

Bibliography

Introduction

- Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. *Report of the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons*. Canberra, Australia: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, August 1996.
- Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues. *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.
- International Court of Justice. "Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons: Advisory Opinion of 8 July 1996." *ICJ Reports*. 1996.
- Kristensen, Hans. "Status of World Nuclear Forces, 2007." The Nuclear Information Project. March 29, 2007.
- Kristensen, Hans. "US Air Force Decides to Retire Advanced Cruise Missile." *Strategic Security Blog*. Federation of American Scientists, March 7, 2007.
- Natural Resources Defense Council, "Table of Global Nuclear Weapons Stockpiles, 1945-2002."
- Norris, Robert and Hans Kristensen. "U.S. nuclear forces, 2007." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. January/February 2007.
- "Part Four: Achieving Nuclear Disarmament." Report of the Tokyo Forum for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, July 25, 1999.
- Ramana, M.V. "Bombing Bombay? Effects of Nuclear Weapons and a Case Study of a Hypothetical Explosion." Cambridge, MA: International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, 1999.
- Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, final report. *Weapons of Terror: Freeing the World of Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Arms*. Stockholm: WMD Commission, June 1, 2006.

Treaty Regimes and International Law

- 9/11 Public Discourse Project. "Part III: Foreign Policy, Public Diplomacy, and Nonproliferation." *Report on the Status of 9/11 Commission Recommendations*. November 14, 2005.
- 9/11 Commission. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004.
- Applegarth, Claire. "Modest Hike in Threat Reduction Budget." *Arms Control Today*. March 2005.
- "Australia Group Adopts New CBW Export Control Guidelines." *Disarmament Diplomacy*, no. 66. September 2002.
- Bolton, John. "Is There Really 'Law' in International Affairs." *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problem*, Vol. 10, No. 1. 2000.
- Burroughs, John, Nicole Deller, and Arjun Makhijani. "Global Security Treaties Under Siege: U.S. Rejection of Agreements on Nuclear Weapons." *The Second Nuclear Age: Political and Psychocultural Perspectives*. Edited by Michael Flynn. Forthcoming from University Press of Kentucky.
- Chaffee, Devon. "Freedom or Force on the High Seas? Arms Interdiction and International Law." *Science for Democratic Action* 12, no. 3. June 2004.

- Deller, Nicole, Arjun Makhijani, and John Burroughs, eds. *Rule of Power or Rule of Law? An Assessment of U.S. Policies and Actions Regarding Security-Related Treaties*. New York: The Apex Press, 2003.
- Deller, Nicole and John Burroughs. "Arms Control Abandoned: The Case of Biological Weapons." *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 2. Summer 2003.
- "Federal Funding for Biological Weapons Prevention and Defense: Fiscal Years 2001 to 2007." Washington, D.C.: Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, 2006.
- "G-8 Adopts \$20 Billion WMD Non-Proliferation Programme." *Disarmament Diplomacy*, no. 66. September 2002.
- G8, "Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism: Joint Fact Sheet." G8 Summit 2006, St. Petersburg, Russia, July 15, 2006.
- Graham, Bill. "Notes For An Address By The Honourable Bill Graham, Minister of Foreign Affairs." Statement to the Conference On Disarmament, Geneva, March 19, 2002.
- "Hans Blix Reports on WMD Dangers and Solutions." Press Briefing at the Arms Control Association, Washington, D.C., June 7, 2006.
- Jones, Rodney W. and Mark G. McDonough. *Tracking Nuclear Proliferation: A Guide in Maps and Charts*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1998.
- Kelley, Marylia and Jay Coghlan. "Mixing Bugs and Bombs." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, September/October 2003.
- Lichterman, Andrew, Zia Mian, M.V. Ramana, and Jürgen Scheffran. "Beyond Missile Defense." *International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation Briefing Paper*, no. 8. March 2002.
- Lugar, Richard. "The Next Steps in U.S. Nonproliferation Policy." *Arms Control Today*. December 2002.
- Miller, Judith, Stephen Engelberg, and William Broad. "U.S. Germ Warfare Research Pushes Treaty Limits." *New York Times*. September 4, 2001.
- Nguyen, Michael. "Albania to Receive Nunn-Lugar Assistance." *Arms Control Today*. December 2004.
- O'Sullivan, Paul. "Chairman's Statement." Statement to the Proliferation Security Initiative meeting in Brisbane, Australia, July 9-10, 2003.
- Perry, William. "It's Either Nukes or Negotiation." *Washington Post*. July 23, 2003.
- Rydell, Randy. "Disarmament without Agreements?" *International Negotiation*, Vol. 10, No. 3. 2005.
- Shane, Scott. "Army confirms making anthrax in recent years." *Baltimore Sun*. December 13, 2001.
- The Paquete Habana*, 175 U.S. 677, (1900).
- U.S. Department of State. "The Proliferation Security Initiative." Background Briefing. *Federal News Service*. September 9, 2003.
- Warrick, Joby. "The Secretive Fight Against Bioterror." *Washington Post*. July 30, 2006.
- Weiss, Peter. "The Future of Universal Jurisdiction." *International Prosecution of Human Rights Crimes*. Edited by Wolfgang Kaleck, Michael Ratner, Tobias Singelstein, and Peter Weiss. Berlin: Springer, 2006.
- Wheelis, Mark and Malcolm Dando. "Back to Bio-weapons?" *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. January/February 2003.
- White House. "Biodefense for the 21st Century." April 28, 2004.
- White House. "Statement on the Proliferation Security Initiative." September 4, 2003.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

- Committee on International Security and Arms Control, National Academy of Sciences. *The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1997.
- Dhanapala, Jayantha with Randy Rydell. *Multilateral Diplomacy and the NPT: An Insider's Account*. Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 2005.
- McGinnis, J. Sherwood. "Article VI of the NPT." Statement to the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2005 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference, Geneva, May 1, 2003.
- "NPT/CONF.1995/32(PART I): Final Document." 1995 Review and Extension Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, New York, 1995.
- "NPT/CONF.2000/28: Final Document." 2000 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, New York, 2000.
- Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations. "NPT/CONF.2005/WP.39: Achieving Permanence with Accountability." Working paper submitted to the 2005 NPT Review Conference, New York, May 17, 2005.
- Sanger, David E. "Month of Talks Fails to Bolster Nuclear Treaty." *New York Times*. May 28, 2005.
- United Nations General Assembly. "Resolution A/RES/61/83: Follow-up to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*." December 6, 2006.
- United Nations General Assembly. "Resolution A/RES/61/74: Renewed determination towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons." December 6, 2006.
- United Nations General Assembly. "Resolution A/RES/61/65: Towards a nuclear-weapon-free world: accelerating the implementation of nuclear disarmament commitments." December 6, 2006.

The Role of the UN Security Council

- Alvarez, José E. *International Organizations as Law-Makers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Bosch, Olivia and Peter van Ham, eds. *Global Non-Proliferation and Counter-Terrorism: The Impact of UNSCR 1540*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007.
- Burroughs, John. "The Iran Situation: Options for the Security Council." Remarks to Diplomats Representing Some Elected Members of the Security Council, United Nations, New York, May 2, 2006.
- Datan, Merav. "Security Council Resolution 1540: WMD and non-State trafficking." *Disarmament Diplomacy*, No. 79. April/May 2005.
- Hill, Felicity. "The Military Staff Committee: A Possible Future Role in UN Peace Operations?" *Global Policy Forum*.
- International Court of Justice. "Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276, Advisory Opinion of June 21, 1971." *ICJ Reports*. 1970.

- Marschik, Axel. "IILJ Working Paper 2005/18: The Security Council as World Legislator?: Theory, Practice, and Consequences of an Expanding World Power." New York: Institute for International Law and Justice, 2005.
- Olberg, Lars. "Implementing Resolution 1540: What the National Reports Indicate." *Disarmament Diplomacy*, No. 86. Spring 2006.
- Rosand, Eric. "The Security Council as 'Global Legislator': Ultra Vires or Ultra Innovative?" *28 Fordham International Law Journal*. February 2005.
- Spies, Michael. "Iran and the Role of the Security Council." New York: Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, March 8, 2007.
- Spies, Michael and John Burroughs. "Commentary on Security Council Resolution 1696 on Iran." New York: Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, July 31, 2006.
- United Nations Security Council. "Resolution 1267 (1999)." October 15, 1999.
- United Nations Security Council. "Resolution 1695 (2006)." July 15, 2006.
- United Nations Security Council. "Resolution 1696 (2006)." July 31, 2006.
- Ware, Alyn. "International Ju-Jitsu: Using United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540 to advance nuclear disarmament." New York: Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, July 2004.

The Breakdown of Disarmament Machinery

- Annan, Kofi A. *'We the Peoples': The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century*. New York: United Nations Publications, March 2000.
- "CD/1693/Rev.1: Initiative of the Ambassadors Dembri, Lint, Reyes, Salander and Vega ("A5 Proposal")." Proposal of a Programme of Work at the Conference on Disarmament, Geneva, September 5, 2003.
- "CD/2007/L.1: Initiative of the 2007 CD Presidents: South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, and Syria ("2007 P6")." Presidential Draft Decision at the Conference on Disarmament, Geneva, March 23, 2007.
- Greenpeace International. "Two thirds of Europeans want Nuclear Weapon free Europe: Greenpeace calls upon Defence Ministers to send US nuclear weapons home." May 30, 2006.
- International Panel on Fissile Materials. *Global Fissile Materials Report 2006*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 2006.
- Meyer, Paul. "The Conference on Disarmament: Getting Back to Business." *Arms Control Today*. December 2006.
- Monaco, John. "Statement to the CD." Statement at the Conference on Disarmament, Geneva, June 13, 2006.
- Permanent Mission of the U.S. to the UN in Geneva. "Treaty on the Cessation of the Production of Fissile Material for Use in Nuclear Weapons or Other Nuclear Explosive Devices." Draft mandate and treaty text to the Conference on Disarmament, Geneva, May 18, 2006.
- Permanent Mission of the U.S. to the United Nations in Geneva. "White Paper on a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty." May 18, 2006.
- Rademaker, Stephen. "Confronting Today's Threats." Statement to the United Nations General Assembly First Committee on Disarmament and International Security, New York, October 3, 2005.
- Rademaker, Stephen. "The Conference on Disarmament: Time is Running Out." *Arms Control Today*. December 2006.

- Rocca, Ambassador Christina. "The P6 proposal for continuing work in the CD in 2007." Statement to the Conference on Disarmament, Geneva, March 23, 2007.
- Shannon, Ambassador Gerald E. "Consultations on the Most Appropriate Arrangement to Negotiate a Treaty Banning the Production of Fissile Material for Nuclear Weapons or Other Nuclear Explosive Devices ("Shannon Mandate")." Report CD/1299 of the Conference on Disarmament, Geneva, March 24, 1995.
- Skotnikov, Ambassador Leonid. "Statement of the Russian Federation." Statement to the United Nations General Assembly First Committee on Disarmament and International Security, New York, October, 5, 2005.
- Space Security 2006*. Spacesecurity.org. July 2006.
- United Nations General Assembly. "Resolution GA/48/75L." December 16, 1993.
- U.S. Air Force Space Command. *Vision for 2020*. February 1997.
- Whiteair, Rebecca and Seth Brugger. "BWC Protocol Talks in Geneva Collapse Following U.S. Rejection." *Arms Control Today*. September 2001.
- White House, Office of Science and Technology Policy. *U.S. National Space Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Executive Office of the President, August 31, 2006.
- Wolter, Detlev. *Common Security in Outer Space and International Law*. Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 2006.

Article VI Non-Compliance

- Arkin, William M. "Secret Plan Outlines the Unthinkable." *Los Angeles Times*. March 10, 2002.
- Boese, Wade. "Congress Exempts India From Nuclear Trade Rules." *Arms Control Today*. January/February 2007.
- Brooks, Amb. Linton. "The Future of the U.S. Nuclear Weapons Stockpile." Statement to the Arms Control Association Panel Discussion, Washington, D.C., January 25, 2006.
- Burroughs, John. "Compliance Assessment: The NPT Declared Nuclear Weapon States: Part Three, General and Complete Disarmament." Non-Governmental Organizations' Statements to the States Party to the Seventh Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, New York, May 2005.
- Burroughs, John. "The Man Who Averted Nuclear War." *DisarmamentActivist.org*. January 19, 2006.
- CD 1308, April 6, 1995.
- Cirincione, Joseph. "A Deeply Flawed Review." Testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, May 16, 2002.
- Civiak, Dr. Robert. "The Reliable Replacement Warhead Program: A Slippery Slope to New Nuclear Weapons." Livermore, CA: Tri-Valley CAREs, January 2006.
- Committee on Technical Issues Related to Ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, National Academy of Sciences. *Technical Issues Related to the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2002.
- Cowell, Alan. "Blair Wins Vote to Renew Atom Arsenal." *New York Times*. March 15, 2007.
- Gordon, John A. "Statement to the Senate Armed Services Committee." February 14, 2002.

- “Joint Statement Between President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.” Washington, D.C.: The White House, July 18, 2005.
- Lichterhan, Andrew. “Missile of Empire: America’s 21st Century Global Legions.” Oakland, CA: Western States Legal Foundation, Fall 2003.
- Medalia, Jonathan. *Nuclear Weapons: The Reliable Replacement Warhead Program*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, updated March 9, 2006.
- Mello, Greg. “That Old Designing Fever.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. January/February 2000.
- Mian, Zia, A.H. Nayyar, R. Rajaraman, and M.V. Ramana. *Fissile Materials in South Asia: The Implications of the U.S.-India Nuclear Deal*. IPFM Research Report No. 1. Princeton, NJ: International Panel on Fissile Materials, September 2006.
- Middle Powers Initiative. “Fulfilling the NPT Bargain for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation: *Next Steps*.” Briefing Paper for the Third Meeting of the Article VI Forum, Ottawa, September 28-29, 2006.
- Myerscough, Rhea. “Update: United States and Pakistan Break F-16 Stalemate, Finalizing \$5 Billion Sale.” Washington, D.C.: Center for Defense Information, October 4, 2006.
- Mosher, David E. Lowell H. Schwartz, David R. Howell, and Lynn E. David. *Beyond the Nuclear Shadow: A Phased Approach for Improving Nuclear Safety and U.S.-Russian Relations*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2003.
- Norris, Robert S. and Hans M. Kristensen. “Russian Nuclear Forces, 2006.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. March/April 2006.
- Norris, Robert S. and Hans M. Kristensen. “U.S. Nuclear Forces, 2006.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. January/February 2006.
- “Nuclear Posture Review [Excerpts], Submitted to Congress on 31 December 2001.” Global Security.org, January 8, 2002.
- Pincus, Walter. “U.S. Nuclear Arms Stance Modified by Policy Study.” *Washington Post*. March 23, 2002.
- Rademaker, Stephen G. “Statement by Stephen G. Rademaker, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control.” Statement to the 2005 NPT Review Conference, New York, May 2, 2005.
- Secretary of Energy Advisory Board, Nuclear Weapons Complex Infrastructure Task Force. “Recommendations for the Nuclear Weapons Complex of the Future.” July 13, 2005.
- Shaker, Mohamed I. *The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: Origin and Implementation, 1959-1979*, Vol. I. New York: Oceana Publications, 1980.
- Smith, Michael. “Focus: Britain’s secret nuclear blueprint.” *The Sunday Times*. March 12, 2006.
- Tertrais, Bruno. “Nuclear policy: France stands alone.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. July/August 2004.
- “The Commitment of the United States to Implementation of Article VI of the Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons.” Non-paper submitted by the United States to the 2005 NPT Review Conference, New York, May 2-11, 2005.
- U.S. Department of State. “Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.” February 10, 2005.
- “U.S. Signals Abandonment of Nuclear Disarmament.” *Agence France Presse*. March 4, 2006.
- Warrick, Joby. “Pakistan Expanding Nuclear Program: Plant Underway Could Generate Plutonium for 40 to 50 Bombs a Year, Analysts Say.” *Washington Post*. July 24, 2006.

Preventive War and Counterproliferation

- Arkin, William M. "The Nuclear Option in Iraq: The U.S. has lowered the bar for using the ultimate weapon." *Los Angeles Times*. January 26, 2003.
- Baker, Peter, Dafna Linzer and Thomas E. Ricks. "U.S. Is Studying Military Strike Options on Iran: Any Mix of Tact, Threats Alarms Critics." *Washington Post*. April 9, 2006.
- Bell, Robert. "Strategic Agreements and the CTB Treaty: Striking the Right Balance." *28 Arms Control Today, No. 1*. January/February 1998.
- Bunche, Ralph. "Some Reflections on Peace in Our Time." Nobel Lecture, University of Oslo, Oslo, December 11, 1950.
- Burroughs, John. "Two Legal Issues Confronting Nato And The Non-Proliferation Regime: US Presidential Decision Directive 60 versus Pledges of Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Made to Non-Nuclear Weapon States; NATO Nuclear Sharing versus the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty." New York: Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, May 3, 1999.
- Cohen, William S. "Chapter 2: The Military Requirements of the Defense Strategy." Annual Report to the President and Congress 2000.
- Committee on International Security and Arms Control, National Academy of Sciences. "Chapter 3: A Regime of Progressive Constraints, Nuclear Reductions and Nonproliferation section." *The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1997.
- Deller, Nicole and John Burroughs. "*Jus ad Bellum*: Law Regulating Resort to Force." *Human Rights, Vol. 30, No. 1*. 2003.
- Hersh, Seymour. "Last Stand: The military's problem with the president's Iran policy." *The New Yorker*. July 10, 2006.
- Hersh, Seymour. "The Iran Plans: Would President Bush go to war to stop Tehran from getting the bomb?" *The New Yorker*. April 17, 2006.
- Kristensen, Hans. *Nuclear Futures: Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and U.S. Nuclear Strategy*.
- BASIC Research Report 98.2. London: British American Security Information Council, March 1998.
- Lichterman, Andrew and John Burroughs. "War Is Not the Path to Peace: The United States, Iraq, and the Need for Stronger International Legal Standards to Prevent War." Western States Legal Foundation and Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy. October 24, 2002.
- "Looking for New Ways to Use Nuclear Weapons: U.S. Counterproliferation Programs, Weapons Effects Research, and "Mini-Nuke" Development." Oakland, CA: Western States Legal Foundation, Winter 2001.
- Perkovich, George. "Background Paper No. 17: Deconflating 'WMD'." Stockholm: Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, October 2004.
- "President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat." Remarks by the President on Iraq, Cincinnati Museum Center - Cincinnati Union Terminal, Cincinnati, Ohio, October 7, 2002.
- Secretary of the Air Force. *Air Force Doctrine Document 2-1.5: Nuclear Operations*. July 15, 1998.
- Sloyan, Patrick J.. "New Nuke Policy by Clinton directive allows atomic retaliation against Hussein." *Newsday*. February 1, 1998.
- Smith, R. Jeffrey. "Clinton Directive Changes Strategy on Nuclear Arms." *Washington Post*. December 7, 1997.

- United States Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Joint Pub 3-12.1: Doctrine for Joint Theater Nuclear Operations*. February 9, 1996.
- U.S. Department of Defense. "News Transcript." January 27, 1998.
- U.S. Department of Defense. *Strategic Deterrence Joint Operating Concept*. February 2004.
- Weiss, Peter. "The UN Charter and the Iraq War." New York session of the World Tribunal on Iraq, May 8, 2004.
- Western States Legal Foundation. *The Shape of Things to Come: The Nuclear Posture Review, Missile Defense, and the Dangers of a New Arms Race*. Special Report. April 2002.
- White House. "National Security Strategy of the United States of America, Section V." September 2002.
- White House. "National Security Strategy of the United States of America, Section V." March 16, 2006.
- White House. *National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction*. December 2002.

Nuclear Weapons Research and Development

- "A/54/381: Letter dated 10 September 1999 from the Permanent Representatives of the Netherlands and the Russian Federation addressed to the Secretary-General." United Nations General Assembly 54th Session, September 21, 1999.
- Albright, Madeleine K. "Remarks at Chicago Council on Foreign Relations." Washington, D.C.: Office of the Spokesman, U.S. Department of State, November 10, 1999.
- Aloise, Gene. "Nuclear Weapons: Views on Proposals to Transform the Nuclear Weapons Complex." Statement Before the House of Representatives Appropriations Subcommittee on Energy and Water Development, April 26, 2006.
- Bethe, Hans A., Henry W. Kendall, and Herbert F. York. "Letter to Representative John T. Meyers." May 8, 1996.
- Brooks, Linton F. "FY 2004 National Defense Authorization Act." Department of Energy Memorandum For: Pete Nanos, Director Los Alamos National Laboratory; Michael Anastasio, Director Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory; C. Paul Robinson, President Sandia National Laboratory. December 5, 2003.
- Brooks, Linton F. "Speech to the East Tennessee Economic Council." March 3, 2006.
- Cartwright, General James. "Remarks by the (USMC) Commander, U.S. Strategic Command." Statement to the Air Warfare Symposium, Orlando, Florida, February 18, 2005.
- Civiak, Dr. Robert. "Still At It: An Analysis of the Department of Energy's Fiscal Year 2007 Budget Request for Nuclear Weapons Activities." Livermore, CA: Tri-Valley CAREs, (undated).
- Clinton, President William J. "Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty." Statement released by the Office of the Press Secretary, the White House, Washington, D.C., August 11, 1995.
- Clinton, President William J. "Letter of transmittal to the Senate of the United States, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification of the Comprehensive Test ban Treaty." September 22, 1996.

- D'Agostino, Thomas P. "Statement before the House Armed Services Committee Subcommittee on Strategic Forces." April 5, 2006.
- Department of Energy. "DOE/CF-014: FY 2008 Congressional Budget Request: National Nuclear Security Administration, Volume 1." February 2007.
- Department of Energy. "DOE/CF-021: FY 2008 Congressional Budget Request, Budget Highlights." February 2007.
- Department of Energy. "DOA/NNA-0014: Fiscal Year 2007 - 2011 Stockpile Stewardship Plan Overview." Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Energy National Nuclear Security Administration, November 13, 2006.
- Department of Energy. "Inertial Fusion Science in Support of Stockpile Stewardship Financial Assistance Program." January 21, 1997.
- Department of Energy. "Notice of Intent To Prepare a Supplement to the Stockpile Stewardship and Management Programmatic Environmental Impact Statement—Complex 2030." *Federal Register*, Vol. 71, No. 202. October 19, 2006.
- Drell, Dr. Sidney et al. *Science Based Stockpile Stewardship*. JASON/The Mitre Corporation. November 1994.
- Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Farewell Address." January 17, 1961.
- Ellison, Brian. "Overview of Fiscal Year 2008 Department of Energy Budget Request." Washington, D.C.: Center for Defense Information, February 8, 2007.
- Hartung, William D. and Frida Berrigan. "Complex 2030: The Costs and Consequences of the Plan to Build a New Generation of Nuclear Weapons." New York: World Policy Institute, Arms Trade Resources Center, New School University, April 2007.
- Hebert, H. Josef. "Study: Warhead plutonium long-lasting." *Associated Press*. November 29, 2006.
- Hecker, Sigfried S. "Written Testimony." Hearing of the Subcommittee on Strategic Force, Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., March 19, 1997.
- Hoffman, Ian. "Dems may support new nuke arsenal." *Oakland Tribune*. February 3, 2007.
- Hoffman, Ian. "Report: Nukes not so rusty, New information on plutonium's lifespan undermines Bush's plan." *Oakland Tribune*. November 29, 2006.
- Holley, Joe. "Theodore Taylor Dies; Tried to Redirect Nuclear Power." *Washington Post*. November 2, 2004.
- Kitfield, James. "Pros and cons of new nuclear weapons debated." *Daily Briefing, GovExec.com*. August 18, 2003.
- "Knowing Pentagon Needs: A Key to Research Dollars." *Newsline*. Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. September 29, 1992.
- Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. "30 Years of Technical Excellence." 1982.
- Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. "DOE, National Labs Select Five Universities to Bolster Large-Scale Computer Simulation Effort." July 31, 1997.
- Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. "NNSA Announces A New Phase of its Academic Computational Science Partnership Program." April 25, 2006.
- Lichterman, Andrew. "Pentagon Envisions New Warheads for New Delivery Systems." *DisarmamentActivist.org*. July 27, 2006.

- “Livermore lab holds key to any test ban.” *Oakland Tribune*, August 30, 1987.
- Lobsenz, George. “NNSA Pursuing Second RRW Design ‘Concept’.” *Defense Daily*. February 12, 2007.
- Los Alamos National Laboratory. “Los Alamos restores U.S. ability to make nuclear weapons.” April 22, 2003.
- Medalia, Jonathan E. *Nuclear Weapons Stockpile Stewardship, The Role of Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, May 12, 1994.
- Mello, Greg. “Restarting plutonium pit production: no need, high costs.” Los Alamos, NM: Los Alamos Study Group, February 24, 2007 (draft).
- Myrdal, Alva. *The Game of Disarmament: How the United States and Russia Run the Arms Race*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1976.
- National Nuclear Security Administration. “Complex 2030: An Infrastructure Planning Scenario for a Nuclear Weapons Complex Able to Meet the Threats of the 21st Century, ‘Getting the Job Done’.” Office of Defense Programs, October 23, 2006.
- National Nuclear Security Administration. “Design Selected for Reliable Replacement Warhead.” March 2, 2007.
- National Nuclear Security Administration. “Future of the Nuclear Weapons Complex.” (undated).
- National Nuclear Security Administration. “Joint Flight Test Program.” November 2006.
- National Nuclear Security Administration. “NNSA Establishes New Office to Lead Future of Nuclear Weapons Complex.” June 28, 2006.
- National Nuclear Security Administration. “NNSA Marks Major Milestone For Tritium Production; Tritium Extraction Facility Up and Running at Savannah River Site.” December 4, 2006.
- National Nuclear Security Administration. “NNSA’s Reliable Replacement Warhead (RRW) Program: Modernizing the Nuclear Weapons Complex Today To Make It More Responsive to the Challenges of Tomorrow.” May 2006.
- National Nuclear Security Administration. “Nuclear Weapons Officials Agree to Pursue RRW Strategy.” December 1, 2006.
- Norris, Robert S. and Hans M. Kristensen. “Global nuclear stockpiles, 1945-2006.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, July/August 2006.
- Nuckolls, John H. “Testimony before the House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services.” March 22, 1994.
- Peña, Federico. “Testimony before the Senate Appropriations Energy and Water Subcommittee.” October 29, 1997.
- Predictive Science Academic Alliance Program (PSAAP) Guidelines for Applications of Interest*.
- Program Statement for the Advanced Simulation and Computing (ASC) Predictive Science Academic Alliance Program (PSAAP), Executive Summary.
- Reddy, Amulya K.N. “Designing Nuclear Weapons: The Moral Question.” *Prisoners of the Nuclear Dream*. Edited by M.V. Ramana and C. Rammmanohar Reddy. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2003.
- Robinson, C. Paul. “Written Statement.” United States House of Representatives Committee on National Security, Joint Hearing the Subcommittee on Military Procurement and Subcommittee on Research and Development, March 12, 1996.
- Shapely, Deborah. *Promise and Power*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1993.

- “Sir Joseph Rotblat.” *Guardian Unlimited*. September 2, 2005.
- Sterngold, James. “Los Alamos scientist criticizes federal approach to arsenal.” *San Francisco Chronicle*. February 13, 2007.
- Tartar, C. Bruce. “Testimony submitted to the Senate Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on International Security, Proliferation and Federal Services.” October 27, 1997.
- Taylor, Theodore B. “Circles of Destruction.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 52, No. 1. January/February 1996.
- Taylor, Theodore B. *Thoughts About the Signing of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty*. September 24, 1996.
- U.S. Department of Energy, *Strategic Plan*, October 2, 2006.
- Veiluva, Michael et al. “Laboratory Testing in a Test Ban/Non-proliferation Regime: Above Ground Experiments Threaten Compliance With Article VI of The Non-proliferation Treaty.” Western States Legal Foundation and Greenpeace USA/International. April 1995.
- Washington State University. “Washington State University Selected to Establish Shock Physics Institute to Understand Aging Nuclear Stockpile.” June 23, 1997.
- White House. “Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Safeguards.” August 11, 1995.

Delivery Systems

- Andreasen, Steve. “Off Target? The Bush Administration’s Plan to Arm Long-Range Ballistic Missiles with Conventional Warheads.” *Arms Control Today*. July/August 2006.
- “Case Concerning Military and Paramilitary Activities In and Against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America): Opinion of the International Court of Justice.” *ICJ Reports*. 1986.
- CQ Transcripts Wire. “Secretary Rice Holds a News Conference.” *The Washington Post*. July 21, 2006.
- “Draft Report of National Security Advisory Board on Indian Nuclear Doctrine.” August 17, 1999.
- Gourley, Scott R. “ICBM Transformation.” *Military Aerospace Technology Online*, Vol. 3, #2. June 25, 2004.
- Lichterman, Andrew. “Missiles of Empire: America’s 21st Century Global Legions.” Oakland, CA: Western States Legal Foundation, Fall 2003.
- National Research Council, Naval Studies Board, Commission on Physical Sciences, Mathematics, and Applications. *Post Cold War Conflict Deterrence*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1997.
- Obering III, Lieutenant General Henry A. “Statement Before the Strategic Forces Subcommittee, House Armed Services Committee.” March 9, 2006.
- Richelson, Jeffrey T. *America’s Space Sentinels: DSP Satellites and National Security*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1999.
- Roberts, Brad. *Asymmetric Conflict 2010*. Alexandria, Virginia: Institute for Defense Analyses, Defense Threat Reduction Agency, 2000.
- Smith, Mark. “No. 27: Missing Piece and Gordian Knot: Missile Non-Proliferation.” Stockholm: Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, February 2005.
- Steinbruner, John. “National Missile Defense: Collision in Progress.” *Arms Control Today*. November 1999.

- U.S. Air Force Space Command. *Final Mission Need Statement, Land Based Strategic Nuclear Deterrent: AFSPC 001-00*. January 2002.
- U.S. Air Force Space Command. *Prompt Global Strike (PGS) Analysis of Alternatives (AoA) Study Plan Draft 28*. October 2005.
- U.S. Air Force Space Command. *Strategic Master Plan FY06 and Beyond*. 2003.
- U.S. Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency. "FALCON (Force Application and Launch from CONUS)." Broad Agency Announcement, PHASE I Proposer Information Pamphlet (PIP) for BAA Solicitation 03-35. July 29, 2003.
- U.S. Department of Defense. *Contracts*. November 26, 2003.
- U.S. Department of Defense. *Deterrence Operations Joint Operating Concept, Version 2.0*. December 2006.
- U.S. Department of Defense. *Nuclear Posture Review*. Submitted to Congress December 2001.
- U.S. Department of Defense. *Quadrennial Defense Review Report*. February 6, 2006.
- U.S. Department of Defense. *Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Future Strategic Strike Forces*. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics, 2004.
- U.S. Department of the Air Force, Air Force Materiel Command, AFRL, Space Vehicles Directorate. "Concepts and Technologies Study for Enhance [sic] Cruise Missile (ECM)." Sources Sought Notice, Reference Number AFNWCA002. December 7, 2004 (modified December 9, 2004).
- U.S. Department of the Air Force. *Space Force Application Mission Area Development Plan*. 1997.
- U.S. Department of the Air Force. *United States Air Force Strategic Planning Directive for Fiscal Years 2006-2023*.
- U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. *The National Military Strategy of the United States*. 2004.
- Woolf, Amy. "U.S. Nuclear Weapons: Changes in Policy and Force Structure." *Congressional Research Service Report to Congress, CRS-28*. Updated January 13, 2005.
- Wright, David, Laura Grego, and Lisbeth Gronlund. *The Physics of Space Security: A Reference Manual*. Cambridge, MA: American Society of Arts and Sciences, 2005.

Understanding U.S. Policy

- Center for Counterproliferation Research. *US Nuclear Policy in the 21st Century: A Fresh Look at National Strategy and Requirements*. National Defense University and Center for Global Security Research at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. July 1998.
- Human Security Centre, University of British Columbia. *Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Lichterman, Andrew. *War is Peace, Arms Racing is Disarmament: The Non-Proliferation Treaty and the U.S. Quest for Global Military Dominance*. Oakland, CA: Western States Legal Foundation, May 2005.
- Phillips, Kevin. *American Dynasty: Aristocracy, Fortune, and the Politics of Deceit in the House of Bush*. New York: Penguin, 2004.
- Schell, Jonathan. *The Gift of Time: The Case for Abolishing Nuclear Weapons*. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1998.

Wheeler, Michael O.. "INSS Occasional Paper 62: International Security Negotiations: Lessons Learned from Negotiating with the Russians on Nuclear Arms." Colorado: USAF Institute for National Security Studies, USAF Academy, February 2006.

Climate Change and Nuclear Power

- Abbott, Chris, Paul Rogers and John Sloboda. *Global Responses to Global Threats: Sustainable Security for the 21st Century*. London: Oxford Research Group, 2006.
- Abolition 2000. "International Sustainable Energy Agency: Proposed Model Statute." New York: Grace Policy Institute, 2006.
- Abolition 2000. "A Sustainable Energy Future is Possible Now." New York: Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, 2006.
- Alley, Richard et al. *Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis, Summary for Policy Makers*. Geneva: International Panel on Climate Change, 2007.
- Deutch, John and Ernest J. Moniz et al. *The Future of Nuclear Power: An Interdisciplinary MIT Study*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2003.
- International Atomic Energy Agency. "INFCIRC/640: Multilateral Approaches to the Nuclear Fuel Cycle." Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, 2005.
- Lyman, Edwin. "Can Nuclear Fuel Production in Iran and Elsewhere be Safeguard Against Diversion?" *After Iran: Safeguarding Peaceful Nuclear Energy*. NPEC/ King's College-London Conference, October 2-3, 2005.
- Miller, Marvin M. "Are IAEA Safeguards on Plutonium Bulk-Handling Facilities Effective?" Washington, D.C.: Nuclear Control Institute, 1990.
- Smith, Brice. *Insurmountable Risks: The Dangers of Using Nuclear Power to Combat Global Climate Change*. Takoma Park, Maryland: Institute for Engineering and Environmental Research Press, 2006.
- Watson, Robert T. et al. *Climate Change 2001 Synthesis Report*. Geneva: International Panel on Climate Change, 2001.

Iran and the Nuclear Fuel-cycle

- Albright, David and Corey Hinderstein. "ISIS Issue Brief: Iran's Next Steps: Final Tests and the Construction of a Uranium Enrichment Plant." Washington, D.C.: Institute for Science and International Security, January 12, 2006.
- Broad, William and David Sanger. "New Worries Rise on Iranian Claim of Nuclear Steps." *New York Times*. April 17, 2006.
- Cochran, Thomas B. "Adequacy of IAEA's Safeguards for Achieving Timely Detection." Essay presented at After Iran: Safeguarding Peaceful Nuclear Energy Conference, London, October 2-3, 2005.
- Fischer, David. *History of the International Atomic Energy Agency*. Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, 1997.
- Harrison, Selig. "Is Kim Jong Il ready to provoke a regional crisis? An exclusive account of what Pyongyang really wants." *Newsweek International*. October 16, 2006.
- Hussain, H.E. Rajmah. "Statement by the Non-Aligned Movement." Statement to

- the IAEA Board of Governors Meeting, Vienna, February 2, 2006.
- International Atomic Energy Agency. "Agreement between Iran and the Agency for the application of safeguards in connection with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons." Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, May 15, 1974.
- International Atomic Energy Agency. *Annual Report 2004*. Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, 2005.
- International Atomic Energy Agency. *Annual Report 2005*. Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, 2006.
- International Atomic Energy Agency. "INFCIRC/153(Corrected)." Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, June 1972.
- International Atomic Energy Agency. *Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency*. Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, October 23, 1956.
- International Atomic Energy Agency. *The Structure and Content of Agreements Between the Agency and States Required in Connection with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, INFCIRC/153 (corrected)*. Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, June 1972.
- International Atomic Energy Agency Board of Governors. "Resolution: Implementation of Safeguards in the Islamic Republic of Iran, GOV/2005/77." Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, September 22, 2005.
- International Atomic Energy Agency Director General. "Implementation of Safeguards in the Islamic Republic of Iran: Report of the Director General, GOV/2004/83." Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, November 15, 2004.
- International Atomic Energy Agency Director General. "Implementation of Safeguards in the Islamic Republic of Iran: Report of the Director General, GOV/2005/67." Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, September 2, 2005.
- International Atomic Energy Agency Director General. "Implementation of Safeguards in the Islamic Republic of Iran: Report of the Director General, GOV/2006/27." Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, April 28, 2006.
- International Panel on Fissile Materials. *Global Fissile Material Report 2006*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 2006.
- "Iran nuclear bomb 'in 10 years'." BBC News. June 2, 2006.
- "Joint Declaration of South and North Korea on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula." January 20, 1992.
- "Joint Statement of the Fourth Round of the Six-Party Talks." September 19, 2005.
- Kerr, Paul. "No Progress at North Korea Talks." *Arms Control Today*. January/February 2007.
- Kristensen, Hans M. "The Withdrawal of U.S. Nuclear Weapons From South Korea." The Nuclear Information Project. September 28, 2005.
- Kristensen, Hans M. "U.S. Nuclear Strike Planning Against North Korea." The Nuclear Information Project. September 28, 2005 (updated November 3, 2006).
- "Model Treaty on the Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free-Zone." Peace Depot. July 2004. Online at <http://www.peacedepot.org>.
- "Paris Agreement." Agreement signed in Paris between Iran, France, Germany, United Kingdom, and the High Representative of the European Union. November 26, 2004.

Permanent Mission of Iran to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

- “Communication to the Agency.” August 1, 2005.
- Sanders, Ambassador Jackie W. “Articles I and II.” Statement to the 2005 Review Conference of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, United Nations, New York, May 19, 2005.
- Shaker, Mohamed I. *The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: Origin and Implementation*. London: Oceana Publications, 1980.
- Spies, Michael. “UN Escalates Nuclear Situation with Iran.” New York: Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy, January 10, 2007.
- United Nations Security Council. “Resolution 1737 (2006).” December, 23 2006.
- White House. *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. March 2006.
- Weiss, Leonard. “Atoms for Peace.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist*. November/December 2003.

Toward Nuclear Abolition

- Committee on International Security and Arms Control, National Academy of Sciences. *Monitoring Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear-Explosive Materials: An Assessment of Methods and Capabilities*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2005.
- Datan, Merav, Felicity Hill, Jürgen Scheffran, Alyn Ware. *Securing our Survival (SOS): The Case for a Nuclear Weapons Convention*. Cambridge, MA: International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, 2007.
- Global Action to Prevent War. *Program Statement*. 2003.
- “NPT/CONF.2005/WP.1: Verification of nuclear disarmament: final report on studies into the verification of nuclear warheads and their components.” Working paper submitted by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the 2005 NPT Review Conference, New York, 2005.
- Rademaker, Stephen G. “U.S. Compliance With Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).” Remarks at a Panel Discussion of the Arms Control Association, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C.
- United Nations General Assembly. “Resolution A/RES/55/33C.” January 12, 2001.

The Word as Arrow

- Dorn, Walter. “Human Security: An Overview.” Cornwallis, Nova Scotia: Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, May 1, 2002.
- Hague Appeal for Peace. “The Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice in the 21st Century.” New York: Hague Appeal for Peace, 2000.
- Havel, Václav. “A Word About Words.” Acceptance Speech for the Peace Prize of the German Booksellers Association. *US News & World Report*. February 26, 1990.
- Lang, Daniel. *An Inquiry Into Enoughness: Of Bombs and Men and Staying Alive*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.
- Morgan, Edward. “Sufficiency.” *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. 12, No. 11. June 5, 1969.

A Gender Perspective

- Cohn, Carol, Felicity Hill, and Sara Ruddick. "Background Paper No. 38: The Relevance of Gender for Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction." Stockholm: Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, December 2005.
- Cohn, Carol. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defence Intellectuals." *Signs*, Vol. 12, No. 4. 1989.
- Cohn, Carol. "Slick'ems, glick'ems, Christmas Trees, and Cookie Cutters: Nuclear Language and How We Learned to Pat the Bomb." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Volume 43. June 1987.
- Cohn, Carol. "Wars, Wimps, and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War." *Gendering War Talk*. Edited by Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Enloe, Cynthia. "Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics." *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 53, No. 1. February 1991.
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. California: University of California Press, 2000.
- Enloe, Cynthia. "Masculinity As Foreign Policy Issue." *Foreign Policy in Focus*, Vol. 5, No. 36. October 2000.
- Enloe, Cynthia. *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*. California: University of California Press, 1993.
- Hill, Felicity. "How and when has Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security impacted negotiations outside the Security Council?" Masters Thesis, Uppsala University Programme of International Studies, 2004-2005.
- Scott, Joan. "Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis." *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Tickner, J. Ann. *Gender in International Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Weiss, Cora. "Women and Militarism." Hague Appeal for Peace.

Redefining Security in Human Terms

- Abbott, Chris, Paul Rogers and John Sloboda. *Global Responses to Global Threats: Sustainable Security for the 21st Century*. London: Oxford Research Group, June 2006.
- Berrigan, Frida and William D. Hartung, with Leslie Heffel. *U.S. Weapons at War 2005: Promoting Freedom of Fueling Conflict? U.S. Military Aid and Arms Transfers Since September 11*. New York: World Policy Institute, June 2005.
- Boyd, J. Kirk. "Path to a world free from want and fear." *San Francisco Chronicle*. February 12, 2004.
- Burroughs, John and Jacqueline Cabasso. "Confronting the Nuclear-Armed States in International Negotiating Forums: Lessons for NGOs." *International Negotiation*, 4. 1999.
- "Call From Social Movements For Mobilizations Against The War, Neoliberalism, Exploitation And Exclusion Another World Is Possible." Statement to the World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, Brazil, January 31, 2005.
- Civiak, Dr. Robert. "Still At It: An Analysis of the Department of Energy's Fiscal Year 2007 Budget Request for Nuclear Weapons Activities." Livermore, CA:

- Tri-Valley CAREs, (undated).
- Crossette, Barbara. "Kofi Annan's Astonishing Facts." *The New York Times*. September 27, 1998.
- Dhanapala, Jayantha. "A Future Arms Control and Disarmament Agenda." 1999 Olof Palme Memorial Lecture, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 30 September 1999.
- Fischer, Louis ed. *The Essential Gandhi: His Life, Work and Ideas*. New York: Vintage Books, 1962.
- Friends Committee on National Legislation. *Washington Newsletter*, No. 705. March 2006.
- Hartung, William D. "Bush Proposes Largest Military Budget Since World War II." New York: World Policy Institute, February 7, 2007.
- Hellman, Christopher. "U.S. Military Spending vs. the World." Washington, D.C.: Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, February 6, 2006.
- International Peace Bureau. *Warfare or Welfare? Disarmament for Development in the 21st Century: A Human Security Approach*. Geneva: International Peace Bureau, October 2005.
- King, Jr. Dr. Martin Luther. "Beyond Vietnam." Address delivered to the Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, at Riverside Church, New York City, April 4 1967.
- Lichterman, Andrew. "Some Thoughts about the Path to Abolition of Nuclear Weapons and Strategies for Organizing in the United States." Oakland, CA: Western States Legal Foundation, April 1999.
- Lichterman, Andrew. "Think Tanks, Disarmament, and Peace Movements in the U.S.: A view from the Grassroots." *Wissenschaft und Frieden*. August 2004.
- Lichterman, Andrew. "Up from the Concrete: Making Connections and Building Coalitions for a U.S. Movement to Abolish Nuclear Weapons." Oakland, CA: Western States Legal Foundation, April 1999.
- Norris, Robert S., Hans M. Kristensen, Christopher E. Paine. *Nuclear Insecurity: A Critique of the Bush Administration's Nuclear Weapons Policies*. New York: Natural Resources Defense Council, September 2004.
- Oberdorfer, Don. "Strategy for Solo Superpower; Pentagon Looks to 'Regional Contingencies'." *The Washington Post*. May 19, 1991.
- Roosevelt, Franklin. "Annual Address to Congress - The 'Four Freedoms'." January 6, 1941.
- Sánchez, Dr. Oscar Arias. "The Brightest Future We Could Dream Of." Statement to the 61st Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, September 19, 2006.
- Scheffran, Dr. Jürgen. "Strengthening International Security Through International Law: The Case of Nuclear, Missile and Space Weapons." Statement to the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation International Law Symposium, Santa Barbara, CA, February 24, 2006.
- Schwartz, Stephen I. "Overview of Project Findings." *The Hidden Costs of Our Nuclear Arsenal*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, June 30, 1998.
- Silva, H.E. Mr. Luiz Inácio Lula. "Statement by H.E. Mr. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, President of the Federative Republic of Brazil." Statement to the General Debate of the 61st Session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, 19 September 2006.
- Stålenheim, Petter, Damien Fruchart, Wuyi Omitoogun and Catalina Perdomo. "Chapter 8. Military expenditure." *SIPRI Yearbook 2006: Armaments*,

Disarmament and International Security. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, June 2006.

Sterngold, James. "Los Alamos scientist criticizes federal approach to arsenal." *San Francisco Chronicle*. February, 13, 2007.

Ul-Haq, Mahbub. "Human Rights, Security and Governance." *Peace & Policy Journal of the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research*. Fall/Winter 1998.

United Nations Development Program. "International cooperation at a crossroads: Aid, trade and security in an unequal world." *Human Development Report 2005*. New York: United Nations Development Program, 2005.

Zinn, Howard. "Are We Politicians or Citizens?" *The Progressive*. May 2007.