Progress towards nuclear disarmament by the United States of America

Working paper submitted by the United States of America

1. **Introduction**: the purpose of the 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is defined in article VIII, paragraph 3 of the Treaty: to review the operation of the Treaty with a view to ensuring that the purposes of the Preamble and the provisions of the Treaty are being realized. Decision 1 of the 1995 Review and Extension Conference made permanent the practice of convening three annual Preparatory Committees before the next Review Conference in order to strengthen the review process. Both the negotiating history of the Treaty and common practice at these Preparatory Committees indicate that it is appropriate to review the progress that the United States has made towards fulfilling its commitments under the Treaty.

2. **Policy**: it is the policy of the United States that it will seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons. The pursuit of this goal by the United States is a part of the fulfilment of our obligations under the Treaty, specifically those contained in article VI. Article VI calls for all parties to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to nuclear disarmament, as well as general and complete disarmament. The United States continues to pursue negotiations and other measures seeking to achieve those goals and the promise expressed in the Treaty’s Preamble: to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to undertake effective measures in the direction of nuclear disarmament. The United States also is committed to enhanced transparency regarding its nuclear disarmament policies and its progress in reducing the numbers of nuclear weapons, the associated delivery systems and the quantities of related nuclear material.

3. **A new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START)**: the President of the United States and the President of the Russian Federation issued a joint statement on 1 April 2009 declaring their intention to begin bilateral intergovernmental negotiations to work out a new, comprehensive and legally binding agreement on reducing and limiting strategic offensive arms to replace the START Treaty. Both sides stated their intention to conclude such an agreement before the START Treaty expires, on 5 December 2009. The new agreement will seek to record levels of
reductions in those arms lower than those contained in the 2002 Moscow Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions; enhance security, predictability and stability in United States and Russian strategic offensive arms; and include effective verification measures drawn from experience gained through the implementation of the START Treaty. The negotiators of the new treaty will report on their progress to the two Presidents in July 2009.

4. **Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty**: the cessation of all nuclear explosions constitutes a meaningful step in the realization of a systematic process to achieve our nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation objectives. The United States will pursue the entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty as soon as possible. The United States has upheld a voluntary moratorium on nuclear weapons testing since September 1992 and calls on all countries to continue to refrain from nuclear testing. The Treaty has been signed by 180 countries and ratified by 148. The Treaty cannot enter into force until the 44 States specified in Annex 2 to the Treaty ratify it. Of those, India, Pakistan and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea have not signed the Treaty, and six, including the United States, China, Egypt, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Israel, have signed but not yet ratified it. The President is fully committed to seeking United States ratification of the Treaty at an early date and will lead the diplomatic effort to persuade the other Annex 2 nations to sign the Treaty and bring it into force. The United States also continues to support international efforts to support the Treaty Organization’s International Monitoring System to monitor the world for any sign of a nuclear explosion.

5. **Fissile material cut-off treaty**: the United States will seek the early commencement of negotiations on a new treaty to verifiably end the production of fissile materials intended for use in nuclear weapons. The United States will seek to remove the impediments to the negotiation of such a treaty in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. The United States has remained an advocate for the treaty and looks forward to working with others on proposed verification provisions. These negotiations will present a number of technical challenges, but the United States is committed to their success. In the meantime, the United States calls on all countries to cease the production of fissile materials for use in nuclear weapons immediately.

6. **Stockpile reductions**: the United States has made extraordinary progress in reducing its stockpile of nuclear weapons, strategic delivery systems, fissile materials for weapons and the associated infrastructure. Reductions are continuing on all fronts. The following paragraphs describe the progress to date.

7. **Eliminating nuclear weapons**: since 1988, the United States has dismantled more than 13,000 nuclear warheads. The United States reduced its total stockpile by one half between 2004 and 2007 and has committed to continued reductions. By 2012, the United States nuclear weapons stockpile will be less than 25 per cent of the 1991 total and at its lowest levels since the 1950s. Under the Moscow Treaty, the United States and the Russian Federation agreed to reduce the total number of their operationally deployed strategic nuclear warheads to between 1,700 and 2,200 by the end of 2012. In 1991, the United States operationally deployed approximately 10,000 warheads. As of 2002, that number had dropped to approximately 6,000, and, as at 31 December 2008, the total was 2,246 — well on course to meeting our Moscow Treaty obligations. The United States has dismantled more than 3,000 non-strategic nuclear weapons and reduced non-strategic weapons deployed in
support of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Europe by more than 90 per cent from cold war totals. In addition, the United States has removed all non-strategic nuclear weapons from surface ships and naval aircraft. It has withdrawn from Europe and dismantled all nuclear artillery shells, Lance missile warheads and naval nuclear depth bombs.

8. **Eliminating weapon types**: the United States continues to reduce its nuclear weapon types. The United States cancelled a number of its warhead development programmes at the end of the cold war, including the W-89 and W-91 nuclear missile warheads and the B-90 nuclear bomb. Overall, the United States has retired and eliminated all but eight nuclear weapon types from more than 100 designs that existed at the height of the cold war. Since 1992, 13 different nuclear weapon types have been retired and eliminated, including the last nuclear artillery shell design in the stockpile, the W-79, in 2003, and the W-56 warhead for the Minuteman II intercontinental ballistic missile, in June 2006.

9. **Eliminating delivery systems**: another important piece of the disarmament picture is the elimination of delivery systems. The strategic nuclear force posture planned by the United States for 2012 includes 14 ballistic missile submarines, 450 intercontinental ballistic missiles and 76 heavy bombers. In pursuit of this smaller force structure, the United States eliminated a number of strategic systems, including the MX “Peacekeeper” missiles, halted production of the B-2 “Stealth” bomber, and removed the B-1 “Lancer” as a nuclear delivery system. To date, the United States has retired more than 1,000 strategic missiles, 350 heavy bombers, 28 ballistic submarines and 450 intercontinental ballistic missile silos. The United States recently removed four modern Ohio-class ballistic missile submarines from strategic service, carrying a total of 96 Trident C-4 ballistic missiles, and is eliminating an entire nuclear weapon delivery system known as the Advanced Cruise Missile.

10. **Reducing the nuclear weapons infrastructure**: the United States is continuing its efforts to move to a smaller, safer, more secure and more cost-effective nuclear security enterprise. As the United States nuclear weapons stockpile has shrunk, the need for a massive weapons complex — comprising more than 70 million square feet in 1990 — has diminished significantly to less than 35 million square feet today. Plans are to continue the transformation of the weapons complex and reduce it by a further 9 million square feet by 2020. Thus, the United States National Nuclear Security Administration is consolidating its weapons-related operations and reducing the number of workers directly supporting weapons activities by 20 to 30 per cent from the 2005 baseline. One recent milestone was the complete dismantlement of the Hanford F plutonium production reactor in 2003.

11. **Ending production and removing fissile material from the stockpile**: the United States ceased uranium enrichment for weapons purposes in 1964 and plutonium production in 1988, and has no plans to resume either. At the same time, the United States has been reducing its stockpile of fissile material accumulated over the course of the cold war. The United States has declared more than 374 tons of highly enriched uranium (HEU) and 61.5 tons of plutonium excess to defence needs and removed the material from defence stocks. That is enough material, based on the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) definition of significant quantities of nuclear materials, for more than 20,000 nuclear weapons. Some of that
material has been made available for IAEA safeguards, pending its disposition. In addition, some HEU down-blending has occurred under IAEA safeguards.

12. To date, the United States has down-blended nearly 110 tons of excess HEU into low-enriched uranium (LEU) and has prepared approximately 12 more tons for down-blending. In March 2008, the United States began down-blending an additional 17.4 tons of excess HEU to LEU for use as reactor fuel under the United States Reliable Fuel Supply Initiative. That effort will be complete in 2010. Further, through the United States-Russian Federation HEU purchase agreement, 500 tons of HEU from Russian military stocks are being down-blended to produce LEU for use in civilian reactors in the United States. The United States and the Russian Federation also are disposing of 34 tons of surplus weapons-grade plutonium each under the Plutonium Management and Disposition Agreement. The United States plans to convert the plutonium into mixed oxide (MOX) fuel for civilian power reactors and has begun building a new MOX fuel fabrication facility at Savannah River for this purpose.

13. **Reducing reliance on nuclear weapons**: the United States has embarked on a comprehensive review of its nuclear deterrence policy and strategy for the near term through a process known as the Nuclear Posture Review. The Department of Defense, in consultation with the Departments of State and Energy, is conducting this review to set the nuclear posture of the United States for the next 5 to 10 years. This review is the third undertaken by the United States and will be complete in December 2009. The Nuclear Posture Review will guide many of the decisions about future warhead, related material, delivery system and weapons complex reductions. The Review also will inform United States policy in the negotiations for a follow-on treaty to replace the START Treaty with the Russian Federation. The first Review, completed in 1994, affirmed the nuclear warhead reductions already under way, reduced the scope of nuclear weapon deployments and mandated improvements in nuclear weapons security. The second Review, in 2002, announced the transition from the cold war triad of land, air and sea-based weapons to a new triad comprising nuclear and conventional offences, defences such as missile defence, and a responsive nuclear weapons manufacturing and surety infrastructure. The new Nuclear Posture Review will guide the United States towards the Administration’s stated goals of reducing the role of nuclear weapons in the national security strategy of the United States while maintaining a safe, secure and reliable nuclear capability to deter adversaries and assure friends and allies.

14. **Conclusion**: President Barack Obama pledged in his 5 April speech in Prague that “the United States will take concrete steps toward a world without nuclear weapons”. He said that “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 United States continues to make great strides towards fulfilling the President’s pledge.