

VII. Conclusion

THE CHALLENGE FACED by the international community today is to meet new threats to the non-proliferation regime with all the inspiration and determination it can muster. In the past this effort has achieved considerable success; and furthermore there is no desirable alternative to this. By its very nature an effort to sustain and strengthen the non-proliferation regime requires world-wide cooperation and strong leadership by the United States. To make progress toward this goal it will be essential to call on all the tools of diplomacy balanced with credible military strength and exercised with patience and determination.

A Call to Action

1. The United States must wage a determined, long-term campaign against nuclear proliferation. Victory in this campaign is essential for the security of this nation and all other nations in the world. Defeat in this struggle would endanger civilization.

2. This campaign should be directed at containing and rolling back the number of nuclear weapon states. The United States and its friends already have achieved an encouraging record of success in creating and maintaining a non-proliferation regime that has limited the spread of nuclear weapons to eight declared, undeclared, and de facto nuclear powers. A powerful norm of non-possession

and non-use of nuclear weapons was built up throughout the darkest years of the Cold War. This record gives confidence that the United States can do as well today despite new dangers arising at what President Bush has called the “crossroads of technology and radicalism.”

3. By its actions the United States must reinforce a fundamental consensus that nuclear weapons are weapons of last resort, deployed to deter nuclear attack, and to retaliate accordingly if that fails. This implies reciprocally reducing with Russia reliance on nuclear weapons, and scaling back their numbers. Developing new and purportedly more usable ones for limited missions would undercut achieving this goal.

4. The United States should recognize and rely heavily on the power of diplomacy, backed by all the elements of national power and exercised with patience and determination, in its efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The use of force and of denial policies play important roles but cannot do the whole job, or even a large part of it. There is a historical precedent for preemptive action, but international agreement on what constitutes appropriate preventive actions has yet to be established. To be effective, diplomacy must broadly address basic motivations of would-be proliferant nations, and be targeted to meet their individual concerns about their national security, prestige, and economies. Focusing solely on the goal of anti-proliferation itself is inadequate.

5. The United States must engage in and strongly support specific actions that can serve as effective instruments in the effort against proliferation. These include giving strong support to the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program; strengthening the nuclear Non-Pro-

liferation Treaty and expanding the authority of the International Atomic Energy Agency for on-site inspections of suspicious activities; continuing the moratorium on underground nuclear explosive testing while addressing the important task of ratifying the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and leading a worldwide effort to bring it into force; and pursuing multilateral cooperation on defensive and early warning systems that can help build a stronger anti-proliferation coalition and reduce nuclear danger.