

Index

- Abizaid, John (general), 467, 485
 Abkhazia, 419
 abolition, moving toward, 44–45
 Acheson-Lilienthal plan, 338, 339, 344–45, 346, 463
 “Achieving the Vision of a World Free of Nuclear Weapons” (ElBaradei), 344
 Afghanistan, 247
 Akram, Munir, 291n12
 Albright, D., 384
 Albright, Madeleine, 480
 Algeria, 461
 Allen, Richard, 467, 480
 Allison, Graham, 467, 485
 Anderson, Brooke, 467, 485
 Anderson, Martin C., 467, 478
 Andreasen, Steven P., ix, xv, 1, 47, 429, 467, 478, 485, 487
 Andrews, Anthony, 356n16
 Angarsk, 317–18
 Annan, Kofi, 12, 254, 462
 annual assessments; deterrents and, 371–72; stockpile weapons and, 372
 Apartheid, 405
 Arabs, 456, 457
 Arbatov, Aleksei, 19, 20, 43, 113n1, 157t
 Arbman, Gunnar, 113n1, 114n2, 123n11, 145n22, 156t, 157t
 Areva, 355n15, 363
 Argentina, 36, 322, 350; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9
 Arguello, Irma, 350n10
 Armacost, Michael H., 468, 478, 485
 Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 491
Arms Control Today, 487
 Asia; northeast, 451; nuclear fuel cycle and, 362–64. *See also* China; India; North Korea; South Asia
 “Atoms for Peace” (Eisenhower), 474
 Aum Shinrikyo, 243, 254
Autopsy on an Empire (Matlock), 490
 Bailey, Kathleen, 377n2
 Baker, James A. III, 451, 480
 ballistic missile defense, 161; Bush, George W., and, 199, 454; Putin and, 454
 Baruch, Bernard, 345, 392
 Baruch Plan, 194
 Baruch-Lilienthal Plan, 392
 baseline posture; Britain’s, 67n19; China’s, 67n19; de-alerting strategic forces and, 56–69; drills, 58; France’s, 67n19; real threats aligning with, 62–69; wartime aims of nuclear, 59–62
 Basrur, Rajesh, 25n29
 Beckett, Margaret, xvi, 235, 425, 433, 434
 Belarus, 150, 403n2, 488
 Belgium, 156t; MOX fuel and, 352n12
 Bell, Robert, 118
 Berberian, Barbara, 471
 Berberian, Michael, 471
 Berger, Samuel R., 480
 Bilateral Implementation Commission, 6n8
 bin Laden, Osama, 247, 250, 413
 Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), 433
 black box, 325

- Blaire, Bruce G., 1, 18, 41, 64n15, 157t, 465, 468, 485, 487; de-alerting strategic forces and, 47–105
- Bodman, Samuel, 287, 288, 288n9
- Brandt, Willy, 410
- Brannan, P., 384
- Braun, Chaim, 333, 356n16
- Brazil, 36, 322, 350, 455; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9
- Brewer, Garry D., 64n15
- Britain, xvii, 37, 453; baseline posture, 67n19; nuclear warheads in, 3; reduction of nuclear stockpiles since Cold War by, 32, 33, 34
- Bukharin, Oleg, 213n8
- Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 3n2
- Bunn, George, 43n39
- Bunn, Matthew, 205, 214n9, 243, 246, 247n2, 253n10, 308n22, 466, 468, 485, 487
- Bush, George H. W., 43, 68, 111, 129, 487
- Bush, George W., 295, 344n6, 482; ballistic missile defense, 199, 454; effective global nuclear security standards and, 265; joint statement from Putin and, 8, 30n30; Moscow Treaty and, 4, 6n8, 172; National Security Strategy (Sept. 2002) and, 10; nuclear terrorism and, 261–62, 273; SORT and, 4; START and, 6, 27; two-tier system and, 341
- Butler, George Lee (general), 47, 68
- BWC. *See* Biological Weapons Convention
- Caldicott, Helen, 340n1
- Canada, 291, 343n4
- Carlucci, Frank, 480
- Carter, Ashton, 253n11, 468, 485
- Cartwright, James E., 152
- CD. *See* Conference on Disarmament
- Center for Strategic and International Studies, 488
- At the Center of the Storm: My Years at the CIA* (Tenet), 247n3
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 490
- certification, pit production and, 373
- CFE. *See* Conventional Forces in Europe
- Chalmers, Malcolm, 1
- changes; diplomatic, 456–57, 459–60; strategic concepts, 117–18
- Chayes, Abram, 351n11, 352n13
- Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), 433
- Chernobyl, 266, 341
- China, xvii, 35, 283, 455, 456; baseline posture, 67n19; nuclear deterrence and, 452–53; nuclear stockpiles in, 32, 33n32; nuclear warheads in, 3; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9; world nuclear weapon stockpiles and, 209t
- Christopher, Warren, 480
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- Clinton, Bill, 68, 143, 213, 224n20, 487
- Cochran, Thomas B., 276
- Cohen, William, 480
- Cold War, 33, 34, 37, 458, 473; end of, 8; fissile materials in, 292; lessening threats since, 10, 11; present political context different from, 13–14; reduction of nuclear stockpiles since, 32; regional animosities and, 407–9
- Collected Words* (Matlock), 490
- Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), xxi, 433, 476, 483; conclusion, 391–94; IMS and, 377; international norms, 388–90; introduction, 370–71; laboratory privatization and, 390–91; objections to ratification, 370t; objectives and limitations, 385–87; periodic review and, 390–91; role of, 385–92; security benefits, 387–88; security-enhancing actions and, 393t; stockpile stewardship accomplishments and, 371t; summary, 369; sustaining U.S. deterrent and, 371–76; U.S. security and, 369–98; verification and, 369, 377–85
- Conference on Disarmament (CD), 281, 282, 433

- conflicts, regional, 451–52
- Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, 487
- consensus, international, 161–62
- Controlling Nuclear Warheads and Materials* (Bunn, M., Wier, Holdren), 253n10
- Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, 306
- Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), 120
- Cooperative Threat Reduction program, 230, 453, 475
- costs, 325
- counting rules; nuclear warhead, 7; START, 7
- countries; advanced nuclear, 313; Islamic, 457; with nuclear weapons, 32–33, 453; nuclear weapons and regional animosities in, 404–6; regional animosities in other, 416–17; verifying, 177
- Crowe, William (admiral), 459, 478
- CTBT. *See* Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty
- CTR. *See* Cooperative Threat Reduction program
- CWC. *See* Chemical Weapons Convention
- DARHT. *See* Dual-Axis Radiographic Hydrodynamic Test Facility
- data exchange; center for joint, 482; monitoring and verification, 28; negotiating new, 127–28; nuclear terrorism and, 264; reductions and, 126–28; verification strategies and encryption, 177–79
- The Day After: Action in the 24 Hours Following a Nuclear Blast in an American City* (Carter, May, Perry), 253n11
- de-alerting options; bomber warheads relocated, 94–95; dropping massive attack options from strategic war plans, 73; dropping prompt launch from EWO, 72–73; fostering nuclear-free world, 71, 77–78, 86–87, 92, 100; illustrative Russian and U.S. measures, 93–94; illustrative Russian measures, 80–81; illustrative U.S. measures and, 78–80; implications and concluding thoughts, 101–5; keeping submarines out of range of targets, 73–76; land-based missile force (U.S.), 78–79; land-based rocket weapons de-mating (U.S.), 93–94; minuteman missiles, 88–89; physical modifications, 78–101; procedural modifications, 72–78; responsive warhead force in warhead storage depots, 93–95; responsive warhead force with on-site de-mating, 87; risk of accidental/unauthorized/theft, 71–72, 78, 87, 92–93, 101; road-mobile missiles (Russia), 80–81; silo-based missiles (Russia), 80; strategic forces and evaluation criteria for, 69–72, 77; strategic stability, 70–71, 77, 83–85, 90–91, 96–98; submarine missiles (Russia), 81; submarine warheads to storage depots, 94; summary recommendation, 98–99; time to re-alert, 70, 76, 82–83, 89–90, 95–96; transparency and verifiability, 71, 77, 85–86, 91–92, 99–100; trident submarine force (U.S.), 79–80
- Declaration on Nuclear Energy and Nonproliferation, 331
- declarations, 168
- Defense Threat Reduction Agency, 489
- deproliferation, 347n7
- deterrents; annual assessment, 371–72; core capabilities, 374–76; future planning, 376; LEPs, 372–73; nuclear, 449–50, 451, 452–53, 454; pit production and certification, 373; sustaining U.S., 371–76
- Dillon, Douglas, 467
- diplomacy; Acheson-Lilienthal plan and, 463; change and, 456–57, 459–60; economic and ideological strength with, 461; eradication of hateful

- ideology and, 461; future, 455–64; Kyoto Protocol, 462; monitoring, verification and, 160; Montreal Protocol and, 462; muscular, 408; oil dependency and, 457; Seebees and, 459
- “dirty bomb” attacks, 246
- dismantlement; background, 206–8; best balance with transparency, secrecy and, 224; capacity, 209–11; confirming, 217–21; fissile materials and, 221–23; issues, 215–21; key judgments, 205–6; nuclear weapons and transparent/irreversible, 205–27; number of nuclear weapons, 208–9; recommendations, 226–27; related measures and verified, 211–15; strategic and tactical warheads with, 223; warhead and fissile material reductions and, 225–26; world nuclear weapon stockpiles, 209t
- DNDO. *See* Domestic Nuclear Detection Office
- Domestic Nuclear Detection Office (DNDO), 166
- Drell, Sidney D., ix, 1, 11, 19, 20, 21, 22, 47, 333, 345, 425, 449, 468, 478, 485, 487, 488
- drills, 58
- Dual-Axis Radiographic Hydrodynamic Test Facility (DARHT), 375
- Duarte, Sergio, 465, 468
- Dvorkin, Vladimir (general), 9n17, 19, 20, 43, 468, 485
- Eagleburger, Lawrence, 480
- earthquakes, 385
- economic strength, 461
- Egypt, 291
- Einhorn, Robert, 1, 29, 134n18, 194, 279, 466, 468, 485, 488
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 338, 474
- ElBaradei, Mohamed (general), 314, 344, 365, 365n25
- Emergency War Orders (EWO), dropping prompt launch from, 72–73
- encryption, 177–79
- enrichment; appropriate reactors and, 328; assurances of reliable supply of fuel with, 328; background, 314–21; conditions/rights/beneficiary commitments and, 322–24; elements of solution for, 327–31; facilities, 296, 350; financing and, 330; fissile material and, 313; fuel cycle’s back end and, 325–27; fuel supply assurances and, 315–16; GNEP and, 316; IAEA director general’s report and, 319–20; incompatibility with existing, partially privatized industry and, 325; infrastructure assistance and, 330; international uranium enrichment center at Angarsk, 317–18; issues, 321–31; key judgments, 313–14; multinational facilities and, 324–25; NTI proposed reserve and, 318; nuclear energy expansion and, 321–22; preventing spread of reprocessing and, xxii, 313–31; spent fuel management and, 314, 330; U.S.-Russia declaration on nuclear energy and nonproliferation with, 320–21; WNA proposal and, 319
- Etzioni, Amitai, 333, 347n7
- EU. *See* European Union
- European Union (EU), 458
- EWO. *See* Emergency War Orders
- expansion, 455
- expiration dates; SORT Treaty, 6
- START Treaty, 6, 26, 159, 234
- facilities; Dual-Axis Radiographic Hydrodynamic Test, 375; Mayak Fissile Material Storage, 215; National Ignition, 375; Rokkasho reprocessing, 286; sole operational U.S. (dis)assembly, 210, 211
- false alarms, 58n4
- Feiveson, Harold, 157t
- Fetter, Steve, 276
- Financial Times*, 147n23
- financing, 330
- Finland, 488
- Fischer, Joschka, 152

- Fissile Material Control Initiative (FMCI), 193–97, 280; civil plutonium and HEU, 307–8; declarations, 305–6; disposition, 308–9; excess material and safeguards, 306–7; existing fissile material and, 304–9; physical protection, 306
- Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty*, 194
- Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT), xx, xxi, 241; addressing existing stocks and, 302–9; broader scope and, 290–91; CD and, 281, 282; civil HEU, 289; civil plutonium, 286; comprehensive approach, 300; comprehensive vs. focused verification, 299–301; controlling fissile materials worldwide and, 279–311; entry into force requirement, 301–2; excess weapons material, 286–88; focused approach, 299–300; frustrating record with, 280–83; international verification provisions with, 295–97; issues not covered and, 285–89; key issues in pursuing, 293–302; naval reactor fuel, 288–89; nuclear terrorism and, 292; outlook for negotiations about, 309–10; scope, 283–85; scope of prohibition, 293–95; Shannon mandate and, 281; today's strategic, 291–93; verification measures negotiated separately or subsequently, 297–99; toward world without nuclear weapons and, 310–11
- fissile materials; addressing existing stocks of, 302–9; broader scope with, 290–91; Cold War storage of, 292; controlling, 279–311; enrichment and reprocessing prevention and, 313; existing, 304–9; FMCT in today's strategic, 291–93; FMCT scope and, 283–85; frustrating record with, 280–83; issues not covered with, 285–89; key issues in pursuing FMCT and, 293–302; limits of verification and, 274–77; outlook for negotiations about, 309–10; toward world without nuclear weapons and, 310–11. *See also* Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty
- Fitzpatrick, Mark, 333, 469, 485
- FMCI. *See* Fissile Material Control Initiative
- FMCT. *See* Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty
- Ford, Christopher, 284n2
- Forden, Geoffrey, 201, 202, 333, 360, 361, 364
- Foreign Affairs*, 9n17
- Foreign Exchange*, 487
- Forsberg, Charles, 333, 341n2, 348n8, 352n13, 357n17
- France, xvii, 37, 453; baseline posture, 67n19; civil plutonium reprocessing in, 281; nuclear warheads in, 3; reduction of nuclear stockpiles since Cold War by, 32, 33, 34; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9; world nuclear weapon stockpiles and, 209t
- Friedman, Joshua, 247n2
- fuel; cycle, 314, 325–27, 333–68, 450; cycle facilities, 292; enrichment and reliable supply of, 328; management, 314, 330; MOX, 300, 352n12, 352n13; naval reactor, 288–89; supply assurances, 315–16. *See also* nuclear fuel cycle
- future, diplomatic changes for, 455–64
- G-8 moratorium, 343n4
- Gandhi, Rajiv, 474
- General Electric, 363
- Georgia, 120, 419
- Germany, 156t, 475; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9
- Ghoshroy, Subrata, 333, 363
- global cleanout; expanded set of material and, 270–71; expanded set of reactors and, 270; incentives, 269; nuclear stockpiles and, 268–71; shut-down as policy tool with, 269–70
- global expansion, 455
- Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism, 195, 257, 261–62
- Global Nuclear Energy Partnership

- (GNEP), 316; nuclear fuel cycle and, 335, 357–58
- Global Positioning System (GPS), 383
- Global Strike concept, 108, 152
- Global Threat Reduction Initiative, 195, 289, 308, 475
- Global Threat Reduction Initiative (GTRI), 256
- GNEP. *See* Global Nuclear Energy Partnership
- Golan Heights, 416
- Goldschmidt, Pierre, 333, 357n18, 365n25
- Goodby, James E., ix, 1, 11, 19, 20, 21, 22, 41, 47, 212n7, 333, 449, 465, 469, 478, 485, 488
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, ix, xv, xvi, 43, 68, 111, 129, 345, 413, 420, 422, 462, 475, 476, 478, 480; rejection of shared defenses, 420n3
- Gottemoeller, Rose, 31, 107, 465, 469, 485, 488
- GPS. *See* Global Positioning System
- Graham, Thomas Jr., 469, 478, 485
- Greece, 156t
- GTRI. *See* Global Threat Reduction Initiative
- Guhin, Michael, 297n16
- Guidelines for the Management of Plutonium, 309
- Gulf War, 405
- Hamas, 413
- Hamburg, David, 469, 485
- Hannah, Barry, 373
- Hecker, Siegfried, 469, 485
- Helsinki; framework, 229, 230, 241; summit, 143, 213
- Henriksen, Tom, 469, 478, 485
- HEU. *See* Highly Enriched Uranium
- HEU Purchase Agreement, 308
- Heuser, Beatrice, 40n36
- Hezbollah, 413, 416
- Highly Enriched Uranium (HEU), xx, xxi, 213, 224n20, 243, 283n1; civil, 289; excess, 286–89; research reactors, 250; significant quantities, 385n3; stolen and recovered, 250
- Hiroshima, 338
- Holdren, John, 253n10
- Holgate, Laura, 333, 355n15
- Holloway, David, 1, 43n39, 47, 111, 130, 465, 469, 478, 485, 489
- Holt, Mark, 356n16
- Hoover Institution, xv, 465
- human intelligence (HUMINT), 168, 169
- HUMINT. *See* human intelligence
- Huntington, Samuel, 406
- Hussein, Saddam, 343, 405, 451
- hydro-acoustics, monitoring sensitivity with, 379–81
- IAEA. *See* International Atomic Energy Agency
- IC. *See* Intelligence Community
- ICBM force, 5
- ideology, strong and hateful, 461
- Ifft, Edward, 1, 14n23, 229, 489
- IMS. *See* International Monitoring System
- incompatibility, with existing, partially privatized enrichment industry, 325
- India, xvii, xxi, 25n29, 283, 452, 455, 456; civil plutonium reprocessing in, 281; nuclear policies, 35; nuclear stockpiles in, 33, 34; nuclear warheads in, 3; refusal to sign NPT, 405; regional animosities in, 414–15; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9
- Indonesia, 455, 461
- INF. *See* Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces treaty
- infrasound; documentation of, 381–82; GPS and, 383; low-frequency acoustic waves of, 381; monitoring sensitivity with, 381–83; Tunguska explosion and, 382
- infrastructure assistance, 330
- INMM. *See* Institute for Nuclear Materials Management
- inspections, on site, 179

- Institute for Nuclear Materials Management (INMM), 266
- Intelligence Community (IC), 167
- intelligence monitoring; NTM and, 167–68; OSI, 168
- Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces treaty (INF), 229
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), xxi, 15, 216, 224n20, 314, 322, 349, 350, 477, 483, 488; black box and, 325; director general, 319–20
- international community, moving toward nuclear-weapons-free world, 292–93
- International Monitoring System (IMS), 377
- International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation project, 314
- International Uranium Enrichment Center at Angarsk, 317–18, 322
- Iran, 341n2, 348, 350, 455, 475, 476; nuclear disarmament and, 361; nuclear fuel cycle and, 360–62; proposal on nuclear issue, 361n21; regional animosities in, 411–14; religious nature, 411; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9
- Iraq, 341n2; voluntary dismantlement of nuclear program, 405
- Ireland, northern, 460
- Islam, 411, 457, 458
- Israel, xvii, 402n1, 453; nuclear capabilities, 299n18; nuclear stockpiles in, 33; nuclear warheads in, 3; refusal to sign NPT, 405; regional animosities in, 415–16; world nuclear weapon stockpiles and, 209t
- Israelis, 460
- Italy, 156t
- Ivanov, Sergei, 147n23
- Japan, 452, 453, 475; civil plutonium reprocessing in, 281; MOX fuel and, 352n12; nuclear fuel cycle and, 363; Rokkasho reprocessing facility in, 286; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9
- Japan Nuclear Fuel Limited (JNFL), 363
- JASON, 488
- Jeanloz, Raymond, 369, 466, 469, 485, 489
- JNFL. *See* Japan Nuclear Fuel Limited
- Joffe, Josef, 469
- John Wilson, Lewis, 34n33
- Joint Data Exchange Center, 482
- Joint Nuclear Energy Action Plan, 362
- Joseph, Robert, 144n21
- Juzaitis, Ray, 14, 28, 159, 466, 470, 485, 489
- Kampelman, Max M., 425, 429, 434, 465, 466, 470, 478, 485, 489
- Kargil crisis, 25n29
- Kashmir, 35, 455
- Kazakhstan, 150, 318, 403n2, 488
- Kellogg-Briand Pact, 422
- Kennedy, John F., 163, 425, 474
- Khan, A. Q., 348, 359
- Khrushchev, Nikita, 114
- Kim, Jong-il, 410
- Kimball, Daryl, 333
- Kissinger, Henry A., xv, 31n31, 235, 346, 347, 431, 470, 473, 478, 479, 485
- Klingenberger, Kurt J., 144n21
- Korea. *See* North Korea; South Korea
- Kosovo, 419
- Kristensen, Hans M., 3n2, 7, 113n1, 152, 156t
- Krypton-85, 296
- Kuwait, 341n2
- Kyoto Protocol, 462
- laboratory, privatization, 390–91
- Laird, Melvin, 480
- Lake, Anthony, 480
- Larson, Jeffrey A., 144n21
- Lavrov, Sergey, 4, 4n3, 6, 27, 434
- Lawrence Livermore, 194, 374, 390
- leadership, 244

- Lebanon, 416; regional animosities in, 415–16
- Lee, Rensselaer, 253n9
- LEPs. *See* Life-Extension Programs
- LEU. *See* Non-Weapons-Usable Low-Enriched Uranium
- Lewis, Bennett W., 351n11, 352n13
- Lewis, Jeffrey, 33n33
- Libya, voluntary dismantlement of nuclear program, 405
- Lieber, Keir A., 423n4
- Life-Extension Programs (LEPs); deterrents and, 372–73; stewardship and, 372; W76, 373, 373n1
- lightning problems, 123n11
- Lithuania, 148
- Los Alamos, 374, 390
- Lugar, Richard, 254, 471
- Malaysia, 461
- martyrdom, 453
- Material Consolidation and Conversion Program, 308
- Materials Protection, Control and Accountability*, 195
- Mathews, Jessica, 366–67
- Matlock, Jack F. Jr., 399, 466, 470, 478, 485, 490
- May, Michael M., 253n11
- Mayak Fissile Material Storage Facility, 215
- McFarlane, Robert (Bud), 470, 480
- McFaul, Michael A., 470, 485
- McGoldrick, Fred, 333
- McLaughlin, John E., 14, 28, 159, 470, 478, 485, 490
- McNamara, Robert, 480
- Medvedev, Dmitry, 418
- Middle East, 34, 455, 463; conflict resolution before elimination of nuclear weapons in, 35; regional conflicts, 451
- Mikhailov, Victor, 206
- Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation (2000), 9
- Miller, Marvin, 333
- minuteman missiles, 88–89
- missile(s); defense, xviii–xix, 29–31, 454; road-mobile, 80–81; silo-based, 80; submarine, 81
- missile defense; cooperation, 30–31; early warning and, xviii–xix; further reductions in nuclear forces and, 29–31; nuclear deterrence and ballistic, 454
- Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), 199
- Mitsubishi, 363
- Mixed Oxide (MOX), 222; fuel, 300, 352n12, 352n13
- Molander, Roger, 166
- Moldova, 120, 420
- monitoring and verification; cheating and consequences with, 21; continuing reductions of deployed weapons with, 159–60; criteria for assessing reductions and, 14–15; data exchange/notifications, 28; diplomacy and, 160; further reductions in nuclear forces and, 27–29; handheld/fixed nuclear detection devices, 28; international consensus and, 161–62; Moscow Treaty and, 27; non-deployed warheads and difficulty with, 15; NTM, 28; nuclear explosive material and, 161; on-site inspection, 28; perimeter and portal continuous, 28; remote monitoring techniques, 28; stage 1, 20–21; stage 2, 22; stage 3, 24–25; START Treaty and, 2, 27–28; tools, 28
- Monnet, Jean, 346, 347
- Montreal Protocol, 462
- Moscow, 454, 482
- Moscow Nuclear Safety and Security Summit Declaration, 306
- Moscow Treaty, xvii, 1, 18, 31, 37; Bilateral Implementation Commission and, 6n8; Bush, George W., and, 4, 6n8, 172; monitoring and verification with, 27; Putin and, 6n8, 172; reduction plans, 4, 5, 7–8, 21; warheads and, 5–6
- MOX. *See* Mixed Oxide

- MTCR. *See* Missile Technology Control Regime
 multinational facilities, 324–25
 Musharraf, Pervez, 415
 Muslims, 456, 461
 mutually assured destruction, 474
- Nagasaki, 338
 National Academy of Sciences (NAS), 162, 370, 487
 National Ignition Facility (NIF), 375
 National Intelligence Council, 490
 National Security Strategy (Sept. 2002), 10
 National Technical Means (NTM), 28, 167, 231–32
 NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 The Netherlands, 152, 156t; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9
 Nevada Test Site, 373
 New Mexico, 325
New York Times, 427, 461
 NIF. *See* National Ignition Facility
 Nikitin, Mary Beth, 356n16
 9/11, 165, 213; nuclear, 257; post, 247, 292
 Nitze, Paul, 427
 Nixon, Richard, 451, 475
 NNWS. *See* Non-Nuclear Weapon States
 Non-Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS), 187–92
 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), xxi, 160, 171, 314, 315, 322, 432, 475, 483
 non-strategic nuclear weapons, 156t
 Non-Weapons-Usable Low-Enriched Uranium (LEU), 256, 289
 NORAD, 120
 Norris, Robert S., 3n2, 7
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), xix; eliminating short-range nuclear weapons and, 117–20, 121–42, 143, 151; strategic concept changes, 117–18
 North Korea, xvii, 32, 251, 272, 301n19; nuclear capabilities, 299n18, 452, 473, 475, 476; nuclear warheads in, 3; regional animosities in, 409–11; seismology test and, 379; tyrannical/erratic regime of, 410; violation of NPT, 405; world nuclear weapon stockpiles and, 209t
 Northern Ireland, 460
 NPT. *See* Non-Proliferation Treaty
 NSG. *See* Nuclear Suppliers Group
 NSP. *See* Nuclear Security Plan
 NTI. *See* Nuclear Threat Initiative
 NTM. *See* National Technical Means
 nuclear attacks, 253–54
Nuclear Black Markets: Pakistan, A. Q. Khan and the Rise of Proliferation Networks: A Net Assessment, 250n8
 nuclear deterrence; ballistic missile defense and, 454; China and, 452–53; CTR and, 453; dynamic concept of, 449–50; nuclear umbrella and, 453; Osirak reactor and, 451; other nuclear states and, 453; regional conflicts and, 451–52; rethinking, 449–54; Russia and, 450–51; task of, 450; terrorist organizations and, 450, 451, 453; tipping point and, 450
 nuclear energy, expansion of, 321–22
 nuclear explosive material, 161
 nuclear forces; contribution to elimination and assessing reductions in, 15–18; criteria for assessing reductions in, 1, 12–18; current plans for reductions in, 4–8; feasible reductions in, 18–23; further reductions in, 1–45; going to zero deployed warheads and, 23–27; introduction, 2–3; making deep reductions in, 38–43; missile defenses and, 29–31; monitoring/verification and assessing reductions in, 1, 14–15; moving to abolition in, 44–45; number of warheads per state and, 38–40; other nuclear powers and, 2–3, 31–38; political/doctrinal context for substantial force reductions in, 8–12; strategic stability and assessing

- reductions in, 1, 12–14; summary, 1–2; verification/monitoring and, 27–29; zero warheads operationally deployed and, 38–40
- nuclear fuel cycle, 450; Asia and, 362–64; back-end, 315–16, 325–27, 350–53; complementary policies and, 356–57; conclusions and recommendations, 334–38; dilemmas, 338–40; enforcement, 364–67; first priority to front end of, 348–50; GNEP and, 335, 357–58; implications for U.S. policy and, 353–56; internationalizing, 333–68; Iran and, 360–62; Japan and, 363; key issues, 334; as major weakness of nonproliferation regime, 314; multinational enrichment facilities and, 358–60; nuclear renaissance and, 340–41; rejection of two-tier world and, 341–50; summary, 333–34; world without nuclear weapons and, 367–68
- nuclear material; convention on physical protection of, 306; verification limits, stockpiles and accounting for, 274–77. *See also* fissile material
- Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, 26
- Nuclear Posture Review, 4, 5n5, 8–9, 10, 11
- Nuclear Power is Not the Answer* (Caldicott), 340n1
- nuclear security; beyond, 271–72; deterrence and, 272; disrupt and, 271; interdict and, 271–72; prevent and, 272
- Nuclear Security Plan (NSP), 195
- nuclear states, deterrence and other, 453
- nuclear stockpiles; at-risk, 248–49; background, 246–57; beyond nuclear security and, 271–72; building sustainability and strong security cultures, 266–68; China's, 32, 33n32; dismantlement and world, 209t; following through with job of, 272–74; global cleanout and, 268–71; global nuclear security standards and, 265–66; issues, 257–61; key judgments, 243–46; nuclear terrorism and, 243; obstacles to securing, 244; recommendations, 261–64; reduction since Cold War, 32; reductions, 171–77; securing worldwide, xx–xxi, 243–77; setting nuclear security standards with, 245–46, 371t; stewardship accomplishments, 371t; sustained leadership and, 244; theft prevention of, 243; threat urgency with, 244–45; transparent accounting of, 243; unacceptable risks with, 243–44; upgrading security with, 244; U.S.-funded programs to secure, 257f; verification limits, nuclear-material accounting and, 274–77; weapons, 372
- Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), 333, 342, 343, 343n4, 477
- nuclear terrorism, 391; adapting Nunn-Lugar and, 262–63; beyond nuclear security and, 271–72; building sense of urgency about, 263–64; Bush, G. W., 261–62, 273; data exchange and, 264; deterrence and, 450, 451, 453; fast-paced security reviews, 264; FMCT and, 292; global campaign to prevent, 261–64; global initiative to combat, 195, 257, 261–62; joint threat briefings, 263–64; nuclear stockpiles and, 243; Pakistan and, 250; prevention agenda, 251; Putin and, 262; realistic testing of security performance with, 264; shared databases of threats and incidents with, 264; terrorists and, 246n1, 456, 461; war games and exercises to combat, 264
- nuclear theft, 222; difficulty stopping, 252–54; highest risk of, 249; ongoing reality of, 250–51; prevention, 243; recovered HEU and, 250; risk of accidental/unauthorized, 71–72, 78, 87, 92–93, 101; threat of, 248–49
- Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), ix, xvi, 196, 266, 329

Nuclear Threat Initiative Research

Library: Securing the Bomb, 247n2
nuclear umbrella, 453

nuclear warheads; Britain's, 3; China's, 3; counting rules and, 7; de-alerting options and relocating, 94–95; definition of, 1n1; deployed, 14; inventories, 173–77; monitoring, 229–42; monitoring deployed, 231–35; monitoring disassembly/dismantlement of, 241–42; monitoring non-deployed, 235–38; monitoring virtual, 238–41; on-site de-mating of, 87; reduction numbers of, 1–2, 19; responsive force and storage depots for, 93–95; verification and latency graduation life-cycle of, 175f; verification/monitoring of non-deployed, 15

Nuclear Weapon States (NWS), 170

nuclear weapons; background, 206–8, 431–34; chronic regional disputes and, 409–17; Cold War lessons and, 407–9; contribution to elimination of, 15–18, 21–27; countries with, 32–33, 453; criteria for assessing reductions and contribution to elimination of, 15–18; cultural differences and impact with, 406–7; dismantlement capacity of, 209–11; eliminating short-range, xix, 107–57; fissile-materials waste management and, 221–23; further reductions in, xvii; global nuclear inventories and, 436t; issues, 215–21, 435–39; joint enterprise for eradication of, 429–47; key judgments, 205–6, 429–31; non-strategic, 156t; number of, 208–9; options, 439–46; past discussions of verified dismantlement and related measures, 211–15; recommendations, 226–27, 446–47; regional animosities and proliferation of, 399–424; regional confrontations and proliferation of, xxiii–xxiv; resolution with, 441t; Russia, neighborhood and, 417–21; stage 1, contribution to

elimination of, 21–22; stage 2, contribution to elimination of, 22–23; stage 3, contribution to elimination of, 25–27; strategic and tactical warhead distinctions and, 223; summary conclusions, 399–404; transparency and secrecy balance and, 224; transparent and irreversible dismantlement of, 205–27; U.S. help with, 421–24; warhead and fissile-material reduction initiatives and, 225–26; why countries want war and, 404–6; world free of, 425–28; world stockpiles, 209t

the Nuclear Notebook, 3n2

numbers; of all nuclear warheads, 3; Moscow Treaty and current target, 1–2; nuclear weapons, 164f, 172, 208–9; reducing operationally deployed strategic nuclear warhead, 1–2, 19, 22; Russian short-range nuclear weapons, 157t; U.S. short-range nuclear weapons in Europe, 156t; world nuclear weapon stockpiles, 209t; world's nuclear warheads and peak, 2–3. *See also* counting rules; nuclear warheads

Nunn, Sam, ix, xv, xxiv, 235, 254, 346, 347, 425, 465, 470, 471, 473, 478, 479, 485

Nurgaliev, Rashid, 248

NWS. *See* Nuclear Weapon States

Oberdorfer, Don, 470, 478, 485

oil; cost per barrel, 341n2; dependency, 457; money, 416; primary five exporters of, 341n2; weapon, 451

On Site Inspections (OSI), 168, 231, 489

operationally deployed nuclear forces; responsive vs., 4; U.S.'s definition of, 5

OSI. *See* On Site Inspections

Osirak reactor, 451

Oslo Conference, 344, 350n10

Ostpolitik, 410

- Paine, Christopher, 276
- Pakistan, xvii, xxi, 25n29, 256, 283, 452, 453; nuclear policies, 35; nuclear stockpiles in, 33, 34; nuclear terrorists and, 250; nuclear threat risk and, 249; nuclear warheads in, 3; refusal to sign NPT, 405; regional animosities in, 414–15; secrecy with nuclear security cooperation and, 256; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9; world nuclear weapon stockpiles and, 209t
- Palestinians, 460; regional animosities in, 415–16
- Panofsky, W.K.H., 1
- Parillo, Jill Marie, 356n16
- Perimeter and Portal Continuous Monitoring (PPCM), 231
- periodic review, 390–91
- Perle, Richard, 470
- Perry, William J., xv, 235, 253n11, 346, 347, 431, 471, 473, 478, 479, 485
- Persian Gulf War, 451
- physical modifications; bomber warheads relocated, 94–95; de-alerting modifications and, 78–101; fostering nuclear-free world, 86–87, 92, 100; illustrative Russian measures, 80–81; illustrative U.S. measures and, 78–80; land-based missile force (U.S.), 78–79; minuteman missiles, 88–89; responsive warhead force in warhead storage depots, 87, 93–95; risk of accidental/unauthorized/theft, 87, 92–93, 101; silo-based missiles (Russia), 80–81; strategic stability, 83–85, 90–91, 96–98; submarine missiles (Russia), 81; submarine warheads to storage depots, 94; summary recommendation, 98–99; time to re-alert, 82–83, 89–90, 95–96; transparency and verifiability, 85–86, 91–92, 99–100; trident submarine force (U.S.), 79–80
- pit production, certification and, 373
- pit-stuffing, 217, 219
- Platte, James, 214n9
- plutonium, 222, 242, 283n1, 314, 315; civil, 281, 286, 306, 307–8, 308n22; guidelines for the management of, 309; reactor-grade, 286; separated, 243. *See also* fissile material
- Plutonium Management and Disposition Agreement, 308
- PNI. *See* Presidential Nuclear Initiatives
- Podvig, Pavel, 333, 471, 485
- Poland, 148, 409
- Postol, Theodore, 31n31
- Potter, William C., 471, 485
- Power, Colin, 5, 6, 458, 480; counting rules of START outlined by, 7
- PPCM. *See* Perimeter and Portal Continuous Monitoring
- Predictive Knowledge Systems, 191
- Presidential Nuclear Initiatives (PNI), 110, 141
- Press, Daryl G., 423n4
- procedural modifications; de-alerting options and, 72–78; dropping massive attack from strategic war plans, 73; dropping prompt launch from EWO, 72–73; foster nuclear-free world, 77–78; impact on strategic stability, 77; keeping submarines out of reach, 73–76; risk of accidental/unauthorized/theft, 78; time to re-alert, 76; transparency and verifiability, 77
- Proliferation Security Initiative, 475
- Pu. *See* plutonium
- Putin, Vladimir, 120, 418, 482; ballistic missile defense and, 454; joint statement from Bush, George W., and, 8, 30n30; Moscow Treaty and, 6n8, 172; nuclear terrorism and, 262; SORT and, 4
- al-Qaeda, xx, 162, 243, 247, 250, 254, 413, 414
- radiation detectors, 252
- radionuclides, 377; monitoring sensitivity with, 383–84;

- xenon isotopic anomaly predictions and, 383
- Raisian, John, 465
- ratification, 370t
- reactors; appropriate, 328; Osirak, 451
- Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended* (Matlock), 490
- Reagan, Nancy, 479
- Reagan, Ronald, ix, xv, xix, xxiii, 345, 392, 413, 420, 422, 425, 428, 455, 462, 475, 476, 478, 479, 484, 491; administration, 449, 487; global verification regime and, 369; muscular diplomacy and, 408; offer to Gorbachev for shared defenses, 420n3
- reductions; ban on short-range nuclear weapons for, 129–32; close-out activities and, 124; complicating factors, 134–37; confidence-building for, 123–26; contributions to elimination of nuclear weapons and, 15–18; cooperation on nuclear weapon safety and, 123–24; data exchange, 126–28; declassification/unilateral declarations and, 126–27; European complication and, 132–34; history of problem, 143–45; making PNIs legally binding and, 129; momentum of new strategy and deployments with, 149–54; monitoring and verification, 14–15; negotiating new data exchange agreements and, 127–28; new unilateral steps with, 128–29; observation of personnel training, 125–26; past constraints, 146–49; renewing PNIs and, 127; short-range nuclear weapons, 122–37; site visits and, 124–25; strategic stability, 12–14; ways to do arms control and, 128–32
- regional animosities; chronic disputes and, 409–17; Cold War and, 407–9; cultural differences influence on, 406–7; Iran, 411–14; Israel, 415–16; Lebanon, 415–16; North Korea, 409–11; nuclear weapons proliferation and, 399–424; other countries and, 416–17; Pakistan-India, 414–15; Palestine, 415–16; Russia, surrounding areas, nuclear weapons and, 417–21; summary conclusions, 399–404; Syria, 415–16; U.S. help with, 421–24; why countries want nuclear weapons, 404–6
- regional conflicts, 451–52
- Reliable Replacement Warhead program, 376
- “Report of the Commission of Eminent Persons on the Future of Agency,” 365n25
- reprocessing, xxi; appropriate reactors and, 328; assurances of reliable supply of fuel with, 328; background and, 314–21; conditions/rights/beneficiary commitments and, 322–24; elements of solution for, 327–31; financing and, 330; fissile material and, 313; fuel cycle’s back end and, 315–16; GNEP and, 316; IAEA director general’s report and, 319–20; infrastructure assistance and, 330; international uranium enrichment center at Angarsk, 317–18; issues, 321–31; key judgments, 313–14; multinational facilities and, 324–25; NITI proposed reserve and, 318; nuclear energy expansion and, 321–22; preventing spread of enrichment and, 313–31; spent fuel management and, 330; U.S.-Russia declaration on nuclear energy and nonproliferation with, 320–21; WNA proposal and, 319
- responsive nuclear forces, operationally deployed vs., 4
- Reykjavik Revisited II Conference, xv, 2, 200; conference agenda, 465–66; conference participants, 466–72; opening remarks, 425–28; Reagan and Gorbachev at, 475, 476; “World Free of Nuclear Weapons,” 473–78;

- “World Free of Nuclear Weapons: What to Do Now,” 479–86
- Rhodes, Richard, 471, 485
- Rice, Condoleezza, 4, 4n3, 6, 27, 434
- Richter, Burton, 333, 352n13
- Ridgway, Rozanne, 478
- road-mobile missiles, 80
- Robinson, Peter, 471
- Rocca, Christina, 282
- Rocky Flats Plant, 373
- Rohlfing, Joan, 1, 47, 471, 485
- Rokkasho reprocessing facility, 286
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 460
- Rosatom, 255
- Rothwell, Geoffrey, 333, 343n5, 344n6
- Rowen, Henry S., 47, 333, 341n3, 455, 471, 478, 485, 490
- Rumsfeld, Donald, 147n23
- Russia, xvii, xix, 350, 403n2, 483; boycott of Georgian goods, 419; civil plutonium in, 308n22; civil plutonium reprocessing in, 281; controlling fissile materials worldwide and, 279–311; criteria for assessing reductions with U.S. and, 12–18; current plans for reduction, 4–8; de-altering strategic forces, 47–105; eliminating short-range nuclear weapons designed to be forward deployed and, 107–57; further reductions in nuclear forces between U.S. and, 1–45; illustrative measures and de-alerting options in, 80–81, 93–94; internationalizing nuclear fuel cycle and, 333–68; monitoring nuclear warheads and, 229–42; “mutual understanding” between US and, 287; nuclear deterrence and, 450–51; nuclear security in, 249; nuclear threat risk and, 249; nuclear warheads in, 3; nuclear warheads in U.S. and, 1, 2; nuclear weapons and neighborhood around, 417–21; numbers of nuclear weapons in, 208; political/doctrinal context for substantial force reductions for U.S. and, 8–12; preventing spread of enrichment/reprocessing and, 313–31; regional animosities, nuclear weapons proliferation and, 399–424; road-mobile missiles and, 80–81; securing nuclear stockpiles worldwide and, 243–77; short-range nuclear weapons and, 120–22, 157t; silo-based missiles and, 80; starting with feasible reductions, 18–23; submarine missiles and, 81; submarines, 379; transparent/irreversible dismantlement of nuclear weapons in, 205–27; two operational (dis)assembly facilities in, 210, 211; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9; world nuclear weapon stockpiles and, 209t
- “Russia’s Tactical Nuclear Weapons,” 156t
- Ryabev, Lev, 206
- Saakashvili, Mikheil, 419
- “Safeguarding Reprocessing Facilities: The Impact of Multinationalization,” 352n13
- Safeguards, Transparency, and Irreversibility (STI), 212
- Sagan, Scott, 471, 485
- Sagdeev, Roald Z., 472, 478, 485
- SALT. *See* Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty
- Samson, Victoria, 157t
- San Onofre Nuclear Generating Station, 194
- Sandia National Laboratory, 194
- satellites, 57, 382; Kara Sea earthquake and, 385; monitoring sensitivity with imagery from, 384–85
- Saudi Arabia, 341n2
- Scheinman, Larry, 333, 344n6, 352n13
- Schell, Jonathan, 44n40
- Schwarzenegger, Arnold, 482
- Seabees, 459
- secrecy, 244; enrichment facilities, 296; networks operating under, 348; nuclear security/cooperation with Pakistan shrouded in, 256; transparency, dismantlement and, 224

- Securing the Bomb* (Bunn, M.), 246n1
 security; actions enhancing, 393t;
 benefits, 387–88; nuclear, 271–72;
 standards, 265–66; upgrading, 244
 U.S., 369–98
 seismology, 377; monitoring sensitivity
 with, 379–81; North Korean test,
 379; tests on land and in water, 379–
 80
 Semmel, Andy, 333
 September 11, 2001. *See* 9/11
 Serbia, 419
 Sevastopulo, Demetri, 147n23
 Shalikashvili, John (general), 370, 371,
 390
 Shannon, Gerald, 281
 Shlyapuzhnikov, Sergey (general), 249
 short-range nuclear weapons; arms
 control and reductions with, 128–29;
 background materials, 143–54; ban
 on, 129–30; close-out activities and,
 124; complicating factors and, 134–
 37; concluding recommendations,
 137–43; confidence-building and,
 123–26; cooperation on safety with,
 123–24; data exchange and, 126–28;
 declassification/unilateral declarations
 and, 126–27; toward eliminating,
 117–22; eliminating forward-deployed
 designed, 107–57; European
 complication with, 132–34; history of
 problem, 143–45; introduction, 113–
 17; make PNIs legally binding and,
 129; momentum of new strategy and
 deployments with, 149–54; NATO
 and, 117–20; negotiating new data
 exchange agreement and, 127–28;
 observation of personnel training and,
 125–26; options for controls and
 reductions with, 122–37; past
 constraints, 146–49; renew PNIs and,
 127; returning to reduction agenda
 with, 115–17; road to eliminating,
 137–43; Russia and, 120–22;
 Russian, 157t; site visits and, 124–
 25; summary of conclusions, 107–13;
 U.S. weapons in Europe, 156t
 Shultz, George P., ix, xv, 47, 235, 333,
 345, 346, 347, 408, 425, 431, 455,
 465, 472, 473, 477, 478, 479, 485,
 488, 490–91
 Siemens, 355n15
 silo-based missiles, 80
 Simpson, John, 131n16
 Six Party Talks, 301n19
 SLBMs, 5
 Sofaer, Abraham, 472, 478, 485
 Solomon, Richard, 472, 485
 SORT. *See* Strategic Offensive
 Reductions Treaty
 South Africa, 322, 385; voluntary
 dismantlement of nuclear program,
 405
 South Asia; conflict resolution before
 elimination of nuclear weapons in,
 35; regional conflicts, 451, 452
 South Korea, 209n3, 452
 South Ossetia, 419
 Spanel, Margaret R., 47
 specialized sensors, 168
 Squassoni, Sharon, 356n16
 stage 1, nuclear reduction, 1;
 contribution to elimination, 21–22;
 monitoring and verification, 20–21;
 strategic stability, 20
 stage 2, nuclear reduction, 2;
 contribution to elimination, 22–23;
 monitoring and verification, 22;
 strategic stability, 22
 stage 3, going to zero deployed
 warhead; contribution to elimination,
 25–27; monitoring and verification,
 24–25; strategic stability, 23–24
 stage 4, bringing in other nuclear
 powers, further reductions in nuclear
 forces, 31–38
 stage 4, variant 1, further reductions in
 nuclear forces, 38–40
 Stalin, Joseph, 490
 START Treaty. *See* Strategic Arms
 Reduction Treaty
 Steinbruner, John, 47
 stewardship, 372

- STI. *See* Safeguards, Transparency, and Irreversibility
- stockpiles. *See* nuclear stockpiles
- Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT), 229
- Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), 2, 31, 213, 232, 488; Bush and, 6, 27; counting rules, Powell and, 7; deployed warheads and, 14; expiration date, 6, 26, 159, 234; monitoring and verification with, 27–28, 143; possible arrangement for post, 6; reduction plans, 5, 6–7, 21
- strategic forces, xvii–xviii; baseline posture and, 56–69; de-alerting options and evaluation criteria, 69–101; evaluation criteria and, 69–101; implications and concluding thoughts, 101–5; introduction, 53–55; key findings and judgments, 47–53
- Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT); Bush and, 4; current plans, 4, 6, 234; expiration date, 6; Putin and, 4
- strategic stability; balance and, 13; criteria for assessing reductions and, 12–14; political context of, 13–14; stage 1, 20; stage 2, 22; stage 3, 23–24
- strategies; momentum of new deployments and, 149; verification's framework and, 165–200
- strength, 461
- submarine missiles, 81
- submarines, 57, 379; de-alerting options and, 73–76, 79–80; missiles, 81; trident force, 79–80; warheads to storage depots, 94
- “Suggestions for Progressing the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty,” 298n17
- supplier states, 323–24
- Syria, regional animosities in, 415–16
- tactical nuclear weapons, 156t
- Taiwan, 452
- Taliban, 258n15, 413, 415
- technology security, 325
- Tehran, 451
- template approach, 219
- Tenet, George, 247, 247n3
- tensions, 455; nuclear weapons and, 455–56
- terrorists, 246n1, 456, 461; Aum Shinrikyo, 243, 254; global effects of nuclear attacks by, 253–54; global initiative to combat nuclear, 257; martyrdom and, 453; non-state, 473, 474; nuclear, xx, 52, 162, 243, 246n1, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253–54, 257, 258n15, 261–62, 273, 413, 414, 450, 451, 453, 456, 461, 473, 474; nuclear deterrence and, 450, 451, 453; organizations, 450, 451, 453; al-Qaeda, xx, 162, 243, 247, 250, 254, 413, 414; reconnaissance of nuclear storage sites by, 249; state transfers to, 251–52; Taliban, 258n15, 414, 415. *See also* nuclear terrorism
- Thomson, John, 360, 361, 364
- Thornton, Charles, 113n1, 114n2, 123n11, 145n22, 156t, 157t
- Timbie, James, 131n14, 313, 466, 472, 491
- tipping point, 348, 450
- Toshiba, 363
- transparency; de-alerting options and, 71, 77, 85–86, 91–92, 99–100; dismantlement, secrecy and, 224
- Treaty of Almelo, 359
- Treaty of Tlatelolco, 405
- Trezza, Carlo, 293
- Trilateral Initiative (1996), 15, 230, 307
- Truman, Harry S., 428
- tsunamis, 382
- Tunguska explosion, 382
- Turkey, 152, 156t
- The Twilight of Sovereignty* (Wriston), 458
- two-tier system, 367; Bush, George W., and, 341; rejection of, 341–50
- Ukraine, 150, 403n2, 488

- UN Security Council, 457, 458
- UNGA. *See* United National General Assembly
- United Kingdom, 156t; civil plutonium reprocessing in, 281; policy and recent developments, 433–34; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9; world nuclear weapon stockpiles and, 209t. *See also* Britain
- United National General Assembly (UNGA), 280
- United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), 28, 229
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540, xxi, 265, 482
- United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), 28, 229
- United States, xvii; civil plutonium in, 308n22; comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty and security in, 369–98; controlling fissile materials worldwide and, 279–311; criteria for assessing reductions with Russia and, 12–18; current plans for reduction, 4–8; de-alerting strategic forces, 47–105; deterrent sustaining in, 371–76; diplomacy for future, 455–64; dismantlement rates, 210; further reductions in nuclear forces between Russia and, 1–45; illustrative measures, 78–80, 93–94; internationalizing nuclear fuel cycle and, 333–68; monitoring nuclear warheads and, 229–42; Moscow Treaty and, 5; “mutual understanding” between Russia and, 287; nuclear warheads in, 1, 2, 3; nuclear warheads in Russia and, 1, 2; nuclear weapons and help from, 421–24; numbers of nuclear weapons in, 208–9; political/doctrinal context for substantial force reductions for Russia and, 8–12; preventing spread of enrichment/reprocessing and, 313–31; regional animosities, nuclear weapons proliferation and, 399–424; rethinking nuclear deterrence and, 449–54; securing nuclear stockpiles worldwide and, 243–77; short-range nuclear weapons in Europe, 156t; sole operational (dis)assembly facility in, 210, 211; starting with feasible reductions, 18–23; transparent/irreversible dismantlement of nuclear weapons in, 205–27; uranium enrichment facilities in, 349n9; world nuclear weapon stockpiles and, 209t
- universal latency, verification and compliance with, 159–203
- UNMOVIC. *See* United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission
- UNSCOM. *See* United Nations Special Commission
- uranium, 313, 314, 315; centrifuge technology for enriching, 340; enrichment facilities worldwide, 347n7, 349n9. *See also* fissile material
- Urenco, 359
- Venezuela, 341n2
- verification; compliance and, xix–xx; compliance with universal latency and challenges of, 159–203; comprehensive framework and strategies for, 165–200; countries and, 177; CTBT and, 369, 377–85; de-alerting options and, 71, 77, 85–86, 91–92, 99–100; executive summary, 159–63; fissile material and limits of, 274–77; infrasound, 381–83; introduction, 163–65; latency graduation life-cycle of nuclear warhead, 175f; monitoring sensitivity and, 379–85; monitoring with low-yield threshold, 378–79; radionuclide method, 377; radionuclides and, 383–84; satellite imagery, 384–85; seismo-acoustic method, 377; seismology, hydro-acoustics and, 379–81; space and, 200–202; Wiesner Curve and,

- 164f. *See also* monitoring and verification
- verification strategies; chain of custody, 181–82; comprehensive framework for, 165–200; credible response capabilities and, 197–200; data exchange and encryption, 177–79; FMCI and, 193–97; latency graduation, 175f; new arms control vs. traditional notions, 165–71; NNWS and, 187–92; perimeter-portal continuous monitoring, 182–85; return to protocol, 172–73; on site inspections, 179–80; stockpile reductions and, 171–77; virtual stockpiles, 185–87; warhead inventories and, 173–77
- Verkhovtsev, Vladimir (general), 133
- Virtual Abolition of Nuclear Arsenals, 166
- Von Hippel, Frank, 47, 333
- W76, 373, 373n1
- Wall Street Journal*, ix, xv, xvi, xvii, 235, 345, 347, 433; commentary, 431–32, 436, 437, 438
- Waller, Douglas C., 56n1
- war games, 264
- Warhead Safety and Security Agreement (WSSX), 109, 123–24, 127, 139
- warheads. *See* nuclear warheads
- Warsaw Pact, 403, 417
- weapons; biological, 450; chemical, 450; of mass destruction, 248, 450; oil, 451; stockpile, 372
- Westinghouse, 363
- Wetsel, Hubert, 147n23
- White Paper; British, 25n29; Chinese 2006, 33n32
- Wier, Anthony, 247n2, 253n10
- Wiesner Curve, verification and, 164f
- Wiesner, Jerome, 163, 164f
- Wilson, Peter A., 166
- WINS. *See* World Institute of Nuclear Security
- WNA. *See* World Nuclear Association
- women, 461
- World Association of Nuclear Operators, 161, 266
- World Institute of Nuclear Security (WINS), 196, 266
- World Nuclear Association (WNA), 319, 352n12
- World Security Institute, 487
- World Trade Organization, 347n7, 419
- Wriston, Walter, 458
- WSSX. *See* Warhead Safety and Security Agreement
- Xue, Litai, 34n33
- Yeltsin, Boris, 68, 143, 213
- Zelikow, Philip D., 472, 485
- zero; deployed warheads, 23–27, 31–32, 37, 38–40; operation, 163, 165, 426; option, 41, 172, 199