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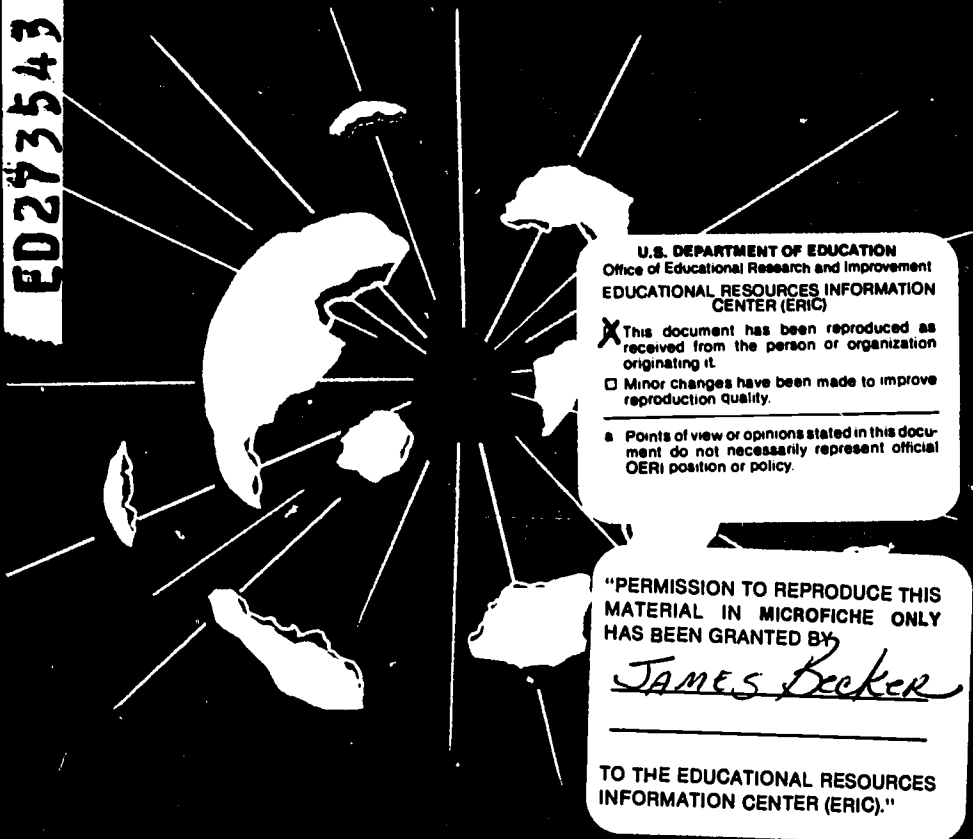
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ABSTRACT

The conference-based report is designed to help secondary school educators with the difficult and important task of deciding how and what to teach about nuclear arms and national security. The booklet intends to build a rationale and to develop a context or framework to assist in selecting approaches, teaching strategies, and appropriate materials for the school and community. The report includes suggested guidelines for dealing with controversy through the treatment of issues; integrating nuclear arms issues into the established curriculum through organizing topics; and suggestions relating to rationale, goals, materials, approaches, and evaluation. Eight conclusions for nuclear arms education are also presented and include statements on appropriateness, personal involvement, student/community needs, criteria, ultimate goals, and public policy. Two appendices are included: Building a Rationale for Nuclear Arms Education and Clarifying Some Positions on Avoiding Nuclear War. Selected readings are also provided. (TRS)

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NUCLEAR ARMS EDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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We hope the report will prove useful to secondary school educators as they grapple with the difficult and important task of deciding how and what to teach about nuclear arms and national security.

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February 1985

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NUCLEAR ARMS EDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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INTRODUCTION

Current controversy and debates over issues of nuclear arms are among the most important and complex in recent years. The international system recognizes the right of all nations to arm in their own defense and to use armed force in pursuit of their own interests. International law and accepted custom have declared the use of armed force for aggressive or repressive purposes to be unacceptable. However, this has not significantly limited aggressive or repressive behavior. Conflicts of economic interest, ideology, quests for dominance and power, terrorism, hijacking, border incidents—all carry with them the threat and frequently the use of armed force.

These long-standing concerns have been exacerbated by continuing advances in the numbers and sophistication of nuclear weapons which threaten human and planetary survival. The evolution of essentially equivalent and enormously excessive nuclear weapons systems both in the Soviet Union and in the Atlantic Alliance has aroused widespread concern over the danger of all forms of nuclear war.

Public policy decisions related to nuclear issues are crucial for present and future generations. If the public is to play its proper role, it must be informed about nuclear issues. Schools, the one institution almost all citizens attend, have become increasingly involved. A growing number of schools are teaching units or lessons on nuclear weapons issues. Recognizing that there is little agreement regarding how schools should proceed or what they should teach about this complex topic, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) and the Social Studies Development Center (SSDC) sought and received support from the Johnson Foundation for a conference focusing on nuclear arms education in secondary schools.

Conference Purpose

The purposes of this Wingspread Conference on Nuclear Arms Education in Secondary Schools were:

- To provide information and materials to secondary schools which choose to provide nuclear arms education as part of the established curriculum.
- To review and compare materials and approaches available from organizations and schools which have programs in the area of nuclear arms education.
- To provide information about available resources and school-based programs related to nuclear arms education.

- To begin the development of possible guidelines to help school district personnel and community groups decide how best to deal with nuclear arms and national security issues.

Conference Participants

Participants included secondary school educators, state department of education personnel, teacher educators, representatives of professional education associations and individuals affiliated with some of the major organizations that have programs and services designed to serve secondary schools. They represented divergent points of view on both the content and approaches to nuclear arms education. It was anticipated that the tensions between people representing different points of view would surface at the conference in ways that would reflect tensions likely to exist in local school communities. It was also expected that these conference participants would 1) accept existing differences and 2) take advantage of the divergent points of view represented to acquire and communicate more profound insights into the issues.

Conference Format

Speakers included specialists in national security and nuclear arms issues, secondary school supervisors and teachers, and representatives of organizations with different approaches and views regarding nuclear arms education.

The conference opened with a plenary session featuring a presentation designed to clarify various positions on avoiding nuclear war. Other plenary sessions focused on specific programs and approaches on concerns related to developing school-based programs dealing with nuclear arms issues.

Conference participants also met in four small groups for three sessions. Each group was expected to suggest guidelines related to one aspect of nuclear arms education:

- Developing goals and a rationale.
- Integrating nuclear arms learning activities into the established curriculum.
- Selecting materials and approaches.
- Developing appropriate evaluation criteria.

At the final plenary session each group presented its recommendations. They are included in this report.

BACKGROUND

A survey was made to gather information regarding the problems, concerns and extent of teaching about nuclear arms, international security, and the threat of nuclear conflict at the local level. The survey involved state social studies supervisors and members of NCSS, who are also local social studies specialists and classroom teachers.

Some of the more significant findings of this survey include:

Teachers

- Expressed the view that from “a few” to “some” as opposed to “many” or “most” teachers teach about nuclear arms issues.
- Suggested as reasons for not dealing with the topic: lack of knowledge about the topic, lack of suitable instructional materials and general discomfort with the controversial nature of the topic.

State Supervisors

- Agreed teachers should confront nuclear issues and help students examine possible consequences and alternatives.
- Agreed teaching about nuclear issues is a constructive response to student concerns about the topic.

All Respondents

- Agreed the subject should be handled with objectivity and care.
- Agreed that a great need is for balanced, clear instructional material.
- Agreed there is also need for: quality teacher education programs, clearly thought-out curriculum plans and examples of how best to integrate nuclear themes into the traditional curricula.

SUGGESTED GUIDELINES

Dealing with Controversy

Conference participants generally agreed that the existence of nuclear arms and the danger of nuclear war are not in and of themselves controversial issues. The possession of large amounts and varied types of nuclear weapons by major world powers makes the possibility of nuclear war a reality. Participants also agreed that full scale nuclear war cannot be regarded as an acceptable solution to international conflict.

What is controversial is how best to prevent a nuclear holocaust. The real issue is how best to achieve national security in an age where nuclear war is possible. The right to national security, including the right of nations to arm in their own defense, has long been accepted by smaller and larger nations alike. What has historically been declared unacceptable, but is often ignored, is the right of a nation to use its armed force for aggressive or repressive purposes.

The fact that the question of how best to achieve national security in a nuclear age is controversial makes it imperative that the issue be treated in the schools in the same manner as other vitally important controversial issues. NCSS as well as the courts have over the years suggested reasonable, justifiable guidelines for the teaching of controversial issues. The conference participants as well as the respondents to the survey cited earlier agreed that these guidelines apply in this case as well. They include:

The issue must be

1. Presented in a way that is relevant to the students and to the subject or course being taught.
2. Appropriate to the age and maturity level of the students involved.
3. Regarded by the teaching profession as important.
4. Not disruptive to school or classroom discipline.

Treatment of the issue must provide

1. Multiple perspectives on the topic.
2. Information *not* politicization.

Treatment of the issue must avoid

1. Exploiting emotional trauma.
2. Promoting feelings of alienation or despair.
3. Treating this issue from only one viewpoint.

Furthermore, instruction which ultimately deals with public policy such as national security in a nuclear age should: include information on the process by which public policy is developed, be integrated into the regular curriculum rather than treated as a separate entity and have among its projected outcomes support for the belief that positive involvement in public policy making by an educated and informed citizenry is critical in a democratic society.

Integrating Nuclear Arms Issues into the Established Curriculum

The complexity and breadth of this subject matter requires special emphasis on the development of higher-level thinking skills. These include critical thinking, analysis of assumption, making informed judgments and recognizing multiple perspectives. The nature of this topic also requires the difficult but necessary selection of topics or categories of knowledge. Among the possible organizing topics are:

- Overview of post-1945 history
- International security
- Roots of violence and war
- Evolution of military technology weaponry
- U.S.-Soviet relations
- Strategy in a nuclear age
- Policy formation by national and international decision-makers
- Civilian-military relations
- Arms competition-arms control
- International cooperation
- Perspectives on current debate and issues.

School systems should not undertake the integration of nuclear arms education into their curricula without:

- Involving professional staff and community members in developing a clear rationale which takes into consideration both the needs of students and the educational goals of the community.
- Demonstrating how nuclear arms education will strengthen existing courses, heighten student interest and motivation and improve student skills development.
- Allocating sufficient time in existing courses to teach the material well.
- Providing adequate staff development opportunity for teachers to plan and to acquire or develop essential instructional material.

Suggestions Relating to Rationale, Goals, Materials, Approaches and Evaluation

These are for districts that wish to provide learning experiences for students in the area of national security in a nuclear age.

Rationale

The general mission of public education is to equip students with knowledge, skills and values to become fully participating members in a democratic society. Such participation involves the ability to investigate and to analyze public policy issues and to make informed judgments about such issues. An increasingly important public policy issue is national security in a nuclear age. It is, therefore, important that this issue be included within the school curriculum at appropriate places.

Goals

Students should have the opportunity to:

Develop nuclear literacy—this implies understanding the historical context, becoming acquainted with the vocabulary, developing decision-making skills, learning about various perspectives and identifying various avenues for participation.

Analyze contemporary issues associated with security in a nuclear age.

Make informed reasoned judgments about nuclear issues.

Pursue appropriate avenues for individual expression.

Selection of materials

A valid representation of multiple perspectives: All major positions and their underlying assumptions should be presented in a fashion that advocates and nonadvocates recognize as accurate and clear.

A presentation of broadly agreed upon terms and historical events: The basic descriptive concepts (e.g. ballistic missiles) and historical occurrences (e.g. use of atomic weapons in World War II) accepted by all parties should be defined and described.

Placing the issue in an appropriate context:

- Historical
- International politics
- Cultural and political diversity of societies
- Preservation of democratic values
- Economic impact.

Suggested Approaches

The approach should require students to engage in critical thinking.

As in the study of any controversial issue, the approach should enable the students to engage in analytical reasoning for themselves.

The approach should provide the affirmation of empowerment and political efficacy.

The approach should include an orientation acknowledging that the contemporary problem with respect to nuclear weapons and national security is the result of human activity and therefore can be resolved by the efforts of individuals and groups.

Suggested Guidelines for Evaluation

The following are suggestive of the kinds of questions teachers may wish to adopt at the outset of the program.

Knowledge

What knowledge have students acquired?

- Basic nuclear literacy
- History of the nuclear age—post-1945
- History of war/peace issues and international relations
- Technology related to security issues
- Alternative positions in the nuclear debate and their underlying assumptions
- Analysis of disagreements among experts.

Skills

What skills have students attained?

- To draw personal conclusions based on evidence
- To make comparisons
- To recognize bias and points of view
- To separate fact and opinion
- To take the perspective of others—empathy
- To communicate ideas in writing and speaking
- To interpret data through charts and graphs
- To employ problem-solving strategies.

Attitudes and beliefs

What attitudes or beliefs have students acquired?

- Political participation
- Political efficacy
- Political awareness
- Political interest
- Concern for this nation and for the world
- Hope/fear in relation to the future
- Optimism/pessimism in relation to the present

- Tolerance of dissent
- Tolerance of ambiguity.

Student participation

What changes have occurred in voluntary student activities/participation?

- Personal student reading
- Writing officials and newspapers
- Student sharing with other students
- Joining organizations or interest groups
- Student newspaper articles.

CONCLUSIONS

1. An appropriate title for nuclear arms education in secondary schools is National Security in a Nuclear Age.
2. Nuclear age education which focuses on nuclear weapons and warfare is more appropriate for secondary school students.
3. The controversiality of nuclear arms education must be recognized, and established guidelines for dealing with controversial issues must be followed.
4. Decisions regarding the integration of nuclear arms education into the established curriculum must involve the professional staff and interested community members at the local level.
5. Nuclear arms education must meet the needs of students and reflect the educational goals of the community.
6. The criteria used for developing, implementing and evaluating nuclear arms education must reflect the same educational principles and goals as those used to judge any other unit of study.
7. The ultimate goal of nuclear arms education must be the positive involvement of an informed citizenry in the making of public policy regarding national security in a nuclear age.
8. Public policy decisions about nuclear issues are crucial for present and future generations. If the public is to play its proper role, it must have the essential knowledge and skills to impact public policy decision making in a positive, constructive way.

APPENDICES

There was general agreement among the conference participants that nuclear arms education has been to date marked by advocacy. A number of groups were cited as seeking to have their approach adopted by teachers, administrators, school board members as well as other citizens. Schools are increasingly being urged to do something to help students better understand the complex issues surrounding nuclear weapons and national security. Given this situation, many of the Wingspread conference participants felt that a major concern of those responsible for nuclear arms education in schools was how to build a rationale and develop a context or framework to assist them in selecting approaches, teaching strategies and materials appropriate to their school and community.

Appendix I: Building a Rationale for Nuclear Arms Education suggests one way of approaching the important task of developing a rationale.

Appendix II: Clarifying Some Positions on Avoiding Nuclear War outlines some assumptions and implications of four positions. Each currently has strong support by one or more major groups.

These are presented as examples of some of the elements and procedures that help educators develop sound programs and policies for nuclear arms education in schools.

Appendix I: Building a Rationale for Nuclear Arms Education

by John Zola, Junior High Classroom Teacher, Boulder, Colorado, 1983

Nine Statements on the Teaching of Nuclear Arms in Public Schools

A. The study of nuclear war simply does not belong in our public schools. Any curriculum devoted to this topic will only frighten impressionable young people who have few mechanisms for coping with such fears. We certainly must admit that adolescents have little power or influence in our society. To teach them about a potential holocaust while they are incapable of doing anything about it is the cruelest of acts. Let's not burden young people with fears that can only create nightmares and anguish about an uncertain future.

B. The conduct of foreign and strategic policy is the job of our

lawfully elected and appointed officials in government. A democracy works by entrusting leaders who keep the best interests of the nation always in the forefront. The inclusion of nuclear war-related curriculum into our schools would only tend to subvert this process and thus be un-American in nature. Nuclear war policies are the territory of highly trained specialists who do not need meddling from rank amateurs. It seems, as well, that most nuclear war curricula tend to advise against current policies and therefore serve only to cripple our leaders in efforts to reach a truly just weapons accord. Instead, let's teach patriotism in our schools and support the national leaders and goals.

C. The teaching of nuclear war concepts and information is imperative in a democracy such as ours. It was Thomas Jefferson who explained the crucial need for an "enlightened citizenry" if a democracy was to be truly representative. There is no more pressing an issue than nuclear war for all citizens to be informed on and vocal about. Only in this way can our elected representatives (including the president) know the public sentiment toward nuclear war and nuclear weapons. In fact, were there a more educated and enlightened public, such horrors as Hitler and the Holocaust might never have occurred. Citizenship is a responsibility as much as it is a privilege. To meet that responsibility, all citizens need a basic understanding of nuclear war. It is the role of the schools to provide instruction toward such understanding.

D. Values in America seem to be turned around. As a nation, we have tried to represent the best and most productive spirits that humankind is capable of. Now, it seems, we are standing for, or at least condoning, the potential destruction of humanity. Education on nuclear war, conflict and peace studies can start to bring America back to its life-affirming position among the nations of the world. By starting now in the teaching of these subjects, we will be forming a mass of individuals who will look to peaceful alternatives as a matter of course, who will seek resolution of conflicts rather than confrontation and who will understand that nuclear weapons are the opposite of all that humans should stand for. Nuclear war and peace-related education can stimulate the ethical imagination that peaceful leaders in the future will need. In a shorter time frame, such education would force current leaders to use the tactics of peace rather than the tactics of war.

E. The issue is not nuclear war; the issue is quality education

in our schools. Every year we read about declining SAT scores and kids graduating from high school functionally illiterate. These reports aren't some wild fantasy—they are true. Ask any personnel officer in private industry about the "product" of education today. Nuclear war education would just take more time away from the basics that kids need to be learning and practicing. What with career-ed, sex-ed, values-ed and a million other diversions, it's a wonder any kids can read at all. No, leave nuclear war education to the TV and newspapers. Schools don't need one more curriculum burden to bear.

F. Young people know about nuclear war whether it is taught in the schools or not. They hear about it on TV and when grown-ups gather to discuss the events of the world. Unfortunately, they have awareness, but little factual understanding. As a result, young people feel fear, frustration and a sense of powerlessness about a seemingly impending nuclear holocaust. Kids ask: "Who will care for me?" and "Why should I work towards a future when the world is going to be blown up?" It is only through education and discussion that such fears can be lessened and put into a more healthy context. Once the education and dialogue process is undertaken, young people can become empowered and begin to take a more active role in protecting their own futures. Accurate information, a chance to discuss fears and learning the skills necessary to insure a future will make a healthier and stronger young generation.

G. To state the obvious, today's youth are tomorrow's leaders. Nuclear war won't go away all by itself and, unfortunately, doesn't seem to be disappearing in the foreseeable future. As such, today's young people will most likely be making decisions about nuclear war as they reach voting age. We, as educators, need to prepare students to make decisions in the nuclear age. Decision making is a crucial skill that needs to be learned and practiced. This is especially true when it comes to the crucial and complicated issue of nuclear war. Such a curriculum will expose young people to the various positions on different nuclear war strategies and disarmament scenarios. It is not an extreme overstatement to say that the future of the world could depend on a well educated younger generation.

H. Nuclear war is the singularly most important issue of our age—or any age. Never before has the ability to destroy all human life and civilization been held in the hands of humans.

All other issues pall before this one issue. It is, in fact, the paramount moral issue facing humanity. Therefore, all people should be educated about the threat of nuclear war. This includes young children using appropriate strategies for all ages, K-12. Only when all of society understands the horrors of nuclear war will there ever be a ground swell to ban these antilife weapons. Perhaps H.G. Wells said it best: "Human history is a race between education and catastrophe."

I. When discussing nuclear war-related issues, there is one fact that must never be ignored: the Soviet menace and the effort of the communists to spread communism across the world. The Soviet Union poses a direct threat to the very core values of our society. Teaching about nuclear war could create a defeatist attitude in our young people and help cause a weakness in the necessary vigil against a communist take over. Instead of teaching about nuclear war, teach about the horrors of communism, the purges of Stalin and the rape of Afghanistan. Teach that deterrence to nuclear war is a strong defense. Then young and old will see that nuclear weapons stand as the alternate defense against the aggression inherent in Soviet society.

Individual Ranking of Statements

Instructions: Assign a number from 1 to 9 to each statement presented in this activity. Put a "1" next to the letter of the statement that sounds *most* like what you believe, a "9" next to the statement that sounds *least* like what you believe, and rank the other statements accordingly.

A _____

B _____

C _____

D _____

E _____

F _____

G _____

H _____

I _____

Small Group Ranking of Statements

Break into small groups to form a composite score for each statement.

<i>Statements</i>	<i>Individual Rankings</i>					<i>Total</i>
A	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
B	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
C	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
D	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
E	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
F	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
G	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
H	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
I	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Areas of Agreement (the noticeably high and low totals)

Areas of Disagreement (the totals in the middle)

Statements we can agree upon.

- 1. Assumptions about students*
- 2. Views on the nature of society*
- 3. Views on the role of the school in teaching about nuclear war*

Appendix II: Clarifying Some Positions on Avoiding Nuclear War

by Charles Hermann, Mershon Center, The Ohio State University

Position A: Substantial Disarmament

Nuclear weapons have fundamentally transformed the world in which we live. The possibility exists through devices of our own making to destroy civilization and quite possibly the entire species and most other living things as well. Our peril and that of our planet is greatly increased by the creation of a parallel military doctrine (e.g., strategic nuclear deterrence) by the United States, the Soviet Union and their principal allies that threaten to unleash the nuclear holocaust as the primary means of maintaining their security. Because of the truly unique character of nuclear weapons and the limitless destruction they represent, the urgent task is to reduce these weapons systems substantially and to curb sharply the dependence of all states on them for their security. The imperative for nuclear disarmament is a mutual obligation of all nations with such weapons, but the United States must take vigorous initiatives in pursuing fair and equitable plans to halt the growth in these weapons and then to begin their elimination. We cannot wait for "good relations" to be established with the USSR in other areas to undertake such initiatives.

Position B: Stable Deterrence

Given humankind's irreversible knowledge of the destructive power of the atom and the profound conflicts that divide political systems that possess that knowledge, we must continue with strategic nuclear deterrence for the foreseeable future as the best realistic means of avoiding nuclear war. As disquieting as it is, the nuclear balance in which each side is hostage to the other's nuclear weapons has prevented nuclear war and, if undisturbed, has the best chance of any present option to continue to do so. War is best avoided when both parties know 1) that even under circumstances that are most unfavorable to them (a maximum first strike by the other side) that their own strategic nuclear force would survive long enough to inflict unacceptable damage to the other side and 2) the other side knows that it would experience unacceptable damage if it attacked first. As a consequence, both sides design weapon systems and strategic doctrine that have limited first-strike capability. The critical task we face is to ensure that neither side separately (or together) takes steps that desta-

bilize the strategic relationship. Moves toward strategic instability currently pose far greater dangers than the numbers of nuclear weapons. Whenever one side appears (to itself or its adversary) to risk losing its ability to attack adequately unless it strikes first, then stability is jeopardized. Inadequate command and control of nuclear forces, disruption of reliable intelligence on the other side's strategic deployments, testing and state of readiness, strategic weapons that cannot survive a first-strike (and hence must be used before they are attacked), weapons designed similarly to destroy protected retaliatory forces, and large-scale civil defense measures are among the factors that can reduce stability. That both sides are pursuing some of these programs presently poses increasing danger.

Position C: Deterrence Plus

Deterring the Soviet Union from aggression is a continuous and dynamic task because the USSR is constantly upgrading its weapons and military strategy. The continuous Soviet military build-up together with the need to consider how to try and limit a nuclear war if deterrence fails impels us to improve our strategic posture. Only if we are able to make effective nuclear responses at any level of large-scale conventional or nuclear aggression can we prevent nuclear war. If, for any reason, deterrence fails there are many possible levels of nuclear attack besides the popular conception of an all-out massive nuclear strike. To require an American president to either do nothing or respond massively to any level of nuclear attack against civilian and industrial targets in the Soviet Union (directly or as a result of collateral damage) is unacceptable morally and politically. The United States must continue to develop the capability to target against prime military targets in the Communist bloc including hardened ICBM silos, SLBM submarine ports, airfields, radar systems, and command centers. At the same time we should pursue both passive (civil defense) and active (ABM) defense arrangements for the United States. The continued evolution of military technology makes possible such programs to a degree not possible in previous decades. We cannot rely exclusively on either the weapons or strategies of deterrence developed over two decades ago and expect to keep the peace.

Position D: Positive Peace

The emphasis on nuclear weapons and associated strategies is badly misplaced as a means of avoiding war and for pursuing peace. It is the origin of war and the reasons for resorting to it, not the means by which wars are fought, that must

become the focus of our initiatives. Although many sources of war can be identified, one of the major ones likely to be increasingly important in the future is the massive social injustices and inequalities that exist within and between nations. When people believe that they are the subject of systematic deprivation, when they see no opportunity for the redress of grievances by civil means, when they see no chance for improving their condition or that of their children while others get richer, then the conditions for war and violence are rampant. Under these conditions, leaders and parties can win mass support by proposing to correct the injustices through the resort to violence and war. The proliferation of nuclear weapons, the rapidly expanding gap between the rich and poor nations, and the worldwide revolution in communications all act to accelerate the dangers of nuclear war. Rather than devote massive amounts of resources to preserving an unequal system, major efforts are urgently needed to redirect resources toward improving opportunities for all peoples and reducing social injustice.

Quick Comparison of Four Positions on Avoiding Nuclear War

1. What is the most pressing danger we face with respect to achieving world peace?

A. Substantial Disarmament: the arms race; indefinite dependency on military nuclear deterrence.

B. Stable Deterrence: programs that destabilize the nuclear deterrence relationship between the USA and the USSR.

C. Deterrence Plus: Soviet Union's commitment with some of its communist allies to worldwide military aggression.

D. Positive Peace: the lack of social justice and equality of opportunities within and between political systems.

2. What single basic value seems most in jeopardy by the current relationship between East and West?

A. Substantial Disarmament: survival of human species.

B. Stable Deterrence: rationality.

C. Deterrence Plus: democracy and the free enterprise system.

D. Positive Peace: Social justice; equality of opportunity.

3. What is the most important role of arms control?

A. Substantial Disarmament: stop increasing in numbers and kinds of nuclear weapons, then their reduction.

B. Stable Deterrence: limiting of weapons systems having first-strike, hard-target kill capability; incentives for systems (including C³I) that increase stability.

C. Deterrence Plus: deny the adversary any strategic advantage while, if possible, preserving one for ourselves.

D. Positive Peace: reduce defense spending so that it can be redirected.

4. What military policies and doctrines would maximize your preferred objectives?

A. Substantial Disarmament: nuclear freeze; no-first use of nuclear weapons, finite deterrence (as transition).

B. Stable Deterrence: mutual assured destruction; shifts away from large MIRVed ICBMs; adherence to SALT agreements.

C. Deterrence Plus: war fighting/terminating capability, damage limitation, flexible response, civil defense.

D. Positive Peace: collective security, reduced defense spending, strengthening the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, limits on conventional arms transfers.

5. What is the nature of the Soviet threat?

A. Substantial Disarmament: exaggerated; largely responsive to Western initiatives and paranoia; plagued by internal problems; affected by Russian history of repeated invasions.

B. Stable Deterrence: Soviets tend toward opportunism in

military expansion, but are cautious and generally risk-averse; committed to matching U.S. defense programs and will make investments and sacrifices to do so.

C. Deterrence Plus: committed to global expansion through military force and coercion, ideologically driven and are uncompromising except as a temporary expedient; untrustworthy with respect to agreements; current level of military investment may be near maximum of which their economy is capable; therefore, might not be able to keep up with United States if we make strong commitment to expanded defense.

D. Positive Peace: Soviet Union largely viewed in unaligned countries of the world as a failed model for development (as is Western capitalism), although some form of non-Soviet Marxism has some attraction (partially for its critique of capitalism and the inequalities it appears to generate).

Some Selected Readings on Each Position

Position A

Jonathan Schell, *THE FATE OF THE EARTH*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1982.

Randall Forsberg, "A Bilateral Nuclear-Weapon Freeze," *SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN*. November, 1982, Pp. 52-61.

Position B

Albert Carnesale and the Harvard Study Group, *LIVING WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS*. New York: Bantam Books, 1983.

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