

## Editorial Briefing Packet

# Strong, Bipartisan Support for New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty

### Contents:

---

**Page 2** - List of former Republican national security officials who have testified in favor of the treaty

**Page 2** - List of notable national security experts who have endorsed the treaty's ratification

**Page 3** - Quotes from the aforementioned that testify to the security benefits provided by the treaty and the consequences of rejecting the treaty and address questions that have been raised as to its impact on missile defense.

**Page 6** - List of Senate hearings held on the treaty, with links (where available) to testimony and transcripts.

**Page 8** - Copy of the open letter in support of the treaty signed by 30 high-level national security experts from across the political spectrum that appeared in Politico.

## **Testimony from Former Republican Officials in Favor of New START Ratification:**

- Former Secretaries of Defense James Schlesinger and William Perry – [Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 29, 2010.](#)
- Former Secretary Henry Kissinger – [Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 25, 2010.](#)
- Former Secretary of State James Baker – [Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 19, 2010.](#)
- Former National Security Advisors Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft and Stephen Hadley – [Senate Foreign Relations Committee, June 10, 2010.](#)

## **National Security Experts Who Have Endorsed New START Ratification:**

**Madeleine Albright**, Secretary of State, 1997-2001  
**Howard Baker**, U.S. Senator (R-TN), 1967-85  
**Samuel Berger**, National Security Advisor, 1997-2001  
**Dr. Barry Blechman**, Assistant Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1977-80; Commissioner, Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States, 1998-99  
**Linton Brooks**, Administrator, National Nuclear Security Administration, 2002-07  
**Harold Brown**, Secretary of Defense, 1977-81  
**Mark Brzezinski**, Director of Southeast European Affairs, National Security Council, 1999-2001  
**Richard Burt**, Chief START Negotiator, 1989-91  
**Frank Carlucci**, Secretary of Defense, 1987-89  
**Warren Christopher**, Secretary of State, 1993-97  
**William Cohen**, Secretary of Defense, 1997-2001  
**John C. Danforth**, U.S. Senator (R-MO), 1977-95  
**Kenneth M. Duberstein**, White House Chief of Staff, 1988-89  
**Lieutenant General Robert Gard, U.S. Army (Ret)**, President of the National Defense University, 1977-81  
**Vice Admiral Lee Gunn, U.S. Navy (Ret)**, Inspector General of the Department of the Navy, 1997-2000  
**Chuck Hagel**, U.S. Senator (R-NE), 1997-2009  
**Lee Hamilton**, U.S. Congressman (D-IN), 1965-99  
**Gary Hart**, U.S. Senator (D-CO), 1975-87  
**Rita E. Hauser**, Chair, International Peace Institute  
**Carla Hills**, U.S. Trade Representative, 1989-93  
**Lieutenant General Dirk Jameson**, U.S. Air Force (Ret), Commander of U.S. ICBM forces 1992-94; Deputy Commander-In-Chief of U.S. Strategic Command, 1994-96  
**Nancy Kassebaum-Baker**, U.S. Senator (R-KS), 1978-97  
**Thomas Kean**, Governor (R-NJ), 1982-90; 9/11 Commission Chair  
**Lawrence Korb**, Assistant Secretary of Defense, 1981-85  
**Richard Leone**, President, The Century Foundation  
**Donald McHenry**, U.S. Ambassador to the UN, 1979-81  
**Sam Nunn**, U.S. Senator (D-GA), 1972-96  
**William Perry**, Secretary of Defense, 1994-97  
**Thomas Pickering**, Under Secretary of State, 1997-2000  
**Steven Pifer**, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, 2001-04  
**Colin L. Powell**, Secretary of State, 2001-05  
**Warren Rudman**, U.S. Senator (R-NH), 1980-92  
**Wendy Sherman**, Commissioner, Commission for the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Proliferation and Terrorism; Special Advisor and Policy Coordinator on U.S. policy toward North Korea, 1997-2001  
**Alan Simpson**, U.S. Senator (R-WY), 1979-97  
**George Shultz**, Secretary of State, 1982-89  
**Theodore Sorensen**, White House Special Counsel, 1961-63  
**John Whitehead**, Deputy Secretary of State, 1985-88  
**Timothy E. Wirth**, U.S. Senator (D-CO), 1987-93  
**Frank Wisner**, Under Secretary of State, 1992-93

# Strong, Bipartisan Support for New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty

*(Quotations compiled by National Security Network and Center for Arms Control and Nonproliferation)*

## **SUPPORT FOR RATIFICATION**

**Secretary of Defense Robert Gates:** “The New START Treaty has the unanimous support of America's military leadership—to include the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, all of the service chiefs, and the commander of the U.S. Strategic Command, the organization responsible for our strategic nuclear deterrent. For nearly 40 years, treaties to limit or reduce nuclear weapons have been approved by the U.S. Senate by strong bipartisan majorities. This treaty deserves a similar reception and result on account of the dangerous weapons it reduces, the critical defense capabilities it preserves, the strategic stability it maintains, and, above all, the security it provides to the American people.” [Secretary Gates, [5/13/10](#)]

**James Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense for Presidents Nixon and Ford and the Secretary of Energy for President Carter:** “It is obligatory for the United States to ratify.” [James Schlesinger, [4/29/10](#)]

**Admiral Michael Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff:** “I am pleased to add my voice in support of ratification of the New START treaty and to do so as soon as possible. We are in our seventh month without a treaty with Russia.” [Admiral Mullen, [6/17/10](#)]

**Dr. James Miller, Principal Deputy Defense Undersecretary for Policy:** “The New START Treaty is strongly in the national security interest of the United States. The Department of Defense fully supports the treaty.” [James Miller, [6/16/10](#)]

**Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN):** “I support the New START treaty and believe that it will enhance United States national security.” [Senator Lugar, [4/29/10](#)]

**Henry Kissinger, National Security Advisor to President Nixon and Secretary of State to Presidents Nixon and Ford:** “In deciding on ratification, the concerns need to be measured against the consequences of non-ratification, particularly interrupting a [bilateral arms control] process that has been going on for decades, the relationship to the NPT, and to the attempt to achieve a strategic coherence. And so, for all these reasons, I recommend ratification of this treaty...In short, this committee's decision will affect the prospects for peace for a decade or more. It is, by definition, not a bipartisan, but a nonpartisan, challenge.” [Henry Kissinger, [5/25/10](#)]

**Colin Powell, Madeleine Albright, Samuel Berger, Frank Carlucci, Chuck Hagel, John Danforth and many other prominent national security experts:** “We, the undersigned Republicans and Democrats, support the New START treaty.” [30 Bipartisan Leaders via Partnership for a Secure America, [6/24/10](#)]

## **BENEFITS OF THE NEW START AGREEMENT**

**Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Michael Mullen:** “The New START deals directly with some of the most lethal of those common challenges - our stockpiles of strategic nuclear weapons. By dramatically reducing these stockpiles, this treaty achieves a proper balance more in keeping with today's security environment, reducing tensions even as it bolsters nonproliferation efforts. It features a much more effective, transparent verification method that demands quicker data exchanges and notifications... In other words, through the trust it engenders, the cuts it requires, and the flexibility it preserves, this treaty enhances our ability to do that which we have been charged to do: protect and defend the citizens of the United States.” [Admiral Michael Mullen, [3/27/10](#)]

**Stephen Hadley, National Security Advisor to President George W. Bush:** “The New START Treaty makes its modest but nonetheless useful contribution to the national security of the United States and to international stability.” [Stephen Hadley, [6/10/10](#)]

**Secretary of Energy Steven Chu:** “New START is an important part of President Obama's nuclear security agenda. If ratified and entered into force, the treaty will commit the United States and the Russian Federation to lower levels of deployed strategic nuclear weapons in a transparent and verifiable way. This will increase stability between our countries, while demonstrating our joint commitment to a nuclear nonproliferation treaty.” [Secretary Chu, [6/17/10](#)]

**Former Secretary of State James Baker:** “Although I am not an expert on the nuances of the proposed New START treaty, it appears to take our country in a direction that can enhance our national security while at the same time reducing the number of nuclear warheads on the planet. It can also improve Washington's relationship with Moscow regarding nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, a relationship that will be vital if the two countries are to cooperate in order to stem nuclear proliferation in countries such as Iran and North Korea.” [James Baker, [5/19/10](#)]

**Secretary of State Hillary Clinton:** “This is a treaty that if ratified will provide stability, transparency and predictability for the two countries with more than 90 percent of the world's nuclear weapons. It is a treaty that will reduce the permissible number of Russian- and U.S.-deployed strategic warheads to 1,550, a level not seen since the 1950s.” [Secretary Clinton, [6/17/10](#)]

**General Kevin Chilton, STRATCOM Commander:** “I believe that there are three reasons why the New START agreement represents a positive step forward. First, New START limits the number of Russian ballistic missile warheads and strategic delivery vehicles that can target the United States. Second, New START retains efficient flexibility in managing our deterrent forces to hedge against technical or geopolitical surprise. And third, New START will re-establish a strategic nuclear arms control verification regime that provides access to Russian nuclear forces and a measure of predictability in Russian force deployments over the life of the treaty.” [General Chilton, [6/16/10](#)]

**Admiral Michael Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff:** “The chiefs and I believe the New START treaty achieves an important and necessary balance between three critical aims. It allows us to retain a strong and flexible American nuclear deterrent. It helps strengthen openness and transparency in our relationship with Russia. It also demonstrates our national commitment to reducing the worldwide risk of a nuclear incident resulting from the continuing proliferation of nuclear weapons.” [Admiral Mullen, [6/17/10](#)]

## **CONSEQUENCES OF NONRATIFICATION**

**General Kevin Chilton, STRATCOM Commander:**

"If we don't get the treaty, [the Russians] are not constrained in their development of force structure and...we have no insight into what they're doing. So its the worst of both possible worlds." [General Chilton, [6/16/10](#)]

**General Brent Scowcroft (Ret.), President George H.W. Bush's National Security Advisor:** “The principal result of non-ratification would be to throw the whole nuclear negotiating situation into a state of chaos.” [Brent Scowcroft, [6/10/10](#)]

**James Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense for Presidents Nixon and Ford and the Secretary of Energy for President Carter:** Failure to ratify this treaty “would have a detrimental effect on our ability to influence others with regard to, particularly, the nonproliferation issue.” [James Schlesinger, [4/29/10](#)]

**Former Defense Secretary William Perry** “If we fail to ratify this treaty, the U.S. forfeits any right to leadership on nonproliferation policies.” [William Perry, [4/29/10](#)]

**Secretary of State Hillary Clinton:** “The consequences of not ratifying this treaty would have very serious impacts on our relationship with Russia, and would frankly give aid and comfort to a lot of the adversaries we face around the world.” [Hillary Clinton, [6/17/10](#)]

**Henry Kissinger, National Security Advisor to President Nixon and Secretary of State to Presidents Nixon and Ford:** “This START treaty is an evolution of treaties that have been negotiated in previous administrations of both parties. And its principal provisions are an elaboration or a continuation of existing agreements. Therefore, a rejection of them would indicate that a new period of American policy had started that might rely largely on the unilateral reliance of its nuclear weapons, and would therefore create an element of uncertainty in the calculations of both adversaries and allies. And therefore, I think it would have an unsettling impact on the international environment.” [Henry Kissinger, [5/25/10](#)]

### **MISSILE DEFENSE**

**Director of the U.S. Missile Defense Agency, Lieutenant General Patrick O'Reilly:** “The New START Treaty actually reduces previous START treaty's constraints on developing missile defense programs in several areas.” [General O'Reilly, [6/16/10](#)]

**Secretary of Defense Robert Gates:** “The treaty will not constrain the United States from deploying the most effective missile defenses possible nor impose additional costs or barriers on those defenses.” [Sec. Gates, [6/17/10](#)]

**Commander of U.S. Strategic Command General Chilton:** “As the combatant command also responsible for synchronizing global missile defense plans, operations, and advocacy, this treaty does not constrain any current missile defense plans.” [General Chilton, [6/16/10](#)]

**Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Michele Flournoy and Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology & Logistics Ash Carter:** “Missile defenses have become a topic of some discussion in the context of the Senate's consideration of the New START Treaty with Russia. The fact is that the treaty does not constrain the U.S. from testing, developing and deploying missile defenses. Nor does it prevent us from improving or expanding them. Nor does it raise the costs of doing so. We have made clear to our Russian counterparts that missile defense cooperation between us is in our mutual interest, and is not inconsistent with the need to deploy and improve our missile defense capabilities as threats arise.” [Flournoy and Carter via WSJ, [6/17/10](#)]

# Senate Hearings on the New START Treaty

## Senate Foreign Relations Committee

July 15, 2010 - [The New START Treaty: Maintaining a Safe, Secure and Effective Nuclear Arsenal](#) - Witnesses: Dr. Michael R. Anastasio, Director, Los Alamos National Laboratory; Dr. George H. Miller, Director, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory; Dr. Paul J. Himmert, Sandia National Laboratories.

July 14, 2010 - [The New START Treaty: Maintaining a Safe, Secure and Effective Nuclear Arsenal](#) (Closed) – Witnesses: The Honorable Rose Gottemoeller, Assistant Secretary for Verification and Compliance, Department of State.

June 24, 2010 – [The New START Treaty: Implementation](#) – Inspections and Assistance – Witnesses: The Honorable James N. Miller, Jr., Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Department of Defense; Kenneth A. Myers III, Director, Defense Threat Reduction Agency and U.S. Strategic Command Center for Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction.

June 24, 2010 – [The New START Treaty: Benefits and Risks](#) – Witnesses: The Honorable Robert G. Joseph, Senior Scholar, National Institute for Public Policy; The Honorable Eric S. Edelman, Distinguished Fellow Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, Visiting Scholar Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced and International Studies (SAIS); Dr. Morton H. Halperin, Senior Advisor, Open Society Institute.

June 16, 2010 – [The New START Treaty: Views from the Pentagon](#) – Witnesses: The Honorable James N. Miller, Jr., Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Department of Defense; General Kevin P. Chilton, USAF, Commander, United States Strategic Command; Lieutenant General Patrick J. O'Reilly, USA, Director, Missile Defense Agency.

June 15, 2010 – [The New START Treaty: The Negotiations](#) – Witnesses: The Honorable Rose Gottemoeller, Assistant Secretary of State for Verification and Compliance Chief U.S. Negotiator in Post-START Negotiations, Department of State; The Honorable Edward L. Warner, III, Secretary of Defense Representative to Post- START Negotiations, Department of Defense.

June 10, 2010 – [Strategic Arms Control and National Security](#) – Witnesses: Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft, USAF (Ret.), President, The Scowcroft Group; The Honorable Stephen J. Hadley, Senior Adviser for International Affairs, United States Institute of Peace.

June 8, 2010 – [The New START Treaty: The Negotiations](#) (Closed) – Witnesses: The Honorable Rose Gottemoeller, Assistant Secretary of State for Verification and Compliance Chief U.S. Negotiator in Post-START Negotiations, Department of State; The Honorable Edward L. Warner, III, Secretary of Defense Representative to Post- START Negotiations, Department of Defense.

May 25, 2010 – [The New START Treaty: The Role of Strategic Arms Control in a Post-Cold War World](#) – Witnesses: The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger, Former Secretary of State / Chairman, Kissinger McLarty Associates.

May 19, 2010 – [The History and Lessons of START](#) – Witnesses: The Honorable James A. Baker, Former Secretary of State / Former Secretary of the Treasury, Senior Partner, Baker Botts L.L.P.

May 18, 2010 – [The New START Treaty](#) – Witnesses: The Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State, Department of State; The Honorable Robert Gates, Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense; The Honorable Admiral Michael Mullen, USN, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

April 29, 2010 – [The History and Modern Context for U.S.-Russian Arms Control](#) – Witnesses: The Honorable James R. Schlesinger, Chairman of the Board MITRE Corporation / Former Secretary of Defense, Former Secretary of Energy, Former Director of Central Intelligence; The Honorable William J. Perry, Michael and Barbar Berberian Professor, Center for International Security & Cooperation, Stanford University / Former Secretary of Defense.

### **Senate Armed Services Committee**

July 15, 2010 – [To receive testimony on sustaining nuclear weapons under the New START](#) (Open/Closed)– Witnesses: Dr. Michael R. Anastasio, Director, Los Alamos National Laboratory; Dr. George H. Miller, Director, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory; Dr. Paul J. Hommert, Sandia National Laboratories; Dr. Roy F. Schwitters, Chairman, JASON Defense Advisory Group, S.W. Richardson Foundation Regental Professor of Physics, The University of Texas at Austin.

July 14, 2010 – [Briefing on the National Intelligence Estimate on the verifiability of the New START](#) (Closed) – Witnesses: Andrew M. Gibb, National Intelligence Officer for Weapons of Mass Destruction, National Intelligence Council.

June 17, 2010 – [To receive testimony on the New START and implications for national security programs](#) – Witnesses: The Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State, Department of State; The Honorable Robert Gates, Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense; The Honorable Admiral Michael Mullen, USN, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; The Honorable Steven Chu, Secretary of Energy, Department of Energy.

### **Senate Select Committee on Intelligence**

Week of July 12, 2010 – Briefing on the intelligence community’s National Intelligence Estimate on the New START Treaty (Closed) – Witnesses: TBA.



# TRANSPARENCY = SECURITY

Nuclear arms control is a critical pillar of America's national security. Negotiated agreements to reduce the threat posed by the Cold War nuclear arms race have always enjoyed strong bipartisan support in the U.S.

In 1982, President Reagan proposed that the U.S. and the Soviet Union reduce their nuclear arsenals by thousands of warheads each. This proposal became the basis for the 1991 START I treaty. Since that time, every U.S. President, in concert with Russia, has advanced President Reagan's legacy through steady and prudent reductions of the world's two largest nuclear arsenals, including the 2002 Treaty of Moscow, signed by Presidents Bush and Putin.

On April 8, 2010, Presidents Obama and Medvedev signed the new START treaty, agreeing to further reduce both sides' arsenals and bring into force a new regime for inspections and verification. This was a necessary and appropriate step toward safeguarding our national security. Without the new START, the U.S. has no legally binding ability to conduct inspections of Russia's nuclear arsenal, and would be in a far weaker position to lead the world in stopping nuclear proliferation.

Now is the time for a thorough and balanced national discussion about nuclear arms control and nonproliferation. But we must remember that a world without a binding U.S.-Russian nuclear weapons agreement is a much more dangerous world. We, the undersigned Republicans and Democrats, support the new START treaty because we believe that it:

- Enhances stability, transparency and predictability between the world's two largest nuclear powers, which together possess about 95 percent of the world's nuclear weapons
- Contains verification and inspection measures essential to U.S. national security and nuclear threat reduction as it relates to Russia's strategic nuclear weapons
- Addresses our Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) obligations and therefore assists in gaining cooperation from other countries on key nonproliferation priorities
- Helps strengthen broader U.S.-Russia cooperation, which is important in responding to proliferation challenges from Iran and North Korea
- Does not inhibit our ability to maintain an effective and reliable nuclear arsenal
- Does not constrain our ability to develop and deploy missile defense systems

**MADELEINE ALBRIGHT** Secretary of State 1997-2001

**HOWARD BAKER** US Senator (R-TN) 1967-85

**SAMUEL BERGER** National Security Advisor 1997-2001

**LINTON BROOKS** Administrator, National Nuclear Security Administration 2002-07

**HAROLD BROWN** Secretary of Defense 1977-81

**FRANK CARLUCCI** Secretary of Defense 1987-89

**WARREN CHRISTOPHER** Secretary of State 1993-97

**WILLIAM COHEN** Secretary of Defense 1997-2001

**JOHN C. DANFORTH** US Senator (R-MO) 1977-95

**KENNETH M. DUBERSTEIN** White House Chief of Staff 1988-89

**CHUCK HAGEL** US Senator (R-NE) 1997-2009

**LEE HAMILTON** US Congressman (D-IN) 1965-99;  
Co-Chair, PSA Advisory Board

**GARY HART** US Senator (D-CO) 1975-87

**RITA E. HAUSER** Chair, International Peace Institute

**CARLA HILLS** US Trade Representative 1989-93

**NANCY KASSEBAUM-BAKER** US Senator (R-KS) 1978-97

**THOMAS KEAN** Governor (R-NJ) 1982-90;  
9/11 Commission Chair

**RICHARD LEONE** President, The Century Foundation

**DONALD MCHENRY** US Ambassador to the UN 1979-81

**SAM NUNN** US Senator (D-GA) 1972-96

**WILLIAM PERRY** Secretary of Defense 1994-97

**THOMAS PICKERING** Under Secretary of State 1997-2000

**COLIN L. POWELL** Secretary of State 2001- 05

**WARREN RUDMAN** US Senator (R-NH) 1980-92;  
Co-Chair, PSA Advisory Board

**ALAN SIMPSON** US Senator (R-WY) 1979-97

**GEORGE SHULTZ** Secretary of State 1982-89

**THEODORE SORENSEN** White House Special Counsel 1961-63

**JOHN WHITEHEAD** Deputy Secretary of State 1985-88

**TIMOTHY E. WIRTH** US Senator (D-CO) 1987-93

**FRANK WISNER** Under Secretary of State 1992-93



PARTNERSHIP FOR  
A SECURE AMERICA

[PSAonline.org](http://PSAonline.org)

CHARLES N. ANDREAE  
JAMIE METZL  
PSA Co-Chairs