perform critical research on -
 - a. the existing warheads in our trident, cruise missile and gravity bombs and develop replacement parts which no one commercial industry can fabricate (+\$60m),
 - b. Enables long term diagnostic capabilities on our warheads such as three dimensional x-ray diagnostics (\$25M),
 - c. Studies warhead surety against accidental detonations (\$4.5M),
 - d. Ensures warheads survive a nuclear radiation environment (\$4M),
 - e. Maintains a robust simulation and computing capability by building the infrastructure to house some of the world's most advanced computers (\$17M),
 - f. Protects against the long-term degradation of warheads which must sit for long periods in silos and submarines (\$45M)
4. Maintains the infrastructure and operations of our facilities some of which now date back to the Manhattan Project (\$72M)
5. These are critical priorities which Senators Reid and Domenici carefully examined in developing their appropriations bill which we should support by ensuring our authorization levels fully support them.

~~~~~  
Jim Bridgman  
Program Director  
Alliance for Nuclear Accountability  
1801 18th Street, Suite 9-2  
Washington, DC 20009  
202-833-4668  
202-234-9536 (fax)  
jcbridgman@earthlink.net  
www.ananuclear.org

Human history becomes more and more a race between education and  
catastrophe.  
-- H.G. Wells  
~~~~~

From: WILLNORTH@aol.com
Date: Tue, 2 Oct 2001 11:53:12 EDT
Subject: OCT 23 FORUM UP DATE
To: andrews@saic.com, beverly@erols.com, dosmith6@juno.com, Frankjoall@aol.com,
gene.vincent@starpower.net, HolRonFost@aol.com, jcm@duncanallen.com,
JFNORTH@aol.com, kiki@wizard.net, mupj@igc.org
X-Mailer: AOL 5.0 for Mac sub 28

BUMC Outreach members

Below is the invitation letter that has been sent out and Becky's note to me.
As soon as I get the addressee list I will let you know about follow up
calls.

Haven
October 1, 2001

To: :CMMC Friends
From: Becky Wagner, Executive Director

On Tuesday, October 23 at 7:00 pm, Community Ministry of Montgomery County
will sponsor a forum to discuss strategies for overcoming barriers for
families and individuals living in poverty in Montgomery County. The meeting
will be hosted by the Bethesda United Methodist Church, 8300 Old Georgetown
Rd., Bethesda.

During the evening, we will:

• learn what it means to be poor in Montgomery County,
• hear the best solution ideas from panelists representing the
government, business and faith communities, and
• strategize with each other around two questions:
What can I do? and What can we do?

If there were one easy or perfect solution to ending poverty, we would have
done so. Some might be tempted to throw their hands up and say that the
challenges of poverty are too enormous to solve. But we don't believe that
and so, we will gather to define the challenge and develop some solutions.
Why? In the words of an old hymn, simply because

• We are called to act with justice; We are called to love tenderly;
We are called to serve one another and to walk humbly with our God.

Please share information about this important meeting with members of your
congregation and encourage their participation. If you have questions, call
me at 301-315-1099.

Overcoming Poverty in Montgomery County
Tuesday, October 23, 2001
7:00 - 9:00 pm
Bethesda United Methodist Church
8300 Old Georgetown Road
Bethesda, MD
301-652-2990

Haven- here is the letter. The addresses will follow shortly -- if I am able to get my database phone numbers to co-operate!

I did not list our guests in the invitation because it often brings "crackpots" who have a specific agenda and they then de-rail our goals for the evening. (This would be likely to occur if we list them in the pres conference.)

However, all of our guests have accepted: Charles Short, Director, Dept. of Health & Human Services; Ed Trumbull, Executive Director, Workforce Development; Pastor Donell Peterman, The Joshua Group Ministries.

We should have a good event!

Becky

-

X-Sender: ircalb@swcp.com
X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Version 5.0.2
Date: Tue, 02 Oct 2001 12:02:09 -0600
To: ircalb@swcp.com
From: Interhemispheric Resource Center <ircalb@swcp.com>
Subject: "Justice Not War" website

FOREIGN POLICY IN FOCUS
<http://fpif.org/>

Dear friends,

We invite all of you to submit information pertaining to events, commentaries, or prescriptive policy analysis to our new justice not war website:

<http://www.fpif.org/justice/USstatements/index.html>

Please see information below.

best regards,
Tim McGivern

What's in the News at FPIF
October 2, 2001

Justice Not War Clearinghouse
<http://www.fpif.org/justice/index.html>

WORKING TOWARD A COORDINATED
CITIZEN RESPONSE

FPIF's new Justice Not War webpage at
<http://www.fpif.org/justice/index.html> aims to serve
as a central clearinghouse that offers the following:

- Information about groups and coalitions (inside and outside the U.S.) that oppose unilateral expressions of U.S. militarism in the campaign against terrorism.
- Prescriptive foreign policy analysis about terrorism and counterterrorism.

We solicit statements from organizations, prescriptive policy analysis, and information about related events and actions. Please send to <justice@fpif.org>.

Interhemispheric Resource Center/Institute for Policy Studies

Foreign Policy In Focus Program

Box 4506

Albuquerque, NM 87196

infocus@fpif.org

505-246-1601 (fax)

ircalb@swcp.com

733 15th St. ste. 1020

Washington, DC 20005

202-234-9382, ext 240

ipsps@igc.org

From: David Culp <david@fcn.org>
To: "Abolition USA (E-mail)" <abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com>
Subject: (abolition-usa) Senate effort to add nuclear weapons funds dropped
Date: Tue, 2 Oct 2001 16:22:03 -0400
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)
Sender: owner-abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com
Reply-To: abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com

> To: Interested Persons

>

> Re: Senate effort to add nuclear weapons funds dropped

>

>

> An effort by several Senators to add over \$300 million to the nuclear
> weapons budget was dropped today (Tuesday, October 2).

>

> Senators Pete Domenici (NM), Harry Reid (NV), and Jeff Bingaman (NM) had
> filed an amendment to increase the nuclear weapons budget of the Energy
> Department by \$339 million. They had hoped to offer the measure as a floor
> amendment to the defense authorization bill.

>

> However, opposition by several Senators, especially Armed Services
> Committee chairman Carl Levin (MI), led Sen. Domenici to drop his effort
> on the last day of floor debate.

>

> The Bush administration requested \$5.30 billion for the nuclear weapons
> activities budget at the Energy Department for fiscal year 2002, which
> began October 1. The budget funds the work of the Los Alamos (NM), Sandia
> (NM), and Lawrence Livermore (CA) nuclear weapons labs. It also funds a
> half dozen nuclear weapons production sites scattered across the country
> and the Nevada Test Site. These facilities are used to maintain the U.S.
> nuclear arsenal.

>

> None of these funds are for nonproliferation programs, such as such as the
> "Nunn-Lugar" threat reduction initiative--to safely and securely dismantle
> and dispose of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons in the U.S.,
> Russia, and elsewhere.

>

> Earlier this year, the Senate Armed Services Committee recommended
> spending \$5.45 billion for the nuclear weapons account, higher than the
> Bush administration's request. Sen. Domenici was seeking to boost that by
> \$339 million.

>

> Some Senators have been suggesting that the U.S. should develop new
> nuclear weapons, especially a "mini-nuke." While this amendment did not
> specifically authorize development of a new nuclear weapon, it would have
> been a significant increase for the nuclear weapons budget.

>

> Much of the credit for this victory goes to the national and local
> organizations that organized telephone calls to Senators opposing the
> amendment.

>

>

> David Culp, Legislative Representative
> Friends Committee on National Legislation (Quakers)
> 245 Second Street, N.E.
> Washington, D.C. 20002-5795
> Tel: (202) 547-6000, ext. 146
> Toll free: (800) 630-1330, ext. 146
> Fax: (202) 547-6019
> E-mail: david@fcnl.org
> Web site: www.fcnl.org
>

-

To unsubscribe to abolition-usa, send an email to "majordomo@xmission.com" with "unsubscribe abolition-usa" in the body of the message.

For information on digests or retrieving files and old messages send "help" to the same address. Do not use quotes in your message.

Date: Wed, 3 Oct 2001 09:09:48 -0500
Subject: Your Story Has Been Reviewed
From: storyXchange.com@server1.dataroad.net
Priority: Normal
Subject: Your Story Has Been Reviewed

Howard:

We just wanted to send you a brief message to let you know that a Story Buyer registered under the category of "Producer", has just reviewed the detailed synopsis of your Screenplay entitled Lead, Kindly Light.

The Story Buyer may, or may not, request this material. But, out of respect to the buyers, we do not release their names unless they actually request the material. However, it is nice to know that your material is making it into the hands of qualified Story Buyers.

We wish you success with this story!

Your Friends at storyXchange.

Coalition Response to September 11th – 2nd Draft-October 3rd

Draft Message

Dealing with the Perpetrators

- We are opposed to resolving this crisis through an act of war.
- This attack is an international crime against humanity. The perpetrators of this horrendous act of violence should be brought to justice through the rule of law. Suspects could be tried through an international tribunal established through UN authority, or in a U.S. court combining international and domestic prosecution.
- Authorization of any use of force should be made through the auspices of the United Nations.
- The U.S. must act within the framework of moral and legal restraints. Indiscriminate force will spread the violence and decrease the security of U.S. citizens and citizens of other countries.
- Any use of force must be consistent with international law and with the “just war” tradition governing the use of force—civilians must not be targeted. The U.S. must act with an unconditional respect for the sacredness of life and the dignity of the individual.
- The U.S must act to ensure that this crisis does not lead to the use of nuclear weapons. **(Need added language here?)**
- This crisis must not be used as an excuse to degrade civil liberties. We oppose arbitrary detention and expulsion of immigrants and other threats to civil liberties. We defend the rights of free speech and assembly

Ramifications of Military Action in South-Central Asia

- The build-up to military action is already setting off a humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan--and the region—of immense proportions. He U.S. must act to address the needs of innocent civilians caught up in this conflict.
- The potential for military escalation in South-Central Asia could destabilize Pakistan and embroil India. The two nations are enemies—and nuclear powers.
- The potential for instability in Pakistan is particularly worrisome. As the New York Times (10/2/01) noted in an article on our new ally-Pakistan: **“By drafting this fragile and fractious nation into a central role in the ‘war on terrorism,’ America runs the danger of setting off a cataclysm in a place where civil violence is a likely bet and nuclear weapons exist. Pakistan has long been the speculated locale for one of the world’s worst nightmare scenario, in which Islamic terrorists, in league with rogue elements of the military, seize control of the government with the vengeful sword of jihad with a nuclear tip.”**
- Instability in the region could also impact Russia--a nation faced with deteriorating control of nuclear materials, a profoundly compromised nuclear missile early warning system, and a decaying nuclear command and control system.

Root Causes

- It is responsibility of Congress and the citizens of this democracy to reflect on the ramifications of past government policies to national security, and to raise questions as to whether current policies will decrease the potential for future terrorist threats.
- We must address the root causes of terrorism. Poverty, ignorance and militarism create a climate from which terrorists can spring. The international community should reform those structures and foreign policy practices that breed inequality, violence, and disrespect for indigenous cultures.
- The distrust of U.S. government policies by many citizens of the Middle East should prompt reflection. Why does our foreign policy often support undemocratic regimes in that region? Is there an alternative to basing U.S. troops near Muslim holy sites? How can the U.S. better support those forces in the Middle East that call for education, social justice, women's rights, democracy and civil liberties?

Other National Security Threats-Future Military Policies

- This crisis must not be used as an excuse to pursue excessive military spending, and unnecessary and dangerous military policies like national missile defense and the abrogation of the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty.
- While we fight this new "war—on terrorism, we must make the mistake of ignoring the dangerous legacies of the last war—the Cold War. This crisis must not delay the critical need for action to reduce the nuclear threat. Specifically the administration and Congress should: support de-alerting U.S. nuclear forces and push for reciprocal de-alerting by Russia, and pursue deep cuts in U.S. and Russian arsenals; support additional funding for Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat reduction programs; and maintain the ABM Treaty.

Drafted by Ira Shorr, Back From the Brink, 10/3/01

X-Sender: jdi@[63.106.26.66]
X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Version 4.3.1
Date: Wed, 03 Oct 2001 11:55:58 -0400
To: jdi@clw.org
From: John Isaacs <jdi@clw.org>
Subject: Update on status of DOD Authorization bill

Council for a Livable World
October 3, 2001

Fiscal 2002 Defense Authorization bill:
House-Senate Conference Committee Next Step

On October 2, the Senate completed action on the \$343 billion fiscal 2002 Defense Authorization bill, approving the bill by a 99 - 0 vote.

The House adopted its version of the bill 398-17 on September 25, avoiding controversial floor votes on national missile defense and most other issues. It compromised on a level of \$7.9 billion for national missile defense, a cut of about \$400 million from the Administration's request. Reps. Spratt (D-SC), Skelton (D-MO) and Dicks (D-WA) withdrew their amendment to cut \$918 million from the program.

Because the Senate voted to cut off debate — approved cloture by a 100 - 0 vote — several amendments unrelated to the bill were dropped or no longer in order:

- == An amendment by Sen. Inhofe (R-OK) to add the House-approved energy bill that permitted drilling in the Arctic Wilderness.
- == An amendment by Sen. Helms (R-NC) to bar any cooperation with the International Criminal Court.
- == An amendment by Senator Brownback (R-KS) to eliminate restrictions on assistance to Pakistan, India and Azerbaijan.
- == An amendment by Sen. Domenici (R-NM) to add \$339 million for stockpile stewardship activities.
- == An amendment by Sen. Roberts (R-KS) to establish a select committee on homeland security and terrorism.

Two Domenici amendments related to improvements in the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program managed to fall through the cracks.

Senators Levin (D-MI) and Gramm (R-TX) reached a compromise on permitting private contractors to compete with prison industries for defense contracts.

On October 2, Sen. McCain (R-AZ) submitted to the Congressional Record a list of about \$1 billion in items in the bill that he labeled as pork, a significant reduction from the \$4 - \$5 billion level that McCain had argued the Senate had approved in recent years.

Earlier, the Senate had dropped a provision that would require prior Congressional approval of spending for national missile defense tests that violate the ABM Treaty (the provision was actually placed in a

separate piece of legislation that could be considered later in the year). It also adopted a compromise on the \$1.3 billion that the Senate Armed Services Committee cut from missile defense; the new provision permitted the President to spend the money on combating terrorism or missile defense.

During Senate floor debate on October 1, Senator Levin made it clear that the missile defense debate will continue and suggested that it is now less likely that the Bush Administration will withdraw unilaterally from the ABM Treaty.

“This [missile defense] debate has not gone away. It will not go away. I believe it is very unlikely that the President under these circumstances is going to withdraw unilaterally from this treaty. That is my own judgment. Surely the events of September 11 have made it so clear that collective action against terrorism and collective action for our security is essential and that unilateral action on our part is not going to make us secure, we need a lot of other countries to join with us if we are going to be secure. Acting unilaterally to withdraw from an arms control treaty in this setting seems to me is highly unlikely.”

The House-Senate conference to work out differences between the two bills is expected to begin soon. Some of the major issues to be resolved include:

- = Missile defense: the House approved \$7.9 billion for missile defense; the Senate approved \$7 - \$8.3 billion for missile defense (the President is provided authority to spend \$1.3 billion either for missile defense or to combat terrorism)

- = Nuclear reductions: The Senate removed restrictions on cutting nuclear weapons below START I levels until the START II agreement enters into force; the House only voted to permit MX missile retirement.

- = Base closings: The Senate voted 53 - 47 to approve a new round of base closings. The House did not approve that Pentagon request.

- = Vieques: The House bill called for a cancellation of the Puerto Rican referendum on whether to close the firing range and required the Navy to keep using Vieques until an equivalent or better training site is found. The Senate took no position.

John Isaacs
Council for a Livable World
110 Maryland Avenue, NE - Room 409
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 543-4100 x.131
www.clw.org

From: "Orr, Elaine" <EOrr@NAPAWASH.ORG>
To: Social Equity Panel <SocEqPanel@NAPAWASH.ORG>
Cc: "john.palguta@mspb.gov" <john.palguta@mspb.gov>,
"john.crum@mspb.gov" <john.crum@mspb.gov>,
"Walsh, Charlene"
<CWalsh@NAPAWASH.ORG>,
"Keiner, Suellen T" <SKeiner@NAPAWASH.ORG>
Subject: October 12th meeting
Date: Wed, 3 Oct 2001 12:22:15 -0400
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)

Phil Rutledge has asked me to remind you of the meeting of the Standing Panel for Social Equity in Governance, scheduled for October 12th at the Academy. This continues the schedule of holding meetings on the second Friday of each month, only they will now start at noon, to provide better access for our west coast and Hawaii participants. At noon, there will be a luncheon session for Fellows only.

The program, for all panel members and guests, will run from 1:00 to 2:30 PM. Teleconference available from 1:00 to 2:30 PM. Charlene Walsh will send you the teleconference information. I apologize for not having thought of that before preparing this email.

The October 12th meeting will be a joint meeting with NAPA's Public Service Panel. The 1 p.m. speakers will be John Palguta and John Crum, of the Merit System Protection Board's (MSPB) Office of Policy and Evaluation. John Palguta is the director, and a member of the PSP. John Crum recently did an analysis of many MSPB reports to look at how they addressed a range of equity issues. John Crum recently gave a presentation based on this to a recent Blacks in Government Conference.

Please respond via email to me (eorr@napawash.org) or via phone to Charlene at NAPA to let her know if you plan to attend. We especially need to know if you will be at the Fellows lunch at noon.

Regards,
Elaine Orr
Associate Member

Sam Nunn
Co-Chairman, Nuclear Threat Initiative
Toward a New Security Framework

Woodrow Wilson Center
October 3, 2001

Thank you, Lee, for having me here today. Lee Hamilton is one of the most honorable, capable, effective and respected public officials I have ever known. The Almanac of American Politics once wrote that Lee Hamilton is “one of the few members of Congress who is genuinely respected - and spoken of in *hushed tones* - on all sides.” This proves the point that in Washington, if you have to say something positive and nice about someone, you say it quietly and softly. Lee – all of us who worked with you in the Congress are delighted that you are continuing your outstanding leadership for our nation at the Woodrow Wilson Center.

In the aftermath of September 11, Americans have demonstrated heroism, compassion, generosity, and unity. The response of those at the center of this tragedy has helped restore our national confidence, inspire our pride, and deepen our faith in our values. We have reminded the world that we are a caring and a principled nation, whose citizens trace their ancestry to every area of the earth, yet who live together as one nation, under universal values of freedom, equality, human rights, and respect for life. Our values could not be more fundamentally different from the terrorists. They took their lives to kill people. Our rescuers gave their lives to save people.

Our citizens have rallied behind President Bush to bring justice to the perpetrators of this horrible attack and long-term security to our nation. President Bush has pledged a war on terrorism and it must be fought with all the means in our power – skillful diplomacy, improved intelligence, international financial pressure, and the use of our military might. He has made it clear the enemy is not Islam, but a virulent form of radical terrorism that perverts the Holy Koran, and attacks humanity itself.

The Bush team has made impressive progress in building broad-based international coalitions against terror with different nations playing different roles:

- The United Nations, China, India, and Pakistan have condemned this terror;
- NATO has declared the attacks on America as attacks on the Alliance and each member;
- Russia has offered the use of its airspace and intelligence;
- Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have broken off relations with the Taliban, leaving it the most isolated regime in the world, increasingly at war with its own people;
- Even Iran, who in the past twenty years has agreed with us on very little, has said that the perpetrators of these crimes need to be identified and brought to justice.

This unity at home and abroad will not make our campaign easy or quick, but it does make it achievable over time:

- We must hunt down those responsible for the September 11 attack and prevent future attacks;
- With the help of our friends, we must disrupt and eliminate terrorist organizations and cells around the world;
- We must improve our human intelligence and our ability to sort out and derive meaning and understanding from huge collections of data and information;
- We must provide our FBI with the information systems, communication systems, and the legal authority it needs to combat terrorism and cyber-terrorism here at home;
- We must give the CIA and the FBI the “green light” to deal with “bad folks” as required to penetrate terrorist groups and protect our nation. This is dangerous, high-risk work, and we must not expect 100 percent success or perfection;
- While doing all of this, we must also preserve our basic constitutional protections here at home.

It is essential to mobilize with great urgency when an enemy strikes suddenly and catastrophically. Decisions and actions that would normally occur over 5-to-10 years occur in only a few months. But this accelerated fight against terrorism must be integrated into a broader national security strategy. We must understand what changed on September 11, and what did not change.

What changed September 11 was not our vulnerability to terrorism but our understanding of it. The greatest shock was perhaps not even the sheer loss of life, which was staggering, but the evil, hate and fanaticism behind it. To most Americans, the attack was unthinkable. Now our nation knows better. The terrorists’ capacity for killing is limited only by the power of their weapons. We lost our sense of invulnerability but as the world is learning, we also lost our sense of complacency.

What did not change on September 11 is this: The most significant, clear and present danger we face is the threat posed by nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. The question is not whether we must prepare for terrorism or for attacks with weapons of mass destruction. These two threats are not separate but interrelated and reinforcing, and if joined together, become our worst nightmare.

For half a century, the people of the United States and much of the world have lived under constant threat from nuclear weapons. Many believe that the end of the Cold War ended the threat. It has not. The danger of a conventional war with the Soviet Union escalating into a nuclear holocaust has almost disappeared, but other threats have, in many ways, multiplied and grown more complex and dangerous. The specter of terrorists acquiring weapons of mass destruction is a clear case of this.

During the Cold War, our goal was to deter a Soviet Warsaw Pact invasion of Europe and a nuclear strike from the Soviet Union. We pursued this by building and

deploying tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Deterrence was designed to work against nations, not non-state actors who may have nothing to protect and nothing to lose. Today, the most likely threat is not nuclear missiles launched from a nation-state, but biological weapons in an aerosol can, chemical weapons in a subway or ventilation system, or nuclear or radiological weapons in the belly of a ship or the back of a truck, delivered by a group with no return address.

As these new risks have grown over the past decade, our policies have not kept pace, and this has opened an increasingly dangerous gap between the threats and our response. This gap must be closed.

The President has called for “a new framework for security and stability.” The recent terrorist strikes, the urgency of the threats, the concern in Congress and world capitals, and the eagerness of President Bush to engage the issue, give us a chance to make changes that can advance the security of America and the world.

The emerging threats

Ten years ago, a communist empire broke apart, leaving as its legacy 30,000 nuclear warheads and enough highly enriched uranium and plutonium to make 60,000 more; 40,000 metric tons of chemical weapons; missile-ready smallpox, and tens of thousands of scientists who know how to make weapons and missiles, but don’t know how to feed their families.

Russia’s dysfunctional economy and eroded security systems have undercut controls on these weapons, materials, and know-how – and increased the risk that they could flow to terrorist groups or hostile forces. Russia’s early warning system has also seriously eroded, and some have suggested that their command and control, which for years helped prevent a calamitous mistake, is no longer assuredly reliable.

As these new threats have multiplied, both the U.S. and Russia have continued to invest large resources in nuclear strategies left over from the Cold War days: the maintenance of strategic forces with thousands of nuclear warheads ready for immediate launch. In today’s multi-polar world with its multiplicity of new threats, it no longer makes sense for either nation to stake its security so disproportionately on its ability to promptly launch a nuclear attack with thousands of warheads. These nuclear postures don’t fit the facts, threats and demands of the day. They are not relevant in stopping proliferation, they compress decision time for each President to a matter of a very few minutes, they make an accident or misjudgment more likely, particularly with Russia’s diminished weapons survivability and decreased warning, and they multiply the consequences of a mistake by either Russia or the United States.

The threats we faced during the Cold War -- a Soviet nuclear strike or an invasion of Europe -- were threats made more dangerous by Soviet strength. The new threats we face today – false warnings, accidental launches, the risk of weapons, materials, and know-how falling into the wrong hands – are threats made more dangerous by Russia’s

weakness. We addressed the Cold War's threats by confrontation with Moscow. There can be no realistic comprehensive plan to defend America against weapons of mass destruction that does not depend on cooperation with Moscow.

The elements of a new security framework

Reshaping Nuclear Forces

In his May 1 speech at the National Defense University, President Bush made a public commitment to “change the size, the composition and the character of our nuclear forces in a way that reflects the reality that the Cold War is over.” He has also pledged to achieve a “credible deterrent with the lowest possible number of nuclear weapons consistent with our national security needs, including our obligations to our allies.”

There should be broad common ground support for the President's pledge. There is a growing realization that our current nuclear force posture was designed for a world that no longer exists; that stability is weakened because symmetry on the Russian side is in doubt; that we need to re-define deterrence; and, that we can achieve it with far fewer weapons. There is also growing understanding that Russia's weakened economic condition and degraded warning systems, coupled with our large nuclear rapid strike potential, are moving Russia to a force posture that is more reliant on “launch-on-warning” and more prone to accidents and miscalculations.

President Bush has also said: “Today, for two nations at peace, keeping so many weapons on high alert may create unacceptable risks of accidental or unauthorized launch.” Here, too, there is growing agreement. During the Cold War, quick launch status carried important deterrent value. But it also came with a high risk that it could force a quick – and catastrophic – decision. Today, for “two nations at peace,” the risk we are both running is greater than the risk we are reducing. We must expand decision time in both the United States and Russia to reduce toward zero the chance of a catastrophic mistake made from too little information and too little time.

Changing the force posture will require bold and determined Presidential leadership. It will also require new thinking about how to speed the pace of nuclear force structure change by both the U.S. and Russia without losing the transparency, verifiability and stability that are the benefits of traditional arms control. Yet, the large value of these aims should provoke a common purpose – and a basis for reaching consensus.

Preventing the Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction

There is also common ground agreement on the danger of proliferation. Osama bin Laden has said acquiring weapons of mass destruction is “a religious duty.” That ought to alarm us, because the events of September 11 give us little hope that if these terrorists had them, they would hesitate to use them. And so we find ourselves, at the

dawn of the new century, in a new arms race: Terrorists are racing to get weapons of mass destruction; we ought to be racing to stop them.

We have taken important steps, but we need giant strides. Over the last ten years, we worked with Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus to recover and destroy 423 ballistic missiles, 383 ballistic missile launchers, 85 bombers, 483 long-range air-launched cruise missiles, 352 submarine missile launchers, 209 submarine launched ballistic missiles, and 19 strategic missile submarines. In addition, 194 nuclear test tunnels have been sealed, and more than 5,500 warheads on strategic systems aimed at the United States have now been deactivated. Most Americans don't know this. The United States and Russia cooperated in preventing the birth of three new nuclear powers, one of the great accomplishments of the Clinton Administration.

To reduce threats to our own security, we have helped the Russians secure their nuclear weapons and materials to prevent theft and accidents; helped them convert nuclear weapons facilities to civilian purposes; and helped them employ hundreds of their weapons scientists in peaceful pursuits. We also passed legislation in 1996 that created the framework for homeland defense. It has helped 120 U.S. cities prepare for the possibility of biological and chemical attacks and authorized the Defense and Energy Departments to carry out research and development on means to detect weapons of mass destruction. Funds were also authorized to purchase equipment capable of detecting and interdicting weapons of mass destruction and to assist border guards in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in blocking the unauthorized transfer of weapons of mass destruction.

These were not the accomplishments of one political party. The original Nunn-Lugar legislation was authored by a Republican and a Democrat; passed with Republican support by a Democratic Congress and signed by a Republican President. Later, the same legislation was passed with Democratic support by a Republican Congress and signed by a Democratic President. In 1996, Nunn-Lugar-Domenici had similar support. We need to build on this record of bipartisanship to take the added steps compelled by the present dangers we face.

We need a broader world consensus, and we need it soon. We need China's active cooperation in halting the flow of missile and weapons technology. Europe, also, must take on its fair share of the burden of fighting proliferation and helping get nuclear, chemical and biological materials under safe and secure control.

We must increase our resources and shorten the timetable to reduce these risks. Early this year, a distinguished bipartisan task force headed by Former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker and former White House Counsel Lloyd Cutler published a major report on the need to secure Russian weapons, materials, and know-how. The panel declared it "the most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States," and called for a four-fold funding increase for these threat reduction efforts. We have not yet heeded their warnings or taken their advice.

Missile Defense

The final element of the new security framework, and one whose debate has been set aside since the terrorist attacks, but not because it has been resolved, is missile defense. The proliferation of missile technology, as well as the proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, poses the danger that a rogue state could develop the capability to launch a nuclear missile at a U.S. city. From my perspective, this threat is not an immediate danger, but it cannot be dismissed because it is more distant or because it would – for the attacking nation – amount to national suicide. I believe, however, that protecting our deployed military forces is a much more urgent threat, and mobile theater defense should be our priority focus.

Over the longer run, to the extent that we can develop the means to shield ourselves from attack through a limited missile defense, we should do so – so long as it does not leave us more vulnerable to threats that are more likely, more immediate, and more potentially devastating. We must understand that threat reduction, diplomacy, cooperation, military power and intelligence are our first line of defense against the spread of weapons of mass destruction and against terrorism. National missile defense is our last line of defense if all else fails. We have to guard against over-investing in our last line of defense and under-investing in all the others. The cost incurred should be proportionate to the threat deterred.

Whether missile defense will cost more than it's worth, or create more problems than it solves, will depend in part on advances in technology and how skillfully we conduct the important diplomacy that a missile defense deployment decision demands. The purpose of the ABM Treaty was to preserve strategic stability by ensuring that neither side would deploy defenses that coupled with prompt hard target kill offensive weapons creates the incentive to strike first – destroying most of your opponent's offensive weapons and leaving you with the ability to defend against those that are left.

This type of posture could lead to a hair trigger on both sides in any confrontation and increases the incentive to build more offensive weapons. Theater defenses are permitted under the ABM Treaty, and there is nothing about limited national defense against an emerging rogue state ballistic missile threat that is inherently incompatible with the Treaty's purpose. I believe it should be possible to reach an understanding with Russia that allows for the development of missile defense technologies and subsequent deployment and – at the same time – gives both sides assurances that the goals of strategic stability, which were the original purpose of the ABM Treaty, are being preserved.

I believe that we should work to find successor arrangements to the ABM Treaty before going forward with any treaty-ending testing or deployments.

If we are to develop any lasting consensus on this subject, missile defense must be debated as a technology, not a theology – as *part* of a security framework, not the whole

of it. Our goal should not be to deploy a particular defense, but to reduce an overall threat. If we remember this, we have a chance to find common ground on this most contentious of all issues in the new security framework.

An Integrated Approach

The fight against terrorism, nuclear force posture, nonproliferation, and missile defense each address separate elements of the response to the threat of weapons of mass destruction. But they should not and must not be formulated into separate policy. The character of one has a strong influence on the effectiveness of the others. That's why they must be considered not separately, but jointly, and woven into a comprehensive defense against weapons of mass destruction – in any form, from any source, on any vehicle, whether triggered by intent or accident by a rogue state or a terrorist group.

When Candidate Bush said at the Citadel: “We need new concepts of deterrence that rely on both offensive and defensive forces,” he was calling attention to the link between offensive force posture and missile defense. President Bush has tried to make the prospect of missile defenses more palatable to the Russians by discussing it simultaneously with deep reductions in our offensive nuclear forces. This is wise; our offensive posture has an immense impact on the way Russia views our defensive plan.

But to be effective and comprehensive, the new security framework must also integrate the missing link – the link between changes in our offensive and defense systems and the essential cooperation required from Russia and others to prevent the spread of weapons, missiles and materials, and strengthen the global coalition against terrorism.

As Senator Lugar has said: “Funding for limited missile defenses [should] be embedded in a revised and more all-encompassing non-proliferation strategy ... to prevent countries from acquiring weapons of mass destructionin the first place.”

The United States cannot secure dangerous materials, limit the spread of weapons of mass destruction know-how, gather accurate and timely intelligence, eliminate terrorist cells, or apply pressure to rogue regimes without the active cooperation of allies and former adversaries, including Russia and China. Any security initiative that undercuts this essential cooperation could leave us less secure, not more.

In sorting out our priorities, we must elevate facts above fear and analysis above emotion, and be sure that we are making the most of our resources. This must start with an objective, comprehensive intelligence estimate that assesses every major risk, ranks every major threat, and helps us devise a broad strategy that confronts the full range of significant dangers in a way that defends against one without making us more vulnerable to another. This approach would give the most weight and the most resources to threats that are the most immediate, the most likely, with the greatest consequences. In the absence of an infinite budget, relative risk analysis must be the beginning point in

shaping our strategy and allocating our resources – to defend our citizens at home and abroad.

This is a time of tragedy but an immense opportunity, where everything is up for discussion, and great change is possible. The attacks of September 11 have mobilized the world as never before to confront terrorism. We understand the threats. We must expand this cooperation to include a greatly accelerated program of reducing risk from weapons of mass destruction.

President Bush and President Putin will be meeting soon in Texas. They will no doubt be discussing how our two nations – both victims of terrorist attacks – can cooperate to improve global security. Let me close with a few suggestions for Presidential consideration:

- 1) Both President Bush and President Putin could use the occasion of their coming meeting to commit each nation to a course of action that would ensure that our nuclear weapons and nuclear, chemical and biological weapons materials are safe, secure, and accounted for – with reciprocal monitoring sufficient to assure each other that this is the case. Such was the vision of the recent bipartisan panel report, chaired by former Senate Majority leader Howard Baker and former White House Counsel Lloyd Cutler. This will take more time, money and effort than we have so far been willing to invest, but it is central to our security, and it forces us to address the fundamental question: If our objective is to ensure that nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons and materials don't fall into the hands of rogue nations and terrorists, is this a priority or an afterthought? If it's an afterthought -- after what? What comes before it? If it is a priority, is that reflected in our effort and investment? Are our friends in Asia and Europe doing their share? If not, why not?
- 2) The events of September 11 gave President Bush very little time to make a very difficult decision -- whether to give orders to shoot down a commercial jetliner, filled with passengers. Our current nuclear posture in the U.S. and Russia could provide even less time for each President to decide on a nuclear launch that could destroy our nations.

I suggest that the two Presidents issue an order directing their military leaders, in joint consultation and collaboration, to devise operational changes in the nuclear forces of both nations that would reduce toward zero the risk of accidental launch or miscalculation and provide increased launch decision time for each President. Such an order should emphasize that it is the intention of the U.S. and Russia to “stand down” their nuclear forces to the maximum extent practical consistent with the security interests of each country. They could start immediately with those weapons systems that are to be eliminated under the START II Treaty.

- 3) The two Presidents should also give their blessing and support to a collaboration between the U.S. and Russian Academies of Sciences to address ways to reduce the threat from international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and then to expand that collaboration to include scientists in other nations. This initiative may well give momentum to forward-thinking representatives of the pharmaceutical and biotechnology industries, who are willing to think of ways to reduce vulnerabilities to the theft of dangerous pathogens.
- 4) Finally, when Russia was developing biological weapons, they were also developing vaccines and other pharmaceuticals. When they were devising dissemination mechanisms, they were also working on detectors and protective devices. At this moment in time, the United States and Russia could combine our biodefense knowledge and scientific expertise and apply these considerable joint resources to defensive and peaceful biological purposes. The two Presidents could promote a bilateral effort to cooperate on our research agendas and build upon what both countries know. This is a research endeavor that could motivate others to join.

If the United States and Russia begin working together as partners in fighting terror and the weapons of mass destruction threat, and encourage others to join, the world will be a different place for our children and grandchildren. We face major challenges, but an historic opportunity. We must seize it now.

Time and circumstance have given us a chance to shape new relationships and to build a new security framework, so that the pain of today will not be known by the children of tomorrow.

From: "Kathy Crandall" <kcrandall@disarmament.org>
To: "Andrew Howells (E-mail)" <aca@armscontrol.org>,
"Anne Curtis (E-mail)" <acurtis@networklobby.org>,
"Adam Eidinger (E-mail)" <adam@mintwood.com>,
"Anne Gallivan (E-mail)" <agallivan@psr.org>,
"Alistair Miller (E-mail)" <amillar@fourthfreedom.org>,
"Alison Prevost (E-mail)" <aprevost@networklobby.org>,
"Arjun Makhijani (E-mail)" <arjun@ieer.org>,
"Ana Toledo (E-mail)" <atoledo@umc-gbcs.org>,
"Bob Musil (E-mail)" <bmusil@psr.org>,
"Christine Kucia (E-mail)" <ckucia@basicint.org>,
"Chris Lindborg (E-mail)" <clindborg@basicint.org>,
"Carl Nyberg (E-mail)" <cnyberg@cunr.org>,
"David Culp (E-mail)" <david@fcnl.org>,
"Darrul Fagin (E-mail)" <dfagin@adaction.com>,
"Daryl Kimball (E-mail)" <dkimball@armscontrol.org>,
"Don Kraus (E-mail)" <dkraus@cunr.org>,
"Ellen Barfield (E-mail)" <ellene4pj@yahoo.com>,
"Erik Olsen (E-mail)" <erik@2020vision.org>,
"Gordon Clark (E-mail)" <gordonclark@earthlink.net>,
"Justin Gilstrap (E-mail)" <hradcany1@yahoo.com>,
"Ira Shorr (E-mail)" <irashorr@hotmail.com>,
"James Matlack (E-mail)" <jmatlack@erols.com>,
"Joe Volk (E-mail)" <joe@fcnl.org>,
"Jessica Scanlan (E-mail)" <jscanlan@psr.org>,
"Jaya Tiwari (E-mail)" <jtiwari@psr.org>,
"Jim Wyerman (E-mail)" <jwyerman@2020vision.org>,
"Kathy Guthrie (E-mail)" <kathy@fcnl.org>,
"Tim Barner (E-mail)" <kathytim@earthlink.net>,
"Kendra Park (E-mail)" <kpark@wfa.org>,
"Kimberly Roberts (E-mail)" <kroberts@psr.org>,
"Laura Kriv (E-mail)" <lkriv@techrocks.org>,
"Lora Lumpe (E-mail)" <lora@prlo.net>,
"Martin Butcher (E-mail)" <mbutcher@psr.org>,
"Miriam Pemberton (E-mail)" <miriam@ips-dc.org>,
"Michael Levi (E-mail)" <mlevi@fas.org>,
"Masako Toki (E-mail)" <mtoki@ucsusa.org>,
"Howard Hallman (E-mail)" <mupj@igc.org>,
"Mike Zmolek (E-mail)" <paka@boo.net>,
"Esther Pank (E-mail)" <prgrm@backfromthebrink.net>,
"Alyssa Gendron (E-mail)" <psrintern6@psr.org>,
"Sandy Butcher (E-mail)" <sibutcher@cs.com>,
"Stephen Young (E-mail)" <syoun@ucs.org>,
"Tracy Moavero (E-mail)" <tmoavero@peace-action.org>,
"Trisha Christopher (E-mail)" <trishachr@earthlink.net>,
"Maria Ramos (E-mail)" <wpc@igc.org>

Cc: "Erik Leaver" <erik@fpif.org>

Subject: Notes/ Statements from the Legislative Working Group of the Sept. 11 Response Coalition

Date: Wed, 3 Oct 2001 14:04:45 -0400

X-MSMail-Priority: Normal

X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook IMO, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2910.0)

X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2615.200

Importance: Normal

Hi all - apologies for getting this to you so late. Here are notes from the Legislative Task Force meeting that we had yesterday, copies of this will be available at the meeting. Hope to see you all soon.

Kathy

Sept. 11 Response Coalition

Legislative/Policy Task Force Notes

Meeting Oct. 2 10 am PSR

In attendance:

Carlean Ponder WAND

Erik Lever IPS/ Foreign Policy In Focus

Ira Shorr Back from theBrink

Jaya Tiwari PSR

Jessica Scanlon – PSR/Scoville Fellow

Ellen Barfield –WILPF /VFP etc.

Kathy Crandall – NDP (notes)

Discussion of Needs and Things Under Development Already

Erik spoke about the work that IPS in coalition with others did in responding to Kosovo –hosting weekly briefings with the Progressive Caucus. Still waiting now to hear back from Kucinich (D-OH) on doing briefings

Carlean – Given WAND’s experience with a National Conference and feedback from Members of Congress, we need to help shape the grassroots message going into Members of Congress. One clear statement from this Coalition will be difficult.

Ira – How will our message be affected by bombing

Jessica - Informed us of actions that the Arms Transfer Working Group had taken with a hill drop on release of arms transfer restrictions/ sanctions etc.

Jaya – We should think about different themes/ and issues for briefings

Kathy – Like the idea of doing a series of briefings – but not all with the Progressive Caucus. Other groups such as the Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers or the working groups of Monday Lobby – could be asked to take the lead in developing briefings with appropriate Members.

Erik – With the Kosovo briefings we developed a list of FAQ's – issue areas/ common concerns were identified but not one statement. (See a DRAF FAQ list attached)

ACTIONS TAKEN

Erik will draft an initial list of possible briefings and FAQs –

Jaya and Erik have been working on editing those so we can have drafts available for the meeting on Weds.

A first possible briefing would focus on general issues of the Security and Humanitarian Crisis in the region. We should all think about possible experts in the area of humanitarian aid to Afghanistan, and understanding the political/ history of Pakistan/ Afghanistan and the region .We want to think of some prominent people that would be a draw for staff and Members, as well as potentially media. Erik will be following up with Kucinich's office. Jaya will speak to Ackerman (D-NY –Ranking on the International Relations South Asia/ Middle East subcommittee.)

DRAFT OUTLINE OF FAQ's

Terrorism Response
Legislative Sub-group

Outline for the FAQ

What is the scope of the current humanitarian crisis and what are the security implications?

What impact will U.S. military action have in aggravating regional and global instability?

What are the existing nuclear, chemical, biological and terrorist threats and what are the best actions the US can take to curb these threats?

What are possible scenarios of US action? Are they within the framework of international law?

Who are the actors in US intelligence gathering? What changes can be taken to improve current policy?

How are terrorists financed and what actions can the US take to stop the flow of money to terrorists?

What are the implications for the military budget and military policy?

Who are the main actors in the coalition the US is building? Will there be an increase in US military assistance and training programs with coalition members? Will greater amounts of foreign aid be administered to these members?

DRAFT OUTLINE FOR PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFINGS

Terrorism Response Legislative Sub-group

Outline for a Congressional Education/Policy Briefing Series

Concept: A weekly or bi-weekly briefing series to be sponsored by either individual members, chair/ranking member of a committee or subcommittee interested in a particular topic, or under the umbrella of the Progressive Caucus. The general theme would be to analyze the administrations' actions against terrorism and to see if these actions make both the U.S. and the world safer.

Draft Series Title: Combating Terrorism: Finding the Roots of Real Security

Weekly Series Topics:

Security Issues and the Humanitarian Crisis

Possible Speakers: Someone from the World Food Program

Rachel Reilly (Human Rights Watch)

T. Kumar (Amnesty Intl.)

[Stephen P. Cohen, Director, South Asia Project, Brookings Institute](#)

[George Perkovich, WAJ Foundation](#)

Understanding the House of Cards. Policy Options in the mid-East and South Asia

Possible Speakers: Michael Klare (Hampshire College)

PSR

A New Cold War? Directions for the Military Budget

Possible Speakers: Cindy Williams (MIT)

Chris Hellman (CDI)

Carl Conetta (PDA)

WAND

Exporting Security? U.S. Military Assistance and Training Programs

Possible Speakers: Erik Floden (CLWEF)

Tamar Gabelnick (FAS)

Lora Lumpe

Chemical, Biological and Nuclear Terrorist Threats

Possible Speakers: Barbara Hatch Rosenberg (FAS WG on Bio weaps)

[Dr. Robert Gould, \(PSR on chem./bio threats\)](#)

[Paul Leventhal \(NCI on nuclear terrorism\)](#)

Dr. Jonathan B. Tucker, Director, CBW Project Center for
Nonproliferation Studies

International Law

Possible Speakers: Michael Ratner (Center for Constitutional Law)

[Merav Datan \(PSR\)](#)

Intelligence

Possible Speakers: Steven Aftergood (FAS)

Mel Goodman (Natl. War College)

Financing Terrorism

Possible Speakers: Randall Dodd (Derivatives Study Center)

Christian Weller (EPI)

[Additional Topic Idea:](#)

Views on Homeland Defense

Possible Speakers: Someone from CDI

Michael O'Hanlon, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institute

Kathy Crandall

Director

The Nuclear Disarmament Partnership

kcrandall@disarmament.org

www.disarmament.org

Located at the Offices of Physicians for Social Responsibility:

1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1012

Washington, DC 20009

202-667-4260 (ext. 240)

202-667-4201 (fax)

The Nuclear Disarmament Partnership is a joint effort of: Peace Action, Physicians for Social Responsibility, 20/20 Vision and Women's Action for New Directions

X-Originating-IP: [128.220.183.85]
From: "Victoria Samson" <vsamson@hotmail.com>
To: mupj@igc.org
Subject: request
Date: Wed, 03 Oct 2001 17:58:40
X-OriginalArrivalTime: 03 Oct 2001 17:58:40.0309 (UTC) FILETIME=[08866E50:01C14C35]

Hi Howard,

Just wanted to let you know I'm no longer with the Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers. I'm hoping to stay in the field of arms control / security issues, so if you hear of any positions, could you let me know? Thanks.

I can be reached by email (vsamson@hotmail.com) or by phone (202.667.5239).

Hope all's well with you...

Victoria

Get your FREE download of MSN Explorer at <http://explorer.msn.com/intl.asp>

To: eorr@napawash.org
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Dallas program
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Elaine,

On second thought I would like to be identified on the Dallas program as:

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice

That's my civic ID. It ties in with the theme of the meeting.

Howard

To: paxmlb@juno.com
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Contacting Congressman Thornberry
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Dear Mary Lynn Bell,

In the aftermath of the tragic terrorist attack, increased attention is being given to the danger that terrorists groups might gain possession of weapons of mass destruction: nuclear, biological, and chemical. Particularly worrisome is the huge inventory of these weapons in Russia.

For the past ten years the United States has provided financial support to Russia to dismantle nuclear warheads, to increase the security of nuclear weapon material, and to find alternative employment for nuclear scientists so that they will not defect to alien nations. There is need now to substantial increase funds for this effort.

Your congressman, Mac Thornberry, is an influential member of the House Armed Services Committee. It would be highly desirable for you and others in his district to get in touch him. Let him know your concern about terrorists gaining access to nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. Ask him to work for increased funding for cooperative international efforts to safeguard these weapons and their component materials. If you want, you can also say that because there is more immediate danger of terrorists attack by suitcase nuclear bombs and smuggled in biological and chemical weapons than attack by long-range missile, it would make sense to transfer funds from missile defense to programs that prevent terrorists from gaining access weapons of mass destruction.

Congressman Thornberry's address is 131 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, DC 20515. His phone number is 202 225-3706. Or you can call his office in the home district and ask them to forward your message to the congressman.

If you hear from you, I would be interested in knowing what he says.

Shalom,
Howard Hallman

To: dakers@ptsi.net
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Contacting Congressman Thornberry
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Dear Doris,

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Howard Hallman

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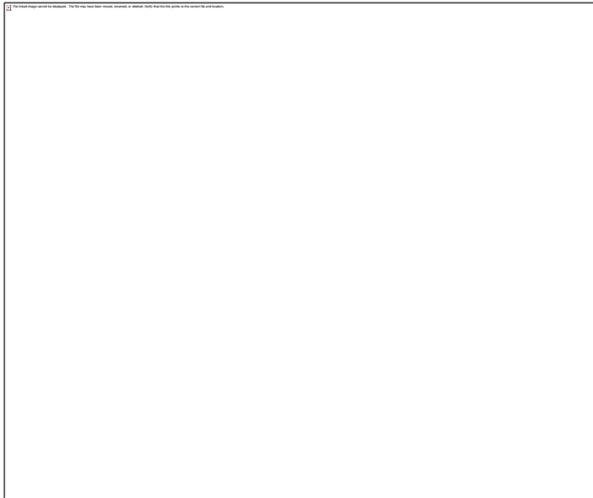
Shalom,
Howard Hallman

To: mupj@igc.org
Date: Wed, 3 Oct 2001 15:09:29 -0500
Subject: Re: Contacting Congressman Thornberry
X-Mailer: Juno 4.0.11
From: paxmlb@juno.com

HOward, I've written MAc a letter....the last of many...he seems to have a deaf ear; but we keep trying. Peace, MaryLYnn

X-eGroups-Return: sentto-1606632-25-1002223489-mupj=igc.apc.org@returns.onelist.com
X-eGroups-Return: research@napf.org
X-eGroups-Approved-By: admin@abolition2000.org via web; 04 Oct 2001 19:26:53 -0000
X-Sender: research@napf.org
X-Apparently-To: sunflower-napf@yahoogroups.com
X-Sender: research@napf.org@mail.wagingpeace.org
To: sunflower-napf@yahoogroups.com
From: Carah Lynn Ong <research@napf.org>
Mailing-List: list sunflower-napf@yahoogroups.com; contact sunflower-napf-owner@yahoogroups.com
Delivered-To: mailing list sunflower-napf@yahoogroups.com
List-Unsubscribe: <mailto:sunflower-napf-unsubscribe@yahoogroups.com>
Date: Thu, 4 Oct 2001 12:12:10 -0600
Subject: [sunflower] The Sunflower No. 53

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The Sunflower

Online monthly newsletter of the
Nuclear Age Peace Foundation
October 2001 (No. 53)

The Sunflower is a monthly e-newsletter providing educational information on nuclear weapons abolition and other issues relating to global security. Back issues are available at <http://www.wagingpeace.org/sf/backissues.html>

IN THIS ISSUE

PERSPECTIVE

LONE VOICE FOR PEACE

BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE
NUCLEAR TERRORISM
NUCLEAR MATTERS
NUCLEAR WASTE
NUCLEAR COLONIALISM
NUCLEAR INSANITY
ARMS EXPORTS
NAPF HAPPENINGS
BOOK REVIEW
RESOURCES

PERSPECTIVE

Hope Will Shape Our Future
By David Krieger

Terrorist acts are the acts of people who have given up hope that they can be heard or achieve their goals by more reasonable forms of discourse and action. Terrorist acts are not acts of first recourse. They are acts of desperation, sending messages in blood and death. They are acts of individuals whose only hope lies in the worst forms of cruelty without regard for the welfare of their innocent victims.

There is no doubt that terrorists are criminals and should be punished for their crimes, including those against humanity. International terrorism is a problem of the global community and should be punished by international tribunals established for this purpose. The international community, through the United Nations, should also be mobilized to join hands in the fight to prevent all forms of terrorism.

We need to clearly grasp the fact that the consequences of acts of terrorism in a nuclear-armed world could grow much worse than what we have yet seen. Nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists could mean the destruction of cities rather than buildings.

The vulnerability of our high-tech societies to terrorism places civilization itself at risk. The stakes are very high. We must put an end to terrorism. To do this, we must be able to offer some hope to terrorists and would-be terrorists that their lives can be made better through political discourse and action.

Thus, no one on our planet can be excluded from the hope of living a decent life, from living with dignity and justice. Each person excluded from this hope is a potential terrorist, a potential recruit as a saboteur of our vulnerable civilization.

Military power alone cannot solve our problem and make the world safe from terrorism. In fact, military power - because it is a blunt instrument likely to cause more innocent deaths - is likely to reinforce the hopelessness of those attacked and create a greater pool from which to recruit

terrorists.

Hopeless enemies will find ways to attack us where we are most vulnerable, and we are vulnerable nearly everywhere: our cities, our water, our air, our energy, our transportation, our communications, our financial institutions, and our liberties. Therefore, our policies must build hope by waging peace against poverty and oppression and by encouraging an open forum through the United Nations for listening to grievances and responding to them with justice.

The future of our planet will be shaped by hope, and hope itself will be shaped by the policies and leadership of the United States. We must choose hope and foster it, not only for ourselves, but for every citizen of our planet. We must give hope, to even those who hate us and, in doing so, turn potential enemies into allies in the struggle for a better world.

To read the full article "Hope Will Shape Our Future," please visit:
<http://www.wagingpeace.org/articles/01.10/011001kriegerhope.htm>

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation has devoted a section of its website to the 11 September events. The section offers alternative responses to the use of military force; background information on US policies in the Middle East, the Taliban and Osama bin Laden; perspectives on the events from staff and advisors; and ideas for citizen action to wage peace instead of war. Please visit our site at: <http://www.wagingpeace.org/terrorism/index.htm>

LONE VOICE FOR PEACE

Representative Barbara Lee Speaks for Reason and Restraint

With a vote of 420 to 1, Representative Barbara Lee (D-California) was the only Member of Congress to vote against H.J. Resolution 64. The resolution declared a state of war "between the US and any entity determined by the President to have planned, carried out, or otherwise supported the attacks against the US on September 11, 2001," The resolution also authorized the President to use "US Armed Forces and all other necessary resources of the US Government against any such entity in order to bring conflict to a successful termination." On 14 September, Representative Lee, addressed the House of Representatives. In her speech, Lee stated:

"September 11 changed the world. Our deepest fears now haunt us. Yet I am convinced that military action will not prevent further acts of international terrorism against the United States.

"I know that this use-of-force resolution will pass although we all know that the President can wage war even without this resolution. However difficult this vote may be, some of us must urge the use of restraint. There must be some of us who say, let's step back for a moment and think through the implication of our actions today-let us more fully understand their consequences."

To read Representative Lee's full speech, please visit her website at

<http://www.house.gov/lee/>. If you are a US citizen, please help Barbara Lee by calling and writing your Member of Congress and telling them that Lee should not have voted alone on H.J. Res. 64. To contact your elected officials, call the Capitol Switchboard at (202) 224-3121 or find your elected officials online at:

Senators: <http://www.senate.gov/contacting/index.cfm>

Representatives: <http://www.house.gov/house/MemberWWW.html>

BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE

Missile Defense Receives \$3 Billion Funding Increase From 2001 Budget

Although the proposed US missile defense systems would have been utterly useless in the 11 September terrorist attacks, the Pentagon and other proponents of the systems are using the attacks to boost funding for missile defense in the US 2002 fiscal year (FY 2002) defense budget. Prior to the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the Senate Armed Services Committee was recommending to cut \$1.3 billion from President Bush's request of \$8.3 for all forms of missile defense. The Committee said that the request from the administration was more than it could realistically spend in FY 2002.

The Defense authorization bill provides \$7 to \$8.3 billion for missile defense (the President is provided authority to spend \$1.3 billion either for missile defense or to combat terrorism), including activities that may or may not violate the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty in the coming months. Prior to the 11 September attacks, the Committee had a provision in the bill requiring the President to come back to Congress before abrogating the ABM Treaty. This language that was dropped from the Defense bill would have provided Congress an opportunity to vote on funding any missile defense expenditure that would violate the ABM Treaty.

On 16 September, Ari Fleischer, Press Secretary, said that at the White was no question of balancing threats from terrorism and from missiles. Fleischer stated, "The two are not connected. The United States still faces risks of many natures. This was a terrorist risk that was carried out in a different form of delivery, within our borders. But that does not mean there are not other threats out there that also need to be addressed, per missile defense." The missile defense debate is not being pursued because of Congress's readiness to rally behind the president in the wake of the attacks. A House Democrat aide that opposes the missile defense explained, "What happened Tuesday was just so terrible that people are rallying round, saying we have to let the president lead us. So we're going to give him a lot of leeway."

On 2 October, the Senate approved \$345 billion for the FY 2002 Defense Authorization Bill, \$1.3 billion more than Bush initially requested. The bill includes all \$8.3 billion for missile defense spending. The measure will increase defense spending by \$34.2 billion over FY 2001, an 11% increase. Missile defense received a \$3 billion increase over the authorized FY 2001 budget, a 56 % increase.

(sources: AP, 3 October 2001; New York Times, 14 September 2001)

Greenland Welcomes Upgrade of Crucial Radar Station

Greenland's home rule welcomed an upgrade of the US radar station on the Arctic island as part of the US missile defense plans under the provision that the plans do not have an offensive purpose. In the softening of its position in regards to the upgrade, the home rule urged the US to compromise with Russia and China on its strategy and not to withdraw from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. Greenland is considered a territory of the Danish government which is responsible for its foreign, security and defense policy. Current US missile defense plans will require extended use of the US Thule air base located in the northwestern part of Greenland. Built in the 1950s, the base is part of a chain of radar facilities that extends from Alaska to the UK and plays a crucial role in US missile defense plans.

Greenland's home rule Prime Minister Jonathan Motzfeldt stated, "If the upgrade is a modernization, it is fine with us. We just want to be assured that a modernization is not used for anything offensive and it must not have any element of armament." In 1987, the Danish parliament passed a resolution forbidding the use of the Thule base for offensive purposes or in contradiction of the ABM Treaty.

(source: Reuters; 3 September 2001)

NUCLEAR TERRORISM

IAEA Calls for Nuclear Power Plant Protection

Delegates from 132 nations attending an annual International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) conference in Vienna, Austria on 17 September urged for tightened security. They also noted the need to make sure nuclear materials are kept out of the hands of terrorists. Governments fearing a suicide jetliner crash at nuclear power plants have tightened security outside nuclear power and radioactive waste facilities worldwide in the aftermath of the 11 September terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.

According to David Kyd, a spokesman for the IAEA, the architects of the world's nuclear power plants designed to withstand ground vehicle attacks, not airborne. Most nuclear power plants were built during the 1960s and 1970s and were designed to withstand only accidental impacts from smaller aircraft widely used at the time. A US official stated that a direct hit of a nuclear plant by a modern-day jumbo jet traveling at high speed "could result in a Chernobyl situation."

According to the IAEA, if an airliner hit a nuclear power plant, the reactor would not explode, but the strike could destroy the plant's cooling systems, causing the nuclear fuel storage tanks to overheat and produce a steam explosion that would release lethal radioactivity into the atmosphere. Paul Levanthal, president of the Nuclear Control Institute in Washington, stated "The problem is that the [nuclear] industry has been in a deep state of denial for many years and they don't want to unduly alarm the public. We feel that the public should be alarmed. We're in a new era, and we must protect these plants in extraordinary ways."

(source: AP, 17 September 2001)

NUCLEAR MATTERS

Japanese Town Conducts Nuclear Disaster Drill

On Saturday, 29 September 2001, Tokaimura, Japan, 70 miles north of Tokyo, held a city-wide nuclear disaster drill. Some 2,600 people, including elementary and kindergarten students, local officials and soldiers from the Self Defense Forces, participated in the drill. Tokaimura City Official Kunihiko Yasu said that the drill was the first to include elementary school and kindergarten students, who donned gauze masks and vacated their classrooms as part of the drill. Municipal officials rushed to command posts after receiving a mock report of a radiation leak, while sirens wailed and buses shuttled evacuees to safe areas.

The nuclear disaster drill was staged on the wake of the anniversary of Japan's worst atomic energy accident. On 30 September 1999, a radiation leak at the Tokaimura fuel reprocessing plant killed two workers and injured many others. Two workers who, in trying to save time, mixed excessive amounts of uranium in buckets instead of using designated mechanized tanks, triggered the leak. Six former reprocessing plant officials have been charged with negligence in the leak.

Japan has 51 nuclear reactors which provide approximately one third of the nation's energy supply. Nuclear power is being promoted as the solution to Japan's energy needs, but accidents and mishaps have heightened public concern over the safety of the nuclear industry. Japan's Coast Guard has taken unprecedented measures in the wake of the terrorist attacks in the US to protect the country's nuclear reactors. Japanese officials have voiced fears that the reactors could become targets of terror attacks. More nuclear disaster drills are scheduled for later this year on the northern island of Hokkaido on how to respond to attacks.

(source: AP, 29 September 2001; Reuters, 2 October 2001)

US Conducts Subcritical Nuclear Test

After experiencing technical problems with the "Oboe 7" subcritical nuclear test, the US Department of Energy (DoE) has pushed back its detonation until sometime in the next US budget fiscal year, which begins on 1 October 2001. "Oboe 8," the last in the "Oboe" series of subcritical tests was detonated on 26 September 2001 at the Nevada Test Site, 80 miles north of Las Vegas.

The "Oboe" subcritical tests were prepared by Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) in Livermore, California and detonated some 1,000 feet underground in a specially made reusable chamber. Although subcritical nuclear tests are not considered full nuclear tests because they do not achieve a self-sustained chain reaction, the tests do involve high explosives

blown up with fissile material (usually plutonium). Sophisticated equipment record data from the test that is later fed into computers.

The DoE claims that subcritical tests are needed to maintain the safety and reliability of the US nuclear stockpile. However, the tests violate the spirit of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and are really part of an aggressive nuclear weapons development program. Next year, the DoE plans to detonate another series of underground subcritical tests at the Nevada Test Site prepared by the Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL) in New Mexico.

LLNL and LANL are the DoE's primary nuclear weapons research and development laboratories. Under a contract with the DoE, the University of California is responsible for management and oversight of LLNL and LANL. Find out more about the link between the University of California and the DoE at <http://www.ucnuclearfree.org>. (source: Sally Light, Executive Director of the Nevada Desert Experience; conversation with official from US DoE, 25 September 2001)

UK Atomic Energy Authority Admits Baby Bones Used in Nuclear Tests

The UK Atomic Energy Authority admitted that thigh bones were removed from the bodies of dead babies without parents' consent for testing from 3,400 children between 1954 and 1970. The bones were collected from hospitals throughout the UK to allow scientists to establish what effect the fallout from nuclear tests being carried out around the world was having on health. Doctors feared that the radioactive fallout from nuclear tests was contaminating milk and could be building up to dangerous levels in children's bones.

A spokesman for the UK Atomic Energy Authority stated, "We used child bone samples supplied by hospitals following post-mortem. Regrettably it is clear that parental consent for the samples was not sought at the time. I do not know the dates of the rules and regulations, but I am pretty sure in the 1950s doctors would have just said the research was all for the best and the samples could just be taken."

After incineration, the bones were analyzed for the presence of the radioactive isotope strontium-90, a chemical that works in the same way as calcium. A spokeswoman for the Scottish Parents for a Public Inquiry into Organ Retention stated, "Parents up until now have had no say in anything that has been done to their children after death. We need a law that says if you touch our children without our knowledge or consent, you will go to jail." Member of Parliament Hilton Dawson (Lancaster) is calling for a full inquiry into reports that the Lancaster Royal Infirmary was involved in the research project between 1955 and 1971. (source: BBC; 30 September 2001)

NUCLEAR WASTE

UK Spent Fuel Reprocessing Plant Shuts Down

Both nuclear fuel reprocessing plants at Sellafield in Cumbria, UK were shut down on 21 September due to high level nuclear waste reaching unacceptable levels. The UK Nuclear Installations Inspectorate (NII), a government regulator, has been critical of British Nuclear Fuels Limited (BNFL) for failure to deal with heat producing waste, the most dangerous material stored at the plant. Despite attempts to reduce the amount of liquid waste, the plant has broken down repeatedly and been out of operation for most of this year.

The plant is meant to turn waste into more manageable gas blocks. The amount of waste at the plant is rising instead of falling. The reprocessing plant deals with spent fuel from nuclear reactors in the UK as well as from customers in Japan, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Spain and Italy. The NII warned BNFL in August that unless it reduced the amount of waste in holding tanks at Sellafield--currently more than 1,550 cubic meters--by 35 cubic meters each year for the next 14 years, the plant would be shut down. This year, the amount of waste at the plant has increased by more than 100 cubic meters.

The plant has only achieved 34 percent of its potential production in a decade, leading to the build up of high level radioactive wastes. The Irish government has protested to the British government the threat posed by the waste to its citizens.
(source: Guardian Unlimited; 22 September 2001)

Minatom Selects Permanent Geological Waste Repository

ECODEFENSE!, a Russian environmental organization, disclosed documents on 3 October confirming Russia's intent to establish a geological repository for high-level radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel that has accumulated in the country and around the world. Documents obtained from the Khlopin Radium Institute, the research branch of the Russian nuclear industry, demonstrate that the industry has been actively researching the Nizhnekansky granitoid massif, located near the city of Krasnoyarsk-26 in Middle Siberia as a possible repository site since 1998.

The research information has never appeared in Russian press or in official statements from Minatom, Russia's atomic energy agency. The local population was also never informed of the research. The Nizhnekansky site is located approximately 15 miles outside the city of Krasnoyarsk-26. It is a nuclear facility built by the USSR for military purposes, including plutonium production. Research for establishing a geological repository at this site has been funded for the past three years by Finland, Japan and the US. Nizhnekansky was chosen out of an initial 20 reviewed sites because of its ancient gneiss bedding and massifs of granitoid rocks.

In Summer 2001, Russian authorities approved new legislation allowing Minatom to import spent nuclear fuel for reprocessing or storage. However, the documents obtained by ECODEFENSE! from the Khlopin Radium Institute expose that the intent of the nuclear industry is not to reprocess or store foreign spent nuclear fuel, but rather to dump it permanently in the Siberian site. Minatom documents released in early 2001 outline plans to import several

thousands of tons of spent nuclear fuel from Taiwan and other countries to Krasnoyarsk-26 facilities, which is currently able to store up to 6,000 tons of waste.

Vladimir Slivyak, co-chairman of ECODEFENSE!, stated, "Minatom prepares to set up a repository for the world's nuclear waste which it hopes will be imported to Russia through the next ten years. It didn't care about the opinion of the people when new legislation allowing the import of waste was approved. Why should they pay attention to the opinion of the people when setting up the geologic repository near a city with a population of over one million? This scandalous activity of Minatom must be stopped using democratic mechanisms-combining protests, work to change legislation and finally a national referendum."
(source: <http://www.ecodefense.ru>; 3 October 2001)

NUCLEAR COLONIALSIM

Former Workers at Polynesian Nuclear Test Sites Unite

2 July 2001 marked the 35th anniversary of the first atmospheric nuclear test by France in Polynesia. More than 150 Polynesians who have worked at the nuclear test sites in Moruroa and Fangutaufa atolls during the period of 1966 to 1996 have organized an association called "Moruroa e Tatou" (Moruroa and Us). The purpose of Moruroa e Tatou is to support the former test site workers and, in particular, to assist those who are concerned about their health and the health of their children.

Since the official formation of the association on 4 July 2001, more than 400 Polynesians have become members. One of the first activities of the association will be the analysis of a member health questionnaire. In France, former members of the French army have united in two associations--one of veterans who were involved in French tests in Algeria and one of those involved in Polynesia. On 19 January 2002, the organizations of former test site workers are invited for a Conference at the French Senate.

For more information, please contact the Comite de suivi Moruroa e Tatou, BP 5456, Pirae, Tahiti or send an email to johndoom@mail.pf.

NUCLEAR INSANITY

Father of Neutron Bomb Outlines Plan to "do in" Taliban and bin Laden

Sam Cohen, the scientist who invented the neutron bomb, outlined a plan for the Bush administration and Congress to use a small neutron bomb "to do in" the Taliban and Osama bin Laden. Cohen argues that the use of the neutron bomb against the Taliban and bin Laden would go right to the core of the terrorist threat and satisfy American "impatience." Cohen stated in an

interview with NewsMax.com, "My offhand guess is that the majority of Americans couldn't care less how we 'do in' the Taliban and bin Laden and company, provided we get it done and [quickly]."

While Cohen agrees that the global terrorist threat is going to go on for years, he has told policy-makers that the "name of the game right now is Afghanistan [and] bin Laden." He also stated that the US needs a quick highly visible strike to begin that war. Because the Taliban and terrorist camps are "going to be on the move" and will be burrowing and burying themselves while continuing training exercises, Cohen argues the US needs a carefully targeted weapon that would impose "mass destruction," while providing an element of surprise. Cohen is proposing to reconfigure Minuteman missiles by diffusing the thermonuclear component and keeping the "trigger" at the kiloton level. The "kiloton fission" would be a deadly force with a radius of about two-thirds of a mile "towards killing people who are exposed." According to Cohen, this "ought to cover the area of a training camp."
(source: Newsmax.com, 24 September 2001)

Pentagon Deliberates Use of Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Retaliation

The US Department of Defense (DoD) recommended to President George W. Bush the use of tactical nuclear weapons as a military option in retaliation to the 11 September terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Centers. In an interview on ABC television's "This Week" Sunday Program, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld refused to rule out the use of tactical nuclear weapons in retaliation. US diplomatic sources said that the Pentagon recommended the use of tactical nuclear weapons after learning of the unprecedented number of US civilian casualties.

According to military analysts, Pentagon officials are deliberating the use of tactical nuclear weapons because of their ability to reach and destroy terrorists hiding in an underground bunker while "limiting" damage to surrounding areas. The US conducted an air raid on Libya in 1986 attempting to kill Col. Moammar Gadhafi. In 1998, the US fired a cruise missile in Afghanistan attempting to kill Osama bin Laden. Since these attempts failed, the DoD is recommending the use of tactical nuclear weapons because they would cause greater destruction than conventional air raids and cruise missiles.
(source: Japan Times; 20 September 2001)

ARMS EXPORTS

US: Leader in Arms Exports

The US Congressional Research Service recently released its annual report on conventional arms sales to the developing world for fiscal year 2000. The US maintained its leadership in arms exports to developing countries and the entire world. Nearly 70% of US contracts in the past few years have been with developing countries, with countries in the Middle East and Asia

receiving approximately 75% and 25%, respectively, of new contracts between 1997 and 2000. China, a country often accused by US officials of proliferating arms, was the eighth highest supplier, with only \$400 million in new contracts.

Top 10 Arms Suppliers Worldwide 2000 (agreements in millions of US dollars):

<u>Supplier</u>	<u>Agreements</u>
US	\$18,562
Russia	\$7,700
France	\$4,100
Spain	\$1,500
Germany	\$1,100
Israel	\$ 600
UK	\$600
China	\$400
Turkey	\$300
Sweden	\$200

Top 10 Recipients of Arms Exports in Developing World 2000 (agreements in millions of US dollars):

<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Agreement</u>
United Arab Emirates	\$7,400
India	\$4,800
South Korea	\$2,300
China	\$2,100
Egypt	\$1,800
Israel	\$1,600
Singapore	\$1,600
Saudi Arabia	\$500
North Korea	\$400
Malaysia	\$400

Top 10 Defense Companies 2000 (revenue in millions of US dollars)

<u>Company</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Defense Revenue</u>
Lockheed Martin Co.	US	\$18,000
Boeing Company	US	\$17,000
Raytheon Company	US	\$14,033
BAE Systems	UK	\$13,247.5
General Dynamics	US	\$6,542
Northrop Grumman Corp.	US	\$5,600
EADS	France	\$4,559.8

Thales	France	\$4,261.5
United Technologies Corp.	US	\$4,130.0
TRW, Inc.	US	\$4,000

(source: Congressional Research Service, 16 August 2001; Defense News, 30 July-5 August 2001; Arms Sales Monitor, September 2001)

NAPF HAPPENINGS

Annual Awards Dinner

Since 1984 the Foundation has honored some of the great peace leaders of our time with its Distinguished Peace Leadership Award. This year the Foundation will honor **Craig Kielburger** and **Hafsat Abiola**, courageous young leaders, in order to highlight the extraordinary contributions made by youth in shaping humanity's future. Craig is a 18-year-old young man from Toronto. He is founder of Free the Children and has traveled the world on behalf of children's rights. Hafsat Abiola is a 25-year-old woman from Lagos, Nigeria and founder of Kudirat Initiative for Democracy (KIND). Hafsat has been a tireless advocate for human rights, women and children throughout the African continent.

The awards will be presented at a dinner and ceremony on Friday, November 9th in Santa Barbara, CA. For more information about the recipients or the event, please contact Chris Pizzinat at the Foundation's offices at +1 (805) 965-3443 or by e-mail at cpizzinat@napf.org.

BOOK REVIEW

Echoes of Sanshin: A Tribute to Okinawa By Andrea Redford, Translation by Miki Fukui

Echoes of Sanshin: A Tribute to Okinawa is a production of poems in English and Japanese dedicated to all generations of Okinawan people who have exemplified dignity and peacekeeping. The book was inspired by the author's trip to the G8 Summit activities held in Okinawa in July 2000. To order a copy, please send a check or money order in the amount of \$15.00 to Andrea Redford, 3145 Geary Blvd #242, San Francisco, CA 94118, USA.

RESOURCES

Visit the ever-evolving website of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation at [Http://www.wagingpeace.org](http://www.wagingpeace.org)

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation has devoted a section of its website to the 11 September events. The section offers alternative responses to the use of military force; background information on US policies in the Middle East, the Taliban and Osama bin Laden; perspectives on the events from staff and advisors; and ideas for citizen action to wage peace instead of war. Please visit our site at: <http://www.wagingpeace.org/terrorism/index.htm>

Take a journey through the Nuclear Age. Visit the Nuclear Files at <Http://www.nuclearfiles.org>

A Maginot Line in the Sky: International Perspectives on Ballistic Missile Defense brings together the views of 18 contributors from around the world on US plans to deploy ballistic missile defenses. Order your copy today at:

<http://www.wagingpeace.org/secure/maginotline.html>

The September 11th Source Books, Volume I: Terrorism and US Policy

<http://www.nsarchive.org/NSAEBB/sept11/>

Teach your children in a fun way about ecology, earth science, the planet and everything in it:

<http://www.planetpals.com>

Teach your children about peace, love, and tolerance:

<http://www.ikidsclub.com>

"The Politics and Geopolitics of Missile Defenses" by Joseph Gerson, American Friends Service Committee, is available online at <http://www.afsc.org/pes/htm>

"Missile Defense in Perspective: US Counterforce Nuclear Doctrine" by Jerry Elmer, American Friends Service Committee, is available online at <http://www.afsc.org/pes/htm>

Order a Nuclear Age Peace Foundation T-shirt! Visit

<http://napf.org/secure/tshirts.html>

EDITORS

Carah Ong

David Krieger

--

Carah Lynn Ong

Director of Research and Publications

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation
PMB 121, 1187 Coast Village Road, Suite 1
Santa Barbara, California 93108-2794 USA

Tel: 805-965-3443

Fax: 805-568-0466

Email: research@napf.org
[Http://www.wagingpeace.org](http://www.wagingpeace.org)
[Http://www.nuclearfiles.org](http://www.nuclearfiles.org)
[Http://www.abolition2000.org](http://www.abolition2000.org)

"He aha te nui mea o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata." (A Maori Saying)

"What is the most important thing in the world? It is the people, the people, the people."

"An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come."
Victor Hugo

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X-Sender: slamontagne@[63.106.26.66]
X-Mailer: Windows Eudora Pro Version 3.0 (32)
Date: Thu, 04 Oct 2001 16:33:29 -0400
To: mupj@igc.org
From: Steve LaMontagne <slamontagne@clw.org>
Subject: ***DRAFT*** Letter to Congress

Howard:

Hopefully you received the message I left on your voicemail. Below is the draft letter to Members of Congress and President Bush urging an increase in funding for nonproliferation programs. It has not gone out yet, and may not until early next week, so for now it's not official yet.

We would encourage religious groups to draft similar letters in order to drive the point home to the administration and to Congress.

Best,
Steve

=====

October 5, 2001

Dear Members of Congress:

We are writing to urge you to allocate a portion of the current \$40 billion supplemental and any additional supplemental budget request to increase substantially U.S. funding for nonproliferation efforts. Especially important are cooperative security programs that provide civilian-sector employment opportunities for former Soviet weapons experts and work to secure and dispose of the massive stockpiles of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons-usable materials that remain under poor physical protection in Russia and the other former Soviet republics. These stockpiles and scientists are potentially attractive targets for terrorists seeking to acquire the materials and expertise necessary to build weapons of mass destruction.

In January 2001, a distinguished Department of Energy task force led by former Senator Howard Baker (R-TN) and former White House counsel Lloyd Cutler recommended developing and implementing a detailed strategic plan "to secure and/or neutralize in the next eight to ten years all nuclear weapons-usable material located in Russia and to prevent the outflow from Russia of scientific expertise that could be used for nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction." The panel suggested that a total investment of \$30 billion over this time frame would enable the U.S. and Russia to complete this important work while paying huge dividends for national security.

In the wake of the tragic attacks that took place on September 11, 2001, the Baker/Cutler recommendations deserve special attention. There can be

little doubt that if certain terrorist organizations had access to nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons, they would not be deterred from using them against our territory, our armed forces, or our allies. Osama bin Laden has described the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction as a "religious duty." His agents have reportedly attempted to purchase enriched uranium on several occasions and to recruit former Soviet nuclear experts.

The U.S. and Russia must realize their common interest in denying terrorists access to the sensitive materials and knowhow necessary to build nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. Indeed, our cooperative security relationship with Russia is an essential component of the war against terrorism. We must work in close partnership with Russia to accelerate and expand cooperative security efforts, to bolster them with high level coordination and leadership, and to fund them at a level that enables their urgent mission to be fulfilled.

Sincerely,

Matthew Bunn
Assistant Director
Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program
Harvard University
Former Advisor to White House Office of Science and Technology Policy

John Isaacs
President
Council for a Livable World

Steve LaMontagne
Research Analyst
Council for a Livable World Education Fund

Ken Luongo
Executive Director
Russian American Nuclear Security Advisory Council (RANSAC)
Former Director, Office of Arms Control and Nonproliferation, U.S.
Department of Energy

Frank N. von Hippel
Professor of Public and International Affairs
Princeton University
Former Assistant Director for National Security, White House Office of
Science and Technology Policy

Steve LaMontagne
Council for a Livable World Education Fund
110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Suite 409

Washington D.C. 20002
(202) 543-4100 x100
slamontagne@clw.org

X-Originating-IP: [158.252.112.101]
From: "Maria Berger" <mberger74@hotmail.com>
To: <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: wtc peace petition
Date: Sat, 6 Oct 2001 17:11:35 -0500
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook Express 5.00.2615.200
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2615.200
X-OriginalArrivalTime: 06 Oct 2001 22:19:26.0903 (UTC)
FILETIME=[F5DC7470:01C14EB4]

Please!! If you want our country to respond to the WTC attacks with Peace rather than violence, sign this enclosed Peace Petition!!!! Pass it along to friends!

There is a copy of it at the end of the email, and you can access it at www.wtcpeacepetition.org. If you think this is something your organization is interested in supporting, please promote it in any way you can. Feel free to make copies, distribute it, **or place a link to www.wtcpeacepetition.org on your site!** It is not meant to be political in nature, only a call to our leaders to try and find a peaceful solution to the present crisis. If you do not agree with it, or do not wish to promote it, please simply delete it. You can contact me at mberger74@hotmail.com, or write me at:

Maria Berger
5230 N. Cox Rd.
Stillman Valley, IL 61084

To sign: Four different ways: 1. **Email me at mberger74@hotmail.com giving me permission to put your name and city on the petition,** 2. Cut and paste into a new email with your name on it, then pass it along to others, making sure the last person will forward it on to me, 3. Print it out, sign it, pass it around, make sure to get it back and send it to me at the address above. 4. **Go to www.wtcpeacepetition.org and follow the directions there.**

If you are not a citizen of the U.S., please sign anyway, just list your home country, and I will place you on a parallel petition which reads "friends of the U.S." instead of "citizens."

Please forward to me all signatures!

Thank you,
Maria

A PETITION FOR PEACE FROM

THE UNDERSIGNED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, GEORGE W. BUSH; and
MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

We, citizens of these United States of America, with all the love and compassion of our hearts, affirm the following to be true:

One, America is a nation of loving, peaceful people, whose primary concern is the protection of a free and peaceful way of life for themselves and their families;

Two, the acts of September 11, 2001 have grievously injured the hearts and minds of all of us, who love our country and pray for its healing;

Three, these acts of terrorism against America are intended not only to destroy lives and property, but to spread hate, anger and fear through a people whose hearts are free;

Four, hate spreads hate, anger spreads anger, and fear spreads fear. This cycle can only be transcended by love, forgiveness and peace;

Five, while it is a human feeling to want to respond to these acts with more violence and hate, the last thing needed to heal our nation, our world, and even those responsible, is more hate;

Six, only by acting from love, forgiveness and peace will we be able to conquer our true enemies and heal our own hearts;

Having affirmed these truths, we therefore request and implore that you:

One, take and consider this expression of the hearts and minds of your fellow countrymen and citizens;

Two, remember that you are servants of these citizens and it is your duty to not only consider the will of the majority, but to also rise above the passion and emotion of the moment and respond with the best of yourselves for the highest good, safety and well-being of each citizen of this country;

Three, bring to justice those responsible, and only those responsible, in the most peaceable manner possible, remembering that we are a nation of laws, and as such, all crimes, no matter how deplorable, should be punished under the law, in a court of law;

Four, remain true to the ideals of this great nation, and do not punish innocent people for the crimes of their leaders or others of their same race, nationality or religion. Be certain of the culpability of the alleged perpetrators before acting;

Five, be reflective in your decisions, solemn in your attitude, and above all, loving in your hearts;

Six, do not sacrifice peace for justice, and do not bring this nation into war unnecessarily.

I, a citizen of the United States of America, have read the foregoing petition, and believing it to be a true description of my deepest sentiments, herein affix my signature:

Name

City, State

1.

To: "Andrews, Anthony P." <ANTHONY.P.ANDREWS@saic.com> 'Kerri Wright Platais' <kiki@wizard.net>, Dwight Smith <dosmith6@juno.com>, Tony Andrews <andrewsa@saic.com>, Pat Beverly <beverly@erols.com>, Jerry Muys <jcm@duncanallen.com>, Jeanne North <jfnorth@aol.com>, Ron and Holly Foster <holronfost@aol.com>, Gene Vincent <gene.vincent@starpower.net>
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Alternative gift catalogue
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

To: Outreach Committee
Bethesda United Methodist Church

At our September meeting I agreed to take the lead in developing an alternative gift catalogue for distribution during the Christmas season. I had a sample from Foundry United Methodist Church and acquired another from the National Presbyterian Church. The first emphasizes missions with the congregation, the second outside organizations global in scope.

When I started working on it, I encountered writer's block. Actually it is an expression of a general funk I am in these days. I feel grief from the terrorist attacks. I am also appalled by the resulting war spirit that treats these actions as an act of war that a must be avenged rather than as a crime against humanity that requires justice achieved through appropriate international legal channels. Yet, I don't have the psychic energy to become engaged in opposition to yet another war. This has drained enough of my energy that I couldn't get fully into the alternative gift catalogue.

If anyone else would like to take the lead, please do. I think it should be ready for distribution by the Sunday after Thanksgiving, November 25. If you are interested, I'll give you my samples and other ideas.

Shalom,
Howard

From: HolRonFost@aol.com
Date: Sat, 6 Oct 2001 21:21:42 EDT
Subject: Re: Alternative gift catalogue
To: mupj@igc.org
X-Mailer: AOL 6.0 for Windows US sub 10536

Thanks for your honesty -- a lot of times people don't ask for help in the church until it's too late. I can only imagine how difficult these last few weeks have been for you, given your consistent commitment to peace with justice through so many years. I have found myself wrestling greatly with what a just response is to these terrorist attacks that doesn't aggravate the situation, lead to even more violence, and fail to address the root causes that have made us a target of such insidious hatred in the first place. I deeply respect your courageous convictions and appreciate your personal angst.

I think it would be good if someone else is able to take up the alternative gift catalog. I'll put out some feelers if we don't get any response through the Outreach Committee.

Thanks again for your ongoing witness in so many ways.

Be God's,
Ron

X-Sender: flick@pop.igc.org
Date: Sun, 7 Oct 2001 14:39:20 -0500
To: updates@reachingcriticalwill.org
From: Felicity Hill <flick@igc.org>
Subject: pre 1st Com disarmament debate
Cc: wilpf-news@igc.topica.com

Dear All,

An index of specific references made to disarmament prior to the opening of the First Committee on October 8, 2001 is available on our website at

<http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/1com/1com.html>

The Index features:

1. disarmament references from the Secretary General's statements and reports
2. disarmament references from the General Assembly debate from Sept 11 - Oct 1
3. disarmament references from the General Assembly debate on terrorism from Oct 1 - 5, 2001.
4. a summary of the nuclear terrorism convention - from our count 34 countries explicitly support it in their statements.

Statements by governmental representatives are listed in alphabetical order.

A PDF version will be on the website within 24 hours for those who wish to print their own copy from the web. We will be distributing this document at the First Committee in printed form on Monday 8 October.

We are working on a similar index of references to definitions of terrorism and another on root causes of terrorism from the GA debate on terrorism which will be done within a few days.

best wishes

felicity

From: "Daniel H. Shubin" <danhshubin@jps.net>
To: <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: new website for Christian pacifism
Date: Sun, 7 Oct 2001 16:07:04 -0700
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook 8.5, Build 4.71.2173.0
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2314.1300
Importance: Normal

The history and concept of Christian pacifism, conscientious objection to military service, is available on the website:

<http://www.christianpacifism.com>

Titled, CONFLICT OF AGES, the treatise discusses war in the Bible, the Gospel that Jesus and the apostles taught, and the attitude of the early church apologists and apostolic fathers toward war and the military, along with a brief discussion of the politics of war. The treatise includes a parallel history of Christian pacifism and Christian militarism from apostolic times to the present.

Regards, Daniel H. Shubin, author

Outgoing mail is certified Virus Free.

Checked by AVG anti-virus system (<http://www.grisoft.com>).

Version: 6.0.255 / Virus Database: 128 - Release Date: 5/17/01

Date: Mon, 8 Oct 2001 10:09:37 -0400 (EDT)
 To: nuclearcalendar@lists.his.com
 Subject: Nuclear Calendar
 From: "FCNL Nuclear Calendar" <owner-nuclearcalendar@fcnl.org>
 X-Mailer: Html Mime Mail Class
 Sender: owner-nuclearcalendar@fcnl.org
 Reply-To: nuclearcalendar@fcnl.org

Friends Committee on National Legislation

Nuclear Calendar

- Oct. 6-9** [NATO Parliamentary Assembly](#), Ottawa, Canada
- Oct. 8** Tom Ridge becomes the director of the Office of Homeland Security
- Oct. 8** Columbus Day (federal holiday)
- Oct. 8-10** Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs James Kelly meets with Chinese officials to discuss missile defense, nonproliferation and bilateral matters, Beijing
- Week of Oct. 8** House Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense, markup of defense appropriations bill (closed) (estimate)
- Week of Oct. 8** Senate floor action on the foreign operations appropriations bill, [H.R. 2506](#). Broadcast on [C-SPAN 2](#).
- Week of Oct. 8** House-Senate conference committee on the energy and water appropriations bill, [H.R.2311](#)
- Week of Oct. 8** House-Senate conference committee begins on the defense authorization bill, [H.R. 2541](#) and [S. 1438](#) (estimate)
- Oct. 9** 10 am, Senate Appropriations Committee, markup of the defense appropriations bill, 140 Hart
- Oct. 9** 10 am, Senate Health Education, Labor and Pensions Committee, continuing hearings on how the U.S. government can fight against and prepare for terrorist attack involving biological

- weapons, 430 Dirksen. Broadcast on CapitolHearings.org.
- Oct. 10** 10 am, House Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, hearing on federal bioterrorism preparedness programs from a public health perspective, 2322 Rayburn. Broadcast on the [Committee web site](#).
- Oct. 10** 10 am, AOL Time Warner vice chairman Ted Turner, "[Our Common Future](#)," Woodrow Wilson Center
- Oct. 10-12, 15-18**, NGO Committee on Disarmament, "[Disarmament Week 2001: Disarmament Agenda for the 21st Century](#)," New York (tentative)
- Oct. 11** 9 am, Senate Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on International Security, Proliferation, and Federal Services, hearing on federal efforts to coordinate and prepare the United States for bioterrorism, 342 Dirksen. Broadcast on CapitolHearings.org.
- Oct. 11** 9:30 am, House Armed Services Subcommittee on Research and Development, hearing on research and development in support of counter terrorism. Broadcast on the [Committee web site](#).
- Oct. 11** 10 am, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, hearing on ratification of the "Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism" and the "Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings," 419 Dirksen. Broadcast on CapitolHearings.org.
- Oct. 11** 2:30 pm, Senate Armed Services Committee, hearing on the nominations of Litton Brooks to be Deputy Administrator for Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation, National Nuclear Security Administration and Everet Beckner to be Deputy Administrator for Defense Programs, National Nuclear Security Administration, 216 Hart. Broadcast on CapitolHearings.org.
- Oct. 11** 5:30 pm, Women in International Security, "[The Challenges Ahead: U.S. Strategy in the War on Terrorism](#)," at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. RSVP by Oct. 9 to mmarkley@wiis.org or by fax to (202) 687-

3233.

- Oct. 11-16** 15th anniversary of the [Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Reykjavik, Iceland](#) on nuclear weapons reductions and missile defense
- Oct. 12** [Centennial Nobel Peace Prize Laureate](#) announced, Oslo, Norway
- Oct. 13** Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space, [International Day of Protest to Stop the Militarization of Space](#)
- Oct. 15** Noon, former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, ["The Road Ahead: Securing the Homefront in the 21st Century."](#) Heritage Foundation. Broadcast on the [Heritage web site](#).

The *Nuclear Calendar* is published every Monday when Congress is in session. To subscribe [click here](#), or send an e-mail to majordomo@fcnl.org with "subscribe NuclearCalendar" (without the quotation marks) in the message body. To unsubscribe [click here](#), or send an e-mail to majordomo@fcnl.org with "unsubscribe NuclearCalendar" (without the quotation marks) in the message body.

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Editor is [David Culp](#). Publication is made possible by contributions from the Ploughshares Fund, W. Alton Jones Foundation Fund of the Rockefeller Family Fund, Town Creek Foundation, and the contributors and supporters of the [Friends Committee on National Legislation](#) and the [FCNL Education Fund](#).

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From: Ckozlowski2@netscape.net
Mailing-List: list bumc@yahoogroups.com; contact bumc-owner@yahoogroups.com
Delivered-To: mailing list bumc@yahoogroups.com
List-Unsubscribe: <mailto:bumc-unsubscribe@yahoogroups.com>
Date: Mon, 08 Oct 2001 20:42:24 -0400
Subject: [bumc] Bioethics Committee Meets Tues-Weds

The bioethics committee that advises the United Methodist board for Church and Society will be holding the first of two meetings tomorrow through Wednesday at the Dulles Hyatt. They will start at 10 a.m. and will hear a scientific expert, Dan Marshak, at 1:30 p.m. At 7 p.m. they will have a conference call with a patent attorney advising them on legal issues. On Wednesday they will discuss theological issues, starting at 9 a.m. A panel of stem cell decision leaders from the Catholic, Southern Baptist, United Church of Christ, and Presbyterian churches will be there along with others. The meetings are open to the public, and we are welcome to bring printed materials for the 9-member committee (they already have copies of the stem cell petition from members of BUMC), but we are not invited to make presentations or ask questions, unless it is done privately during breaks. I plan to go out tomorrow, leaving Bethesda around 11 a.m. from NIH and returning/departing from the Dulles Hyatt around 5p.m. I would be happy to give a lift to/from the meeting from NIH or the church for up to four passengers, if any of you would like to join me.
Celia Kozlowski

Your favorite stores, helpful shopping tools and great gift ideas. Experience the convenience of buying online with Shop@Netscape! <http://shopnow.netscape.com/>

Get your own FREE, personal Netscape Mail account today at <http://webmail.netscape.com/>

To unsubscribe from this list, send a message with "unsubscribe BUMC" in the message body to mingomae@aol.com
For further information about BUMC, go to our website at <http://www.gbgm-umc.org/bumc-md>

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To: bumc@yahoogroups.com
X-Mailer: AOL 6.0 for Windows US sub 10539
From: mingomae@aol.com
Mailing-List: list bumc@yahoogroups.com; contact bumc-owner@yahoogroups.com
Delivered-To: mailing list bumc@yahoogroups.com
List-Unsubscribe: <mailto:bumc-unsubscribe@yahoogroups.com>
Date: Mon, 8 Oct 2001 22:04:14 EDT
Subject: [bumc] help for Afghan refugees

Church groups responding to Afghan crisis

Oct. 8, 2001 News media contact: Linda Bloom·(212) 870-3803·New York
10-21-71B{454}

By United Methodist News Service

Even before the United States and its allies began targeted bombing in Afghanistan on Oct. 7, ecumenical groups were preparing their own response to the expected humanitarian crisis.

Weakened by starvation caused by longtime war and four years of drought, many Afghans already had fled to Pakistan and other neighboring countries in anticipation of U.S. military action against the Taliban. Afghanistan's ruling party has been sheltering Osama bin Laden, the chief suspect in the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington.

Now, despite an initial air drop of 37,000 food ration packets in Afghanistan at the same time as the bombing, more refugees are expected to arrive at the border camps. The United States has pledged to attempt to deliver \$320 million in food and medical supplies to help Afghanistan's people.

Church World Service, the relief agency of the U.S. National Council of Churches, plans to provide shelter kits to 15,000 families as they arrive in the border cities of Quetta and Peshawar as well as to internally displaced people at settlements in central and northern Afghanistan.

Staff and local partners will implement the program, coordinated with fellow members of Action By Churches Together (ACT), local organizations and a United Nations emergency task force. The United Methodist Committee on Relief (UMCOR) is among the ACT members.

The shelter kits, estimated at \$90 each, include a family tent, a ground sheet, a plastic sheet and four blankets. Church World Service estimates the total cost of the project, with transportation, support and storage costs, at \$1.55 million.

The UMCOR office in Tajikistan is positioning itself to work with refugees arriving in that country from Afghanistan. In addition, Stop Hunger Now, a relief organization led by the Rev. Ray Buchanan, a United Methodist pastor, is working through partner agencies in Tajikistan and Pakistan to reach the malnourished and starving refugees.

According to Buchanan, 8 million Afghans - more than a third of the total population - are in need of immediate aid. Of that number, more than 4 million are already outside the country and another million are internally displaced.

Buchanan, who will visit Pakistan in mid-October, said that Stop Hunger Now is putting all its efforts into a partnership with Food for the Hungry to provide immediate food aid. "We have to act fast," he added, "or millions will starve. It is almost impossible to overestimate how bad the situation really is."

Donations for Afghan relief work through UMCOR should be designated to Advance No. 901125-3, "Love in the Midst of Tragedy," and dropped in church collection plates or mailed to 475 Riverside Dr., Room 330, New York, NY 10115. Credit card gifts can be made by calling (800) 554-8583.

Contributions directly to Church World Service can be made to Pakistan/Afghanistan Emergency, Account No. 6930, P.O. Box 968, Elkhart, IN 46515. Donations also can be made by credit card at (800) 297-1516 or online at www.churchworldservice.org, the agency's Web site.

More information about Stop Hunger Now is available toll-free at (888) 501-8440 or at www.stophungernow.org, the organization's Web Site.
#

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From: WILLNORTH@aol.com
Date: Tue, 9 Oct 2001 10:53:20 EDT
Subject: Forum calls
To: mupj@igc.org
X-Mailer: AOL 5.0 for Mac sub 28

Howard,
Here's a list of calls you can make. You might want to say you are calling on behalf of CMMC the sponsor as well as BUMC as host.
If asked, the panelists are:
Charles Short, Director, Department of Health and Human Services
Ed Trumbull, Executive Director, Workforce Development
Pastor Donell Peterman, The Joshua Group

The letter that went out to the congregations is approximately as below.
Many thanks.
Haven

Washington Grove United Methodist Church
Rev Carolyn Swift
301-869-3753

Washington Ethical Society
Senior Leader, Don Montagna
202-882-6650

Bethesda Friends Meeting
no name
301-986-8681

Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Church
Rev. Jim Myers
301-654-1288

Christ Evangelical Lutheran Church
Rev. Marvin Tollefson
301-652-5160

Saint Bartholomew's Catholic Church
Rev David Pollack
301-229-7933

Faith United Methodist Church
Rev Mark Derby
301-881-1881

Saint George Greek Orthodox Church
Rev Athanasios Demos
301-469-7990

An Invitation
to a Forum
Overcoming Poverty in Montgomery County
and the Barriers to Self-Sufficiency

Tuesday, October 23, 2001

7:00 – 9:00 pm

Community Ministry of Montgomery County, Sponsor

Bethesda United Methodist Church, Host

8300 Old Georgetown Road

Bethesda, MD

301-652-2990

On Tuesday, October 23 at 7:00 pm, Community Ministry of Montgomery County will sponsor a forum to discuss strategies for overcoming barriers for families and individuals living in poverty in Montgomery County. The meeting will be hosted by the Bethesda United Methodist Church, 8300 Old Georgetown Rd., Bethesda.

Montgomery County congregations are invited to participate.

During the evening, we will:

- learn what it means to be poor in Montgomery County,
- hear the best solution ideas from panelists representing the government, business and faith communities, and
- strategize with each other around two questions:
What can I do? and What can we do?

If there were one easy or perfect solution to ending poverty, we would have done so. Some might be tempted to throw their hands up and say that the challenges of poverty are too enormous to solve. But we don't believe that and so, we will gather to define the challenge and develop some solutions. Why? In the words of an old hymn, simply because:

• We are called to act with justice; We are called to love tenderly;
We are called to serve one another and to walk humbly with our God.

If you have questions, call:

Rebecca Wagner, Executive Director,
Community Ministry of Montgomery County 301-315-1099.

X-Lotus-FromDomain: UCC
From: jpanet@ucc.org
Date: Tue, 9 Oct 2001 15:41:43 -0400
Subject: Weekly Message 2001, #31

Weekly Message 2001, #31
from the UCC Justice and Peace Action Network

On Sunday, October 7, the United States and Great Britain launched a series of airstrikes aimed at Taliban military targets in Afganistan. Along with the airstrikes, the United States is engaging in humanitarian relief efforts by dropping food and supplies intended for Afghan civilians displaced by the war. While food drops meet an immediate need, it is also crucial to remain committed to long-term relief efforts dedicated to rebuilding the societal infrastructure necessary for a just peace.

Currently about four million refugees from Afghanistan have fled to neighboring Pakistan, Iran and other countries. Over one million people have left their homes to escape years of fighting and drought. As a consequence of current military action against the Taliban and Osama bin Laden, another 2.5 million people may flee their homes. This adds to a humanitarian crisis already described by the United Nations as the worst in the world.

Long-term efforts toward rebuilding will require establishing a governing structure for representing all ethnic groups, and resolving the conflicts between groups that have become chasms as a result of wartime brutality and massacres. Current military action, coming upon years of war and drought, will exacerbate the destruction of farmland. Rebuilding a stable civil society will require long-term assistance in food production, rebuilding homes, providing access to medical care, and rebuilding the country's infrastructure of roads, electrical service and communications.

Advocates can begin to engage in the painstaking work of active peacemaking by supporting the relief efforts of Church World Service in Afganistan. UCC appeals like One Great Hour of Sharing contribute to CWS work. To learn more contact CWS at 1-800-297-1516; www.churchworldservice.org.

+

This weekly message is sent by e-mail each week for use in church newsletters and bulletins the following Sunday. To add names to this weekly advocacy service, for more information, or to remove your name from the list, reply to jpanet@ucc.org. For additional information on the

UCC Justice and Peace Action Network, log on to the
UCC website at www.ucc.org.

X-Mailer: Novell GroupWise Internet Agent 5.5.5.1
Date: Tue, 09 Oct 2001 15:13:09 -0500
From: "Gloria Register" <gregist@mail.ci.dallas.tx.us>
To: <Mupj@igc.org>
Cc: <rutledge@indiana.edu>
Subject: Conference Confirmation

Leadership Conference on Social Equity in Governance - November 11-13, 2001

Thank you for registering in advance for the conference. This is your official registration confirmation. Please print this out and retain for your records.

Conference registration confirmation number: HH10086

Personal Information:

Howard Hallman
6508 Wilmet Road
Bethesda MD 20817
Phone: 301/897-3668
Fax: 301/896-0013
email: mupj@igc.org

Your hotel reservation confirmation number is 69086. The Magnolia Hotel, Dallas, TX

Registration fee has been waived.

X-Sender: flick@pop.igc.org
Date: Tue, 9 Oct 2001 20:51:09 -0500
To: updates@reachingcriticalwill.org
From: Felicity Hill <flick@igc.org>
Subject: First Committee update
Cc: wilpf-news@igc.topica.com

Dear All,

This message is to remind you that statements made to the GA First Committee are placed on line each day, at

<http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/1com/2001state/stateindex.html>

A list of the speakers thus far is below.

A full report from NGOs will be coming each Friday.

The First Committee of the GA opened yesterday with a statement from the Committee Chairman, Andre Erdos of Hungary, followed by a very strong statement from Under Secretary General, Mr. Dhanapala, who said,

" ..in the disarmament area there is no going back to business as usual...When it comes to weapons of mass destruction, there is no question that the world would be far better off pursuing the total and verifiable elimination of such weapons than in perpetuating the fantasy that their possession can be permanently limited to an assortment of exclusive, but by no means leak-proof clubs...It is not at all unrealistic or inappropriate for this Committee to keep its focus on the search for absolute guarantees, and the more it searches, the more it will return to disarmament -- not regulation -- as the solution for weapons of mass destruction."

Mr. Dhanapala also raised the importance of NGOs and serious finding crisis in our community, "Disarmament is facing difficult times. There is no doubt that its future rests heavily upon a strong level of understanding and support in civil society. Yet today we see signs of private foundations and other funding agencies moving out of the field of disarmament or reducing their commitments to this goal."

The New Agenda Initiative also made a joint statement reaffirming their determination to pursue the complete implementation of the agreements made at the NPT Review Conference in 2000 and indicated they look forward to the resumption of the NPT review process in 2002. It is important to note the emphasis placed on the ABM treaty in their statement, "Abrogation of the ABM Treaty could hold grave consequences for the future of global security. Further reductions of nuclear arsenals to lower limits must not be put at risk. They called upon all States to refrain from any action that could lead to a new nuclear arms race or that could impact negatively on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation."

Monday 8 October, 2001

1. Opening Statement of the Chairman, Ambassador Andre Erdos of Hungary
2. Statement by Under-Secretary General Dhanapala
3. Mexico, Statement, Ambassador Gustavo Albin
4. Ukraine, Statement, Deputy Permanent Representative, Mr. Volodymyr Krokhmal
5. South Africa on behalf of New Agenda Initiative, Ambassador George Nene
6. Guatemala, Ambassador Luis Raul Estevez Lopez
7. Chile, Ambassador Juan Gabriel Valdes,
8. Jordan, Statement delivered by Mr. Ramez Goussous, Minister Plenipotentiary
9. Belgium on behalf of the European Union, Ambassador Jean Lint

Tuesday 9 October, 2001

1. Myanmar, on behalf of the ASEAN Member States, Ambassador Kyaw Tint Swe
2. Peru, Ambassador Oswaldo De Rivero
3. Colombia, Ambassador Camilo Reyes (PR- Geneva)
4. Bangladesh, by Mr. Shameem Ahsan
5. Uruguay, by Ambassador Felipe Paolillo
6. Algeria, delivered by Abdallah Baali
7. China, Ambassador Hu Xiaodi (DPR Geneva)
8. Brazil, Ambassador Antonio Valim Guerrerro (PR Geneva)
9. Mongolia, Ambassador Jargalsaikhany Enkhsaikhan
10. Malta, Mr. Julian Vassallo
11. Argentina, Ambassador Arnoldo Listre
12. Mali, Ambassador Moctar Ouane
13. Islamic Republic of Iran, Ambassador Hadi Nejad Hosseinian

Felicity Hill
Director, United Nations Office
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
777 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
Ph: 1 212 682 1265
Fax: 1 212 286 8211
email: flick@igc.org, wilpfun@igc.org
web: www.wilpf.int.ch,
www.peacewomen.org, www.reachingcriticalwill.org

X-eGroups-Return: sentto-1300601-586-1002682171-mupj=igc.org@returns.onelist.com
X-Sender: CKozlowski2@netscape.net
X-Apparently-To: bumc@yahoogroups.com
To: gordon.mitclub@worldnet.att.net (Kenneth and Barbara Gordon),
bumc@yahoogroups.com
X-Mailer: Atlas Mailer 1.0
X-eGroups-From: CKozlowski2@netscape.net (C. Kozlowski)
From: Ckozlowski2@netscape.net
Mailing-List: list bumc@yahoogroups.com; contact bumc-owner@yahoogroups.com
Delivered-To: mailing list bumc@yahoogroups.com
List-Unsubscribe: <mailto:bumc-unsubscribe@yahoogroups.com>
Date: Tue, 09 Oct 2001 22:49:22 -0400
Subject: RE: Re: [bumc] Bioethics Committee Meets Tues-Weds

Dear Barbara and Others Interested in the Stem Cell Issue:

I will convey directly to Doug Hunt and Jaydee Hanson your frustration in trying to find out the makeup of the Bioethics Task Force. I received a list of its members today. I believe there was one reporter (presumably for a church publication) at the meeting today; otherwise I was the only outside observer.

Bioethics Task Force (from the handout I was given):

James Chin, M.D., Professor, Sch. of Public Health, UC Berkeley (significant part of his career serving the World Health Org.)

Djumba Mamba, agricultural geneticist, head of UM Ag. Sch., Democratic Rep. of the Congo

Amy Laura Hall (shares seat w/Stanley Hauerwas) Asst. Prof. of Theolog. Ethics, Duke Univ. Divinity Sch.; author of "Conceiving Parenthood: Faith, Boundaries and Bioethics"

Stanley Hauerwas (shares above seat) GT Rowe Prof. of Theolog. Ethics, Duke Univ. Div. Sch. Author of many books; recent subject of several books

John E. King, Prof. of Sociol., Univ. Ark. and pastoral ministry, First Presby Chc of Prarie Grove, AK nominated for the task force by J. Harris Moore.

Caroline Moore-Kochlacs, neurobiol. student, Stanford; has had courses in bioethics and has been exposed to both human and animal research protocols in the course of four different projects she has worked on.

Rosetta Ross: UM clergy, Assoc. Prof. of Christian Ethics, McVay Chair, United Seminary, Minneapolis, MN.

Teaching/research areas include Christian social ethics, womanist and feminist theology and ethics, public policy/social justice theory, black theology and ethics.

William D. Scott III Associate Professor of analytical chem. Univ. of Miss., Chair, GBCS environmental justice work area.

Rev. Ray Sison, Chaplain, Univ. of the Philippines, Manila. BS in Physics; studied taught, written in physics as well as science and faith issues.

Sondra Wheeler: Martha Ashby Carr Assoc. Prof. of Christian Ethics, Wesley Seminary, Wash. D.C.; Author, Stewards of Life: Bioethics and Pastoral Care.

Now for my personal take on today's meeting: If you were opposed to embryonic stem cell research going into the meeting, there was very little--close to nothing--presented or that came out in questions from the committee that would change your opinion. There were two presentors: Frank Seydel, who is a human geneticist from Georgetown (a Catholic Univ.) and Daniel Marshak, co-editor of a recent book on stem cells, and VP for research at Cambrex Biosciences--a company that does lots of stuff with ADULT stem cells. When I questioned Seydel during the breaks, it emerged that he personally believes that 5-day old frozen embryos should not be used for research because other research with adult stem cells can accomplish the good ends that embryo stem cell research can. This is NOT the conclusion of either the NIH report this spring or the National Academy of Science report more recently--both of which concluded there are important parts of research directed towards cures for diseases of children and adults that CANNOT be addressed by adult stem cells. As for Marshak, he made a lovely presentation of elegant science on one particular type of adult stem cells that may someday produce cells that regrow tendons and cartilage. It is fine research and should be continue. He even mentioned in one or two sentences that he favors embryonic stem cell research. But if you weren't paying attention, you might have missed that, and thereby missed the ONLY positive thing that was said

about embryonic stem cell research. There was NO ONE speaking about the potential of ES cell research. No one talking about the more serious diseases that are clearly approachable through embryonic stem cells (and not adult stem cells). No one showing the differences between adult and embryonic stem cell research; No one from a patient group that stood to gain years of life for people suffering from horrible diseases that may someday be treatable with stem cells if we just have some ordinary common sense--or, for that matter, follow the example of our Lcelia Kenneth and Barbara Gordon <gordon.mitclub@worldnet.att.net> wrote:

>Celia, Has anyone ever found out who is on the bioethics committee of
>the UMC? I have left messages three times in the last 8 weeks for the
>staffer for this committee to call and have NEVER had a reply. I
>indicated that I wanted to know the members on the committee and the
>times in the last two years that they had met. I also indicated that I
>was a United Methodist but didn't indicate that I was from BUMC!!
>Unfortunately I don't think I can attend these meetings - I have a
>Finance Committee meeting and the Bach lecture at church tomorrow and on
>Thursday I am in charge of my church circle.
>Wish I had known sooner, maybe the circle could have met there on
>Thursday! Barbara Gordon

>
>Ckozlowski2@netscape.net wrote:

>>
>> The bioethics committee that advises the United Methodist board for Church and Society will be holding the first of two meetings tomorrow through Wednesday at the Dulles Hyatt. They will start at 10 a.m. and will hear a scientific expert, Dan Marshak, at 1:30 p.m. At 7 p.m. they will have a conference call with a patent attorney advising them on legal issues. On Wednesday they will discuss theological issues, starting at 9 a.m. A panel of stem cell decision leaders from the Catholic, Southern Baptist, United Church of Christ, and Presbyterian churches will be there along with others. The meetings are open to the public, and we are welcome to bring printed materials for the 9-member committee (they already have copies of the stem cell petition from members of BUMC), but we are not invited to make presentations or ask questions, unless it is done privately during breaks. I plan to go out tomorrow, leaving Bethesda around 11 a.m. from NIH and returning/departing from the Dulles Hyatt
>> around 5p.m. I would be happy to give a lift to/from the meeting from NIH or the church for up to four passengers, if any of you would like to join me. Celia Kozlowski

>>
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>>
>> Get your own FREE, personal Netscape Mail account today at <http://webmail.netscape.com/>

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To unsubscribe from this list, send a message with "unsubscribe BUMC" in the message body to mingomae@aol.com

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From: "Kathy Crandall" <kcrandall@disarmament.org>
To: "Adam Eiding (E-mail)" <adam@mintwood.com>,
"Alison Prevost (E-mail)" <aprevost@networklobby.org>,
"Alistair Miller (E-mail)" <amillar@fourthfreedom.org>,
"Alyssa Gendron (E-mail)" <psrintern6@psr.org>,
"Ana Toledo (E-mail)" <atoledo@umc-gbcs.org>,
"Andrew Howells (E-mail)" <aca@armscontrol.org>,
"Anne Curtis (E-mail)" <acurtis@networklobby.org>,
"Anne Gallivan (E-mail)" <agallivan@psr.org>,
"Arjun Makhijani (E-mail)" <arjun@ieer.org>,
"Bob Musil (E-mail)" <bmusil@psr.org>,
"Carl Nyberg (E-mail)" <cnyberg@cunr.org>,
"Carlean Ponder" <nuclear@wand.org>,
"Chris Lindborg (E-mail)" <clindborg@basicint.org>,
"Christine Kucia (E-mail)" <ckucia@basicint.org>,
"Darrul Fagin (E-mail)" <dfagin@adaction.com>,
"Daryl Kimball (E-mail)" <dkimball@armscontrol.org>,
"David Culp (E-mail)" <david@fcnl.org>,
"Don Kraus (E-mail)" <dkraus@cunr.org>,
"Ellen Barfield (E-mail)" <ellene4pj@yahoo.com>,
"Erik Floden" <efloden@clw.org>, "Erik Leaver" <erik@fpif.org>,
"Erik Olsen (E-mail)" <erik@2020vision.org>,
"Esther Pank (E-mail)" <prgrm@backfromthebrink.net>,
"Gordon Clark (E-mail)" <gordonclark@earthlink.net>,
"Howard Hallman (E-mail)" <mupj@igc.org>,
"Ira Shorr (E-mail)" <irashorr@hotmail.com>,
"James Matlack (E-mail)" <jmatlack@erols.com>,
"Jaya Tiwari (E-mail)" <jtiwari@psr.org>,
"Jessica Scanlan (E-mail)" <jscanlan@psr.org>,
"Jim Wyerman (E-mail)" <jwyerman@2020vision.org>,
"Joe Volk (E-mail)" <joe@fcnl.org>, "Jonathan Dean" <jdean@ucs.org>,
"Justin Gilstrap (E-mail)" <hradcany1@yahoo.com>,
"Kathy Crandall" <kcrandall@disarmament.org>,
"Kathy Guthrie (E-mail)" <kathy@fcnl.org>,
"Kendra Park (E-mail)" <kpark@wfa.org>,
"Kimberly Roberts (E-mail)" <kroberts@psr.org>,
"Kimberly Robson" <wand@wand.org>,
"Laura Kriv (E-mail)" <lkriv@techrocks.org>,
"Lora Lumpe" <llumpe@mindspring.com>,
"Lora Lumpe (E-mail)" <lora@prlo.net>,
"Maria Ramos (E-mail)" <wpc@igc.org>,
"Martin Butcher (E-mail)" <mbutcher@psr.org>,
"Masako Toki (E-mail)" <mtoki@ucsusa.org>,
"Michael Beer" <nonviolence@igc.org>,
"Michael Levi (E-mail)" <mlevi@fas.org>,
"Mike Zmolek (E-mail)" <paka@boo.net>,
"Miriam Pemberton (E-mail)" <miriam@ips-dc.org>,
"Sandy Butcher (E-mail)" <sibutcher@cs.com>,
"Stephen Young (E-mail)" <syoun@ucs.org>,
"Tim Barner (E-mail)" <kathytim@earthlink.net>,
"Tracy Moavero (E-mail)" <tmoavero@peace-action.org>,
"Trisha Christopher (E-mail)" <trishachr@earthlink.net>

Subject: Sept. 11 Response Coalition MEETING TODAY, 3PM, PSR

Date: Wed, 10 Oct 2001 10:52:56 -0400

X-MSMail-Priority: Normal

X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook IMO, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2910.0)

X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2615.200
Importance: Normal

Hi all - I hope to see you at the meeting today at PSR - 3pm. Bob Musil will help us to develop an agenda at the meeting. Here are notes from our last meeting for you to review. Please do bring any updated statements with you to circulate as well as ideas for activities that we can do together.

September 11 Response Coalition

Notes from Meeting Weds. Oct. 3, 3-4:30pm at PSR

List of Attachments

- 1) Media Task Force Notes
- 2) Legislative/Policy Task Force Notes
- 3) Ira Shorr's Draft Message with Meeting Edits

I. Defining our Niche/ Message/ Agenda

A. A Name for this Group / Defining Role, Relationship with Other Coalitions Including Monday Lobby, others

We want to promote a rational and just response to terrorism

We might do this in ad hoc fashion (as a need/ interest in joint action arises)

We want to consider what other coalitions are doing/ not doing – such as the:

Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers (focuses on nuclear weapons policies- meeting on Friday)

Monday Lobby (weekly meeting of Arms Control Community focusing on legislative Issues, current developments) and working groups of ML including the Arms Transfers Working Group, Internationalism Working Group, the Military Spending Working Group and the Nuclear Weapons Working Group

National Coalition for Peace and Justice (planning grassroots actions/ demonstrations)

We should coordinate internationally especially with NGO's in European Countries

Agreement: We are mainly national, Washington –based organizations and together we want to focus upon the policymaking process in Washington. We may want to do some congressional briefings and coordinated media work together on a rotating thematic/ ad- hoc basis. We will want to work with the other Coalitions – especially the working groups of Monday Lobby. We might want to call ourselves something like the Coalition for Justice and Security.

B. Message(s) –

We had a full discussion with contributions of talking points and ideas from Ira Shorr, Arjun Makhijani and others. We spent some time refining the initial broad points of Ira's Draft Message.(Attached in Word is Ira's original draft with our edits marked in red.)

Here is the actual message(s) that it seems we were able to come to agreement upon.

Coalition Response to September 11th - Draft-October 3rd

- *These attacks are an international crime against humanity. The perpetrators of this horrendous act of violence should be brought to justice through the rule of law. Suspects could be publicly tried through an international tribunal established through UN authority, or in a U.S. court combining international and domestic prosecution.*
- *Authorization of any use of force should be made through the auspices of the United Nations, and be demonstrably limited to actions aimed at bringing the perpetrators to justice ,or preventing acts of terrorism. Any action would be preferably multilateral.*
- *The U.S. must act within the framework of moral and legal restraints. Indiscriminate force will spread the violence and decrease the security of U.S. citizens and citizens of other countries.*
- *Any use of force must be consistent with international law and with the "just war" tradition governing the use of force—civilians must not be targeted. The U.S. must act with an unconditional respect for the sacredness of life and the dignity of the individual.*
- *The U.S must act to ensure that this crisis does not lead to the use of nuclear weapons. All nations should disavow the use of weapons of mass destruction.*
- *This crisis must not be used as an excuse to degrade civil liberties. We oppose arbitrary detention and expulsion of immigrants and other threats to civil liberties. We defend the rights of free speech and assembly*

We are not going to have a press conference releasing any joint statement. We probably do not need to come to agreement about additional finer points. Nevertheless it is useful to have the ideas and information as background, many of the more specific points made in Ira's draft and in Arjun's points may be useful to refer to as we plan issue specific events such as hill briefings.

Report from Media Task Force

PSR is collecting Experts/ Resources – this list will be shared with everyone and is intended to aid in responding to press calls and having experts to go to for radio shows etc, Unfortunately only a few groups have responded. Please send your lists to Kroberts@psr.org

We talked about this media group as an umbrella group that would take up specific issues on an ad hoc basis

IPS/ FPIF is still collecting and pitching op-eds

PSR will be circulating published op-eds/ letters to the editor / editorials and news updates

Please see media meeting notes attached

Report from Legislative/Policy Task Force

A. Suggested Briefing Series

A DRAFT list of proposed briefings was circulated at the meeting (and is attached in the legislative meeting notes.)

Additional suggestions can be sent to Erik@FPIF.org or Jtiwari@psr.org

B. Suggested FAQ Issues/ Themes

The task force also began work on a list of FAQ issues and themes – additional questions/ answers should be sent to Jtiwari@psr.org

It was requested that the FAQ's be thematically arranged.

Kathy Crandall

Director

The Nuclear Disarmament Partnership

kcrandall@disarmament.org

www.disarmament.org

Located at the Offices of Physicians for Social Responsibility:

1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1012

Washington, DC 20009

202-667-4260 (ext. 240)

202-667-4201 (fax)

The Nuclear Disarmament Partnership is a joint effort of: Peace Action, Physicians for Social Responsibility, 20/20 Vision and Women's Action for New Directions

**Sept. 11 Response Coalition
Media Task Force Meeting Friday Sept. 28, 2001**

Attending the meeting: Alistair Millar Fourth Freedom Forum

Martha Honey - IPS

Miriam Pemberton - IPS

Adam Eidinger-Mintwood

Tarek Rizk – PSR

Kimberly Roberts – PSR

Martin Butcher – PSR (facilitating)

Kathy Crandall – NDP (notes)

Summary of Actions/ Obligations/ Decision Points

(as this was a smaller group at the initial stages, we are reporting back before making any decisions)

IPS does have a list of experts (mainly policy experts in academia) that has been circulating to media with press releases – this will continue.

PSR is collecting and will distribute to all Response Coalition member organizations an additional list of experts and resources (including experts within our organizations)

PSR will help IPS with follow-up calls to media promoting experts from broader, combined lists.

We will present 2 options/ for combining website clearinghouse efforts (one with a universal button, one with a suggested links page)

IPS will work to place op-eds

PSR will collect published letters to the editor and op eds from local areas

We recommend a series of press briefings on clusters of issues, for example : Arms transfers and human rights, or nuclear non-proliferation and sanctions etc. Groups are urged to think about the specific topics that might be useful to focus on for further discussion at the Response Coalition meeting (Wednesday, October 3 –3pm). (We might combine these press conferences with Hill Briefings and will also discuss this at the Legislative Task Force Meeting , Tuesday, October 2 at 10 am) (Both meetings will be at PSR)

Website Clearinghouse Efforts/ Expert List Collection for Media

Discussion about combined website clearinghouse efforts (as a basis of sharing media resources and helping to get everyone's message out)

Alistair – Foreign Policy in Focus already has an excellent site with a focus on policy
www.fpif.org

We could have site www.justresponse.org be more of a focus on action -

PSR is also developing a clearinghouse site as part of the Center for Justice and Security (not yet posted)

Suggested something like a button similar to the Dontblowit.org model

www.dontblowit.org - (button used on a number of sites of organizations working on nuclear disarmament)

Tarek noted that the key is to keep the information flowing – with the latest press releases easily available and the news/ resources fresh

Martha and Miriam explained that the FPIF website’s “Justice Not War” focus is actually run primarily by Interhemispheric Resource Center and maintained primarily by IRC based in New Mexico

Outreach to students and interfaith groups is also part of the effort

There are articles, press releases, experts and a calendar of events

There is also a list for media of experts in different categories, but phone numbers and basic contact info. is not on the web – to protect people from being overwhelmed with calls (non-media calls)

The Institute for Public Accuracy is also doing media work with a different list of experts – further to the left – IPS will be a liaison with them

There is a need to be more proactive - to make some follow-up calls

PSR offered to spend some effort making media calls - maybe with a theme of the week that the community decides

PSR is also collecting from the Response Coalition lists of experts/ resources

And will also concentrate on trying to collect and distribute some of the printed op-eds/ letters to the editor of grassroots members of organizations

PSR is also doing focused work with health providers communities

We discussed the possibility of creating a 3 hub clearinghouse network with a button that the Response Coalition could use linking to one main page – Just Response.org which then linked to FPIF’s Justice not War Clearinghouse and PSR’s Center for Justice and Security with those sites then linking to a broader coalitions

Not clear that we have sufficient resources to do this, though FFF is prepared to find one person to maintain the Just Response site and FPIF will continue with their site and PSR with theirs.

Also not clear that everyone would want to link to the Just Response button – FPIF not sure that it would be particularly helpful to media and not sure they want “just response” as message

Though there may be a grassroots/ movement building benefit to having one button that is clear/ easier to people to instantly link into the wide variety of community resources and still convey some cohesive quality

Also discussed the possibility of having one page of links that everyone can put up with the word justice, which would probably be just as easy for media, would not require much in additional resources/ work but would not probably serve quite the same grassroots movement building quality

Adam Eiding – the only reason to have one web site/ button such as Just Response would be if we were calling for a mass mobilization/ event – and we would need a common message to do that

We did have a rather long discussion about message and Adam offered the 5 points from the press conference yesterday from the coalition planning events this weekend

- 1) Honor and Mourn the victims
- 2) No to War
- 3) Oppose Racism
- 4) Preserve Civil Liberties
- 5) Peace through Justice

Because most of us felt that it was important to leave the message discussion to the larger Response Coalition and we are also awaiting suggested talking points from Ira Shorr – I did not take notes on our discussion about message

We would like to present the two options of web clearinghouse approaches that we discussed for further discussion and decision to the Response Coalition meeting on Weds. Oct. 3 (We will invite someone –such as Tarek from PSR – who has a strong understanding of the technology requirements to make this presentation)

Op-Eds/ Letters to the Editor

IPS will work to place op-eds – they should be approximately 500-650 words and have a unique angle as there have already been so many op-eds on this general topic

PSR will collect published letters to the editor and op eds from local areas – this will be useful for potential hill drops and other purposes – will try to find web links and also hard copies – with the participation of all the Response Coalition member organizations.

Press Conference(s)

We might want to do hill events/ briefings with media invited -- we agreed that this should be discussed further at the legislative task force meeting (Tuesday Oct. 2 10am)

and at the Response Coalition meeting (Wednesday, October 3 –3pm) IPS has one staff person who is working on this already who will come to the legislative meeting.

Discussed trying to bring in other high profile experts for a press conference. Concerned that there may not be enough time and we may want focus to be on “our message” (whatever we determine that to be) not on the famous person/ but at the same time we need to find a media draw. Doing briefings with Congress might work well as well.

Timing of the press conference? Some events are planned by the National Coalition for Peace and Justice Oct. 7 (though Alistair says it is not clear what actions/ what message) Oct. 10 is a national call-in day and Oct. 11 is one month after the attacks. It gets harder to find a news hook the longer that we wait, but we do need a clear message before we plan anything.

We recommend a series of press briefings on clusters of issues for example – arms transfers and human rights, or nuclear non-proliferation and sanctions etc. Groups are urged to think about the specific topics that might be useful to focus on for further discussion at the Response Coalition meeting (Wednesday, October 3 –3pm)

Sept. 11 Response Coalition

Legislative/Policy Task Force Notes

Meeting Oct. 2 10 am PSR

In attendance:

Carlean Ponder WAND

Erik Lever IPS/ Foreign Policy In Focus

Ira Shorr Back from theBrink

Jaya Tiwari PSR

Jessica Scanlon – PSR/Scoville Fellow

Ellen Barfield –WILPF /VFP etc.

Kathy Crandall – NDP (notes)

Discussion of Needs and Things Under Development Already

Erik spoke about the work that IPS in coalition with others did in responding to Kosovo – hosting weekly briefings with the Progressive Caucus. Still waiting now to hear back from Kucinich (D-OH) on doing briefings

Carlean – Given WAND’s experience with a National Conference and feedback from Members of Congress, we need to help shape the grassroots message going into Members of Congress. One clear statement from this Coalition will be difficult.

Ira – How will our message be affected by bombing

Jessica - Informed us of actions that the Arms Transfer Working Group had taken with a hill drop on release of arms transfer restrictions/ sanctions etc.

Jaya – We should think about different themes/ and issues for briefings

Kathy – Like the idea of doing a series of briefings – but not all with the Progressive Caucus. Other groups such as the Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers or the working groups of Monday Lobby – could be asked to take the lead in developing briefings with appropriate Members.

Erik – With the Kosovo briefings we developed a list of FAQ’s – issue areas/ common concerns were identified but not one statement. (See a DRAF FAQ list attached)

ACTIONS TAKEN

Erik will draft an initial list of possible briefings and FAQs –

Jaya and Erik have been working on editing those so we can have drafts available for the meeting on Weds.

A first possible briefing would focus on general issues of the Security and Humanitarian Crisis in the region. We should all think about possible experts in the area of humanitarian aid to Afghanistan, and understanding the political/ history of Pakistan/ Afghanistan and the region .We want to think of some prominent people that would be a draw for staff and Members, as well as potentially media. Erik will be following up with Kucinich’s office. Jaya will speak to Ackerman (D-NY –Ranking on the International Relations South Asia/ Middle East subcommittee.)

DRAFT OUTLINE OF FAQ's

Terrorism Response
Legislative Sub-group

Outline for the FAQ

What is the scope of the current humanitarian crisis and what are the security implications?

What impact will U.S. military action have in aggravating regional and global instability?

What are the existing **nuclear**, chemical, biological and terrorist threats and what are the best actions the US can take to curb these threats?

What are possible **scenarios** of US action? **Are they within the framework of international law?**

Who are the actors in US intelligence gathering? What changes can be taken to improve current policy?

How are terrorists financed and what actions can the US take to stop the flow of money to terrorists?

What are the implications for the military budget and military policy?

Who are the main actors in the coalition the US is building? Will there be an increase in US military assistance and training programs with coalition members? Will greater amounts of foreign aid be administered to these members?

DRAFT OUTLINE FOR PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFINGS

Terrorism Response Legislative Sub-group

Outline for a Congressional Education/Policy Briefing Series

Concept: A weekly or bi-weekly briefing series to be sponsored by either individual members, [chair/ranking member of a committee or subcommittee interested in a particular topic](#), or under the umbrella of the Progressive Caucus. The general theme would be to analyze the administrations' actions against terrorism and to see if these actions make both the U.S. and the world safer.

Draft Series Title: Combating Terrorism: Finding the Roots of Real Security

Weekly Series Topics:

Security Issues and the Humanitarian Crisis

Possible Speakers: Someone from the World Food Program
 Rachel Reilly (Human Rights Watch)
 T. Kumar (Amnesty Intl.)
 [Stephen P. Cohen, Director, South Asia Project, Brookings Institute](#)
 [George Perkovich, WAJ Foundation](#)

Understanding the House of Cards. Policy Options in the mid-East and South Asia

Possible Speakers: Michael Klare (Hampshire College)
 PSR

A New Cold War? Directions for the Military Budget

Possible Speakers: Cindy Williams (MIT)
Chris Hellman (CDI)
Carl Conetta (PDA)
WAND

Exporting Security? U.S. Military Assistance and Training Programs

Possible Speakers: Erik Floden (CLWEF)
Tamar Gabelnick (FAS)
Lora Lumpe

Chemical, Biological and Nuclear Terrorist Threats

Possible Speakers: Barbara Hatch Rosenberg (FAS WG on Bio weaps)
[Dr. Robert Gould, \(PSR on chem./bio threats\)](#)
[Paul Leventhal \(NCI on nuclear terrorism\)](#)
Dr. Jonathan B. Tucker, Director, CBW Project Center for Nonproliferation Studies

International Law

Possible Speakers: Michael Ratner (Center for Constitutional Law)
[Merav Datan \(PSR\)](#)

Intelligence

Possible Speakers: Steven Aftergood (FAS)
Mel Goodman (Natl. War College)

Financing Terrorism

Possible Speakers: Randall Dodd (Derivatives Study Center)
Christian Weller (EPI)

Additional Topic Idea:

Views on Homeland Defense

Possible Speakers: Someone from CDI
Michael O'Hanlon, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institute

Coalition Response to September 11th – 2nd Draft-October 3rd

Draft Message

Dealing with the Perpetrators

- ~~We are opposed to resolving this crisis through an act of war.~~
- ~~These~~ attacks ~~are~~ an international crime against humanity. The perpetrators of this horrendous act of violence should be brought to justice through the rule of law. Suspects could be publicly tried through an international tribunal established through UN authority, or in a U.S. court combining international and domestic prosecution.
- Authorization of any use of force should be made through the auspices of the United Nations, and be demonstrably limited to actions aimed at bringing the perpetrators to justice, or preventing acts of terrorism. Any action would be preferably multilateral.
- The U.S. must act within the framework of moral and legal restraints. Indiscriminate force will spread the violence and decrease the security of U.S. citizens and citizens of other countries.
- Any use of force must be consistent with international law and with the “just war” tradition governing the use of force—civilians must not be targeted. The U.S. must act with an unconditional respect for the sacredness of life and the dignity of the individual.
- The U.S. must act to ensure that this crisis does not lead to the use of nuclear weapons. **(Need added language here?)**
- This crisis must not be used as an excuse to degrade civil liberties. We oppose arbitrary detention and expulsion of immigrants and other threats to civil liberties. We defend the rights of free speech and assembly

Ramifications of Military Action in South-Central Asia

- The build-up to military action is already setting off a humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan--and the region—of immense proportions. He U.S. must act to address the needs of innocent civilians caught up in this conflict.
- The potential for military escalation in South-Central Asia could destabilize Pakistan and embroil India. The two nations are enemies—and nuclear powers.
- The potential for instability in Pakistan is particularly worrisome. As the New York Times (10/2/01) noted in an article on our new ally-Pakistan: **“By drafting this fragile and fractious nation into a central role in the ‘war on terrorism,’ America runs the danger of setting off a cataclysm in a place where civil violence is a likely bet and nuclear weapons exist. Pakistan has long been the speculated locale for one of the world’s worst nightmare scenario, in which Islamic terrorists, in league with rogue elements of the military, seize control of the government with the vengeful sword of jihad with a nuclear tip.”**

- Instability in the region could also impact Russia--a nation faced with deteriorating control of nuclear materials, a profoundly compromised nuclear missile early warning system, and a decaying nuclear command and control system.

Root Causes

- It is responsibility of Congress and the citizens of this democracy to reflect on the ramifications of past government policies to national security, and to raise questions as to whether current policies will decrease the potential for future terrorist threats.
- We must address the root causes of terrorism. Poverty, ignorance and militarism create a climate from which terrorists can spring. The international community should reform those structures and foreign policy practices that breed inequality, violence, and disrespect for indigenous cultures.
- The distrust of U.S. government policies by many citizens of the Middle East should prompt reflection. Why does our foreign policy often support undemocratic regimes in that region? Is there an alternative to basing U.S. troops near Muslim holy sites? How can the U.S. better support those forces in the Middle East that call for education, social justice, women's rights, democracy and civil liberties?

Other National Security Threats-Future Military Policies

- This crisis must not be used as an excuse to pursue excessive military spending, and unnecessary and dangerous military policies like national missile defense and the abrogation of the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty.
- While we fight this new "war—on terrorism, we must make the mistake of ignoring the dangerous legacies of the last war—the Cold War. This crisis must not delay the critical need for action to reduce the nuclear threat. Specifically the administration and Congress should: support de-alerting U.S. nuclear forces and push for reciprocal de-alerting by Russia, and pursue deep cuts in U.S. and Russian arsenals; support additional funding for Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat reduction programs; and maintain the ABM Treaty.

Drafted by Ira Shorr, Back From the Brink, 10/3/01

To: "Rutledge, Philip" <rutledge@indiana.edu>

From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>

Subject: Re: October 12 Meeting Reminder

Cc:

Bcc:

X-Attachments:

In-Reply-To: <875F4BFEEB4CD21192D300805F65BBC00A533B67@pennsylvania.exchange.indiana.edu>

References:

At 03:58 PM 10/9/01 -0500, you wrote:

> Colleagues: This is a reminder of our regular
>monthly meeting at NAPA, Friday, October 12, 2001.

Phil,

I'll be there.

I'd like to offer a suggestion about your e-mail messages. When I send messages to long lists of people, I address it to myself and send them a blind copy. That way the long list of addresses doesn't appear with the message when recipients download. The only exception is when I want to give recipients an opportunity to reply to all, but this doesn't happen very often.

Shalom,
Howard

We will continue our
>experiment with meetings beginning at 12:00 Noon, over lunch, for Fellows
>only, and the general meeting for Fellows and Associate Members starting at
>1:00 PM, with teleconferencing available at that time. The idea is to
>accommodate better our colleagues on the Western and Hawaii time zones.
>The number to call for the teleconference is 1-800-311-9408, access code
>NAPA. We recall that the teleconference didn't work very well last month
>as the new system was being inaugurated, but the Academy has more
>experience in its usage now. Over lunch, we will engage in
>our usual informal exchanges and check-ins, with a few items of business
>interspersed. We'll have an update on the Dallas Conference, with Dallas
>Coordinator Gloria Register available to call in on cue. Each
>subcommittee chair has also been asked to present one objective for the
>Panel to achieve during our second program year. This process was very
>helpful in giving us a jump start during our first year of operation, in
>which we achieved most of our goals, if we count the Dallas "summit" which
>was pushed forward into our second year for obvious reasons. Updated
>copies of the Dallas program will be available at the meeting or upon
>request. At the general meeting, starting with the 1:00 PM
>teleconference, we will engage in a colloquium with John Palguta, Director
>and Policy and Evaluation, and John Crum, a researcher, at the Merit
>Systems Protection Board on "Social Equity Issues in the Federal
>Workforce". Members of the Public Services panel will join us for the
>meeting. <> -- OR JUST HIT RETURN ON THIS E-MAIL MESSAGE.

>

>

Phil

From: "Rutledge, Philip" <rutledge@indiana.edu>
To: "'Howard W. Hallman'" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: RE: October 12 Meeting Reminder
Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 09:07:11 -0500
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)

Howard:

Thanks for the suggestion. Someone else said they liked to see who else was involved. Normally, these will be sent out by NAPA after they get the roster correct on their list.

Phil

-----Original Message-----

From: Howard W. Hallman [mailto:mupj@igc.org]
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2001 8:42 AM
To: Rutledge, Philip
Subject: Re: October 12 Meeting Reminder

At 03:58 PM 10/9/01 -0500, you wrote:

> Colleagues: This is a reminder of our regular
>monthly meeting at NAPA, Friday, October 12, 2001.

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>meeting. <> -- OR JUST HIT RETURN ON THIS E-MAIL MESSAGE.

>
> Phil
Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice
1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a membership association of
laity and clergy. It has no affiliation with any Methodist denomination.

To: bjerkes <jbjerke@presenter.com>
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Peace/Justice Alerts
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To: <3.0.6.32.20010922125923.007d78e0@pop.presenter.com>
References:

At 12:59 PM 9/22/01 -0500, you wrote:

>Hi,

>

>How do I receive email alerts, information, etc.?

>

>Also, is this part of the UMC Peace and Justice Network?

Dear Jim,

Methodists United for Peace with Justice is an unofficial organization that works mainly within the United Methodist Church, though we have an interest in outreach to other denominations of the Methodist family. We work closely and cooperatively with the United Methodist General Board of Church and Society. Our main focus is upon nuclear disarmament. Periodically we send out action alerts on this issue. I'll add your e-mail address to this list.

Shalom,
Howard Hallman

*From: "Rachel Egeland" <regeland@nchs-nevada.org>
To: <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Peace with Justice
Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 08:24:07 -0500
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook Express 5.00.2314.1300
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2314.1300*

Dear W. Hallman,

I am writing to request information on the Peace with Justice association. I am not currently a member of the Methodist church; however I did just recently begin attending a Methodist church. I actually learned of this association through an Internet search for peace organizations. I tend to become very emotionally upset over hostility and war throughout the world and the recent events have rekindled my desire to take some sort of action for peace. I often feel that I am alone in my belief that violence is not the way to deal with any situation and would love to know that there are others with the same beliefs. Any information you could provide me with concerning this or other organizations would be greatly appreciated.

*Thank you,
Rachel Egeland*

From: Joe Volk <joe@fcnl.org>
To: Joe Volk <joe@fcnl.org>
Subject:
Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 12:03:06 -0400
X-MS-TNEF-Correlator: <E9BA445D76C0D21182F30090273DFAF642CB0E@local.fcnl.org>
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)

FCNL MEMO:

To: Monday Lobby
From: Joe Volk
RE: FCNL Letter to President Bush on the Bombing of Afghanistan

For your information, I am sending you the October 10th FCNL letter to President Bush on the bombing of Afghanistan. This letter was revised as a statement of FCNL and sent to every member of congress. It is pasted in below and also attached as a text file. You will be able to find this document and other FCNL materials about the September 11 Attack and the U.S. Response on our website: www.fcnl.org

Joe

Joe Volk
Executive Secretary
Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 Second Street NE
Washington, DC 20002-5795
Phone: 202-547-6000
Fax: 202-547-6019
Web: www.fcnl.org

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 Statement of Purpose

October 10, 2001

President George W. Bush
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bush,

We urge you to stop the bombing, stand down the U.S. military, feed the hungry, and work diligently through peaceful means to win the hearts and

minds of the Afghan people and other peoples throughout that region to the cause of justice for the victims of September 11.

We continue to grieve for those several thousand unique, precious and irreplaceable people who were murdered in the September 11 attacks on the airliners, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Our outrage at those acts of terrible violence is rooted in our profound belief that every human being is a creature of God and has been put here for a very special purpose. Those who helped in planning and carrying out the attacks have violated the most fundamental laws of a civil society. They should be held accountable under those laws.

We seek your leadership to end the downward spiral of attacks and reprisals, a spiral begun long before September 11 but propelled by those attacks. U.S. bombing and a war on terrorism will not bring justice for the victims of the September 11 attacks. Terrorism is not a person, place, or thing. You cannot blast it out of this world. On the contrary, terrorism is a vicious type of human conduct provoked by hatred or greed and carried out by fanatics and by governments. Violent retaliation by the U.S. will only sow more seeds of hatred and reap a new harvest of terror. We call on you to help lead the world out of the wilderness of war and terror and into a new world where people everywhere choose life by exercising a reverence for life.

You have said that the attacks of September 11 changed everything. Perhaps, but the thinking of our government officials and their response to violence remains unchanged. The U.S.-led military campaign is merely a high tech and more destructive version of a 19th century military strategy, and promotes the law of force over the force of law. By leading a military campaign in Afghanistan, the U.S. has fallen from its internationally recognized moral high ground to a much more morally ambiguous position in the eyes of many around the world. This response is inadequate to the demands of the 21st century and is unbecoming to America.

While we know that your administration's intent is not to harm innocent civilians with its bombing, Afghani civilians have already suffered this unintended effect. Weapons inevitably malfunction, are misdirected, or put civilians adjacent to the intended targets in harm's way. Already dozens of civilians, including four UN workers, have been killed by U.S.-led military attacks. We cannot simply consign those people who were killed to the category of "collateral damage" or an "accident of war." They, too, were unique and precious human beings who will never be replaced. The U.S. government had no right to sacrifice their lives in its pursuit of justice.

We also know that your administration's intent is not to compound a humanitarian catastrophe in Afghanistan through military action. However, the U.S. military actions are escalating the suffering and putting ever more thousands of innocent people in jeopardy. Afghani civilians have been fleeing their homes in fear. Winter is fast approaching. Little food or shelter exist anywhere. The borders with Pakistan and Iran are closed. With the U.S. bombing, most shipments of humanitarian relief supplies into Afghanistan have been halted, and the U.S. air drops of daily food rations for 37,000 in remote regions do nothing to meet the needs of millions of starving people elsewhere in the country. How will the agonizing deaths of

thousands of Afghan civilians due to starvation and winter exposure advance the cause of justice for the victims of September 11?

President Bush, let September 11 become a day of an Epiphany of Hope, rather than of evil. We appeal to you to exercise compassion for the people of Afghanistan. Stop the war, end the cycle of violence, and lead the world to a new civil order for the 21st century. Use the solid backing of the international community to bring the perpetrators of the September 11 attacks to justice under the rule of law. Let the guns fall silent so that the world may hear freedom ring from our mountain top.

Sincerely,

Joe Volk
Executive Secretary

cc:

Spencer Abraham, Secretary of Energy
John Ashcroft, Attorney General
Andrew H. Card, Jr., Chief of Staff
Elaine L. Chao, Secretary of Labor
Richard B. Cheney, Vice President
Donald L. Evans, Secretary of Commerce
Mel Martinez, Secretary of Housing and Urban

Development

Norman Y. Mineta, Secretary of Transportation
Gale A. Norton, Secretary of the Interior
Paul Henry O'Neil, Secretary of the Treasury
Roderick R. Paige, Secretary of Education
Colin L. Powell, Secretary of State
Anthony J. Principi, Secretary of Veteran's Affairs
Condoleezza Rice, Asst. To the Pres. for Nat'l Security

Affairs

Tom Ridge, Director of Homeland Security
Donald H. Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense
Tommy G. Thompson, Secretary of Health and Human Services
Ann M. Veneman, Secretary of Agriculture

Joe Volk
Executive Secretary
Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 Second Street NE
Washington, DC 20002-5795
Phone: 202-547-6000
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We seek an earth restored.

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Attachment Converted: "C:\Program Files\Internet\download\Untitled"

To: bumc
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: War on Afghanistan
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Dear Friends;

Many of you are interested in hearing different points of view on the war against terrorism. Therefore, I would like to share with you a letter from the Friends Committee on National Legislation to President Bush. I share their viewpoint while recognizing that other sincere people have a different perspective.

Shalom,
Howard

###

October 10, 2001

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1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
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Sincerely,

Joe Volk
Executive Secretary
Friends Committee on National Legislation

From: Gail Williams <GWilliams@trammellcrow.com>
To: "'Howard W. Hallman'" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: RE: [bumc] War on Afghanistan
Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 13:00:02 -0500
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)

I hope your efforts do not go unheard. Thanks Howard.

-----Original Message-----

From: Howard W. Hallman [mailto:mupj@igc.org]
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2001 1:16 PM
To: bumc@yahogroups.com
Subject: [bumc] War on Afghanistan

Dear Friends;

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Dear President Bush,

We urge you to stop the bombing, stand down the U.S. military, feed the hungry, and work diligently through peaceful means to win the hearts and minds of the Afghan people and other peoples throughout that region to the cause of justice for the victims of September 11.

We continue to grieve for those several thousand unique, precious and irreplaceable people who were murdered in the September 11 attacks on the airliners, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Our outrage at those acts of terrible violence is rooted in our profound belief that every human being is a creature of God and has been put here for a very special purpose. Those who helped in planning and carrying out the attacks have violated the most fundamental laws of a civil society. They should be held accountable under those laws.

We seek your leadership to end the downward spiral of attacks and reprisals, a spiral begun long before September 11 but propelled by those attacks.

U.S. bombing and a war on terrorism will not bring justice for the victims of the September 11 attacks. Terrorism is not a person, place, or thing. You cannot blast it out of this world. On the contrary, terrorism is a vicious type of human conduct provoked by hatred or greed and carried out by fanatics and by governments. Violent retaliation by the U.S. will only sow more seeds of hatred and reap a new harvest of terror. We call on you to help lead the world out of the wilderness of war and terror and into a new world where people everywhere choose life by exercising a reverence for life.

You have said that the attacks of September 11 changed everything. Perhaps, but the thinking of our government officials and their response to violence remains unchanged. The U.S.-led military campaign is merely a high tech and more destructive version of a 19th century military strategy, and promotes the law of force over the force of law. By leading a military campaign in Afghanistan, the U.S. has fallen from its internationally recognized moral high ground to a much more morally ambiguous position in the eyes of many around the world. This response is inadequate to the demands of the 21st century and is unbecoming to America.

While we know that your administration's intent is not to harm innocent civilians with its bombing, Afghani civilians have already suffered this unintended effect. Weapons inevitably malfunction, are misdirected, or put civilians adjacent to the intended targets in harm's way. Already dozens of civilians, including four UN workers, have been killed by U.S.-led military attacks. We cannot simply consign those people who were killed to the category of "collateral damage" or an "accident of war." They, too, were unique and precious human beings who will never be replaced. The U.S. government had no right to sacrifice their lives in its pursuit of justice.

We also know that your administration's intent is not to compound a humanitarian catastrophe in Afghanistan through military action. However, the U.S. military actions are escalating the suffering and putting ever more thousands of innocent people in jeopardy. Afghani civilians have been fleeing their homes in fear. Winter is fast approaching. Little food or shelter exist anywhere. The borders with Pakistan and Iran are closed. With the U.S. bombing, most shipments of humanitarian relief supplies into Afghanistan have been halted, and the U.S. air drops of daily food rations for 37,000 in remote regions do nothing to meet the needs of millions of starving people elsewhere in the country. How will the agonizing deaths of thousands of Afghan civilians due to starvation and winter exposure advance the cause of justice for the victims of September 11?

President Bush, let September 11 become a day of an Epiphany of Hope, rather than of evil. We appeal to you to exercise compassion for the people of Afghanistan. Stop the war, end the cycle of violence, and lead the world to a new civil order for the 21st century. Use the solid backing of the international community to bring the perpetrators of the September 11 attacks to justice under the rule of law. Let the guns fall silent so that the world may hear freedom ring from our mountain top.

Sincerely,

Joe Volk
Executive Secretary
Friends Committee on National Legislation

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice
1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

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To: mupj@igc.org
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons
Cc:
Bcc: icnd
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Dear Colleagues:

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As the war on terrorism and against Afghanistan have gotten underway, there remains the issue of nuclear weapons, first in dealing with terrorism and then in the broader perspective of global security in the 21st century. With that in mind I have drafted the following sign-on letter to President Bush. It deals with three issues: no first use, non-proliferation, and nuclear disarmament.

I invite a representative of your organization to sign. I suggest a deadline of the close of business on Friday, October 19. If you have any questions or comments about the letter, please contact me by return e-mail or by phone at 301 896-0013.

Shalom,
Howard

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Sign on letter for representatives of religious organizations.

The Honorable George W. Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

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First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government favor using nuclear weapons against terrorist enclaves and against states that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of the United States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral and would constitute a crime against humanity.

Second, we note that in January 2001 the Task Force chaired by Howard Baker and Lloyd Cutler stated: "The most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction or weapons-usable material in Russia could be stolen and sold to terrorists or hostile nation states and used against American troops or citizens at home." The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States emphasize the

importance of this finding. Therefore, we believe that a substantial portion of anti-terrorist funds should go for full implementation of the Baker-Cutler report. In terms of relative priority, we suggest that funds be transferred from the missile defense budget to this and other urgent non-proliferation initiatives.

Third, we believe that the improved relationship between the United States and Russia because of mutual concern over terrorism should be treated as an opportunity to make substantial progress in improving the security of deployed nuclear weapons and dismantling the nuclear arsenals still in place more than a decade after the Cold War ended. Specifically we ask you to implement your campaign promise to work with Russia to de-alert and stand down the respective nuclear arsenals and to achieve deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons. Not only will this enhance the security of the United States and Russia by lowering the possibility of accidental launch, it will also reduce the danger that a renegade group could gain control of deployed nuclear weapons and use them for terrorist attack on the United States.

We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

Sincerely yours,

Representatives of religious organizations.

Reply-To: <agreenblat@nccusa.org>
From: "Andrew Greenblatt" <agreenblat@nccusa.org>
To: "'Howard W. Hallman'" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: RE: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons
Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 13:46:22 -0400
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook CWS, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2911.0)
Importance: Normal
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.50.4133.2400

Howard,

Excellent work. Thank you for writing this. Please sign me on:

Andrew Greenblatt, Coordinator
Religious Leaders for Sensible Priorities
475 Riverside Drive, 8th Fl.
New York, NY 10115
212-870-2155
agreenblatt@nccusa.org

Andrew

-----Original Message-----

From: Howard W. Hallman [mailto:mupj@igc.org]
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2001 1:29 PM
To: mupj@igc.org
Subject: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons

Dear Colleagues:

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Representatives of religious organizations.

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
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1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

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X-Mailer: Novell GroupWise 5.2
Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 12:56:34 -0500
From: "Greg Laszakovits" <glaszakovits_gb@brethren.org>
To: mupj@igc.org
Subject: Re: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons

Howard,
Please sign me on:
Greg Davidson Laszakovits
Coordinator
Church of the Brethren Washington Office

Also, is it too late to write the letter of support for you? My apologies in neglecting this for so long. If it would still be of use, I would be glad to do it.

Regards, Greg

>>> "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org> 10/11/01 01:29PM >>>
Dear Colleagues:

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Methodists United for Peace with Justice
1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

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From: "Charlotte V. Davenport, csjp" <csjp@igc.org>
To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: RE: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons
Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 14:41:53 -0400
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook IMO, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2910.0)
Importance: Normal
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2615.200

Please add our signature to the sign-on letter.

Sr. Ann Rutan, President
Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace

Thanks so much for all you do.

Charlotte Davenport, csjp

-----Original Message-----

From: Howard W. Hallman [mailto:mupj@igc.org]
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2001 1:29 PM
To: mupj@igc.org
Subject: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons

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X-Sender: ircalb@swcp.com
X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Version 5.0.2
Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 10:42:40 -0600
To: ircalb@swcp.com
From: Interhemispheric Resource Center <ircalb@swcp.com>
Subject: sign-on statement: New Agenda to Counter Terrorism

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

Below is a policy statement and sign-on letter that FPIF will be circulating to the coordinated response network listed on our website, as well as to policymakers and the media.

best regards,
Tim McGivern
FPIF Communications Director

FOREIGN POLICY IN FOCUS
fpif.org

What's New at FPIF

Sign-on Statement for a new agenda to combat terrorism
from the directors of Foreign Policy In Focus
http://www.fpif.org/form_nowar.html

October 10, 2001

Dear Colleague,

"Today we focus on Afghanistan," President Bush told the nation in announcing the first U.S. strikes on October 7, "But the battle is broader." We should expect, the president told Congress, "a lengthy campaign, unlike any we have ever seen."

But will these and future bombings, covert ops, and other military operations really protect us? Are they the right, just, and smart response to the new threat of international terrorism? Many have grave doubts. While most Americans, as well as the international coalition, support a relatively short war, there is growing concern that a more elaborate conflict risks turning into a global war that will lead the U.S. into new political and military quagmires while only fanning the flames of terrorism and doing little to increase our national security.

America needs a new agenda for combating terrorism--one that secures us against terrorist attacks and that integrates the use of force within an international legal and policy framework.

This agenda must bring international terrorists to justice, debilitate their capacity to wage terrorism, and undermine the political credibility of terrorist networks by addressing related political grievances and injustices.

Foreign Policy In Focus, an international network of foreign policy experts, is presenting such an agenda to the policy community and to the public as a new framework for combating terrorism and protecting our security. We urge you to indicate your support for this reform agenda either as an organization or individual. We will present this New Agenda to Combat Terrorism to the media and policymakers, along with the individual and institutional expressions of support.

Below, we outline a four-part framework for a new national security policy that counters terrorism and propagates justice by:

- Preventing and mitigating the effects of terrorist violence.
- Strengthening the national and international legal system to insure that those responsible for planning, financing, directly supporting, and engaging in terrorist violence are held accountable. When necessary, the use of military force may need to be used to advance the rule of law within a multilateral and international legal framework.
- Defending and promoting basic civil liberties and rights at home while working to insure that individuals and groups are neither made into scapegoats nor become the victims of hate crimes. Abroad, the policy must insure that U.S. efforts at combating terrorism do not increase violations of internationally recognized human rights and that, in all cases, innocent civilians are not harmed in the pursuit of terrorists.
- Attacking the root causes of terrorism by addressing the socioeconomic and political conditions that enable terrorism (in whatever form and for whatever ends) to appear to be a viable strategy for pursuing political objectives.

Sincerely,
Tom Barry and Martha Honey
Directors, Foreign Policy In Focus

If you support this reform agenda, please fill in information below, and then forward this document to **no-war@fpif.org**

Name:

Organization:

Affiliation (if any) with FPIF :

Email:

Indicate if you are a:

Student

Academic

NGO Staff

Concerned Individual

Government Official
Church Leader

Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 12:55:38 -0400
From: Greg Marsh <gmarsh@ransac.org>
X-Mailer: Mozilla 4.75 [en] (Win98; U)
X-Accept-Language: en
To: RANSAC DC Office <ransac@ransac.org>
Subject: New RANSAC Report - Increasing Budgets for US-Russian Nuclear
Nonproliferation Cooperation

10/11/01

Please find attached a new RANSAC study of possible options for increasing US-Russian nuclear security cooperation in the wake of the 9/11 attacks.

This report and other materials can be found at RANSAC's web site, www.ransac.org.

Michael Roston
mroston@ransac.org

Attachment Converted: "C:\Program Files\Internet\download\Options paper 101101.doc"

Options for Increased U.S.-Russian Nuclear Nonproliferation Cooperation and Projected Costs

Kenneth N. Luongo
Executive Director
Russian-American Nuclear Security Advisory Council
October 2001

Introduction

The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon have left little doubt that if unscrupulous terrorist organizations obtain weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the future there is little barrier to their use. The most immediate WMD danger is posed by the potential terrorist use of chemical and biological weapons. However, the detonation of a nuclear weapon or the dispersal of radiological materials such as plutonium by terrorists would create deaths, casualties and psychological horror that are difficult to imagine. The British government, in the document it released detailing the intelligence known about Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda terrorist network, states that they have “sought to acquire nuclear and chemical materials for use as terrorist weapons” and that ultimately acquiring such weapons was viewed by them as “a religious duty.”

Therefore, intense consideration must be given now to whether the U.S. is adequately addressing the danger of potential terrorist acquisition of the nuclear tools of terror. Many nations possess nuclear materials and eight countries possess nuclear weapons, so leakages could come from many locations. But Russia possesses the largest stockpile of nuclear weapon material and weapons, and the security of its stockpiles is currently inadequate.

After a decade of U.S.-Russian threat reduction cooperation, much has been done to reduce the vulnerability of these stockpiles, but much also remains to be done. The new spirit of cooperation between the U.S. and Russia in the fight against terrorism also provides a much-improved environment in which to push with renewed vigor the implementation of cooperative security activities. This paper outlines areas where the cooperative efforts could be increased and also identifies a few new ideas that could be considered for implementation.

These options for action, while focusing primarily on Russia and nuclear materials and weapons, must be considered as only one element in the global effort to deny terrorists access to weapons of mass destruction. Additional actions must be taken to secure global chemical and biological stocks, and also to improve the safeguarding of civilian nuclear materials and commercial nuclear facilities worldwide.

The Congress passed an initial supplemental appropriations bill providing \$40 billion to address the needs raised by the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S. While no less than \$20 billion will be used for disaster recovery activities in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, plans for allocating most of the remaining \$20 billion remain unclear. The recommendations below are intended to provide the Congress and the executive branch with concrete ideas for how a portion of these funds could be utilized to prevent future unthinkable terrorist attacks by denying terrorists access to nuclear weapons-related materials, technologies, and expertise in Russia and the former Soviet Union (FSU). It is also designed to stimulate the thinking of U.S. allies in Europe and Asia about what more they could contribute to this effort.

Political Considerations

Anticipating that nuclear proliferation problems might erupt from the disintegration of the Soviet Union a decade ago, the U.S. Congress, in bipartisan action in 1991, laid the foundation for the cooperative security agenda by enacting what became known as the “Nunn-Lugar” program, named for its primary cosponsors, Senators Sam Nunn (D-GA) and Richard Lugar (R-IN). The objective of the cooperative security agenda was to work jointly with Russia and the other states of the FSU to reduce the threat posed by the legacy of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. This initiative has since developed into a broad set of programs that involve a number of U.S. agencies, primarily the Departments of Defense, Energy, and State. The government now provides these programs with approximately \$900 million to \$1 billion per year.

These cooperative efforts have had success in improving the security of WMD in the FSU. For example, nearly 40% of the estimated 600 tons of weapon-usable nuclear material outside of nuclear weapons in Russia has been provided with some level of improved security. But it only takes about 10 pounds of plutonium or 30 pounds of highly-enriched uranium to make a nuclear bomb. Even the explosive dispersal of plutonium would constitute a devastating attack. Yet vast amounts of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons materials have yet to be secured or eliminated. In addition, export and border controls throughout the region are grossly inadequate, Russian weapons facilities remain dangerously oversized, and the weapon scientists and workers in these complexes often lack sufficient compensation or alternative work possibilities. The need to aggressively address these threats is at least equal in importance to the need to counter the dangers posed by ballistic missile proliferation.

The cooperative security work that occurs requires the involvement and agreement of both the United States and Russia. In recent years, problems have developed on both the U.S. and Russian side. There is continuing tension over how much of the cooperative security budget is spent in Russia versus in the United States. There is conflict over levels of access to sensitive facilities. And there are political issues such as the tendency of some U.S. officials to treat collaboration with Russia as a client-donor relationship, with Russia acting as a subcontractor to the United States rather than as a partner. Russian participants in this collaboration have made clear their desire to modify the way the U.S. and Russia interact in this arena. While Russian officials do acknowledge their nation’s proliferation problems, they would prefer to cooperate with the United States in a more equal manner, as a scientific and security partner rather than as a potential proliferant.

To block the threat of terrorist acquisition of nuclear materials and weapons it is necessary to achieve sustainable engagement in a way that serves larger U.S. and Russian interests. One key step in this direction would be to integrate Russian experts into all phases of program design and implementation. Taking this step will require a considerable change of attitude in the United States, both in the executive branch and in Congress.

But, this new effort also will require a sea change of mentality in Russia. Russian officials must demonstrate that they are committed to nuclear security cooperation beyond the financial incentives for participation offered by the United States. Achieving real balance and partnership will be difficult, but it is possible with sustained and focused political leadership.

Raising the political profile and leadership on this agenda is therefore essential. Past successes on this agenda have been substantially facilitated by political relationships and leadership in the United States and Russia. This has included effective relationships between laboratory scientists, program managers and officials in both countries, and high-level political attention from cabinet secretaries, the White House, and the Kremlin. In times when this political leadership has been lacking on one or both sides, progress has lagged and problems have festered. At present, political leadership on this agenda is lacking in both countries. This agenda needs to be carried out on multiple levels, and its technical implementation is essential. But for success to continue, there must be active political engagement at the White House, cabinet, and sub-cabinet political appointee levels in the U.S. government. Similar engagement also must occur in Russia.

Also, in the past, many programs have benefited from the involvement of outside experts in the review of programmatic successes, failures, and implementation strategies. The establishment of an outside advisory board for cooperative nuclear security would be very useful if it were structured in a way to allow for interaction with individual programs and the ability to report to the presidents of both nations. Such a review board might be comprised of a mix of technical, political, and business-economic experts.

One action that could be undertaken immediately is a strategic review of U.S.-Russian cooperative security programs. Such an analysis has not been conducted since the mid-1990s. The Bush administration's recent review of this agenda did examine each program for its merits but it did not include a strategic review of how all the programs, managed by multiple agencies, can or should fit together from the policy perspective of the U.S. Such a review is still needed, so that a strategy for the implementation, harmonization, and leadership of these programs can be made clear in a public manner. A National Security Council task force, a specially appointed special coordinator, or an outside advisory board could conduct the review. In addition, there should be a joint U.S.-Russian strategic plan for how to achieve important and common objectives on an expedited basis. This would provide a roadmap of project prioritization and agreed upon milestones for implementation. A precedent for such a plan can be found in the joint technical programs plans for improving nuclear material security that were developed in the early 1990s by U.S. and Russian nuclear laboratories and the milestone reports required for some programs during the 1990s as part of the U.S.-Russian Commission on Economic and Technical Cooperation.

Underlying these policy issues, there is a need for additional program funding, which would not only accelerate the progress of current programs but also enable new programs to be created. Old ways of thinking that focus just on incremental increases are not enough. A fundamental and high-level commitment by the U.S. and Russian governments is required. If such political demands are made on the agencies of both governments the securing of the remaining stockpiles of WMD materials and reductions in other proliferation dangers can be made in rapid order, and perhaps significantly completed in 2 to 5 years. Over the past two years, four significant reports have been published on where increased funding could accelerate progress. They are:

- Howard Baker and Lloyd Cutler, *A Report Card on the Department of Energy's Nonproliferation Programs with Russia*, January 10, 2001.
- Matthew Bunn, *The Next Wave: Urgently Needed New Steps to Control Warheads and Fissile Material*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Harvard University Managing the Atom Project, April 2000.
- Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Panel Report: *Managing the Global Nuclear Materials Threat*, January 2000.
- Congressional Budget Office (CBO) Memorandum: *Cooperative Approaches to Halt Russian Nuclear Proliferation and Improve the Openness of Nuclear Disarmament*, May 1999.

In addition to these overview reports, other analyses have been done of specific programs, their needs and goals, by RANSAC staff and members, and other non-governmental analysts. Some of the key examples of where accelerated or new initiatives could have a significant impact are outlined below.

Funding Options and Recommendations

(1) Expand Fissile Material and Warhead Protection, Control, and Accounting (MPC&A)

This is the primary U.S. program to improve the security of Russia's fissile material and to work with the Russian Navy to protect its nuclear fuel and nuclear warheads. The Bush Administration's FY 2002 request for this work is reduced by almost \$31 million from the FY 2001 funding level to approximately \$139 million. The various authorization and appropriation bills currently provide funding levels that range from the requested amount up to \$186 million. The budget also requested \$65 million for nuclear warhead storage and transportation security in Russia. This request has been approved by the relevant committees, though progress could potentially be accelerated if additional funds were provided and some political problems overcome.

The U.S.-Russian MPC&A program is now entering its eighth year. However, by the end of 2001, security upgrades will have been completed on only about 40 percent of the over 600 metric tons of highly-enriched uranium and plutonium in the former Soviet Union located outside Russia's nuclear weapons stockpile. And completion of the upgrades is not expected before 2010. Expanded funding is necessary to speed the overall pace of the effort, consolidate the nuclear materials into fewer facilities, initiate performance testing of installed security

systems under a variety of threat scenarios, and to ensure that the security systems are maintained and sustained.

Assuming that the current budget (FY 2002) comes in at around \$150-160 million, MPC&A could utilize additional increases from \$75 million to about \$425 million per year according to various analyses of the program. At the upper levels of this funding, dramatic actions would have to be taken to include more experts in the implementation of this effort both in the U.S. and Russia. And political agreements would have to be reached to allow the work to occur rapidly. But, if undertaken, these actions could produce dramatic security improvements at many facilities in a relatively short period.

Details on Funding - FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request and Recommended Increase

PROGRAM	FY 2001	FY 2002 Request	Recommendation
International Material Protection, Control, and Accounting	\$169.7 million	\$138.8 million	\$225-575 million
Nuclear Warhead Storage and Transportation Security	\$103.7 million	\$65.5 million	\$90-100 million
TOTAL	\$273.4 million	\$204.3 million	\$315-675 million

(2) Improve Russian and FSU Border and Export Controls

This category of activity renders assistance to Russian and FSU customs and border patrol services to improve their ability to detect nuclear materials at ports, airports, and border crossings, and to help countries establish the necessary legal and regulatory framework for an effective nonproliferation export control system. At present the export control system remains very rudimentary and the improvements in border control have been minor. For example, there is not sufficient training for enterprises in export control, the control system itself is fragmented, and border guards have received only minimal training in the detection of dangerous items.

The request in FY 2002 for export control assistance from the State Department for the FSU is \$17 million, but only a portion of this funding is used for Russia. An additional \$4 million was requested for the Department of Energy's Second Line of Defense (SLD) program that is primarily Russia focused. Also, about \$3.5 million of the NIS Assistance/Freedom Support Act is provided for export control in Russia. All relevant Congressional committees have approved the \$4 million for SLD as well as the \$17 million requested for export control development in the State Department's Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, De-mining, and Related (NADR) activities budget.

In addition, the Department of Defense funds and manages joint programs with the Customs Department and the FBI which provide equipment and training to law enforcement, customs, and border patrol personnel in the FSU and key transit states to interdict smuggling of WMD materials and technologies. The budget for these activities has been approximately \$4-5 million

per year for the past several years, though the Bush budget requests \$9.1 million to expand these activities in FY 2002.

There is considerably more that could be done in the area of export and border controls. One focus should be on border control in the Southern rim of Russia. Recent reports state that the southern routes out of Russia have become more attractive nuclear material smuggling pathways. In addition, there are numerous training programs and equipment purchases that would improve the export control system. This area could utilize an increase of around \$40 million, with \$15 to \$20 million of this provided specifically for Russian export control improvements.

Details on Funding - FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request and Recommended Increase

PROGRAM	FY 2001 Allocation	FY 2002 Request	Recommendation
DOE Second Line of Defense	\$2.4 million	\$4.0 million	\$10.0 million
State Department Export Control Assistance (NADR account)*	\$19.1 million (\$1.5 million for Russia)	\$17.0 million (\$1.5 million for Russia)	\$35.0 million (\$5.0 million for Russia)
State Department Export Control Assistance (FREEDOM Support Act Account)*	\$21 million (\$3.5 million for Russia)	\$21 million (\$3.5 million for Russia)	\$40.0 million (\$10.0 million for Russia)
TOTAL	\$42.5 million	\$42.0 million	\$85.0 million

*NOTE: These funding lines provide export control development assistance not only to Russia, but also to other countries in the NIS.

(3) Downsize Nuclear Cities and Prevent Proliferation via Brain Drain

This effort consists of three programs designed to provide alternative employment for WMD scientists. The Initiatives for Proliferation Prevention (IPP) and International Science and Technology Center (ISTC) programs operate in the chemical, biological, missile, and nuclear weapons complexes in Russia and the New Independent States (NIS). The Nuclear Cities Initiative (NCI) program is the only one that seeks to help Russia accelerate the downsizing of its nuclear weapons complex by facilitating the creation of alternative employment of the nuclear scientists and workers that would be displaced during the transition to a smaller nuclear complex.

The nuclear proliferation dangers resulting from the protracted economic deterioration of the Russian nuclear weapon complex are very serious. The complex employs thousands of weapon scientists and is the custodian of hundreds of tons of fissile material and thousands of nuclear weapons. If just a fraction of these people or inventories were diverted, it would create an international security crisis. With these consequences in mind, additional funding could be devoted to the development of more intensive programs aimed at preventing further economic and social breakdown in the Russian nuclear complex and creating new, peaceful pursuits for its employees. Specific activities could include cleaning out and preparation of excess facilities for civilian use and the employment of knowledgeable personnel.

In FY 2002, about \$66 million has been requested for these programs. Congressional committees with jurisdiction over these programs have provided funding varying from the requested level up to \$95 million. But there are many opportunities for additional funding beyond this upper limit. Proposals for expanding these efforts range from an additional \$25 to \$350 million per year. There was even a suggestion in the CSIS report that up to \$5 billion be devoted to this problem over five or more years.

Details on Funding - FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request and Recommended Increase

PROGRAM	FY 2001 Allocation	FY 2002 Request	Recommendation
DOE Initiatives for Proliferation Prevention (IPP)*	\$24.1 million	\$22.1 million	\$25-150 million
DOE Nuclear Cities Initiative (NCI)	\$26.6 million	\$6.6 million	\$25-150 million
State Department Contributions to Science Centers (ISTC/STCU)*	\$35.0 million	\$37.0 million	\$40-100 million
TOTAL	\$85.7 million	\$65.7 million	\$90-\$400 million

*NOTE: These two programs focus largely on WMD facilities and institutes, including chemical and biological weapon institutes, outside of the Russian nuclear cities.

(4) Facilitate Fissile Material Disposition and Elimination

This activity area supports the disposal and conversion of fissile material (plutonium and highly-enriched uranium [HEU]) that the United States and Russia have determined to be excess to defense needs, so that it can not be retrieved for weapons purposes.

The elimination of Russian excess highly-enriched uranium is being implemented via a private sector contract between Russia and the U.S. Enrichment Corporation in accordance with the 1993 U.S.-Russian HEU Purchase Agreement (though some \$325 million has been made available by the U.S. government in the past to help facilitate continuation of the agreement). In addition, the Energy Department supports efforts to promote transparency under this HEU Purchase Agreement, though the amounts requested for FY 2002 will support only 18 of 24 special monitoring visits to the four Russian uranium processing facilities. A modest increase is therefore suggested for this program.

One means of strengthening the benefits of the HEU agreement is to accelerate the blend-down of HEU to lower enrichment levels by doubling the rate from 30 to 60 tons per year. An HEU rapid blend-down deal could be very simple and it could be structured so there would be no interference with the ongoing 30-ton-per-year blend-down and sale already underway. The United States would pay Russia its capital and operating costs to blend large additional quantities of HEU to low-enriched uranium (LEU) subject to Russian agreement that this additional LEU would be held off the market in monitored storage cylinders in Russia (to avoid crashing world uranium and enrichment prices with a flood of additional material onto the market). These additional blended stocks could then be metered onto the market at the 30-ton-per-year rate once there was no more material to sell under the original contract. While serving the U.S. national security interest, such a deal would serve Russia's financial interest as well, for with the costs to blend down already paid by the U.S. government, Russia would make even larger profits when

the material was eventually sold on the commercial market. This initiative is estimated to cost in the range of \$40-90 million in the first year.

A final HEU related option is to increase the funding for the Reduced Enrichment for Research and Test Reactors (RERTR) program. This effort allows for the design and manufacture of low-enriched uranium fuels that can replace bomb-grade uranium cores in small research and test reactors. This program has been moving slowly in converting Soviet-designed reactors from HEU to LEU and additional funding could accelerate this process.

The primary funding in the budget at present is for the disposition of 68 tons of plutonium declared excess to defense needs in Russia and the U.S. (34 tons per country), and the replacement of the three Russian weapon-grade plutonium producing reactors which are still operating because they provide heat and power for nearby populations.

The plutonium disposition program was structured as a bilateral effort as a means of incentivizing Russia to decrease its massive plutonium stockpile. The budget supports both domestic plutonium disposition and Russia's plutonium disposition. It also supports two disposition tracks – immobilization of the plutonium in radioactive high-level waste and mixing of the plutonium with uranium to create a mixed oxide fuel (MOX) for power reactors. The cost over about 20 years is currently estimated at \$8 billion - \$2 billion for the Russian program and \$6 billion for the U.S. program.

However, funding for the disposal of Russian plutonium was significantly decreased in the FY 2002 budget request. Funding for the disposition of U.S. excess plutonium was slightly increased overall, but questions have now been raised about continued support of the dual track implementation of the disposition program. The budget request cut back significantly the immobilization activities for the U.S. and raised serious questions about the cost of the MOX option. At present the program is somewhat in limbo and the Bush administration has not decided how to proceed.

However, unneeded HEU and plutonium stockpiles should be eliminated. Their continued existence requires continued monitoring and improved security. At the very least funds should be made available to continue down the path of plutonium disposition. The FY 2002 request was for \$248 million. The relevant Congressional committees have either provided the requested amount or increased it up to \$257 million. But this is an insufficient amount to move this process forward. A budget of about \$300-350 million required if reasonably rapid progress is to be made on plutonium disposition.

In addition to plutonium disposition, ending plutonium production for both military and commercial purposes should also be funded. There are three remaining weapon-grade plutonium production reactors in Russia that currently produce approximately 1.5 metric tons of weapon grade plutonium per year. However, the reactors also provide energy to the surrounding towns and in order to shut them down alternative energy sources must be built. Last year the Congress prohibited the use of funds for the construction of fossil fuel replacement energy plants, the Russian and American preferred alternative to the existing nuclear plants, and the House has restated this position again this year. The current estimated cost for the construction of the

fossil-fueled replacement plants is on the order of \$420 million. In order for this program to move forward, it is essential that the restriction on the use of funds for replacement energy be lifted and the funding for the replacement energy sources be authorized and appropriated.

Also, funds should be provided to allow Russia and the U.S. to continue their work on an inventory of Russia's plutonium production. This is a \$500,000 program that was eliminated in the FY 2002 budget request. It could profitably be funded at \$2-3 million.

Finally, incentives could be offered to end plutonium separation from civilian power-reactor spent fuel in Russia. Last year \$38.0 million was requested to incentivize Russia to end its continued separation of plutonium from commercial spent nuclear fuel. The Congress approved about \$15.0 million for this purpose. The Bush budget eliminated this effort. This effort should be reconstituted.

A much larger policy and financial question is whether the U.S. should pursue with Russia a large-scale fissile material buyout in Russia. Options in these categories are estimated to range from \$3.5 to \$17 billion spread over several years. But pursuing such a path could avoid costs in several other areas.

Details on Funding - FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request and Recommended Increase

PROGRAM	FY 2001 Allocation	FY 2002 Request	Recommendation
U.S.-Russian Fissile Material Disposition (primarily plutonium)	\$226.1 million (\$40 million for Russia component)	\$248.1 million (\$15 million for Russia component)	\$300-350 million
Expanded HEU Rapid Blend-Down	-----	-----	\$40-90 million
Highly-Enriched Uranium Purchase Agreement Transparency	\$14.6 million	\$13.9 million	\$15 million
Reduced Enrichment for Research and Test Reactors (excludes spent fuel return funds)	\$5.6 million	\$5.6 million	\$8 million
Elimination of Russian Weapons-Grade Plutonium Production	\$32.1 million	\$41.7 million	\$41.7 million (lift the restriction on funding fossil-fueled replacement energy sources)
Russian Plutonium Inventory	\$500,000	\$0	\$2-3 million
Ending Russian Civil Plutonium Production	\$15.0 million	\$0	\$38 million
TOTAL	\$293.9 million	\$309.3 million	\$444.7-545.7 million

(5) Promote Warhead and Fissile Material Stockpile Monitoring and Transparency

Facilitating the transparent dismantling of warheads and the monitoring of fissile material stockpiles is an important part of the effort to control nuclear stockpiles. However, despite the widespread belief that the U.S. is helping Russia to dismantle its nuclear warheads, it is not true. It is clear that warheads are being dismantled to provide the HEU for the HEU Purchase Agreement. And at least some of the plutonium from the dismantled weapons will be placed in the Mayak Storage Facility. But there is no dedicated program to assist Russia with warhead dismantlement. Likewise, the U.S. and Russian governments have very little exchange of information on fissile material stockpiles because, in part, the information is still considered classified in Russia. The Department of Energy, however, manages a cooperative R&D effort on ways to enhance transparency in U.S.-Russian warhead dismantlement and fissile material stockpile activities. This effort now primarily focuses on the development of technical approaches to verified warhead dismantlement, but the effort could move to deal with actual dismantlement of excess warheads and perhaps promote greater cooperation on stockpile information exchanges if financial incentives were provided. Best estimates are that it would require \$100-250 million per year to implement a robust warhead dismantlement regime. This figure could grow to \$500 million per year if additional funds were provided to international organizations, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), to help promote fissile material stockpile monitoring.

Details on Funding FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request: The Department of Energy requested approximately \$13 million for these activities in FY 2001. Unlike past years, however, the Energy Department FY 2002 budget request did not include a funding line in its detailed justifications for warhead dismantlement and stockpile transparency activities. Instead, the funding is embedded in a larger "Policy and Analysis" line of the DOE Nuclear Nonproliferation budget. However, the DOE request does indicate that support for facilitating transparent irreversible reductions will be reduced by \$2.0 million in FY 2002. The decrease is due to uncertainty of a START III treaty which could include actual elimination of warheads. The activities that will not be funded as a result of the decrease are the preparation of an analysis and preparing the Pantex Plant for warhead elimination and inspection, and studies related to conducting inspections at Russian nuclear facilities.

Details on Funding - FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request and Recommended Increase

PROGRAM	FY 2001 Allocation	FY 2002 Request	Recommendation
Warhead Dismantlement Transparency Activities	Approx. \$13 million	Approx. \$11 million	\$100-500 million

Other Options

In addition to additional funding for existing activities there are also steps that should be considered to address new dangers or facilitate the acceleration of current activities. These include:

Creation of a U.S.-Russian Special Presidential Commission – In the wake of the September 11 events it is not clear that the U.S. and Russian governments have adequately recognized the urgency of accelerating the implementation of the cooperative nuclear security agenda. Consideration should be given to requesting that Presidents Bush and Putin, at the November meeting at President Bush's ranch, create a joint commission to report to them on how to improve and accelerate the implementation of this work. The commission could be headed by high-level government officials, or perhaps more ideally, be chaired by former U.S. and Russian officials or legislators. This could, in essence, be a joint version of the Baker-Cutler process and it would have the benefit of Russian participation. It could also help continue the closer cooperation that has emerged from U.S.-Russian cooperation on anti-terrorism. The commission's scope also could be expanded beyond a focus on nuclear issues to include chemical and biological proliferation prevention. Out of this process could come the creation of agreed milestones and oversight of progress by both sides.

Requirement for a Strategic Plan – The major recommendation of the Baker-Cutler report was that the U.S. government, in consultation with the Congress and in cooperation with Russia, quickly formulate a strategic plan to secure and/or neutralize in the next 8-10 years all nuclear weapons usable material located in Russia and to prevent the outflow of Russian weapons scientists and knowledge. The nearly completed Bush administration review of U.S.-Russian cooperative programs did not include a strategic review of how all the programs managed by multiple agencies can or should fit together. It also is not clear whether such a strategic analysis will be completed by the Bush administration in the future or that a central coordinator will be appointed as requested by Congress. Therefore, there is a need for a report on the President's strategy for the implementation, harmonization, and leadership of U.S.-Russian cooperative programs.

Coordinator of Programs – Since the mid-1990s the Congress has been requesting that the White House appoint a central coordinator for U.S.-Russian cooperative security activities. This request was reiterated in the Baker-Cutler report. The Clinton administration refused to make the appointment and the Bush administration has not given the matter much consideration. But, a central coordinator, or high level White House led committee is needed to ensure that progress continues and that interagency and intergovernmental problems are managed. If the Special Joint Presidential Commission suggested above is created then the U.S. official in charge of it could serve in the coordinator role.

Access to Sensitive Facilities in Russia – Access to sensitive Russian military facilities has become a significant and contentious issue between the U.S. and Russia, affecting the pace of implementation of a number of cooperative programs. One option is to request a multi-agency report on the objectives and strategies for obtaining access to sensitive facilities in Russia and a

catalog of successes and failures to date. Another option is to outline the objectives the U.S. should have in seeking to obtain access to sensitive facilities. There should also be an assessment of the non-intrusive means of providing assurance at very sensitive facilities that the work being done is legitimate and implemented correctly, but which would not include direct access. At present there is no written guidance on why access is sought or how it is sought.

Agreement for the Exchange of Classified Information – In the mid-1990s, the Congress provided the executive branch with greater authority to negotiate an agreement for the exchange of classified information between the U.S. and Russia. If such an agreement could be negotiated, the Congress stated at the time, the agreement would not have to be approved by the Congress, as is the normal procedure. This authority has lapsed, as have the negotiations on this agreement. Congressional support for the completion of such an agreement could be useful.

Creation of an Outside Advisory Board – Many programs have benefited from the involvement of outside experts in the review of programmatic successes, failures, and implementation strategies. Consideration should be given to requesting the establishment of an outside advisory board that could interact with individual programs and report to the President on an as needed basis. A mix of U.S. bipartisan and Russian technical, political, and business/economic experts could be an appropriate review board. Utilizing existing institutions should also be considered.

Transparency at Enrichment Plants – At present there are no measures in place to provide assurance that the U.S. and Russia are not continuing to produce highly-enriched uranium, despite the fact that both countries have declared that they are no longer producing HEU for weapons. Funding could be provided for the initiation of such transparency measures in both countries or encouragement provided for the initiation of such discussions.

Debt-For-Security Swap – Modeled on past “debt-for-environment” swaps, this proposal would create a new revenue stream for financing non-proliferation activities by canceling a portion of older Soviet era debt to the U.S. and Europe (some originating with WWII lend-lease) in return for Russia making payments into an auditable fund to finance agreed upon projects.

Spent Fuel Importation – The U.S. should encourage Russia to ensure that a portion of the funds received from the importation to Russia of spent fuel of U.S. origin be utilized for security improvements in Russia. Of course the precursor to any transfer of U.S. origin fuel is a nuclear cooperation agreement with Russia, which should be considered in a new light given the new international realities. Also, the U.S. should require that Russia not reprocess the spent fuel and thereby increase its large stockpile of vulnerable separated plutonium.

Conclusion

The options and recommendations contained in this paper provide for consideration of a range of increased funding to address well-known nuclear proliferation threats. If viewed from the perspective of minimum and maximum amounts it calls for an increase of approximately \$330 million to \$1.6 billion per year above currently anticipated appropriated levels for key programs.

These are relatively small amounts compared to the supplemental funds that have already been appropriated and they are very small when compared to the threat. In addition, the costs could be shared among U.S. allies if necessary, with very little impact on any country's budget. The original Nunn-Lugar initiative was the vision and creation of the U.S. Congress and this laudable leadership is called for again.

The author would like to thank Bill Hoehn and Greg Marsh of RANSAC for their research and analytical assistance and Oleg Bukharin, Matthew Bunn, and Frank von Hippel for their review and suggestions.

**OVERVIEW OF PROJECTED COSTS FOR INCREASED U.S.-RUSSIAN NUCLEAR
NON-PROLIFERATION COOPERATION IN THE WAKE OF
THE SEPTEMBER 11, 2001 TERRORIST ATTACKS ON THE UNITED STATES**

(All amounts in millions unless otherwise noted)

PROGRAM	Funding Range in Current FY 2002 Authorization and Appropriation bills	Recommendation For FY 2002	Minimum-Maximum Additional Funding Required*
<i>Expand Security of Weapons-Usable Nuclear Materials</i>			
International Material Protection, Control, and Accounting (DOE)	\$138.8-186.0	\$225-575	+\$39.0-436.2
Nuclear Warhead Storage and Transportation Security (DOD)	\$65.5	\$90-100	+\$24.5-34.5
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>\$204.3-251.5</i>	<i>\$315-675</i>	<i>+\$63.5-470.7</i>
<i>Improve Russian and FSU Border and Export Controls</i>			
Second Line of Defense (DOE)	\$4.0	\$10	+\$6
Export Control Assistance (State/NADR)	\$17.0	\$35	+\$18
Export Control Assistance (State/FREEDOM Support Act)	\$21.0	\$40	+\$19
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>\$42.0</i>	<i>\$85</i>	<i>+\$43</i>
<i>Downsize Nuclear Cities and Prevent Proliferation via Brain Drain</i>			
Initiatives for Proliferation Prevention (DOE)	\$22.1-37.1	\$25-150	+\$0-127.9
Nuclear Cities Initiative (DOE)	\$6.6-21.1	\$25-150	+\$3.9-143.4
Science Centers, ISTC/STCU (State)	\$37.0	\$40-100	+\$3.0-63.0
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>\$65.7-95.2</i>	<i>\$90-400</i>	<i>+\$6.9-334.3</i>
<i>Halting Russian Production and Facilitating Disposition of Weapons-Usable Nuclear Materials</i>			
U.S.-Russian Fissile Material Disposition (DOE)	\$248.1-257.1	\$300-350	+\$42.9-101.9
HEU Rapid Blend-Down	-----	\$40-90	+40-90
HEU Purchase Agreement Transparency (DOE)	\$13.9	\$15.0	+\$1.1
Reduced Enrichment Research and Test Reactor (DOE)	\$5.6	\$8.0	+\$2.4
Elimination of Russian Weapons- Grade Plutonium Production	\$41.7	\$41.7	(lift the funding restriction)
Russian Plutonium Inventory	\$0	\$2-3	+\$2.0-3.0
Ending Russian Civil Plutonium Production	\$0	\$38	+\$38.0
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>\$309.3-318.3</i>	<i>\$444.7-545.7</i>	<i>+\$126.4-236.4</i>
<i>Promoting Warhead and Stockpile Transparency:</i>			
Warhead Dismantlement Transparency Activities (DOE)	Approx. \$11.0	\$100-500	+\$89.0-489.0
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>Approx. \$11</i>	<i>\$100-500</i>	<i>+\$89.0-489.0</i>
GRAND TOTAL	\$632.3-718.0 million	\$1.03-2.2 billion	+\$328.8 million -- \$1.57 billion

*The maximum increase was arrived at by subtracting the minimum amount currently authorized or appropriated from the maximum amount recommended, while the minimum increase was calculated by subtracting the maximum amount authorized or appropriated from the minimum amount recommended, thereby providing for a full range of funding options.

Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 15:52:15 -0500
From: Joel Heim <jheim@cc.edu>
Reply-To: jheim@cc.edu
Organization: Carroll College
X-Mailer: Mozilla 4.74 [en] (Win98; U)
X-Accept-Language: en
To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Re: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons

Howard,

Please sign me on:

Rev. Joel J. Heim, Ph.D.
Moderator, Disciples Peace Fellowship

It is a fine letter. Thanks, for all of your efforts. You might be interested in the statement about Sept. 11th that I wrote for Disciples:

<http://www.homelandministries.org/September11/Heim.htm>

"Howard W. Hallman" wrote:

> Dear Colleagues:

>

> It is a month since the horrible terrorist attacks on the World Trade
> Center, the Pentagon, and the plane downed in Pennsylvania. We have
> grieved. We have wondered why and what next. We have seen the U.S.
> government treat the attack as an act of war rather than an international
> crime against humanity. Various religious groups have responded in
> different ways.

>

> As the war on terrorism and against Afghanistan have gotten underway, there
> remains the issue of nuclear weapons, first in dealing with terrorism and
> then in the broader perspective of global security in the 21st century.
> With that in mind I have drafted the following sign-on letter to President
> Bush. It deals with three issues: no first use, non-proliferation, and
> nuclear disarmament.

>

> I invite a representative of your organization to sign. I suggest a
> deadline of the close of business on Friday, October 19. If you have any
> questions or comments about the letter, please contact me by return e-mail
> or by phone at 301 896-0013.

>

> Shalom,
> Howard

>

> ###

>

> Sign on letter for representatives of religious organizations.

>

> The Honorable George W. Bush
> The White House

> Washington, D.C. 20500

>

> Dear Mr. President:

>

> The campaign against terrorism is raising new and important questions about
> the role and future of nuclear weapons in the global security framework of
> the 21st century. We would like to share with you our thinking on this
> matter.

>

> First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government
> favor using nuclear weapons against terrorist enclaves and against states
> that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in
> response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would
> reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as
> a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of
> the United States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any
> state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time
> under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral
> and would constitute a crime against humanity.

>

> Second, we note that in January 2001 the Task Force chaired by Howard Baker
> and Lloyd Cutler stated: "The most urgent unmet national security threat
> to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction
> or weapons-usable material in Russia could be stolen and sold to terrorists
> or hostile nation states and used against American troops or citizens at
> home." The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States emphasize
> the importance of this finding. Therefore, we believe that a substantial
> portion of anti-terrorist funds should go for full implementation of the
> Baker-Cutler report. In terms of relative priority, we suggest that funds
> be transferred from the missile defense budget to this and other urgent
> non-proliferation initiatives.

>

> Third, we believe that the improved relationship between the United States
> and Russia because of mutual concern over terrorism should be treated as an
> opportunity to make substantial progress in improving the security of
> deployed nuclear weapons and dismantling the nuclear arsenals still in
> place more than a decade after the Cold War ended. Specifically we ask
> you to implement your campaign promise to work with Russia to de-alert and
> stand down the respective nuclear arsenals and to achieve deep cuts in
> strategic nuclear weapons. Not only will this enhance the security of the
> United States and Russia by lowering the possibility of accidental launch,
> it will also reduce the danger that a renegade group could gain control of
> deployed nuclear weapons and use them for terrorist attack on the United
> States.

>

> We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a
> safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

>

> Sincerely yours,

>

> Representatives of religious organizations.

>

> Howard W. Hallman, Chair

> Methodists United for Peace with Justice

- > 1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
- > Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org
- >
- > Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a membership association of
- > laity and clergy. It has no affiliation with any Methodist denomination.

Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 21:47:01 -0400
From: Ken Sehested <ken@bpfna.org>
Reply-To: ken@bpfna.org
Organization: Baptist Peace Fellowship
X-Mailer: Mozilla 4.73C-CCK-MCD {C-UDP; EBM-APPLE} (Macintosh; U; PPC)
X-Accept-Language: en
To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Re: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons

Howard,

Yes, you can attach my name to this letter.

FYI, I've attached a statement I wrote following the 9/11 trauma.

Ken Sehested
Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America

"Howard W. Hallman" wrote:

> Dear Colleagues:

>

> It is a month since the horrible terrorist attacks on the World Trade
> Center, the Pentagon, and the plane downed in Pennsylvania. We have
> grieved. We have wondered why and what next. We have seen the U.S.
> government treat the attack as an act of war rather than an international
> crime against humanity. Various religious groups have responded in
> different ways.

>

> As the war on terrorism and against Afghanistan have gotten underway, there
> remains the issue of nuclear weapons, first in dealing with terrorism and
> then in the broader perspective of global security in the 21st century.
> With that in mind I have drafted the following sign-on letter to President
> Bush. It deals with three issues: no first use, non-proliferation, and
> nuclear disarmament.

>

> I invite a representative of your organization to sign. I suggest a
> deadline of the close of business on Friday, October 19. If you have any
> questions or comments about the letter, please contact me by return e-mail
> or by phone at 301 896-0013.

>

> Shalom,
> Howard

>

> ###

>

> Sign on letter for representatives of religious organizations.

>

> The Honorable George W. Bush
> The White House
> Washington, D.C. 20500

>

> Dear Mr. President:

>

> The campaign against terrorism is raising new and important questions about
> the role and future of nuclear weapons in the global security framework of
> the 21st century. We would like to share with you our thinking on this
> matter.

>

> First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government
> favor using nuclear weapons against terrorist enclaves and against states
> that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in
> response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would
> reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as
> a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of
> the United States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any
> state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time
> under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral
> and would constitute a crime against humanity.

>

> Second, we note that in January 2001 the Task Force chaired by Howard Baker
> and Lloyd Cutler stated: "The most urgent unmet national security threat
> to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction
> or weapons-usable material in Russia could be stolen and sold to terrorists
> or hostile nation states and used against American troops or citizens at
> home." The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States emphasize
> the importance of this finding. Therefore, we believe that a substantial
> portion of anti-terrorist funds should go for full implementation of the
> Baker-Cutler report. In terms of relative priority, we suggest that funds
> be transferred from the missile defense budget to this and other urgent
> non-proliferation initiatives.

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> and Russia because of mutual concern over terrorism should be treated as an
> opportunity to make substantial progress in improving the security of
> deployed nuclear weapons and dismantling the nuclear arsenals still in
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> you to implement your campaign promise to work with Russia to de-alert and
> stand down the respective nuclear arsenals and to achieve deep cuts in
> strategic nuclear weapons. Not only will this enhance the security of the
> United States and Russia by lowering the possibility of accidental launch,
> it will also reduce the danger that a renegade group could gain control of
> deployed nuclear weapons and use them for terrorist attack on the United
> States.

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> We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a
> safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

>

> Sincerely yours,

>

> Representatives of religious organizations.

>

> Howard W. Hallman, Chair
> Methodists United for Peace with Justice
> 1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
> Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

- >
- > Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a membership association of
- > laity and clergy. It has no affiliation with any Methodist denomination.

From: "Kathy Crandall" <kcrandall@disarmament.org>
To: "Adam Eiding (E-mail)" <adam@mintwood.com>,
"Alison Prevost (E-mail)" <aprevost@networklobby.org>,
"Alistair Miller (E-mail)" <amillar@fourthfreedom.org>,
"Alyssa Gendron (E-mail)" <psrintern6@psr.org>,
"Ana Toledo (E-mail)" <atoledo@umc-gbcs.org>,
"Andrew Howells (E-mail)" <aca@armscontrol.org>,
"Anne Curtis (E-mail)" <acurtis@networklobby.org>,
"Anne Gallivan (E-mail)" <agallivan@psr.org>,
"Arjun Makhijani (E-mail)" <arjun@ieer.org>,
"Bob Musil (E-mail)" <bmusil@psr.org>,
"Carl Nyberg (E-mail)" <cnyberg@cunr.org>,
"Carlean Ponder" <nuclear@wand.org>,
"Chris Lindborg (E-mail)" <clindborg@basicint.org>,
"Christine Kucia (E-mail)" <ckucia@basicint.org>,
"Darrul Fagin (E-mail)" <dfagin@adaction.com>,
"Daryl Kimball (E-mail)" <dkimball@armscontrol.org>,
"David Culp (E-mail)" <david@fcnl.org>,
"Don Kraus (E-mail)" <dkraus@cunr.org>,
"Ellen Barfield (E-mail)" <ellene4pj@yahoo.com>,
"Erik Floden" <efloden@clw.org>, "Erik Leaver" <erik@fpif.org>,
"Erik Olsen (E-mail)" <erik@2020vision.org>,
"Esther Pank (E-mail)" <prgrm@backfromthebrink.net>,
"Gillian Gilhool" <ggilhool@ix.netcom.com>,
"Gordon Clark (E-mail)" <gordonclark@earthlink.net>,
"Howard Hallman (E-mail)" <mupj@igc.org>,
"Ira Shorr (E-mail)" <irashorr@hotmail.com>,
"James Matlack (E-mail)" <jmatlack@erols.com>,
"Jaya Tiwari (E-mail)" <jtiwari@psr.org>,
"Jessica Scanlan (E-mail)" <jscanlan@psr.org>,
"Jim Wyerman (E-mail)" <jwyerman@2020vision.org>,
"Joe Volk (E-mail)" <joe@fcnl.org>, "Jonathan Dean" <jdean@ucs.org>,
"Justin Gilstrap (E-mail)" <hradcany1@yahoo.com>,
"Kathy Crandall" <kcrandall@disarmament.org>,
"Kathy Guthrie (E-mail)" <kathy@fcnl.org>,
"Kendra Park (E-mail)" <kpark@wfa.org>,
"Kimberly Roberts (E-mail)" <kroberts@psr.org>,
"Kimberly Robson" <>wand@wand.org>,
"Laura Kriv (E-mail)" <lkriv@techrocks.org>,
"Lora Lumpe" <llumpe@mindspring.com>,
"Lora Lumpe (E-mail)" <lora@prlo.net>,
"Maria Ramos (E-mail)" <wpc@igc.org>,
"Martin Butcher (E-mail)" <mbutcher@psr.org>,
"Masako Toki (E-mail)" <mtoki@ucsusa.org>,
"Michael Beer" <nonviolence@igc.org>,
"Michael Levi (E-mail)" <mlevi@fas.org>,
"Mike Zmolek (E-mail)" <paka@boo.net>,
"Miriam Pemberton (E-mail)" <miriam@ips-dc.org>,
"Sandy Butcher (E-mail)" <sibutcher@cs.com>,
"Stephen Young (E-mail)" <syoun@ucs.org>,
"Tim Barner (E-mail)" <kathytim@earthlink.net>,

"Tracy Moavero (E-mail)" <tmoavero@peace-action.org>,
"Trisha Christopher (E-mail)" <trishachr@earthlink.net>
Subject: Sept. 11 Response Coalition October 10 notes
Date: Thu, 11 Oct 2001 19:15:54 -0400
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook IMO, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2910.0)
Importance: Normal
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2615.200

Committee for Justice and Security F/K/A September 11 Response Coalition

Notes from Meeting Weds. Oct. 10, 3-4:30pm at PSR

Next Meeting – Friday, October 19, 2pm at PSR

A Meeting of the Legislative Task Force to work on FAQ's and Hill Briefings is *tentatively* scheduled for Thursday October 18 at 3pm

Things You Should Do:

PLEASE Respond with any additional FAQ suggestions by COB FRIDAY (10/12) to Erik@FPIF.org or Jtiwari@psr.org

Please send any suggested Briefing topics to Erik@FPIF.org or Jtiwari@psr.org

Please send any additions to the expert list to Kroberts@psr.org by Monday (10/15) COB.

Attachments:

- 1) DRAFT FAQ Questions
- 2) DRAFT Briefing List

Defining our Niche/ Message/ Agenda

A. A Name for this Group / Defining Role, Relationship with Other Coalitions Including Monday Lobby, others

We want to promote a rational and just response to terrorism – should also be an enlightened, effective and principled response

We might do this in ad hoc fashion (as a need/ interest in joint action arises)

We are mainly national, Washington –based organizations and together we want to focus upon the policymaking process in Washington. We may want to do some congressional briefings and coordinated media work together on a rotating thematic/ ad- hoc basis. We will want to work with the other Coalitions – especially the working groups of Monday Lobby.

We want to call ourselves something like the Committee for Justice and Security – Committee may be preferable to Coalition – indicative of more ad hoc nature.

Our objectives are to get our voices into the media and policy making agenda and to offer policy alternatives.

Message(s) –

We generally agreed with the message that resulted from last week's meeting, though we had some discussion about the 2nd bullet – deciding ultimately to leave it as is. We felt that it was not necessary to fully integrate and adopt additional points in Ira's original statement but that will remain, along with Arjun's suggestions as background information and ideas to draw upon.

Here again is the actual message(s) that it seems we were able to come to agreement upon.

Coalition Response to September 11th – Draft-October 3rd

- *These attacks are an international crime against humanity. The perpetrators of this horrendous act of violence should be brought to justice through the rule of law. Suspects could be publicly tried through an international tribunal established through UN authority, or in a U.S. court combining international and domestic prosecution.*
- *Authorization of any use of force should be made through the auspices of the United Nations, and be demonstrably limited to actions aimed at bringing the perpetrators to justice, or preventing acts of terrorism. Any action would be preferably multilateral.*
- *The U.S. must act within the framework of moral and legal restraints. Indiscriminate force will spread the violence and decrease the security of U.S. citizens and citizens of other countries.*
- *Any use of force must be consistent with international law and with the "just war" tradition governing the use of force—civilians must not be targeted. The U.S. must act with an unconditional respect for the sacredness of life and the dignity of the individual.*
- *The U.S. must act to ensure that this crisis does not lead to the use of nuclear weapons. All nations should disavow the use of weapons of mass destruction.*
- *This crisis must not be used as an excuse to degrade civil liberties. We oppose arbitrary detention and expulsion of immigrants and other threats to civil liberties. We defend the rights of free speech and assembly*

We are not going to have a press conference releasing any joint statement. We probably do not need to come to agreement about additional finer points. Nevertheless it is useful to have the ideas and information as background, many of the more specific points made in Ira's draft and in Arjun's points may be useful to refer to as we plan issue specific events such as hill briefings.

Legislative Briefing Series

Erik Lever with Foreign Policy In Focus is meeting with Kucinich and Conyers to discuss a series of briefings (draft series that has been circulated)

Erik also met with Barbara Lee – who is supportive and willing to be helpful but wants to play a more behind the scenes role.

Carlean Ponder, WAND is going to approach McKinney's office about one specific briefing – Security Issues of the Humanitarian Crisis

PSR is interested in doing a briefing related to tactical nuclear weapons – Fourth Freedom Forum and FAS are interested in participating in this as well

FAS/ ACA are planning to do a briefing on mini-nukes and nuclear testing related issues in late October/ early January – they will keep us informed so that we can plan other briefings appropriately

Additional suggestions for briefings can be sent to Erik@FPIF.org or Jtiwari@psr.org (see list attached)

FAQ Issues/ Themes

The legislative task force began work on a list of FAQ issues and themes. No additional questions/ answers have been sent to Jaya, Jtiwari@psr.org yet . **PLEASE Respond with any additional suggestions by COB FRIDAY (10/12) to Erik@FPIF.org or Jtiwari@psr.org** and a draft will be put out on Wed. 10/17. We will discuss this at the our next meeting January 19.

It was suggested that the FAQ's be integrated with the expert list for media as well as hill briefing purposes- so that there would be a list of experts under each issue/ theme area – the expert list is still being updated. **Please send any additions to Kroberts@psr.org**

A Meeting of the Legislative Task Force to work on FAQ's and Hill Briefings is *tentatively* scheduled for Thursday October 18 at 3pm

Web Sites

Fourth Freedom Forum has a created a new web site www.JustResponse.org designed to be a clearinghouse/hub for other sites and information. A simple web button will be designed for others to use on their web sites as a way to link to the broader community.

Additionally, Foreign Policy In Focus has a “Justice Not War Clearinghouse” <http://www.fpif.org/justice/index.html>

And PSR is launching a **PSR Center for Global Security and Health** www.psr.org

Together with everyone's web sites these 3 sites will help to serve as a clearinghouse for media, public and policy maker communication. We hope to post the FAQs and the Hill Briefings Schedule on these sites.

Kathy Crandall
Director
The Nuclear Disarmament Partnership
kcrandall@disarmament.org
www.disarmament.org
Located at the Offices of Physicians for Social Responsibility:

1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1012

Washington, DC 20009

202-667-4260 (ext. 240)

202-667-4201 (fax)

The Nuclear Disarmament Partnership is a joint effort of: Peace Action, Physicians for Social Responsibility, 20/20 Vision and Women's Action for New Directions

**Terrorism Response Coalition
Legislative Sub-group**

DRAFT (10/03/01)

Outline for a Congressional Education/Policy Briefing Series

Concept: A weekly or bi-weekly briefing series to be sponsored by either individual members, chair/ranking member of a committee or subcommittee interested in a particular topic, under the umbrella of the Progressive Caucus. The general theme would be to analyze the administrations' actions against terrorism and to see if these actions make both the U.S. and the world safer.

Draft Series Title: Combating Terrorism: Finding the Roots of Real Security

Weekly Series Topics:

1. Security Issues and the Humanitarian Crisis

Possible Speakers: Someone from the World Food Program
 Rachel Reilly (Human Rights Watch)
 T. Kumar (Amnesty Intl.)
 Stephen P. Cohen, Director, South Asia Project, Brookings
 George Perkovich, WAJ Foundation

2. Understanding the House of Cards. Policy Options in the mid-East and South Asia

Possible Speakers: Michael Klare (Hampshire College)
 PSR

3. A New Cold War? Directions for the Military Budget

Possible Speakers: Cindy Williams (MIT)
 Chris Hellman (CDI)
 Carl Conetta (PDA)

4. Exporting Security? U.S. Military Assistance and Training Programs

Possible Speakers: Erik Floden (CLWEF)
 Tamar Gabelnick (FAS)
 Lora Lumpe

5. Chemical, Biological and Nuclear Terrorist Threats

Possible Speakers: Barbara Hatch Rosenberg (FAS WG on Bio weaps)
 Dr. Robert Gould, (PSR on chem./bio threats)
 Paul Leventhal (NCI on nuclear terrorism)

Dr. Jonathan B. Tucker, Director, CBW Project Center for
Nonproliferation Studies

6. International Law

Possible Speakers: Michael Ratner (Center for Constitutional Law)
Merav Datan (PSR)

7. Intelligence

Possible Speakers: Steven Aftergood (FAS)
Mel Goodman (Natl. War College)

8. Financing Terrorism

Possible Speakers: Randall Dodd (Derivatives Study Center)
Christian Weller (EPI)

9. Views on Homeland Defense

Possible Speakers: Someone from CDI
Michael O'Hanlon, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institute

**Terrorism Response Coalition
Legislative Sub-group**

Draft/ 10/11/01

Outline for the FAQ

Topics for Talking Points/FAQ on US Military Operations:

What is the end game/long term strategy of the US military operation? What are the possible scenarios for targets, length, objectives? When and how will the US declare “victory” over international terrorism? Does the Bush administration have a clear plan or have they started something without a clear course or plan for where it will end?

What are the U.S. objectives in Afghanistan? Is the aim to break the cells, capture suspected terrorists, and/or topple Taliban?

Assessment of the Northern Alliance, and other anti-Taliban forces, and U.S. relationship to these forces/factions.

What is the Afghan woman’s perspective of political options in Afghanistan?

What is the likely impact of US military operations on the wider South Asian region?

What is the likely impact on Central Asia and Russia?

What’s the role of drugs/heroin in Afghanistan conflict? What has Bush administration said re involvement of Taliban and Northern Alliance in poppy growing and heroin trafficking and what is the reality?

What other terrorist groups (outside Afghanistan) are possible US targets? What range of actions might the US take against each of these?

What are the possible actions the US might take against Iraq?

What other countries does the US suspect of harboring terrorists and what actions might the US take against them?

What is the impact on and reaction from other Arab states to the US military operations?

What is the nature of the coalition the US has formed? Whose in it? What have they committed to? What has US offered them?

What are present and potential US oil interests in Central Asia? In the Middle East?

Humanitarian aid: Is it window dressing or a serious effort to help?

What's the nature of and how convincing is the evidence against the bin Laden network that the US and British have presented?

How does the US military operation fit into international law and under the UN?

What are the intelligence operations underway and in the planning? What new authority and funds has the CIA and other agencies gotten/requested?

What are the possible nuclear, chemical and/or biological threats from the terrorists? What is and should the US do to counter these?

What is the scope of the current humanitarian crisis?

What are the security implications of the current humanitarian crisis for the regional security?

What impact will U.S. military action have in aggravating regional and global instability?

What are the existing nuclear, chemical, biological and terrorist threats and what are the best actions the US can take to curb these threats?

What are possible scenarios of US action? Are they within the framework of international law?

Who are the actors in US intelligence gathering? What changes can be taken to improve current policy?

How are terrorists financed and what actions can the US take to stop the flow of money to terrorists?

What are the implications for the military budget and military policy?

Who are the main actors in the coalition the US is building? Will there be an increase in US military assistance and training programs with coalition members? Will greater amounts of foreign aid be administered to these members?

Original-Encoded-Information-Types: IA5-Text
UA-Content-Id: RE: [bumc]
Autoforwarded: FALSE
Priority: Normal
Importance: Normal
Date: Fri, 12 Oct 2001 9:31:11 -0400
From: "Euler, John" <John.Euler@usdoj.gov>
Subject: RE: [bumc] War on Afghanistan
To: "'Howard W. Hallman'" <mupj@igc.org> (Receipt Notification Requested) (IPM Return Requested),
"bumc@yahoogroups.com" <bumc@yahoogroups.com> (Receipt Notification Requested)
X-Mailer: NetJunction (NetJunction 5.1.1-g5)/MIME

My view is, "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition!" John Euler

-----Original Message-----

From: Howard W. Hallman [mailto:mupj@igc.org]
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2001 1:33 PM
To: bumc@yahoogroups.com
Subject: [bumc] War on Afghanistan

Dear Friends;

Many of you are interested in hearing different points of view on the war against terrorism. Therefore, I would like to share with you a letter from the Friends Committee on National Legislation to President Bush. I share their viewpoint while recognizing that other sincere people have a different perspective.

Shalom,
Howard

###

October 10, 2001

President George W. Bush
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bush,

We urge you to stop the bombing, stand down the U.S. military, feed the hungry, and work diligently through peaceful means to win the hearts and minds of the Afghan people and other peoples throughout that region to the cause of justice for the victims of September 11.

We continue to grieve for those several thousand unique, precious and irreplaceable people who were murdered in the September 11 attacks on the airliners, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Our outrage at those acts of terrible violence is rooted in our profound belief that every human being is a creature of God and has been put here for a very special purpose.

Those who helped in planning and carrying out the attacks have violated the most fundamental laws of a civil society. They should be held accountable under those laws.

We seek your leadership to end the downward spiral of attacks and reprisals, a spiral begun long before September 11 but propelled by those attacks. U.S. bombing and a war on terrorism will not bring justice for the victims of the September 11 attacks. Terrorism is not a person, place, or thing. You cannot blast it out of this world. On the contrary, terrorism is a vicious type of human conduct provoked by hatred or greed and carried out by fanatics and by governments. Violent retaliation by the U.S. will only sow more seeds of hatred and reap a new harvest of terror. We call on you to help lead the world out of the wilderness of war and terror and into a new world where people everywhere choose life by exercising a reverence for life.

You have said that the attacks of September 11 changed everything. Perhaps, but the thinking of our government officials and their response to violence remains unchanged. The U.S.-led military campaign is merely a high tech and more destructive version of a 19th century military strategy, and promotes the law of force over the force of law. By leading a military campaign in Afghanistan, the U.S. has fallen from its internationally recognized moral high ground to a much more morally ambiguous position in the eyes of many around the world. This response is inadequate to the demands of the 21st century and is unbecoming to America.

While we know that your administration's intent is not to harm innocent civilians with its bombing, Afghani civilians have already suffered this unintended effect. Weapons inevitably malfunction, are misdirected, or put civilians adjacent to the intended targets in harm's way. Already dozens of civilians, including four UN workers, have been killed by U.S.-led military attacks. We cannot simply consign those people who were killed to the category of "collateral damage" or an "accident of war." They, too, were unique and precious human beings who will never be replaced. The U.S. government had no right to sacrifice their lives in its pursuit of justice.

We also know that your administration's intent is not to compound a humanitarian catastrophe in Afghanistan through military action. However, the U.S. military actions are escalating the suffering and putting ever more thousands of innocent people in jeopardy. Afghani civilians have been fleeing their homes in fear. Winter is fast approaching. Little food or shelter exist anywhere. The borders with Pakistan and Iran are closed. With the U.S. bombing, most shipments of humanitarian relief supplies into Afghanistan have been halted, and the U.S. air drops of daily food rations for 37,000 in remote regions do nothing to meet the needs of millions of starving people elsewhere in the country. How will the agonizing deaths of thousands of Afghan civilians due to starvation and winter exposure advance the cause of justice for the victims of September 11?

President Bush, let September 11 become a day of an Epiphany of Hope, rather than of evil. We appeal to you to exercise compassion for the people of Afghanistan. Stop the war, end the cycle of violence, and lead the world to a new civil order for the 21st century. Use the solid backing of the international community to bring the perpetrators of the September 11

attacks to justice under the rule of law. Let the guns fall silent so that the world may hear freedom ring from our mountain top.

Sincerely,

Joe Volk
Executive Secretary
Friends Committee on National Legislation

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice
1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a membership association of laity and clergy. It has no affiliation with any Methodist denomination.

To unsubscribe from this list, send a message with "unsubscribe BUMC" in the message body to mingomae@aol.com
For further information about BUMC, go to our website at <http://www.gbgm-umc.org/bumc-md>

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X-Sender: dkimball@mail.elinkisp.com

X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Version 5.0.1

Date: Fri, 12 Oct 2001 09:56:05 -0400

To: "Kathy Crandall" <kcrandall@disarmament.org>,
"Adam Eidinger (E-mail)" <adam@mintwood.com>,
"Alison Prevost (E-mail)" <aprevost@networklobby.org>,
"Alistair Miller (E-mail)" <amillar@fourthfreedom.org>,
"Alyssa Gendron (E-mail)" <psrintern6@psr.org>,
"Ana Toledo (E-mail)" <atoledo@umc-gbcs.org>,
"Andrew Howells (E-mail)" <aca@armscontrol.org>,
"Anne Curtis (E-mail)" <acurtis@networklobby.org>,
"Anne Gallivan (E-mail)" <agallivan@psr.org>,
"Arjun Makhijani (E-mail)" <arjun@ieer.org>,
"Bob Musil (E-mail)" <bmusil@psr.org>,
"Carl Nyberg (E-mail)" <cnyberg@cunr.org>,
"Carlean Ponder" <nuclear@wand.org>,
"Chris Lindborg (E-mail)" <clindborg@basicint.org>,
"Christine Kucia (E-mail)" <ckucia@basicint.org>,
"Darrel Fagin (E-mail)" <dfagin@adaction.com>,
"David Culp (E-mail)" <david@fcnl.org>,
"Don Kraus (E-mail)" <dkraus@cunr.org>,
"Ellen Barfield (E-mail)" <ellene4pj@yahoo.com>,
"Erik Floden" <efloden@clw.org>, "Erik Leaver" <erik@fpif.org>,
"Erik Olsen (E-mail)" <erik@2020vision.org>,
"Esther Pank (E-mail)" <prgrm@backfromthebrink.net>,
"Gillian Gilhool" <ggilhool@ix.netcom.com>,
"Gordon Clark (E-mail)" <gordonclark@earthlink.net>,
"Howard Hallman (E-mail)" <mupj@igc.org>,
"Ira Shorr (E-mail)" <irashorr@hotmail.com>,
"James Matlack (E-mail)" <jmatlack@erols.com>,
"Jaya Tiwari (E-mail)" <jtiwari@psr.org>,
"Jessica Scanlan (E-mail)" <jscanlan@psr.org>,
"Jim Wyerman (E-mail)" <jwyerman@2020vision.org>,
"Joe Volk (E-mail)" <joe@fcnl.org>, "Jonathan Dean" <jdean@ucs.org>,
"Justin Gilstrap (E-mail)" <hradcanyl@yahoo.com>,
"Kathy Crandall" <kcrandall@disarmament.org>,
"Kathy Guthrie (E-mail)" <kathy@fcnl.org>,
"Kendra Park (E-mail)" <kpark@wfa.org>,
"Kimberly Roberts (E-mail)" <kroberts@psr.org>,
"Kimberly Robson" <>wand@wand.org>,
"Laura Kriv (E-mail)" <lkriv@techrocks.org>,
"Lora Lumpe" <llumpe@mindspring.com>, "Lora Lumpe (E-mail)" <lora@prlo.net>,
"Maria Ramos (E-mail)" <wpc@igc.org>,
"Martin Butcher (E-mail)" <mbutcher@psr.org>,
"Masako Toki (E-mail)" <mtoki@ucsusa.org>,
"Michael Beer" <nonviolence@igc.org>,

"Michael Levi (E-mail)" <mlevi@fas.org>,
"Mike Zmolek (E-mail)" <paka@boo.net>,
"Miriam Pemberton (E-mail)" <miriam@ips-dc.org>,
"Sandy Butcher (E-mail)" <sibutcher@cs.com>,
"Stephen Young (E-mail)" <syoun@ucs.org>,
"Tim Barner (E-mail)" <kathytim@earthlink.net>,
"Tracy Moavero (E-mail)" <tmoavero@peace-action.org>,
"Trisha Christopher (E-mail)" <trishachr@earthlink.net>
From: Daryl Kimball <dkimball@armscontrol.org>
Subject: response to Sept. 11 Response & Coalition October 10 notes

Colleagues:

I appreciate the everyone's work and efforts regarding the evolving "war" on global terrorism. Unfortunately, my organizational responsibilities have not made it possible for me to attend the last two meetings. I nevertheless remain interested in contributing.

I wanted to offer a suggestion regarding the overall message that can/should be communicated that it appears has been somewhat overlooked and which I think would resonate with the public in such a way that it might help advance a number of initiatives that we all have been working on for many years.

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This will be the main theme that the Arms Control Association will be pursuing in the weeks ahead.

Without such an overarching, common sense message, it may be difficult to win support for some of the narrower messages that have been outlined in the notes that Kathy sent out.

Thanks for your consideration.

- Daryl Kimball

At 07:15 PM 10/11/01 -0400, Kathy Crandall wrote:

Message(s)

We generally agreed with the message that resulted from last week's meeting, though we had some discussion about the 2nd bullet deciding ultimately to leave it as is. We felt that it was not necessary to fully integrate and adopt additional points in Ira's original statement but that will remain, along with Arjun's suggestions as background information and ideas to draw upon.

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- *The U.S. must act to ensure that this crisis does not lead to the use of nuclear weapons. All nations should disavow the use of weapons of mass destruction.*
- *This crisis must not be used as an excuse to degrade civil liberties. We oppose arbitrary detention and expulsion of immigrants and other threats to civil liberties. We defend the rights of free speech and assembly*

We are not going to have a press conference releasing any joint statement. We probably do not need to come to agreement about additional finer points. Nevertheless it is useful to have the ideas and information as background, many of the more specific points made in Ira's draft and in Arjun's points may be useful to refer to as we plan issue specific events such as hill briefings.

Daryl Kimball, Executive Director
Arms Control Association
1726 M Street, NW, Suite 201
Washington, DC 20036
(ph) 202-463-8270 (fax) 202-463-8273
website <<http://www.armscontrol.org>>
email <dkimball@armscontrol.org>

To: mupj@igc.org
Date: Fri, 12 Oct 2001 09:22:54 -0400
Subject: Request for information
X-Mailer: Juno 5.0.33
From: Tom Simpson <simpsot@juno.com>

Please send me information on membership and MUPJ's principals, stand on issues, and contacts in the St. Petersburg Florida area. I am a member of the First United Methodist Church of Pinellas Park, FL

Tom Simpson
8500 Belcher Road, Apt 907
Pinellas Park, FL 33781-1011
727-545-2686
simpsot@juno.com

To: mupj@igc.org
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: No meeting this month
Cc:
Bcc: icnd
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

To: Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament

At one time we laid out a schedule of meetings on the third Tuesday of each month. For October this would be the 16th. However, we will not have a meeting on that day.

There are a number of meetings these days on responses to the war on terrorism. It is not clear how nuclear disarmament issues will emerge in this new atmosphere. Other than the sign-on letter I sent around yesterday, I am inclined to see how things shake out before scheduling another meeting of the Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament.

But I'll keep in touch.

Howard

From: "Kathy Crandall" <kcrandall@disarmament.org>
To: "Daryl Kimball" <dkimball@armscontrol.org>,
"Adam Eiding" (E-mail) <adam@mintwood.com>,
"Alison Prevost (E-mail)" <aprevost@networklobby.org>,
"Alistair Miller (E-mail)" <amillar@fourthfreedom.org>,
"Alyssa Gendron (E-mail)" <psrintern6@psr.org>,
"Ana Toledo (E-mail)" <atoledo@umc-gbcs.org>,
"Andrew Howells (E-mail)" <aca@armscontrol.org>,
"Anne Curtis (E-mail)" <acurtis@networklobby.org>,
"Anne Gallivan (E-mail)" <agallivan@psr.org>,
"Arjun Makhijani (E-mail)" <arjun@ieer.org>,
"Bob Musil (E-mail)" <bmusil@psr.org>,
"Carl Nyberg (E-mail)" <cnyberg@cunr.org>,
"Carlean Ponder" <nuclear@wand.org>,
"Chris Lindborg (E-mail)" <clindborg@basicint.org>,
"Christine Kucia (E-mail)" <ckucia@basicint.org>,
"Darrel Fagin (E-mail)" <dfagin@adaction.com>,
"David Culp (E-mail)" <david@fcnl.org>,
"Don Kraus (E-mail)" <dkraus@cunr.org>,
"Ellen Barfield (E-mail)" <ellene4pj@yahoo.com>,
"Erik Floden" <efloden@clw.org>, "Erik Leaver" <erik@fpif.org>,
"Erik Olsen (E-mail)" <erik@2020vision.org>,
"Esther Pank (E-mail)" <prgrm@backfromthebrink.net>,
"Gillian Gilhool" <ggilhool@ix.netcom.com>,
"Gordon Clark (E-mail)" <gordonclark@earthlink.net>,
"Howard Hallman (E-mail)" <mupj@igc.org>,
"Ira Shorr (E-mail)" <irashorr@hotmail.com>,
"James Matlack (E-mail)" <jmatlack@erols.com>,
"Jaya Tiwari (E-mail)" <jtiwari@psr.org>,
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"Kimberly Robson" <>wand@wand.org>,
"Laura Kriv (E-mail)" <lkriv@techrocks.org>,
"Lora Lumpe" <llumpe@mindspring.com>,
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"Tracy Moavero (E-mail)" <tmoavero@peace-action.org>,
"Trisha Christopher (E-mail)" <trishachr@earthlink.net>

Subject: RE: response to Sept. 11 Response & Coalition October 10 notes

Date: Fri, 12 Oct 2001 10:38:02 -0400

X-MSMail-Priority: Normal

X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook IMO, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2910.0)

X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2615.200

Importance: Normal

Attached are 1) The longer version of Ira's Draft Statement and 2) Arjun's ideas/ talking points and 3) the Draft FAQ's. I certainly think Daryl's suggested emphasis should be and is incorporated in the spirit of our work together, as are many of the points in the attached documents.

However, the indication that I've sensed from these meetings was that we did not want to spend more time trying to hammer out a perfect statement, but rather begin to work on specific things together.

It would be helpful if Daryl, Ira, Arjun and others could provide suggestions for integrating their comments and ideas into the FAQ's that we've been working on. These are to identify specific themes/ and issues which will help us elaborate on the narrow statement.

Kathy Crandall

Director

The Nuclear Disarmament Partnership

kcrandall@disarmament.org

www.disarmament.org

Located at the Offices of Physicians for Social Responsibility:

1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1012

Washington, DC 20009

202-667-4260 (ext. 240)

202-667-4201 (fax)

The Nuclear Disarmament Partnership is a joint effort of: Peace Action, Physicians for Social Responsibility, 20/20 Vision and Women's Action for New Directions

-----Original Message-----

From: Daryl Kimball [mailto:dkimball@armscontrol.org]

Sent: Friday, October 12, 2001 9:56 AM

To: Kathy Crandall; Adam Eidinger (E-mail); Alison Prevost (E-mail); Alistair Miller (E-mail); Alyssa Gendron (E-mail); Ana Toledo (E-mail); Andrew Howells (E-mail); Anne Curtis (E-mail); Anne Gallivan (E-mail); Arjun Makhijani (E-mail); Bob Musil (E-mail); Carl Nyberg (E-mail); Carlean Ponder; Chris Lindborg (E-mail); Christine Kucia (E-mail); Darrel Fagin (E-mail); David Culp (E-mail); Don Kraus (E-mail); Ellen Barfield (E-mail); Erik Floden; Erik Leaver; Erik Olsen (E-mail); Esther Pank (E-mail); Gillian Gilhool; Gordon Clark (E-mail); Howard Hallman (E-mail); Ira Shorr (E-mail); James Matlack (E-mail); Jaya Tiwari (E-mail); Jessica Scanlan (E-mail); Jim Wyerman (E-mail); Joe Volk (E-mail); Jonathan Dean; Justin Gilstrap (E-mail); Kathy Crandall; Kathy Guthrie (E-mail); Kendra Park (E-mail); Kimberly Roberts (E-mail); Kimberly Robson; Laura Kriv (E-mail); Lora Lumpe; Lora Lumpe (E-mail); Maria Ramos (E-mail); Martin Butcher (E-mail); Masako Toki (E-mail); Michael Beer; Michael Levi (E-mail); Mike Zmolek (E-mail); Miriam Pemberton (E-mail); Sandy Butcher (E-mail); Stephen Young (E-mail); Tim Barner (E-mail); Tracy Moavero (E-mail); Trisha Christopher (E-mail)

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Washington, DC 20036
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website <<http://www.armscontrol.org>>
email <dkimball@armscontrol.org>

**Terrorism Response Coalition
Legislative Sub-group**

Draft/ 10/11/01

Outline for the FAQ

Topics for Talking Points/FAQ on US Military Operations:

What is the end game/long term strategy of the US military operation? What are the possible scenarios for targets, length, objectives? When and how will the US declare “victory” over international terrorism? Does the Bush administration have a clear plan or have they started something without a clear course or plan for where it will end?

What are the U.S. objectives in Afghanistan? Is the aim to break the cells, capture suspected terrorists, and/or topple Taliban?

Assessment of the Northern Alliance, and other anti-Taliban forces, and U.S. relationship to these forces/factions.

What is the Afghan woman’s perspective of political options in Afghanistan?

What is the likely impact of US military operations on the wider South Asian region?

What is the likely impact on Central Asia and Russia?

What’s the role of drugs/heroin in Afghanistan conflict? What has Bush administration said re involvement of Taliban and Northern Alliance in poppy growing and heroin trafficking and what is the reality?

What other terrorist groups (outside Afghanistan) are possible US targets? What range of actions might the US take against each of these?

What are the possible actions the US might take against Iraq?

What other countries does the US suspect of harboring terrorists and what actions might the US take against them?

What is the impact on and reaction from other Arab states to the US military operations?

What is the nature of the coalition the US has formed? Whose in it? What have they committed to? What has US offered them?

What are present and potential US oil interests in Central Asia? In the Middle East?

Humanitarian aid: Is it window dressing or a serious effort to help?

What's the nature of and how convincing is the evidence against the bin Laden network that the US and British have presented?

How does the US military operation fit into international law and under the UN?

What are the intelligence operations underway and in the planning? What new authority and funds has the CIA and other agencies gotten/requested?

What are the possible nuclear, chemical and/or biological threats from the terrorists? What is and should the US do to counter these?

What is the scope of the current humanitarian crisis?

What are the security implications of the current humanitarian crisis for the regional security?

What impact will U.S. military action have in aggravating regional and global instability?

What are the existing nuclear, chemical, biological and terrorist threats and what are the best actions the US can take to curb these threats?

What are possible scenarios of US action? Are they within the framework of international law?

Who are the actors in US intelligence gathering? What changes can be taken to improve current policy?

How are terrorists financed and what actions can the US take to stop the flow of money to terrorists?

What are the implications for the military budget and military policy?

Who are the main actors in the coalition the US is building? Will there be an increase in US military assistance and training programs with coalition members? Will greater amounts of foreign aid be administered to these members?

Points for Sept 11 coalition/draft Arjun Makhijani / IEER

arjun@ieer.org

1. It is essential to de-legitimize the use of or threat of use of weapons of mass destruction or other tactics that have the same effect, whether by states or non-state groups, such as those used on September 11, 2001. Therefore, judicial redress, including apprehending suspects against whom there is evidence, for the crimes committed on September 11 is essential to security and justice in its own right.
2. The United States is asking governments around the world to join in a coalition against terrorism. People from eighty countries died on September 11, so they have a direct interest in participating. But this cannot be a coalition that simply is a vehicle for U.S. policy or military strikes. The coalition should be under United Nations auspices.
3. The coalition must have firm rules of operation. Violence against civilians, including bombing of cities, villages, and refugee camps, should be prohibited. The parties to the coalition should commit to respecting human rights. Participating states and personnel should act within the confines of humanitarian and international law, including the Nuremberg principles. They should expect to be held to the same level of accountability in an international judicial process that they seek to impose.
4. Because the September 11 attacks were on U.S. soil, the U.S. will naturally have a strong voice and leadership in any U.N. coalition. The United States should therefore take the leadership against the very idea of mass destruction by renouncing first use of nuclear weapons. To show its good faith, it should begin the process of de-alerting them. It should invite Russia and all other nuclear weapons states into an urgent process of de-alerting all nuclear weapons and putting all nuclear warheads and weapons-usable nuclear materials under international safeguards. This will strengthen the international coalition against terrorism and fulfill longstanding demands of the international community. It will also help stabilize nuclear situation South Asia. Any destabilization of Pakistan has the potential not only for nuclear consequences in South Asia but elsewhere in the world as well, including the United States.
5. There should be no creation of opportunistic Cold War style alliances that would wink at violations of human rights, as was the common practice during the Cold War.
6. There should be no proxy wars of the Cold War style.
7. There should be recognition that the suffering of the Afghani people has its roots, in large measure, in Cold War politics and proxy wars. That recognition, both from Russia and the United States, is long overdue. When translated into practical humanitarian policies, this means that the alleviation of their suffering must be a central, co-equal goal to that of apprehending the suspects. Most of all, any process must take into account that a re-ignition of the civil war would be disastrous for the people of Afghanistan and probably Pakistan.
8. It is essential that the United States protect human rights, civil rights (including freedom of speech, assembly, and religion and freedom from discrimination) at home. The rights of immigrants should be respected along with all other people living in the United States. While the evidence indicates that the crimes of September 11 were likely committed by non-citizens, there are many examples where citizens have committed such crimes, including the 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City and the many crimes over 20

years by the “Unabomber.” Immigrants should be accorded due process and liberties guaranteed under the Bill of Rights.

Arjun Makhijani
President, Institute for Energy and Environmental Research
6935 Laurel Ave.
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
USA
Phone: 301--270-5500
Fax: 301-270-3029
e-mail: arjun@ieer.org
Web site: www.ieer.org

Coalition Response to September 11th – 2nd Draft-October 3rd

Draft Message

Dealing with the Perpetrators

- ~~We are opposed to resolving this crisis through an act of war.~~
- ~~These~~ attacks ~~are~~ an international crime against humanity. The perpetrators of this horrendous act of violence should be brought to justice through the rule of law. Suspects could be publicly tried through an international tribunal established through UN authority, or in a U.S. court combining international and domestic prosecution.
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- Any use of force must be consistent with international law and with the “just war” tradition governing the use of force—civilians must not be targeted. The U.S. must act with an unconditional respect for the sacredness of life and the dignity of the individual.
- The U.S. must act to ensure that this crisis does not lead to the use of nuclear weapons. **(Need added language here?)**
- This crisis must not be used as an excuse to degrade civil liberties. We oppose arbitrary detention and expulsion of immigrants and other threats to civil liberties. We defend the rights of free speech and assembly

Ramifications of Military Action in South-Central Asia

- The build-up to military action is already setting off a humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan--and the region—of immense proportions. The U.S. must act to address the needs of innocent civilians caught up in this conflict.
- The potential for military escalation in South-Central Asia could destabilize Pakistan and embroil India. The two nations are enemies—and nuclear powers.
- The potential for instability in Pakistan is particularly worrisome. As the New York Times (10/2/01) noted in an article on our new ally-Pakistan: **“By drafting this fragile and fractious nation into a central role in the ‘war on terrorism,’ America runs the danger of setting off a cataclysm in a place where civil violence is a likely bet and nuclear weapons exist. Pakistan has long been the speculated locale for one of the world’s worst nightmare scenario, in which Islamic terrorists, in league with rogue elements of the military, seize control of the government with the vengeful sword of jihad with a nuclear tip.”**

- Instability in the region could also impact Russia--a nation faced with deteriorating control of nuclear materials, a profoundly compromised nuclear missile early warning system, and a decaying nuclear command and control system.

Root Causes

- It is responsibility of Congress and the citizens of this democracy to reflect on the ramifications of past government policies to national security, and to raise questions as to whether current policies will decrease the potential for future terrorist threats.
- We must address the root causes of terrorism. Poverty, ignorance and militarism create a climate from which terrorists can spring. The international community should reform those structures and foreign policy practices that breed inequality, violence, and disrespect for indigenous cultures.
- The distrust of U.S. government policies by many citizens of the Middle East should prompt reflection. Why does our foreign policy often support undemocratic regimes in that region? Is there an alternative to basing U.S. troops near Muslim holy sites? How can the U.S. better support those forces in the Middle East that call for education, social justice, women's rights, democracy and civil liberties?

Other National Security Threats-Future Military Policies

- This crisis must not be used as an excuse to pursue excessive military spending, and unnecessary and dangerous military policies like national missile defense and the abrogation of the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty.
- While we fight this new "war—on terrorism, we must make the mistake of ignoring the dangerous legacies of the last war—the Cold War. This crisis must not delay the critical need for action to reduce the nuclear threat. Specifically the administration and Congress should: support de-alerting U.S. nuclear forces and push for reciprocal de-alerting by Russia, and pursue deep cuts in U.S. and Russian arsenals; support additional funding for Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat reduction programs; and maintain the ABM Treaty.

Drafted by Ira Shorr, Back From the Brink, 10/3/01

Options for Increased U.S.-Russian Nuclear Nonproliferation Cooperation and Projected Costs

Kenneth N. Luongo
Executive Director
Russian-American Nuclear Security Advisory Council
October 2001

Introduction

The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon have left little doubt that if unscrupulous terrorist organizations obtain weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the future there is little barrier to their use. The most immediate WMD danger is posed by the potential terrorist use of chemical and biological weapons. However, the detonation of a nuclear weapon or the dispersal of radiological materials such as plutonium by terrorists would create deaths, casualties and psychological horror that are difficult to imagine. The British government, in the document it released detailing the intelligence known about Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda terrorist network, states that they have “sought to acquire nuclear and chemical materials for use as terrorist weapons” and that ultimately acquiring such weapons was viewed by them as “a religious duty.”

Therefore, intense consideration must be given now to whether the U.S. is adequately addressing the danger of potential terrorist acquisition of the nuclear tools of terror. Many nations possess nuclear materials and eight countries possess nuclear weapons, so leakages could come from many locations. But Russia possesses the largest stockpile of nuclear weapon material and weapons, and the security of its stockpiles is currently inadequate.

After a decade of U.S.-Russian threat reduction cooperation, much has been done to reduce the vulnerability of these stockpiles, but much also remains to be done. The new spirit of cooperation between the U.S. and Russia in the fight against terrorism also provides a much-improved environment in which to push with renewed vigor the implementation of cooperative security activities. This paper outlines areas where the cooperative efforts could be increased and also identifies a few new ideas that could be considered for implementation.

These options for action, while focusing primarily on Russia and nuclear materials and weapons, must be considered as only one element in the global effort to deny terrorists access to weapons of mass destruction. Additional actions must be taken to secure global chemical and biological stocks, and also to improve the safeguarding of civilian nuclear materials and commercial nuclear facilities worldwide.

The Congress passed an initial supplemental appropriations bill providing \$40 billion to address the needs raised by the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S. While no less than \$20 billion will be used for disaster recovery activities in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, plans for allocating most of the remaining \$20 billion remain unclear. The recommendations below are intended to provide the Congress and the executive branch with concrete ideas for how a portion of these funds could be utilized to prevent future unthinkable terrorist attacks by denying terrorists access to nuclear weapons-related materials, technologies, and expertise in Russia and the former Soviet Union (FSU). It is also designed to stimulate the thinking of U.S. allies in Europe and Asia about what more they could contribute to this effort.

Political Considerations

Anticipating that nuclear proliferation problems might erupt from the disintegration of the Soviet Union a decade ago, the U.S. Congress, in bipartisan action in 1991, laid the foundation for the cooperative security agenda by enacting what became known as the “Nunn-Lugar” program, named for its primary cosponsors, Senators Sam Nunn (D-GA) and Richard Lugar (R-IN). The objective of the cooperative security agenda was to work jointly with Russia and the other states of the FSU to reduce the threat posed by the legacy of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. This initiative has since developed into a broad set of programs that involve a number of U.S. agencies, primarily the Departments of Defense, Energy, and State. The government now provides these programs with approximately \$900 million to \$1 billion per year.

These cooperative efforts have had success in improving the security of WMD in the FSU. For example, nearly 40% of the estimated 600 tons of weapon-usable nuclear material outside of nuclear weapons in Russia has been provided with some level of improved security. But it only takes about 10 pounds of plutonium or 30 pounds of highly-enriched uranium to make a nuclear bomb. Even the explosive dispersal of plutonium would constitute a devastating attack. Yet vast amounts of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons materials have yet to be secured or eliminated. In addition, export and border controls throughout the region are grossly inadequate, Russian weapons facilities remain dangerously oversized, and the weapon scientists and workers in these complexes often lack sufficient compensation or alternative work possibilities. The need to aggressively address these threats is at least equal in importance to the need to counter the dangers posed by ballistic missile proliferation.

The cooperative security work that occurs requires the involvement and agreement of both the United States and Russia. In recent years, problems have developed on both the U.S. and Russian side. There is continuing tension over how much of the cooperative security budget is spent in Russia versus in the United States. There is conflict over levels of access to sensitive facilities. And there are political issues such as the tendency of some U.S. officials to treat collaboration with Russia as a client-donor relationship, with Russia acting as a subcontractor to the United States rather than as a partner. Russian participants in this collaboration have made clear their desire to modify the way the U.S. and Russia interact in this arena. While Russian officials do acknowledge their nation’s proliferation problems, they would prefer to cooperate with the United States in a more equal manner, as a scientific and security partner rather than as a potential proliferant.

To block the threat of terrorist acquisition of nuclear materials and weapons it is necessary to achieve sustainable engagement in a way that serves larger U.S. and Russian interests. One key step in this direction would be to integrate Russian experts into all phases of program design and implementation. Taking this step will require a considerable change of attitude in the United States, both in the executive branch and in Congress.

But, this new effort also will require a sea change of mentality in Russia. Russian officials must demonstrate that they are committed to nuclear security cooperation beyond the financial incentives for participation offered by the United States. Achieving real balance and partnership will be difficult, but it is possible with sustained and focused political leadership.

Raising the political profile and leadership on this agenda is therefore essential. Past successes on this agenda have been substantially facilitated by political relationships and leadership in the United States and Russia. This has included effective relationships between laboratory scientists, program managers and officials in both countries, and high-level political attention from cabinet secretaries, the White House, and the Kremlin. In times when this political leadership has been lacking on one or both sides, progress has lagged and problems have festered. At present, political leadership on this agenda is lacking in both countries. This agenda needs to be carried out on multiple levels, and its technical implementation is essential. But for success to continue, there must be active political engagement at the White House, cabinet, and sub-cabinet political appointee levels in the U.S. government. Similar engagement also must occur in Russia.

Also, in the past, many programs have benefited from the involvement of outside experts in the review of programmatic successes, failures, and implementation strategies. The establishment of an outside advisory board for cooperative nuclear security would be very useful if it were structured in a way to allow for interaction with individual programs and the ability to report to the presidents of both nations. Such a review board might be comprised of a mix of technical, political, and business-economic experts.

One action that could be undertaken immediately is a strategic review of U.S.-Russian cooperative security programs. Such an analysis has not been conducted since the mid-1990s. The Bush administration's recent review of this agenda did examine each program for its merits but it did not include a strategic review of how all the programs, managed by multiple agencies, can or should fit together from the policy perspective of the U.S. Such a review is still needed, so that a strategy for the implementation, harmonization, and leadership of these programs can be made clear in a public manner. A National Security Council task force, a specially appointed special coordinator, or an outside advisory board could conduct the review. In addition, there should be a joint U.S.-Russian strategic plan for how to achieve important and common objectives on an expedited basis. This would provide a roadmap of project prioritization and agreed upon milestones for implementation. A precedent for such a plan can be found in the joint technical programs plans for improving nuclear material security that were developed in the early 1990s by U.S. and Russian nuclear laboratories and the milestone reports required for some programs during the 1990s as part of the U.S.-Russian Commission on Economic and Technical Cooperation.

Underlying these policy issues, there is a need for additional program funding, which would not only accelerate the progress of current programs but also enable new programs to be created. Old ways of thinking that focus just on incremental increases are not enough. A fundamental and high-level commitment by the U.S. and Russian governments is required. If such political demands are made on the agencies of both governments the securing of the remaining stockpiles of WMD materials and reductions in other proliferation dangers can be made in rapid order, and perhaps significantly completed in 2 to 5 years. Over the past two years, four significant reports have been published on where increased funding could accelerate progress. They are:

- Howard Baker and Lloyd Cutler, *A Report Card on the Department of Energy's Nonproliferation Programs with Russia*, January 10, 2001.
- Matthew Bunn, *The Next Wave: Urgently Needed New Steps to Control Warheads and Fissile Material*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Harvard University Managing the Atom Project, April 2000.
- Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Panel Report: *Managing the Global Nuclear Materials Threat*, January 2000.
- Congressional Budget Office (CBO) Memorandum: *Cooperative Approaches to Halt Russian Nuclear Proliferation and Improve the Openness of Nuclear Disarmament*, May 1999.

In addition to these overview reports, other analyses have been done of specific programs, their needs and goals, by RANSAC staff and members, and other non-governmental analysts. Some of the key examples of where accelerated or new initiatives could have a significant impact are outlined below.

Funding Options and Recommendations

(1) Expand Fissile Material and Warhead Protection, Control, and Accounting (MPC&A)

This is the primary U.S. program to improve the security of Russia's fissile material and to work with the Russian Navy to protect its nuclear fuel and nuclear warheads. The Bush Administration's FY 2002 request for this work is reduced by almost \$31 million from the FY 2001 funding level to approximately \$139 million. The various authorization and appropriation bills currently provide funding levels that range from the requested amount up to \$186 million. The budget also requested \$65 million for nuclear warhead storage and transportation security in Russia. This request has been approved by the relevant committees, though progress could potentially be accelerated if additional funds were provided and some political problems overcome.

The U.S.-Russian MPC&A program is now entering its eighth year. However, by the end of 2001, security upgrades will have been completed on only about 40 percent of the over 600 metric tons of highly-enriched uranium and plutonium in the former Soviet Union located outside Russia's nuclear weapons stockpile. And completion of the upgrades is not expected before 2010. Expanded funding is necessary to speed the overall pace of the effort, consolidate the nuclear materials into fewer facilities, initiate performance testing of installed security

systems under a variety of threat scenarios, and to ensure that the security systems are maintained and sustained.

Assuming that the current budget (FY 2002) comes in at around \$150-160 million, MPC&A could utilize additional increases from \$75 million to about \$425 million per year according to various analyses of the program. At the upper levels of this funding, dramatic actions would have to be taken to include more experts in the implementation of this effort both in the U.S. and Russia. And political agreements would have to be reached to allow the work to occur rapidly. But, if undertaken, these actions could produce dramatic security improvements at many facilities in a relatively short period.

Details on Funding - FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request and Recommended Increase

PROGRAM	FY 2001	FY 2002 Request	Recommendation
International Material Protection, Control, and Accounting	\$169.7 million	\$138.8 million	\$225-575 million
Nuclear Warhead Storage and Transportation Security	\$103.7 million	\$65.5 million	\$90-100 million
TOTAL	\$273.4 million	\$204.3 million	\$315-675 million

(2) Improve Russian and FSU Border and Export Controls

This category of activity renders assistance to Russian and FSU customs and border patrol services to improve their ability to detect nuclear materials at ports, airports, and border crossings, and to help countries establish the necessary legal and regulatory framework for an effective nonproliferation export control system. At present the export control system remains very rudimentary and the improvements in border control have been minor. For example, there is not sufficient training for enterprises in export control, the control system itself is fragmented, and border guards have received only minimal training in the detection of dangerous items.

The request in FY 2002 for export control assistance from the State Department for the FSU is \$17 million, but only a portion of this funding is used for Russia. An additional \$4 million was requested for the Department of Energy's Second Line of Defense (SLD) program that is primarily Russia focused. Also, about \$3.5 million of the NIS Assistance/Freedom Support Act is provided for export control in Russia. All relevant Congressional committees have approved the \$4 million for SLD as well as the \$17 million requested for export control development in the State Department's Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, De-mining, and Related (NADR) activities budget.

In addition, the Department of Defense funds and manages joint programs with the Customs Department and the FBI which provide equipment and training to law enforcement, customs, and border patrol personnel in the FSU and key transit states to interdict smuggling of WMD materials and technologies. The budget for these activities has been approximately \$4-5 million

per year for the past several years, though the Bush budget requests \$9.1 million to expand these activities in FY 2002.

There is considerably more that could be done in the area of export and border controls. One focus should be on border control in the Southern rim of Russia. Recent reports state that the southern routes out of Russia have become more attractive nuclear material smuggling pathways. In addition, there are numerous training programs and equipment purchases that would improve the export control system. This area could utilize an increase of around \$40 million, with \$15 to \$20 million of this provided specifically for Russian export control improvements.

Details on Funding - FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request and Recommended Increase

PROGRAM	FY 2001 Allocation	FY 2002 Request	Recommendation
DOE Second Line of Defense	\$2.4 million	\$4.0 million	\$10.0 million
State Department Export Control Assistance (NADR account)*	\$19.1 million (\$1.5 million for Russia)	\$17.0 million (\$1.5 million for Russia)	\$35.0 million (\$5.0 million for Russia)
State Department Export Control Assistance (FREEDOM Support Act Account)*	\$21 million (\$3.5 million for Russia)	\$21 million (\$3.5 million for Russia)	\$40.0 million (\$10.0 million for Russia)
TOTAL	\$42.5 million	\$42.0 million	\$85.0 million

*NOTE: These funding lines provide export control development assistance not only to Russia, but also to other countries in the NIS.

(3) Downsize Nuclear Cities and Prevent Proliferation via Brain Drain

This effort consists of three programs designed to provide alternative employment for WMD scientists. The Initiatives for Proliferation Prevention (IPP) and International Science and Technology Center (ISTC) programs operate in the chemical, biological, missile, and nuclear weapons complexes in Russia and the New Independent States (NIS). The Nuclear Cities Initiative (NCI) program is the only one that seeks to help Russia accelerate the downsizing of its nuclear weapons complex by facilitating the creation of alternative employment of the nuclear scientists and workers that would be displaced during the transition to a smaller nuclear complex.

The nuclear proliferation dangers resulting from the protracted economic deterioration of the Russian nuclear weapon complex are very serious. The complex employs thousands of weapon scientists and is the custodian of hundreds of tons of fissile material and thousands of nuclear weapons. If just a fraction of these people or inventories were diverted, it would create an international security crisis. With these consequences in mind, additional funding could be devoted to the development of more intensive programs aimed at preventing further economic and social breakdown in the Russian nuclear complex and creating new, peaceful pursuits for its employees. Specific activities could include cleaning out and preparation of excess facilities for civilian use and the employment of knowledgeable personnel.

In FY 2002, about \$66 million has been requested for these programs. Congressional committees with jurisdiction over these programs have provided funding varying from the requested level up to \$95 million. But there are many opportunities for additional funding beyond this upper limit. Proposals for expanding these efforts range from an additional \$25 to \$350 million per year. There was even a suggestion in the CSIS report that up to \$5 billion be devoted to this problem over five or more years.

Details on Funding - FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request and Recommended Increase

PROGRAM	FY 2001 Allocation	FY 2002 Request	Recommendation
DOE Initiatives for Proliferation Prevention (IPP)*	\$24.1 million	\$22.1 million	\$25-150 million
DOE Nuclear Cities Initiative (NCI)	\$26.6 million	\$6.6 million	\$25-150 million
State Department Contributions to Science Centers (ISTC/STCU)*	\$35.0 million	\$37.0 million	\$40-100 million
TOTAL	\$85.7 million	\$65.7 million	\$90-\$400 million

*NOTE: These two programs focus largely on WMD facilities and institutes, including chemical and biological weapon institutes, outside of the Russian nuclear cities.

(4) Facilitate Fissile Material Disposition and Elimination

This activity area supports the disposal and conversion of fissile material (plutonium and highly-enriched uranium [HEU]) that the United States and Russia have determined to be excess to defense needs, so that it can not be retrieved for weapons purposes.

The elimination of Russian excess highly-enriched uranium is being implemented via a private sector contract between Russia and the U.S. Enrichment Corporation in accordance with the 1993 U.S.-Russian HEU Purchase Agreement (though some \$325 million has been made available by the U.S. government in the past to help facilitate continuation of the agreement). In addition, the Energy Department supports efforts to promote transparency under this HEU Purchase Agreement, though the amounts requested for FY 2002 will support only 18 of 24 special monitoring visits to the four Russian uranium processing facilities. A modest increase is therefore suggested for this program.

One means of strengthening the benefits of the HEU agreement is to accelerate the blend-down of HEU to lower enrichment levels by doubling the rate from 30 to 60 tons per year. An HEU rapid blend-down deal could be very simple and it could be structured so there would be no interference with the ongoing 30-ton-per-year blend-down and sale already underway. The United States would pay Russia its capital and operating costs to blend large additional quantities of HEU to low-enriched uranium (LEU) subject to Russian agreement that this additional LEU would be held off the market in monitored storage cylinders in Russia (to avoid crashing world uranium and enrichment prices with a flood of additional material onto the market). These additional blended stocks could then be metered onto the market at the 30-ton-per-year rate once there was no more material to sell under the original contract. While serving the U.S. national security interest, such a deal would serve Russia's financial interest as well, for with the costs to blend down already paid by the U.S. government, Russia would make even larger profits when

the material was eventually sold on the commercial market. This initiative is estimated to cost in the range of \$40-90 million in the first year.

A final HEU related option is to increase the funding for the Reduced Enrichment for Research and Test Reactors (RERTR) program. This effort allows for the design and manufacture of low-enriched uranium fuels that can replace bomb-grade uranium cores in small research and test reactors. This program has been moving slowly in converting Soviet-designed reactors from HEU to LEU and additional funding could accelerate this process.

The primary funding in the budget at present is for the disposition of 68 tons of plutonium declared excess to defense needs in Russia and the U.S. (34 tons per country), and the replacement of the three Russian weapon-grade plutonium producing reactors which are still operating because they provide heat and power for nearby populations.

The plutonium disposition program was structured as a bilateral effort as a means of incentivizing Russia to decrease its massive plutonium stockpile. The budget supports both domestic plutonium disposition and Russia's plutonium disposition. It also supports two disposition tracks – immobilization of the plutonium in radioactive high-level waste and mixing of the plutonium with uranium to create a mixed oxide fuel (MOX) for power reactors. The cost over about 20 years is currently estimated at \$8 billion - \$2 billion for the Russian program and \$6 billion for the U.S. program.

However, funding for the disposal of Russian plutonium was significantly decreased in the FY 2002 budget request. Funding for the disposition of U.S. excess plutonium was slightly increased overall, but questions have now been raised about continued support of the dual track implementation of the disposition program. The budget request cut back significantly the immobilization activities for the U.S. and raised serious questions about the cost of the MOX option. At present the program is somewhat in limbo and the Bush administration has not decided how to proceed.

However, unneeded HEU and plutonium stockpiles should be eliminated. Their continued existence requires continued monitoring and improved security. At the very least funds should be made available to continue down the path of plutonium disposition. The FY 2002 request was for \$248 million. The relevant Congressional committees have either provided the requested amount or increased it up to \$257 million. But this is an insufficient amount to move this process forward. A budget of about \$300-350 million required if reasonably rapid progress is to be made on plutonium disposition.

In addition to plutonium disposition, ending plutonium production for both military and commercial purposes should also be funded. There are three remaining weapon-grade plutonium production reactors in Russia that currently produce approximately 1.5 metric tons of weapon grade plutonium per year. However, the reactors also provide energy to the surrounding towns and in order to shut them down alternative energy sources must be built. Last year the Congress prohibited the use of funds for the construction of fossil fuel replacement energy plants, the Russian and American preferred alternative to the existing nuclear plants, and the House has restated this position again this year. The current estimated cost for the construction of the

fossil-fueled replacement plants is on the order of \$420 million. In order for this program to move forward, it is essential that the restriction on the use of funds for replacement energy be lifted and the funding for the replacement energy sources be authorized and appropriated.

Also, funds should be provided to allow Russia and the U.S. to continue their work on an inventory of Russia's plutonium production. This is a \$500,000 program that was eliminated in the FY 2002 budget request. It could profitably be funded at \$2-3 million.

Finally, incentives could be offered to end plutonium separation from civilian power-reactor spent fuel in Russia. Last year \$38.0 million was requested to incentivize Russia to end its continued separation of plutonium from commercial spent nuclear fuel. The Congress approved about \$15.0 million for this purpose. The Bush budget eliminated this effort. This effort should be reconstituted.

A much larger policy and financial question is whether the U.S. should pursue with Russia a large-scale fissile material buyout in Russia. Options in these categories are estimated to range from \$3.5 to \$17 billion spread over several years. But pursuing such a path could avoid costs in several other areas.

Details on Funding - FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request and Recommended Increase

PROGRAM	FY 2001 Allocation	FY 2002 Request	Recommendation
U.S.-Russian Fissile Material Disposition (primarily plutonium)	\$226.1 million (\$40 million for Russia component)	\$248.1 million (\$15 million for Russia component)	\$300-350 million
Expanded HEU Rapid Blend-Down	-----	-----	\$40-90 million
Highly-Enriched Uranium Purchase Agreement Transparency	\$14.6 million	\$13.9 million	\$15 million
Reduced Enrichment for Research and Test Reactors (excludes spent fuel return funds)	\$5.6 million	\$5.6 million	\$8 million
Elimination of Russian Weapons-Grade Plutonium Production	\$32.1 million	\$41.7 million	\$41.7 million (lift the restriction on funding fossil-fueled replacement energy sources)
Russian Plutonium Inventory	\$500,000	\$0	\$2-3 million
Ending Russian Civil Plutonium Production	\$15.0 million	\$0	\$38 million
TOTAL	\$293.9 million	\$309.3 million	\$444.7-545.7 million

(5) Promote Warhead and Fissile Material Stockpile Monitoring and Transparency

Facilitating the transparent dismantling of warheads and the monitoring of fissile material stockpiles is an important part of the effort to control nuclear stockpiles. However, despite the widespread belief that the U.S. is helping Russia to dismantle its nuclear warheads, it is not true. It is clear that warheads are being dismantled to provide the HEU for the HEU Purchase Agreement. And at least some of the plutonium from the dismantled weapons will be placed in the Mayak Storage Facility. But there is no dedicated program to assist Russia with warhead dismantlement. Likewise, the U.S. and Russian governments have very little exchange of information on fissile material stockpiles because, in part, the information is still considered classified in Russia. The Department of Energy, however, manages a cooperative R&D effort on ways to enhance transparency in U.S.-Russian warhead dismantlement and fissile material stockpile activities. This effort now primarily focuses on the development of technical approaches to verified warhead dismantlement, but the effort could move to deal with actual dismantlement of excess warheads and perhaps promote greater cooperation on stockpile information exchanges if financial incentives were provided. Best estimates are that it would require \$100-250 million per year to implement a robust warhead dismantlement regime. This figure could grow to \$500 million per year if additional funds were provided to international organizations, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), to help promote fissile material stockpile monitoring.

Details on Funding FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request: The Department of Energy requested approximately \$13 million for these activities in FY 2001. Unlike past years, however, the Energy Department FY 2002 budget request did not include a funding line in its detailed justifications for warhead dismantlement and stockpile transparency activities. Instead, the funding is embedded in a larger "Policy and Analysis" line of the DOE Nuclear Nonproliferation budget. However, the DOE request does indicate that support for facilitating transparent irreversible reductions will be reduced by \$2.0 million in FY 2002. The decrease is due to uncertainty of a START III treaty which could include actual elimination of warheads. The activities that will not be funded as a result of the decrease are the preparation of an analysis and preparing the Pantex Plant for warhead elimination and inspection, and studies related to conducting inspections at Russian nuclear facilities.

Details on Funding - FY 2001 vs. FY 2002 Request and Recommended Increase

PROGRAM	FY 2001 Allocation	FY 2002 Request	Recommendation
Warhead Dismantlement Transparency Activities	Approx. \$13 million	Approx. \$11 million	\$100-500 million

Other Options

In addition to additional funding for existing activities there are also steps that should be considered to address new dangers or facilitate the acceleration of current activities. These include:

Creation of a U.S.-Russian Special Presidential Commission – In the wake of the September 11 events it is not clear that the U.S. and Russian governments have adequately recognized the urgency of accelerating the implementation of the cooperative nuclear security agenda. Consideration should be given to requesting that Presidents Bush and Putin, at the November meeting at President Bush's ranch, create a joint commission to report to them on how to improve and accelerate the implementation of this work. The commission could be headed by high-level government officials, or perhaps more ideally, be chaired by former U.S. and Russian officials or legislators. This could, in essence, be a joint version of the Baker-Cutler process and it would have the benefit of Russian participation. It could also help continue the closer cooperation that has emerged from U.S.-Russian cooperation on anti-terrorism. The commission's scope also could be expanded beyond a focus on nuclear issues to include chemical and biological proliferation prevention. Out of this process could come the creation of agreed milestones and oversight of progress by both sides.

Requirement for a Strategic Plan – The major recommendation of the Baker-Cutler report was that the U.S. government, in consultation with the Congress and in cooperation with Russia, quickly formulate a strategic plan to secure and/or neutralize in the next 8-10 years all nuclear weapons usable material located in Russia and to prevent the outflow of Russian weapons scientists and knowledge. The nearly completed Bush administration review of U.S.-Russian cooperative programs did not include a strategic review of how all the programs managed by multiple agencies can or should fit together. It also is not clear whether such a strategic analysis will be completed by the Bush administration in the future or that a central coordinator will be appointed as requested by Congress. Therefore, there is a need for a report on the President's strategy for the implementation, harmonization, and leadership of U.S.-Russian cooperative programs.

Coordinator of Programs – Since the mid-1990s the Congress has been requesting that the White House appoint a central coordinator for U.S.-Russian cooperative security activities. This request was reiterated in the Baker-Cutler report. The Clinton administration refused to make the appointment and the Bush administration has not given the matter much consideration. But, a central coordinator, or high level White House led committee is needed to ensure that progress continues and that interagency and intergovernmental problems are managed. If the Special Joint Presidential Commission suggested above is created then the U.S. official in charge of it could serve in the coordinator role.

Access to Sensitive Facilities in Russia – Access to sensitive Russian military facilities has become a significant and contentious issue between the U.S. and Russia, affecting the pace of implementation of a number of cooperative programs. One option is to request a multi-agency report on the objectives and strategies for obtaining access to sensitive facilities in Russia and a

catalog of successes and failures to date. Another option is to outline the objectives the U.S. should have in seeking to obtain access to sensitive facilities. There should also be an assessment of the non-intrusive means of providing assurance at very sensitive facilities that the work being done is legitimate and implemented correctly, but which would not include direct access. At present there is no written guidance on why access is sought or how it is sought.

Agreement for the Exchange of Classified Information – In the mid-1990s, the Congress provided the executive branch with greater authority to negotiate an agreement for the exchange of classified information between the U.S. and Russia. If such an agreement could be negotiated, the Congress stated at the time, the agreement would not have to be approved by the Congress, as is the normal procedure. This authority has lapsed, as have the negotiations on this agreement. Congressional support for the completion of such an agreement could be useful.

Creation of an Outside Advisory Board – Many programs have benefited from the involvement of outside experts in the review of programmatic successes, failures, and implementation strategies. Consideration should be given to requesting the establishment of an outside advisory board that could interact with individual programs and report to the President on an as needed basis. A mix of U.S. bipartisan and Russian technical, political, and business/economic experts could be an appropriate review board. Utilizing existing institutions should also be considered.

Transparency at Enrichment Plants – At present there are no measures in place to provide assurance that the U.S. and Russia are not continuing to produce highly-enriched uranium, despite the fact that both countries have declared that they are no longer producing HEU for weapons. Funding could be provided for the initiation of such transparency measures in both countries or encouragement provided for the initiation of such discussions.

Debt-For-Security Swap – Modeled on past “debt-for-environment” swaps, this proposal would create a new revenue stream for financing non-proliferation activities by canceling a portion of older Soviet era debt to the U.S. and Europe (some originating with WWII lend-lease) in return for Russia making payments into an auditable fund to finance agreed upon projects.

Spent Fuel Importation – The U.S. should encourage Russia to ensure that a portion of the funds received from the importation to Russia of spent fuel of U.S. origin be utilized for security improvements in Russia. Of course the precursor to any transfer of U.S. origin fuel is a nuclear cooperation agreement with Russia, which should be considered in a new light given the new international realities. Also, the U.S. should require that Russia not reprocess the spent fuel and thereby increase its large stockpile of vulnerable separated plutonium.

Conclusion

The options and recommendations contained in this paper provide for consideration of a range of increased funding to address well-known nuclear proliferation threats. If viewed from the perspective of minimum and maximum amounts it calls for an increase of approximately \$330 million to \$1.6 billion per year above currently anticipated appropriated levels for key programs.

These are relatively small amounts compared to the supplemental funds that have already been appropriated and they are very small when compared to the threat. In addition, the costs could be shared among U.S. allies if necessary, with very little impact on any country's budget. The original Nunn-Lugar initiative was the vision and creation of the U.S. Congress and this laudable leadership is called for again.

The author would like to thank Bill Hoehn and Greg Marsh of RANSAC for their research and analytical assistance and Oleg Bukharin, Matthew Bunn, and Frank von Hippel for their review and suggestions.

**OVERVIEW OF PROJECTED COSTS FOR INCREASED U.S.-RUSSIAN NUCLEAR
NON-PROLIFERATION COOPERATION IN THE WAKE OF
THE SEPTEMBER 11, 2001 TERRORIST ATTACKS ON THE UNITED STATES**

(All amounts in millions unless otherwise noted)

PROGRAM	Funding Range in Current FY 2002 Authorization and Appropriation bills	Recommendation For FY 2002	Minimum-Maximum Additional Funding Required*
<i>Expand Security of Weapons-Usable Nuclear Materials</i>			
International Material Protection, Control, and Accounting (DOE)	\$138.8-186.0	\$225-575	+\$39.0-436.2
Nuclear Warhead Storage and Transportation Security (DOD)	\$65.5	\$90-100	+\$24.5-34.5
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>\$204.3-251.5</i>	<i>\$315-675</i>	<i>+\$63.5-470.7</i>
<i>Improve Russian and FSU Border and Export Controls</i>			
Second Line of Defense (DOE)	\$4.0	\$10	+\$6
Export Control Assistance (State/NADR)	\$17.0	\$35	+\$18
Export Control Assistance (State/FREEDOM Support Act)	\$21.0	\$40	+\$19
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>\$42.0</i>	<i>\$85</i>	<i>+\$43</i>
<i>Downsize Nuclear Cities and Prevent Proliferation via Brain Drain</i>			
Initiatives for Proliferation Prevention (DOE)	\$22.1-37.1	\$25-150	+\$0-127.9
Nuclear Cities Initiative (DOE)	\$6.6-21.1	\$25-150	+\$3.9-143.4
Science Centers, ISTC/STCU (State)	\$37.0	\$40-100	+\$3.0-63.0
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>\$65.7-95.2</i>	<i>\$90-400</i>	<i>+\$6.9-334.3</i>
<i>Halting Russian Production and Facilitating Disposition of Weapons-Usable Nuclear Materials</i>			
U.S.-Russian Fissile Material Disposition (DOE)	\$248.1-257.1	\$300-350	+\$42.9-101.9
HEU Rapid Blend-Down	-----	\$40-90	+40-90
HEU Purchase Agreement Transparency (DOE)	\$13.9	\$15.0	+\$1.1
Reduced Enrichment Research and Test Reactor (DOE)	\$5.6	\$8.0	+\$2.4
Elimination of Russian Weapons- Grade Plutonium Production	\$41.7	\$41.7	(lift the funding restriction)
Russian Plutonium Inventory	\$0	\$2-3	+\$2.0-3.0
Ending Russian Civil Plutonium Production	\$0	\$38	+\$38.0
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>\$309.3-318.3</i>	<i>\$444.7-545.7</i>	<i>+\$126.4-236.4</i>
<i>Promoting Warhead and Stockpile Transparency:</i>			
Warhead Dismantlement Transparency Activities (DOE)	Approx. \$11.0	\$100-500	+\$89.0-489.0
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>Approx. \$11</i>	<i>\$100-500</i>	<i>+\$89.0-489.0</i>
GRAND TOTAL	\$632.3-718.0 million	\$1.03-2.2 billion	+\$328.8 million -- \$1.57 billion

*The maximum increase was arrived at by subtracting the minimum amount currently authorized or appropriated from the maximum amount recommended, while the minimum increase was calculated by subtracting the maximum amount authorized or appropriated from the minimum amount recommended, thereby providing for a full range of funding options.

Date: Fri, 12 Oct 2001 09:19:36 -0700 (PDT)
From: Egbert Lawrence <egbertl4pj@yahoo.com>
Subject: Re: No meeting this month
To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>

Howard,

I just sent you an e-mail and tapped SEND before writing this message! Sorry about that.

It is very wise to not meet for the time being. Thanks. For your information, I have recently been elected to the ACLU of Maryland board and am receiving a steady stream of horrid thoughts about what the U.S. Government is potentially doing, actually doing or planning. We have met in the ACLU office in D.C. several times. How about a general civil liberties discussion for our group? Keeps us getting together. Religious people of different faiths do not naturally get together very often so keeping up some kind of momentum would seem a good idea.

We have a fine bunch of hard working people in the ACLU office right handy on Maryland Avenue.

Thanks again. PEACE! Larry
--- "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org> wrote:
> To: Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament

>
> At one time we laid out a schedule of meetings on
> the third Tuesday of each
> month. For October this would be the 16th.
> However, we will not have a
> meeting on that day.
>
> There are a number of meetings these days on
> responses to the war on
> terrorism. It is not clear how nuclear disarmament
> issues will emerge in
> this new atmosphere. Other than the sign-on letter
> I sent around
> yesterday, I am inclined to see how things shake out
> before scheduling
> another meeting of the Interfaith Committee for
> Nuclear Disarmament.

>
> But I'll keep in touch.
>
> Howard
>
> Howard W. Hallman, Chair
> Methodists United for Peace with Justice
> 1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
> Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org
>
> Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a

- > membership association of
- > laity and clergy. It has no affiliation with any
- > Methodist denomination.

Do You Yahoo!?

Make a great connection at Yahoo! Personals.

<http://personals.yahoo.com>

Reply-To: <lisaw@nccusa.org>
From: "Lisa Wright" <nccwsdc@bellatlantic.net>
To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: RE: No meeting this month
Date: Fri, 12 Oct 2001 12:35:27 -0400
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook IMO, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2910.0)
Importance: Normal
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V4.72.2106.4

Thanks, Howard. I'll actually be in NY on the 16th, so this is good to know.

Lisa

-----Original Message-----

From: Howard W. Hallman [mailto:mupj@igc.org]
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2001 10:21 AM
To: mupj@igc.org
Subject: No meeting this month

To: Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament

At one time we laid out a schedule of meetings on the third Tuesday of each month. For October this would be the 16th. However, we will not have a meeting on that day.

There are a number of meetings these days on responses to the war on terrorism. It is not clear how nuclear disarmament issues will emerge in this new atmosphere. Other than the sign-on letter I sent around yesterday, I am inclined to see how things shake out before scheduling another meeting of the Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament.

But I'll keep in touch.

Howard

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice
1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a membership association of laity and clergy. It has no affiliation with any Methodist denomination.

From: Ckekdd@aol.com
Date: Fri, 12 Oct 2001 15:49:23 EDT
Subject: Thanks for the Friends letter...
To: mupj@igc.org
X-Mailer: AOL 5.0 for Windows sub 138

Howard - thank you so much for sharing the Friends letter. I keep trying to figure out why American's can't see that every bomb dropped is a spark of hatred and in no way will bring peace - or lack of fear - for the US.

For such a big, supposedly well educated, group of people, we seem to have no idea how disliked Americans are by much of the citizenry of the world. It's certainly envy to some extent, but mostly just plain anger and frustration over our arrogance and utter inability (or unwillingness) to even try to understand, or treat with respect, anyone beyond our borders.

Keep sharing & God's blessings to you!

Carol English

X-Sender: wslf@mail.earthlink.net
X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Pro Version 4.1
Date: Fri, 12 Oct 2001 13:50:45 -0700
To: abolition-caucus@egroups.com, abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com,
a2000gc@watserv1.uwaterloo.ca, globenet@egroups.com
From: Jackie Cabasso wslf@earthlink.net
Subject: (abolition-usa) NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN A CHANGED WORLD: INFO AND ANALYSIS
Sender: owner-abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com
Reply-To: abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com

New on our web site: (direct) www.wslfweb.org/dos/nukesincontext.pdf
or from our homepage: www.wslfweb.org link to Document Library (left side of page) or Documents and Publications (right side of page)

Western States Legal Foundation Emergency Information Bulletin, Fall 2001

NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN A CHANGED WORLD: THE HIDDEN DANGERS OF THE RUSH TO WAR

- U.S. Nuclear Weapons Doctrine: Many Missions, Varied Targets
- Modified Bombs for Changing "Threats"
- The Legal Status of Nuclear Weapons
- The Risks of a Wider War
- Avoiding the Slippery Slope: The September 11 Attacks as Crimes rather than Acts of War
- Nuclear Catastrophe: the Ultimate Unanticipated Consequence

From: "GT Hunt" <gthunt@mdo.net>
To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Re: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons
Date: Fri, 12 Oct 2001 16:31:40 -0400
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook Express 4.72.2106.4
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V4.72.2106.4

I feel I have been most remiss in keeping in touch with the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. Please call me at 301-530-2807 (except I'll be out most of the day Saturday and Sunday). I'm sure they will want to endorse your statement, and maybe do one of their own.

Yours,

GT Hunt

-----Original Message-----

From: Howard W. Hallman <mupj@igc.org>
To: mupj@igc.org <mupj@igc.org>
Date: Thursday, October 11, 2001 1:38 PM
Subject: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons

>Dear Colleagues:

>
>It is a month since the horrible terrorist attacks on the World Trade
>Center, the Pentagon, and the plane downed in Pennsylvania. We have
>grieved. We have wondered why and what next. We have seen the U.S.
>government treat the attack as an act of war rather than an international
>crime against humanity. Various religious groups have responded in
>different ways.
>
>As the war on terrorism and against Afghanistan have gotten underway, there
>remains the issue of nuclear weapons, first in dealing with terrorism and
>then in the broader perspective of global security in the 21st century.
>With that in mind I have drafted the following sign-on letter to President
>Bush. It deals with three issues: no first use, non-proliferation, and
>nuclear disarmament.
>
>I invite a representative of your organization to sign. I suggest a
>deadline of the close of business on Friday, October 19. If you have any
>questions or comments about the letter, please contact me by return e-mail
>or by phone at 301 896-0013.

>
>Shalom,
>Howard

>
>###

>
>Sign on letter for representatives of religious organizations.

>
>The Honorable George W. Bush
>The White House

>Washington, D.C. 20500

>

>Dear Mr. President:

>

>The campaign against terrorism is raising new and important questions about
>the role and future of nuclear weapons in the global security framework of
>the 21st century. We would like to share with you our thinking on this
>matter.

>

>First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government
>favor using nuclear weapons against terrorist enclaves and against states
>that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in
>response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would
>reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as
>a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of
>the United States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any
>state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time
>under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral
>and would constitute a crime against humanity.

>

>Second, we note that in January 2001 the Task Force chaired by Howard Baker
>and Lloyd Cutler stated: "The most urgent unmet national security threat
>to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction
>or weapons-usable material in Russia could be stolen and sold to terrorists
>or hostile nation states and used against American troops or citizens at
>home." The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States emphasize
>the importance of this finding. Therefore, we believe that a substantial
>portion of anti-terrorist funds should go for full implementation of the
>Baker-Cutler report. In terms of relative priority, we suggest that funds
>be transferred from the missile defense budget to this and other urgent
>non-proliferation initiatives.

>

>Third, we believe that the improved relationship between the United States
>and Russia because of mutual concern over terrorism should be treated as an
>opportunity to make substantial progress in improving the security of
>deployed nuclear weapons and dismantling the nuclear arsenals still in
>place more than a decade after the Cold War ended. Specifically we ask
>you to implement your campaign promise to work with Russia to de-alert and
>stand down the respective nuclear arsenals and to achieve deep cuts in
>strategic nuclear weapons. Not only will this enhance the security of the
>United States and Russia by lowering the possibility of accidental launch,
>it will also reduce the danger that a renegade group could gain control of
>deployed nuclear weapons and use them for terrorist attack on the United
>States.

>

>We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a
>safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

>

>Sincerely yours,

>

>Representatives of religious organizations.

>

>Howard W. Hallman, Chair

>Methodists United for Peace with Justice

>1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036

>Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

>

>Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a membership association of
>laity and clergy. It has no affiliation with any Methodist denomination.

>

X-eGroups-Return: sentto-1300601-594-1002937415-
mupj=igc.org@returns.onelist.com
X-Sender: MingoMae@aol.com
X-Apparently-To: bumc@yahoogroups.com
To: bumc@yahoogroups.com
X-Mailer: AOL 6.0 for Windows US sub 10539
From: mingomae@aol.com
Mailing-List: list bumc@yahoogroups.com; contact bumc-owner@yahoogroups.com
Delivered-To: mailing list bumc@yahoogroups.com
List-Unsubscribe: <mailto:bumc-unsubscribe@yahoogroups.com>
Date: Fri, 12 Oct 2001 21:43:17 EDT
Subject: [bumc] Fwd: UMNS #465-Church groups react to U.S. attacks in Afghanistan

In a message dated 10/12/2001 3:45:05 PM Eastern Daylight Time,
NewsDesk@UMCOM.ORG writes:

Church groups react to U.S. attacks in Afghanistan

Oct. 12, 2001 News media contact: Tim Tanton·(615)742-5470·Nashville, Tenn.
10-21-71B{465}

By United Methodist News Service

Two unofficial United Methodist groups are speaking out on the U.S. military strikes in Afghanistan, both voicing support for bringing terrorists to justice but differing in tone regarding war.

The executive director of the Methodist Federation for Social Action said the violence must be stopped before more innocent people in the United States and elsewhere are killed. The Good News organization described the current conflict as a "just war" and said it does not share the view of pacifists within the United Methodist Church.

Both MFSA and Good News are old, well-established groups. Historically, they have represented opposing viewpoints in the church on social, political and theological issues.

"We join the nation in soberly and prayerfully supporting the decision of President George W. Bush to begin military action against the Taliban government of Afghanistan," Good News said Oct. 10.

"Make no mistake about it, there is nothing glorious about war," Good News said. "Nevertheless, there are those moments, as President Bush has pointed out, when civilized people must confront 'the outlaws and killers of

innocents.' In this instance, overcoming evil with good will take force - even deadly force."

Good News is an evangelical renewal ministry based in Wilmore, Ky. It publishes Good News magazine, where the Oct. 10 statement, "Overcoming Evil With Good," will appear as an editorial in the November-December issue. President and publisher is the Rev. James Heidinger II.

Before the Oct. 7 bombing strikes on Afghanistan, MFSA members had written to members of Congress acknowledging anguish over the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks on America and urging restraint in launching a military response. Based in Washington, MFSA is an advocacy group for action on justice, peace and liberation issues facing the church and society.

The Rev. Kathryn Johnson, executive director, issued an additional statement Oct. 11, after the attacks began.

"MFSA shares with all Americans the desire to bring to justice those who committed the Sept. 11 attacks and their accomplices, and joins with President Bush in his call to respect the rights and personhood of Arab Americans and Americans of the Islamic faith," she said.

"We believe, however, that the spiral of violence must be stopped before it leads to further and even greater loss of innocent life both in the United States and in other nations. Violence begets violence," she said.

The MFSA calls on the U.S. government to work through judicial processes, the police, a broad international coalition and the United Nations to bring those responsible for the Sept. 11 attacks to justice, Johnson said.

"We also call for a broad re-examination of U.S. foreign policies which, however unintentionally, may have enabled terrorists to fan the flames of anti-Americanism in many parts of the world," she said. "We call on the U.S. to initiate a far-reaching campaign to reduce the widening gap between rich and poor throughout the world.

"We recommend a shift from unilateral policies to a multilateral approach, including U.S. support for existing treaties banning landmines and chemical or biological weapons, and the adoption of a comprehensive nuclear test ban," Johnson said.

In their letters to Congress, MFSA members expressed support for helping the poor during the current national crisis and weakened economy. They also opposed weakening civil liberties in the rush to increase surveillance, and they opposed further funding of the missile defense program.

During an Oct. 11 televised news conference, Bush told reporters that he supports more strongly than ever a national missile defense system. The president is a United Methodist.

In its statement, Good News had words of caution for United Methodist leaders. "The leaders of our denomination need to think carefully about their response to President Bush's military action. We also caution United Methodist leaders from attempting to give rationalizations about why this great evil was enacted upon the United States."

Good News said it agreed with New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, that those "who practice terrorism - murdering or victimizing innocent civilians - lose any right to have their cause understood by decent people and lawful nations."

"Although we respect the convictions and views of pacifists within United Methodism - including many denominational leaders - we do not share their view," Good News said. "Instead, we agree with St. Paul, who taught that the governing authorities have reason to 'bear the sword' and that they are 'an agent of wrath to bring punishment' to those who do evil.

"Furthermore, we believe that loving the neighbor - a commandment from Jesus - sometimes involves using military force for reasons of defending the defenseless, protecting the innocent and promoting justice." Good News cited theologians such as Thomas Aquinas, Augustine, Martin Luther, John Calvin, Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Ramsey, a United Methodist.

"In accordance with historic just war teaching, we believe that the United States has a just cause and right intentions: to bring a just peace to Afghanistan, destroy the scourge of terrorism and punish evildoers. Furthermore, we believe that the good produced from victory will be greater than the evil that would be suffered if nothing were done."

In its Social Principles, the United Methodist Church holds that war "is incompatible with the teachings and example of Christ. We therefore reject war as a usual instrument of national foreign policy and insist that the first moral duty of all nations is to resolve by peaceful means every dispute that arises between or among them..."

However, war may be necessary in some situations, the church states. "We ... acknowledge that most Christians regretfully realize that, when peaceful alternatives have failed, the force of arms may be preferable to unchecked aggression, tyranny and genocide. We honor the witness of pacifists who will not allow us to become complacent about war and violence. We also respect those who support the use of force, but only in extreme situations and only when the need is clear beyond reasonable doubt, and through appropriate

international organizations."

#

United Methodist News Service
Photos and stories also available at:
<http://umns.umc.org>

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From: "Pat O'Connell" <patoconnell@starpower.net>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:@igc.apc.org>
Subject: Fiction writing workshop...October 27, Baltimore
Date: Sat, 13 Oct 2001 13:37:09 -0400
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook Express 6.00.2600.0000
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V6.00.2600.0000

Dear MWA members and friends,
Here's another writing event to put on your calendar that was passed on to me by a member.
It sounds interesting. I hope you all are enjoying the weekend.
Pat

Writing workshop--- on fiction writing!

Fall Workshop

Date: Saturday, October 27, 2001
Time: 10:00AM - 6:00PM EDT (GMT-04:00)

Author Debra Dixon will be giving her fabulous workshop on "Goal, Motivation & Conflict: The Building Blocks of Good Fiction" at MRW's annual Fall Workshop.

Goal, motivation, and conflict are the foundation of everything that happens in the story world. Using charts, examples, and movies, Debra Dixon breaks these key elements down into understandable components and walks the reader through the process of laying this foundation in his or her own work.

Learn what causes sagging middles and how to fix them, which goals are important and which aren't and why, how to get your characters to do what they need for your plot in a believable manner, and how to use conflict to create a good story. GMC can be used not only in plotting, but in character development, sharpening scenes, pitching ideas to an editor, and evaluating whether an idea will work.

NOTE: The workshop will be held at The Holiday Inn Express/Baltimore, 1401 Bloomfield Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21227

more info: <http://www.marylandromancewriters.org>

From: WILLNORTH@aol.com

Date: Sun, 14 Oct 2001 18:27:27 EDT

Subject: Poverty Forum

To: andrewsa@saic.com, beverly@erols.com, dosmith6@juno.com,
gene.vincent@starpower.net, HolRonFost@aol.com, jcm@duncanallen.com,
JFNORTH@aol.com, kiki@wizard.net, mupj@igc.org

X-Mailer: AOL 5.0 for Mac sub 28

Outreach Committee members

Attached is an update and plan for the forum for your review and comment.

Let me know if you have problems downloading

Haven

Attachment Converted: "C:\Program Files\Internet\download\Forumorg.DOC"

Date: Mon, 15 Oct 2001 09:17:58 -0400 (EDT)
 To: nuclearcalendar@lists.his.com
 Subject: Nuclear Calendar
 From: "FCNL Nuclear Calendar" <owner-nuclearcalendar@fcnl.org>
 X-Mailer: Html Mime Mail Class
 Sender: owner-nuclearcalendar@fcnl.org
 Reply-To: nuclearcalendar@fcnl.org

Friends Committee on National Legislation

Nuclear Calendar

- Oct. 10, 11, 16 & 18** NGO Committee on Disarmament, "[Disarmament Week 2001: Disarmament Agenda for the 21st Century](#)," New York
- Oct. 11-16** 15th anniversary of the [Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Reykjavik, Iceland](#) on nuclear weapons reductions and missile defense
- Oct. 15** Noon, former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, "[The Road Ahead: Securing the Homefront in the 21st Century](#)," Heritage Foundation. Broadcast on the [Heritage web site](#).
- Oct. 15** 6 pm, Senate floor action on the foreign operations appropriations bill, [H.R. 2506](#). Broadcast on [C-SPAN 2](#).
- Week of Oct. 15** House-Senate informal conference committee continues on the defense authorization bill, [H.R. 2541](#) and [S. 1438](#)
- Week of Oct. 15** House-Senate conference committee on the energy and water appropriations bill, [H.R.2311](#)
- Oct. 16** 10 am, House Budget Committee, hearing on ensuring domestic security: issues and potential costs, 210 Cannon. Broadcast on the [Committee web site](#).
- Oct. 16** 10 am, Senate Health Education, Labor and Pensions Committee, continuing hearings on how the U.S. government can fight against and prepare for terrorist attack involving biological weapons, 430 Dirksen. Broadcast

- on CapitolHearings.org.
- Oct.16** House floor action (suspension) on a bill to authorize the President to provide assistance to Pakistan and India through September 30, 2003, [S. 1465](#). Broadcast on [C-SPAN](#).
- Oct. 16** Special elections to replace the retiring Rep. Joe Scarborough (FL-1) and the late Rep. Joe Moakley (MA-9)
- Oct. 17** 9:30 am, Senate Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on International Security, Proliferation, and Federal Services, hearing on federal efforts to coordinate and prepare the United States for bioterrorism, 342 Dirksen. Broadcast on CapitolHearings.org.
- Oct. 17-18** [Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation \(APEC\)](#) foreign ministers meeting, Shanghai, China
- Oct. 18** 9:30 am, Senate Armed Services Committee, hearing on the role of the Defense Department in homeland security, 342 Dirksen. Broadcast on CapitolHearings.org.
- Oct. 18** 10 am, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, hearing on the international convention for the suppression of terrorist bombings and the international convention for the suppression of the financing of terrorism, 419 Dirksen. Broadcast on CapitolHearings.org.
- Oct. 18** 10 am, Senate Health Education, Labor and Pensions Committee, hearing on how the U.S. government can fight against and prepare for terrorist attack involving biological weapons, 430 Dirksen. Broadcast on CapitolHearings.org.
- Oct. 18** 2 pm, House International Relations committee, markup of the Export Extension Act of 2001, H.R. _____, 2172 Rayburn. Broadcast on the [Committee web site](#).
- Oct. 20-21** [Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation \(APEC\)](#) summit, Shanghai, China (President Bush and Russian President Vladimir Putin will also meet around the APEC summit.)

The *Nuclear Calendar* is published every Monday when Congress is in session. To subscribe [click here](#), or send an e-mail to majordomo@fcnl.org with "subscribe NuclearCalendar" (without

the quotation marks) in the message body. To unsubscribe [click here](#), or send an e-mail to majordomo@fcnl.org with "unsubscribe NuclearCalendar" (without the quotation marks) in the message body.

Published by the [Friends Committee on National Legislation](#) (FCNL) and the [FCNL Education Fund](#). Address: 245 Second Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002-5795. Phone: (202) 547-6000. Fax: (202) 547-6019. E-mail: fcnl@fcnl.org. Web site: <http://www.fcnl.org>.

Editor is [David Culp](#). Publication is made possible by contributions from the Ploughshares Fund, W. Alton Jones Foundation Fund of the Rockefeller Family Fund, Town Creek Foundation, and the contributors and supporters of the [Friends Committee on National Legislation](#) and the [FCNL Education Fund](#).

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To: "Pat O'Connell" <patococonnell@starpower.net>
From: "Carlee L. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Possible workshop leader
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To: <000601c1540d\$c31f4900\$6500a8c0@Default>
References:

This summer my husband and I stopped to see the operation of "Hopscotch" and "Boy's Quest" magazines for children, in Bluffton, Ohio. The editor, Mrs. Marilyn Edwards was so enthusiastic that she gave us an hour and a quarter minute tour of her press and production. She is in her early 50's. She has been publishing about five years and is just starting a new magazine. So that it is still possible to get material accepted. She would be great to have at the Annual Conference. Address: Mrs. Marilyn Edwards, editor, P.O. Box 164, Bluffton, Ohio, 45817-0164, her phone (419)358-4610, Fax: (419)358-5027.
Carlee L. Hallman (301)897-3668.

October 13, 2001

Contact: Gretchen Hakola 202-488-5630

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Statement to the Church on the Terrorist
Attacks and the US Response

This a statement issued by the General Board of Church and Society at its October board meeting. All United Methodist clergy are urged to share the statement with their congregations.

We the United Methodist General Board of Church and Society (GBCS) join United Methodists and all people around the world as we mourn those who have died, comfort those who have experienced loss and pray together while facing anxious days ahead. In this time of terror and tragedy, we pray to God with humility and with seeking hearts. Our lives have changed and for those of us who live in the United States, our sense of invulnerability and invincibility has been destroyed. We rejoice that as children of God we need not fear God nor seek to appease God. We are trustful and open to the God of love.

We claim the teachings of the Prince of Peace who instructs us to love and pray for our enemies and refrain from responding to violence with violence. As we join people around the world in our resolve to bring terrorists to justice, we understand that war is not an appropriate means of responding to criminal acts against humanity.

We reaffirm The United Methodist resolution on Terrorism which states, "we oppose the use of indiscriminate military force to combat terrorism, especially where the use of such force results in casualties among noncombatant citizens who are not themselves perpetrators of terrorist acts... We condemn all acts of terrorism, with no exception for the target or the source. The Book of Resolutions of the United Methodist Church, 2000, p. 787) We urge that food aid be provided to refugees in Afghanistan and other countries through established humanitarian channels distinct from military action. Furthermore, we urge the United States and the international community to provide protection for refugees, and to make plans now for the eventual rehabilitation of refugees and the establishment of a stable and just Afghan society.

In our limited human vision, we turn to God for guidance. In our mourning, we pray for God's comfort. In our hunger and thirst for righteousness, we seek God's forgiveness for our self-righteousness. As Matthew 5:9 reminds us, Jesus calls the children of God to be peacemakers. We live with the uncertainty of these times seeking divine patience and strength. We look to God to lead us to the greater good - love combined with justice

and truth aligned with trust. We embrace with confidence a faith that seeks God's purposes.

In these tense days, the Church is called to be an instrument of service, healing, and peace. Toward this end, we call upon United Methodist congregations to:

- a) Be in a season of prayer for peace, for all who suffer and mourn, for those who serve, especially those in harm's way, and for courage to respond to God's guidance.
- b) Become bridge-builders in your community between Christians and persons of other religious faiths through education and outreach;
- c) Offer acts of hospitality to Arabs, Muslims and all others in your community who may suffer at this time from acts of hatred and prejudice;
- d) Reflect upon what our Church has declared – that war is incompatible with the teachings and example of Christ; (Social Principles, #165 VI (C))
- e) Inform young people in your congregation that we extend our ministry to those who choose to serve in the military or those who choose not to serve. Inform those who choose not to serve in the military of the option to register as a conscientious objector in the US and other countries where the option is available; (Social Principles, #165 V (G))
- f) Study the root causes of terrorism, the history of Western involvement in the Middle East, and work to end terrorism;
- g) Call and visit your government officials to urge an end to all violence and war and to use the United Nations as a primary venue for multilateral action. Ask them also to support the establishment of the International Criminal Court that would allow nations to bring to trial perpetrators of criminal acts against humanity, and urge President Bush to submit to the Senate for ratification the Treaty creating the Court; (Social Principles, #165 VI (D))
- h) Continue with generous support and donations to UMCOR for Afghanistan refugees and the victims of the attacks in the US.

It is our firm belief that military actions will not end terrorism. As people called to be a visible sign of God's ever-present love, we know that violence will not bring God's peace. We are grateful for those efforts by President Bush and the US Congress toward a measured response to September 11. We continue to say no to war and encourage our leaders to respond cautiously. "Let us not compound a grievous tragedy with a grievous error."¹

###

The United Methodist General Board of Church and Society of the Church is the denomination's international public policy and social action agency.

1 United Methodist military Chaplain following the remarks of a Pentagon official.

X-Sender: dan@mail.clw.org
X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Version 4.3.1
Date: Mon, 15 Oct 2001 12:59:28 -0400
To: dan@clw.org
From: Dan Koslofsky <dan@clw.org>
Subject: Please Respond: Coolfont Survey

Monday Lobby Participants:

As discussed at Monday Lobby I am circulating an email regarding the annual arms control community retreat at Coolfont. I am canvassing organizations to determine if there is still sufficient interest in continuing the tradition of a two night retreat/conference at the Coolfont Resort in West Virginia in light of the financial constraints many of us share.

You have been selected as the representative from your organization. Please respond by THIS FRIDAY afternoon (Oct. 19) regarding your preference. If you are concerned with the costs for the two days at Coolfont please let me know and choose an alternative. Your responses will be confidential.

Two less expensive alternatives:

1. Shorten the retreat to one night in West Virginia
2. Hold a two day conference at a DC area hotel to save expenses on accommodations

Last year the costs per person for Coolfont were (including meals):

=====
Coolfont Costs
=====

To stay in Coolfont houses (as done in the past):

\$194.72 per night for a single room
\$164.72 per night in a double room

To stay in the Alpine Chalets:

\$159.72 per night for a single room
\$139.72 per night in a double room

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DATES
=====

The two proposed dates are January 8-10 or January 15-17. Please let me know if you have a preference.

=====
PLEASE RESPOND BY THIS FRIDAY OCT. 19.
=====

Don't hesitate to contact me with any questions.

Dan Koslofsky

Executive Director, PeacePAC
110 Maryland Ave, NE - Suite 409
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 543-4100 x115
(202) 543-6297

X-Sender: lisa.l@pop.mindspring.com

X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Version 5.0.2

Date: Mon, 15 Oct 2001 14:33:10 -0500

To: ieer@ieer.org

From: Lisa Ledwidge / IEER ieer@ieer.org

Subject: IEER: Pursuing justice for the crimes of September 11, 2001 and reducing the risks of terrorism

At <http://www.ieer.org> you will find a link to "Pursuing justice for the crimes of September 11, 2001 and reducing the risks of terrorism" by Arjun Makhijani. The piece is also pasted below.

The article explains why the military air strikes on Afghanistan by the United States and Britain, with the support of Pakistan and Russia, are likely to aggravate the crisis. It proposes a different approach to resolving it.

[Apologies for double postings.]

Lisa Ledwidge, IEER

Pursuing justice for the crimes of September 11, 2001 and reducing the risks of terrorism

Arjun Makhijani

11 October 2001

After more than three weeks of massive military build-up as well as restraint and diplomatic activity in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States and Britain began air strikes on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. The U.S.-British air strikes are being accompanied by small humanitarian airdrops, but have triggered a large increase in refugees. The United States has sought and obtained a condemnation of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 from the United Nations Security Council, though the resolutions do not directly authorize the use of force.

For a number of reasons, the military air strikes by the United States and Britain, with the support of Pakistan and Russia, are likely to aggravate the crisis.

- There is a tension between reducing the risks of further terrorism and carrying out actions to bring the perpetrators of the September 11 crimes to justice. That tension should be explicitly recognized in the organization of a response.

- Bombing Afghanistan in the context of the massive suffering of the Afghani people has created even angrier appeals to religious war in the region. There is already a great deal of turmoil in Pakistan. A disintegration of Pakistan is possible and creates heightened risks that nuclear materials or warheads might be captured or transferred by sections of the Pakistani establishment to the Taliban and/or the al-Qaeda network. The Pakistani government has had close ties with the Taliban and still maintains relations with that regime. The Pakistani government's Inter-Services Intelligence agency has played a major role in training and

supplying the Taliban. The nuclear implications of that historical relationship for the region, the United States, and the rest of the world are unclear. There is clearly some risk, though its magnitude is difficult to establish in the midst of this crisis.

- The U.S. choice of response to terrorism is raising the risks of wider wars. For instance, there was a terrorist attack in Kashmir on October 2, 2001, when about 40 people were killed. The Indian government has warned that it will attack the Pakistani-occupied portion of Kashmir if there are further attacks, on the same grounds that the U.S. is justifying its air attacks on Afghanistan.

- To take the approach that this is a war rather than a police action to arrest suspects who have committed crimes against humanity (in the legal definition under international law) is to accord the terrorist network the status of a state, which Osama bin Laden has implicitly claimed for years. This approach legitimizes the use of weapons of mass destruction, since states, including the United States and Britain, have long claimed the prerogatives of such use for themselves. The very doctrine of air warfare has its historical roots in the idea of terrorizing populations.(1) The United States, Britain, France, NATO, and Russia all maintain the option of using nuclear weapons first in any conflict. Osama bin Laden has more than once referred to the U.S. use of nuclear weapons over Japan, an act carried out in wartime, as justification for the attacks he is calling on terrorists to carry out against the United States. He repeated that justification after the October 7, 2001 U.S.-British strikes on Afghanistan.

- Military action threatens to de-stabilize the situation in Saudi Arabia, where feelings against the stationing of U.S. troops since 1991 have run very high and are the main source of popular support for Osama bin Laden. The flow of oil as well as the position of the U.S. dollar as a global currency are dependent on Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). OPEC's decision of the, anchored by Saudi oil reserves, the largest in the world, to denominate the price of oil in U.S. dollars, is one of the anchors of the U.S. dollar. In the present crisis, the states of the Persian Gulf may be pushed by their people to follow the 1999 example of Saddam Hussein, who asked to be paid for Iraqi oil in euros, the new European currency. If OPEC decides to denominate the price of oil in euros, the effect on the U.S. and world economies could be profoundly de-stabilizing, with unpredictable economic, political, and military consequences.(2) Other oil exporting countries also face de-stabilization, notably Indonesia, where anti-U.S. government tensions have been high since the International Monetary Fund's intervention in its financial crisis in 1997.

- The United States, British, and Russian governments, as distinct from the people who were killed on September 11, are widely seen in the region and the world as having had major roles in the crisis in the Central Asian, South Asian, and Middle East regions that has spawned terrorist cells. The proxy war between the Soviet Union and the United States carried out via Pakistan's government, with financing both from the Saudi government and by all accounts, from drug trade profits, has been at the center of the chaos and mass deprivation in Afghanistan. Many of the present opponents of the United States were its allies and instruments then. (For instance, in a proclamation published in the Federal Register, President Reagan said of the Islamic opposition to the Soviets on March 20, 1984 that "[w]e stand in admiration of the indomitable will and courage of the Afghan people who continue their resistance to tyranny. All freedom-loving people around the globe should be inspired by the Afghan people's struggle to be free and the heavy sacrifices they bear for liberty.")

- The United States and Britain are also seen as promoting and being allied with undemocratic regimes for the sake of oil supplies and profits, both historically and at the present

time.

- The British military role is also likely to inflame unpleasant memories. The present Pakistani-Afghan border dates back to its British demarcation by Colonel Algermon Durand in 1893, and was part of the British-Russian imperialist rivalry in the region. It divided the Pushtu people, who found themselves on both sides of the line. After the partition of South Asia in 1947, Pakistan, allied with the United States, tried to use Islam as an ideological counterweight to Pushtu nationalism on its side of the border. The various coups between 1973 and 1979 in Afghanistan cemented the drift of Afghanistan and Pakistan into opposite camps of the Cold War. The arrival of Soviet troops at the end of 1979 sealed the division and a devastating proxy war followed. When wars and partitions result in such immense misery, memories are long and bitter, as the continuing problems in South Asia, Israel/Palestine, and Ireland/Northern Ireland demonstrate. Military attacks and wars have not contributed to solutions in any of these conflicts, only aggravated them and inflamed and hardened hatreds.

- The announced U.S.-British goal of protecting the civilian population of Afghanistan is at odds with aerial bombing. An operation more complex and vast than the Berlin airlift of 1948-1949 ("Operation Vittles") would have to be launched in order to meet emergency demands. Operation Vittles involved airlift to an airport of thousands of tons of food, fuel, and other supplies *every day*, over distances of a few hundred miles. Given the magnitude of the historical refugees crisis and the one that is being created by the threat and reality of bombings, an operation of similar or larger scale will be needed over much vaster distances and more inhospitable terrain. It will need to be over areas that are controlled by the Taliban as well as forces opposed to the Taliban, meaning that inefficient airdrops are involved. The starving people in the Taliban controlled areas are hardly in a position to topple that government. They face a humanitarian crisis of stunning proportions. Both Pakistan and Iran, already hosting millions of refugees between them, are trying to keep their borders closed. In sum, the relief operation will have to be roughly a hundred times larger than the one carried out on October 8, if it is to have substantial actual effect in relieving the suffering of the people of the region. By all accounts, the best way to deliver food aid is by road. This mode of aid is made difficult or impossible by air attacks, which have, moreover, already resulted in the deaths of four civilian U.N. workers.

For profound historical, legal, practical, and moral reasons, the use of military force, especially air strikes, to resolve the crisis, is a recipe for continued violence, terrorism, insecurity, and injustice, not to mention the immense increase in suffering for millions of Afghani people. These problems will not be resolved until the U.S., British, and Russian governments show far more understanding of their own role in the problems of the people of the region. And until that time, military action by these countries, directly or by proxy, is likely to increase problems rather than contribute to their solution.

A different approach to resolving the crisis is urgently needed. The most important ingredient is that American people must work with the international community to put together a force for a police action to carry out the arrests in Afghanistan that does not involve U.S., British, Russian, or non-state proxy militaries. The September 11, 2001 tragedy has brought the people of the world closer to the people of the United States in their suffering. The heartfelt worldwide demand for justice and for greater security against terrorism can be the basis for a framework to address the issues of justice relating to the crimes against humanity committed on September 11,

2001 and other aspects of the crisis that have enveloped the world since that date.

Basis of a solution

1. It is essential to de-legitimize the use of or threat of use of weapons of mass destruction and other tactics that have the same effect, whether by states or non-state groups. The people who were killed did not create the chaos in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region or contribute to the hatreds that led to the September 11 attacks. Therefore the search for justice for those attacks should not be linked to any other injustices and problems, which should also be addressed in their own right.
2. The use of military force by the United States and Britain, as well as the arming of proxy military forces, should stop immediately.
3. The process of apprehending the suspects should be carried out under the mandate of the U.N. Security Council using existing international law to pursue crimes against humanity. The people of the United States should rely at this time on a police action in which neutral countries from all over the world are mainly involved. It is crucial that this be defined explicitly as a police action to make arrests.
4. The U.N. force must have firm rules of operation. Violence against civilians, including bombing of cities, villages, and refugee camps, should be prohibited. The parties to the coalition should commit to respecting human rights. Participating states and personnel should act within the confines of humanitarian and international law, including the Nuremberg principles. They should expect to be held to the same level of accountability in an international judicial process that they seek to impose.
5. Even though its military forces would not be involved, the United States will, as a practical matter, have a powerful voice in how the U.N. force operates for a variety of reasons, including the fact that the September 11 attacks were on U.S. soil. In order that the United States have moral authority in regard to threats and acts of mass destruction, the United States should take the leadership against the very idea of mass destruction by explicitly renouncing first use of nuclear weapons. To show its good faith, it should begin the process of de-alerting them. It should invite Russia and all other nuclear weapons states into an urgent process of verifiable de-alerting of all nuclear weapons and of putting all nuclear warheads and weapons-usable nuclear materials under international safeguards. This will strengthen the international coalition against terrorism and fulfill longstanding demands of the international community. It will also help stabilize nuclear situation in South Asia, with attendant positive security implication for that region, and the rest of the world, including the United States.
6. There should be no proxy wars, as for instance, was the practice during the Cold War, or arming of groups that could result in proxy wars.
7. There should be explicit recognition that the suffering of the Afghani people has its roots, in large measure, in Cold War politics and proxy wars. That recognition, both from Russia and the United States, is long overdue. When translated into practical humanitarian policies, this means that the alleviation of their suffering must be a central, co-equal goal to that of apprehending the suspects. Most of all, any process must take into account that a re-ignition of the civil war would be disastrous for the people of Afghanistan and probably Pakistan, and could have other far-reaching serious de-stabilizing consequences.
8. It is essential that the United States protect human rights, civil rights (including freedom of speech, assembly, and religion and freedom from discrimination) at home. The rights of

immigrants should be respected along with all other people living in the United States. While the evidence clearly indicates that the crimes of September 11 were likely committed by non-citizens, there are many examples where U.S. citizens have committed acts of terror, including the 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City and the many crimes over a long period by the “Unabomber.” Immigrants should be accorded due process and liberties guaranteed under the Bill of Rights.

9. The formation of a coalition against terrorism and the rules of its operation should be taken up as a matter under the many treaties against terrorism that already exist. The crisis of September 11 should be used as the time to create a direction for the world community that will be based on morality, equity, the rule of law and justice for all. It is crucial to create a direction in which the rules and norms of behavior against mass violence imposed on individuals and non-state groups be extended to states, rather than the opposite, which is the direction that the bombing of Afghanistan is taking the world.

Notes

- 1: The doctrine was first elaborated by an Italian, Brigadier Douhet, who wrote: “The conception of belligerents and nonbelligerents is outmoded. Today it is not the armies but whole nations which make war; and all civilians are belligerents and all are exposed to the hazards of war. The only salvation will be in caves, but those caves cannot hold entire cities, fleets, railways, bridges, industries, etc.” That doctrine of air warfare was first employed on a large scale by Germany during the mid-1930s against Spain and again in 1940 and thereafter against Britain, and also by Britain and the United States, in conventional bombing, fire bombing, and nuclear bombing during World War II. For a history of aerial warfare see Jack Colhoun, “Strategic Bombing,” at <http://www.ieer.org/comments/bombing.html>
2. For an analysis of the oil-dollar problem see Arjun Makhijani, “Saddam’s Last Laugh” at <http://www.tompaine.com/opinion/2001/03/09/>

Lisa Ledwidge

Outreach Coordinator and Editor, *Science for Democratic Action*

Institute for Energy and Environmental Research (IEER)

2104 Stevens Ave. South | Minneapolis, MN 55404 USA

phone: (612) 879-7517 | fax: (612) 879-7518

ieer@ieer.org | <http://www.ieer.org>

X-Sender: johnburroughs@mail.lcnp.org
X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Pro Version 4.0.1
Date: Mon, 15 Oct 2001 15:40:41 -0400
To: abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com
From: John Burroughs <johnburroughs@lcnp.org>
Subject: (abolition-usa) Statement by Avis Bohlen, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State
for Arms Control, in the 1st Committee of the General Assembly on
10-10-01
Sender: owner-abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com
Reply-To: abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com

USUN PRESS RELEASE # 137 (01)

October 10, 2001

AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

Statement by Avis Bohlen, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Arms
Control, in the First Committee of the General Assembly, October 10, 2001

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Before I begin, please accept my congratulations on
your assumption of the Chairmanship of the First Committee

<<http://www.un.org/ga/56/first/>> . I am confident that the skill,
experience, and knowledge you and the bureau bring to First Committee
deliberations will assist us in a successful conclusion to our endeavors. I
would like to express my appreciation for the moment of silence observed by
the Committee at its first meeting October 4, 2001.

Mr. Chairman and other representatives to the First Committee,

We convene during a solemn period for humanity. Just four weeks ago a
horrendous attack was carried out against this city and the international
community. In addition to several thousand Americans, hundreds of citizens
from 80 different nations lost their lives at the hands of a well-organized
group of terrorists who showed total disdain for the innocents who suffered
and perished. The world was shocked and appalled by these criminal events.
The depravity of those acts, the tragic loss of life and the horrifying
destruction mark that day forever as a sad chapter in human history .We are
deeply grateful for the outpouring of sympathy that came to us from all over
the world and for the solidarity shown by the international community in
undertaking the long struggle now just beginning to bring the perpetrators
to account and to fight terrorism wherever it manifests itself with all the
weapons at our disposal.

The events of September 11 and the continuing concerns we all share
underscore the need to take a fresh look at the international community's
traditional convictions and approaches to security. We must strengthen them
where appropriate, but we must also consider new ways to reduce the
terrorist threat to mankind.

Responsible governments must assure the security and safety of their
citizens and of civil society as a whole. We are not free to stand aside and
watch our citizens be slaughtered, nor can we tolerate international
aggression or other forcible assaults on key interests and values. Criminals
and terrorists who possess the means to threaten society, and who have shown
no reluctance to use them, are a danger to us all and threaten the
achievement of the goal of general and complete disarmament. Governments
throughout the world must cooperate and devote appropriate energy and
resources to finding them, bringing them to justice, and rooting out the
organized networks that enable them to operate.

There is intense concern that some of these terrorists and criminals may

continue to seek to acquire and use weapons of mass destruction. This gives the international community important and persuasive reasons to redouble our non-proliferation and arms control efforts. We must also strengthen other mechanisms intended to ensure that toxic and dangerous materials remain under appropriate control and are used solely for legal and constructive purposes. The United States Government is actively examining these questions, and we would welcome ideas and views of others on how best to achieve these goals. We hope to enlist the help of all the members of the United Nations in the fight against terrorism and the threats posed by proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Delegations to the First Committee have come here to consider issues of disarmament, arms control, and international peace and security. We will consider resolutions that focus on ways and means to reduce the potential harm to mankind from the tools of war - from small arms to weapons of mass destruction. We will not always agree on the best ways to reduce these dangers, but we can exchange insights, discuss alternate approaches, and seek to persuade each other.

Let me begin by reiterating and emphasizing the strong support of the United States for the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

<http://www.state.gov/t/np/np/fs/index.cfm?docid=3055> . As a nuclear weapon state, the United States understands its special responsibility under Article VI to take steps related to nuclear disarmament. President Bush has made clear that the U.S. will reduce its nuclear forces to the lowest possible level that is compatible with the security of the U.S. and its allies.

NPT Parties and UN Member States, including the U.S., have repeatedly called for the immediate commencement of negotiations on a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) to end the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons. We are extremely disappointed that the continuing deadlock in the CD <http://www.unog.ch/disarm/dconf.htm> is preventing the start of these negotiations. We urge all CD members to start FMCT negotiations without further delay.

The United States is keenly aware of the dangers we face in today's global environment. Earlier this year my government began a strategic policy review that is beginning to bear fruit. As one example, you are aware that the U.S. Government and the Government of the Russian Federation have been intensively discussing a new strategic framework. This framework will be premised on openness, mutual confidence, and real opportunities for cooperation. It will reflect a clean and clear break from the Cold War. It will also include substantial reductions in offensive nuclear forces, cooperation on missile defense, enhanced non - and counter-proliferation efforts, and measures to promote confidence and transparency.

In this context, I must reiterate that the United States is firmly opposed to the UN inserting itself into issues regarding the ABM Treaty <http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/treaties/abmpage.html> , which remains a matter for the parties. As I just noted, discussions between the Russian Federation and my country on a new strategic framework, including a revised approach to the ABM Treaty, have intensified in recent months and they will continue. In these circumstances it is even more inappropriate for the ABM Treaty to be dealt with here in this forum. If a resolution on the ABM Treaty is introduced again this year, the United States will vote no on it. We urge our friends and allies to do the same. Today's world provides both new threats and new opportunities. We must be able to react to these changes.

However, let me emphasize that the United States is committed to working constructively with all members of the international community to develop broad support for an effective agenda to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and to ensure meaningful arms control. It is not just two or three nations that are threatened in today's world; the entire globe faces security challenges. We are prepared to work together in search of common ground, but we do not want to engage in activities that would undercut genuine efforts to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction and address other very real security threats.

Unspeakable though the acts of September 11 were, they unfortunately do not exhaust the full range of deadly weapons available to a determined and merciless terrorist. Much has been written in recent weeks about the threat of the use of biological weapons, about the dangers of toxins and biological agents being dispersed in areas with large concentrations of people. While the ease of resorting to such weapons is sometimes overestimated in the press, the possibility that BW might be used on a massive scale must now, after September 11, be regarded as less remote than before.

This possibility must give new urgency to our efforts to combat the threat of biological weapons -- and by weapons I mean here biological agents used with lethal intent. A first step must be to strengthen the norms against use of biological weapons, to make clear and doubly clear that this form of terrorism, like all others, is unacceptable. We believe that the international community, which has in Security Council Resolutions 1368 <<http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2001/res1368e.pdf>> and 1373 <<http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2001/res1373e.pdf>> so clearly stated its resolve to combat terrorism by all the means at its disposal, must equally clearly state that any use of biological weapons - whether by a state, an organization or an individual - would be a crime against humanity to which the international community will respond. We must also make clear that transfer of BW and other toxins to those who would use them is similarly unacceptable.

Over the past six years, the United States and many other countries sought to negotiate in Geneva a protocol that would strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention <<http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/treaties/bwcl.html>> - that is to give force to its prohibitions against possession, development, stockpiling and acquisition. Last July, we made clear that we could not support the protocol, because the measures that were proposed to enforce the ban against possession and development are neither effective or equitable - and given the inherent properties of biological products it seems all but certain that they can never be made so. This continues to be our view. But in addition, the events of September 11 have reinforced our view that the priority focus must be on use. The international community must here and now state our abhorrence of use, as suggested above; we must all strengthen our national laws criminalizing use and transfer, and we must all agree that use and transfer are crimes to which our many mutual treaties of extradition would apply. We must give ourselves the means to question and challenge in the event of suspected use. And we must be able to distinguish an outbreak of illness caused by BW from a naturally occurring illness. And in the unthinkable event that a major BW incident occurs somewhere, we need to pool as much as we can our knowledge and expertise to minimize the effects. That is why the United States is working closely with many nations to improve our common preparedness to mitigate and respond to BW attacks, and why we intend to expand this cooperation, especially in the area of medical consequence management.

The U.S. is also fully engaged in international efforts against chemical weapons. Our goals remain the worldwide destruction of existing stocks of chemical weapons and full compliance with the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of these weapons of mass destruction. We are also assisting the Russian Federation in its stockpile destruction program. We note that it is not only chemical weapons activities that are of concern. In Japan, terrorists made and used nerve gas. It is essential that Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)

<<http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/treaties/cwctext.html>> member states put in place national laws and other regulations that help to keep materials for making chemical weapons out of unauthorized hands and ensure effective prosecution of those who make or use chemical weapons.

Each of us must do all we can to control the export from our countries of sensitive goods and technology related to weapons of mass destruction. This effort remains essential if we are to prevent the spread of these weapons, not only to governments who would use such weapons against others but to terrorists as well. Improvements in border controls and monitoring will also help in this effort.

The conclusions of the 2000 NPT Review Conference

<<http://www.un.org/Depts/dda/WMD/nptrevhome.html>> included several measures related to curtailing the potential risk of terrorism involving nuclear material. Among such steps are the strengthening of International Atomic Energy Agency <<http://www.iaea.org>> safeguards, revising the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material

<<http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/treaties/nucmater.html>> , improving national standards of security and physical protection of nuclear material, establishing stronger regulatory control over radioactive sources, and enhancing international cooperation against illicit trafficking in nuclear material. These measures will not only address concerns about nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists, but also the threats to health and life posed by indiscriminate dispersal of radioactive materials. Improving the security and safety of civil nuclear installations against sabotage is also an important step.

Mr. Chairman, the United States takes seriously its obligations under the arms control agreements to which we are a party .We lead the way in assisting foreign nations to counter the proliferation of deadly technology. We are also prepared to engage in negotiations that will result in greater peace and security for the international community . We are also fully aware of the consequences to our security and that of the international system due to the changing nature of the threats posed in today's world. The U.S. Delegation will examine carefully the resolutions which are to be tabled over the coming days, taking into account the need to ensure our own security as we pursue arms control and disarmament objectives that can enhance security for all. And all nations should craft their proposals bearing in mind the real threat to our security that the events of September 11 so horribly demonstrated.

The world has changed, Mr. Chairman, but many basic issues continue to compel our attention and effort. The members of this body have a responsibility to address challenges to international security, both existing and new, and my delegation is ready to work with you and our counterparts. Thank you.

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Date: Mon, 15 Oct 2001 16:17:53 -0500
To: updates@reachingcriticalwill.org
From: Felicity Hill <flick@igc.org>
Subject: WEEK 1, First Committee Report
Cc: wilpf-news@igc.topica.com

WEEK 1 NGO Report from General Assembly First Committee

1. Introduction
2. Missiles
3. ABM Treaty
4. Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space
5. Nuclear disarmament resolutions, New Agenda, Nuclear Weapon Free Zones
6. Non-Proliferation Treaty
7. International Court of Justice, Nuclear Weapons Convention
8. Biological weapons
9. Fourth Special Session on Disarmament
10. Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
11. Nuclear Terrorism - linking 1st Committee to the 6th Committee (Legal)

1. Introduction

Participants and observers have listened to 62 general statements in week 1 of the UN's First Committee on Disarmament and International Security. In addition to the outpouring of sympathy and concern over the events of September 11, over and over the statements have affirmed the urgent relevance of the work of this committee, and the need to work harder than ever to address the crisis in disarmament and arms control measures, which have been at a dangerous stand-still for too long.

Here in the unequivocally gorgeous New York, the mood is certainly not one of business as usual; however, the same issues are on the table: the future of the ABM treaty and missile defences, the militarisation of outer space, increased military expenditure, the blockage of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament and the entry into force of the CTBT.

Commitment to the positive results of the 2000 NPT Review Conference, disarmament aspects of the Millennium Declaration and the outcome of the July 2001 Small Arms conference is strong, although frustration at the lack of progress is stronger.

The general statements in the First Committee were preceded by numerous references to the need for disarmament in the GA debate on terrorism which testify to the fact that disarmament offers an alternative to purely military approaches to security. Disarmament references in the GA debate prior to the 1st Committee, as well as references to root causes and definitions of terrorism are available on the Reaching Critical Will website.

NGOs observing the First Committee urge their colleagues elsewhere to read the statements and welcome specific questions. We also urge you to send us materials for distribution to delegations.

Merav Datan, Physicians for Social Responsibility/International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War

Dimity Hawkins, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

Felicity Hill, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

Emily Schroeder, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

Jim Wurst, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy

2. Missiles

The General Assembly Resolution 55/33 A (submitted by Iran) requested the Secretary-General to prepare a report, with the assistance of a panel of governmental experts, on the issue of missiles in all its aspects, and to submit this report to the General Assembly at its 57th session. This panel had their first meeting, chaired by representative from Brazil, from 30 July to 3 August 2001. Several countries welcomed the establishment and meeting of the panel, noting the importance of the panel as a multilateral negotiating forum, to come up with "universal, comprehensive and non-discriminatory agreements" (Belgium and EU, 8 October 2001; Myanmar, 9 October 2001; Indonesia 10 October 2001; Egypt 10 October 2001).

Expectations of the panel of governmental experts on the issue of missiles in all its aspects were expressed by Iran and Indonesia. Iran stated, "in the first meeting of the panel, convened last summer, the experts could elaborate the structure of the report and generally identify the main areas of the missiles related issues and addressed all aspects of missiles in general terms. We are certain that the two remaining meetings of the panel envisaged to be held next year would provide the best opportunity to the experts to conclude their work successfully and pave the ground for the continuation of the work within the UN" (Iran, 9 October 2001). Indonesia expressed, that "this is the first time that member states have decided to focus attention on the issue of missiles as a source of instability. It is anticipated that its recommendations would include issues such as limiting production and deployment of missiles, a global missile warning system and other ways of controlling missile proliferation, incentives to encourage states to abstain from producing long-range missiles and a multilateral regime or convention to counter missile proliferation" (Indonesia, 10 October 2001).

Many Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) member states expressed the need to adopt an International Code of Conduct by the end of 2002. The MTCR is an informal non-treaty based export control regime with the aim of limiting the spread of missiles and missile technology. Partners have equal standing in the regime, and all MTCR decisions are taken by consensus. The MTCR was formed in 1987 by the G-7. As of March 2001 there are 33 members. Through the coming year, the representative from Canada will chair the MTCR.

The MTCR The Draft Code of Conduct is a set of principles, commitments, confidence-building measures and incentives designed to create a common concept of what is termed 'responsible missile behavior', to be implemented via a multilateral instrument open to all states. The

definitions and principles are meant to be broad enough to allow states which were not part of the MTCR or the NPT, and in "sensitive areas" such as the Middle East, to sign up.

Canada mentioned the importance of including non-MTCR members in the code of conduct negotiations. Bulgaria expressed that while not a member of the MTCR, his country unilaterally controls all the items placed on the equipment and technology control list of the MTCR. Bulgaria has also declared its interest in becoming a member of the MTCR. Interestingly, China is not a MTCR member, and stressed that "the only effective way to address missile proliferation is to build a comprehensive and nondiscriminatory multilateral mechanism." China also stressed that the UN should play a leading role in the missile issue, from which one may infer that the MTCR negotiations would be neither comprehensive nor nondiscriminatory in nature (China, 9 October 2001).

For more information on missiles check out:

<http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/missiles/missilesindex.html>

For a copy of the Helsinki Draft Code of Conduct for the MTCR, 10-13 October 2000, which is apparently not much different from the current draft from the last MTCR plenary meeting held in Canada Sept. 25-28, 2001. go to: <http://projects.sipri.se/expcon/mtcrdraftcode.htm>

Emily Schroeder, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

3. Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty

The Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty of 1972 has been the subject of much discussion throughout the year in light of USA's plans for National Missile Defence. This 1st Committee has seen increased focus on the ABM treaty and associated issues, in particular the US plans for National Missile Defence (NMD) and Preventing an Arms Race in Outer Space (PAROS).

The New Agenda Initiative (presented by South Africa 8 October) stressed the importance of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABM) in the "promotion and maintenance of international stability and as a basis for further reductions of strategic offensive weapons". The New Agenda states warned that abrogation of the ABM Treaty could hold grave consequences for the future of global security and stressed that further reductions of nuclear arsenals to lower limits must not be put at risk.

Many concerned States noted that the ABM is of vital importance to the promotion and maintenance of international stability and to future arms reductions. Mexico (8 October) spoke of the frustration of the obsolete doctrines of deterrence and mutually assured destruction. China (9 October) and a number of other states stressed that missile defence would only bring the world a false sense of security, mistrust among nations and would be detrimental to international security. Indonesia (10 October) asserted that missile defence would have global consequences, and that Asia would be the region most affected where NMD might trigger a new and vicious arms race.

However, the USA (10 October) stated absolutely that "if a resolution on the ABM Treaty is introduced again this year, the United States will vote **no** on it." They urged their "friends and allies" to do the same.

A draft resolution is already in circulation (and on the RCW website under Draft Resolutions - A/C.1/56/L.1) which was put forward by the Russian Federation, China and Belarus on Wednesday. This resolution makes particular reference to the NPT and, importantly, calls upon parties to the ABM Treaty to "limit the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems, to refrain from the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems for the defence of the territory of their country, not to provide a base for such a defence and not to transfer to other States or deploy outside their national territory anti-ballistic missile systems or their components limited by the Treaty."

The USA warned against the United Nations "inserting itself into issues regarding the ABM treaty, which remains a matter for the parties."

WHO SPOKE ABOUT THE ABM TREATY?:

(8 October): Hungary, Mexico, Ukraine, South Africa/NAC

(9 October): Mongolia, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Algeria

(10 October): Indonesia, Norway, Canada, Czech, USA, Costa Rica

(11 October): Belarus, Cuba, South Africa, Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Cambodia, Burkino Faso, Nigeria

(12 October): Angola, Malaysia

Dimity Hawkins, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

4. Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space

In relation to the question of PAROS, Canada (10 October) stressed that currently space is the only environment where weapons are not present and that it was imperative that "preventative diplomacy" keeps space free of weapons. It must be noted that there is a difference in terminology - some states speak of the militarisation of space in general while others are specifically keeping the discussion to the weaponisation of space.

Many nations called for establishing a multilateral ban on space-based weapons, with Indonesia (10 October) stating that "the information age has spawned the revolution in military affairs which, among others, is facilitating the militarisation of outer space."

While China (9 October) said that that Conference on Disarmament was the "best venue" for negotiations on protecting outer space from the threat of war, Chile (10 October) noted that part of the stalemate in the Conference on Disarmament related to the issue of the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

Sri Lanka (12 October) noted that, together with Egypt, they have focused for many years on the issue of PAROS, stating that "outer space is a vital environment that would help preserve stability and security on earth". Sri Lanka identified persistent problems within the CD which hinder the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, which has identified and examined a number of important issues, proposals and initiatives relating to PAROS. The representative from Sri Lanka also expressed hope that the Resolution on this subject in the First Committee "will mark further progress towards our ultimate goal and not a retreat from what has been already achieved."

WHO SPOKE ABOUT PAROS?

(8 October): Hungary, Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala, Mexico

(9 October): Belgium, China, Brazil, Mongolia, Myanmar, Algeria

(10 October): Indonesia, Egypt, Norway, Chile, Canada, Nepal

(11 October): Cuba, Vietnam

(12 October): Madagascar, Sri Lanka

Dimity Hawkins, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

5. Nuclear disarmament resolutions, New Agenda, Nuclear Weapon Free Zones

The First Committee opened on 8 October with two strong pleas for intensified work on multilateral disarmament -- especially weapons of mass destruction (WMD) -- from USG Jayantha Dhanapala and Comm I's chair, Amb. Erdos of Hungary.

Dhanapala said, "We... have a duty to protect innocent citizens throughout the world by reinforcing the multilateral disarmament regime... In the disarmament area there is no going back to business as usual." He said, "When it comes to weapons of mass destruction, there is no question that the world would be far better off pursuing the total and verifiable elimination of such weapons than in perpetuating the fantasy that their possession can be permanently limited to an assortment of exclusive, but by no means leak-proof clubs."

Speaking for the New Agenda, Amb. George Nene of South Africa said the NA was "determined to pursue the complete implementation of the agreements reached at the 2000 NPT Review Conference." In what was essentially the NA Ministers' Communique, the ministers emphasized the need to implement the 13 steps, to safeguard the ABM, to pursue "treaty-based" disarmament, and the need to diminish the role of nuclear weapons in defense doctrines (the communique is available on the Reaching Critical Will website). There will be no NA resolution this year; instead NA's efforts appear to be directed towards the 2002 preparatory committee for the NPT's 2005 Review Conference.

Meanwhile, five the NA states - Brazil, Egypt, Mexico, New Zealand and South Africa - also made their national statements during the first week. They made it clear they intended to hold the NWS to their commitments in the 13 steps -- and also made it clear they felt those steps are not being implemented. Amb. Gustavo Albin of Mexico said implementation to date "has been minimal or non-existent." He named in particular support for maintaining the ABM regime, negotiations for a legally-binding instrument on tactical nuclear weapons, entry into force of the CTBT and the "absolute and unqualified compliance

with a total moratorium on any type of nuclear testing." He also singled out the need for "the negotiation of a legally binding instrument to regulate, monitor and prohibit the thousands of tactical nuclear weapons."

Amb. Clive Pearson of New Zealand said it was "difficult to find" evidence that the US and Russia are moving ahead with their NPT commitments. "Moving to the total elimination of nuclear weapons must become operative policy. Presumptions that these weapons can be retained indefinitely are not sustainable." Amb. Ahmed Aboulgheit of Egypt was more explicit: "Egypt regrets the lack of political will on the part of the five nuclear weapons states to enter into meaningful multilateral negotiations for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. This lack of will is incompatible with the obligations of the nuclear weapon states under Article VI of the NPT."

While endorsing the Ministers' statement, Amb. Antonio Guerreiro of Brazil also focused on nuclear weapon free zones. "The objective of turning nuclear weapons illegitimate is reinforced by extending, through new nuclear weapon free zones, the geographical space where they are illegal. We support the consolidation of existing and the creation of new [NWFZ]." He said Brazil would re-introduce its draft resolution on a Southern Hemisphere NWFZ.

The nuclear weapon states themselves brought little new to the table.

On 10 October, the United States, in its first statement on disarmament since 11 Sept, soften much of its rhetoric but changed nothing in its essential positions. Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control Avis Bohlen placed much emphasis on a "new strategic framework" with Russia, but left it undefined; repeated that US will reduce its nuclear arsenal, but added no details as to how much or when; told the UN stay out of the ABM Treaty debate; and framed the need to prevent the non-proliferation of WMD in terms of combatting terrorism, not of a step in disarmament.

Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister, Sergey Ordzhonikidze repeated his government's proposal for "genuinely radical reduction of the strategic weapons" of the US and Russian arsenals to 1500 warheads by 2008 and for "a process of consultations on strategic stability issues within the P5 framework with a view to unblocking the process of genuine nuclear disarmament." Amb. Hu Xiaodi of China criticized the planned unilateral reductions by the United States saying "It must be pointed out that genuine nuclear disarmament must be irreversible and verifiable. Therefore, it should be carried out in a legally binding manner."

Amb. Jean Lint of Belgium, speaking for the European Union,

Myanmar for ASEAN

Also: Canada, Iran, Indonesia, Malaysia, Japan, Nigeria, South Africa

Jim Wurst, LCNP

6. Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

187 governments can't be wrong. The NPT is the largest expression of international consensus on nuclear disarmament, second only to the UN Charter in terms of signatories. The agreement made in 2000 at the NPT Review Conference on 13 practical steps for the systematic and progressive disarmament of the world's nuclear weapons has been mentioned in almost every speech.

Under Secretary General Dhanapala stated, "it is fair to say that delegates attending next year's first Preparatory Committee meeting for the treaty's 2005 Review Conference will certainly expect hard evidence of a good faith effort to implement each of these important goals," sentiments echoed by many.

Russia indicated its support for the outcome of the NPT Review Conference and reiterated its position that the US and Russia should reduce strategic stockpiles to 1500 by 2008. Russia also mentioned that the NPT Review Conference had reiterated the need to strengthen and preserve the ABM treaty.

China did not mention the NPT, but said, "The 20th century was a century of nuclear weapons, and the 21 century should be a century free of nuclear weapons. In this regard, countries having the largest and most sophisticated nuclear arsenals shoulder special and primary responsibilities. Progress in nuclear disarmament on their part will create favorable conditions for the medium- and small-sized nuclear-weapon-states to join in the process. The Chinese delegation appreciates the expressed intention of the country concerned to reduce its nuclear weapons unilaterally. In the meantime, it must be pointed out that genuine nuclear disarmament must be irreversible and verifiable. Therefore, it should be carried out in a legally binding manner."

Belgium, speaking on behalf of the European Union, supported and encouraged the implementation of the objectives as expressed in the final document of the NPT Review Conference. France and the UK have not made statements as yet.

The US stated that, "President Bush has made clear that the US will reduce its nuclear forces to the lowest possible level that is compatible with the security of the US and its allies." While promises for reductions are not consistent with the unequivocal undertaking for the total elimination, of great concern to many states and observers were reference made to fighting terrorism with "all the weapons at our disposal."

Algeria will present a procedural resolution at this First Committee about the date and venue of the 2002 Preparatory Committee meeting, working towards the 2005 NPT Review Conference.

Felicity Hill, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

7. International Court of Justice, Nuclear Weapons Convention

Few mentions so far, mainly positive, e.g., Myanmar.

8. Biological weapons

Hungary, as Chair, introduced the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) with the observation that "Sadly enough, after almost seven years of negotiations, the Ad Hoc Group of the States Parties to the [BWC] was not able to conclude negotiations on a verification protocol. An internationally agreed protocol is of paramount importance, it would be a significant contribution to strengthening the Convention, enhancing its effectiveness, ensuring compliance through verification and achieving a higher degree of transparency. The forthcoming Fifth Review Conference of the BWC will address this issue. We hope that it will identify ways and means to continue this urgent task."

Belgium, speaking for the European Union, noted that the Union gives priority to "reinforcement" of the BWC and that its member states have "taken an active part in the negotiations of the ad hoc Group on a legally binding Protocol establishing a verification and compliance regime." Other states who mentioned biological weapons or the BWC include Mexico, Ukraine, Chile (on behalf of the Rio group and individually), Jordan, Argentina, Brazil, Mongolia, Myanmar (on behalf of ASEAN states), Colombia, Bangladesh, Algeria, Iran, Republic of Korea, Indonesia, Japan, Norway, Canada, Czech Republic, Nepal, US, Belarus, New Zealand, Cuba, South Africa, Vietnam, Russia, Venezuela, Jamaica (for CARICOM), Malaysia and Sri Lanka. Most called for progress on the BWC protocol.

The United States presented the possible use of biological weapons or toxins on a massive scale as a cause for new urgency through norms against use and transfer. The US still considers that it cannot support the protocol because its enforcement measures are "neither effective or equitable - and given the inherent properties of biological products it seems all but certain that they can never be made so." The US noted the need to pool "knowledge and expertise to minimize the effects" in the event of a biological weapons incident, and towards this end it is working with "many nations to improve our common preparedness to mitigate and respond to BW attacks" and intends to "expand cooperation, especially in the area of medical consequence management."

The alternative view is illustrated by Mexico: "Mexico regrets that after more than six years of negotiations during which the international community invested a great deal of effort and resources, it has not been possible to fulfill the mandate of the ad hoc working group of the Convention on the Prohibition of Biological Weapons, that is to say, to elaborate a Protocol for verification of compliance with this legal instrument."

"The international community shares the objective of strengthening the Convention through the design of a mechanism to verify compliance with all the provisions of the Treaty, including measures to promote and implement the Treaty. The next Review Conference must provide an opportunity to reaffirm the validity and force of the mandate of the ad hoc working group and to identify and determine the future course of action aimed at strengthening the Convention."

"We wish to reiterate our view that unilateral or partial verification and control regimes are insufficient and that multilateral negotiations undertaken within the framework of the

Convention are the best means of preserving and strengthening the prohibition on bacteriological (biological) weapons."

Merav Datan
PSR/IPPNW

9. Fourth Special Session on Disarmament

The Fourth Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD4) was an issue mentioned briefly by only six countries this first week- Myanmar, Indonesia, Egypt, Russia, Jamaica and Madagascar. All six of the countries strongly supported the convening of the SSOD4. The SSOD4 is necessary to "review and assess the implementation of First Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD1) while reaffirming its principles and priorities" (Myanmar, 9 October 2001). The Final Document of the SSOD1 in 1978 gave "the absolute priority to the efforts of nuclear disarmament, followed by other weapons of mass destruction" (Egypt, 10 October 2001). Russia emphasized that the "multifaceted nature and urgency of disarmament and non-proliferation issues imply that the time has come to convene a Special Session of the UN GA on Disarmament." (Russia, 11 October 2001)

Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala also stressed the importance of the SSOD4.

"Recent events, combined with the current crisis in multilateral disarmament diplomacy, may also suggest that the time has come to re-visit the proposal to convene a Fourth Special Session of the General Assembly on Disarmament.... Though all terrorism is tragic and unacceptable, the United Nations must place its highest priority on eliminating threats that potentially affect the greatest number of people-- threats to international peace and security -- threats, in short, that arise from weapons of mass destruction. The Committee has before it many resolutions that point the way ahead in achieving this basic aim. As it considers these resolutions, Member States may also wish to consider in their deliberations some broader questions that concern the disarmament machinery of the United Nations." (Dhanapala, 8 October 2001)

Emily Schroeder, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

10. Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

During the first week most states who took the floor mentioned the importance of the CTBT and called for its entry into force. The Chair, Ambassador Andre Erdos of Hungary, noted that 161 States and signed and 79 have ratified the CTBT, including 31 of the 44 States whose ratification is necessary for entry into force, but "the challenges that confront its entry into force still persist." The Chair expressed hope that the Conference on Facilitating the Entry into Force of the CTBT, rescheduled from September 25-27 to later this year, "will generate renewed efforts and approaches to promote the earliest entry into force of the Treaty." Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala also mentioned the CTBT among the "important treaties" that have still not entered into force and referred to this conference as well.

Japan is "gravely concerned about the lack of momentum toward the entry into force of the CTBT, which is a linchpin for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. It is truly regrettable

that some states seem to be losing their political will to adhere to the treaty." In the context of practical disarmament steps identified by the NPT 2000 Review Conference, it was noted that, "[a]bove all, Japan attaches great importance to the early entry into force of the CTBT," as well as FMCT negotiations and a subsidiary nuclear disarmament body in the Conference on Disarmament.

Norway observed that entry into force of the CTBT is essential for broader efforts to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear weapons and noted the importance of verification as well as the six International Monitoring Facilities it hosts. Norway further stated that, "[t]he position of the nuclear powers is of crucial importance to the CTBT. Self-imposed moratoria on nuclear testing are a useful measure pending the entry into force of the Treaty, but cannot replace the legally binding commitments represented by signing and ratification. We were disappointed by the recent announcement by the United States to withdraw from certain activities under the Treaty and not to reconsider its position on ratification. We appeal to all countries that have not done so to sign and ratify the Treaty unconditionally and without delay, and hope in particular that the US and China will soon follow the UK, France and Russia."

South Africa, speaking on behalf of the New Agenda states, said that the "importance of early entry into force of the [CTBT] remained crucial." Belgium, speaking on behalf of the European Union, expressed "regret" at the US announcement that it "will not longer take part in certain activities arising from the Treaty and that it is not intending to review its position regarding ratification. This is a matter of concern for us, especially since the United States has up to now played an important role in nuclear arms control, particularly in the framework of the CTBT." Other states who mentioned the CTBT, generally calling for entry into force, include Mexico, Ukraine, Guatemala, Chile, Jordan, Belgium (for EU), Malta, Argentina, Mali, China, Brazil, Mongolia, Myanmar, Colombia, Bangladesh, Uruguay, Algeria, Republic of Korea, Indonesia, Japan, Norway, Costa Rica, Canada, Czech Republic, Belarus, New Zealand, Ecuador, Cuba, South Africa, Vietnam, Russia, Jamaica (for CARICOM), Venezuela, Angola, Malaysia, Republic of Congo, Madagascar and Nicaragua. The US did not mention the CTBT or nuclear testing.

Merav Datan
PSR/IPPNW

11. Nuclear Terrorism - linking 1st Committee to the 6th Committee

The Sixth (Legal) Committee has on its agenda "measures to eliminate international terrorism." The detailed work on this agenda item has been taking place through an Ad Hoc Committee (established by GA Res. 51/210 of 17 December 1996) whose mandate has been regularly renewed and revised based on work accomplished.

The current mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee, under the terms of GA Res. 55/158 of 12 December 2000, is to continue to elaborate a comprehensive convention on international terrorism and to continue its efforts to resolve the outstanding issues relating to the elaboration of a draft international convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism, "as a means of

further developing a comprehensive legal framework of conventions dealing with international terrorism, and...it shall keep on its agenda the question of convening a high-level conference under the auspices of the United Nations to formulate a joint organized response of the international community to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations." (See www.un.org/law/terrorism.)

Since 1997 it has been meeting around February each year for 2 weeks, then within the framework of a working group of the Sixth Committee. The Working Group will next meet October 15-26, 2001, and the agenda item itself is scheduled for November 20-21. This Ad Hoc Committee has in the past negotiated several texts resulting in the adoption of the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings (1997) and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (1999).

On the matter of nuclear terrorism, the Working Group that met in October 2000 reported that the coordinator for the draft convention had continued to conduct consultations on outstanding issues and that further consultations might be needed. The Chair pointed out that completion of the work on the draft convention depended, primarily, on the political will to reach a compromise. Although there was support expressed for finalization of a consensus text, some delegation voiced concern about lack of progress. "The point was also made that the draft convention should not address issues relating to disarmament that were better dealt with in other forums."

The areas of disagreement appear to revolve around the question of exclusion of armed forces from the scope of the draft convention. There is also a view that the scope of the proposed convention should cover acts of "State terrorism" and "the unlawful use of radioactive materials, including the dumping of radioactive wastes, resulting in serious damage to the environment." The alternative view is stated in terms of the existence of other forums or instruments that deal with these issues. When the Ad Hoc Committee met in February of 2001 delegations were urged to continue their efforts at finding broadly acceptable solutions regarding remaining issues of the scope of the convention. Support was expressed for further informal consultations.

The original draft convention was put forward by Russia. Although the draft convention has not yet been finalized, the provisions sought to be addressed include the definition of offences relating to nuclear terrorism, sharing relevant information between states, extradition and prosecution measures, detention, and the handling of radioactive material, devices or nuclear facilities after seizure or taking control following the commission of an offense.

During the UNGA debate on international terrorism, the subject of nuclear terrorism was overshadowed by calls for ratification of existing treaties and completion on the comprehensive convention. References to nuclear terrorism generally were often in the context of non-proliferation rather than disarmament. The following countries, however, made reference to the adoption of the Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism: Angola (3 October), Argentina (1 October), Botswana (5 October), Cambodia (3 October), China (3 October), Columbia (2 October), Finland (3 October), France (1 October), Hungary (4 October), Ireland (2 October), Japan (25 September and 2 October), Lesotho (2 October), Lithuania (4 October), Malaysia (2 October), Mali (4 October), Mauritius (3 October), Mexico (1 October),

Monaco (3 October), Mongolia (1 October), Mozambique (3 October), Namibia (4 October), Netherlands (1 October), Nigeria (1 October), Poland (4 October), Republic of Korea (2 October), Republic of Macedonia (3 October), Russian Federation (1 October), Samoa (4 October), Spain (3 October), Sweden (3 October), The Former Yugoslav Italy (3 October), El Salvador (4 October), Republic of Moldova (4 October) and Uganda (4 October). In addition, Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala specifically mentioned "the need for new efforts to negotiate a convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism" during the opening session of the First Committee on October 8.

Merav Datan
PSR/IPPNW

Felicity Hill
Director, United Nations Office
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
777 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
Ph: 1 212 682 1265
Fax: 1 212 286 8211
email: flick@igc.org, wilpfun@igc.org
web: www.wilpf.int.ch,
www.peacewomen.org, www.reachingcriticalwill.org

X-Sender: flick@pop.igc.org
Date: Mon, 15 Oct 2001 19:39:15 -0500
To: updates@reachingcriticalwill.org
From: Felicity Hill <flick@igc.org>
Subject: NPT Dates set

Dear All,

In an informal meeting this afternoon, the members of the First Committee agreed to the procedural elements of the Algerian resolution on the NPT that will be presented to the General Assembly.

The 2002 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Preparatory Committee meeting would be held April 8 - 19, 2002, in New York with Ambassador Henrik Salander of Sweden as Chair.

best wishes,

Felicity

Felicity Hill
Director, United Nations Office
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
777 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
Ph: 1 212 682 1265
Fax: 1 212 286 8211
email: flick@igc.org, wilpfun@igc.org
web: www.wilpf.int.ch,
www.peacewomen.org, www.reachingcriticalwill.org

From: UUAWO@aol.com
Date: Tue, 16 Oct 2001 11:11:11 EDT
Subject: Re: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons
To: mupj@igc.org
X-Mailer: AOL 5.0 for Windows sub 125

Hello Howard --

I didn't touch base with Larry, so I don't know if he got back to you re this sign-on.

So, please do sign us on.

Rev. Meg A. Riley
Director, Washington Office for Faith in Action
Unitarian Universalist Assn. of Congregations

Thanks,
Theresa Kashin
Administrator, UUA Wash.Ofc.

To: bumc
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Dealing with terrorism
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Dear Friends,

I would like to share with you an article on dealing with the terrorist attack on the United States as a crime against humanity rather than an act of war. It is longer than what we usually send around, but its length is necessary to cover the subject thoroughly.

With best regards,
Howard

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Pursuing justice for the crimes of September 11, 2001 and reducing the risks of terrorism
by Arjun Makhijani, President, Institute for Energy and Environmental Research (IEER)

11 October 2001

After more than three weeks of massive military build-up as well as restraint and diplomatic activity in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States and Britain began air strikes on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. The U.S.-British air strikes are being accompanied by small humanitarian airdrops, but have triggered a large increase in refugees. The United States has sought and obtained a condemnation of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 from the United Nations Security Council, though the resolutions do not directly authorize the use of force.

For a number of reasons, the military air strikes by the United States and Britain, with the support of Pakistan and Russia, are likely to aggravate the crisis.

- There is a tension between reducing the risks of further terrorism and carrying out actions to bring the perpetrators of the September 11 crimes to justice. That tension should be explicitly recognized in the organization of a response.
- Bombing Afghanistan in the context of the massive suffering of the Afghani people has created even angrier appeals to religious war in the region. There is already a great deal of turmoil in Pakistan. A disintegration of Pakistan is possible and creates heightened risks that nuclear materials or warheads might be captured or transferred by sections of the Pakistani establishment to the Taliban and/or the al-Qaeda network. The Pakistani government has had close ties with the Taliban and still maintains relations with that regime. The Pakistani government's Inter-Services Intelligence agency has played a major role in training and supplying the Taliban. The nuclear implications of that historical relationship for the region, the United States, and the rest of the world are unclear. There is clearly some risk, though its magnitude is difficult to establish in the midst of this crisis.
- The U.S. choice of response to terrorism is raising the risks of wider wars. For instance, there was a terrorist attack in Kashmir on October 2, 2001, when about 40 people were killed. The Indian government has warned that it will attack the Pakistani-occupied portion of Kashmir if there are further attacks, on the same grounds that the U.S. is justifying its air attacks on Afghanistan.
- To take the approach that this is a war rather than a police action to arrest suspects who have committed crimes against humanity (in the legal definition under international law) is to accord the terrorist network the status of a state, which Osama bin Laden has implicitly claimed for years. This approach legitimizes the use of weapons of mass destruction, since states, including the United States and Britain, have long claimed the prerogatives of such use for

themselves. The very doctrine of air warfare has its historical roots in the idea of terrorizing populations.(1) The United States, Britain, France, NATO, and Russia all maintain the option of using nuclear weapons first in any conflict. Osama bin Laden has more than once referred to the U.S. use of nuclear weapons over Japan, an act carried out in wartime, as justification for the attacks he is calling on terrorists to carry out against the United States. He repeated that justification after the October 7, 2001 U.S.-British strikes on Afghanistan.

· Military action threatens to de-stabilize the situation in Saudi Arabia, where feelings against the stationing of U.S. troops since 1991 have run very high and are the main source of popular support for Osama bin Laden. The flow of oil as well as the position of the U.S. dollar as a global currency are dependent on Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). OPEC's decision of the, anchored by Saudi oil reserves, the largest in the world, to denominate the price of oil in U.S. dollars, is one of the anchors of the U.S. dollar. In the present crisis, the states of the Persian Gulf may be pushed by their people to follow the 1999 example of Saddam Hussein, who asked to be paid for Iraqi oil in euros, the new European currency. If OPEC decides to denominate the price of oil in euros, the effect on the U.S. and world economies could be profoundly de-stabilizing, with unpredictable economic, political, and military consequences.(2) Other oil exporting countries also face de-stabilization, notably Indonesia, where anti-U.S. government tensions have been high since the International Monetary Fund's intervention in its financial crisis in 1997.

· The United States, British, and Russian governments, as distinct from the people who were killed on September 11, are widely seen in the region and the world as having had major roles in the crisis in the Central Asian, South Asian, and Middle East regions that has spawned terrorist cells. The proxy war between the Soviet Union and the United States carried out via Pakistan's government, with financing both from the Saudi government and by all accounts, from drug trade profits, has been at the center of the chaos and mass deprivation in Afghanistan. Many of the present opponents of the United States were its allies and instruments then. (For instance, in a proclamation published in the Federal Register, President Reagan said of the Islamic opposition to the Soviets on March 20, 1984 that "[w]e stand in admiration of the indomitable will and courage of the Afghan people who continue their resistance to tyranny. All freedom-loving people around the globe should be inspired by the Afghan people's struggle to be free and the heavy sacrifices they bear for liberty.")

· The United States and Britain are also seen as promoting and being allied with undemocratic regimes for the sake of oil supplies and profits, both historically and at the present time.

· The British military role is also likely to inflame unpleasant memories. The present Pakistani-Afghan border dates back to its British demarcation by Colonel Algermon Durand in 1893, and was part of the British-Russian imperialist rivalry in the region. It divided the Pushtu people, who found themselves on both sides of the line. After the partition of South Asia in 1947, Pakistan, allied with the United States, tried to use Islam as an ideological counterweight to Pushtu nationalism on its side of the border. The various coups between 1973 and 1979 in Afghanistan cemented the drift of Afghanistan and Pakistan into opposite camps of the Cold War. The arrival of Soviet troops at the end of 1979 sealed the division and a devastating proxy war followed. When wars and partitions result in such immense misery, memories are long and bitter, as the continuing problems in South Asia, Israel/Palestine, and Ireland/Northern Ireland demonstrate. Military attacks and wars have not contributed to solutions in any of these conflicts, only aggravated them and inflamed and hardened hatreds.

· The announced U.S.-British goal of protecting the civilian population of Afghanistan is at odds with aerial bombing. An operation more complex and vast than the Berlin airlift of 1948-1949 ("Operation Vittles") would have to be launched in order to meet emergency demands. Operation Vittles involved airlift to an airport of thousands of tons of food, fuel, and other supplies every day, over distances of a few hundred miles. Given the magnitude of the historical refugees crisis and the one that is being created by the threat and reality of bombings, an operation of similar or larger scale will be needed over much vaster distances and more inhospitable terrain. It will need to be over areas that are controlled by the Taliban as well as forces opposed to the Taliban, meaning that inefficient airdrops are involved. The starving people in the Taliban controlled areas are hardly in a position to topple that government. They face a humanitarian crisis of stunning proportions. Both Pakistan and Iran, already hosting millions of refugees between them, are trying to keep their borders closed. In sum, the relief operation will have to be roughly a hundred times larger than the one carried out on October 8, if it is to have substantial actual effect in relieving the suffering of the people of the region. By all accounts, the best way to deliver food aid is by road. This mode of aid is made difficult or impossible by air attacks, which have, moreover, already resulted in the deaths of four civilian U.N. workers.

For profound historical, legal, practical, and moral reasons, the use of military force, especially air strikes, to resolve the crisis, is a recipe for continued violence, terrorism, insecurity, and injustice, not to mention the immense increase

in suffering for millions of Afghani people. These problems will not be resolved until the U.S., British, and Russian governments show far more understanding of their own role in the problems of the people of the region. And until that time, military action by these countries, directly or by proxy, is likely to increase problems rather than contribute to their solution.

A different approach to resolving the crisis is urgently needed. The most important ingredient is that American people must work with the international community to put together a force for a police action to carry out the arrests in Afghanistan that does not involve U.S., British, Russian, or non-state proxy militaries. The September 11, 2001 tragedy has brought the people of the world closer to the people of the United States in their suffering. The heartfelt worldwide demand for justice and for greater security against terrorism can be the basis for a framework to address the issues of justice relating to the crimes against humanity committed on September 11, 2001 and other aspects of the crisis that have enveloped the world since that date.

Basis of a solution

1. It is essential to de-legitimize the use of or threat of use of weapons of mass destruction and other tactics that have the same effect, whether by states or non-state groups. The people who were killed did not create the chaos in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region or contribute to the hatreds that led to the September 11 attacks. Therefore the search for justice for those attacks should not be linked to any other injustices and problems, which should also be addressed in their own right.
2. The use of military force by the United States and Britain, as well as the arming of proxy military forces, should stop immediately.
3. The process of apprehending the suspects should be carried out under the mandate of the U.N. Security Council using existing international law to pursue crimes against humanity. The people of the United States should rely at this time on a police action in which neutral countries from all over the world are mainly involved. It is crucial that this be defined explicitly as a police action to make arrests.
4. The U.N. force must have firm rules of operation. Violence against civilians, including bombing of cities, villages, and refugee camps, should be prohibited. The parties to the coalition should commit to respecting human rights. Participating states and personnel should act within the confines of humanitarian and international law, including the Nuremberg principles. They should expect to be held to the same level of accountability in an international judicial process that they seek to impose.
5. Even though its military forces would not be involved, the United States will, as a practical matter, have a powerful voice in how the U.N. force operates for a variety of reasons, including the fact that the September 11 attacks were on U.S. soil. In order that the United States have moral authority in regard to threats and acts of mass destruction, the United States should take the leadership against the very idea of mass destruction by explicitly renouncing first use of nuclear weapons. To show its good faith, it should begin the process of de-alerting them. It should invite Russia and all other nuclear weapons states into an urgent process of verifiable de-alerting of all nuclear weapons and of putting all nuclear warheads and weapons-usable nuclear materials under international safeguards. This will strengthen the international coalition against terrorism and fulfill longstanding demands of the international community. It will also help stabilize nuclear situation in South Asia, with attendant positive security implication for that region, and the rest of the world, including the United States.
6. There should be no proxy wars, as for instance, was the practice during the Cold War, or arming of groups that could result in proxy wars.
7. There should be explicit recognition that the suffering of the Afghani people has its roots, in large measure, in Cold War politics and proxy wars. That recognition, both from Russia and the United States, is long overdue. When translated into practical humanitarian policies, this means that the alleviation of their suffering must be a central, co-equal goal to that of apprehending the suspects. Most of all, any process must take into account that a re-ignition of the civil war would be disastrous for the people of Afghanistan and probably Pakistan, and could have other far-reaching serious de-stabilizing consequences.
8. It is essential that the United States protect human rights, civil rights (including freedom of speech, assembly, and religion and freedom from discrimination) at home. The rights of immigrants should be respected along with all other people living in the United States. While the evidence clearly indicates that the crimes of September 11 were likely committed by non-citizens, there are many examples where U.S. citizens have committed acts of terror, including the 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City and the many crimes over a long period by the "Unabomber."

Immigrants should be accorded due process and liberties guaranteed under the Bill of Rights.

9. The formation of a coalition against terrorism and the rules of its operation should be taken up as a matter under the many treaties against terrorism that already exist. The crisis of September 11 should be used as the time to create a direction for the world community that will be based on morality, equity, the rule of law and justice for all. It is crucial to create a direction in which the rules and norms of behavior against mass violence imposed on individuals and non-state groups be extended to states, rather than the opposite, which is the direction that the bombing of Afghanistan is taking the world.

Notes

1: The doctrine was first elaborated by an Italian, Brigadier Douhet, who wrote: "The conception of belligerents and nonbelligerents is outmoded. Today it is not the armies but whole nations which make war; and all civilians are belligerents and all are exposed to the hazards of war. The only salvation will be in caves, but those caves cannot hold entire cities, fleets, railways, bridges, industries, etc." That doctrine of air warfare was first employed on a large scale by Germany during the mid-1930s against Spain and again in 1940 and thereafter against Britain, and also by Britain and the United States, in conventional bombing, fire bombing, and nuclear bombing during World War II. For a history of aerial warfare see Jack Colhoun, "Strategic Bombing," at <http://www.ieer.org/comments/bombing.html>

2. For an analysis of the oil-dollar problem see Arjun Makhijani, "Saddam's Last Laugh" at <http://www.tompaine.com/opinion/2001/03/09/>

X-Sender: gpatrick@cyan2.cc.nih.gov
Date: Tue, 16 Oct 2001 11:29:09 -0400
To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
From: George Patrick <gpatrick@mail.cc.nih.gov>
Subject: Re: Letter on dealing with terrorism

thanks, they are both good reads. will share with my son in san francisco. g

>Dear George,

>

>Here is the letter from the Friends Committee on National Legislation,
>which I circulated to the BUMC list serve. I agree with the views
>expressed here, but I recognize that sincere persons may have other views.

>

>I believe that the way to subscribe to this list is to contact
>bumc-subscribe@yahoo.com. If this doesn't work, get in touch with
>Sandy Long at MingoMae@aol.com.

>

>Howard

>

>###

>

>October 10, 2001

>

>President George W. Bush
>1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
>Washington, DC 20500

>

>

>Dear President Bush,

>

>We urge you to stop the bombing, stand down the U.S. military, feed the
>hungry, and work diligently through peaceful means to win the hearts and
>minds of the Afghan people and other peoples throughout that region to the
>cause of justice for the victims of September 11.

>

>We continue to grieve for those several thousand unique, precious and
>irreplaceable people who were murdered in the September 11 attacks on the
>airliners, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Our outrage at those
>acts of terrible violence is rooted in our profound belief that every human
>being is a creature of God and has been put here for a very special purpose.
>Those who helped in planning and carrying out the attacks have violated the
>most fundamental laws of a civil society. They should be held accountable
>under those laws.

>

>We seek your leadership to end the downward spiral of attacks and reprisals,
>a spiral begun long before September 11 but propelled by those attacks.
>U.S. bombing and a war on terrorism will not bring justice for the victims
>of the September 11 attacks. Terrorism is not a person, place, or thing.
>You cannot blast it out of this world. On the contrary, terrorism is a
>vicious type of human conduct provoked by hatred or greed and carried out by
>fanatics and by governments. Violent retaliation by the U.S. will only sow

>more seeds of hatred and reap a new harvest of terror. We call on you to
>help lead the world out of the wilderness of war and terror and into a new
>world where people everywhere choose life by exercising a reverence for
>life.

>
>You have said that the attacks of September 11 changed everything. Perhaps,
>but the thinking of our government officials and their response to violence
>remains unchanged. The U.S.-led military campaign is merely a high tech and
>more destructive version of a 19th century military strategy, and promotes
>the law of force over the force of law. By leading a military campaign in
>Afghanistan, the U.S. has fallen from its internationally recognized moral
>high ground to a much more morally ambiguous position in the eyes of many
>around the world. This response is inadequate to the demands of the 21st
>century and is unbecoming to America.

>
>While we know that your administration's intent is not to harm innocent
>civilians with its bombing, Afghani civilians have already suffered this
>unintended effect. Weapons inevitably malfunction, are misdirected, or put
>civilians adjacent to the intended targets in harm's way. Already dozens of
>civilians, including four UN workers, have been killed by U.S.-led military
>attacks. We cannot simply consign those people who were killed to the
>category of "collateral damage" or an "accident of war." They, too, were
>unique and precious human beings who will never be replaced. The U.S.
>government had no right to sacrifice their lives in its pursuit of justice.

>
>We also know that your administration's intent is not to compound a
>humanitarian catastrophe in Afghanistan through military action. However,
>the U.S. military actions are escalating the suffering and putting ever more
>thousands of innocent people in jeopardy. Afghani civilians have been
>fleeing their homes in fear. Winter is fast approaching. Little food or
>shelter exist anywhere. The borders with Pakistan and Iran are closed.
>With the U.S. bombing, most shipments of humanitarian relief supplies into
>Afghanistan have been halted, and the U.S. air drops of daily food rations
>for 37,000 in remote regions do nothing to meet the needs of millions of
>starving people elsewhere in the country. How will the agonizing deaths of
>thousands of Afghan civilians due to starvation and winter exposure advance
>the cause of justice for the victims of September 11?

>
>President Bush, let September 11 become a day of an Epiphany of Hope, rather
>than of evil. We appeal to you to exercise compassion for the people of
>Afghanistan. Stop the war, end the cycle of violence, and lead the world to
>a new civil order for the 21st century. Use the solid backing of the
>international community to bring the perpetrators of the September 11
>attacks to justice under the rule of law. Let the guns fall silent so that
>the world may hear freedom ring from our mountain top.

>
>Sincerely,
>
>Joe Volk
>Executive Secretary

>
>

From: JohnEngl@aol.com
Date: Tue, 16 Oct 2001 14:44:18 EDT
Subject: Re: [bumc] Dealing with terrorism
To: mupj@igc.org
X-Mailer: AOL 6.0 for Windows US sub 10539

Howard,

We are about to leave so I have just had a very quick look at the paper. I agree on the need for a legal rather than a military approach. My reasons are a bit different than the authors:

1. The US should go to the International Court in the Hague and get indictments for Osama and the other leaders. If the case could be handled by an Islamic judge there that would also make it a lot easier for countries to cooperate. Iran, for example, has said that it will cooperate with a UN led coalition.
2. As things are now, with the US making the decisions, it will be easier for others to begin to disagree and drop away, than if it were an internationally agreed effort and everyone formally signed up.
3. Also, the present approach means that the US is making a lot of deals and the promises will come due soon and could lead to problems, e.g. turning a blind eye to Chechnya, assistance for Uzbekistan etc. Experience has shown that these sorts of chickens come home to roost.

All the best,

John

X-Lotus-FromDomain: UCC
From: conoverp@ucc.org
To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
cc: powelll@ucc.org,
stiefr@ucc.org
Date: Tue, 16 Oct 2001 15:43:42 -0400
Subject: Re: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons

Dear Howard,

I read your proposed letter to President Bush and feel that I cannot sign-on, or recommend signing-on to my colleagues.

I continue to support the effort to downsize the U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals, to stand-down from active alert, and to defend the no first use policy. So my disagreements do not flow from core policy differences.

I felt the letter, as drafted, was muddled and not representative of our best advocacy. At one point I couldn't tell whether you liked, or didn't like, what Baker's Commission recommended.

In case you decide to redraft, I offer you the following alternative draft for your consideration.

Dear President Bush,

In the light of the attacks on the United States on September 11, it is more important than ever that we take important steps to reduce the level of nuclear threat in the world. While the attacks show that the United States can be hurt without the use of nuclear weapons it makes us more aware how important it is to reduce nuclear threats.

We recommend that you take the following steps to reduce nuclear threats.

1. Continue and strengthen the efforts of the United States to reduce its own nuclear arsenal in a common build down with Russia, including ongoing help to Russia to help it dispose of its dangerous nuclear materials in environmentally safe ways.
2. Reduce the level of nuclear alert in the United States in keeping with the stand down of readiness in Russia. This can do a lot to reduce potential accidents or terrorist misuse.
3. Clearly announce your opposition to no first use of nuclear weapons. While there are some who believe we should use nuclear weapons in the war against terrorism, we believe that U.S. first use would do catastrophic damage to the role of the U.S. in trying to create a safer world. A clear statement by you on no first use would help make it clear to those in the U.S. who want to support your anti-terrorist efforts, that they are working toward reducing rather than increasing the cycle of violence.

As religious leaders, we want you to know that we have been praying for you and for all those who have been called on to make difficult decisions in the complex circumstances brought on by the September 11 attacks. As part of the anti-terrorist efforts of the United States, we particularly hope that you will sustain the effort to minimize civilian casualties and provide relief to the Afghani people who are in such terrible circumstances.

Shalom to you Howard and thanks for your ongoing work.

Pat Conover

GUIDANCE TO DISCUSSION LEADERS, RESOURCE PEOPLE, AND RAPPORTEURS

To make the most of the limited time in the breakout sessions, several people will facilitate the discussion and reporting of it to the plenary session.

Discussion Leaders will moderate the exchange of ideas among breakout group participants. This individual may want to make a 2-3 minute opening statement, but is not considered a speaker. The primary skill is eliciting input from others. The discussion leader will want to use the brief issue paper for the session as a framework for the discussion, but it is possible the participants will veer from the points in the paper; it is intended only as a starting point. After approximately one hour of the session, the discussion leader will want to guide participants in developing the recommendations they want presented to the plenary.

Rapporteurs need to be comfortable enough with the subject matter to take cogent notes and be prepared to present and defend the group's recommendations to the plenary session. The rapporteur will probably want to interact more with the participants as they develop recommendations, to ensure that the rapporteur understands them well enough to represent the group. It is not necessary that a rapporteur agree with the group's recommendations.

Resource People will be subject-matter experts who will assist discussion leaders or participants if there are questions about the issues being discussed. Some breakout sessions may take more advantage of the resource people than others.

Note takers will take more detailed notes of the discussion, and will be a primary resource to the rapporteurs. Generally, the note takers will be recruited from Dallas area universities, and will take notes on laptops so this information can be used for a conference summary.

SUGGESTED OUTLINE FOR SHORT ISSUE PAPERS

Each of the issues to be discussed in breakout groups is important enough to warrant a week's worth of discussion, if not more. A short issue paper (perhaps two pages) will help focus the discussion in the two hours and fifteen minutes allotted for the breakout groups. All Leadership Conference attendees will likely read all the papers, as they will ultimately be discussing recommendations from each group. It will thus be helpful if the papers are organized in a similar fashion.

The papers are not intended to be significant works of research. They will offer a common base of information for the discussion, and should mention conflicting perspectives, if appropriate. This outline should be sufficiently flexible for each writer to adapt to their issue.

- I. Title of the Breakout Session
- II. Statement of the current problem.
- III. Impact the problem has on society, including references to how it may affect some demographic or ethnic groups differently.
- IV. Current role of the public sector in the area.
- V. Perceived problems with the current public level of effort.

A writer may want to present the information in paragraph or outline form.



NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

1100 New York Ave NW, Ste 1090 East
Washington, D.C. 20005

TEL (202) 347-3190 FAX (202) 393-0993
INTERNET: www.napawash.org

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL EQUITY IN GOVERNANCE

Organized by the National Academy of Public Administration

An Invitation-Only Event Sponsored by

NAPA Standing Panel on Social Equity in Governance

In cooperation with the City of Dallas, Texas

Draft Program Outline (10-8-01)

Magnolia Hotel and The Great Hall and the Hall of Heroes - Hall of State Conference Site

Sunday, November 11, 2001

- 10:00 AM Optional civic tour, arranged by the City of Dallas (Departing from Hotel)
- 12:00 Noon Optional Informal Lunch at Hotel (Consult final program)
- 2:00 PM Strategy Meeting with Focus Group Rapporteurs, Discussion Leaders, & Resource Persons (Room to be announced)
- 5:00 PM. Reception and dinner at the Magnolia Hotel
- 6:00 PM Leadership Conference Opening Plenary Session

Purpose: To outline goals and anticipated outcomes of Conference; introduce cosponsoring organizations, explore conference themes

Ted Benavides, City Manager, Dallas, TX, Presiding

Robert O'Neill, President, National Academy of Public Administration

Franklin G. Jennifer, President, University of Texas at Dallas

Samuel L. Myers, Jr., Professor, Hubert Humphrey Institute, University of Minnesota

Immediate Past President, Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management

Monday, November 12, 2001

- 7:15 AM. Continental Breakfast, informal meetings and conversation at the Great Hall.
- 8:00-10:00 Keynote Plenary Session on Social Equity and Public Administration

Purpose: To present the Conference keynote address, and responses from selected Conference Leadership Representatives

Mary Hamilton, Executive Director, American Society for Public Administration, Presiding

Ron Kirk, Mayor, City of Dallas (Welcoming Remarks)

Roger Wilkins, George Mason University (Keynote Address)

H. George Frederickson, University of Kansas (Discussant)

Don Borut, Executive Director, National League of Cities (Discussant)

Audience Questions and Answers

10:00-10:15 Break

10:15-12:30 PM First Focus Group Session

Purpose: Each session will explore selected priority issues in social equity and governance, and propose an action agenda for consideration by the Conference.

- 1) Ensuring Adequate Health Care for All: Bill Dodge, Discussion Leader; Herb Jasper, Rapporteur
- 2) Moving from School Desegregation & Integration to Diversity & Improved Educational Outcomes: Norm Johnson, Discussion Leader; Michael Brintnall, Rapporteur
- 3) Investing in People: Beyond Minimum/Livable Wages to Individual Development: Carl Stenberg, Discussion Leader; Charles Washington, Rapporteur
- 4) Shifting From a "War" on Drugs & Long Prison Terms to Treatment, Prevention, and Restoration: Marshall Taggart, Discussion Leader; Larry Terry, Rapporteur
- 5) Securing the Future for Income Support Programs and Social Security: Dan Sprague, Discussion Leader; Enid Beaumont, Rapporteur

12:45-2:15 Luncheon

James Souby, Executive Director, Western Governors Association, Presiding
Speaker: Bob Knight, Mayor, Wichita, KS, Past President, National League of Cities
"Social Equity and America's Cities"
Discussant: Chris Gates, Executive Director, National Civic League

2:15-2:30 Break

2:30-4:45 Second Focus Group Session

- 6) Supporting the Legal and Moral Dimension of Environmental Protection and Justice: Ed Ferguson, Discussion Leader; Valerie Lemmie, Rapporteur
- 7) It Only Matters if You Measure: Indicators and Score Cards Needed to Track Social Equity Issues: Mitch Rice, Discussion Leader; Bill Hansell, Rapporteur
- 8) Bridging the Digital Divide: Creating Equal Access So We Don't Reinforce Economic Inequities: Naomi Lynn, Discussion Leader; Costis Toregas, Rapporteur
- 9) Balancing National and International Economic and Social Interests: Frank Reeder, Discussion Leader; Sy Murray, Rapporteur
- 10) Ensuring that Today's Generation Does Not Consume Tomorrow's Resources: Scott Fosler, Discussion Leader; Howard Hallman, Rapporteur

4:45 Conference Recess

6:15 Reception

7:00 Dinner
Venue: The City Club

Jan Hart Black, President, Greater Dallas Chamber of Commerce, Presiding
Speaker: Brian Roop, Senior Vice President, Bank of America
"Social Equity and Community Reinvestment"
Discussant: John Olsen, Management Consultant, Former Sr. Vice President, Mellon Bank Corp

Tuesday, November 13, 2001 – Hall of State, The Great Hall

8:00 AM Continental Breakfast, Informal Conversation, and Caucuses

9:00 Reports on Action Agenda Recommendations from Focus Groups

Purpose: Rapporteurs for each session will present the recommended action agenda.

Jim Kunde, Executive Director, Coalition to Improve Management in State & Local Government, Presiding

10:30-10:45 Break

10:45-12:15 PM Discussion and debate on the action agenda priorities

Purpose: Conference attendees will discuss the action agendas presented in the previous session and vote on what will become the final set of action agendas for the conference, with suggestions of primary organizational leadership from each among co-sponsors

Chris Carlson, Executive Director, Policy Consensus Initiative, Presiding

Open Discussion by Conference Participants

12:30 p.m. Closing Luncheon
Venue: The Women's Museum

Astrid Merget, Indiana University, Presiding

Speaker: Texas Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson (invited)

2:00 p.m. Closing Remarks and Adjournment
Philip Rutledge, Chair, Standing Panel on Social Equity in Governance
National Academy of Public Administration

Cosponsoring Organizations (Preliminary – 10-5-01)

American Society for Public Administration
International City/County Management Association
National Academy of Public Administration
National League of Cities
National Association of Counties
Western Governors Association
National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration
National Forum for Black Public Administrators
National Civic League
National Council of State Legislatures
Conference of Minority Public Administrators
Council of State Governments
Public Technology, Inc.
Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

**Full Titles of Individuals
Serving as Discussion Leaders and Rapporteurs for Breakout Sessions**

- 1) Ensuring Adequate Health Care for All
Bill Dodge, Regional Excellence Consulting, Discussion Leader; Herb Jasper, Senior Consultant, McManis Associates, Inc., Rapporteur
- 2) Moving from School Desegregation & Integration to Diversity & Improved Educational Outcomes
Norm Johnson, School of Business and Industry, Florida A&M University, Discussion Leader; Michael Brintnall, Executive Director, National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, Rapporteur
- 3) Investing in People: Beyond Minimum/Livable Wages to Individual Development
Carl Stenberg, Dean, Yale Gordon College of Liberal Arts, University of Baltimore, Discussion Leader; Charles Washington, Professor of Public Administration, Florida Atlantic University, Rapporteur
- 4) Shifting From a "War" on Drugs & Long Prison Terms to Treatment, Prevention, and Restoration
Marshall Taggart, President, Conference of Minority Public Administrators, Discussion Leader; Larry Terry, Associate Provost, University of Texas at Dallas, Editor in Chief, Public Administration Review, Rapporteur
- 5) Securing the Future for Income Support Programs and Social Security
Dan Sprague, Executive Director, Council of State Governments, Discussion Leader; Enid Beaumont, Senior Associate, Institute of Public Administration, Rapporteur
- 6) Supporting the Legal and Moral Dimension of Environmental Protection and Justice
Ed Ferguson, Deputy Director, National Association of Counties Discussion Leader; Valerie Lemmie, City Manager, Dayton, Ohio, Rapporteur
- 7) It Only Matters if You Measure: Indicators and Score Cards Needed to Track Social Equity Issues
Mitchell Rice, Director, Race and Ethnic Studies Institute, Texas A&M University, Discussion Leader; Bill Hansell, Executive Director, International City and County Management Organization, Rapporteur
- 8) Bridging the Digital Divide: Creating Equal Access So We Don't Reinforce Economic Inequities
Naomi Lynn, Chancellor Emeritus, University of Illinois at Springfield, Discussion Leader; Costis Toregas, President, Public Technology, Inc., Rapporteur
- 9) Balancing National and International Economic and Social Interests
Frank Reeder, President, The Reeder Group, Discussion Leader; Sy Murray, Director, Public Management Programs, Cleveland State University, Rapporteur
- 10) Ensuring that Today's Generation Does Not Consume Tomorrow's Resources
Scott Fosler, Visiting Professor, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland, Discussion Leader; Howard Hallman, Members, NAPA Standing Panel on Social Equity, Rapporteur

From: "Rutledge, Philip" <rutledge@indiana.edu>
To: "'WilliamRDodge@aol.com'" <WilliamRDodge@aol.com>,
 "'Herb Jasper'"
 <HJasper@McManis-Monsalve.com>,
 "'Norman Johnson'"
 <loretta.johnson@famu.edu>,
 "'mbrintrnall@naspaa.org'"
 <mbrintrnall@naspaa.org>,
 "'Carl W Stenberg'" <cstenberg@UBmail.ubalt.edu>,
 "'Charles Washington'" <cwashing@fau.edu>,
 "'Marshall Taggart'"
 <mtaggart@cityofchicago.org>,
 "'Terry, Larry D'" <ldterry@utdallas.edu>,
 "'Bob Silvanik'" <silvanik@csg.org>,
 "'Ebeaumo@aol.com'" <Ebeaumo@aol.com>, Ed Ferguson
<eferguso@naco.org>,
 "'Lemmie, Valerie'"
 <Valerie.Lemmie@ci.dayton.oh.us>,
 "'Mitchell F. Rice'"
 <mrice@resi.tamu.edu>,
 "'Bill Hansell'" <BHANSELL@ICMA.org>,
 "'Lynn, Naomi'"
 <lynn.naomi@uis.edu>,
 "'Dr. Costis Toregas'" <ctoregas@pti.org>,
 "'Franklin S. Reeder'" <reeder@bellatlantic.net>,
 "'Sylvester Murray'"
 <murray@urban.csuohio.edu>,
 "'ScottFosler@aol.com'"
 <ScottFosler@aol.com>,
 "'Howard W. Hallman'" <mupj@igc.org>,
 "'DSkoler@aol.com'" <DSkoler@aol.com>, "'Louis Lopez'"
<lopez@uwci.org>
Cc: "'Elaine Orr'" <elaineorr55@prodigy.net>
Subject: Guidance for Rapporteurs and Discussion Leaders
Date: Tue, 16 Oct 2001 14:39:36 -0500
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)

Colleagues:

Although I have been in touch with you individually about your responsibilities as Rapporteurs and Discussion Leaders for the break-out groups at Dallas, I thought it might be helpful to send out this guidance sheet for the benefit of all. I am also attaching for convenience the current iteration of the Program. No further drafts will be circulated before the final one in Dallas, although a few minor changes may still be made.

While the chores of the Discussion Leaders, Rapporteurs, Resource Persons, and note takers are all important, I want to emphasize that it is the charge to the Rapporteur that is critical. It will be their responsibility of the Rapporteur to prepare a concise report to the plenary at the session on Tuesday morning. This will need to be written, with the help of staff provided in Dallas, but presented orally to the audience. In order to help frame the discussion at the break-out groups, the Rapporteur should take the leadership in preparing a brief background sheet, using the attached guidelines for use by the discussion Leader at the break-out session. It will be helpful if the Rapporteur and discussion Leader consult in the preparation of this briefing paper. Our Co-sponsors may also contribute supplemental material, and each break-out group will have resource persons in attendance. But the Rapporteurs should have in mind the framework of their reports as the break-out group discussion proceeds.

In some cases, I have offered background pieces that I felt might be helpful, and may offer more in the future. But do not rely on this. Also, keep in mind that everyone attending will receive the Social Equity Panel Issue Paper which will also be useful in framing the issues. In any event, we must still be flexible and creative in order to pull it off successfully.

Please plan to arrive in time for the orientation session on Sunday, when we will have an opportunity to focus things further. If you have any questions about this, please contact me. My best telephone number is 317-254-9463.

Phil

To: bahj666@aol.com
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Dealing with terrorism
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Beth,

Here is an article you may be interested in.

Your Dad

###

Dear Friends,

I would like to share with you an article on dealing with the terrorist attack on the United States as a crime against humanity rather than an act of war. It is longer than what we usually send around, but its length is necessary to cover the subject thoroughly.

With best regards,
Howard

###

Pursuing justice for the crimes of September 11, 2001 and reducing the risks of terrorism
by Arjun Makhijani, President, Institute for Energy and Environmental Research (IEER)

11 October 2001

After more than three weeks of massive military build-up as well as restraint and diplomatic activity in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States and Britain began air strikes on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. The U.S.-British air strikes are being accompanied by small humanitarian airdrops, but have triggered a large increase in refugees. The United States has sought and obtained a condemnation of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 from the United Nations Security Council, though the resolutions do not directly authorize the use of force.

For a number of reasons, the military air strikes by the United States and Britain, with the support of Pakistan and Russia, are likely to aggravate the crisis.

- There is a tension between reducing the risks of further terrorism and carrying out actions to bring the perpetrators of the September 11 crimes to justice. That tension should be explicitly recognized in the organization of a response.
- Bombing Afghanistan in the context of the massive suffering of the Afghani people has created even angrier appeals to religious war in the region. There is already a great deal of turmoil in Pakistan. A disintegration of Pakistan is possible and creates heightened risks that nuclear materials or warheads might be captured or transferred by sections of the Pakistani establishment to the Taliban and/or the al-Qaeda network. The Pakistani government has had close ties with the Taliban and still maintains relations with that regime. The Pakistani government's Inter-Services Intelligence agency has played a major role in training and supplying the Taliban. The nuclear implications of that historical relationship for the region, the United States, and the rest of the world are unclear. There is clearly some risk, though its magnitude is difficult to establish in the midst of this crisis.

· The U.S. choice of response to terrorism is raising the risks of wider wars. For instance, there was a terrorist attack in Kashmir on October 2, 2001, when about 40 people were killed. The Indian government has warned that it will attack the Pakistani-occupied portion of Kashmir if there are further attacks, on the same grounds that the U.S. is justifying its air attacks on Afghanistan.

· To take the approach that this is a war rather than a police action to arrest suspects who have committed crimes against humanity (in the legal definition under international law) is to accord the terrorist network the status of a state, which Osama bin Laden has implicitly claimed for years. This approach legitimizes the use of weapons of mass destruction, since states, including the United States and Britain, have long claimed the prerogatives of such use for themselves. The very doctrine of air warfare has its historical roots in the idea of terrorizing populations.(1) The United States, Britain, France, NATO, and Russia all maintain the option of using nuclear weapons first in any conflict. Osama bin Laden has more than once referred to the U.S. use of nuclear weapons over Japan, an act carried out in wartime, as justification for the attacks he is calling on terrorists to carry out against the United States. He repeated that justification after the October 7, 2001 U.S.-British strikes on Afghanistan.

· Military action threatens to de-stabilize the situation in Saudi Arabia, where feelings against the stationing of U.S. troops since 1991 have run very high and are the main source of popular support for Osama bin Laden. The flow of oil as well as the position of the U.S. dollar as a global currency are dependent on Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). OPEC's decision of the, anchored by Saudi oil reserves, the largest in the world, to denominate the price of oil in U.S. dollars, is one of the anchors of the U.S. dollar. In the present crisis, the states of the Persian Gulf may be pushed by their people to follow the 1999 example of Saddam Hussein, who asked to be paid for Iraqi oil in euros, the new European currency. If OPEC decides to denominate the price of oil in euros, the effect on the U.S. and world economies could be profoundly de-stabilizing, with unpredictable economic, political, and military consequences.(2) Other oil exporting countries also face de-stabilization, notably Indonesia, where anti-U.S. government tensions have been high since the International Monetary Fund's intervention in its financial crisis in 1997.

· The United States, British, and Russian governments, as distinct from the people who were killed on September 11, are widely seen in the region and the world as having had major roles in the crisis in the Central Asian, South Asian, and Middle East regions that has spawned terrorist cells. The proxy war between the Soviet Union and the United States carried out via Pakistan's government, with financing both from the Saudi government and by all accounts, from drug trade profits, has been at the center of the chaos and mass deprivation in Afghanistan. Many of the present opponents of the United States were its allies and instruments then. (For instance, in a proclamation published in the Federal Register, President Reagan said of the Islamic opposition to the Soviets on March 20, 1984 that "[w]e stand in admiration of the indomitable will and courage of the Afghan people who continue their resistance to tyranny. All freedom-loving people around the globe should be inspired by the Afghan people's struggle to be free and the heavy sacrifices they bear for liberty.")

· The United States and Britain are also seen as promoting and being allied with undemocratic regimes for the sake of oil supplies and profits, both historically and at the present time.

· The British military role is also likely to inflame unpleasant memories. The present Pakistani-Afghan border dates back to its British demarcation by Colonel Algermon Durand in 1893, and was part of the British-Russian imperialist rivalry in the region. It divided the Pushtu people, who found themselves on both sides of the line. After the partition of South Asia in 1947, Pakistan, allied with the United States, tried to use Islam as an ideological counterweight to Pushtu nationalism on its side of the border. The various coups between 1973 and 1979 in Afghanistan cemented the drift of Afghanistan and Pakistan into opposite camps of the Cold War. The arrival of Soviet troops at the end of 1979 sealed the division and a devastating proxy war followed. When wars and partitions result in such immense misery, memories are long and bitter, as the continuing problems in South Asia, Israel/Palestine, and Ireland/Northern Ireland demonstrate. Military attacks and wars have not contributed to solutions in any of these conflicts, only aggravated them and inflamed and hardened hatreds.

· The announced U.S.-British goal of protecting the civilian population of Afghanistan is at odds with aerial bombing. An operation more complex and vast than the Berlin airlift of 1948-1949 ("Operation Vittles") would have to be launched in order to meet emergency demands. Operation Vittles involved airlift to an airport of thousands of tons of food, fuel, and other supplies every day, over distances of a few hundred miles. Given the magnitude of the historical refugees crisis and the one that is being created by the threat and reality of bombings, an operation of similar or larger scale will be needed over much vaster distances and more inhospitable terrain. It will need to be over areas that are controlled by the Taliban as well as forces opposed to the Taliban, meaning that inefficient airdrops are involved. The starving people in the Taliban controlled areas are hardly in a position to topple that government. They face a humanitarian crisis of stunning proportions. Both Pakistan and Iran, already hosting millions of refugees

between them, are trying to keep their borders closed. In sum, the relief operation will have to be roughly a hundred times larger than the one carried out on October 8, if it is to have substantial actual effect in relieving the suffering of the people of the region. By all accounts, the best way to deliver food aid is by road. This mode of aid is made difficult or impossible by air attacks, which have, moreover, already resulted in the deaths of four civilian U.N. workers.

For profound historical, legal, practical, and moral reasons, the use of military force, especially air strikes, to resolve the crisis, is a recipe for continued violence, terrorism, insecurity, and injustice, not to mention the immense increase in suffering for millions of Afghani people. These problems will not be resolved until the U.S., British, and Russian governments show far more understanding of their own role in the problems of the people of the region. And until that time, military action by these countries, directly or by proxy, is likely to increase problems rather than contribute to their solution.

A different approach to resolving the crisis is urgently needed. The most important ingredient is that American people must work with the international community to put together a force for a police action to carry out the arrests in Afghanistan that does not involve U.S., British, Russian, or non-state proxy militaries. The September 11, 2001 tragedy has brought the people of the world closer to the people of the United States in their suffering. The heartfelt worldwide demand for justice and for greater security against terrorism can be the basis for a framework to address the issues of justice relating to the crimes against humanity committed on September 11, 2001 and other aspects of the crisis that have enveloped the world since that date.

Basis of a solution

1. It is essential to de-legitimize the use of or threat of use of weapons of mass destruction and other tactics that have the same effect, whether by states or non-state groups. The people who were killed did not create the chaos in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region or contribute to the hatreds that led to the September 11 attacks. Therefore the search for justice for those attacks should not be linked to any other injustices and problems, which should also be addressed in their own right.
2. The use of military force by the United States and Britain, as well as the arming of proxy military forces, should stop immediately.
3. The process of apprehending the suspects should be carried out under the mandate of the U.N. Security Council using existing international law to pursue crimes against humanity. The people of the United States should rely at this time on a police action in which neutral countries from all over the world are mainly involved. It is crucial that this be defined explicitly as a police action to make arrests.
4. The U.N. force must have firm rules of operation. Violence against civilians, including bombing of cities, villages, and refugee camps, should be prohibited. The parties to the coalition should commit to respecting human rights. Participating states and personnel should act within the confines of humanitarian and international law, including the Nuremberg principles. They should expect to be held to the same level of accountability in an international judicial process that they seek to impose.
5. Even though its military forces would not be involved, the United States will, as a practical matter, have a powerful voice in how the U.N. force operates for a variety of reasons, including the fact that the September 11 attacks were on U.S. soil. In order that the United States have moral authority in regard to threats and acts of mass destruction, the United States should take the leadership against the very idea of mass destruction by explicitly renouncing first use of nuclear weapons. To show its good faith, it should begin the process of de-alerting them. It should invite Russia and all other nuclear weapons states into an urgent process of verifiable de-alerting of all nuclear weapons and of putting all nuclear warheads and weapons-usable nuclear materials under international safeguards. This will strengthen the international coalition against terrorism and fulfill longstanding demands of the international community. It will also help stabilize nuclear situation in South Asia, with attendant positive security implication for that region, and the rest of the world, including the United States.
6. There should be no proxy wars, as for instance, was the practice during the Cold War, or arming of groups that could result in proxy wars.
7. There should be explicit recognition that the suffering of the Afghani people has its roots, in large measure, in Cold War politics and proxy wars. That recognition, both from Russia and the United States, is long overdue. When translated into practical humanitarian policies, this means that the alleviation of their suffering must be a central, co-

equal goal to that of apprehending the suspects. Most of all, any process must take into account that a re-ignition of the civil war would be disastrous for the people of Afghanistan and probably Pakistan, and could have other far-reaching serious de-stabilizing consequences.

8. It is essential that the United States protect human rights, civil rights (including freedom of speech, assembly, and religion and freedom from discrimination) at home. The rights of immigrants should be respected along with all other people living in the United States. While the evidence clearly indicates that the crimes of September 11 were likely committed by non-citizens, there are many examples where U.S. citizens have committed acts of terror, including the 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City and the many crimes over a long period by the "Unabomber." Immigrants should be accorded due process and liberties guaranteed under the Bill of Rights.

9. The formation of a coalition against terrorism and the rules of its operation should be taken up as a matter under the many treaties against terrorism that already exist. The crisis of September 11 should be used as the time to create a direction for the world community that will be based on morality, equity, the rule of law and justice for all. It is crucial to create a direction in which the rules and norms of behavior against mass violence imposed on individuals and non-state groups be extended to states, rather than the opposite, which is the direction that the bombing of Afghanistan is taking the world.

Notes

1: The doctrine was first elaborated by an Italian, Brigadier Douhet, who wrote: "The conception of belligerents and nonbelligerents is outmoded. Today it is not the armies but whole nations which make war; and all civilians are belligerents and all are exposed to the hazards of war. The only salvation will be in caves, but those caves cannot hold entire cities, fleets, railways, bridges, industries, etc." That doctrine of air warfare was first employed on a large scale by Germany during the mid-1930s against Spain and again in 1940 and thereafter against Britain, and also by Britain and the United States, in conventional bombing, fire bombing, and nuclear bombing during World War II. For a history of aerial warfare see Jack Colhoun, "Strategic Bombing," at <http://www.ieer.org/comments/bombing.html>

2. For an analysis of the oil-dollar problem see Arjun Makhijani, "Saddam's Last Laugh" at <http://www.tompaine.com/opinion/2001/03/09/>

To: beth
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Letter to President Bush
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Beth,

Here is a letter to President Bush on dealing with terrorism that reflects my views. It is from the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

Your Dad

###

October 10, 2001

President George W. Bush
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bush,

We urge you to stop the bombing, stand down the U.S. military, feed the hungry, and work diligently through peaceful means to win the hearts and minds of the Afghan people and other peoples throughout that region to the cause of justice for the victims of September 11.

We continue to grieve for those several thousand unique, precious and irreplaceable people who were murdered in the September 11 attacks on the airliners, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Our outrage at those acts of terrible violence is rooted in our profound belief that every human being is a creature of God and has been put here for a very special purpose. Those who helped in planning and carrying out the attacks have violated the most fundamental laws of a civil society. They should be held accountable under those laws.

We seek your leadership to end the downward spiral of attacks and reprisals, a spiral begun long before September 11 but propelled by those attacks. U.S. bombing and a war on terrorism will not bring justice for the victims of the September 11 attacks. Terrorism is not a person, place, or thing. You cannot blast it out of this world. On the contrary, terrorism is a vicious type of human conduct provoked by hatred or greed and carried out by fanatics and by governments. Violent retaliation by the U.S. will only sow more seeds of hatred and reap a new harvest of terror. We call on you to help lead the world out of the wilderness of war and terror and into a new world where people everywhere choose life by exercising a reverence for life.

You have said that the attacks of September 11 changed everything. Perhaps, but the thinking of our government officials and their response to violence remains unchanged. The U.S.-led military campaign is merely a high tech and more destructive version of a 19th century military strategy, and promotes the law of force over the force of law. By leading a military campaign in Afghanistan, the U.S. has fallen from its internationally recognized moral high ground to a much more morally ambiguous position in the eyes of many around the world. This response is inadequate to the demands of the 21st century and is unbecoming to America.

While we know that your administration's intent is not to harm innocent civilians with its bombing, Afghani civilians have already suffered this unintended effect. Weapons inevitably malfunction, are misdirected, or put civilians adjacent to the intended targets in harm's way. Already dozens of civilians, including four UN workers, have been killed by U.S.-led military attacks. We cannot simply consign those people who were killed to the category of "collateral damage" or an "accident of war." They, too, were unique and precious human beings who will never be replaced. The U.S. government had no right to sacrifice their lives in its pursuit of justice.

We also know that your administration's intent is not to compound a humanitarian catastrophe in Afghanistan through military action. However, the U.S. military actions are escalating the suffering and putting ever more thousands of innocent people in jeopardy. Afghani civilians have been fleeing their homes in fear. Winter is fast approaching. Little food or shelter exist anywhere. The borders with Pakistan and Iran are closed. With the U.S. bombing, most shipments of humanitarian relief supplies into Afghanistan have been halted, and the U.S. air drops of daily food rations for 37,000 in remote regions do nothing to meet the needs of millions of starving people elsewhere in the country. How will the agonizing deaths of thousands of Afghan civilians due to starvation and winter exposure advance the cause of justice for the victims of September 11?

President Bush, let September 11 become a day of an Epiphany of Hope, rather than of evil. We appeal to you to exercise compassion for the people of Afghanistan. Stop the war, end the cycle of violence, and lead the world to a new civil order for the 21st century. Use the solid backing of the international community to bring the perpetrators of the September 11 attacks to justice under the rule of law. Let the guns fall silent so that the world may hear freedom ring from our mountain top.

Sincerely,

Joe Volk
Executive Secretary

To: tlheath@churchwomen.org
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Letter to President Bush
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Dear Tiffany,

It is more than a month since the horrible terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the plane downed in Pennsylvania. We have grieved. We have wondered why and what next. We have seen the U.S. government treat the attack as an act of war rather than an international crime against humanity. Various religious groups have responded in different ways.

As the war on terrorism and against Afghanistan has gotten underway, there remains the issue of nuclear weapons, first in dealing with terrorism and then in the broader perspective of global security in the 21st century. With that in mind I have drafted the following sign-on letter to President Bush. It deals with three issues: no first use, non-proliferation, and nuclear disarmament.

I invite a representative of your organization to sign. I suggest a deadline of the close of business on Friday, October 19. If you have any questions or comments about the letter, please contact me by return e-mail or by phone at 301 896-0013.

Shalom,
Howard

###

Sign on letter for representatives of religious organizations.

The Honorable George W. Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The campaign against terrorism is raising new and important questions about the role and future of nuclear weapons in the global security framework of the 21st century. We would like to share with you our thinking on this matter.

First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government favor using nuclear weapons against terrorist enclaves and against states that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of the United States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral and would constitute a crime against humanity.

Second, we note that in January 2001 the Task Force chaired by Howard Baker and Lloyd Cutler stated: "The most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction or weapons-usable material in Russia could be stolen and sold to terrorists or hostile nation states and used against American troops or citizens at home." The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States emphasize the

importance of this finding. Therefore, we believe that a substantial portion of anti-terrorist funds should go for full implementation of the Baker-Cutler report. In terms of relative priority, we suggest that funds be transferred from the missile defense budget to this and other urgent non-proliferation initiatives.

Third, we believe that the improved relationship between the United States and Russia because of mutual concern over terrorism should be treated as an opportunity to make substantial progress in improving the security of deployed nuclear weapons and dismantling the nuclear arsenals still in place more than a decade after the Cold War ended. Specifically we ask you to implement your campaign promise to work with Russia to de-alert and stand down the respective nuclear arsenals and to achieve deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons. Not only will this enhance the security of the United States and Russia by lowering the possibility of accidental launch, it will also reduce the danger that a renegade group could gain control of deployed nuclear weapons and use them for terrorist attack on the United States.

We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

Sincerely yours,

Representatives of religious organizations.

To: acurtis@networklobby.org
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Sign on letter to President Bush
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Anne,

Last Thursday I sent around this sign-on letter to President Bush on nuclear issues related to the war on terrorism. I now realize that NETWORK wasn't on that list. Would your organization be willing to sign? The deadline is Friday afternoon, October 19.

Howard

###

Dear Colleagues:

It is a month since the horrible terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the plane downed in Pennsylvania. We have grieved. We have wondered why and what next. We have seen the U.S. government treat the attack as an act of war rather than an international crime against humanity. Various religious groups have responded in different ways.

As the war on terrorism and against Afghanistan have gotten underway, there remains the issue of nuclear weapons, first in dealing with terrorism and then in the broader perspective of global security in the 21st century. With that in mind I have drafted the following sign-on letter to President Bush. It deals with three issues: no first use, non-proliferation, and nuclear disarmament.

I invite a representative of your organization to sign. I suggest a deadline of the close of business on Friday, October 19. If you have any questions or comments about the letter, please contact me by return e-mail or by phone at 301 896-0013.

Shalom,
Howard

###

Sign on letter for representatives of religious organizations.

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The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

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First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government favor using nuclear weapons against

terrorist enclaves and against states that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of the United States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral and would constitute a crime against humanity.

Second, we note that in January 2001 the Task Force chaired by Howard Baker and Lloyd Cutler stated: "The most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction or weapons-usable material in Russia could be stolen and sold to terrorists or hostile nation states and used against American troops or citizens at home." The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States emphasize the importance of this finding. Therefore, we believe that a substantial portion of anti-terrorist funds should go for full implementation of the Baker-Cutler report. In terms of relative priority, we suggest that funds be transferred from the missile defense budget to this and other urgent non-proliferation initiatives.

Third, we believe that the improved relationship between the United States and Russia because of mutual concern over terrorism should be treated as an opportunity to make substantial progress in improving the security of deployed nuclear weapons and dismantling the nuclear arsenals still in place more than a decade after the Cold War ended. Specifically we ask you to implement your campaign promise to work with Russia to de-alert and stand down the respective nuclear arsenals and to achieve deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons. Not only will this enhance the security of the United States and Russia by lowering the possibility of accidental launch, it will also reduce the danger that a renegade group could gain control of deployed nuclear weapons and use them for terrorist attack on the United States.

We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

Sincerely yours,

Representatives of religious organizations.

To: kathy@fcnl.org
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Sign on letter
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Kathy,

Here is a repeat of what I sent out on October 11. Thanks for your help.

Howard

###

Dear Colleagues:

It is a month since the horrible terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the plane downed in Pennsylvania. We have grieved. We have wondered why and what next. We have seen the U.S. government treat the attack as an act of war rather than an international crime against humanity. Various religious groups have responded in different ways.

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I invite a representative of your organization to sign. I suggest a deadline of the close of business on Friday, October 19. If you have any questions or comments about the letter, please contact me by return e-mail or by phone at 301 896-0013.

Shalom,
Howard

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The White House
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We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

Sincerely yours,

Representatives of religious organizations.

To: phil
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Donation
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Phil,

There is a check to MUPJ from the Baltimore-Washington Conference in our box.

Shalom,
Howard

From: Marsusab@aol.com
Date: Tue, 16 Oct 2001 16:10:10 EDT
Subject: Re: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons
To: mupj@igc.org
X-Mailer: AOL 5.0 for Windows sub 138

Howard:

Thank you for the reminder call. Please E-mail the final version with signatures when you have it.

Please sign us on as follows:

The Rev. Mark B. Brown
Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Reply-To: <paul@paxchristi.net>
From: "Paul Lansu" <paul@paxchristi.net>
To: <paul@paxchristi.net>
Subject: Holy See at UN Disarmament
Date: Wed, 17 Oct 2001 11:57:12 +0200
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook CWS, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2910.0)
Importance: Normal
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2314.1300
X-MDRemoteIP: 192.168.0.4
X-Return-Path: paul@paxchristi.net
X-MDAemon-Deliver-To: mupj@igc.org

Dear disarmament friends,

Please find in attached document the address of the Holy See on Disarmament.
The speech is in English. We have a French press release about it as well.
Kind regards, Paul.

Paul Lansu

Pax Christi International
Vieux Marché aux Grains 21
1000 Brussels
Belgium

phone: +32 (-2) 502.55.50
fax: +32 (-2) 502.46.26
mobile: +32 (0475) -382170
e-mail: paul@paxchristi.net
url: <http://www.paxchristi.net>

Attachment Converted: "C:\Program Files\Internet\download\SD43E01.doc"

Attachment Converted: "C:\Program Files\Internet\download\SD43F01.doc"

Reply-To: <paul@paxchristi.net>
From: "Paul Lansu" <paul@paxchristi.net>
To: <paul@paxchristi.net>
Subject: Holy See at UN Disarmament
Date: Wed, 17 Oct 2001 11:57:12 +0200
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook CWS, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2910.0)
Importance: Normal
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2314.1300
X-MDRemoteIP: 192.168.0.4
X-Return-Path: paul@paxchristi.net
X-MDAemon-Deliver-To: mupj@igc.org

Dear disarmament friends,

Please find in attached document the address of the Holy See on Disarmament.
The speech is in English. We have a French press release about it as well.
Kind regards, Paul.

Paul Lansu

Pax Christi International
Vieux Marché aux Grains 21
1000 Brussels
Belgium

phone: +32 (-2) 502.55.50
fax: +32 (-2) 502.46.26
mobile: +32 (0475) -382170
e-mail: paul@paxchristi.net
url: <http://www.paxchristi.net>

Attachment Converted: "C:\Program Files\Internet\download\SD43E01.doc"

Attachment Converted: "C:\Program Files\Internet\download\SD43F01.doc"

Ref.: SD.43.E.01

Vatican Address at U.N. on Disarmament

"Unjust Status Quo Will Continue Fueling Conflicts"

NEW YORK, OCT. 16, 2001 (Zenit.org).- Here's the text of an address on disarmament given Monday at the U.N. General Assembly by Archbishop Renato Martino, the Vatican's permanent observer at the United Nations.

* * *

Mr. Chairman,

My Delegation extends its congratulations on your election as Chairman of this important committee and assures you of our cooperation.

We meet at a time of profound distress. The evil of terrorism has struck in unimaginable ways.

The response of the world community to this act of terrorism demands leadership of the highest order.

First, those responsible must be apprehended and brought to justice through due process. This must be done in a way that does not expose even more innocent civilians to death and destruction. Violence on top of violence will only lead to more violence. This is a time for wisdom and perseverance. Justice, not vengeance must be our goal.

"In facing the challenges of the future," Pope John Paul II, on 13 September, in accepting the Credentials of the new Ambassador of the United States to the Holy See, said, "America is called to cherish and live out the deepest values of her national heritage: solidarity and cooperation between peoples; respect for human rights; the justice that is the indispensable condition for authentic freedom and lasting peace." He thus expressed his prayer "that this inhuman act will awaken in the hearts of all the world's people a firm resolve to reject the ways of violence, to combat everything that sows hatred and division within the human family."

We do a disservice to those who have died in this tragedy if we fail to search out the causes. Here a broad canvas of political, economic, social, religious, and cultural factors emerge. The common denominator of these factors is hate. This is a hate that transcends any one people or region. It is a hatred of humanity itself. This hatred kills even the one who hates.

Though poverty is not by itself the cause of terrorism, we cannot successfully combat terrorism if we do not address the worsening disparities between the rich and poor. We must recognize that global disparity is fundamentally incompatible with global security.

Acts of revenge will not cure such hatred. We must rather remove the most obvious elements that spawn the conditions for hatred and violence. Poverty along with other situations of marginalization that engulf the lives of so many of the world's people, including the denial of human dignity, the lack of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, social

exclusion, intolerable refugee situations, internal and external displacement and physical or psychological oppression are breeding grounds only waiting to be exploited by terrorists.

In searching out the root causes of terrorism, we are in no way condoning terrorism. But any serious crime reduction effort cannot be confined only to intensified police work. Any serious campaign against terrorism needs to address the social, economic and political conditions that nurture the emergence of terrorism.

The most dramatic example of inequality is the growing gap between the rich and poor. The North, containing a fifth of the world population, controls 80 percent of the wealth and resources; the south, with four-fifths of world population, has only 20 percent of the wealth and resources. This is not only unjust; it is a threat to the stability of the planet. It is the determination of the strong to maintain their position by whatever means necessary, whether military, financial, or political, that is the basis for the systemic inequality in the world. A commitment to equity in the world is the only secure foundation for a more humane world order. Nations must work together to blunt current disparities and improve global stability. A continuation of the unjust status quo will inevitably continue fueling conflicts and will lead to even more conflicts in the decades ahead.

There are conflicts today in several regions that do not even receive world attention. With their ease-of-use and ready availability, small arms are the weapons of choice for today's combatants. The supply of almost limitless quantities of small arms and light weapons through areas of high tension has fuelled numerous civil wars and social chaos. Small arms kill upwards of 10,000 people per week. Most of these victims are civilians.

Even after armed conflict has subsided, small arms often leave a culture of violence which continues to contribute to much of the human misery and economic and social disruption in war-torn societies. As a result, international relief missions are being suspended more frequently as aid workers increasingly find themselves the targets of attacks. Consequently, civilians often suffer increased pain and are deprived longer.

To date, efforts to respond to this situation have resembled a loose web of initiatives with varying interests and objectives involving many countries and organizations. Unlike the effort to ban anti-personnel mines, no country has taken the lead on a comprehensive approach and many States have only grudgingly engaged the issue. Given the international scope of the dilemma, the United Nations sought to build upon its history of dealing with the small arms issue in holding a major meeting in July, 2001 to discuss concrete actions the international community could take.

The Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects has been attributed various degrees of success and failure. In terms of success, 189 countries were able to agree on a Program of Action that urges governments to enact laws, regulations and administrative procedures to prevent the illicit trafficking in small arms and to make the illegal manufacture, possession, stockpiling and trade of these weapons a criminal offense. It was also decided that a review Conference is to be held no later than 2006 to examine progress in implementing the agreement, thereby ensuring that this would be the first step in what is expected to be a lengthy effort. The Conference has also been commended for placing a spotlight on the issue of small arms and providing an important platform for civil society and concerned governments to press for serious action.

However, the success of the Conference was limited from the beginning since it only set out to discuss the illegal aspects of the small arms trade. This focus has been criticized for ignoring the fact that most illicit weapons originate in the legal export market before being diverted. Moreover, the agreement that was reached is a non-binding voluntary declaration with no enforcement mechanism, thereby raising the question of how seriously it will be taken by its signatories. Unfortunately, the Conference's final document did not include provisions that would have regulated civilian gun ownership and restricted arms transfers to legitimate States.

This past year also saw efforts to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention. A protocol had been drawn up to enforce the 1972 Convention, which would require signatory states to declare all industrial facilities capable of manufacturing bio-weapons. The lack of full agreement to the protocol was another setback for the international cooperation that is so necessary to prevent terrorism. Combating the dangers of terrorist use of deadly organisms requires more credible international institutions of arms control than the present ones.

Mr. Chairman, the tragedy of 11 September must compel us to sharpen our sense of urgency to respond effectively to the dangers we face. Let us recall the words of Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who said during the recent debate on terrorism in the General Assembly:

"It is hard to imagine how the tragedy of 11 September could have been worse. Yet the truth is that a single attack involving a nuclear or biological weapon could have killed millions. While the world was unable to prevent the 11 September attacks, there is much we can do to help prevent future terrorist acts carried out with weapons of mass destruction. The greatest immediate danger arises from a non-state group -- or even an individual -- acquiring and using a nuclear, biological, or chemical weapon. Such a weapon could be delivered without the need for any missile or any other sophisticated delivery system."

The Holy See has frequently, in this Committee, urged implementation of the obligations all States hold under the Non-Proliferation Treaty, obligations reinforced by the International Court of Justice. That obligation was expressed succinctly in the 2000 Review of the NPT, in which all 187 signatories pledged "an unequivocal undertaking to the total elimination of nuclear weapons." We must now tackle the central problem of nuclear weapons; especially the mentality of those who possess them and claim that they are essential to security. Now is the time to dispel this claim and to declare that the continued possession of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction is endangering all humanity and that they must be abolished.

With the Secretary-General, the Holy See calls to intensify efforts to ensure the universality, verification and full implementation of key treaties relating to weapons of mass destruction, including those outlawing chemical and biological weapons, and the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Special attention must be given the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), and the International Conference, postponed as a result of the 11 September attacks, must go ahead to ensure the entry into force of the Treaty.

Having signed the CTBT on 24 September 1996, the Holy See deposited the Instrument of Ratification on 18 July 2001. The Holy See, reiterating the firm conviction that "nuclear weapons are incompatible with the peace we seek for the Twenty-first Century," added: "The

Holy See is convinced that, in the sphere of nuclear weapons, the banning of tests and the further development of these weapons, disarmament and non-proliferation are closely linked and must be achieved as quickly as possible under effective international controls." Today, the Holy See adds its voice to the appeal to the States whose ratification is necessary for the entry into force of the treaty.

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Preparatory Commission has done commendable work in enabling the world community to have confidence that a CTBT will produce positive results. The Independent Commission on the verifiability of the CTBT provides assurance that the various scientific instruments and networks will be able to detect, locate and identify with a high probability any deviation from the demands of the Treaty.

The continued success of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) requires the entry into force of the CTBT. If the world is to stop the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, then the flow of development of such weapons must be extinguished at the source. A weakened NPT and an inoperable CTBT will force the world to continue wandering through a dangerous morass of tensions and recriminations. The security of all States will continue to be severely jeopardized.

Mr. Chairman, the present course -- more arms and more poverty -- is leading us to human disasters even greater than what we endured on 11 September. The basic requirements for the peace we seek is the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, the curbing of the arms trade, and the eradication of massive, endemic poverty. We have no choice if humanity is to survive.

This distressing time must teach us that violence and war are not inevitable. An unavoidable clash of civilizations is not our fate. War and mass violence usually result from deliberate political decisions. Rather than intervening in violent conflicts after they have erupted and then engaging in post-conflict peace-building, it is more humane and more efficient to prevent such violence in the first place by addressing its roots. This is the essence of a culture of peace approach.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Original text: English; distributed by Holy See mission]
ZE01101620

From: "Rutledge, Philip"

To: William Sanders , Yvonne Burke , Adam Herbert , Alvin Schexnider , Astrid Merget , Barbara Sabol , Barbara Wamsley , Bernart Martin , Beryl Radin , Bruce McDowell , Carl Stenberg , Carolyn Graham , Charles Bingman , Charles Bonser , Charles Washington , Charles Wise , Chris Gates , Cora Beebe , Cornelius Kerwin , Costis Toregas , Dale Krane , Daniel Skoler , David Garrison , David Mora , Deil Wright , Diane Henshel , Don Borut , Eddie Williams , Edward Perkins , Edwardo Rhodes , Elaine Orr , Elizabeth Kellar , Emerson Markham , Emmett Carson , Enid Beaumont , Eugene McGregor , Fred Riggs , Gail Christopher , George Carvalho , George Frederickson , George Goodman , Gilda Lambert , Glen Cope , Gloria Register , Grantland Johnson , Harvey White , Herbert Jasper , Howard Hallman , James Carroll , James Kunde , James Murley , James Norton , James Perry , Jane Pisano , "Barnes, A James" , Jim Svara , Johathan Howes , John Kirlin , "Krauss, John L" , John Mikesell , John Ottensmann , Joseph Wholey , "Zorn, Charles Kurt" , Larry Terry , Les Lenkowsky , Manuel Deese , Mary Hamilton , Maureen Pirog , Maurice Brice , Michael Brintnall , Mitchell Rice , Mortimer Downey , Naomi Lynn , Norman Johnson , Norman King , Patricia Florestano , Peter Goldberg , Philip Rutledge , Ralph Widner , Regina Williams , "Hug, Rick" , Richard Monteilh , Robert Agranoff , Robert Knox , Roger Parks , "Rosemary O'Leary" , Royce Hanson , "Samuel Myers, Jr" , Scott Fosler , Sheila Kennedy , Singleton McAllister , Steven Carter , Susan Tolchin , Sy Murray , Ted Benavides , Timothy Clark , Tobe Johnson , Valerie Lemmie , Walter Broadnax , "William Dodge, Jr" , "William Hansell, Jr." Cc: ""Walsh, Charlene"" , ""Elaine Orr""

Subject: Preference in Receiving Future Communications

Date: Wed, 17 Oct 2001 08:47:35 -0500

X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)

Social Equity Panel Colleagues:

I have received several responses from Panel Members that they either cannot open, or have other problems with, the attachments I have been sending from my IU system. A few members are not on e-mail and receive the communications via postal service. Please advise me if you would prefer to receive hard copies via postal service or FedEx, rather than via e-mail, and we will comply with that request. Also, I recognize that priorities and interests may have shifted since the Social Equity Panel distribution list was developed over a year ago. If this is so, and you would like to be dropped from the distribution list, please advise and we will comply with that request as well. I am particularly concerned that all Panel Members receive the program documents relating to the Leadership Conference on Social Equity in Governance in Dallas, November 11-13.

Phil

To: hipkins
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Contacting John Burroughs
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Jim,

Here is information on how to contact John Burroughs. He would be a good person to write about dealing with terrorism under the rule of law.

Howard

>X-Sender: johnburroughs@mail.lcnp.org
>X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Pro Version 4.0.1
>Date: Wed, 17 Oct 2001 17:39:21 -0400
>To: abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com
>From: John Burroughs <johnburroughs@lcnp.org>
>Subject: (abolition-usa) newsletter online - post-Sept 11 disarmament picture,
> responding to the attacks, and more
>Sender: owner-abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com
>Reply-To: abolition-usa@lists.xmission.com
>
>The fall 2001 Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy newsletter is now
>available at <http://www.lcnp.org/pubs/Bombsaway01/contents.htm>, in pdf with
>selected articles in html.
>
>It includes articles on the post-attacks disarmament picture ("Disarmament
>Also Needs Coalitions", "Congress and the Fate of the ABM Treaty"),
>previously available articles re responding to September 11 ("A Rule-of-Law
>Response," "War: Metaphor into Reality," "Crime(s) of Terror: Developing
>Law and Legal Institutions"), and more.
>
> John Burroughs, Executive Director
> Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy
> 211 E. 43d St., Suite 1204
> New York, New York 10017 USA
> tel: +1 212 818 1861 fax: 818 1857
> e-mail: johnburroughs@lcnp.org
> website: www.lcnp.org
> Part of the Abolition 2000 Global
> Network to Eliminate Nuclear Weapons
>
>
>-
> To unsubscribe to abolition-usa, send an email to "majordomo@xmission.com"
> with "unsubscribe abolition-usa" in the body of the message.
> For information on digests or retrieving files and old messages send
> "help" to the same address. Do not use quotes in your message.

>

From: NewsDesk <NewsDesk@UMCOM.ORG>

Commentary: God bless America - and the world

Oct. 18, 2001 News media contact: Thomas S.
McAnally·(615)742-5470·Nashville, Tenn. 10-21-71BP{479}

A UMNS Commentary
By Bishop Kenneth Carder*

"God Bless America" has become perhaps America's most sung hymn since Sept. 11. Speeches by President Bush and many other public officials conclude with the words "and God bless the United States of America." It is a prayer we all can pray, a hymn we all sing with enthusiasm and longing.

Blessing is a worthy and noble aim for individuals and nations. Praying for America to be blessed is an appropriate response to the terrible and inexcusable terrorist attacks in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania. The needless suffering and untimely death of several thousand defenseless and innocent people engenders a longing for divine blessings that enable us to transcend the devastation.

Praying for God's blessing, however, can be presumptuous and perilous. Preconceived notions as to what constitutes God's blessings may be misleading. What would constitute a divine blessing upon America in these treacherous times? Victory in war? Protection from further suffering? Recovery of economic stability and prosperity? Preservation of America's superpower status? Certainly these are among our spoken and unspoken expectations when we pray for God to bless America. But do they adequately express what God's blessing includes?

Prayer for God's blessing is presumptuous when we expect God to bestow blessings in accordance with national boundaries and preconceived notions. God wants to bless all people. To seek God's blessings for America and not for the world fails to recognize the wideness in God's mercy and the expanse of God's love.

Further, God's blessings often come in unrecognizable packages. The blessing to Abraham and Sarah came in the form of a call to leave their homeland in their old age and search for "a city not made with human hands." God's blessing to Moses resulted in confronting the Pharaoh and wandering forty years in the wilderness with a stubborn people. The angel told Mary that she was "most blessed." Yet she watched the son who was God's blessing to the world die a cruel, agonizing death.

The Bible defines God's blessing most often as the opportunity to share in God's redemptive, healing, reconciling and saving mission in the world. God always blesses in order that the blessed will be a blessing to others. The God of the Exodus and of Jesus Christ wants to bless America and the world with freedom, justice, healing, reconciliation and peace.

God bless America and the world by making us instruments of God's peace!

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*Carder is bishop of the Mississippi Area of the United Methodist Church. This commentary originally appeared in the Advocate, the newspaper of the Mississippi Area.

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Nuclear Security Fears Mushroom

John Emshwiller, Michael Orey, Daniel Machalaba and Rebecca Smith
Wall Street Journal
October 17, 2001
(for personal use only)

In February, Jamal Ahmed Mohamed al-Fadl, a longtime member of Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida organization, gave some unsettling testimony in New York federal court: He helped arrange meetings in Khartoum, Sudan, in the early 1990s with the aim of helping al-Qaida acquire uranium.

AL-FADL, WHO testified that he was told that "it's easy to kill more people with uranium," said he didn't know whether the deal ultimately went through. His testimony came in connection with the federal indictment against bin Laden and others for their alleged roles in the 1998 bombings of two U.S. embassies in Africa.

The evidence that bin Laden's group has tried to obtain weapons-grade nuclear material is sketchy and unverified. But it has sent authorities around the world rushing to shore up security measures that are in some cases surprisingly weak. The armed guards at nuclear-weapons depots often lose in exercises with mock assailants. Materials for making a nuclear bomb are accessible enough to support a black market. The first reaction after Sept. 11 was to tighten security. Kansas officials are keeping fishermen off a lake near the Wolf Creek nuclear plant. Japan ordered round-the-clock patrols of the waters near its nuclear plants. France, which even encouraged school trips to its many nuclear-power plants to promote acceptance, has severely restricted access to facilities. Authorities in the Czech Republic tightened airspace restrictions over nuclear power stations.

The U.S. Department of Energy briefly halted shipments of nuclear materials. Just last week, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission temporarily closed its Web site, saying that it had to review all the material as part of "our mission to protect public health and safety."

Corbin McNeill Jr., the chairman of the Chicago-based power company Exelon Corp., has a plan for making future nuclear plants more resistant to an airborne assault by terrorists: Bury them. He's thinking that if and when Exelon builds a new-generation nuclear plant, most of the structure and equipment will be housed below the surface of the earth. "There should be no vital components above ground," he says.

"The whole world has been turned upside down" by the events of Sept. 11, says Richard Meserve, chairman of the NRC, which oversees commercial security measures for nuclear-power plants. "We have to re-examine our

entire capability to withstand a terrorist attack.”

The means for carrying out nuclear attacks are scattered around the globe — in the form of hundreds of commercial nuclear plants, tens of thousands of nuclear weapons and tons of stored uranium and plutonium that could be fashioned into bombs. Efforts to make nuclear materials more secure have been hampered by tight budgets, geopolitical squabbling and inertia.

While security has frayed in many places, authorities believe that a nuclear assault by terrorists remains unlikely. Since Hiroshima, 56 years ago, there have been few significant breaches of security anywhere in the world that could have produced a nuclear weapon or incident, and there have been no incidents. Besides the technical barriers to making a nuclear bomb, nuclear weapons and bomb-grade material have always been relatively well-guarded.

Authorities have long counted on the technical barrier — namely, that designing and fabricating a nuclear device remains a formidable challenge. Despite the sophistication of bin Laden’s al-Qaida network, the prospect of terrorists going nuclear is still “highly unlikely,” says Graham Andrew, a senior official at the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency, a United Nations-related body created to prevent the proliferation of atomic weapons.

But the possibility remains. A draft report for an IAEA conference in May cited intelligence-agency and other reports of bin Laden efforts to obtain small nuclear weapons, with the devices to be possibly stored in Afghanistan. The draft report, prepared by Alex Schmid, officer-in-charge of the United Nations’ Terrorism Prevention Branch, stated that while he hadn’t seen evidence that the terrorist had succeeded, “it’s clear that bin Laden is actively seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction.” Schmid declined to be interviewed. A U.S. intelligence official says intelligence sources also have reported efforts by bin Laden’s organization to acquire nuclear weapons.

The technical barrier also seems to have gotten lower. A 1998 report by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a foreign-policy think tank in Washington, found that “a number of American college students have come up with plausible designs based on unclassified information.”

The simplest bomb to build would resemble the one used over Hiroshima. It essentially involves placing two slugs of highly enriched uranium in a tube and driving them together with an explosive charge — a design that is considered so reliable that bomb experts say it doesn’t even have to be tested. Weapons experts say this sort of bomb could be built with about 125 pounds of uranium — though more-sophisticated designs require far less material.

Such a bomb would produce a blast equivalent to about 15,000 tons of TNT and, in a city, could kill more than 100,000 people, says Robert Gallucci, dean of the Georgetown University foreign-service school who worked on nuclear-proliferation issues for the State Department. Scientists estimate that the explosions and subsequent fires that took down the World Trade Center released energy the equivalent of about 1,000 tons of TNT.

BUILDING A 'DIRTY BOMB'

Far easier to build, and much less deadly, is a "dirty bomb," in which conventional explosives are used to spread radioactive material. The key to averting this and any other nuclear threat, security experts say, is keeping nuclear material out of terrorists' hands, particularly plutonium or highly enriched uranium, which are what is needed to create nuclear fission.

That means wiping out the shadowy black market for nuclear materials. The biggest potential source of such material is Russia and other parts of the old Soviet Union — though the IAEA considers all the ex-Soviet Republics, except Russia itself, free of nuclear weapons. Here, too, information can be incomplete and even contradictory. Take the Russian "suitcase" bombs.

Republican Congressman Curt Weldon of Pennsylvania recalls that in hearings held in 1997, retired Russian Gen. Alexander Lebed testified that Russian authorities couldn't account for dozens of portable nuclear bombs once in the Soviet arsenal and designed for use behind enemy lines to blow up specific objects, such as tunnels or power stations. Weldon said other top Russian military officials, including former Defense Minister Igor Sergeyev told him directly that such devices existed. More recently, both U.S. and Russian officials have issued statements denying the Soviets ever built such weapons. Portable atomic demolition devices produced by the U.S. military were all dismantled by 1989, a Defense Department official adds.

Watchdog groups such as the nonprofit Monterey Institute of International Studies in Monterey, Calif., which attempt to verify reports of nuclear proliferation, keep track of various incidents in which nuclear materials may have escaped the grip of governments. In the Monterey files is an example from 1998 when the Russian Federal Security Service announced that it had thwarted an attempt by employees at a facility in the Chelyabinsk region to steal around 40 pounds of nuclear material. Matthew Bunn, a nonproliferation expert at Harvard University, says an official with the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy told him the material had been highly enriched uranium. Vladislav Petrov, a spokesman for Russia's Ministry of Atomic Energy, maintains that this incident "did not happen."

Some bomb-grade material does seem to have made its way out of Russia. In 1994, Czech officials seized nearly six pounds of enriched uranium from a car in Prague. Investigators in that case believed that the material came from one of two Russian facilities. Petrov, however, says the Czechs never allowed Russia to test the material to determine its origin. The information about the theft “was created by their special services,” he says, “to show that Russia isn’t in control of its uranium.”

One of the suspect facilities in the Czech case is the Mayak nuclear materials production complex in the Chelyabinsk region, which is home to a number of nuclear facilities.

In a visit to Mayak last year, former Energy Department official Rose Gottemoeller says she found several tons of plutonium “stored in simple bucketlike containers.” It would be “easy to carry,” she notes, “if you could get through the wooden door or nonbarred window.” Although a joint Russian-U.S. venture was in the process of upgrading security at Mayak during her visit, Gottemoeller notes, it was just starting to install a perimeter fence. That fence has now been completed, according to Sarah Lennon, a DOE official. She also says windows have been bricked up and that other security improvements are in progress.

Gottemoeller also visited Russian Naval facilities in 1999 and 2000, where she said that nuclear weapons being moved on and off of ships were kept in shacklike buildings on the base. The DOE’s Lennon says there is an “aggressive program under way” to improve security measures for the Russian Navy’s weapons.

BEHIND ON UPGRADES

For the past eight years, the U.S. government has been helping the Russian government shore up security at its nuclear installations. So far, though, upgrades have been completed for less than 40 percent of the more than 660 tons of enriched uranium and plutonium not contained in Russia’s nuclear-weapon stockpiles, says Bunn, who is also a former Clinton adviser on nuclear proliferation. In a Sept. 19 letter to President Bush and Russian President Vladimir Putin, Bunn wrote that “over the past five years, many of the major U.S.-Russian cooperative nuclear security programs have slowed” and “had their timelines unnecessarily extended into the future.”

Jonathan Kiell, a spokesman for the DOE, insists that major strides have been made in helping Russia secure its nuclear material and in redirecting the activities of Russian weapons scientists. However, he says, “following the attacks of Sept. 11, [the DOE] is evaluating possibilities of accelerating its [security program], based on guidance from the administration.”

As the U.S. has pondered the post-Cold War nuclear threat, attention has focused on a “rogue” nation attacking the continental U.S. with a missile. But many national-security experts worry about a much simpler scenario, particularly now that the efficacy of suicide attacks in the U.S. has been proven. If overseas terrorists wanted to get a nuclear weapon into the U.S., the most likely means would be by ship, they say. About nine million shipping containers, typically 20 or 40 feet long, enter American ports each year.

For years, U.S. Customs Service inspectors have worn small devices to detect radiation in containers. So far, the searches have found radioactive cheese from Ukraine’s Chernobyl region and medical devices that use radioactivity for diagnostics. Officials also routinely review shipping documents looking for suspicious cargo, which are then subject to X-ray or physical searches.

But tearing apart containers is time-consuming and labor-intensive. On Oct. 5, for example, two customs inspectors in a warehouse at the port in Elizabeth, N.J., strained to lift and heave bags of birdseed out of a container that had arrived from Ethiopia. Another inspector removed boxes of sweatpants from Pakistan. An X-ray check had showed an oddly shaped object near the trailer door. “It could be a booby trap or a trigger for a device,” said Kevin McCabe, chief inspector for the Port of New York and New Jersey. It turned out that one of the pants boxes had fallen and wedged itself against the door.

Since Sept. 11, the Customs Service has increased the number of inspectors and inspections nationally. At the New York/New Jersey port, the inspection force has expanded by more than a third to 100. The number of containers X-rayed has had an “appreciable increase” to about 500 daily, says McCabe.

However, more than 5,000 containers enter that port daily. Given this river of cargo, officials admit something could slip by. “If you can smuggle heroin in containers, you may be able to smuggle a nuclear bomb,” says Charles Raymond, chief executive officer of CSX Lines, the container-shipping subsidiary of Richmond, Va.-based CSX Corp.

Some people argue that would-be nuclear terrorists can find what they need at U.S. weapons plants. With the end of the Cold War, security budgets shrunk at the weapons facilities, which are operated by the Department of Energy.

Since 1992, the number of guards at DOE facilities nationwide dropped about 40 percent to around 3,500, according to Edward McCallum, former director of the DOE’s Office of Safeguards and Security, in a statement last June to a congressional committee. The reductions have made it

“questionable at some facilities whether the DOE Protective Force could defeat an adversary,” wrote McCallum, whose outspoken criticism of security measures contributed to his departure from the Energy Department in 1999.

For years, the DOE has used mock terrorists in simulated attacks to test security at weapons plants. Often, U.S. military personnel and plant guard forces do battle with harmless laser weapons as the attackers try to make off with objects that represent containers of plutonium or uranium.

In a Sept. 13 letter to Sen. Richard Shelby, an Alabama Republican and vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Peter Stockton, a former top Energy Department security consultant, said the DOE guard forces “lose well over 50 percent” of the time in these mock battles — “a clear indicator that a number of facilities cannot protect” their weapons and weapons-grade material. In one case cited by Stockton, attackers at the Los Alamos Nuclear Laboratory brought along a garden cart to haul off their booty.

The Project on Government Oversight, a private watchdog group, issued a report earlier this month recommending that the government consolidate the tons of bomb-grade material from the 10 sites in two underground facilities, possibly to be protected by the U.S. military. Currently, the Energy Department contracts with private security firms.

Glenn Podonsky, a senior DOE security official, says the agency believes its weapons-grade material is adequately guarded. While there have been some reductions in guard forces, these partly reflect changing government security requirements and the closing of some facilities, Podonsky says. As for the mock attacks, “we don’t track the results on a win/lose basis,” he says. Rather, they are used to evaluate protection strategies and individual responses by guards.

After the Sept. 11 attacks, DOE facilities went to a heightened state of alert and the agency is reviewing what further steps might be needed. “Sept. 11 changes a lot for everybody,” says Podonsky.

At commercial nuclear-power plants, the main worry is that terrorists would turn a reactor into a sort of giant radiation-dispersal device. Disabling a plant’s safety systems could lead to a catastrophic radiation release, similar to the one caused by the 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant. There, radiation releases contaminated a huge swath of land, quickly killed several dozen people and exposed tens of thousands of others to dangerous doses of radioactivity.

Like the Energy Department, the NRC runs mock terrorist raids against power plants. The NRC won’t reveal specific results, but “there have

been instances where infiltrators have gotten far enough inside and stayed long enough where they could have planted bombs,” says an agency spokesman.

But the NRC has halted the mock terrorist attacks, at least temporarily. “This is not a wise time to be holding exercises,” says Meserve, the NRC chairman. “It could be used as the cover for an actual attack.”

To: conoverp@ucc.org
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Re: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To: <85256AE7.006C274C.00@UCCLN2.ucc.org>
References:

Pat,

I'm sorry that your office won't sign the letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons. Your suggested draft is a legitimate alternative, but we have too many signatures to start over.

If you change your mind, the letter I drafted will be open to sign-on until noon on Monday, October 22.

Howard
>

To: Dan Koslofsky <dan@clw.org>
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Re: Please Respond: Coolfont Survey
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To: <4.3.1.0.20011015105403.00aff1a0@mail.clw.org>
References:

At 12:59 PM 10/15/01 -0400, you wrote:

>Monday Lobby Participants:

>

>As discussed at Monday Lobby I am circulating an email regarding the annual
>arms control community retreat at Coolfont. I am canvassing organizations
>to determine if there is still sufficient interest in continuing the
>tradition of a two night retreat/conference at the Coolfont Resort in West
>Virginia in light of the financial constraints many of us share....

Dan,

I don't have a preference for the retreat schedule. But I would like to comment on the Coolfont format.

I enjoy the fellowship and the interesting speakers. However, I wish the retreat served as a strategic planning event rather than merely education and sharing. Even when we concentrate on a particular topic, as we did on military spending a couple of years ago, there is no follow up. In fact some oppose doing this because they don't believe in planning.

This year I would like to examine the message we want to convey in 2002 through the congressional elections and to rough out a plan for getting the message across in the second session of the 107th Congress and the election campaign. I would like to have the existing working group to take assignments for follow-through and to form any other necessary working groups. In the course of discussion we should examine why we are so unsuccessful in getting our policies adopted and to consider what we can do to be more effective.

Shalom,
Howard

To: bumc
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Statement from UMGBCS
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Dear Friends,

I would like to share with you a statement from the United Methodist General Board of Church and Society on the terrorist attacks and the U.S. response. This was adopted at the Board's October meeting after considerable discussion.

Shalom,
Howard

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October 13, 2001

Contact: Gretchen Hakola 202-488-5630

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Statement to the Church on the Terrorist Attacks and the US Response

This a statement issued by the General Board of Church and Society at its October board meeting. All United Methodist clergy are urged to share the statement with their congregations.

We the United Methodist General Board of Church and Society (GBCS) join United Methodists and all people around the world as we mourn those who have died, comfort those who have experienced loss and pray together while facing anxious days ahead. In this time of terror and tragedy, we pray to God with humility and with seeking hearts. Our lives have changed and for those of us who live in the United States, our sense of invulnerability and invincibility has been destroyed. We rejoice that as children of God we need not fear God nor seek to appease God. We are trustful and open to the God of love.

We claim the teachings of the Prince of Peace who instructs us to love and pray for our enemies and refrain from responding to violence with violence. As we join people around the world in our resolve to bring terrorists to justice, we understand that war is not an appropriate means of responding to criminal acts against humanity.

We reaffirm The United Methodist resolution on Terrorism which states, "we oppose the use of indiscriminate military force to combat terrorism, especially where the use of such force results in casualties among noncombatant citizens who are not themselves perpetrators of terrorist acts... We condemn all acts of terrorism, with no exception for the target or the source. (The Book of Resolutions of the United Methodist Church, 2000, p. 787) We urge that food aid be provided to refugees in Afghanistan and other countries through established humanitarian channels distinct from military action. Furthermore, we urge the United States and the international community to provide protection for refugees, and to make plans now for the eventual rehabilitation of refugees and the establishment of a stable and just Afghan society.

In our limited human vision, we turn to God for guidance. In our mourning, we pray for God's comfort. In our hunger and thirst for righteousness, we seek God's forgiveness for our self-righteousness. As Matthew 5:9 reminds us, Jesus calls the children of God to be peacemakers. We live with the uncertainty of these times seeking divine

patience and strength. We look to God to lead us to the greater good - love combined with justice and truth aligned with trust. We embrace with confidence a faith that seeks God's purposes.

In these tense days, the Church is called to be an instrument of service, healing, and peace. Toward this end, we call upon United Methodist congregations to:

- a) Be in a season of prayer for peace, for all who suffer and mourn, for those who serve, especially those in harm's way, and for courage to respond to God's guidance.
- b) Become bridge-builders in your community between Christians and persons of other religious faiths through education and outreach;
- c) Offer acts of hospitality to Arabs, Muslims and all others in your community who may suffer at this time from acts of hatred and prejudice;
- d) Reflect upon what our Church has declared - that war is incompatible with the teachings and example of Christ; (Social Principles, #165 VI (C))
- e) Inform young people in your congregation that we extend our ministry to those who choose to serve in the military or those who choose not to serve. Inform those who choose not to serve in the military of the option to register as a conscientious objector in the US and other countries where the option is available; (Social Principles, #165 V (G))
- f) Study the root causes of terrorism, the history of Western involvement in the Middle East, and work to end terrorism;
- g) Call and visit your government officials to urge an end to all violence and war and to use the United Nations as a primary venue for multilateral action. Ask them also to support the establishment of the International Criminal Court that would allow nations to bring to trial perpetrators of criminal acts against humanity, and urge President Bush to submit to the Senate for ratification the Treaty creating the Court; (Social Principles, #165 VI (D))
- h) Continue with generous support and donations to UMCOR for Afghanistan refugees and the victims of the attacks in the US.

It is our firm belief that military actions will not end terrorism. As people called to be a visible sign of God's ever-present love, we know that violence will not bring God's peace. We are grateful for those efforts by President Bush and the US Congress toward a measured response to September 11. We continue to say no to war and encourage our leaders to respond cautiously. "Let us not compound a grievous tragedy with a grievous error."¹

¹ United Methodist military Chaplain following the remarks of a Pentagon official.

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Only the General Conference speaks for the entire United Methodist Church. The United Methodist General Board of Church and Society of the Church is the denomination's international public policy and social action agency.

To: sdeboe@cmsm.org
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Letter to Bush on nuclear issues
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Dear Stan,

Here sign on letter to President Bush on nuclear issues related to the war on terrorism. I hope that you can sign it.

Howard

###

Dear Colleagues:

It is a month since the horrible terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the plane downed in Pennsylvania. We have grieved. We have wondered why and what next. We have seen the U.S. government treat the attack as an act of war rather than an international crime against humanity. Various religious groups have responded in different ways.

As the war on terrorism and against Afghanistan have gotten underway, there remains the issue of nuclear weapons, first in dealing with terrorism and then in the broader perspective of global security in the 21st century. With that in mind I have drafted the following sign-on letter to President Bush. It deals with three issues: no first use, non-proliferation, and nuclear disarmament.

I invite a representative of your organization to sign. I suggest a deadline of the close of business on Friday, October 19. If you have any questions or comments about the letter, please contact me by return e-mail or by phone at 301 896-0013.

Shalom,
Howard

###

Sign on letter for representatives of religious organizations.

The Honorable George W. Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The campaign against terrorism is raising new and important questions about the role and future of nuclear weapons in the global security framework of the 21st century. We would like to share with you our thinking on this matter.

First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government favor using nuclear weapons against terrorist enclaves and against states that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of the United

States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral and would constitute a crime against humanity.

Second, we note that in January 2001 the Task Force chaired by Howard Baker and Lloyd Cutler stated: "The most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction or weapons-usable material in Russia could be stolen and sold to terrorists or hostile nation states and used against American troops or citizens at home." The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States emphasize the importance of this finding. Therefore, we believe that a substantial portion of anti-terrorist funds should go for full implementation of the Baker-Cutler report. In terms of relative priority, we suggest that funds be transferred from the missile defense budget to this and other urgent non-proliferation initiatives.

Third, we believe that the improved relationship between the United States and Russia because of mutual concern over terrorism should be treated as an opportunity to make substantial progress in improving the security of deployed nuclear weapons and dismantling the nuclear arsenals still in place more than a decade after the Cold War ended. Specifically we ask you to implement your campaign promise to work with Russia to de-alert and stand down the respective nuclear arsenals and to achieve deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons. Not only will this enhance the security of the United States and Russia by lowering the possibility of accidental launch, it will also reduce the danger that a renegade group could gain control of deployed nuclear weapons and use them for terrorist attack on the United States.

We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

Sincerely yours,

Representatives of religious organizations.

To: jmatlack@erols.com
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Letter to Bush on nuclear issues
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Dear Jim,

Here sign on letter to President Bush on nuclear issues related to the war on terrorism. I hope that you can sign it.

Howard

###

Dear Colleagues:

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We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

Sincerely yours,

Representatives of religious organizations.

To: mupj@igc.org
From: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: Addition to sign-on letter
Cc:
Bcc: icnd
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

Dear Colleagues,

On the sign-on letter to President Bush on nuclear issues, Lisa Wright of the National Council of Churches suggests that we might clarify our intent that nuclear weapons should not be used in a response to biological or chemical weapons. Therefore, I propose adding such a sentence to the appropriate paragraph so that it would read as follows.

"First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government favor using nuclear weapons against terrorist enclaves and against states that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of the United States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral and would constitute a crime against humanity. We believe that nuclear weapons should never be used in response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons."

The last sentence is the new one.

Unless I hear otherwise I will assume that this addition is acceptable to those who have signed so far.

Shalom,
Howard

X-eGroups-Return: sentto-1300601-599-1003457721-mupj=igc.org@returns.onelist.com
X-Sender: CKozlowski2@netscape.net
X-Apparently-To: bumc@yahoogroups.com
To: BUMC@yahoogroups.com
X-Mailer: Atlas Mailer 1.0
X-eGroups-From: CKozlowski2@netscape.net (C. Kozlowski)
From: Ckozlowski2@netscape.net
X-Yahoo-Profile: onesmartmama
Mailing-List: list bumc@yahoogroups.com; contact bumc-owner@yahoogroups.com
Delivered-To: mailing list bumc@yahoogroups.com
List-Unsubscribe: <mailto:bumc-unsubscribe@yahoogroups.com>
Date: Thu, 18 Oct 2001 22:15:14 -0400
Subject: [bumc] LONG: Thoughts of a Quaker on Afghanistan as an acceptable war

I have followed with interest the discussion on the wisdom of war in Afghanistan. Sam and I are discussing whether you can ever end violence with violence. The transcript below is not perfect, but it was clearly a very eloquent--and, I found, persuasive, presentation by a Quaker on why the war is justified.. a bit longer (sorry) than "Praise the lord and pass the ammo." The question now in my mind is, "Is this a situation like the 2nd WW, where the war was necessary, or is this another Viet Nam?" After reading this, I'm leaning toward the first. Chrs, Celia

On September 25, 2001, Proclamation, Identity and Communication sponsored the 19th Annual Parker Lecture. Scott Simon, host of National Public Radio's Weekend Edition was the keynote speaker. Simon spent many hours covering the terrorist strike at the World Trade Center. We asked him to share his reflections. This is what he had to say.

I am grateful for the opportunity to speak with you at what is so clearly an urgent time. With your permission, I will depart from the line of remarks I had initially sketched out and address myself explicitly to these times.

I can certainly be expansive on the subject of broadcasting, and how we are-or are not-meeting our responsibilities. But those observations would now be small-minded. The fact is, during the recent weeks of crisis all major broadcasters-not only including, but specifically much-maligned commercial broadcasters-have met those responsibilities with professionalism and devotion. This week, they have only my admiration.

I suspect that what I have to say today about war and peace will not please a good many of you. I don't want you to feel compelled to offer courteous applause for remarks with which you may vigorously disagree. I am grateful for the chance just to be heard in this forum; that is as much courtesy as I can expect. So let me suggest that my remarks be received simply with silence.

There is nothing good to be said about tragedy or terror. But miseries can distill a sense of utter clarity-remind us of whom we are; whom we love; and what is worth giving our lives for.

When Jeremy Glick of Hewitt, New Jersey, called his wife, Lyzbeth, during the last moments of United Flight 93 he said:
"I love you. Don't be sad. Take care of our daughter. Whatever you do is okay

with me."

The depth of his love compressed, and clear as a diamond.

Over the past ten days, the pain of loss and fear of terror may have caused many Americans to admit to themselves how much they really love their country. Love it not blindly, but with unblinking awareness.

They love that frivolous America that proclaims pride in 31 flavors of ice cream-but also the solemn mission of having a gaudy Times Square assortment of all the world's peoples within its borders. They love the America that can be shallow, giddy, and greedy-but also funny, delightful, and generous.

America can abound with silly, malicious, and even dangerous ideas--because people here are free to express any damn-fool idea that comes to them. America can be bigoted and inhospitable-but it also takes strangers from all over the world into its arms.

America has now been targeted by a few blind souls who are willing to kill thousands-and themselves-to make this nation bleed. But far more people from around the world have already been willing to die-over-packed into holds of ships and trucks-just to have a small chance to live here.

It's not that Americans don't want their country to change, in a thousand ways, from making good medical care available to all Americans, to abolishing the designated hitter rule. But the blast at our emblems last week has made many Americans see their nation as that place in the world where change is still most possible. Patriotism has often been the last refuge of scoundrels-and we've had those scoundrels. But what hiding place is open to those who twist their faith into a weapon to run through innocent people?

Do we really want to live in the kind of world such blind souls would make for us? In the end, the choice may be that harsh: to live in a world that revolves around fear-or in America, with all its faults?

Now I say this knowing that we have our own American mullahs; and boy this I don't mean-in fact, I specifically do not mean-American Muslims who have recently been the object of harassment. I am not of a mind to be obscure about this: I mean specifically the Reverends Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. Please permit me to repeat the thrust of some remarks I delivered this past weekend. In a way, I am grateful for this duo: they renewed my capacity to be shocked at a time I thought my sense of shock had been exhausted.

Right after the terrorist strikes in New York and here in Washington, when America was wounded and confused, the Reverend Falwell was a guest on Pat Robertson's 700 Club. He said that God Almighty, angered by America's abortion rights, gay rights, and secularism in the schools, had permitted terrorists to slay the World Trade Center and smite the Pentagon: "What we saw on Tuesday," said Mr. Falwell, "could be miniscule if in fact God continues to lift the curtain and allow the enemies of America to give us

probably what we deserve".

Mr. Robertson joined in, saying, "Jerry, that's my feeling. I think we've just seen the antechamber to terror. We haven't even begun to see what they can do to the major population."

Then Mr. Falwell concluded, "I really believe that the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People for the American Way—all of them who have tried to secularize America—I point the finger in their face and say, you helped this happen."

Last week, both the reverends issued apologies. Mr. Falwell called his own remarks, "insensitive, uncalled for, and unnecessary" -everything but wrong.

Also last week, it was reported that Mark Bingham, a San Francisco public relations executive, may well have been one of the passengers who so bravely resisted the hijackers of American Airlines Flight 77, which crashed into an unpopulated field, instead of another national monument.

Mr. Bingham was 31. He played on a local gay rugby team, and hoped to compete in next year's Gay Games in Sydney, Australia. I don't know if Mark Bingham was religious. But it seems to me that he lived a life that celebrated the preciousness of this world's infinite variety. While the Reverends Robertson and Falwell, and the mullahs of the Taliban, see a God who smiles with approval on murder and destruction.

Let me put it in the bald terms in which many Americans may be thinking right now: if your plane was hijacked, who would you rather sit next to? Righteous reverends who will sit back and say, "This is God's punishment for gay Teletubbies?" Or the gay rugby player who lays down his life to save others?

And by the way: which person seems closer to God?

One of the unforeseen effects of being in journalism is that your first-hand exposure to the issues of the world sometimes has the consequence of shaking your deepest personal convictions. I happen to be a Quaker; this is known, I have written about this, especially in my memoir, HOME AND AWAY, which, if you would please permit a small parochial note here, is now available in paperback. I covered conflicts in Central America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and Africa. None of them shook my belief that pacifism offers the world a way to foment change without the violence that has pained and poisoned our history.

Gandhi and Nehru's non-violent revolution gave India a skilled and sturdy democracy, rather than another violent religious tyranny. Nelson Mandela's willingness to employ deliberate and peaceful protest against the brutalities of apartheid made today's South Africa an inspiration to the world of the power of reconciliation and hope. Martin Luther King's campaign to bring down American segregation; Corazon Aquino's People Power revolution in the

Philippines-pacifism has had its heroes, its martyrs, its losses, and its victories.

My pacifism was not absolute. About half the draft age Quakers and Mennonites in North America enlisted during World War II, on the idea that whatever solutions non-violence had to offer the world, it was without a response to Adolph Hitler. I hope I would have been among those who enlisted.

And then, in the 1990's, I covered the Balkans. And I had to confront, in flesh and blood, the real life flaw -- I am inclined to say literally fatal flow -- of pacifism: all the best people could be killed by all the worst ones. Bosnia, we might remind ourselves, had the ambition of being the Costa Rica of the Balkans, an unarmed democracy that would shine out to the world. Its surrounding adversaries were not impressed or deterred by this aspiration.

Slobodan Milosovic will now stand trial before the world-but only after a quarter of a million people in Bosnia and Kosovo have been killed. Forgive me if I do not count his delivery for trial as a victory for international law; and therefore a model to now be emulated. In fact, I am appalled by the fact that much of the evidence presented against him at trial will almost undoubtedly be derived from U.S.intelligence information. That evidence will be used to try to convict Slobodan Milosovic after he has committed murder - because America lacked the will to use its military might to prevent those killings.

I doubt that future despots will be much deterred by this example.

So I speak as a Quaker of not particularly good standing. I am still willing to give first consideration to peaceful alternatives. But I am not willing to lose lives for the sake of ideological consistency. As Mahatma Gandhi himself once said-and, like Lincoln,the Mahatma is wonderful for providing quotations that permit you to prove almost any point you choose-"I would rather be inconsistent than wrong."

It seems to me that in confronting the forces that attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the United States has no sane alternative but to wage war; and wage it with unflinching resolution.

Notice I don't say reprisal or revenge. What I mean is self-defense-protecting the United States from further attack by destroying those who would launch them.

There is a certain quarter of opinion in the United States-we certainly hear from them at NPR-who, perhaps still in shock, seem to believe that the attacks against New York and Washington were natural disasters: horrible, spontaneous whirlwinds that struck once, and will not reoccur.

This is wrong. It is even inexcusably foolish. The United States has been targeted for destruction. We know now that more hijackings were likely

planned for September 11th. Other agents were at least exploring the possibilities of other kinds of attacks, including spending crop-dusters over cities with poisonous chemicals. If you dismiss these kinds of scenarios

as Hollywood folderol before, it is just not informed to do so now. There is an ongoing violent campaign aimed at bringing down the United States. How many more skyscrapers and national monuments-and the people in them-how many more citizens are we willing to lose?

There are some quarters of world opinion who believe that simply delivering those who plotted the attack to international justice should suffice. But this is not the nature of the danger we confront-literally, physically, in this very city-which is present, persistent and current. Simply arresting those who executed the attacks in New York and Washington will not deter other assaults that we must assume are proceeding right now.

There are some quarters of opinion who say, just this bluntly, that Americans somehow invited this attack down upon ourselves-that this attack was some kind of recompense for holding slaves a century and a half ago, for extinguishing native tribes from America, for interning Japanese-Americans during a world war sixty years ago, for overthrowing Salvador Allende in Chile, or for standing by Israel, however the Mossad behaves.

None of those individual assertions are untrue. All of them irrelevant. The people who make these arguments usually consider themselves at the polar opposite of the Reverend Jerry Falwell and the Reverend Pat Robertson. But are they? They say that those who died in New York and Washington have only their country to blame for their deaths. By ignoring the extensive advancement America has made towards becoming a just society, they make it seem as if sins that are centuries and decades old can never be overcome by progress.

Some very fine minds have become so skilled at playing this parlor game of moral relativism that they make little in American life seem worthwhile. They insist, in so many ways, that the United States cannot criticize the Taliban for enslaving women in the 21st century because some of New York police practiced racial profiling; that the United States does not have the moral standing to oppose terrorism because we once supported the Shah of Iran.

This kind of rhetorical exchange can go on endlessly-and it shouldn't. Sharp and powerful minds should be applied to something more productive right now.

How would those who now urge reconciliation accomplish that? Reconcile ourselves to what? Should we surrender Manhattan Island? Iowa, Utah, or Hollywood? Should we impose a unitary religious state on these shores, throw American women out of school and work, and rob all other religious groups of any rights so that we will have the kind of society that our attackers will accept? Should we renounce our pledge to make a home for those we turned away from our shores during the Holocaust and abandon Israel?

To reconcile ourselves in any way with the blind souls who flew against New

York and Washington-and who have other targets within their sites now-is to hand our own lives over into wickedness.

I'm glad to see reporting now that asks, "Why do they hate us?." We need to hear the complaints of those who experience U.S. foreign policy, sometimes at the blunt end. But I would not want our increasing erudition to distract us from the answer that applies to those who are now physically attacking the United States: they hate us because they are psychotics. They should be taken no more seriously as political theorists than Charles Manson or Timothy McVeigh.

There are also a number of Americans-and we hear from them-who suggest that this war should not be fought because a number of Americans who are Muslims have been the objects of threats and harassment. Those attacks against Muslims are reprehensible. Every American of every stripe has the obligation to disown and prevent them.

I have been impressed by President Bush's determination to make the rights of Muslim Americans-and American respect for Muslim nations-an essential part of U.S. policy. This is vastly different from the actions that were inflicted against Japanese-Americans during World War II. The difference between the damage that good liberals of their time, Earl Warren, Franklin Roosevelt, and Hugo Black, imposed on an ethnic minority in 1941, and what conservatives of this time, George W. Bush, Rudolph Giuliani, and John Ashcroft, have specifically avoided doing, radiantly represents America's stability to improve itself.

Over the past ten years, every time the United States has committed itself to a military deployment-explicitly in the Gulf War, then in Somalia, and remove over the skies of Bosnia and Kosovo-it has been in the defense of Muslim peoples. At the same time, tens of thousands of Muslim students and other immigrants have been accepted into the United States. American Muslims now number close to six million. We still suffer the stain of racial and ethnic bigotry. But this largely peaceful incorporation of Islam into American life should be a source of pride that is not belittled by the actions of a few cranks and bigots. Surely we have the means to defeat them,too.

I can conjure a score of reasons why this war should not be fought. The terrorists who struck are ruthless, and undaunted even by their own deaths. The war will kill some-perhaps many-of our own best people; the first attack already has-the firefighters and police who perished in the World Trade Center. The war will be lengthy and costly, and it may be impossible to tell when it is done. There will be no unequivocal surrender. And just when we

may begin to feel a sense of safety returning-another strike may occur. The war may restrict some of our traditional liberties to travel, unfettered, across our own nation.

And yet: to back away from this war would be to accept all of that as permanent. To live the rest of our lives, not just a few years, with deaths delivered by people dying by terrorist bombs, chemical attacks, and the successive devices of sharp and ruthless minds, to live out our futures with our liberties shrinking as our losses and fears expand.

I do not accept that this war must cost us our best qualities. American men and women often wreaked terrible punishments on their adversaries in Germany and Japan, from the firebombing of Dresden to the incineration of Hiroshima-and by the way, that kind of retaliatory brutality is in no way justifiable or necessary in the conflict at hand now. Those men and women returned to their families and proceeded to pay their own tax dollars into those programs that rebuilt the nations they fought so fiercely, and fermented the civil rights movement at home.

Yes, there was the blight of McCarthyite witch hunts, the prolonged and pernicious mistake of the war in Vietnam, and CIA incursions into Nicaragua, Iran, and God-knows where else.

But do we genuinely believe that we would live in a better world today if the West had used its own flaws and sins as a moral license to avoid fighting world fascism? Would Martin Luther King have succeeded in changing our world so palpably if his opponent had been Adolph Hitler instead of an overstuffed Bull Connor, opposed by the U.S. Federal government?

None of us are immaculate and innocent past the age of six. But we cannot avoid making judgements-sometimes harsh ones-for the rest of our lives. One of those judgements is upon us now.

I think that peace activists can sometimes commit the same error in judgment as generals: they prepare to fight the last war, not the next one. The conflict before us now does not involve American power intruding in places where it has _____. But American power intervening to save lives where only American power can be effective.

We are living in a time when we must remind ourselves of the imperfections of analogies. But let me press ahead with one that has recently been on my mind.

In 1933, the Oxford Student Union conducted a famous debate over whether it was moral for Britons to fight for king and country. The best minds of that leading university reviewed the many ways in which British colonialism exploited and oppressed the world. They cited the ways in which vengeful demands made of Germany in the wake of the end of World War I had helped encourage the kind of nationalism that may have kindled the rise of fascism. They saw no moral difference between western colonialism and world fascism. The Oxford Union ended that debate with this famous proclamation: "Resolved,

that we will in no circumstances fight forking and country."

Von Ribbentrop sent back the good news to Germany's new chancellor, Adolph Hitler: the West will not fight for its own survival. Its finest minds will justify a silent surrender.

The most intelligent young people of their time could not tell the difference between the deficiencies of their own nation, in which liberty and democracy occupied cornerstones, and dictatorship founded on racism, tyranny, and fear.

But Mahatma Gandhi knew the difference. He spent World War II in a prison in Poona and sat on his hands and spun cloth, rather than to raise a hand in revolt against England when it was most vulnerable. He knew that, in the end, a world which was spun by German and Japanese Fascism offered no hope to the oppressed of this planet. And in fact, at the close of World War II, Britain divested itself of empire: exhausted by its own defense, to be sure, but also ennobled by defending its own best ideals.

Have thoughtful, moral Americans in the 21st Century become so exquisitely sensitive to the sins and shortcomings of the United States; so comfortable with the lack of resolution that moral relativism promotes; that we do not see the blessing that it has been put into our hands to protect: an incomparably diverse and democratic nation?

When George Orwell returned to England after fighting against Fascism in the Spanish civil war, he felt uneasy over finding his country so comfortable-so close to Fascism. His country, he said, with its fat Sunday newspapers and thick orange jam.

"?All sleeping the deep, deep sleep," he wrote, "from which I sometimes fear that we shall never wake till we are jerked out of it by the roar of bombs."

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From: sdeboe@csm.org
To: mupj@igc.org
Subject: RE: Letter to Bush on nuclear issues
Date: Fri, 19 Oct 2001 11:29:45 -0400
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)

Howard,

An excellent letter. Please add CMSM on to it under my name. I look forward to getting a copy with the complete list of names.

Stan

Stan De Boe, OSST
Director
Office of Justice and Peace
Conference of Major Superiors of Men
8808 Cameron Street
Silver Spring, MD 20910
Phone: 301-588-4030
Fax: 301-587-4575

-----Original Message-----

From: Howard W. Hallman [mailto:mupj@igc.org]
Sent: Friday, October 19, 2001 10:59 AM
To: sdeboe@csm.org
Subject: Letter to Bush on nuclear issues

Dear Stan,

Here sign on letter to President Bush on nuclear issues related to the war on terrorism. I hope that you can sign it.

Howard

###

Dear Colleagues:

It is a month since the horrible terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the plane downed in Pennsylvania. We have grieved. We have wondered why and what next. We have seen the U.S. government treat the attack as an act of war rather than an international crime against humanity. Various religious groups have responded in different ways.

As the war on terrorism and against Afghanistan have gotten underway, there remains the issue of nuclear weapons, first in dealing with terrorism and then in the broader perspective of global security in the 21st century. With that in mind I have drafted the following sign-on letter to President Bush. It deals with three issues: no first use, non-proliferation, and

nuclear disarmament.

I invite a representative of your organization to sign. I suggest a deadline of the close of business on Friday, October 19. If you have any questions or comments about the letter, please contact me by return e-mail or by phone at 301 896-0013.

Shalom,
Howard

###

Sign on letter for representatives of religious organizations.

The Honorable George W. Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The campaign against terrorism is raising new and important questions about the role and future of nuclear weapons in the global security framework of the 21st century. We would like to share with you our thinking on this matter.

First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government favor using nuclear weapons against terrorist enclaves and against states that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of the United States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral and would constitute a crime against humanity.

Second, we note that in January 2001 the Task Force chaired by Howard Baker and Lloyd Cutler stated: "The most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction or weapons-usable material in Russia could be stolen and sold to terrorists or hostile nation states and used against American troops or citizens at home." The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States emphasize the importance of this finding. Therefore, we believe that a substantial portion of anti-terrorist funds should go for full implementation of the Baker-Cutler report. In terms of relative priority, we suggest that funds be transferred from the missile defense budget to this and other urgent non-proliferation initiatives.

Third, we believe that the improved relationship between the United States and Russia because of mutual concern over terrorism should be treated as an opportunity to make substantial progress in improving the security of deployed nuclear weapons and dismantling the nuclear arsenals still in place more than a decade after the Cold War ended. Specifically we ask you to implement your campaign promise to work with Russia to de-alert and

stand down the respective nuclear arsenals and to achieve deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons. Not only will this enhance the security of the United States and Russia by lowering the possibility of accidental launch, it will also reduce the danger that a renegade group could gain control of deployed nuclear weapons and use them for terrorist attack on the United States.

We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

Sincerely yours,

Representatives of religious organizations.

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice
1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a membership association of laity and clergy. It has no affiliation with any Methodist denomination.

From: "Kathy Crandall" <kcrandall@disarmament.org>
To: "Adam Eiding (E-mail)" <adam@mintwood.com>,
"Alison Prevost (E-mail)" <aprevost@networklobby.org>,
"Alistair Miller (E-mail)" <amillar@fourthfreedom.org>,
"Alyssa Gendron (E-mail)" <psrintern6@psr.org>,
"Ana Toledo (E-mail)" <atoledo@umc-gbcs.org>,
"Andrew Howells (E-mail)" <aca@armscontrol.org>,
"Anne Curtis (E-mail)" <acurtis@networklobby.org>,
"Anne Gallivan (E-mail)" <agallivan@psr.org>,
"Arjun Makhijani (E-mail)" <arjun@ieer.org>,
"Bob Musil (E-mail)" <bmusil@psr.org>,
"Carl Nyberg (E-mail)" <cnyberg@cunr.org>,
"Carlean Ponder" <nuclear@wand.org>,
"Chris Lindborg (E-mail)" <clindborg@basicint.org>,
"Christine Kucia (E-mail)" <ckucia@basicint.org>,
"Darrul Fagin (E-mail)" <dfagin@adaction.com>,
"Daryl Kimball (E-mail)" <dkimball@armscontrol.org>,
"David Culp (E-mail)" <david@fcnl.org>,
"Don Kraus (E-mail)" <dkraus@cunr.org>,
"Ellen Barfield (E-mail)" <ellene4pj@yahoo.com>,
"Erik Floden" <efloden@clw.org>, "Erik Leaver" <erik@fpif.org>,
"Erik Olsen (E-mail)" <erik@2020vision.org>,
"Esther Pank (E-mail)" <prgrm@backfromthebrink.net>,
"Gillian Gilhool" <ggilhool@ix.netcom.com>,
"Gordon Clark (E-mail)" <gordonclark@earthlink.net>,
"Howard Hallman (E-mail)" <mupj@igc.org>,
"Ira Shorr (E-mail)" <irashorr@hotmail.com>,
"James Matlack (E-mail)" <jmatlack@erols.com>,
"Jaya Tiwari (E-mail)" <jtiwari@psr.org>,
"Jessica Scanlan (E-mail)" <jscanlan@psr.org>,
"Jim Wyerman (E-mail)" <jwyerman@2020vision.org>,
"Joe Volk (E-mail)" <joe@fcnl.org>, "Jonathan Dean" <jdean@ucs.org>,
"Justin Gilstrap (E-mail)" <hradcany1@yahoo.com>,
"Kathy Crandall" <kcrandall@disarmament.org>,
"Kathy Guthrie (E-mail)" <kathy@fcnl.org>,
"Kendra Park (E-mail)" <kpark@wfa.org>,
"Kimberly Roberts (E-mail)" <kroberts@psr.org>,
"Kimberly Robson" <>wand@wand.org>,
"Laura Kriv (E-mail)" <lkriv@techrocks.org>,
"Lora Lumpe" <llumpe@mindspring.com>,
"Lora Lumpe (E-mail)" <lora@prlo.net>,
"Maria Ramos (E-mail)" <wpc@igc.org>,
"Martin Butcher (E-mail)" <mbutcher@psr.org>,
"Masako Toki (E-mail)" <mtoki@ucsusa.org>,
"Michael Beer" <nonviolence@igc.org>,
"Michael Levi (E-mail)" <mlevi@fas.org>,

"Mike Zmolek (E-mail)" <paka@boo.net>,
"Miriam Pemberton (E-mail)" <miriam@ips-dc.org>,
"Sandy Butcher (E-mail)" <sibutcher@cs.com>,
"Stephen Young (E-mail)" <syoun@ucs.org>,
"Tim Barner (E-mail)" <kathytim@earthlink.net>,
"Tracy Moavero (E-mail)" <tmoavero@peace-action.org>,
"Trisha Christopher (E-mail)" <trishachr@earthlink.net>

Date: Fri, 19 Oct 2001 11:58:05 -0400

X-MSMail-Priority: Normal

X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook IMO, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2910.0)

X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2615.200

Importance: Normal

Please join us for the **Committee on Justice and Security** (Sept. 11 Response Coalition).
We are meeting **today at 3pm at PSR**.

This meeting will only be one hour.

Below , or attached (whichever is easier to read - the content is the same) is the latest draft that I have of the FAQ's - Erik may bring an updated version

Proposed Agenda

1. Activities/ Events Check-in - sharing upcoming events, new resources, and media information
2. FAQ's
3. Planning a Briefing on the Security Implications of the Humanitarian Crisis

Topics for Talking Points/FAQ on US Military Operations:

I. Humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan and regional security implications

➤ What is the scope of the current humanitarian crisis and what are the security implications?

The tragedy of the Afghan people has its roots in the two-decade conflict and three year drought that has plagued the country. The situation is rapidly deteriorating in the wake of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States and the response by the U.S. in the form of air strikes. 6 million people in Afghanistan need humanitarian aid to survive—20% of these are children under the age of five. Tens of thousands of Afghans are fleeing to join the already 2 million refugees in Pakistan; all six neighboring countries - Pakistan, Iran, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and China— have closed their borders. Aid officials believe that as many as 1.5 million Afghans will flee as a result of U.S. military retaliation. The increased influx of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, Iran and other neighboring nations could put sever political and economic strain on these countries.

In South Asia, a protracted military campaign using Pakistan as a staging ground will lead to a more intensified humanitarian crisis in the region and internal unrest in Pakistan. Although the current Pakistani leader, General Pervez Musharraf, continues to promise Pakistan's support for U.S. military action against Taliban, many in Pakistan oppose Musharraf's decision. Pakistan is home to over 2 million Afghan refugees and some 140 million Muslims, many of them strongly oppose Pakistan's role in helping to fight the United States' war against Afghanistan. Religious parties like the Sipah-e-Sahaba, Harkat-ul Mujahideen and Jaish-e-Mohammad have strongly supported the Taliban and agree with their extremist interpretation of Islam. Many of their members have fought alongside the Mujahideen in Afghanistan and continue to organize large and violent protests opposing Pakistan's assistance in U.S. military strikes against Taliban.

In South Asia, a region home to two nuclear-armed arch rival countries, India and Pakistan, the situation could become very dangerous if an unmanaged humanitarian crisis led to a collapse of Pakistan's already fragile government. A politically unstable Pakistan will have serious consequences for regional peace and the security of nations in the region. India, Pakistan's nuclear armed rival, has been in constant conflict with Pakistan because of the two countries' territorial claims on Kashmir, the major portion of which has been controlled by India since independence from Britain in 1947. India and Pakistan have fought four wars. The armed forces of the two countries continue to clash in Kashmir. Indian officials claim that Pakistan provides military and financial support to Muslim separatist groups active in Kashmir. Many of these groups are based in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. During times of internal unrest, the two countries have tried to exploit their deep-seated hostilities for each other to unite their masses and overcome domestic crises. Indian policy makers fear that, should Pakistan become seriously divided over governmental support for the United States, a call for Kashmir's liberation could be used as a diversionary tactic. Given that both India and Pakistan possess nuclear weapons associated with questionable command and control systems, a military conflict between the two countries could become the worst nightmare for regional and international security. In fact, the situation is already becoming dangerous. As confirmed by Indian and Pakistani officials, border forces of the two countries exchanged fire on October 15, 2001, and continue to engage each other in military action along the "line of control."

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

War on Terrorism: The Humanitarian Crisis in Afghanistan, PSR Fact Sheet

War on Terrorism: U.S. Policy and Stability in South Asia, PSR Issue Brief Humanitarian Crisis in Afghanistan

Abid Aslam

<http://www.fpif.org/commentary/0109afghanistan.html>

FAS Resources

Other Groups??

Experts on the Topic

T. Kumar (Amnesty Intl.)

Stephen P. Cohen, Director, South Asia Project, Brookings

George Perkovich, WAJ Foundation

Others??

➤ **What is the likely impact of US military operations on Central Asia and Russia?**

There will be no significant short-term impact of military operations in Afghanistan on Central Asia and Russia. Large refugee flows into Central Asia are unlikely. The fighting will be carried to the south, not the north, and the one border at any real risk--Tajikistan's--is sealed by Russian troops.

The countries in the region and particularly Uzbekistan will likely take the opportunity to tighten up already strong restrictions on political and social dissidence and opposition, whether Islamic or not. In this connection there is no short-term danger of increased anti-Americanism, but if these countries do not reduce such restrictions in the medium-term, then there is the risk of public opinion identifying the U.S. with those repressive policies. The danger then would be negative public attitudes towards the U.S. in the long term, especially during the future post-authoritarian transition. That would influence not only the given country's domestic politics but also its future foreign and security policy.

Yet there is another long-term factor affecting the region's future that is neglected in the focus on the present, and that is China's policy. It is to be expected that if China succeeds in drowning its own Muslims--the Uyghurs in Xinjiang province--under the present tidal wave of ethnic-Han Chinese immigration, then within a decade (or at most two) Beijing will turn around and support Islamic militancy in Central Asia.

China will support Islamic militancy, once this ceases to be a threat to its own internal security, so as to continue and increase its pressure on governments in the region to acquiesce in its diplomatic designs on Central Asia. Beijing's spokesmen used a great deal of rhetoric about anti-terrorism this past summer when China formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization with Russia and four Central Asian states. Yet despite that, on September 11 itself, a delegation from Beijing was in Kabul to sign a long-term economic and technical cooperation agreement with the Taliban regime, which is on record as providing logistical support to the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. In view of this, the need for current U.S. operations in the region to be cogently and sensitively followed up in non-military ways is only heightened.

Consequently, in the longer run, a great deal depends on whether the U.S. strategic commitment to Uzbekistan is temporary and on how sensitive the follow-through is. Uzbekistan is the country whose stability is most at risk in the first decades of the twenty-first century. Also it is viewed in Beijing as the only country in the region that is capable of resisting the westward demographic expansionism of which Beijing makes no secret. Indeed, specialists on China's Asia policy in Beijing have been known to describe that policy approvingly as the search for "Lebensraum."

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

Cozying up to Karimov?

Robert M. Cutler

<http://www.fpif.org/commentary/0110kari.html>

Central Asia: On the Periphery of New Global War

Abid Aslam

<http://www.fpif.org/commentary/0109istans.html>

CDI Publications

??

Experts on the Topic:

Bruce Blair (CDI)

Robert Cutler, Research Fellow, Institute of European and Russian Studies, Carleton University, Canada

- What are the possible actions the US might take against Iraq?

There has been some pressure by Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz and other hawks within the administration for a dramatic escalation in the ongoing air strikes against Iraq and perhaps even a full-scale invasion to topple the government of Saddam Hussein. Despite leaks to the media about alleged evidence of contact between an Iraqi intelligence officer and one of the hijackers of the doomed airplanes, U.S. officials from Vice-President Cheney on down have consistently stated that there is no indication of any Iraqi connection to the events of September 11th. British and Israeli officials have reaffirmed that same position in recent days. Given the history of the decidedly secular Baathist regime's savage suppression of Islamists within Iraq, close links between Baghdad and Bin Laden and his followers are extremely unlikely. State

Department allegations Iraq's "support for terrorism" have largely been limited to links between secular and mostly inactive Palestinian groups as Abu Nidal, and attacks on Iraqi dissidents abroad.

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

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Experts on the Topic:

Stephen Zunes, FPIF/Univ. San Francisco

Phyllis Bennis, IPS

Erik Gustafson, EPIC

Denis Halliday, Former UN Assistant Secretary-General & Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq

Peter Lems, AFSC Iraq Program Coordinator

- What is the impact on and reaction from other Arab states to the US military operations?

Most Arab governments have expressed great sympathy for the United States in light of the enormous loss of life on September 11 and many of them feel threatened by Osama Bin Laden and his followers. Indeed, some in the Al-Qaida network have been involved in terrorist activities targeted against the governments of Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Most Arab governments would welcome decisive action to break up the terrorist cells, particularly if it is part of an international effort. However, there are varying degrees of disagreement about unilateral U.S. military action, particularly if it goes beyond Afghanistan to strike Iraq or any other country.

Arab leaders already face significant opposition from their own populations to assisting or joining Washington's anti-terrorism campaign. Large-scale bombing of Muslim countries—particularly if civilian lives are lost—will make it even more difficult to assist the United States in its campaign against terrorism. The U.S. asserts there are Al-Qaida cells throughout Central Asia, the Middle East and North Africa. In order to track them down and break them up, the

United States needs to join forces with the police and intelligence services of these nations, an effort which is already problematic because of widespread popular reaction against on-going policies in the region and against U.S. military attacks on Afghanistan. The larger the U.S.-led military operation, the less forthcoming will be Arab government support.

Also problematic is the awareness that while few Arabs support Bin Laden's methods or tactics, the grievances he has articulated— regarding the ongoing presence of American troops in the Middle East, the humanitarian consequences of the U.S.-led sanctions against Iraq, the U.S. support for Arab dictatorships and U.S. acquiescence and provision of military aid facilitating Israeli repression of Palestinians—have widespread resonance throughout the Middle East. Pressure for the United States to alter such policies is already increasing, though the U.S. has thus far shown itself to be unwilling to acknowledge the political roots of anti-Americanism in the region, insisting that the terrorists and people who do not unequivocally condemn the September 11 attacks are actually motivated by a hatred towards the United States' tradition of freedom and democracy.

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

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Experts on the Topic:

Stephen Zunes, FPIF and Univ. of San Francisco

Phyllis Bennis, IPS

Naseer Aruri, Professor Emiriti, Dept. of Political Science, Univ of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

Chris Toensing, MERIP

Clovis Maksoud, Center for the Global South, American University

- What is the Afghan woman's perspective of political options in Afghanistan?

[We will find someone to write this]

Is there an NGO working on women's right in Afghanistan? Can we contact someone from Human Rights Watch or Amnesty International to give us more information on this?

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International?

Stop Gender Apartheid in Afghanistan

<http://www.feminist.org/afghan/intro.asp>

Experts on the Topic:

Eleanor Smeal, Feminist Majority

- Humanitarian aid: Is it window dressing or a serious effort to help?

As the Bush administration continues its military attacks, there are roughly five million people inside Afghanistan dependent on international food aid for survival. These citizens not only have to contend with the military campaign but with how to survive the coming winter. The options for these people are grim. They can stay at home, where food is becoming increasingly scarce. They can flee to Pakistan or Iran, under threat of commando attacks, bombing, or freezing traveling through the mountain passes. The final option is to seek areas where they have heard that food is being dropped.

The current strategy of air drops is woefully inadequate. Air drops, in a country besieged with landmines and with starving people on the ground fighting for food are dangerous at best. This short term drops are mostly cosmetic, and as such are expensive and a clear example of politicized humanitarian aid. While they have helped garner international support for the military actions, this support will quickly erode as our partners realize we are pursuing a bankrupt strategy. They must be stopped at the first opportunity for ground assistance.

International aid workers are trying to overcome these difficulties to devise strategies to deliver food to a starving, embattled and isolated population both within and outside of Afghanistan's borders. The international community should be committing funds and begin planning for effective long-term solutions to the starvation of Afghanistan's internally displaced people and refugees. UNHCR's current efforts to build refugee sites are notable but woefully inadequate given the estimate of an additional 1.5 million refugees. The U.S. and the international community must provide greater support for this and other UN agencies seeking to aid Afghanistan's people. Without such support, the foundation for nation building will be incredibly weak.

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

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Experts on the Topic:

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II. U.S. goals, policy, long term strategy in Afghanistan

- **What is the end game/long term strategy of the US military operation? What are the possible scenarios for targets, length, objectives? When and how will the US declare "victory" over international terrorism? Does the Bush administration have a clear plan or have they started something without a clear course or plan for where it will end?**

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

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Experts on the Topic:

- **What are the U.S. objectives in Afghanistan? Is the aim to break the cells, capture suspected terrorists, and/or topple Taliban?**

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

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Experts on the Topic:

??

- Assessment of the Northern Alliance, and other anti-Taliban forces, and U.S. relationship to these forces/factions.

The Northern Alliance is the remnants of the fractious coalition of ethnic factions and warlords, which governed Afghanistan between the fall of the communist government in 1992 and the victory of the Taliban in 1996. Their period of rule was marked by chaos, fundamentalist rule, and internecine violence that leveled nearly one-third of capital city of Kabul. Corruption was widespread. Bandits and opium magnates controlled much of the countryside. The Taliban was able to seize power in large part because the desire for stability and order was so great that people were initially willing to put up with their totalitarian rule. The widespread refugee flows from Kabul in recent weeks have come not just in anticipation of U.S. bombing but fear that the Northern Alliance might once again take the city. The Pakistanis -- who play an important support role in the U.S. military efforts -- are particularly concerned about their possible return to power. Attacks against Taliban military positions far from the Al-Qaida strongholds and Defense Department statements about "redressing the power balance" give some indications that the United States might indeed be supporting a Northern Alliance victory.

Ethnic politics is a major part of Afghanistan's political equation. The Taliban -- unlike the northern alliance, the monarchy, and most Afghan governments in recent history -- are largely from the country's Pushtun majority.

There has been some support for a Congress representative of the country's varied ethnic, political, religious and geographical communities, perhaps under the titular leadership of the country's exile octogenarian king, which could lead to the establishment of a more pluralistic and stable post-Taliban government. Such an effort would require the active involvement of the United Nations and presumably a U.S. role in the kind of "nation-building" effort that candidate George W. Bush so strongly criticized in the 2000 election campaign.

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

Military Assistance to the Afghan Opposition

Human Rights Watch Backgrounder

October 2001

<http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/asia/afghan-bck1005.htm>

Afghanistan Conflict Profile

Jim Lobe and Abid Aslam, FPIF

<http://www.fpif.org/selfdetermination/conflicts/afghan.html>

Experts on the Topic:

???

- **What's the role of drugs/heroin in Afghanistan conflict? What has Bush administration said re involvement of Taliban and Northern Alliance in poppy growing and heroin trafficking and what is the reality?**

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

Experts on the Topic:

- What other terrorist groups (outside Afghanistan) are possible US targets? What range of actions might the US take against each of these?

The next steps in Bush's war, in all likelihood, will include raids on terrorist camps in other countries. Likely candidates include Islamic extremist groups in Lebanon, Uzbekistan, Egypt, Indonesia, and the Philippines. It is also likely that Washington will step up its indirect war against the guerrilla groups in Colombia. In some cases, these operations may be relatively modest. But others could evolve into much larger campaigns, entailing multiple air strikes and the extended deployment of ground troops.

President Bush has also spoken of the need to punish governments that harbor or support terrorists, aside from the Taliban. There is no mystery about the favored target for U.S. attack: the regime of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Ever since the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington, members of the President's inner circle have hinted at their desire to go after Hussein and finish the job that, it is said, was left unfinished after the Gulf War of 1991.

At this point, it is impossible to predict which of these outcomes is likely to materialize. But one thing is clear: President has not placed any limits on the scope or duration of U.S. military operations.

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

Experts on the Topic:

Michael Klare, Hampshire College

- What is the nature of the coalition the US has formed? Whose in it? What have they committed to? What has US offered them?

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

Experts on the Topic:

- What are present and potential US oil interests in Central Asia? In the Middle East?

[Steve Kretzman at IPS is writing]

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

Missing the Oil Story

Nina Burleigh

<http://www.tompaine.com/news/2001/10/11/index.html>

“Oil and the Middle East: The End of US Hegemony,” Middle East Report 208 (Fall 1998)

Simon Bromley

Experts on the Topic:

Mamoun Fandy, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University

- What's the nature of and how convincing is the evidence against the bin Laden network that the US and British have presented?

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

Experts on the Topic:

III. U.S. military response and international law

- How does the US military operation fit into international law and under the UN?

A country is not permitted to use military force for purposes of retaliation, vengeance, and punishment. In other words, unless a future attack on the United States is imminent, it cannot use military force. This means that even if the United States furnishes evidence as to the authors of the September 11 attack it cannot use military force against them. To this extent the congressional resolution authorizing the President to use force against the perpetrators of the attack on September 11 is a violation of international law. Instead, the U.S. must employ other means including extradition, and resolutions of the Security Council, which could eventually authorize the use of force to effectuate the arrest of suspects.

The United States will argue that the attack on September 11 was an armed attack on the United States and that it has the right to use self-defense (under Article 51) against that attack. Even though the attack is over, it presumably would claim that those who initiated the attack were responsible for prior attacks and are planning such attacks in the future. At the same time, President Bush has stated that the “war” on terrorism would be lengthy, implying that it may go on for years.

In order to rely on this self-defense claim the U.S. would need to present evidence to the Security Council not only as to the perpetrators of the September 11 attack, but evidence that future attacks are planned and imminent. They have not yet done so. Even if the U.S. can put forth a legitimate self-defense claim, it is still to the U.N. Security Council where they ought to turn. Even in cases of self-defense, and particularly when there is sufficient time—two weeks have passed since the attack and President Bush says we are in for a “lengthy” battle—turning to the Security Council may be required. It is certainly better policy and more in keeping with the U.N. Charter to do so.

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

IPS/FPIF publications??

Lawyers Alliance for World Security publications

Experts on the Topic:

Merav Datan (PSR)

Michael Ratner (Center for Constitutional Law)

IV. Intelligence: Operations and Funding

- What are the intelligence operations underway and in the planning? What new authority and funds has the CIA and other agencies gotten/requested?

[Steve Aftergood/FAS is doing]

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

The CIA: The Need for Reform

Melvin A. Goodman

<http://www.fpif.org/papers/cia/index.html>

"Intelligence Issues for Congress," CRS Issue Brief, updated June 4, 2001

<http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/IB10012.html>

FAS

Experts on the Topic:

Steven Aftergood (FAS)

Mel Goodman (Natl. War College)

V. Nuclear, chemical and/or biological threats and response

- What are the possible nuclear, chemical and/or biological threats from the terrorists? What is and should the US do to counter these?

The US has adopted a doctrine of deterring chemical or biological weapons terrorism through its nuclear forces. This policy was most recently updated in Presidential Decision Directive 60 (PDD60), which was signed by President Clinton in late 1997. This document, which has likely since been translated into planning guidance for the military, allows for nuclear weapons to be used in response to a chemical or biological weapons attack; against facilities for CBW production or storage; or against an enemy thought to be preparing a CBW attack.

Currently, if the administration declares that the Anthrax outbreaks in Florida and New York, Reno, NV, and Washington, DC, are criminal or terrorist actions, and can then trace them back to the Bin Laden network, this would allow US forces to attack Afghanistan with nuclear weapons. In the current situation, with very few casualties, that is unlikely. If 10,000 die in a smallpox attack, the probability of nuclear retaliation would be extremely high since US action is guided by proportionality.

The problems with this policy are manifold:

First, if the country hosting the WMD terrorists is a non-nuclear weapon state, then the US has promised not to use nuclear weapons against them unless they attack the US in alliance with another nuclear weapon state. In the case of Africa, South America and other nuclear weapon free zones, those promises are legally enshrined in protocols to NWFZ treaties – the US action would therefore be illegal.

Secondly, the human and environmental cost of such action across generations would far exceed any damage done to the US, and there would be no way to ensure that fallout would be contained within the country attacked.

Finally, there is no support for this US policy, even among U.S. allies. NATO has adopted a watered down version of the US nuclear doctrine, but has been unable to agree any guidance for military planners to operationalize the policy. Using nuclear weapons would make the US a pariah state.

Internal Security and U.S. Response:

It is important not to exaggerate the dangers of a WMD attack by terrorists, or its likely effects. Experts generally agree that producing agents, such as a modified flu virus or a chemical agent such as sarin gas is relatively easy. The difficulty lies in weaponizing the agent effectively in order to deliver it in such a way as to kill or injure the maximum number of people. If the current Anthrax outbreaks have a criminal or terrorist origin, they clearly represent a failure to deliver a weapon of mass destruction. The same is true of the Aum Shinrikyo attacks.

In national security terms it is likely that a combined public health/police response would be adequate to such attacks, with no need for military involvement.

A solution to WMD terrorism:

A solution to this problem is much harder in the case of biological or chemical weapons than in the case of nuclear weapons. However, a major part of the problem must be in the development of strict verification regimes for the conventions banning these weapons that already exist. The Chemical Weapons Convention has entered into force, and has a reasonably satisfactory verification procedure. It may be that we would want to look at a verification regime that would be able to catch private production of chemical agents.

The Biological Weapons Convention has no verification regime, and the US has recently withdrawn from the negotiations aimed at producing a verification protocol. That protocol had already been greatly weakened by the Clinton administration, acting largely under pressure from Phrma, the pharmaceutical manufacturers association. In short, the US is the bioterrorist's best friend, ensuring that no effective international control regime is likely to be in place for some long time to come. The United States' efforts would be well directed in working to build medical and public health response to the current threat and, in the long run, supporting the BWC verification protocol.

I AM STILL WAITING FOR FAS PIECE TO BE PLUGGED IN HERE.

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

"Bioterrorism: Federal Research and Preparedness Activities," GAO (September 2001)

<http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d01915.pdf>

Dr. Bruce Blair, "What if the Terrorists go Nuclear?," Center for Defense Information,
<http://www.cdi.org/terrorism/nuclear.cfm>

Other resources???

Experts on the Topic:

Barbara Hatch Rosenberg (FAS WG on Bio weapons)

Robert Gould, (PSR on chem./bio threats)

Paul Leventhal (NCI on nuclear terrorism)

Dr. Jonathan B. Tucker, Director, CBW Project Center for Nonproliferation Studies

VI. War on terrorism and directions for the Military Budget

- What are the implications of the current war for U.S. budget and military spending?

The events of Sept. 11 could potentially have a profound effect on U.S. military spending. In assessing this impact, it is useful to look at the defense budget in three phases: immediate, near-term, and long-term. In the immediate aftermath of the bombings, the White House sent to Congress a \$20 billion emergency funding request for fiscal year 2001 (FY 01). Viewed widely by both administration officials and congressional leaders as merely a down payment, the amount of the supplemental was quickly doubled. Both the House and Senate approved the package unanimously on Sept. 14. In addition to the amount specified in the Sept. 14th supplemental spending package, other Pentagon funds will be used to fund the buildup of U.S. military forces in Central and South Asia, and any combat operations. Funds will be expended from the Defense Department's Operations and Maintenance (O&M) accounts, as well as for spare parts and replacement of any ordinance - particularly "smart" bombs and cruise missiles.

In the long term, Sept. 11. events will put pressure on members of Congress to approve whatever the administration and the Pentagon needs to respond to the threat of terrorism, even if it meant going back on earlier pledges by both Democrats and Republicans not to tap the Social Security trust fund. Expressing the views of many members of Congress, Rep. Norm Dicks (D-Wash.) said the new security environment "makes the Social Security lockbox seem trivial." It is unclear how much additional Pentagon funding the administration will seek this year and next, but it is likely to be a significant amount. When asked if the Defense Department would fund new anti-terrorism initiatives by shifting funds from current priorities, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz said no. "I anticipate, and the indications from the Congress are that my anticipation is well founded, that we will have new additional resources to cover not only the damage that has been inflicted, but to start to begin to build the military capability we need for other options."

Detail Information Attachments on this Issue:

Chris Hellman, "The Impact of Sept 11 on Military Spending," Center for Defense Information

<http://www.cdi.org/terrorism/impact.cfm>

Experts on the Topic:

Cindy Williams (MIT)

Chris Hellman (CDI)

Carl Conetta (PDA)

.

Kathy Crandall

Director

The Nuclear Disarmament Partnership

kcrandall@disarmament.org

www.disarmament.org

Located at the Offices of Physicians for Social Responsibility:

1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1012

Washington, DC 20009

202-667-4260 (ext. 240)

202-667-4201 (fax)

The Nuclear Disarmament Partnership is a joint effort of: Peace Action, Physicians for Social Responsibility, 20/20 Vision and Women's Action for New Directions

Reply-To: <agreenblat@nccusa.org>
From: "Andrew Greenblatt" <agreenblat@nccusa.org>
To: "'Howard W. Hallman'" <mupj@igc.org>
Subject: RE: Addition to sign-on letter
Date: Fri, 19 Oct 2001 13:08:28 -0400
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook CWS, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2911.0)
Importance: Normal
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.50.4133.2400

Fine with me.

Thanks,
Andrew Greenblatt

-----Original Message-----

From: Howard W. Hallman [mailto:mupj@igc.org]
Sent: Friday, October 19, 2001 1:02 PM
To: mupj@igc.org
Subject: Addition to sign-on letter

Dear Colleagues,

On the sign-on letter to President Bush on nuclear issues, Lisa Wright of the National Council of Churches suggests that we might clarify our intent that nuclear weapons should not be used in a response to biological or chemical weapons. Therefore, I propose adding such a sentence to the appropriate paragraph so that it would read as follows.

"First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government favor using nuclear weapons against terrorist enclaves and against states that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of the United States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral and would constitute a crime against humanity. We believe that nuclear weapons should never be used in response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons."

The last sentence is the new one.

Unless I hear otherwise I will assume that this addition is acceptable to those who have signed so far.

Shalom,
Howard

Howard W. Hallman, Chair

Methodists United for Peace with Justice
1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a membership association of laity and clergy. It has no affiliation with any Methodist denomination.

Reply-To: <lisaw@nccusa.org>
From: "Lisa Wright" <nccwsdc@bellatlantic.net>
To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Cc: "Tsehai Dirar" <tsehaid@nccusa.org>
Subject: RE: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons
Date: Fri, 19 Oct 2001 14:09:06 -0400
X-MSMail-Priority: Normal
X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook IMO, Build 9.0.2416 (9.0.2910.0)
Importance: Normal
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V4.72.2106.4

Thanks, Howard:

Please sign on:

Brenda Girton-Mitchell
Associate General Secretary for Public Witness
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA

- I remember one of the other issues my husband raised, which was about providing assistance to other nations besides Russia (ie, India/Pakistan). The other issues were more around proportionality of response - if we don't use nukes, what about fuel-air explosives, etc., which might be a good topic for another letter at some point, perhaps.

Best,

Lisa

-----Original Message-----

From: Howard W. Hallman [mailto:mupj@igc.org]
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2001 1:29 PM
To: mupj@igc.org
Subject: Letter to President Bush on nuclear weapons

Dear Colleagues:

It is a month since the horrible terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the plane downed in Pennsylvania. We have grieved. We have wondered why and what next. We have seen the U.S. government treat the attack as an act of war rather than an international crime against humanity. Various religious groups have responded in different ways.

As the war on terrorism and against Afghanistan have gotten underway, there remains the issue of nuclear weapons, first in dealing with terrorism and then in the broader perspective of global security in the 21st century. With that in mind I have drafted the following sign-on letter to President Bush. It deals with three issues: no first use, non-proliferation, and nuclear disarmament.

I invite a representative of your organization to sign. I suggest a

deadline of the close of business on Friday, October 19. If you have any questions or comments about the letter, please contact me by return e-mail or by phone at 301 896-0013.

Shalom,
Howard

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Sign on letter for representatives of religious organizations.

The Honorable George W. Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The campaign against terrorism is raising new and important questions about the role and future of nuclear weapons in the global security framework of the 21st century. We would like to share with you our thinking on this matter.

First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government favor using nuclear weapons against terrorist enclaves and against states that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of the United States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral and would constitute a crime against humanity.

Second, we note that in January 2001 the Task Force chaired by Howard Baker and Lloyd Cutler stated: "The most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction or weapons-usable material in Russia could be stolen and sold to terrorists or hostile nation states and used against American troops or citizens at home." The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States emphasize the importance of this finding. Therefore, we believe that a substantial portion of anti-terrorist funds should go for full implementation of the Baker-Cutler report. In terms of relative priority, we suggest that funds be transferred from the missile defense budget to this and other urgent non-proliferation initiatives.

Third, we believe that the improved relationship between the United States and Russia because of mutual concern over terrorism should be treated as an opportunity to make substantial progress in improving the security of deployed nuclear weapons and dismantling the nuclear arsenals still in place more than a decade after the Cold War ended. Specifically we ask you to implement your campaign promise to work with Russia to de-alert and stand down the respective nuclear arsenals and to achieve deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons. Not only will this enhance the security of the United States and Russia by lowering the possibility of accidental launch,

it will also reduce the danger that a renegade group could gain control of deployed nuclear weapons and use them for terrorist attack on the United States.

We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

Sincerely yours,

Representatives of religious organizations.

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice
1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
Phone/fax: 301 896-0013; e-mail: mupj@igc.org

Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a membership association of laity and clergy. It has no affiliation with any Methodist denomination.

X-Sender: flick@pop.igc.org
Date: Fri, 19 Oct 2001 18:00:15 -0500
To: updates@reachingcriticalwill.org
From: Felicity Hill <flick@igc.org>
Subject: WEEK 2, NGO Report on the 1st Committee
Cc: wilpf-news@igc.topica.com

WEEK 2 NGO Report from General Assembly First Committee

1. Introduction
2. Missiles
3. Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty & Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space (PAROS)
4. Nuclear disarmament resolutions, New Agenda, Nuclear Weapon Free Zones
5. Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)
6. Small Arms
7. International Court of Justice, Nuclear Weapons Convention
8. Biological weapons, including a report of an NGO event on BW
9. Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
10. Nuclear Terrorism - linking 1st Committee to the 6th Committee (Legal)
11. Report from briefing by Robert McNamara - lessons from the Cuban Missile Crisis
12. NGOs Appeal to the 5th Committee for Adequate Funding for Disarmament

1. Introduction

Everything has changed.....Business as Usual

The General Debate in the First Committee has concluded with a total of 92 countries taking the floor. The tone of statements in the First Committee continues to be split between intense frustration at the lack of movement in disarmament and a routine consideration of issues and resolutions that have been processed by the Committee for many years.

The deadline for all draft resolutions was Thursday 18th at 6pm. Keep checking back for the draft texts - as resolutions become available, they will be placed at <http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/1com/2001res/2001resindex.html>

New resolutions on the table are few - Mexico is putting forward a resolution on Nuclear Dangers, picking up on the idea proposed in the Millennium Declaration for a conference devoted to reducing nuclear dangers for 2006. The numerous Small Arms resolutions are being consolidated into one, although intense negotiation was needed to ensure that resources will be enabled to implement the Programme of Action. The resolution calls for an Governmental Expert Panel on Marking and Tracing.

The right of reply has been exercised repeatedly this week, with Iraq taking the floor to object to statements made about its nuclear programme, prisoners of war and the fulfillment of Security Council resolutions. Kuwait and Iraq then engaged in a back and forth. Israel objected to the

speech by Bahrain and accusations therein. Iran objected to "false and hostile" language used by Israel, a state they claim was isolated with weapons of mass destructions, and, unlike Iran, not in compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention, the Chemical Weapons Convention and IAEA agreements.

This week NGOs put out a statement of concern about the funding levels for disarmament. The UN General Assembly Fifth Committee handles all budgetary questions and is guided by the ACABQ - the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions which has approved budgetary and staffing increases for other priority areas, but has denied it to DDA. Ghana mentioned the request for a modest increase for DDA and expressed its hope that the department would receive "adequate resources to shoulder its burdens."

Some states have mentioned the increase in military expenditures, with the United States of America raising this as an issue in a parallel conference underway at UN Headquarters on Financing for Development.

The bombing of Afghanistan has not been mentioned overtly, although the Holy See did state that, "An unavoidable clash of civilisations is not our fate. War and mass violence usually result from deliberate political decisions....it is more humane and more efficient to prevent such violence in the first place by addressing its roots. This is the essence of a culture of peace approach."

Merav Datan, Physicians for Social Responsibility/International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War

Dimitry Hawkins, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

Felicity Hill, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

Emily Schroeder, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

Jim Wurst, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy

2. Missiles

In the second week of speeches to the First Committee, the overwhelming tone from non-Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) members was similar to the first week, that the approach towards missiles must be comprehensive, balanced, and non-discriminatory, and therefore within the United Nations for a. In addition, there were three interesting regional focuses during the second week on the issue of missiles and threat perception were South Asia, the Middle East and East Asia.

Concerning South Asia, both India and Pakistan gave statements this week. The representative from India spoke mainly of the desire to negotiate a missile regime outside of the MTCR, "There is widespread recognition that club-based, discriminatory export control measures have failed to address the issue of missiles. India wishes to see the norms against the proliferation of missiles strengthened through transparent, multilateral agreements on the basis of equal and undiminished security, that also ensure that civilian space related applications are not adversely affected" (India, 16 October 2001). Pakistan concurred with India on this issue, and in addition

suggested some confidence-building measures to prevent the use of nuclear weapons:

1. formalize their respective unilateral nuclear test moratoriums, perhaps through a bilateral treaty;
2. not operationally weaponise nuclear capable missile systems;
3. not operationally deploy nuclear-capable ballistic missiles, and to keep them on de-alert;
4. formalize the previous understanding to provide prior and adequate notification of *flight* tests of missiles,
5. observe a moratorium on the acquisition, deployment or development of Anti-Ballistic Missile systems;
6. implement further confidence-building and transparency measures to reduce the risk of the use of nuclear weapons by miscalculation or accident;
7. open discussions on the nuclear security doctrines of the two countries with a view to forestalling an all out nuclear arms race;
8. an agreement on non-use of force, including the non-use of nuclear weapons (Pakistan, 17 October 2001).

Concerning the Middle East, two speakers of interest were Israel and Turkey. Israel expressed concern regarding the emergence of "other countries seeking to develop long-range ballistic missiles and other weapons of mass destruction capabilities in conjunction with their extreme political hostility and antagonism to my country" (Israel, 15 October 2001). Israel made specific references to Iraq and Iran regarding concern for their development of missile programs.

Turkey also made reference to the danger of the proliferation of missiles. Regarding missile export control and terrorism, Turkey stressed that "the relative ease with which such weapons are produced, coupled with the willingness of some states to cooperate with terrorist, extremist or organized crime groups increase our concern...of such weapons ending up in unwanted hands." The representative from Turkey also stated his belief "in the necessity of extreme vigilance in the transfers of sensitive material and technology to the regions which are of particular concern, such as the Middle East" (17 October 2001).

In reference to East Asia, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) expressed concern over Japan's missile program, claiming that "Japan continues to adhere to the policy hostile to DPRK in collaboration with the United States, clamoring about 'missile threat' from us. The Japanese authorities even claimed that their recent test-fire of the [large-scale carrier rocket H-2A, easily converted into an inter-continental ballistic missile] was to "cope with north Korea's missile" (17 October 2001). DPRK went on to assure the First Committee that their missile program was for peaceful intentions, and should not be considered a threat to "those countries which respect its sovereignty". The following sentence made clear their concern: "Japan should bear in mind that its reckless moves for achieving its old dream will pay hundreds-fold price".

Therefore, regional concerns for the proliferation of missiles are very prominent, and the past two weeks of First Committee statements have been used to voice these concerns. It is the overwhelming view, especially from non-MTCR members, that the development of a missile control regime must be comprehensive, non-discriminatory and universal in nature.

Emily Schroeder, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

3. Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space (PAROS)

This week's general debate in the 1st Committee has seen continued discussion of concerns about the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty and the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space (PAROS).

The general debate over the last two weeks reflects an apprehension about a new global arms race. Much of this revolves around the concerns about the US plans to develop National Missile Defence (NMD). To develop NMD would mean walking away from or radically changing the ABM treaty in favor of strengthening their military domination of space. This in turn could lead to an increase in the weaponisation of space, possibly destroying all fledging intentions towards preventing an arms race in outer space.

The draft resolution on the ABM treaty put forward by the Russian Federation has continued to be circulated and discussed. Several countries have noted that the upcoming Summit between the Presidents of Russia and the US in which there was much hope expressed for some resolution to the crisis over the state of the ABM treaty. A number of countries called for their concerns to be considered in any reworking of the treaty or development of a replacement agreement, as the ABM continues to be a cornerstone of strategic and global stability.

ABM & NMD:

Mozambique (15 October 2001) stated they were deeply concerned about the possible abrogation of the ABM Treaty and its chances of endangering international peace and security as well as strategic balance.

Like many nations, **Kenya** (15/10/01) said that they held onto the view, expressed at the 55th Session of the 1st Committee in 2000, that the ABM was the cornerstone of global strategic stability. Kenya said that any unilateral measure would diminish the importance of the ABM treaty as a threat to global security and stability.

While welcoming the "intensive consultations" between Russia and the US on a possible adaptation of the global strategic framework, **Macedonia** (16 October 2001) expressed concern that, if the ABM treaty is to be amended or replaced, "it should be for the reason that the new strategic framework make at least a comparably strong and effective contribution to maintaining global security and stability."

Iraq (16 October 2001) stressed the importance of ABM to international stability and expressed concern that the USA was developing NMD outside of the treaty, which could draw the world into a renewed arms race. They supported the ABM resolution put forward by the Russian Federation.

Haiti (17 October 2001) noted the importance of the ABM Treaty and, as with a number of other Member States, noted that there were implications for the START process in light of a proposal to change the ABM treaty.

Pakistan (17 October 2001) suggested several steps that would be of help in approaching the deadlocks to the issues of ABM and PAROS in the CD.

One of these steps was to develop a "consensus on the relationship between offensive and defensive weapons systems" and that any change to the ABM treaty should be "evolved through a cooperative approach among all concerned states". Pakistan expressed concerns over the development of Theatre Missile Defence, and its implications for the South Asia region.

Other nations who mentioned the ABM Treaty in their speeches to 1st Committee this week: **Lao People's Democratic Republic** (16 October 2001), **Republic of Moldova** (17 October 2001) and **Armenia** (17 October 2001).

Mozambique (15 October 2001) expressed their "profound apprehension" over plans for missile defence and its likelihood to spark a new arms race.

The **Democratic People's Republic of Korea** (17 October 2001) had strong criticism of the US plans for NMD, saying that it is "explicitly aimed at dominating the world by gaining absolute military and strategic superiority."

Reiterating that NMD would cause an arms race, DPRK said that the United States is using the so called "missile threat" from DPR K as a pretext for its system which they said constitutes an open, direct challenge to the DPR K. Further, they stated that if NMD was to be pursued by the USA they "cannot but take strong counter-measures in response to it."

PAROS:

India (16 October 2001) mentioned the PAROS Ad Hoc Committee in relation to a response to the "comatose" CD.

Turkey (17 October 2001) noted that PAROS is still unresolved in the work of the CD.

Pakistan (17 October 2001) said a concerted effort must be made to prevent the spread of an arms race to outer space. They stressed that "unilateral steps - whether technological or military - will invariably invite responses from other powers which feel that their security is jeopardized by such steps."

Kenya (15 October 2001) noted that the current moves of the United States to withdraw from the ABM treaty could lead to a new "multi-dimensional" arms race, including the placing of systems and arms in outer-space.

Dimity Hawkins, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

4. Nuclear disarmament resolutions, New Agenda, Nuclear Weapon Free Zones

I. General Debate

The general debate continued into its second week with broad agreement that nuclear disarmament remains the priority disarmament issue, but no new ground was broken on how that could be accomplished. There was, however, a new sense of foreboding because of the Sept 11 terror attacks, with several delegates echoing Kofi Annan's remarks to the UNGA that the attacks would have been much worse had weapons of mass destruction been involved. While many states see the answer in non-proliferation, a few speakers pointed out this does not go far enough.

The Holy See's representative, Archbishop Renato Martino, said, "We must tackle the central problem of nuclear weapons; especially the mentality of those who possess them and claim that they are essential to security. Now is the time to dispel this claim and to declare that the continued possession of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction is endangering all humanity and that they must be abolished."

The key speakers in these last three days were rival powers - nuclear and otherwise - India and Pakistan. Amb. Rakesh Sood said, "The security that all of us are entitled to can be achieved only by the total elimination of all nuclear weapons. The specter of nuclear terrorism by nations or groups cannot be erased as long as such weapons are not eradicated completely from our arsenals. Hence the need to give heed to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 1996." He added, "The concepts of 'minimum nuclear deterrent' and 'no first use' define our deployment posture, combined with a civilian command and control posture." Sood said India would re-introduce two draft resolutions on negotiating a convention prohibiting the threat or use of nuclear weapons and on "reducing nuclear dangers."

Amb. Munir Akram of Pakistan also had proposals for moving forward, oddly echoing some of Sood's remarks. He said the CD "can help to evolve agreed practical measures to reduce the danger of the use of nuclear weapons and help to counter new and old doctrines which contemplate the actual use of nuclear weapons. The CD's work in this area could be useful input to an International Conference on Reducing Nuclear Danger." He also wanted the "NPT-recognized" nuclear weapon states should "agree to negotiations on nuclear disarmament with the [CD]." Akram also said, "Nuclear deterrence, so long as it serves strategic stability, should be maintained at the lowest possible level."

The "clustered" debate on nuclear weapons will take place Monday 22 and Tuesday 23 October.

II. Draft resolutions and other documents

The draft resolutions traditionally dealing with nuclear disarmament have not yet been issued. We are expecting that the non-aligned draft and the Indian draft on "reducing nuclear danger" to be similar - if not identical - to last year's. The Japanese draft on "the path to elimination" is likely to drop its deadline for bringing the CTBT into force. === AUSTRALIA CO-SPONSOR??? - I don't have up to date on this =====

Mexico has been in consultations on a draft calling for an international conference on eliminating nuclear dangers. The concerns from various delegations about this idea are the same concerns that were raised when the conference idea was originally proposed by Secretary-General Kofi Annan, most notably that it would compete with the NPT. In addition, the proposed date of the conference - 2006 - conflicts with the already scheduled Small Arms Conference.

A report on "Reducing nuclear danger" prepared by the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters at the request of the GA last year was released this week (A/56/400). The Board said there was "broad agreement... on seven

recommendations:"

- > the SG could "promote a dialogue on cooperative security;"
- > that states might undertake preliminary work on a conference on eliminating nuclear dangers;
- > the SG could promote de-alerting;
- > the SG could promote "the review of nuclear doctrines;"
- > the pursuit of the elimination of all tactical weapons;
- > promoting transparency "particularly with respect to weapons and weapons facilities, and postures and doctrines;" and
- > promoting "programs of education and training on the dangers of nuclear weapons."

Two "discussion papers" were attached: one by Harald Mueller, Arundhati Ghose and Boris Pyadyshev and one by Mueller and Maleeha Lodhi.

Jim Wurst, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy

5. Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

The dates of the next meeting of the states parties to the NPT has been set at 8-19 April 2002, in New York with Ambassador Henrik Salander of Sweden as Chair.

Felicity Hill, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

6. Small Arms

Almost all countries have mentioned the July 2001 Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects. While generally declaring the conference a success that provided a spotlight on the issue and produced a Programme of Action, all have emphasised the need for follow up and implementation of this Programme, which is only the beginning of efforts to tackle this issue. Many developing countries have emphasised the need for resources to assist states in the implementation process.

Many governments indicated that the Programme of Action did not go far enough, with Eritrea indicating its dismay at the "inconclusive results of the conference" and called for the urgent convening of another conference in the near future. Ethiopia and Sri Lanka, among others, asserted the role of the United Nations as pivotal in overseeing the implementation of the agreed measures, as well as, establishing a mechanism for follow up action.

India said "the outcome of the Conference fell far short of our expectations of dealing with the priority of breaking the nexus between small arms proliferation, international terrorism, drug smuggling, organised crime, money laundering and the "grey markets' that feed this link." Others took the opportunity to list the national and regional initiatives underway to change laws and practices, with Lithuania indicating that the EU, OSCE and NATO intend to put in place "stringent national legislation, export controls, strengthening border control and improving stockpile management.

References were made last week to lamenting the fact that the conference could not agree on the need to establish and maintain controls over private ownership of small arms and the need to prevent sales to non-state actor.

A co-sponsors meeting for the resolution on Small Arms yesterday was successful in achieving consensus on the language. Sticking points were apparently around misunderstandings on financial implications of elements of the resolution.

Felicity Hill, Reaching Critical Will, WILPF

7. International Court of Justice and Nuclear Weapons Convention

During the two weeks of the First Committee general debate, a number of states referenced the 1996 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on the legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons. These include Myanmar (on behalf of ASEAN states Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, the Lao PDR, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, and Myanmar) as well as, individually, Ecuador, Ghana, India, Iran, Malaysia, Nicaragua, and the Holy See.

The First Committee has included the agenda item "Follow-up to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*" since 1996. The corresponding resolution underlines the unanimous conclusion of the ICJ that "there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control." The resolution also calls upon all States "immediately to fulfil that obligation by commencing multilateral negotiations in the coming year leading to an early conclusion of a convention prohibiting the development, production, testing, deployment, stockpiling, transfer, threat or use of nuclear weapons and providing for their elimination." States are further requested to inform the Secretary-General of the steps they have taken to fulfill this obligation.

Support for this resolution, introduced by Malaysia, has generally increased since 1996. (In 2000 the GA vote was 119 to 28, with 22 abstentions.) Some of the reluctance of additional pro-disarmament states to support this resolution or possibly co-sponsor it is probably because of the reference to a convention on nuclear disarmament (nuclear weapons convention - NWC) and the various interpretations of this provision. The prevailing understanding among states appears to be that a nuclear weapons convention necessarily includes a time-bound framework. The ICJ resolution itself includes a preambular reference to "the need for the Conference on Disarmament to commence negotiations on a phased programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons with a specified framework of time." Other approaches to a nuclear weapons convention, however, do not propose fixed dates but a phased and coordinated sequence of mutually reinforcing steps. Such an approach is contained in the model NWC (A/C.1/55/7 (1997)).

The call for immediate multilateral negotiations is also seen by some as premature, despite the language about such negotiations "leading to" a convention. For further analysis and additional

perspectives on these points see the April 2001 issue of the *Nuclear Weapons Convention Monitor* now being distributed at the First Committee and available online at <http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/nwc/nwcindex.html>.

Merav Datan, Physicians for Social Responsibility/IPPNW

8. Biological Weapons Convention

Calls for progress and conclusion of the BWC protocol continued this week. (See week 1 report.) Among those who mentioned this and related concerns were Myanmar, Thailand, Yugoslavia, India, Lithuania, Macedonia, Laos, Haiti, Moldova, Cameroon, Armenia, Uganda, Pakistan, and Eritrea, as well as the Holy See and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Merav Datan, Physicians for Social Responsibility/IPPNW

A Disarmament Week event at the UN October 17 re Biological Weapons Protocol had as speakers James Leonard (US negotiator of BWC), Tibor Toth, Hungary, chair of Protocol negotiations, Elisa Harris, U. Maryland, formerly National Security Council in Clinton Administration, Barbara Rosenberg, Federation of American Scientists, Katarina Rangnitt, Swedish delegation to CD. There will eventually be a transcript. In the meantime, here are some bullet points re current status:

1. Nobody seemed to expect that Bush administration would change its position on protocol. Rosenberg said, "the protocol is dead, long live the protocol", in other words preserve it for the future, perhaps after Bush. Rangnitt indicated that possibly pieces of protocol could be taken out and put into other instruments; there could be more than one protocol. She was not enthusiastic about this, but thought it worth considering.
2. Rosenberg at least emphasized the importance of the ad hoc group continuing, which she seemed to think could be done even without a mandate from the five year review conference scheduled to begin 19 November in Geneva. She said ad hoc group could take up other tasks (she says Harvard Sussex group has suggested some), also keep alive the text.
3. Toth said it's important to have an "integrated approach" to NBC weapons and also to attacks on "dangerous forces", which in article 56 of Protocol I to Geneva Conventions are identified as dams, dykes and nuclear electrical generating stations. When questioned about this, his main point seemed to be that biological weapons need to be treated as seriously as nuclear and chemical weapons, which already have International Atomic Energy Agency and Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons which conduct inspections.
4. Toth emphasized that if recent anthrax incidents turn out to be terrorist (presumably he means organized or international or both) in origin, it will be important to have condemnation and "action" regarding this at review conference. He said incidents may be a threat to the regime.
5. Ideas for review conference: Toth said nothing specific. Rosenberg said that rev conf could set up mechanisms (eg officers as continuing body) for monitoring compliance in between the five year conferences; to prevent reinterpretation of BWC as Bush administration seems to want to allow

weaponization of biological agents as part of threat assessment (see Sept 4 New York Times story). Also she said (either independently or through rev conf, not clear), states should emphasize need for transparency, as in voluntary CBMs that have been done every April by some states; promote universal adherence; and promote criminalization of bio weapons use (Harvard Sussex group has a proposal for a prosecute or extradite treaty). Ragnitt said that to promote monitoring review conferences or prepcoms could be held more often (five year meetings now are not based on treaty text).

6. All panelists favored the BWC protocol, saying that while you can't get highly confident verification, you can get more transparency and means of probing suspected violations of BWC. (There have been NGO critics of BWC protocol agreeing as Bush adm says that it's too weak on verification; Rosenberg generally noted on this point that weakness is due largely to US negotiating positions.)

7. All panelists agreed (despite the concern re reinterpretation of BWC issue referred to above) that US does not have an offensive BW program. Harris said that there are 13 countries the US believes to be now in violation of BWC, and those publicly identified that she can therefore refer to are Iraq, Iran, Syria, North Korea, Russia and China (both "residual" programs). Leonard says he thinks that Iraq has an active BW program.

8. Rosenberg and Harris both said it's very difficult and unlikely for terrorist groups to have BW capabilities that could inflict mass casualties, that Japanese cult, well-funded with scientists, had tried and failed. Harris noted that they could gain such capabilities in association with a state. Rosenberg on the one hand said the problem with BW is that bio sciences are advancing rapidly and there are possibilities we can't imagine, that's why we need strong regime; on the other, she downplayed current threats eg of infectious diseases, saying for example re smallpox that in the extremely unlikely case that terrorists obtained smallpox, it could be contained as it had been for "millenia" before it was eliminated recently.

John Burroughs, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy

9. Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

This week the dates for the Article 14 Conference on Facilitating the Entry into Force of the CTBT has been set for November 11 - 13, 2001, simultaneous to the General Debate of the General Assembly.

The general debate this week continued the many references to the CTBT (see week 1 report). Several states expressed concern that it had not yet entered into force and called on those whose ratification was still necessary for entry into force to sign and/or ratify. These included Mozambique, Myanmar, Morocco, Thailand, Yugoslavia, United Arab Emirates, Ethiopia, Macedonia, Laos, Cameroon, Turkey, Uganda, Kuwait, and Eritrea. Israel mentioned having signed the CTBT.

The Holy See stated that "special attention" must be given to the CTBT and the upcoming Entry Into Force conference. It "adds its voice to the appeal to the States whose ratification is necessary

for the entry into force of the treaty." The Holy See also commended the work of the CTBT Preparatory Commission and connected the entry into force of the CTBT to the continued success of the NPT. "A weakened NPT and an inoperable CTBT will force the world to continue wandering through a dangerous morass of tensions and recriminations."

Merav Datan, Physicians for Social Responsibility/IPPNW

10. Nuclear Terrorism - linking 1st Committee to the 6th Committee (Legal)

Sixth Committee Working Group on Terrorism

The Ad Hoc Committee on measures to eliminate nuclear terrorism (see week 1 report) met in the form of a working group of the 6th Committee, beginning Monday Oct. 15. According to the working group chair, Ambassador Rohan Perera of Sri Lanka, speaking at a press conference on Oct. 18, states have approached these discussions with a sense of compromise, and he is encouraged by the progress and the focused discussion so far.

The discussion so far has focused on a draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism proposed by India. This umbrella convention would strengthen other conventions that address specific terrorist acts. Its "depoliticization" provision would, for example, remove the defense of a "political objective" that a terrorism might otherwise claim. It also would make universal provisions that seek to deny refugee status to terrorists. The basis of this draft, like other treaties on terrorism is the concept "extradite or prosecute."

Discussion of the definition of terrorism commenced on the morning of Oct. 18 and was encouraging so far. The operational definition, based on the Indian proposal, depends on effects such as death, damage to property, and major economic loss. Other possibilities, such as environmental harm, are also under review. The problem of use of force in reaction to foreign occupation is also tied in with the definition debate, and will be studied in the coming days. The same problem surfaces in the context of the draft convention on nuclear terrorism. Resolution of the overall operational definition by the working group would, it is hoped, help overcome the obstacle of a definition of terrorism in other settings as well.

Amb. Perera was cautiously optimistic that the text of the comprehensive convention could be finalized by the working group by the end of its second week (October 26). It could then be endorsed by the 6th Committee in mid-November and by the GA plenary toward the end of December, when it would be opened for signature.

Although the working group has not yet addressed the nuclear terrorism draft treaty, Amb. Perera did state that this draft is nearly completed. The only outstanding issue is the question of scope, which requires resolution at the policy level. This apparently relates to the problem of state use, and is "tied up" with disarmament in the nuclear context. Amb. Perera noted that this question of relation to state acts arises in the context of the comprehensive convention as well, and its resolution could have positive fallout in other areas.

Merav Datan Physicians for Social Responsibility/IPPNW

11. Robert S. McNamara- lessons from the Cuban Missile Crisis

On October 17 Mr. McNamara spoke to a large crowd at the UN Headquarters on the subject of the Cuban Missile Crisis. The main point of his discussion of the 1962 event was that, "because war plans of United States and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) today provide for the contingent use of nuclear weapons in exactly the same way as they did 40 years ago", the time is now to completely eliminate nuclear weapons.

He stressed that it is now more important than ever to stimulate public debate, especially on the moral issue of the threat of use of nuclear weapons, often left out of defence policy, encouraging ambiguous guidance of military and political leaders.

McNamara's discussion of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis pointed out that the combination of human fallibility with the complexity of military operations will inevitably lead to the use of nuclear weapons as long as states possess them.

He drew three lessons from his experience:

a) Possessing nuclear weapons, and including them as part of the defense policy of a state, inevitably increases their chance of being used. The combination of misinformation, miscommunication and judgement will enhance this inevitability.

b) The use of nuclear weapons are not justifiable on military grounds. In addition, if no body possesses nuclear weapons, then nuclear deterrence will not be a part of military doctrine. The United States and NATO have never excepted the "no first use" policy, whether it be against nuclear or non-nuclear states, thereby rendering even the threat of use completely morally abhorrent.

c) There has been increased civilian opposition to the possession of nuclear weapons, compromising the democratic fabric of the United States and other nuclear possessing states. Several civilian and security experts have openly expressed the urgent need to eliminate nuclear weapons:

- Stimson Center (December 1995) released a letter by four Generals recommending abolition of nuclear weapons.

- Canberra Commission (November 1995) came to the conclusion that nuclear doctrines "defy credibility".

- National Academy of Sciences (1997) suggested ways for the United States and Russia to significantly reduce their nuclear arsenals in a logical way.

- (1996) Nineteen retired Generals and Admirals voiced their opposition against nuclear weapons.

- (1998) One-hundred and eighteen former leaders and heads of states endorsed a letter stating that nuclear weapons were politically unjustified.

McNamara concluded with two points:

a) The genie can be put back in the bottle and must be verifiably.

b) If nuclear weapons are not eliminated, there will be "the totally unacceptable risk of their use, destruction of civilization, nations and our children".

12. NGOs Appeal to the 5th Committee for Adequate Funding for Disarmament

16 October 2001

Disarmament, one of the eight priorities of the United Nations, is a complex, multi-dimensional and highly sensitive topic.

In the General Debate thus far, as well as the debate on terrorism and the report of the Secretary General on the Work of the Organisation, the Secretary General and Member States have referred over and over again to the central importance of disarmament to the mission and mandate of the United Nations, which has offered an alternative to purely military approaches to security since 1945. (<http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/1com/pre1com.html>)

As non-governmental organisations who have been working in the field of disarmament for decades, we have always appreciated the complexity and importance of this issue. The events of September 11 have made painfully visible the urgency of a comprehensive approach to security: one that addresses immediate concerns as well as root causes. Disarmament addresses both aspects, as well as between the two. We know that poverty, lack of health care and education, and armed conflict often go together, creating a cycle of desperation and violence. Disarmament recognizes that weapons do not cause war; but without weapons there cannot be war. Disarmament also operates on the political level: challenging the policies and doctrines of resort to force.

Disarmament relates directly to the core function of the UN: maintaining peace and security. The tasks of disarmament include physically reducing the numbers and eliminating types of weapons - to lessen the impact of armed violence - as well as minimising the likelihood of resort to military force in the first place. Disarmament seeks to replace weapons in the security formula with confidence-building mechanisms and legally-binding instruments.

The work of disarmament is vast: it requires a deep understanding of the connection between international, regional, national, communal, and individual security. It must apply this understanding at the policy level and the physical level. The Department for Disarmament Affairs (DDA) has shown that it has this understanding through its work with governments as well as other departments, agencies, and non-governmental organisations.

At present, the annual budget of the DDA is less than half the cost of an F-15/ 16 fighter jet, yet its work is of far-reaching value and crucial importance. The Department for Disarmament Affairs is the smallest department in the UN, and is seeking a modest 4.1% increase in its budget for 2002-2003.

We, the undersigned NGO's, support this increase, both because of the urgent relevance of the DDA's work in response to the current security crisis, but also because our research shows that the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) have approved budgetary and staffing increases for other priority areas, but has denied it to DDA. We do not feel the conclusions of the ACABQ are based on an accurate assessment of the work of the Office of the Under-Secretary-General, in particular its role in resourcing, enabling and coordinating the work of the Departmental branches.

Developments in the arena of disarmament are fast paced, and the subject matter can be highly technical. DDA must keep abreast of these changes, understand their implications, and convey this information and analysis in a way that serves public needs but respects the range of national sensitivities of security matters. The DDA is expected to resource and service meetings, conferences, governmental expert panels; provide in-depth and timely information and analysis to governments, UN departments and personnel; conduct training; produce publications; upkeep an enormous website for an increasingly interested and demanding NGO and civil society constituency; maintain transparency measures such as the registers of military expenditure and transfers; as well as provide expertise and personnel for practical disarmament measures in conflict situations. Even governmental and non-governmental bodies that work on sustainable development, humanitarian relief, gender and children have begun to discuss the connection between their work and security. They need the expertise of DDA now more than ever.

Therefore, we feel that the recommendations of the ACABQ on disarmament should be re-examined and reversed by the Fifth Committee.

Signed:

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW),
Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy (LCNP), and
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

Felicity Hill
Director, United Nations Office
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
777 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
Ph: 1 212 682 1265
Fax: 1 212 286 8211
email: flick@igc.org, wilpfun@igc.org
web: www.wilpf.int.ch,
www.peacewomen.org, www.reachingcriticalwill.org
