The New Paradigm for Nuclear Weapons
What Are We Talking About Today?

• History

• The New Paradigm: Making It Happen

• The New Paradigm: Political Issues & Realities
Why?

1. President Obama made Getting to Zero on Nuclear Weapons Official U.S. Policy with his April 5 Prague Speech.

2. This marked a landmark shift for 21st Century Security Policy.

3. This policy is driven by critical, current security threats but also complicated by major security dilemmas, presenting serious challenges for policymakers.
A Brief History of Everything (Nuclear)
Survival (1945-1967)

• Bombings of Hiroshima & Nagasaki, August 1945: *Nuclear Attack = the Lesser Evil*

• Cold War and development of basic concepts of deterrence (*think Mutually Assured Destruction*)

• Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962

• Massive build-up of U.S. and Soviet arsenals & ever destructive hydrogen bombs
Stability (1968-1992)

• 1968: **Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT)**: this is the foundation of the Non-Proliferation Regime

• Development of nonproliferation regime including International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

• Arms Control Treaties: SALT I & II (1970s); **START I (1991)**: Largest arms control treaty → resulted in 80% reduction of strategic nuclear arms

• 1986: Reagan and Gorbachev Reykjavik Summit (= *first push for abolition...*)
Our commitment to disarmament started here:

1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Article VI:

“Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.”

United States Constitution, Article VI:

“... all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land...”

This has NEVER meant unilateral disarmament!
Complacency (1993-2010)

• India and Pakistan test nuclear weapons

+ Era of Rogue Proliferation:

  • Libya (until 2003)

  • North Korea

  • Iran

  • Syria?

  • A.Q. Khan Network Exposed

  • Al Qaeda seeking WMD?
The Four Statesmen and the New Nuclear Paradigm


Bipartisan effort:

• Two Democrats (Perry, former Secretary of Defense under Clinton; Nunn, former chairman of Senate Armed Services)

• Two Republicans (Kissinger and Schultz, both former Secretaries of State)

Two major reasons:

• Nuclear deterrence is “decreasingly effective” for maintaining international security

• Terrorists could acquire nuclear weapons
The Logic of Working toward a New Paradigm Takes Root

President Barack Obama, speech in Prague, April 5, 2009

French President Nicolas Sarkozy letter to UN Secretary General, December 5, 2008

British Prime Minister Gordon Brown speech in London, March 17, 2009

Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov speech to UN Conference on Disarmament, March 7, 2009
THE NEW PARADIGM: MAKING IT HAPPEN
How Do We Implement a New Way Forward? The Prague Agenda (since April 2009)

1) **Strengthen international treaty regimes**
   (Extend START; Ratify Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty)

2) **Change in nuclear posture and strategy**
   (Limit the role of nuclear weapons in US security strategy to preventing a nuclear attack and take the country off hair-trigger alert – Nuclear Posture Review, coming soon).

3) **Improve the handling of fissile material**
   (Verification + Reduce the amount of highly enriched uranium in the world)

4) **Significant reductions of the U.S. nuclear arsenal in collaboration with others, especially Russia.**
   (many call for reducing the U.S. arsenal from 17,000 to 1,000 weapons, addressed through START)
Step 1: START TREATY RENEWAL

- START, signed in 1991, aims to reduce US-Soviet (now US-Russian) nuclear arsenal

- START expired December 5, 2009

- 9 rounds of U.S-Russia negotiations so far – to deliver on Obama and Medvedev’s July 2009 commitment to a follow-on treaty

- Just this week, believed to be close to a final follow-on pact to bring to the Senate for ratification

- Goal is to agree before Obama’s April 2010 Nuclear Security Summit
Key Reasons for START Ratification?

1) The fewer nuclear weapons in the world, the less likely it is that terrorists get their hands on them. Reducing the number of nuclear weapons reduces the likelihood of nuclear war.

2) NOT renewing START would mark a major departure from the bipartisan national security consensus.

3) Renewing START is a “mandate” decision for U.S. leadership on nuclear policy

Senator Richard Lugar, Ranking Member, SFRC:
“The failure to renew START will be seen worldwide as weakening the international nuclear nonproliferation regime and a further sign to many foreign leaders and experts that the U.S. nonproliferation policy is adrift.”
Step 2: CTBT Ratification

- The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) “prohibits any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion.”

- CTBT would: 1) Help curb the spread of nuclear weapons; 2) Establish a global monitoring network to detect and deter cheating.

- In 1996, the United States was the first nation to sign the CTBT but failed to ratify it in 1999.
Why CTBT, Why Now?

*We’ve made it 13 years without ratifying it. What’s the big hurry?*

- Would restore U.S. moral leadership leading into the 2010 NPT Review Conference
- Motivates other states to ratify, potentially including China and India
- Provides an important legal constraint on testing by non-NPT signatories, including rogue states
- Secures U.S. advantage in technological advancement of arsenal
- Identified as a critical first step toward advancing the new nuclear policy
Other Major Upcoming Developments

- **April: Nuclear Security Summit**
  to renew commitment to securing fissile material
  = key to preventing nuclear terrorism

- **May: NPT Review Conference**
  held every five years, issues to be addressed include:
  universality of the Treaty; practical measures of nuclear disarmament; nuclear non-proliferation, peaceful nuclear energy; treaty withdrawal; engagement with civil society on strengthening NPT norms
The New Paradigm: 
Political Issues & Realities
Questions & Challenges: Can We Verify Compliance?

- **Verification**: Significantly complicated by black market weapons trade.
Questions & Challenges: Deterrence and Security Needs

- **Deterrence:** Does the logic of deterrence still hold when non-state terrorist actors (with no “return address”) present a primary threat?

- **“Extended Deterrence”:** Reassuring U.S. allies that we can still guarantee the U.S “Security Umbrella” by maintaining a reliable deterrent is critical to preventing further proliferation.

- **International/Regional Security Dilemmas:** At the heart of nonproliferation challenges are ongoing conflicts/tensions that make nuclear states reluctant to forfeit their weapons and non-nuclear states consider developing them…
Questions & Challenges: Energy

“The Nuclear Renaissance”

A greater number of countries are legally pursuing nuclear energy in the interest of development and for environmental reasons.

Article IV of the NPT guarantees access to peaceful nuclear energy for non-nuclear weapons states (184 countries)

This increases the risk of fissile materials getting into dangerous hands.
Plus Some Fierce Political Opposition
Inside the Beltway…

On the Hill:
- Sen. Jon Kyl (R-AZ): “U.S. national security — and that of our friends and allies — will not permit a nuclear weapons-free world in the foreseeable future.”

- Expected to lead the charge against CTBT ratification.

In Security Policy Circles:
-Harold Brown (Sec. of Defense under Carter): “One cannot, for example, make the scientific knowledge and technological know-how that make nuclear weapons possible disappear.”
Bottom line:
The greatest potential threat to U.S. national security...

...terrorists bent on delivering a devastating blow against the U.S. obtaining a nuclear weapon.

⇒ The logic of deterrence has lost its logic.
Further Reading


**Further Resources**


CSIS Project on Nuclear Issues - [http://forums.csis.org/poni](http://forums.csis.org/poni)

International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament - [http://www.icnnd.org](http://www.icnnd.org)

Nuclear Security Project - [http://www.nuclearsecurityproject.org](http://www.nuclearsecurityproject.org)

United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research - [http://www.unidir.org](http://www.unidir.org)

Ploughshares Fund - [http://www.ploughshares.org](http://www.ploughshares.org)


Project for the CTBT - [http://www.projectforthectbt.org/](http://www.projectforthectbt.org/)
Further Reasons for Shifting the Paradigm and Securing Treaty Ratification:

1) A reduction in the number of weapons makes the goal of verification and safeguarding materials more possible.

2) Fewer weapons reduces the chance of nuclear conflict and annihilation.

3) How can we expect others to forego something we insist on retaining for ourselves? The framework is critical to smart disarmament.
Background on Players & Numbers

Five nuclear powers recognized by NPT:

• United States
• Russia
• China
• United Kingdom
• France

Two nuclear powers outside NPT:

• India
• Pakistan

Two suspected nuclear powers outside NPT:

• Israel
• North Korea

Statistics from the Center for Defense Information, as of January 21, 2009
“The Grand Bargain” behind the NPT

1) **Nonproliferation**: Articles I & II prohibit non-nuclear weapons states from obtaining weapons through transfer or development (184 countries at present)

2) **Disarmament**: Article VI requires nuclear weapons states to undertake negotiations on disarmament (5 recognized nuclear power: P-5 of the U.N. Security Council)

3) **Peaceful use of nuclear energy**: Article IV guarantees access to peaceful nuclear energy for non-nuclear weapons states (184 countries)