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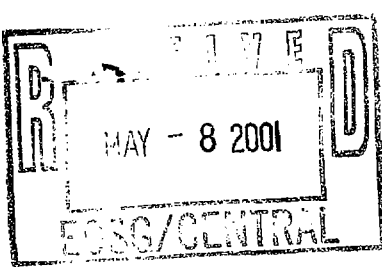
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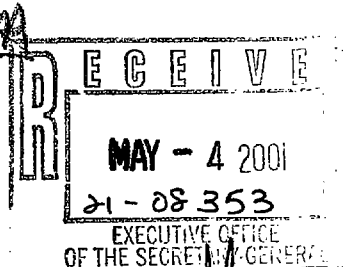
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Note to the Secretary-General

PRESIDENT BUSH'S STATEMENT ON MISSILE DEFENSES

1. As you are aware, President Bush's statement at the National Defense University on 1 May outlined his views on a new US defense policy, particularly regarding the establishment of missile defenses. Contrary to expectations, the statement was short on details. There were indeed very few new elements that the international community was previously unaware of. Nonetheless, the statement offered a good overview of the general direction where US national security policy, especially on missile defenses and nuclear issues, may be heading.
2. The key elements of President Bush's statement included the following:
 - New concepts of deterrence that rely on both offensive and defensive forces are needed.
 - A new framework that allows the establishment of missile defenses is needed and the US must move "beyond the constraints" of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. The US will also consult closely with allies on the missile defense issue and work together with Russia to replace the ABM Treaty with a new framework that "reflects a clear and clean break" from the past.
 - Nuclear weapons still have a "vital role" to play in US security policy.
 - The new framework must encourage further cuts in nuclear weapons but the US is committed to achieving a "**credible deterrent**" with the lowest number of nuclear weapons consistent with its national security needs.
 - The US is developing missile defense technology involving various options.
3. The concept of deterrence was widened to include both offensive and defensive forces. It was stressed that "deterrence can no longer be based solely on the threat of nuclear retaliation."
4. Although the speech offered no concrete figures, it stated that the US would seek further cuts in its nuclear arsenal. However, the vital role of nuclear weapons was also reaffirmed. This is inconsistent with the commitments undertaken at the 2000 NPT Review Conference, at which the nuclear-weapon States agreed to make an "unequivocal commitment" to the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals as well as to take steps to diminish the role of nuclear weapons in their security policies. START II, which has not yet entered into force, also obliges both the US and Russia to reduce their nuclear arsenals to 3,500 warheads each.
5. Reaffirming the US commitment to establish a missile defense system, including near-term options that would permit the deployment of an initial capability against limited

#4 8 May

missile threats, the statement outlined the various options that are being considered such as land-based and sea-based defenses. It also recognized the substantial advantages of the boost-phase intercept option. You may recall that Russia has been proposing that NATO, Europe and Russia cooperate on missile defenses.

Spoke also (Kumpfeld)

6. **China** reiterated its view that the ABM Treaty remained the cornerstone of strategic stability and stressed that US missile defense plans would spark a new arms race and undermine global peace. In its reaction, the **Russian Federation** stressed the importance of the ABM Treaty. It, however, welcomed the US proposal for a new strategic dialogue and stated its readiness to hold negotiations on global strategic stability issues.

7. **Other reactions to the statement** were more cautious than anticipated with many US allies seemingly waiting to see the outcome of their consultations with high-level US representatives before making specific comments. Denmark and the UK, whose territories will likely be requested to host radar facilities in the event of implementation of US missile defenses, refrained from comments or stressed the need for more information before making any decisions. Australia, however, expressed support for the statement and offered to host missile defense facilities. Many countries welcomed the US willingness to conduct close consultations on the issue. Nonetheless, several States, including Canada, Germany, Netherlands, New Zealand and Sweden, expressed concerns over possible unilateral abandonment of the ABM Treaty by the US and the serious implications for existing and future multilateral non-proliferation and disarmament agreements. Similar reactions were seen from US allies in Northeast Asia (Japan and Republic of Korea). **India** described the speech as “highly significant and far-reaching” and expressed the view that the new policy would “transform the strategic parameters on which the Cold War’s security architecture was built.”

8. Among the differences between the missile defense plan announced by President Bush and the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) of former President Reagan are: a) the frank admission that missile defense by itself will not work and b) the assertion that nuclear weapons have a vital role in US security (Reagan said that SDI would make nuclear weapons “impotent and obsolete”).

9. The significant implications that the new US security policy may have on international peace and security will require your continuous attention. DDA, on its part, will provide timely updates on any new developments that may occur in the forthcoming months.

Jayantha Dhanapala

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4 May 2001