

House Calendar No. 7

98TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. J. RES. 13

[Report No. 98-31]

Calling for a mutual and verifiable freeze on and reductions in nuclear weapons.

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## JOINT RESOLUTION

Calling for a mutual and verifiable freeze on and reductions in nuclear weapons.

Whereas the greatest challenge facing the Earth is to prevent the occurrence of nuclear war by accident or design;

Whereas the United States and the Soviet Union have signed the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations, known as the McCloy-Zorin Agreement, enumerating general principles for future negotiations for international peace and security;

Whereas the increasing stockpiles of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery systems by both the United States and the Soviet Union have not strengthened international peace and

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security but in fact enhance the prospect for mutual destruction;

Whereas adequate verification of compliance has always been an indispensable part of any international arms control agreement; and

Whereas a mutual and verifiable freeze followed by and reductions in nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery systems would greatly reduce the risk of nuclear war: Now, therefore, be it

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

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13 That, consistent with the maintenance of essential equip-  
 14 alence in overall nuclear capabilities, <sup>now and in the future</sup> the Strategic Arms Re-  
 15 duction Talks (START) between the United States and the  
 16 Soviet Union should have the following objectives:

- 17 (1) Pursuing the objective of negotiating an im-  
 18 mediate, mutual and verifiable freeze.

then pursuing the objective of negotiating immediate, mutual and verifiable reductions in nuclear weapons.

Leach amendment to Brown(CO)\* 13 April

- 19 (2) Deciding when and how to achieve a mutual
- 20 verifiable freeze on testing, production, and further de-
- 21 ployment of nuclear warheads, missiles, and other de-
- 22 livery systems.

Best Wishes  
 to a skilled  
 advocate and  
 a good friend!  
 Norm Dink

May 4, 1983

Congratulations!  
 Mark Schultz

To LCS —  
 who saved the  
 forces  
 of righteousness on  
 the occasion!  
 Mike Ryan

Freeze Now  
 then  
 reduce  
 Ed Markey

To Sen,  
 the voice, if not  
 the vision, of reason  
 for Jimmy

To our leader  
 for peace

From Les: To Les: Congrats on a very nice job done

I'd be happy to yield to my boss!  
 Michelle Signe

and systems which would threaten the viability of sea-based nuclear deterrent forces.

Gingrich modified by Zablocki, 20 Apr:

and to include all air defense systems designed to stop nuclear bombers.

Lungren amendment, 20 April

Submarines are not delivery systems as used herein.

Martin amendment, 20 April

23 (3) Consistent with pursuing the objective of nego-  
24 tiating an immediate, mutual and verifiable freeze,  
25 giving special attention to destabilizing weapons, espe-

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1 cially those which give either nation capabilities which  
2 confer upon it even the hypothetical advantages of a  
3 first strike.

(4) Providing the cooperative measures of verification including provisions for on-site inspection as appropriate to complement National Technical Means of verification and to ensure compliance.

Zablocki amendment to Lent, 16 March

4 (4) Proceeding from this mutual and verifiable  
5 freeze, pursuing substantial, equitable, and verifiable  
6 reductions through numerical ceilings, annual percent-  
7 ages, or any other equally effective and verifiable

8 means of strengthening strategic stability, with such reductions to be achieved  
9 within a reasonable ~~period~~ specific period of time to be determined  
10 by the negotiations.

(5) Preserving present limitations and controls on nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery systems.

11 (6) Incorporating ongoing negotiations in Geneva  
12 on intermediate-range nuclear systems into the  
13 START negotiations.

14 In those negotiations, the United States shall make every  
15 effort to reach a common position with our North Atlantic  
16 Treaty Organization allies on any element of an agreement  
17 which would be inconsistent with existing United States  
18 commitments to those allies.

→ (7) Discussing the impact of comprehensive defensive systems consistent with all provisions of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems

Sec. 2. In the absence of a bilateral agreement embodying the objectives set forth in this joint resolution, nothing in this resolution is intended to prevent the United States from carrying out its responsibilities under the December, 1979 North Atlantic Treaty Organization decision regarding intermediate range nuclear forces.

Zablocki substitute to Carney\* 21 Apr

19 SEC. 2. Consistent with pursuing the overriding objec-  
20 tive of negotiating an immediate, mutual and verifiable  
21 freeze, nothing in this resolution shall be construed to prevent  
22 the United States from taking advantage of concurrent and  
23 complementary arms control proposals.

→ Nothing in this resolution shall be construed to supersede the treaty-making of the President under the Constitution.

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. This resolution does not endorse any type of unilateral disarmament on the part of the United States.

Solomon amendment, 16 March

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. Consistent with pursuing the overriding objective of negotiating an immediate, mutual, and verifiable freeze, nothing in this resolution should be construed to prevent measures necessary for the maintenance of and credibility of the United States nuclear deterrent.

Zablocki amendment to Stratton,\*  
16 April

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. Until such time as the final instrument embodying the objectives set forth in Sec. 1. has been fully ratified by both the Soviet Union and the United States, nothing in this joint resolution shall be construed to prevent whatever modernization and deployment of United States weapons may be required to maintain the credibility of the United States nuclear deterrent.

Stratton substitute to Broomfield  
amendment, 20 April

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. The Congress proposes that the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations study measures relating to reductions pursuant to the first section, and relating to concurrent and complimentary arms control proposals pursuant to Sec 2., especially those aimed at progressive reductions in the number of destabilizing weapons through a mutual "build-down" or other verifiable processes.

Levitas amendment, 20 April

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. Any freeze agreement negotiated pursuant to this resolution should not prevent the United States from taking such measures with respect to our strategic systems as are necessary to protect the lives of the United States personnel operating those systems.

Zablocki amendment to Hunter, 20 April

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. For purposes of this resolution, a nuclear delivery vehicle is a device whose primary or exclusive mission requires it to carry a nuclear weapons into territory of or occupied by hostile forces.

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. A freeze agreement in accordance with this resolution will not preclude the one-for-one replacement of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery vehicles in order to preserve the credibility of the United States nuclear deterrence, provided the new weapon or delivery vehicle is the same type as the old.

Coleman amendment, 20 April

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. Consistent with P.L. 88-186, as amended, no action shall be taken under this Act that will obligate the United States to disarm or to reduce or to limit the armed forces or armaments of the United States, except pursuant to the treaty making power of the President under the Constitution or unless authorized by further affirmative legislation by the Congress of the United States.

Stratton amendment, 20 April

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. Nothing in this resolution shall be construed by United States negotiators to mandate any agreement that would jeopardize our ability to preserve freedom.

Walker amendment, 20 April

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. Consistent with the provisions of P.L. 92-448, as amended, negotiations undertaken pursuant to this Act shall provide for the maintenance of a vigorous research, development and safety related improvements program to assure that the United States would not be limited to levels of nuclear deterrent forces inferior to the force levels of the Soviet Union. Further, such negotiations should recognize the difficulty of maintaining essential equivalence and a stable balance in nuclear deterrent capabilities in a period of rapidly developing technology, and that any future arms control agreements should promote a stable international balance and enhance the survivability of U.S. nuclear deterrent forces.

Stratton modified by Zablocki,  
20 April

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. In all negotiations pursuant to this Resolution the United States shall make every effort to ensure that any agreement reached shall provide for full compliance by all parties with preexisting international treaties, obligations, and commitments.

Hyde amendment, 21 April

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. Any item both sides do not agree to freeze would not be frozen.

Lott amendment, 21 April

Sec. \_\_\_\_\_. The President shall take all necessary steps to ensure that any agreement embodying the objectives set forth in this joint resolution can be adequately verified, including pursuing the objective of providing for cooperative measures of verification (including provisions for on-site inspection as appropriate) to complement National Technical Means of Verification and to ensure compliance.

Dicks substitute to Stratton,\*  
21 April

~~Key roll call vote~~

Sec. — Nothing in this joint resolution shall be construed to prevent safety-related improvements in strategic bombers.