



## *War Is Still Not the Answer*

*Following is the text of FCNL's March 20, 2003 statement in response to the Administration's decision to initiate a war in Iraq.*

War is still not the answer to Saddam Hussein, terrorism, or the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Yet now the bombs are falling, and the U.S.-led military invasion of Iraq will begin soon.

As members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), we are called to witness to God's love for every human being; to respect the human dignity of each person; to promote equality and justice; to oppose violence and war; and to work for a peaceful world. We call upon the President and Congress to halt this inhumane, unjust, unnecessary, provocative war.

We pray for the peoples of Iraq, now suffering from both Saddam Hussein's oppressive rule and the unjustified U.S.-led military attack. We pray for the men and women in the U.S. armed forces, needlessly sent into harm's way and for their families. We pray that our government leaders will come to recognize the arrogance of power that is reflected in their policies and actions and that they will seek instead peaceful alternatives to war based on international cooperation and law. We pray for President Bush and Saddam Hussein, that their hearts may be turned from war to peacemaking. We pray that our country will recognize its historic complicity in creating the circumstances we now face.

Over the past year, increasing millions of people across this country have labored with Congress and the Administration to prevent this war and to promote peaceful alternatives. Strong majorities of like-minded citizens and governments around the world united in this call for peace with justice.

Yet, the voices of the people have been ignored. Instead, we have watched in anguish as our govern-

ment squandered the international good will for the U.S. that followed the attacks of September 11, 2001. We have seen the rhetoric of "security" used to justify the erosion of civil liberties and human rights and the rejection of the United Nations and international law. We have watched as federal budget priorities were shifted further away from addressing unmet human needs toward building global military dominance and pursuing an ever-expanding "war on terror."

By launching a preemptive war against Iraq, the U.S. government is needlessly putting at risk the lives of U.S. military personnel and the Iraqi people, spreading the seeds of hatred, and increasing the chance that violence will spread far beyond the bounds of the current conflict. The community of nations is being torn apart. International law, the UN Charter, and the principles of cooperation for peace and security are being undermined. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is accelerating in North Korea and elsewhere in the fear that, following the war in Iraq, the U.S. will attack other countries or that others will follow the U.S. example by launching preemptive wars of their own to resolve historic disputes.

True security arises not from the exertion of military power and control, but from respect for international law and the lifting up of our common hopes, aspirations, and humanity. We join with all those who seek to build a society that respects the dignity of each person, resolves conflicts peacefully, promotes freedom, justice, and democracy, and preserves the natural environment. We call upon the President, Congress, Friends and all people of good will to help end this war now, to heal the deep wounds from this conflict, to prevent further bloodshed, and to build a world in which all people may enjoy true security, free of war and the threat of war. ■

The **FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION (FCNL)**, a Quaker lobby in the public interest, seeks to follow the leadings of the Spirit as it speaks for itself and for like-minded Friends. Views expressed in FCNL's *Washington Newsletter* are guided by the Statement of Legislative Policy which is prepared and approved by FCNL's General Committee. FCNL includes Friends appointed by 26 Friends' yearly meetings and by seven other Friends' organizations in the United States.

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## *Bush Administration*

During the past two months, the Pentagon and the Department of Energy (DOE) have delivered their nuclear weapons proposals for Fiscal Year 2004 (FY04) to Congress. Tucked deep within these proposals are two dangerous provisions. One would increase funding for a new nuclear weapon called a bunker buster. The other would repeal a 1993 law banning low-yield nuclear weapons, known as mini-nukes. These initiatives would put at risk international efforts to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

### *Burrowing toward a new nuclear weapon*

Since the end of the Cold War, some military planners and nuclear scientists have argued for creating a new class of earth-penetrating nuclear weapons. These weapons are sometimes referred to as bunker busters because they would be designed to burrow into the ground to destroy underground military facilities that are protected by 100-300 feet of concrete or rock. Such targets cannot be destroyed by conventional weapons. Although military leaders have stated that there is no military need for such new nuclear weapons, the Bush Administration would like to move forward with research and development.

The DOE's FY04 budget request includes \$15 million to continue a study on the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator (RNEP). The RNEP

## *Congressional Directories*

Do you know who your members of Congress are? Do you know whether your representative or senator is on the Appropriations, Foreign Relations, or other important committees? How can you find out?

If you have an Internet connection, you can easily get all this information and more from the Legislative Action Center on FCNL's web site. Just go to [www.fcnl.org](http://www.fcnl.org), scroll down to the <Legislative Action Center> link and click. Then click on the tab that says <Elected Officials>. Enter your ZIP code, click <GO>, and you will be taken to a page that shows your representative and senators. Click on the <info> link under a member's name and you will go to a page with information about the member, including contact information for both the district and Capitol Hill offices and a list of committee assignments.

Don't have an Internet connection? Prefer a hard copy directory? Just contact FCNL (email [fcnl@fcnl.org](mailto:fcnl@fcnl.org) or phone 800-630-1330) and request a congressional directory.

Either way, FCNL makes it easy for you to stay in touch with the people in Washington, DC who represent you.

## *Continues to Press for New Nuclear Weapons*

would be a modified existing nuclear weapon, redesigned for use against underground bunkers. It would have a yield of over 100 kilotons, at least seven times the size of the Hiroshima bomb.

RNEP proponents claim that, because the weapon penetrates the earth before detonating, it would be a "clean" nuclear weapon. In reality, this would be an extremely deadly weapon. If detonated in an urban setting, 10,000 to 50,000 people would receive a fatal dose of radiation within the first 24 hours. This estimate does not take into account the injuries arising from the extreme pressures of the blast or thermal injuries arising from the heat of the explosion. Nor does the casualty estimate consider the consequences of fires and the collapse of buildings from the seismic shock that the explosion would produce.

### *Pressure for mini-nukes continues*

Nuclear weapons proponents are also continuing to urge the development of a low-yield (approximately 5 kiloton) weapon, termed a mini-nuke, which might be used against a buried bunker or on the battlefield. Thus far, development of such a weapon has been blocked by a provision in the 1993 defense authorization bill introduced by Rep. Spratt (SC) and former Rep. Furse (OR).

The Spratt-Furse amendment banned research and development of nuclear weapons with yields below five kilotons. This ban has served as an arms control success for the past decade. Neither the U.S. nor any other country has developed mini-nukes. However, during March 2003, the Bush Administration asked Congress to repeal the Spratt-Furse ban.

### *Requests conflict with international agenda*

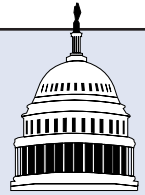
The Administration's requests for new nuclear weapons come at a time when the world is grappling with issues of weapons of mass destruction. U.S. standing as a leader in non-proliferation has become suspect as the Administration seeks to upgrade U.S. nuclear weapons while demanding that Iraq, Iran, and North Korea disarm. Sen. Reed (RI) recently observed, "It is extraordinarily difficult, if not impossible, to urge other nations to forswear

the development and use of nuclear weapons if we are so routinely talking about the development and use of nuclear weapons."

The Administration is ignoring the link between the development of new nuclear weapons and proliferation. U.S. reliance on nuclear weapons as the centerpiece of national security encourages rather than dissuades others from pursuing nuclear weapons. Dr. Mohamed El Baradei, director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, recently said that, instead of developing new nuclear weapons, the U.S. should send a message to potential proliferators that, "Even though we have nuclear weapons, we are moving to get rid of them. We are going to develop a system of security that does not depend on nuclear weapons because that's the way we want the world to move."

*(continued on page 4)*

### *You Can Help*



A number of members of Congress share FCNL's concern about these nuclear weapon initiatives. Rep. Markey (MA) hopes to offer an amendment to cut the funding for the RNEP when the bill is brought up for a vote. Please contact your members of Congress.

- Urge your representative to support the Markey amendment that would eliminate funding for the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator or bunker buster.
- Urge your representative to oppose any effort to repeal the existing Furse-Spratt provision that bans the development of mini-nukes.
- Urge your senators to vote to eliminate funding for the bunker buster and to oppose any effort to repeal the Furse-Spratt provision. (Amendments on both issues are expected on the floor of the Senate.)

Votes on these issues are expected in May or early June.

## War with North Korea Can Still be Prevented

On March 29, North Korea's official newspaper announced that North Korea will not allow international weapons inspections of its nuclear facilities because it does not want to end up like Iraq. "The DPRK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) would have already met the same miserable fate as Iraq had it compromised its revolutionary principle and accepted the demand...for nuclear disarmament."

In the U.S. media, North Korea is often portrayed as irrational, but it is difficult to argue with the North Korean analysis of the situation. As one of the members of Pres. Bush's "Axis of Evil," North Korea may be taking the war against Iraq as a warning of things to come. North Korea's conventional weapons lined up along the DMZ, combined with an unknown number of nuclear weapons, constitute a strong deterrent to a "pre-emptive" attack by the U.S. comparable to the U.S.-led war on Iraq.

### *Both sides contribute to crisis*

At present, North Korea is believed to have nuclear material for as many as two nuclear warheads. It has restarted the nuclear power plant at Yongbyon and may well be attempting to reprocess fuel in order to manufacture additional nuclear weapons.

Rather than trying to de-escalate the crisis, the U.S. appears to be responding in kind. Recently the U.S. increased the number of U.S. forces in South Korea (ROK). It did so by extending the mission of fighter planes and troops that had participated in the annual month-long joint U.S.-ROK military exercises and by dispatching a number of long-range bombers to Guam.

Last October, when North Korea's Heavily Enriched Uranium (HEU) nuclear weapons program was revealed, the majority of Korea-watchers urged the U.S. to begin negotiating as quickly as possible. Such dialogue has been stalled because the U.S. has insisted on multilateral talks that include at least Japan, South Korea, and China, while North Korea has insisted on bilateral talks with the U.S. only.

The new South Korean Administration has worked hard to bridge the bilateral vs. multilateral gap. "Our position is that the two sides should pursue

both ways," said South Korean Prime Minister Go Kun. The South Korean message has been shared with the U.S. as well as countries in the region. The South Korean government's persistence in searching for the common ground between two apparently diametrically opposed strategies is both welcome and inspiring.

### *North Korea Considers Bilateral Talks*

In mid-April, North Korea conceded that it will consider multilateral talks, as long as the U.S. "is ready to make a bold switch-over in its Korea policy for a settlement of the nuclear issue." North Korea's shift in stance may well be the result of regional pressure levied by South Korea, Russia, and China, combined with fears raised by the U.S.-led war on Iraq.

Members of the Bush Administration, emboldened by the apparent success of the military campaign against Iraq, have warned that other countries should take heed. It remains to be seen whether North Korea's willingness to participate in multilateral talks will lead to dialog or whether the U.S. will introduce new ultimatums. For example, the U.S. initially demanded that North Korea dismantle its nuclear weapons program before any dialog takes place. The reintroduction of such a demand at this time could doom the talks before they begin.

There is now an opening for dialog and negotiations. The U.S. should seize this opportunity to avert war through diplomacy by resuming talks as soon as possible. ■

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### *Nuclear Weapons (continued from page 3)*

The Bush Administration is leading the world down the wrong path. Instead of adhering to U.S. obligations under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) by reducing reliance on the most destructive weapons ever created and working for global disarmament, the Administration wants to find new uses for nuclear weapons. Adopting such a nuclear posture is a step backward into the hostile policies of the Cold War, and a virtual invitation for other nations to opt out of their NPT obligations as well. ■

## *Preventing the Next War*

Even before the Bush Administration officially declared that it would choose war over peaceful disarmament and diplomacy in Iraq, many were already speculating about post-conflict governance and the future of the region. U.S. officials have claimed that, with Saddam Hussein removed from power, democracy would blossom across the Middle East. However, many national security experts have warned that a U.S.-led war in Iraq would instead fuel terrorism and conflict, destabilize the region, and undermine human rights and democracy. Now, with war and the reality of its costs unfolding on televisions across the world, the debate over the future of Iraq - as well as the future of U.S. policy and global security - is no longer a matter of "what if?" but of "what next?"

On April 3, former CIA director James Woolsey declared that the U.S. is now engaged in "World War IV"\* against three distinct enemies: the religious rulers of Iran, the "fascists" of Iraq and Syria, and Islamic extremists like al Qaeda. Woolsey's comments might be easily dismissed as extreme and unfounded were it not for recent reports that the Administration had named him as a possible candidate for a key position in reconstruction and political transition in Iraq. In addition, just a week prior to Woolsey's speech, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had accused Syria and Iran of interfering with the conflict in Iraq and issued strong public warnings that the U.S. would hold them accountable.

### *Questions about Administration policy*

Such comments by Administration officials and those close to the White House are leading many to take seriously the question of where the Administration's new policy of "preemptive war" might lead next - Iran? Syria? North Korea? Certainly the National Security Strategy document released last fall and the bellicose rhetoric of some U.S. officials suggest broader ambitions for the projection of U.S. military power. A full month before the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, John Bolton, Undersecretary of

State for arms control and international security, was quoted as having told Israeli officials that he had "no doubt America will attack Iraq and that it will be necessary to deal with threats from Syria, Iran, and North Korea afterward."

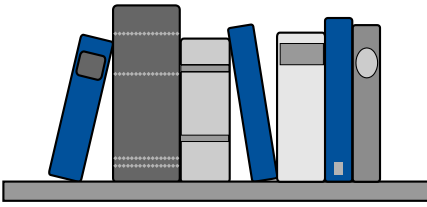
Whether such comments point toward U.S. military action remains debatable. Syria, Iran, and particularly North Korea present very different cases than Iraq. The costs and consequences of war against any of them could be much higher for the U.S. Although the Bush Administration appears to be ready to pursue an agenda of all war all the time, the U.S. public and the international community continue to demonstrate significant opposition to such a future. Yet, the apparent willingness of Administration officials to allow - and even fuel - the speculation that the White House might be ready to move militarily from Iraq to the next country on the list is itself increasing global instability and further threatening peace and security.

### *Will Congress assert its role?*

In Congress, the debate on the future of Iraq is opening the way for a larger debate on the future of U.S. foreign policy and global relations. In late March, the Senate unanimously passed a resolution welcoming the participation of "other nations and key international organizations in the reconstruction and administration of Iraq." Days later, 45 members of the House sent a letter to President Bush to seek UN involvement in post-war Iraq. Many members see these small steps as the beginning of a process to repair the damage that Pres. Bush's choice of war has inflicted on the international system, rebuild international cooperation, and seek an alternative security framework for U.S. policy.

As FCNL continues to press for generous U.S. assistance to meet humanitarian needs in Iraq and calls for UN leadership in coordinating relief and reconstruction, we will also work to prevent the next potential "preemptive war" and to return the U.S. to the path of peace and security through international law and cooperation. ■

\* Woolsey was considering the Cold War as WW III.



## Protecting the Freedom to Read

Under the USA PATRIOT Act, the FBI can initiate secret sur-

veillance of a library or bookstore's public computers. The FBI can also demand library circulation records and bookstore business records.

The FBI may obtain a warrant for this surveillance by applying to the secret court established by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). It is much easier to get a FISA warrant than to get a wiretap warrant under criminal law. There is no need to show probable cause of criminal activity or that the individual under surveillance is connected to a foreign power. The FBI just has to certify to the FISA court that an individual is linked to "terrorism" or a "terrorist organization," terms with very flexible definitions.

### *Far-reaching impact of USA-PATRIOT Act*

Surveillance of a library or bookstore's public Internet usage and circulation or business records can be initiated when the individual under surveillance uses the library or bookstore. However, the warrant does not simply remain with the individual under surveillance. It also attaches to the library or bookstore's computer and location and thus allows the FBI to monitor use of the facility by anyone using the computer, including citizens not initially under surveillance. Under the USA PATRIOT Act, the librarian or bookstore owner served with a FISA warrant can be prosecuted for refusing to obey the FISA warrant or for sharing the existence of the secret warrant with anyone other than the employee who will actually respond to that warrant.

In addition to eroding civil liberties, the USA PATRIOT Act has contributed to a shift in the balance of power between the branches of federal government. One example of this "unbalancing of power" can be seen in relation between the Department of Justice (DoJ) and Congress. The DoJ has decided that it need only report periodically to Congress the number of FISA warrants obtained but not provide information on how many were served, where the warrants were served, or whether the FBI

has been successful in reducing terrorism by serving the warrants.

### *A remedy in sight*

Fortunately, some members of Congress have introduced a measure to correct this substantive intrusion into readers' privacy and to increase congressional oversight of the DoJ's use of FISA warrants. HR 1157, the Freedom to Read Protection Act, would remove libraries and bookstores from the reach of the USA PATRIOT Act, and would structure appropriate DoJ reporting requirements to Congress. Under this bill, the FBI could still monitor dangerous individuals at libraries and bookstores using procedures that were in place before the USA PATRIOT Act was enacted.

HR 1157 has the backing of numerous organizations that support and protect the freedom to read, including the American Library Association and the American Booksellers Foundation for Freedom of Expression. The bill has attracted substantial support in the House, including members from both sides of the aisle. ■

### *Support FCNL*

Your gift will help sustain our Quaker witness in Washington. Contributions to the FCNL Education Fund are tax deductible and support research and educational activities. Contributions to FCNL support lobbying and are not tax deductible.

Checks should be mailed to FCNL, 245 Second Street, NE, Washington, DC, 20002.

You may charge your donation to MasterCard or Visa by calling 800-630-1330, ext. 141.

Or, make a secure donation online by going to FCNL's web site, [www.fcnl.org/suprt/indx.htm](http://www.fcnl.org/suprt/indx.htm).

Thank you for supporting FCNL.

## New Resources from FCNL



We have just produced three new FCNL Perspectives papers that you are sure to want to read.

*The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Requirements for a Just, Secure, and Lasting Peace* (Perspectives no. 5). Jim Fine, a former Quaker International Affairs representative for the American Friends Service Committee in the Middle East and director of the Friends Schools at Ramallah and el-Bireh during 1998-99, has prepared an insightful analysis of this tragic conflict. The paper is available on FCNL's web site in both HTML and PDF formats. (Please see below for more information about these versions.) Print copies may also be obtained by contacting FCNL. For print copies, we appreciate your contribution to help cover printing and postage costs.

*The World at War – January 1, 2003* (Perspectives no. 6), by Col. Dan Smith, U.S. Army (Ret.), FCNL's Senior Fellow on Military Affairs. Here is a snapshot, taken as the new year started, of all the violent conflicts and the conflicts-in-suspension around the globe. This analysis summarizes the main issues and key

players in each conflict. The paper is available on FCNL's web site in both HTML and PDF formats.

*Organizing for Peace: January 1, 2003* (Perspectives no. 7), by Col. Dan Smith, is the companion to *The World at War*. Here is a look at the global efforts to resolve conflicts without resort to weapons and warfare. These efforts, which get little attention in the media, encompass both United Nations missions and those of regional organizations. The paper is available on FCNL's web site in both HTML and PDF formats.

To view any of these papers electronically, please go to FCNL's web site <[www.fcnl.org](http://www.fcnl.org)> and click on the <Newsletter, Information, Resources> link on the left-hand navigation bar. Select the <FCNL Perspectives> link at the top of the page, then, for each document, select either the HTML or the PDF version. HTML versions are easiest to read on your computer screen. PDF versions are best for printing. (Please see additional information about these files on the web page.) ■

### *Grassroots* (continued from page 8)

- Continue to grow the movement for peace and reconciliation.
- Organize to hold your elected officials accountable in the 2004 elections for their actions and inactions and to urge all candidates to support policies that will advance true human security and alternatives to war.

### *The Washington agenda*

While you are working in your community, FCNL will be active in Washington.

- We will work to prevent Congress from enacting harmful legislation in the name of "national security" while the country is distracted by war. We will especially follow legislation on nuclear weapons, civil liberties and human rights, budget priorities, and energy policy.

- We will work on legislation to assure generous assistance to meet the emergency and long-term rebuilding needs of the people of Iraq. This assistance should be administered through the UN, under civilian authority, and directed by humanitarian agencies with years of on-the-ground experience. The U.S. now has a moral obligation to the Iraqi people to provide full humanitarian relief and to assure human rights, peace, and security.
- Finally, we will labor with the Administration and Congress to prevent this war from spreading further to Iran, North Korea, Syria, the Philippines, Colombia, or elsewhere. The policy of "preemptive war" must be stopped from going further. The rift between the U.S., on the one hand, and the UN and the rest of the world, on the other, must be healed. The U.S. government must return to the community of nations and respect the rule of international law. ■



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## *In the Midst of War, Our Work for Peace Continues*

Thank you for the tremendous dedication, energy, and courage that you have shown in working for world peace over the past many months. You have helped to move a President who did not want to work with the UN, and who did not want to go to Congress, to take both those steps. You have helped to move a Congress which, initially, had few willing to disagree with the President or to consider the significant costs of war against Iraq, to become a house divided over matters of war and peace.

You have taken part in what Dr. Robert Muller, former Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, calls a "global, visible, public, viable, open dialogue, and conversation about the very legitimacy of war," a conversation which is unprecedented in the history of international relations. You have helped to create a global peace movement that is still growing and has the potential to change the course of history in the years to come.

### *Building on success*

The fact that, today, war is being waged does not tarnish the success of those who have labored for peace. Rather, it indicates the failure of elected officials to seriously consider and faithfully pursue the alternatives to war. We encourage you to continue your remarkable efforts, build upon the success that our work, together, has achieved, and keep up the momentum for peace and justice.

Here are actions that you can take in your own community.

- Issue statements opposing Pres. Bush's pre-emptive war policy. War is never the answer.
- Pray, vigil, and witness for peace and reconciliation.
- Publicize your witness in local news media and communicate your dissent to your members of Congress.
- Assist those injured by war and bereaved families who have lost loved ones.

*(continued on page 7)*

### *Quaker Organizations Speak Out on War*

Many Quaker meetings and organizations have released minutes or statements in response to the U.S. military invasion of Iraq. The American Friends Service Committee, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, Friends General Conference, Friends United Meeting, Pendle Hill, and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting released a joint statement the day that war began. Many Friends service agencies from around the world signed an international Quaker statement. These and other minutes and epistles are available at the FCNL web site at [www.fcnl.org/issues/int/iraq\\_quakers-worldwide.htm](http://www.fcnl.org/issues/int/iraq_quakers-worldwide.htm).

Has your monthly or yearly meeting approved a minute on the Iraq war? We would be happy to post it on this web page. Please email the minute to [field@fcnl.org](mailto:field@fcnl.org).