

The Transformation of American Nuclear Policy

Geneva, Switzerland

April 2009

USAF File, 1952

Joseph Cirincione
Ploughshares Fund

A New Moment

- **Threats Increasing**
- **Collapse of Bush Doctrine**
- **New Strategic Paradigm Developed**
- **Emergence of New Executive Leadership**

Nuclear Threats

- ✦ Nuclear Terrorism: Terrorism increases as efforts to secure material languish. Nuclear terrorism is unlikely, but threat is not zero
- ✦ Existing Weapons: Danger of existing 23,000 nuclear weapons increase: accidents, loss of control, risk of war
- ✦ New Nuclear States: New programs in North Korea and Iran programs advance; neighbors watch
- ✦ Regime Collapse: Non-proliferation regime could unravel

Strategic Collapse

- ✦ **Strategy defined threat as nexus of rogue states, terrorism and WMD**
- ✦ **Solution was forced regime change**
- ✦ **Iraq was the first implementation of this radical theory, but never intended to be the last**
- ✦ **Strategy backfired: threats grew worse**
- ✦ **Failure now widely recognized (though not by all)**

The Center Shifts

“Unless urgent new actions are taken, the U.S. soon will be compelled to enter a new nuclear era that will be more precarious, psychologically disorienting, and economically even more costly than was Cold War deterrence...

Will new nuclear nations and the world be as fortunate in the next 50 years as we were during the Cold War?”



Joined by Multiple Efforts

- **More Horsemen**

- **UK**

- **Germany**

- **Italy**

- **EU Plan Presented by Sarkozy**

- **UK Plans from Brown and Milliband**

- **UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon**

- **Global Zero Launch**



UK Horsemen

“The world is at the brink of a new and dangerous phase - one that combines widespread proliferation with extremism and geopolitical tension...

Substantial progress towards a dramatic reduction in the world's nuclear weapons is possible. The ultimate aspiration should be to have a world free of nuclear weapons...

It will take time, but with political will and improvements in monitoring, the goal is achievable. We must act before it is too late, and we can begin by supporting the campaign in America for a non-nuclear weapons world.”

TIMES

June 30, 2008



Sir Malcolm Rifkind

Lord Douglas Hurd

Lord David Owen

(former foreign secretaries)

Lord George Robertson

(former Nato secretary-general)

A New Moment

- **Threats Increasing**
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- **New Strategic Paradigm Developed**
- **Emergence of New Executive Leadership**
- **Budget Pressure / Political Convergence**
- **3-Year Window (1 down, 2 to go)**

A Watershed Moment

“Two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Russia and the United States together still have more than 20,000 nuclear weapons. It is time to focus on the 21st-century threats: states like Iran building nuclear weapons and terrorists plotting to acquire their own.

Until this country convincingly redraws its own nuclear strategy and reduces its arsenal, it will not have the credibility and political weight to confront those threats.”

-- *The New York Times*
25 March 2009

Obama, Medvedev Agree



“As leaders of the two largest nuclear weapons states...we agreed to work together to fulfill our obligations....committed our two countries to achieving a nuclear free world...a new emphasis on arms control and conflict resolution measures...We agreed to pursue new and verifiable reductions in our strategic offensive arsenals in a step-by-step process...”

Obama, Medvedev Agree



- Cooperate on Missile Defense
- Strengthen NPT Regime
- Ratify Test Ban
- Verifiable Material Ban
- Secure All Material
- Strengthen IAEA
- Cooperate on Iran and DPRK

The Prague Transformation

“So today, I state clearly and with conviction America’s commitment to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons. This goal will not be reached quickly – perhaps not in my lifetime. It will take patience and persistence. But now we, too, must ignore the voices who tell us that the world cannot change.”



The Prague Transformation

- Concrete steps towards a world without nuclear weapons
 - Reduce the role in US security
 - Reduce warheads & stockpiles
 - Global ban on testing
 - Global ban on fissile material



The Prague Transformation

- **Strengthen NPT**
 - **Increase inspections**
 - **Toughen consequences for cheating**
 - **Global fuel bank**
 - **Contain and Engage North Korea and Iran**



The Prague Transformation

- **Prevent Nuclear Terrorism**
 - **Secure all materials**
 - **Break up black markets**
 - **Global Summit on Nuclear Security**



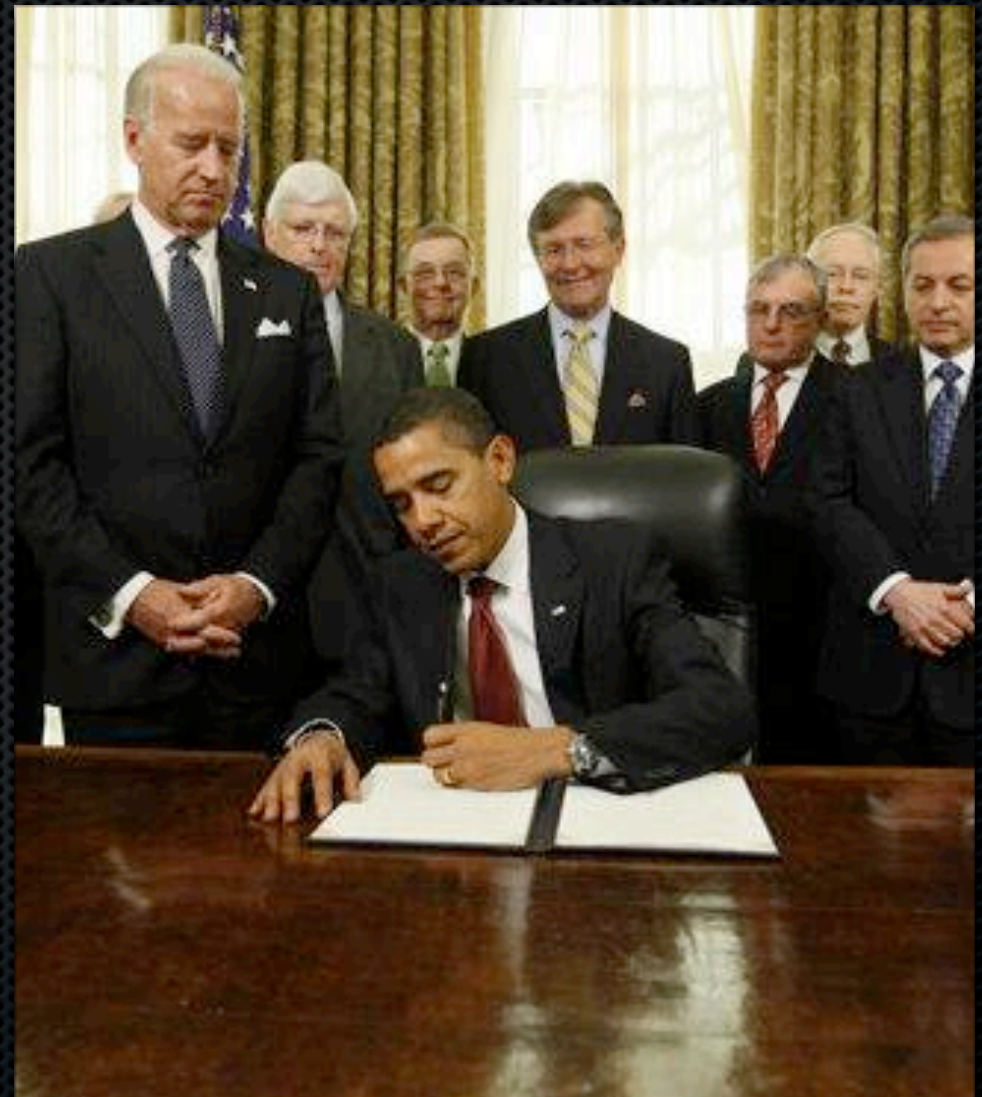
The Prague Transformation

“I know that a call to arms can stir the souls of men and women more than a call to lay them down. But that is why the voices for peace and progress must be raised.



Implementation of Obama Plan: Appointments

- VP Biden's Office
- UN Ambassador Susan Rice
- NSC Gary Samore
- NATO Amb. Ivo Daalder
- OMB Steve Kosiak
- DOS Ellen Tauscher
- DOS Rose Gottemoeller
- DOS Kurt Campbell*
- DOD: Michèle Flournoy and James Miller
- Energy Secretary Stephen Chu
- Science Advisor John Holdren
- Envoy Stephen Bosworth



Washington Post, Feb. 16, 2009

Clinton Criticizes Bush on N. Korea

“In a slap at her predecessors, Clinton made it clear she believes that the Bush administration's decision to walk away from an agreement negotiated during her husband's administration -- the 1994 Agreed Framework -- helped create the current crisis over North Korea's stash of nuclear weapons.

"The Agreed Framework was torn up on the basis of the concerns about the highly-enriched-uranium program," Clinton said. "There is no debate that, once the Agreed Framework was torn up, the North Koreans began to reprocess plutonium with a vengeance because all bets were off. The result is they now have nuclear weapons, which they did not have before."



Key Obstacles

- ✦ **Economic Crisis**
- ✦ **Nuclear Neanderthals**
- ✦ **Internal Divisions**
- ✦ **Cynicism**



Our Strategy

- ✦ **Establish the elimination of nuclear weapons as the goal of US nuclear policy.**



Key Strategic Objectives

- ✦ **Sole purpose is to deter**
- ✦ **Cut to ≤ 1000**
- ✦ **Ratify CTBT**
- ✦ **Prevent Iran and DPRK programs**
- ✦ **Reduce conflicts**





**Transforming the U.S. Strategic Posture
and Weapons Complex
for Transition to a Nuclear Weapons-Free World**

What are nuclear weapons for?

“The United States should view its nuclear weapons for one purpose and one purpose only: To deter the use of nuclear weapons by others.”

-- page 3

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"The world needs to establish a new global consensus on nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation, one that is relevant to the realities and challenges of the 21st century rather than to the Cold War. The United States has a responsibility to lead in that effort. There is no other way."



SENATOR CHUCK HAGEL
BOARD MEMBER
PLOUGHSHARES FUND

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Danielle Brian

Project On Government Oversight

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LATEST NEWS

THE BLOG



Hagel, Global Zero urge Obama to back nuclear ban

Posted on: March 26, 2009, 8:55 am

President Obama and Russian President Medvedev, who will meet for the first time next week, should agree on dramatic reductions of U.S.

Filed in: Nuclear Weapons, General News Post, Russia & Former Soviet Union, United States

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FOR THE MEDIA

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The President's Report

THIS WEEK WITH JOE CIRINCIONE



Senate Armed Services
Chairman Carl Levin (D-MI) put

Strategic Strike

- **Rahm Strategy:**
“Take advantage of a crisis to grab an opportunity.”
- **Republican John Thune:** “They’re really swinging for the fences.”
- **So should we.**



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