



The Center for Defense Information believes that strong social, economic, political, and military components and a healthy environment contribute equally to the nation's security. CDI opposes excessive expenditures for weapons and policies that increase the danger of war.

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ISSN # 0195-6450 • Volume XXIX, Number 8 • October 2000

The Impact of National Missile Defense on Russia and Nuclear Security

Dr. Bruce Blair, President

Russia's nuclear arsenal is broke and broken. Moscow's overall economic decline has taken a large toll on Russian security during the past decade. Its military cannot adequately perform traditional, essential security missions — airspace surveillance and defense, territorial defense against invasion, border control, and maintenance of internal cohesion. The sole exception to this dismal state of military affairs is nuclear deterrence, and even this mission is becoming burdensome.

The nuclear mission is also becoming accident-prone as Russia's military crumbles and its nuclear control and early warning deteriorates. The litany of the afflictions that plague the Russian nuclear establishment must begin with its sheer physical deterioration. Surveillance satellites and radars are wearing out and are not being replaced. Russia's early warning system has developed gaping holes. It is growing more and more susceptible to false alarms, as happened in 1995 when a scientific rocket launched by Norway set off an alarm in Russia that started a count-down to a nuclear launch.

Training and Maintenance Shortfalls

Nuclear warfighting units are rusting and breaking down and not getting repaired. Budget shortages, among other

problems, prevent submarines and mobile land rockets from leaving their bases for their ocean and forest sanctuaries.

- The Russian navy strains to keep on patrol one or two ballistic missile submarines out of a fleet of twenty six and at times cannot keep any at sea.

In reality, a surprise offensive U.S. strike could, under some conditions today, destroy all but a few tens of Russian warheads, and Moscow's control over those surviving weapons might be lost.

- The Strategic Rocket Forces strain to disperse into covert field locations a single regiment of mobile rockets — nine missiles out of a force of 350.
- Russian bomber pilots accumulate only about twenty hours of flight training per year compared to hundreds for their U.S. counterparts.

- Underground command posts are crumbling.
- Prestigious institutes such as the laboratories that design nuclear weapons, build the deep underground command posts, and engineer the communications links that would be used to send the go code to the strategic rocket forces are virtually bankrupt and cannot properly troubleshoot the aging equipment they designed.

Even the famous nuclear suitcases that accompany the Russian president and other top authorities are reportedly falling into disrepair.

Personnel Problems

At the human level, hardship is evident in the living and working conditions of nuclear units. They endure housing and food shortages, extended duty shifts owing to manpower shortages,

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QUESTION:

How much in "soft money" contributions have Aerospace and Defense firms given the two major political parties?

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and pay arrears that force many to moonlight just to make ends meet. The commander of the Strategic Rocket Forces recently disclosed that 80 percent of the families in his command live below the poverty line.

The competence and integrity of the generals who lead them have declined. Rank-and-file officers and enlisted people are demoralized and alienated from the state which fails to support them adequately and from society which no longer holds them in high esteem. They are themselves less impressive individuals because the standards of quality for admission to the higher military academies have dropped substantially.

NMD: Is Moscow The Real Target?

Russia must now confront the theoretical possibility that a future U.S. national missile defense (NMD) system would be the straw that breaks the back of Russia's nuclear deterrent. Russia today can barely cope with U.S. offensive power, let alone a combination of offense and defense, a one-two punch they fear could deliver a knockout blow to their strategic forces.

The Pentagon argues that its proposed 250 interceptor NMD system is so limited that it could protect only against a threat from a few dozen warheads. Under the proposed START III Treaty, the Russians would still possess 1,000 to 2,000 warheads over the next decade and beyond. The Administration contends that such a large force gives Russia the certain ability to carry out an annihilating counterattack on the other side regardless of the conditions under which the war began.

In reality, a surprise offensive U.S. strike could, under some conditions today, destroy all but a few tens of Russian warheads, and Moscow's control over those surviving weapons might be lost. In the event of such an attack on Russia, all the rest of its strategic forces would be vulnerable to quick destruction.

Surviving weapons might consist of one submarine (48 warheads for a Delta III or 64 warheads for a Delta IV) and one regiment of SS-25 mobile land-based missiles (nine warheads). Depending on the effectiveness of U.S. anti-submarine operations against their Russian counterparts (this Cold War cat-and-mouse activity continues to this day) and the extent of disruption of Russian command and communications, it is possible that only a very small number of Russian warheads remain available to fire at targets in the United States — and these could be neutralized by the proposed NMD.

In the future (2010-2015), moreover, the total size of the Russian force could easily drop below 500 warheads, in which case the protection afforded by a very limited U.S. NMD system would loom even larger in Russia's estimation. A few tens or even hundreds of deliverable Russian warheads is not an acceptable number of surviving weapons from a Russian standpoint, just as several hundred surviving U.S. forces would not be acceptable to the United States.

As a point of reference, the United States currently requires its strategic forces to be able to destroy, in retaliation to a Russian attack, the vast majority of the nearly 3,000 targets assigned to them. (The number of targets in the U.S. strategic war plan actually grew by 20 percent over the past five years.) In other words, the United States must be able to deliver

about 2,000 warheads in retaliation in order to adequately execute the nuclear war mission.

Rising Tensions

These calculations of Russia's vulnerability — shocking from Moscow's point of view — were basically irrelevant as long as Russia felt it could credit the West with benign political intentions. This benefit of the doubt all but evaporated with NATO's war on Yugoslavia. The war jolted Russia into the realization that NATO could rally politically and militarily around an offensive assault on a sovereign state and would act unilaterally outside U.N. auspices and with no regard for the NATO-Russia Founding Act.

For the Russian General Staff, the NATO campaign invoked their nightmare scenario of rapid escalation to nuclear strikes spearheaded by decapitation sorties by undetectable U.S. cruise missiles and B-2 penetrating bombers. As Russian planners daily watched NATO delivery platforms in action, they doubtlessly realized that the nuclear versions of the air- and sea-launched U.S. cruise missiles had enough range to reach Moscow from Kosovo airspace and the Adriatic.

The heavy bombing punctured any Russian illusion, or Western pretense, that NATO is a strictly defensive alliance. It was a defining moment in Russia's perception of NATO's potential to turn on Russia. Within the instinctively suspicious Russian military establishment, this display of Western military might resurrected a number of threatening scenarios — implausible from an American standpoint that had been shelved and perhaps thoroughly dismissed in the early 1990s: Western military intervention

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in Chechnya, NATO attacks on Russia's nuclear forces using smart conventional weapons, even U.S. nuclear strikes against the Russian homeland.

Moscow's Response: Hair-Trigger Nuclear Alert

To overwhelm an NMD shield, Russia must plan to launch massively and quickly in a crisis, either firing first or firing on warning from a deteriorating network of early warning satellites of an incoming missile strike.

Thus, in response to NMD, the alert rates of missile submarines at sea and road-mobile rockets on land might be increased. Russia's SS-18 force might increase its readiness to launch on warning even if it means breaching the 1994 Clinton-Yeltsin de-targeting pact. In striving to ensure that its missile forces in silos and on dockside alert can be launched before incoming U.S. missiles strike them, Russia might heighten the readiness of its remaining functional early warning radars and nuclear command posts.

Such increased emphasis upon accident-prone quick launch options would be virtually certain if the United States deploys a national missile defense in this decade. To deal with this contingency, Russia would likely deploy multiple warheads on its new land-based Topol M strategic missile and might even consider extreme responses including the fielding of space mines designed to disable the NMD's space-based sensor system in the event of U.S.-Russian hostilities.

U.S. officials point to Russia's current posture of hair-trigger, launch-on-warning and its continuation under

START III as a form of insurance for the Russians that they could mount an annihilating counterattack capable of overwhelming America's proposed missile defenses. However, Russia's alert posture actually heightens the risk of a mistaken or unauthorized Russian launch. The decay of the Russian nuclear arsenal has already eroded its safety and safeguards, along with its basic offensive capability.

This progressive deterioration increases the risks of mistaken, illicit, or accidental launch and of the loss of strict control over Russia's vast nuclear complex. One need only consider that a degraded early warning network not only loses some ability to detect an actual attack, it simultaneously loses some ability to screen out false indications of attack generated by the sensor network. Similarly, a broken communications link may delay the transmission of a legal launch order, but may also degrade safeguards against an illegal launch.

Resolving Russia's NMD Conundrum

American officials dismiss Russia's suspicions of NMD as unwarranted on the grounds that U.S. defenses are not aimed at Russia except for scenarios involving accidental Russian launches. But Americans cannot dictate Russian perceptions. Russian suspicions, while perhaps unfounded, are understandable given recent setbacks in U.S.-Russian relations. And statements such as the following, taken from a 1995 analysis prepared for Congress by the Pentagon's Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, do not help: [Defenses against the former Soviet Union ballistic missile threat] ...could augment deterrence by significantly increasing the Soviet planners' doubts

that any military attack on the United States could succeed.

While fielding a U.S. missile defense could redound to our grave disadvantage, disruption of U.S.-Russian relations and of strategic stability might be avoided if fully offsetting reductions in offensive forces are made. If severe constraints on offensive firepower are imposed, missile defenses may be tolerable to Moscow and, in theory, could even strengthen stability.

One promising formula for striking a stable balance between offense and defense is to cut deeply the offensive missile arsenals and take all silo-busting U.S. warheads off alert and put them in long-term storage. By de-alerting most or all of the current 2,200 U.S. weapons on high alert, a U.S. national missile defense would appear less threatening to Russia. Russian strategic missiles would be far less vulnerable to a sudden attack by U.S. offensive forces and thus would be more capable of overwhelming U.S. defenses. Russia in fact would be able to de-alert its own strategic missiles and thereby greatly reduce the risk of a mistaken or unauthorized Russian missile attack.

Unfortunately, neither country is presently pursuing this formula. We have instead embarked on a collision course with Russia that threatens to increase, not decrease, the nuclear peril to Americans.

Conclusions

- Russia views the NMD program as a real threat to its nuclear deterrent forces and thus to its national security.
- Russia will respond to NMD deployment in ways that increase U.S.-

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The Candidates and The Issues

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Patrick Buchanan, Reform Party

Once, we knew how to deal with tyrants, even tyrants armed with nuclear weapons. Deterrence and containment worked against the evil empires of Stalin and Mao. They can work against the lesser tyrannies of a new century. [A Moral Foreign Policy, 1998, http://buchananreform.com/new/speeches/moral_foreign_policy.htm]

George W. Bush, Republican Party

As president, I will ask the Secretary of Defense to conduct an assessment of our nuclear force posture and determine how best to meet our security needs. While the exact number of weapons can come only from such an assessment, I will pursue the lowest possible number consistent with national security....In addition, the United States should remove as many weapons as possible from high-alert, hair-trigger status. [Presidential Election Forum: The Candidates on Arms Control, *Arms Control Today*, September 2000]

Al Gore, Democratic Party

America must maintain its nuclear strength, with adequate offensive forces to ensure deterrence. [Gore, Bush give detailed answers on defense, national security to 6 leading associations, October 2000, Association of the United States Army, www.ausa.org]

In the last decade, the United States and the countries of the former Soviet Union together have taken about eight to nine thousand strategic nuclear weapons out of commission. We need to continue on a course of deeper reductions. [U.S. Military Academy, West Point, NY, May 27, 2000]

Ralph Nader, Green Party

Nuclear weapons have no moral or practical use for any purpose except as a deterrent to nuclear threats. The U.S. government's refusal to adopt a no-first-use policy is a striking example of political immorality. If elected President, I would immediately adopt a policy that the US will never be the first to use a nuclear weapon in any conflict, and would urge other nuclear powers to do the same. [Ralph Nader's Response to Interfaith Questionnaire on Elimination of Nuclear Weapons, September 7, 2000]

DEFENSE BUDGET

Patrick Buchanan, Reform Party

Under Clinton-Gore, our global commitments have expanded, but our defenses have declined. Planes are cannibalized for spare parts, recruitment has hit historic lows, and munitions stocks run short. Funding has been slashed to pre-Pearl Harbor levels, and for the first time in fifty years, our Pacific fleet has been stripped of carrier-based air support....America must retrench and rearm. We must reclaim American invincibility on land, sea and air, and complete the Reagan legacy by deploying a missile defense system.... A Buchanan Administration will restore funding to our hollowed forces, honor to our ranks, and safety to our shores. [PJBOntheIssues: Defense, March 2, 1999, www.buchananreform.com]

George W. Bush, Republican Party:

Not since the years before Pearl Harbor has our investment in national defense been so low as a percentage of GNP... My first budget will [add] a billion dollars in salary increases... I will earmark at least 20 percent of the

procurement budget for acquisition programs that propel America generations ahead in military technology. I will also commit an additional \$20 billion to defense [research & development] between the time I take office and 2006. [The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, September 23, 1999]

Al Gore, Democratic Party

The Gore-Lieberman defense plan calls for \$100 billion of the surplus to be utilized for modernizing military equipment, improving the readiness of our troops, manufacturing and deploying next generation weapons, and transforming our forces to meet new challenges. [Gore, Bush give detailed answers on defense, national security to 6 leading associations, October 2000, Association of the United States Army, www.ausa.org]

Ralph Nader, Green Party

After our enemies are vanquished or disappear throughout our history, we usually demobilize. We cut military budgets.... But this time, the corporate military juggernaut wants to keep selling weapons systems, and through their congressional toadies, they often ram them down the Pentagon's throat.... it's time for us to spread the word that even Ronald Reagan's assistant secretary of Defense, Lawrence Korb, thinks the military budget could be cut by \$100 billion and have a meaner, a more lean and effective military. A wasteful military is a weak military. [Talk of the Nation, June 21, 2000, 2:00 PM ET]

CHINA, TAIWAN

Patrick Buchanan, Reform Party

We do not want a hot war or a Cold War with China. Nor do we wish to

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contain China. She is already contained by suspicious neighbors, north, south, east and west. But a China that threatens America's friends and tramples on American values cannot expect to be treated as any kind of partner. [Cato Institute, November 22, 1999]

All I would say to the communist Chinese is this: Listen, if you go after our old friends on Taiwan militarily, fire missiles at them, attack them, try to blockade them, in that event you're going to be in a clash with the United States of America. [Crossfire, CNN, November 22, 1999]

George W. Bush, Republican Party:

We welcome a free and prosperous China. We predict no conflict. We intend no threat. And there are areas where we must try to cooperate... Yet the conduct of China's government can be alarming abroad, and appalling at home. Beijing has been investing its growing wealth in strategic nuclear weapons...new ballistic missiles...a blue-water navy and a long-range air force. It is an espionage threat to our country... China is a competitor, not a strategic partner...We do not deny there is one China. But we deny the right of Beijing to impose their rule on a free people...we will help Taiwan to defend itself. [Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, November 19, 1999]

Al Gore, Democratic Party

With respect to China, U.S. interests are not served by those who would treat it like an enemy... Our long-term strategy must be to encourage China to become a strong, prosperous and open society. [Al Gore Outlines Vision for America's Use of Diplomacy and Force in Post Cold-War Era, www.algore2000.com]

We have been very careful not to tip our hand to either Taiwan or Mainland China, in saying here are exactly the circumstances that will lead to the United States getting militarily involved, because frankly we don't want to embolden the hotheads or the hardliners on either side of the Taiwan Straits to take some rash action. [ABC Nightline town meeting, Daniel Webster College Nashua, New Hampshire, December 17, 1999]

Ralph Nader, Green Party

No statement available

RUSSIA

Patrick Buchanan, Reform Party

I would make it the first order of business of the United States to repair the relationship with the Russian nation and Russian people who are proud people. [Patrick Buchanan on Foreign Policy, Washington, DC, December 16, 1999]

We should inform Moscow that NATO's red line will be moved no further east; that we are bringing home all U.S. forces from Europe; that while American oil companies may cut deals in the Caucasus, the United States has no vital interest there and no intention of creating any new anti-Russian alliance there. [Pat Buchanan on Isolationism, Washington, DC, November 22, 1999]

George W. Bush, Republican Party

Our goal is to promote not only the appearance of democracy in Russia, but the structures, spirit, and reality of democracy. This is clearly not done by focusing our aid and attention on a corrupt and favored elite... Even as we support Russian reform, we cannot excuse Russian brutality. When the Russian government attacks civilians... it can no longer expect aid from international lending institutions. [Ronald

Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, November 19, 1999]

Al Gore, Democratic Party

We must engage Russia and China, not pretend we can turn our backs on them... Our interests are in a stable and democratic Russia that does not threaten the U.S. or our allies. While Russia has had more setbacks and problems than we would like, we have made significant progress on a number of major issues, and have forged U.S.-Russian cooperation that was unimaginable a decade ago. [Iowa Veterans Home in Marshalltown, Iowa, November 11, 1999]

Ralph Nader, Green Party

We encourage policies that work to assist the FORMER SOVIET UNION in its move toward a government based on rights and a more open political and economic system. [Green Party Platform 2000, www.gp.org]

NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE, ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE (ABM) TREATY

Patrick Buchanan, Reform Party

We must reclaim American invincibility on land, sea and air, and complete the Reagan legacy by deploying a missile defense system. [PJB On the Issues: Defense, March 2, 1999, www.buchananreform.com]

...[J]ust as we respect the legitimate aspirations of Europe for an equal place in the sun, and Russia's right not to have NATO squat on its doorstep, Europe and Russia must respect our inherent right to defend ourselves against the ballistic missiles of rogue states. [Cato Institute, November 22, 1999]

George W. Bush, Republican Party

America must build effective missile defenses, based on the best available

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options, at the earliest possible date. Our missile defense must be designed to protect all 50 states — and our friends and allies and deployed forces overseas — from missile attacks by rogue nations, or accidental launches.... America's development of missile defenses is a search for security, not a search for advantage. [New Leadership on National Security, Washington, DC, May 23, 2000]

If elected president, I will offer Russia the necessary amendments to the ABM Treaty so as to make our deployment of effective missile defenses consistent with the Treaty.... If Russia refuses the changes we propose, I will give prompt notice, under the provisions of the treaty, that the United States can no longer be a party to it. [Presidential Election Forum: The Candidates on Arms Control, *Arms Control Today*, September 2000]

Al Gore, Democratic Party

...[S]ome unstable rogue nation might get a small handful of missiles and try to use them to blackmail us and it's only responsible to investigate whether or not it's possible to protect our nation against that kind of threat without reigniting the arms race with Russia or starting a new one with China. [Meet The Press, NBC, July 16, 2000]

I would be prepared to work hard to persuade the Government of the Russian Federation to modify the [ABM] Treaty.... But, at the end of the day, I would not be prepared to let Russian opposition to this system stand in the way of its deployment. [Al Gore on National Missile Defense, Press Release, August 31, 2000]

Ralph Nader, Green Party

It's [National Missile Defense] not

workable. The American Physics Society indicates that it's very easily decoyed. It's not workable. Any nation that tries it is going to commit suicide. There are far more devastating, insidious ways to bring in nuclear weapons and other weapons into the country, the so-called suitcase approach. We've spent \$60 billion as a nation now dealing with missile defense, and have come up with nothing. It's a program designed to enrich the giant munitions corporations who are really behind it all, in addition with some ideologues. [Meet the Press, NBC, June 25, 2000]

EUROPEAN DEFENSE, NATO

Patrick Buchanan, Reform Party

If elected, I will have all U.S. troops...home from Europe by the end of my first term. Forty years ago, President Eisenhower pleaded with JFK to bring all U.S. troops home from Europe. Certainly, sixty years after the end of World War II, and fifteen years after the Berlin Wall fell, is not too soon to get all U.S. troops out of Europe and let Europeans provide and pay the cost of their own defense. If not now, when? [A Republic, Not an Empire, March 24, 2000, www.BuchananReform.com]

George W. Bush, Republican Party

All our goals in Eurasia will depend on alliances that sustain our influence... For NATO to be strong, cohesive and active, the President must give it consistent direction: on the alliance's purpose; on Europe's need to invest more in defense capabilities, and, when necessary, in military conflict... For our allies, sharing the enormous opportunities of Eurasia also means sharing the burdens and risks of sustaining the peace. [Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, November 19, 1999]

Al Gore, Democratic Party

Europe's fate and America's fate are joined. When the people of Europe are at war, or divided, or enslaved, then our own freedom, security, and prosperity are at risk...I believe in a western alliance that is willing to put its military might on the line - for the sake of our common security and the deepest principles of democracy. [50th Anniversary of NATO, Ellis Island, April 21, 1999]

Ralph Nader, Green Party

Bring back some of the troops from Western Europe and East Asia who are defending prosperous countries who can defend themselves against non-existent enemies. I think there's about \$70 billion being spent in that area a year in up-front and back-up costs. [Meet the Press, NBC, May 7, 2000]

PEACEKEEPING, HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTIONS

Patrick Buchanan, Reform Party

What is best for America and the world, they [the elites of both Beltway parties] tell us, is that the United States should remain a superpower sheriff, the Wyatt Earp of the West, possessed of the sole right to deputize, or go it alone if necessary, to discipline evil-doers, wherever our values are threatened. I submit that this foreign policy poses a great and growing danger to the peace and security of the United States....If elected, I will have all U.S. troops out of the Balkan quagmire by year's end, and all American troops home from Europe by the end of my first term [Antiwar.com Conference, March 24, 2000]

George W. Bush, Republican Party

Maintain longstanding U.S. commitments, but order an immediate review

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of overseas deployments in dozens of countries, with the aim of replacing uncertain missions with well-defined objectives. [www.georgewbush.com, Issues-Defense, Executive Summary]

Al Gore, Democratic Party

In this Global Age, peacekeeping takes on new importance, and along with war-fighting, is a critical mission of the armed forces of the United States. [U.S. Military Academy, West Point, NY, May 27, 2000]

Ralph Nader, Green Party

We don't need a US force. We don't need a NATO. We need a multilateral force, and if it's in a region of a continent, with heavy input from neighboring countries. And this force should be trained before any battle, before any civil war, before any slaughter starts. It should be a standby peacekeeping force that's highly trained that can go in according to certain widely supported UN criteria. [Talk of the Nation, National Public Radio, June 21, 2000]

UNITED NATIONS

Patrick Buchanan, Reform Party

There's...the steady assault upon the sovereignty and the independence and the liberty of this country we love. I've watched this UN grow bloated, expand its power. I've seen their reach for more and more. It is trying to be something it was never intended to be. And that is why, if I'm elected President you've got my word I will call in Kofi Annan and say, Sir, your lease has run out. We want you out of the United States by year's end. I will tell him, We want you out of the United States by year's end, and if you're too dilatory about it, we'll send up 10,000 Marines to help you pack. [Speech in Warren MI, September 20, 2000]

George W. Bush, Republican Party

International organizations can serve the cause of peace. I will never place US troops under UN command — but the UN can help in weapons inspections, peacekeeping, and humanitarian efforts. If I am President, America will pay its dues — but only if the UN's bureaucracy is reformed and our dis-

proportionate share of its costs reduced. [Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, November 19, 1999]

Al Gore, Democratic Party

It is time for America to pay its UN dues in full... Through the United Nations, the U.S. can build critical international support for issues and policies important to our foreign policy goals, and also share the financial and resource burden with other countries. [Iowa Veterans Home in Marshalltown, Iowa, November 11, 1999]

Ralph Nader, Green Party

Cooperative security cannot work as long as the United Nations remains a US puppet. Support reforms to democratize the United Nations, such as more proportionality and power in the General Assembly, an elected Security Council, and the elimination of the Great Power Veto on the Security Council. [Green Party platform for the campaign year 2000, www.greenparty.org] ■

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Russian nuclear tensions and the risk of accidental nuclear launch.

- NMD will increase the net nuclear threat to the United States. The additional danger of an accidental Russian launch will outweigh the addition protection from rogue state missile attacks that NMD might provide. ■

Sources For Further Reading

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Bruce Blair, Some Sensible Options for U.S. Missile Defense, *Moscow Times* (June 3, 2000); available at www.cdi.org

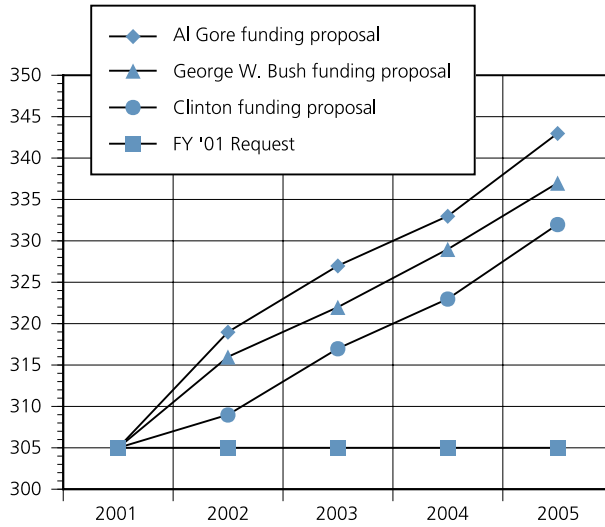
ANSWER:

According to Common Cause, Aerospace & Defense industry soft money contributions to the two main political parties during Calendar Year 1999 totaled \$2,349,358. Six months later (through June 30, 2000), this amount has risen to \$5,184,634.

CANDIDATES PROPOSED MILITARY BUDGETS

(Constant \$ in Billions)

Both Governor George W. Bush and Vice President Al Gore have proposed significant military spending increases. Governor Bush has stated that he would add an additional \$45 billion over nine years to current



Pentagon funding levels, while Vice President Gore would add \$100 billion over ten years. The chart above compares the candidates' proposed funding increases to the Clinton Administration's funding proposals and the current funding level. Neither Ralph Nader nor Pat Buchanan have specified what Pentagon spending they would propose if elected.

UNCLE SAM WANTS YOU — VOTE

BEGINNING ON PAGE 4, CDI, which believes that strong social, economic, political, and military components and a healthy environment contribute equally to the nation's security, offers a digest of the national security positions of the four main presidential candidates: Reform, Republican, Democratic, and Green. Sources are speeches, statements, or official Press Releases of the campaigns, wherever possible.

CDI does not advocate a vote for any particular candidate nor does it suggest, in printing only their positions on national security issues, that this should be the sole consideration in choosing for whom to vote. Every person has a unique combination of priorities which influences for which candidates she or he votes. CDI encourages everyone to consider the totality of each candidate's position on the issues.

But we do advocate one action: VOTE ON NOVEMBER 7. ■



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