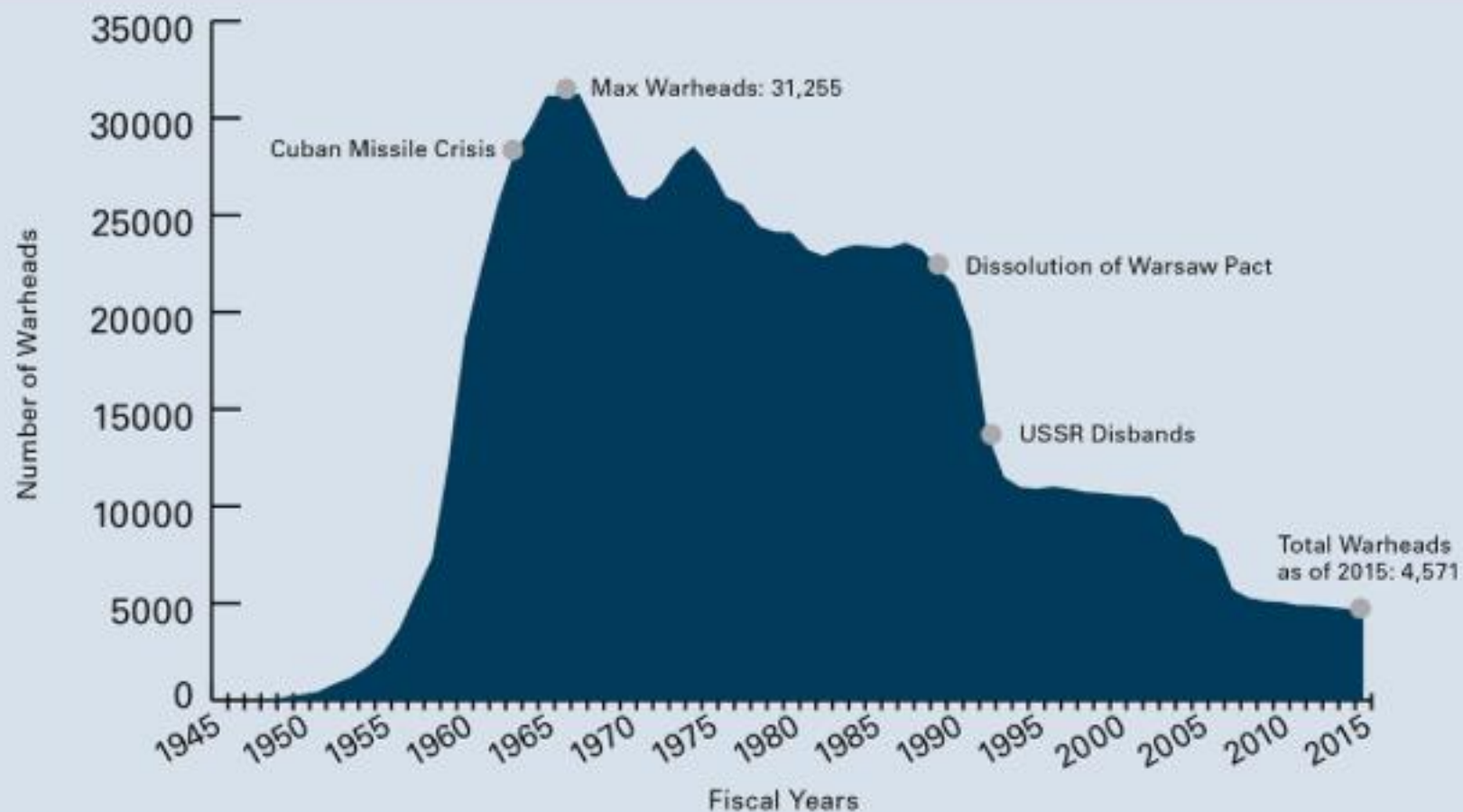


**July 13—Who Decides? A Hard Look at the  
Nuclear Arsenals and Policies of the Nine  
Nuclear-Armed States, and the U.S.  
Congressional/ Laboratory/Military/  
Industrial Complex.**

What has and is preventing any serious movement  
toward nuclear disarmament.

Who are the change agents?

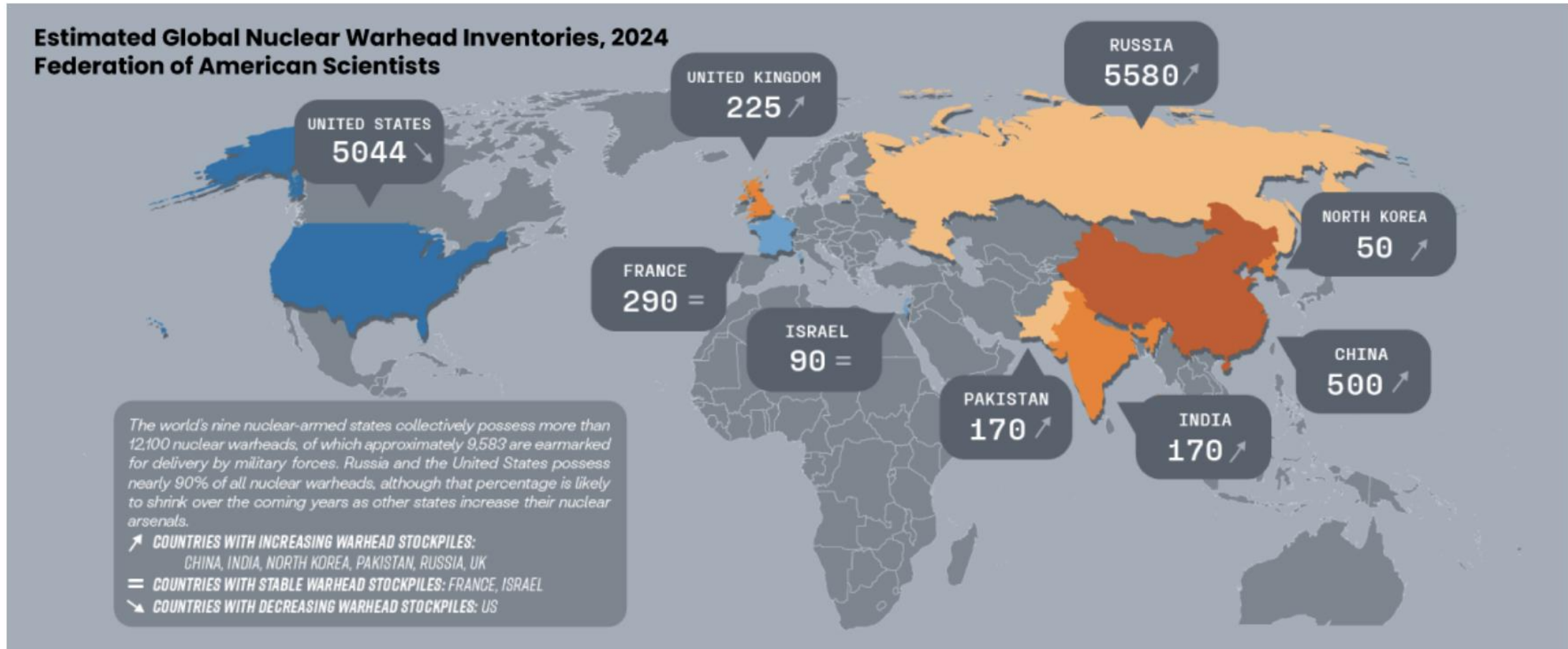
**Figure 1: U.S. Nuclear Weapons Stockpile, 1945-2015\***



\* Includes active and inactive warheads. Several thousand additional warheads are retired and awaiting dismantlement.

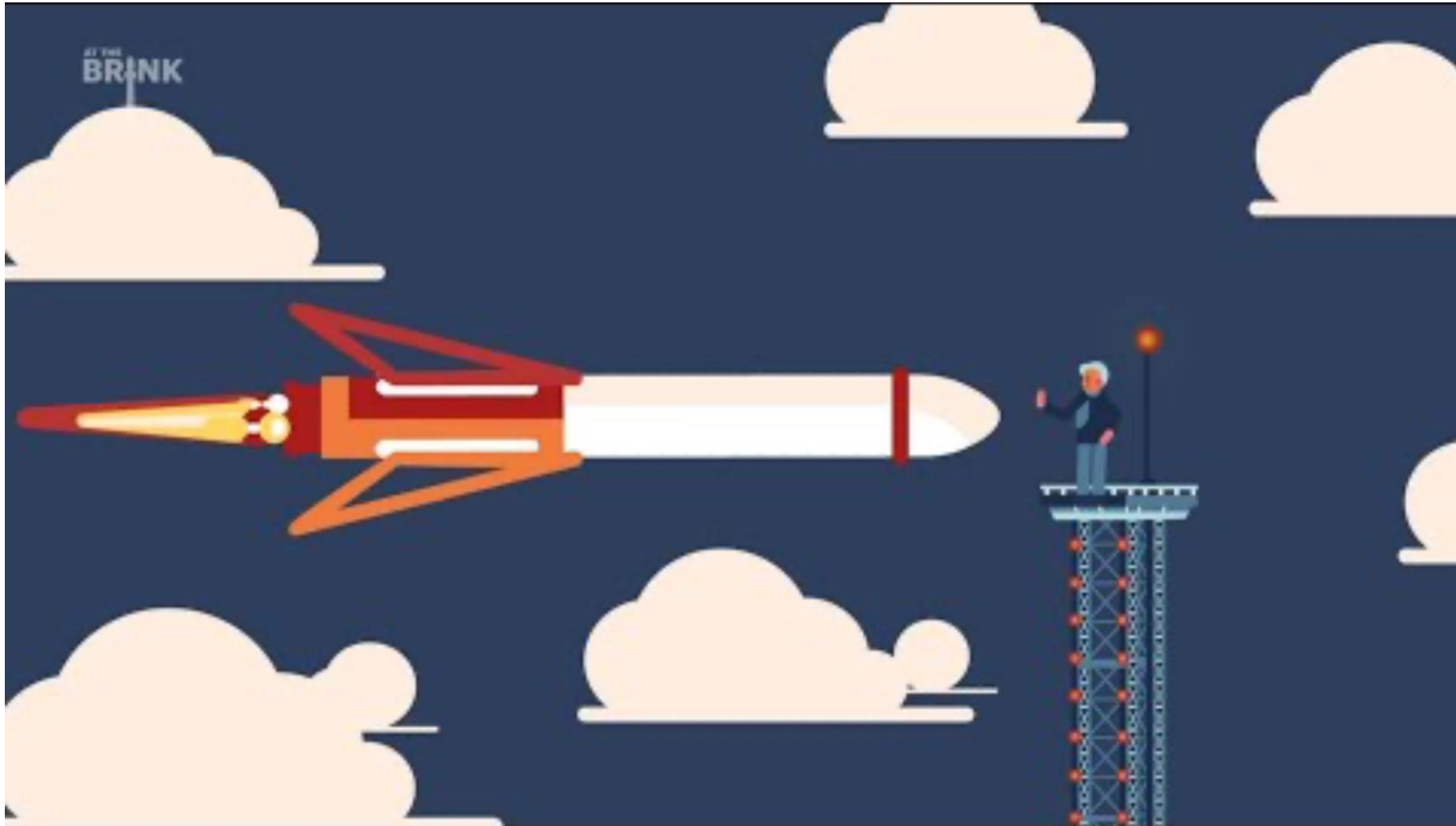
Sources: U.S. Defense Department, U.S. Energy Department

# Global Nuclear Warhead Inventories 2024



# The Nuclear Sponge Sucks – or, Why Do We Still Have ICBMs?

## From AT THE BRINK—A William J. Perry Project



# “Modernization” and the replacement of the 400 Minuteman III ICBM’s with 450 “Sentinel” ICBM’s is moving full speed ahead.

The Fiscal Year 2025 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) was signed into law by President Biden on December 23, 2024.

The NDAA directs the Pentagon to plan for the potential expansion of the ICBM force up to 450 deployed missiles—the Sentinel Program.

The NDAA includes a provision that **prohibits reducing the number of deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles below 400**, with the exception of facilitating the transition from the Minuteman III to the Sentinel missile system. This confirms that the law does include a provision aimed at preventing significant reductions in the ICBM force, with a focus on maintaining strength during the transition to the new Sentinel system. (Source: Perplexity)

# Why Do We Still Have ICBMs?

Ultimately, partial self-interest prevails over the common good of humanity, PLUS collective delusions about what makes us safe.

To Start—Let's look at the U.S. nuclear weapons “modernization” program initiated by President Obama in 2010, as the “price” for Republican approval of the New Start Treaty capping deployed nuclear weapons by the U.S. and Russia at 1550 each.

Upgrading or replacing every element of the nuclear stockpile, costing \$1.7 trillion through 2046, it will include:

- 12 *Columbia*-class submarines to replace 14 Ohio-class ones
- A new strategic bomber, the B-21 Raider, as many as 145 of them, with a new air-launched cruise missile
- Replace all 400 Minuteman III single warhead ICBM's with 450 new multiple warhead missiles called the “Sentinel” designed to last into the 2070's

Other nuclear-weapons states have their own “modernization” programs—

This equals the New Nuclear Arms Race.

# “Military-Industrial Complex”    *OR* “Congressional-Corporations Complex”

Who Decides? On nuclear weapons and military budgets?

- Nuclear weapons authorization and funding goes up each year under both Republican and Democratic administrations.  
The Fiscal Year 2025 National Defense Authorization Act, signed by Pres. Biden, authorized **\$920 billion**, and surely will go higher under Pres. Trump.
- The “big beautiful bill” will add another \$150 billion to the Pentagon budget in the next few years. Trump has promised his “Golden Dome missile defense project” \$170 billion over the next three years, and the Fy 2026 allocations for new nuclear warheads is proposed to be \$30 billion (a 58% hike from the prior year), with cuts in funding for nonproliferation, cleanup, and renewable energy. (Source: William Hartung, “Feeding the Warfare State,” TomDispatch, July 1, 2025)

# Could our congressional representatives make a difference??

- Anti-nuclear legislation is occasionally proposed but seems always to die in committee, without serious discussion or debate.
- Senators and Congressional Rep's taking a public stand against our nuclear policies, e.g., proposals for a “No First Use” policy, against the “sole authority” of the president to launch nuclear weapons, against wholesale “modernization of the nuclear forces, or for the TPNW, are a small but important minority.



# The Congress people who have opposed U.S. nuclear policies-- needing encouragement and support

Senators—

Edward Markey (D-MA)

Bernie Sanders (I-VT)

Jess Merkley (D-OR)

Elizabeth Warren (D-MA)

Chris Murphy (D-CT)

Chris Van Hollen (D-MD)

Maria Cantwell (WA)

Representatives—

James McGovern (MA-2)

Jill Tokuda (HI-02)

Ted Lieu (CA)

Delia Ramirez (IL)

Nydia Velazquez (NY)

Jan Schakowsky (IL)

Chellie Pingree (ME)

Shri Thanedar (MI)

Zoe Lofgren (CA)

Eleanor Holmes Norton (DC)

Rashida Tlaib (MI)

Lloyd Doggett (TX)

Suzanne Bonamici (OR)

Ilhan Omar (MN)

Greg Casar (TX)

Mike Thompson (CA)

John Garamendi (CA)

Don Beyer (VA)

Earl Blumenauer (OR)

**AND MORE**

## More Congressional Support

House Resolution 77, 118<sup>th</sup> Congress (2023-24)-embracing the goals and provisions of the TPNW-sponsored by Rep's McGovern and Blumenauer, had 44 co-sponsors (all Democratic), died in committee.

House Resolution 669, 119<sup>th</sup> Congress (2025-26)-Restricting First Use of Nuclear Weapons Act of 2025-sponsored by Rep Ted Liew, has 19 co-sponsors (all Democratic). Companion bill→

S. 192, sponsored by Senator Markey, has 6 cosponsors: Senators Merkley, Warren, Van Hollen, Welch, Sanders, and Wyden.

# What is driving the bipartisan majority commitment to perpetuating this “Common Insanity” in perpetuity?

Congress has maintained a strong bipartisan consensus in favor of modernizing and expanding the ICBM force.

## *Meet the ICBM Coalition--*

Primarily a Sensate-based group of Senators from states with major ICBM bases or significant roles in the Sentinel missile program, mainly: North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, South Dakota.

Prominent Senators have been John Hoeven (R-ND), Jon Tester (D-MT), John Barrasso (R-MT), Steve Daines (R-MT), Mike Lee (R-UT), Mike Rounds (R-SD), and Kevin Cramer (R-ND). Mitt Romney (R-UT) in the past.

# Do we need to shift our approach to achieve the goal of radical change in nuclear policy, to move in the direction of elimination of nuclear weapons?

- YES! says Timmon Wallis, in two recent important books:

*Warheads to Windmills—Preventing Climate Catastrophe and Nuclear War*, 2023, and *Nuclear Abolition, A Scenario*, 2025.

- Needed change will NOT come from Congress OR the White House BECAUSE they are BOUGHT AND OWNED by the big military contractor corporations.
- Through financing political campaigns with both open and “dark money” donations, massive lobbying, propaganda in major media and think tanks, and maintenance of the robust “revolving door” of people within military, corporate, and congressional seats of power.

The crux of Timmon Wallis' argument: Corporations care most about their bottom line—profit.

They will change course when their bottom line requires it.

- Wallis' *Nuclear Abolition, A Scenario (2025)*—an answer to Annie Jacobsen's *Nuclear War, A Scenario (2024)*.
- In her book, Jacobsen sketches in excruciating detail, based on current facts about the hardware, software, political and international relationships controlling nuclear arsenals on the globe, how a single ICBM launched toward the U.S. (just say, from North Korea) could unleash a spasm of nuclear war that in a little more than an hour destroys life and civilization on earth as we know it.
- In his book, *Nuclear Abolition, A Scenario*, Wallis describes how “we” from multiple point of convergence could (can) move nuclear weapons corporations to change toward other business ventures (hopefully constructive) to save their bottom lines.

# How do the nuclear weapons industries exert and maintain control of Congress and the military budget?

- **MONEY:** Campaign donations—E.g., the top ten “defense” industry companies gave over \$50 million to candidates during the 2024 election cycle. Estimated (by former head of the Federal Election Commission) \$600 million in “dark money” funneled to Congress members through unaccountable non-profit organizations.
- Financing in advertising, media, and think tanks.
- Lobbying: A vast array of corporate lobbyists providing technical assistance in writing budget authorization bills (not just free lunch). In 2024, defense contractors spent \$150 million on lobbying expenses in Washington D.C.
- The “Revolving Door”  
(Source: OpenSecrets.org)

# The “Revolving Door”

## —tightening control over policy and budgets.

- There is a three-way revolving door between jobs in Congress, the Departments of Energy (pays for warheads) and Defense (pays for delivery systems), and the defense companies who receive Congressionally-approved contracts.
- In 2022, there were 672 cases where the top 20 defense contractors had former government officials, military officers, Congress members and legislative staff working for them as lobbyists, board members or senior executives. (OpenSecrets.org)
- One quarter of the DOD officials moving to the private sector in 2016 went to work for one of the top five US defense contractors (Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Raytheon/RTX, General Dynamics, and Northrop Grumman). (Source: Project on Government Oversight)

# Ten Top Nuclear Weapons Corporations

## 2023 Nuke Related Income & Lobbying Costs

<u>Company</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Lobbying Costs (in millions)</u>
Honeywell International	6,184.40	9.31
Northrop Grumman	5,978.00	10.86
BAE Systems	3,306.70	4.16
Lockheed Martin	2,894.00	14.06
General Dynamics	2,706.70	12.16
Bechtel	1,682.60	0.90
Huntington Ingalls Industries	1,282.60	4.96
Airbus	951.20	3.07
Babcock International	883.90	--
Leidos	830.00	2.46

(Source: [www.icanw.org/wasted](http://www.icanw.org/wasted) 2022 global nuclear weapons spending)



# How to make corporations change—what they are willing to produce and the influence they exert?

Timmon Wallis' answer: Pressures on their bottom lines

Pressures *via*

- Divestment
- Boycotts
- “Shaming”

Proven tools that have worked in various campaigns.

Multiple pressures converging from a variety of sources, both internationally and domestically—cities, counties, states, civic organizations, faith communities, labor unions, retirement/pension funds, professional associations, national governments abroad.

Is it possible, will it work?

Wallis offers the history of General Electric as a good, practical “proof of concept.”

In the 1980’s, General Electric was the largest corporation and the largest nuclear weapons contractor at that time.

The upswell of anti-nuclear sentiment across the US and the world, including the Nuclear Freeze Movement and SANE, included widespread boycotting of GE products, costing the corporation loss of millions of dollars. GE phased out of the nuclear weapons business; today its website states “We do not manufacture or assemble, sell or service cluster bombs, land mines, or nuclear weapons.”

Other household-name corporations pulled out of the nuclear weapons business and never returned, due to the pressures of boycotts and "shaming".

- Morton Thiokol Corporation--maker of Morton Salt.
- Ford Motor Company—filed a lawsuit against Marin County for its divestment policy, and lost the case.
- AT&T—in 1992 cut its ties with the nuclear weapons business by leaving management of Sandia Labs.
- IBM
- Hewlett-Packard
- Dupont

(Source: Timmon Wallis, *Nuclear Abolition, A Scenario 2025*)

Wallis sees the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons as providing guidance and a “fulcrum” for a multi-layered “pincer movement” against the nuclear weapons corporations.

- An important part of the TPNW is commitment of the Party States (and by extension, those organizations urging support of the treaty) NOT to “assist, encourage or induce, in any way, anyone to engage in any activity prohibited...under the treaty,” including production or manufacturing of nuclear weapons.
- Bottom line: if you are in or support the TPNW, then you must DISASSOCIATE from the production of nuclear weapons.
- Wallis writes: “This strategy may not work, but there is little chance of anything else working. And the choice before us is to **make** it work if we want to survive.” (*Ibid.*, p. 37)

This approach has already begun! The task is to widen its breadth and deepen its intensity, actualizing all its components.

California State was the first U.S. state to officially support the TPNW, when the Legislature passed Assembly Joint Resolution 33 in 2018, BUT the Resolution remains largely symbolic and does NOT mandate divestment of state funds from nuclear weapons producers.

EVEN THOUGH

It embraces the goals and provisions of the TPNW, and stipulates that “California is home to institutions and industries that contribute to the development and maintenance of nuclear weapons, including public universities and private companies,” e.g., UC Berkeley in its participation in management of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, which designs and makes new nuclear warheads, among other things.

TIME FOR CALIFORNIA TO PUT ITS MONEY WHERE ITS MOUTH IS??

Other state governments (Oregon, New Jersey, and Rhode Island) who have legislated support for the TPNW have similarly NOT mandated divestments. In Massachusetts, bills were introduced supporting the TPNW and requiring divestments from corporations manufacturing nuclear weapons, but the bills did not pass into law.

(Source: Perplexity.org.)

In total, **more than 70 U.S. city councils** have passed resolutions urging federal action to embrace and implement the goals of the TPNW, often as part of the “Back from the Brink” campaign or the ICAN Cities Appeal urging federal alignment with the TPNW

**Notable cities that have passed such resolutions include:**

<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>Los Angeles, CA</b>	<b>New York City, NY</b>	<b>Philadelphia, PA</b>
<b>Washington, DC</b>	<b>Chicago, IL</b>	<b>Portland, OR</b>	<b>Denver, CO</b>
<b>Minneapolis, MN</b>	<b>Evanston, IL</b>	<b>Baltimore, MD</b>	<b>Santa Barbara, CA</b>
<b>Tucson, AZ</b>	<b>Salt Lake City, UT</b>	<b>Springfield, MA</b>	<b>Anchorage, AK</b>
<b>Des Moines, IA</b>	<b>Worcester, MA</b>	<b>Walla Walla, WA</b>	<b>Portland, ME</b>
<b>South Burlington, VT</b>	<b>Syracuse, NY</b>	<b>Bloomington, IN</b>	<b>Ithaca, NY</b>
<b>Durham, NH</b>	<b>Winooski, VT</b>	<b>Needham, MA</b>	<b>Newton, MA</b>
<b>Ojai, CA</b>	<b>Easthampton, MA</b>	<b>Menlo Park, CA</b>	<b>Carlsbad, CA</b>
<b>Davis, CA</b>	<b>Somerville, MA</b>	<b>Arcata, CA</b>	<b>Atherton, CA</b>
<b>Bangor, ME</b>	<b>Eureka, CA</b>	<b>Exeter, NH</b>	<b>Jamestown, RI</b>
<b>Lansing, NY</b>	<b>Barrington, NH</b>	<b>Peterborough, NH</b>	<b>Portsmouth, NH</b>
<b>Salem, OR</b>	<b>Lee, NH</b>	<b>Yellow Springs, OH</b>	<b>Williamsburg, MA</b>
<b>Goshen, MA</b>	<b>Warner, NH</b>	<b>Amherst, MA</b>	<b>Brookline, MA</b>
<b>Alstead, NH</b>	<b>Leverett, MA</b>	<b>Windsor, MA</b>	<b>San Francisco, CA</b>
<b>Berkeley, CA</b>	<b>Cummington, MA</b>		

Some states (**California, Oregon, New Jersey, Maine and Rhode Island**) have passed similar resolutions in support of the TPNW.

My research, to date, shows only two cities who have actualized (i.e., gone beyond the symbolic) their support of the TPNW by enacting divestment policies.

- 1) **New York City**, in December. 2021, passed Resolution 976, which calls for divestment of public employee pension funds from nuclear weapons producers (approximately \$475 million from nuclear weapons-related companies), as part of the ICAN Cities Appeal.
- 2) **Berkeley** voters, back in 1986, enacted the Nuclear Free Berkeley Act, which included prohibition of city funds being invested in nuclear-weapons-related activities. On May 15, 2018, the Berkeley City Council passed a resolution of strong support of the TPNW and proclaiming compliance with the TPNW in virtue of its nuclear-free status and divestment policies.

Timmon Wallis urges an emphatic message:

**NOT WITH OUR MONEY**

**Followed By Decisive Actions**