A New NATO Strategic Concept Without Nuclear Weapons

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Nuclear Elements of NATO Strategy (1)

Key elements:

- NATO’s conventional forces alone cannot credibly deter
- Maintain - for the foreseeable future - mix of nuclear and conventional forces, at minimum sufficient level
- NW ensure uncertainty in mind of any aggressor
- They deter the use of NBC weapons
- NW make unique contribution in rendering the risks of aggression incalculable and unacceptable
- NW remain essential to preserve peace
Nuclear Weapons in NATO Strategy

Nuclear Elements of NATO Strategy (2)

Key elements:
- Widespread participation by European Allies
- Nuclear forces based in Europe
- Strategic and sub-strategic nuclear forces (SSNF)
  - Sub-strategic: DCA and Sub-Strategic Trident
- Maintain transatlantic link
- Political control under all circumstances
- No operational plans in peacetime (SSNF)
  - Adaptive nuclear planning
- Circumstances for contemplation of nuclear use:
  “extremely remote”
Reducing Nuclear Weapons

- US Nuclear Weapons in Europe reduced from 7,000+ to +/-200
- Turkey and Greece have abandoned nuclear role
- US nuclear weapons removed from the UK for first time in 60 years
- Nuclear Planning Group scaled back.
Nuclear Use Doctrine

- The use of nuclear weapons would be ‘extremely remote’
- Counterproliferation has influenced nuclear use policy
- There is a risk of the use of a small number of nuclear weapons in a regional conflict
  - “tailored deterrence”
Allied Reservations

- Canadian and European reservations on policy are strong
- US influence will increase as role of NPG declines
- Withdrawals of nuclear weapons from Europe will enhance this trend
NATO Nuclear Sharing

- NATO introduced nuclear sharing to prevent proliferation
- Four nations maintain sharing roles
- Greece and Turkey have opted out
- This policy has a negative effect on the NPT
The Historical Role of Arms Control

- Building Stability During the Cold War
- Reducing and Eliminating Threat Categories
  - Nuclear weapons in space, on the sea bed, SNF and INF reductions
  - Preventing proliferation, the NPT
  - Ballistic missile defences, the ABM Treaty
Threat Reduction in the 1990s

- Active NATO Support for:
  - PNIs, tactical nuclear disarmament
  - End to TNF modernisation
  - CWC
  - CTBT
  - Extension of NPT
  - START I and II
  - Endorsement of the NPT ‘13 steps’ in 2000
Declining Support for Arms Control

After 2000

- 13 steps repudiated immediately
- ‘unilateral PNIs’ seen as model
- By 2004, no support for CTBT
- Failure to ratify Adapted CFE Treaty
- By 2006 all specific measures except CTBT absent, now that too has gone
- Increasing role for counterproliferation, through PSI, replaces arms control
Conclusions

- NATO must revise its strategic concept, abandoning the nuclear role.
- NATO needs to revalue arms control as security building tool.
- US withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Europe is essential, but must be matched with end of nuclear role for the Alliance.
- Action Point: Open Letter to US Congress.