



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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**A PROPOSAL:
THE END OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION**

The Theme

“Can we as leaders of our two nations allow the people we respect + their children to look toward a future in which they must live under the threat of these destructive weapons? What a blessing [the elimination of nuclear weapons] would be for the people we both represent. You + I have the ability to bring this about through our negotiations...” (**Reagan** handwritten draft note to Andropov)

“[It is my] hope that one day we will be able to eliminate these [nuclear] weapons altogether and rely increasingly for our security on defense systems that threaten no one.” Reagan intended that *all* nuclear weapons, not just ballistic missiles, would be abolished...Reagan considered nuclear weapons ‘totally irrational, totally inhumane, good for nothing but killing, possibly destructive of life on earth and civilization,’ and sought to abolish them...It just doesn’t make sense for the world to be sitting here with these weapons aimed at each other.” **Ronald Reagan** (Ronald Reagan and His Quest to Abolish Nuclear Weapons by Paul Lettow)

“I am convinced that nuclear weapons must be abolished. Their use in a military conflict is unthinkable; using them to achieve political objectives is immoral. Twenty years ago, President Ronald Reagan and I ended our summit meeting in Geneva with a joint statement that ‘nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.’ ... We must reassert the goal of nuclear weapons elimination as both a moral duty and a legal obligation of nuclear powers under Article VI of the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The abolition of nuclear weapons is also a practical necessity, given the new threat emerging at the intersection of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. Ultimately, the only way to avert that threat is to destroy the stockpiles of nuclear as well as chemical and biological weapons.” **Mikhail Gorbachev** (July 2005)

THE PROGRAM

Introduction

For six decades the United States has taken the lead to stop the spread and reduce the number of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, (weapons of mass destruction--WMD), but opportunities for proliferation and terrorism continue to grow, as many of the "have not" states are determined not to be left behind and terrorists are poised to take advantage of the spread of technology and know-how to deploy WMD. The United States must face this reality and undertake decisive steps to prevent a catastrophe. Only the United States can exercise the constructive leadership necessary to address this threat, and the peoples of the world would welcome such leadership. The forum for such a declaration by the President should be the General Assembly of the United Nations.

A Proposed Initiative for the President at the United Nations

The President should further inform the world via the United Nations that our goal as a nation is the elimination of all Weapons of Mass Destruction, which today stand as a threat to the peoples of the world. As a preliminary step toward reaching our goal of zero, he has ordered the unconditional destruction of 200 tons of highly enriched uranium, nearly half of our inventory, the equivalent of 8000 nuclear warheads, the largest amount of weapon grade uranium ever destroyed. That uranium will be downgraded so that it can be utilized for civilian energy power and thereby eliminate its potential usefulness to terrorists. This unilaterally reduces our nuclear weapons stockpile by nearly half.

As a crucial and indispensable step toward total elimination of all WMD from the world, the United States--which already has agreed to forego biological and chemical weapons--also is now prepared to pledge to eliminate all of its nuclear weapons and place its weapons-grade nuclear materials under IAEA safeguards until the nuclear material can be made unusable for weapons production.

The United States is prepared to make this pledge in the context of a comprehensive plan by the United Nations Security Council to establish the necessary political and technical means for ensuring that all nations agree to forgo the development, possession, and deployment of WMD, and to work cooperatively and tirelessly to prevent and preclude the acquisition of WMD by any non-governmental entities or individuals.

The United States calls on the UN to begin this essential process by enacting a Resolution embracing the objective of eliminating all weapons of mass destruction globally, and requesting that the Security Council -- working with other key states -- develop the means for doing so expeditiously and effectively. A universal UN Security Council declaration of "No First Use" of weapons of mass destruction is a step in the elimination of all existing stockpiles of WMD and their precursors.

Context for U.S. Policymakers

As the World's predominate power, it is in the strategic and moral interests of the United States to prevent the emergence of WMD-armed states and effectively to deny the acquisition of those weapons by terrorists or any other non-governmental entity or individual.

The Security Council should take specific steps toward quickly placing all WMD-related material under IAEA with proper safeguards. We cannot allow nations to have WMD-related material and declare that they do not have WMD. The Security Council should determine how to best achieve the goal of effectively eliminating all WMD and their precursors.

Excess Uranium, Plutonium, and other Weapons of Mass Destruction Materials

The elimination of all weapons of mass destruction will produce an immense amount of weapon grade uranium and plutonium as well as chemical, biological, and nuclear detritus. We propose that an international bank be established by the Security Council to purchase this material for storage, elimination, or conversion to power reactor enrichments. A further limitation on the use of these materials should be adopted to make such materials available only in power reactors which incorporate the most current designs of proliferation-resistant reactors. The available energy would be made available to energy short states.

The world is urgently in need to produce dramatic increases in global energy, if we are to meet the demands for our economies to grow. The requirements for nuclear energy are dramatically and steadily increasing to satisfy economic growth and the movement of underprivileged peoples and states toward enjoying the blessings of peace and stability.

DISCUSSION

It is essential for the United States to take the lead in searching for a constructive remedy to the problem of nuclear proliferation. In the absence of such leadership, the prospects for our children and grandchildren are indeed bleak.

Our proposal is that President Bush address the United Nations and assert that the United States is prepared to eliminate all of our nuclear weapons if the world joins us in that program and if the Security Council develops an effective regime to guarantee total conformity with a universal commitment to eliminate all weapons of mass destruction. States that refuse to adopt this new international paradigm would at the appropriate stage be labeled "international criminals" and totally isolated from international commerce, communication, cultural relations, and formal diplomacy.

We do not assume that the President's proposal will immediately produce universal approval, but this should not discourage us from seizing the initiative and engaging in an active international drive to produce support for our dramatic efforts to restore stability and peace – an initiative that would be welcomed by the peoples of the world.

As a first step, President Bush may wish to speak to President Putin and inform him of his plan to speak at the United Nations. The President might suggest that he and Mr. Putin finish what Reagan and Gorbachev started. The President might also ask Mr. Putin to join him at the United Nations in support of this initiative, while making clear to Mr. Putin that he will address the United Nations whether or not Mr. Putin agrees.

The attached paper is the product of a non-partisan effort by a number of "experts" in nuclear issues who have worked in both Democratic and Republican administrations and who seek to be constructive in dealing with this serious problem facing our nation and the world.

SPONSORS**MAX M. KAMPELMAN, CHAIR**

Ambassador Kampelman was from 1980 to 1983 Ambassador to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; from 1985 to 1989 Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations with the Soviet Union on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva; and from 1987 to 1989 Counselor of the Department of State, before rejoining the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP, which he first joined in 1955 and where he is now of counsel.

STEVEN ANDREASEN

Steven Andreasen worked in national security for 14 years during the Clinton, Bush Sr. and Reagan Administrations. Mr. Andreasen served as Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control on the National Security Council (NSC) staff at the White House from February 1993-January 2001. He was the principal advisor on strategic policy, nuclear arms control and missile defense to the National Security Advisor and the President. Prior to being assigned to the White House, Steve served in the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, dealing with a wide range of nuclear weapons, arms control and related defense policy and intelligence issues.

HANS BINNENDIJK

Dr. Hans Binnendijk is currently the Theodore Roosevelt Chair in National Security Policy and Director of the Center for Technology and National Security Policy at the National Defense University. He previously served on the National Security Council as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control (1999-2001). From 1994 to 1999, Dr. Binnendijk was Director of the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University. Prior to that he was Principal Deputy Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff (1993-1994). He also served as Deputy Staff Director of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (1980-1985).

GERALD CHARNOFF

Mr. Charnoff is Senior Counsel at Pillsbury Winthrop Shaw Pittman LLP. He concentrates on nuclear power, utilities, and environmental law, and related international energy and fuel transactions, and has represented numerous electric utilities, architects, engineers and other individuals and corporations under statutes administered by the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and the U.S. Department of Justice.

THOMAS GRAHAM, JR.

Ambassador Graham served as Special Representative of the President for Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament from 1994 – 1997. He is internationally known as one of the leading authorities in the field of arms control agreements to combat the spread of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. Ambassador Graham has served as a senior US diplomat involved in the negotiation of every major international arms control and non-proliferation agreement for the past 30 years, including The Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) Treaties, The Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) Treaties, the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, the Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty, the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

KEITH PAYNE

Dr. Keith Payne is President and co-founder of the National Institute for Public Policy, a nonprofit research center located in Fairfax, Virginia. Dr. Payne served in the Department of Defense as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Forces Policy. He received the highest DoD award possible for his service, the Distinguished Public Service Award. He directs and participates in studies on U.S. strategic policy and force posture issues, arms control, and BMD. He also serves as Head of the Graduate Department of Defense and Strategic Studies of Missouri State University located in the Washington, D.C. area

CHARLES PETERSON

Mr. Peterson is a partner in Pillsbury Winthrop Shaw Pittman's energy group where he concentrates on nuclear fuel procurement, international transactions and advanced nuclear reactors. Mr. Peterson represents companies in the energy industry in major commercial transactions. This year he completed negotiations for the purchase of over \$500 million in nuclear fuel from Russia. He has worked in Japan and several European countries, including an extended period in Russia. Mr. Peterson acts as legal counsel to the U.S. Industry Coalition, the association of companies that are involved in the Initiatives for Proliferation Prevention of the U.S. Department of Energy .