Online Seminar

U.S.-Russian Dialogue on the NPT Review Process

A roadmap for U.S.-Russian cooperation

November 27, 2018
DISARMAMENT

CHALLENGES

NONPROLIFERATION

PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ENERGY
1 Insufficient effectiveness of the review process

- Two conferences since the 1995 indefinite extension and strengthened review process have concluded without a final document.
- The amount and complexity of current challenges makes consensus difficult to achieve.
- There is no standing entity to provide continuity or oversight during or between review conferences.
Dissolution of the current arms control framework

- The United States and Russia have always played a central role in success of NPT but their relations have deteriorated dramatically.

- Reasonable doubts exist about the future of bilateral arms control agreements and existing disarmament architecture.

- The main symptoms of this trend:
  - US plans to withdraw from the INF treaty
  - Modernization of nuclear arsenals and new weapons development
  - Nuclear doctrines which appear to lower threshold for use
No robust disarmament verification mechanisms

- Verification is a necessary tool to maintain trust in the regime and ensure disarmament
- There are no clear procedures to address this
- There is a limited expert base to address this
Lack of common understanding of strategic stability and ineffective signaling

- The US and Russia interpret strategic stability differently
  - Russia’s interpretation is generally broader than that of US and Europe
- Lends to debate of limited use as feasible alternative to massive retaliation
- Emerging technologies are complicating strategic stability calculations
5 | Issues with Transparency

- No established international norm or mechanism for transparency
- The main hurdles towards a comprehensive transparency system:
  - Uneven quality of information
  - Lack of standardized system of reporting
Growing division between NWS and NNWS on pace and prospect of nuclear disarmament

- Lack of progress lead to the signing of a treaty that began to drive a **wedge between NWS and NNWS**
  - NNWS growing impatient with lack of progress
- Main bones of contention:
  - **Lack of progress** on implementation of disarmament obligations
  - **NWS security doctrines** rationalizing the use of nuclear weapons
NONPROLIFERATION CHALLENGES

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PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ENERGY
The NPT’s successes are not fully recognized and state parties may be losing faith in its usefulness and effectiveness.

Successes such as:

- The decreased rate of proliferation post-implementation of the NPT
- Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
- NWFZ’s
The spread of nuclear technologies linked to peaceful uses of nuclear energy has increased the risk of proliferation, should any of those states decide to break out.

- Most of the nuclear weapons proliferation that has taken place over the last 3 decades has occurred under the guise of peaceful civilian nuclear programs:
  - India and Pakistan purchased materials from the West that were later used to support a military weapons program.
  - Iran and North Korea abused their Article IV rights as a means to create their clandestine nuclear weapons programs.
Threat of non-state actors acquiring nuclear capabilities

- There is a growing interest globally for nuclear energy, giving more opportunities for non-state actors to get access to the nuclear material necessary.
- Currently there is almost no regular interaction between senior leaders of each countries’ national security establishments, outside of crisis communication channels.
There is a risk that perceived lack of progress on the WMD Free Zone in the Middle East will lead to deadlock at the 2020 NPT Review Conference

- The agreed upon deadline to convene a conference established at the 2010 RevCon did not materialize
  - Moreover, no new date has been set for the conference
- Conflicts at the 2013 PrepCom that resulted in Egypt walking out, spelling doom for the 2015 RevCon
- There are disputes among Russia, The United Kingdom, and the United States - the co-sponsors of the 2015 Middle East Resolution - over when and under what conditions the conference can be convened
PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

CHALLENGES

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Access to Nuclear Technology

- Climate change - nuclear energy most viable alternative to fossil fuels
- Growing world energy demand, particularly in developing countries
- Nuclear-fuel cycle and multilateral approaches - Fear of nuclear energy due to incidents, nuclear “myths” and misconceptions
- Implementation of UN SDGs - nuclear technology to play important role
Many new countries considering nuclear energy
Developing countries with less legislation/stability need increased IAEA support
Verification and Safeguards scope of IAEA must be expanded to meet demands
Promoting nuclear safety and security worldwide
Challenge of dual-use technologies
Zero Real Growth (ZRG) budget
Nonproliferation and Disarmament Prioritized? Third Pillar Viewed as Being Least Important

- Third pillar of NPT often ignored - Nonproliferation and Disarmament are key global priorities
- Lack of progress in recent years - NNWS frustration (TPNW)
- Peaceful cooperation easier than “hard” pillars - Bridge-building between pillars
- Current security and political environment not conducive to disarmament discussions (JCPOA, INF)
- Peaceful uses - window of opportunity?
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RECOMMENDATIONS

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PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ENERGY
Insufficient Effectiveness of the Review process

- Pursue reforms to provide continuity between review conferences and strengthen institutional memory
  - These could include the creation of an implementation support unit
- Include proposals and recommendations which do not achieve consensus in different section of final document
Dissolution of the current arms control framework

- Issue a joint US-Russian briefing at conference expressing commitment to the current nonproliferation regime and promising to cooperate to address challenges to the broader arms control framework.
- Discuss the expansion of US-RF deconfliction channels
- Revive the Bilateral Presidential commission under a new name
- Exhaust diplomatic options for resolving INF dispute
- Extend New START before 2020
No robust disarmament verification mechanisms

- Introduce measures to strengthen compliance regimes
- Invest further in global monitoring systems
- Organize a forum for the US and Russia to share their experience on verifying disarmament measures with other NPT states
- Increase the role of the UN in these initiatives
Lack of common understanding of strategic stability and ineffective signaling

- Increase transparency of nuclear arsenal modernization
- Initiate official US-RF dialogue on strategic stability
  - Special attention should be paid to nuclear posture/doctrine
  - Should also discuss potential impacts of new technologies, inc. conventional precision and hypersonic weapons
5 | Issues with Transparency

- Reiterate the importance of Step 12 from the 2000 NPT Review Conference final document
- Develop a standardized reporting format to track state progress on disarmament
  ○ should be developed with the agreement and participation of all nuclear weapons states
Growing division between NWS and NNWS on pace and prospect of nuclear disarmament

- Reaffirm the understanding that nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought
- Acknowledge the TPNW and NNWS concerns
- Increase cooperation between NNWS and NWS within NPT framework
  - Consultation mechanisms to discuss disarmament issues
  - Joint briefings by US-Russia/P5 to air questions and concerns about their nuclear postures
Addressing the loss of faith

- Russia and the United States should make a joint statement to the effect that the NPT has enhanced global stability and security
- Russia and the US would advance their own non-proliferation agendas by praising countries who have contributed to the nonproliferation cause
Loss of Faith continued

- Russia should bring attention to the United States failure to ratify the protocols of three Nuclear Weapons Free Zones it has signed.
3 | Addressing the proliferation of nuclear technologies

- Make the Additional Protocol Universal
- Commit more resources to support IAEA inspection capabilities and security related programs
Recommendations to counter the rising threat on non-state actors

- The United States and Russia should jointly reaffirm their continued support and participation in the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism.
- The United States and Russia together should re-launch a new series of nuclear security summits, adopting the format of the previous four summits but making it a joint venture rather than a American led initiative.
5 Recommendations for overcoming the WMDFZ in the Middle East deadlock

- Russia and the United States could organize a Middle East Security and Stability summit, creating a forum for the region to air its grievances and seek solutions. Such a forum could be established outside the NPT, thereby making it more palatable to Israel.
- The arms control and regional security (ACRS) working groups that the US and Russia co-chaired in the 1990s could provide the format for future talks.
PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

RECOMMENDATIONS

NONPROLIFERATION

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Challenge: limited access to peaceful nuclear energy

- Collaborate in Training Professionals in Nuclear Energy
  - Develop bilateral educational programs in science, technology and security
  - Enhance bilateral relations by developing human connections
- Restart Scientific, Technical and Security Cooperation in Nuclear Energy
  - Collaborate in developing new reactor designs
  - Multilateral nuclear fuel cycle
  - Enhance cooperation in ensuring security of nuclear facilities
Challenge: insufficient funding for a growing number of the IAEA projects

- Increase Bilateral Support to the IAEA and other International Organizations
  - Russia and US should continue to invest in international organizations involved in developing nuclear energy
  - Act as role models for other countries
Challenge: the third pillar is often viewed as less important

- Host Side-Event on Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy at the 2020 NPT Review Conference
  - Ensure Peaceful Nuclear Energy is discussed—normally ignored at NPT Conferences
  - Create positive atmosphere of cooperation to address other aspects of the NPT
- Engage community and experts (Nunn–Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction, Civil society Panel)