



IN MEMORIAM

With the passing of Senator Jon L. Kyl in September 2026, America lost a giant. Senator Kyl served four terms in the House before becoming a senator in 1994 and retiring in 2013 as Senate Minority Whip. He returned to the Senate for four months in 2019 following Senator John McCain's passing and dedicated that time to promoting the findings of the Commission on the National Defense Strategy and strengthening the U.S. military. Amid his many legislative accomplishments, particularly in the area of national security, his interest in and understanding of defense issues and threats to U.S. interests remained unparalleled in Congress.

This section features written testimony that Senator Kyl presented to the Senate Armed Services Committee on the findings of the Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States, a bipartisan commission that Senator Kyl co-chaired with former National Nuclear Security Administration Principal Deputy Administrator Madelyn Creedon. His two other featured speeches concern the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, which he helped soundly defeat in 1999. These speeches continue to inspire: Senator Kyl's sound assessment of issues pertaining to the nuclear weapons complex, his clear-eyed analysis of adversaries and how they use arms control to restrain the United States, and his willingness to engage in substantive arguments on the merits rather than through emotion will be sorely missed.

Document No. 1. Madelyn R. Creedon and Jon L. Kyl, Written Testimony for the Senate Armed Services Committee "Findings of the Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States," October 19, 2023.*

Preface to the Final Report

The militarily troubling and increasingly aggressive behaviors of Russia and China over the past decade led Congress to direct a review of the strategic posture of the United States, including nuclear weapons policy, strategy, and force structure.¹ We have the privilege to serve as the chair and vice chair of this second Strategic Posture Commission (SPC).

Much has happened since the first SPC released its report in 2009.² China's rapid military build-up, including the unprecedented growth of its nuclear forces, Russia's diversification and expansion of its theater-based nuclear systems, the invasion of Ukraine in 2014 and subsequent full-scale invasion in February 2022, have all fundamentally altered the geopolitical landscape.

As a result of China's and Russia's growing competition with the United States and its Allies and partners, and the increasing risk of military conflict with one or both, as well as

* Available at https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/kyl_joint_statement.pdf.

¹ Congress established the parameters of the review and a Strategic Posture Commission to carry it out in the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2022, Pub. L. 117-81, 135 Stat. 2126, 117th Cong.

² William J. Perry and James R. Schlesinger, *America's Strategic Posture: The Final Report of Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States* (United States Institute of Peace, 2009).



concerns about whether the United States would be prepared to deter two nuclear peers, Congress determined it was time for a new look at U.S. strategic policy, strategy, and force structure.

The first SPC had a charge like ours: “to conduct a review of the strategic posture of the United States and to make a recommendation on how to move forward.”³ The vision of a world without nuclear weapons, aspirational even in 2009, is more improbable now than ever. The new global environment is fundamentally different than anything experienced in the past, even in the darkest days of the Cold War. Today the United States is on the cusp of having not one, but two nuclear peer adversaries, each with ambitions to change the international status quo, by force, if necessary: a situation which the United States did not anticipate and for which it is not prepared.

While the risk of a major nuclear conflict remains low, the risk of military conflict with either or both Russia and China, while not inevitable, has grown, and with it the risk of nuclear use, possibly against the U.S. homeland.

We started our work with extensive intelligence briefings to understand this new, rapidly changing security environment. These briefings underpin our conclusion that as a nation we need to urgently prepare for the new reality, and that measures need to be taken now to deal with these new threats. We believe that prompt actions are needed to provide future decision-makers viable options to credibly deter conflict. Being unprepared for the reality of two nuclear peers, who are dedicated to and focused on undermining the post-Cold War international order that has served the United States and its Allies and partners so well, is, in our view, not an option.

We had extensive discussions and briefings on the problems we face as a nation, including workforce shortages, supply chain limitations, and inadequate physical, scientific, technical, and experimental infrastructure at the Department of Defense (DOD) and Department of Energy/National Nuclear Security Administration (DOE/NNSA). These shortcomings resulted from years of inattention and if not addressed promptly, will continue to limit the U.S. ability to prepare and respond to the new challenges.

As we discussed this new normal, we also concluded that the United States does not truly have, but must commit to, a “whole-of-government” approach to be more efficient and effective.

Keeping up with technology is also a challenge. Whereas in the past, when U.S. government research was uniformly on the cutting edge, that role has shifted to the private sector in many areas. As a result, the DOD and DOE/NNSA will have to change traditional procurement practices to work effectively with the private sector to rapidly develop and deploy new cutting-edge technology.

Allies and partners are important as together we are stronger. Greater cooperation, coordination and integration with our Allies and partners is essential to deter conflict and prosper economically. National leaders must communicate to U.S. citizens the benefits and

³ Ibid, Chairman’s Preface.

importance of U.S. global leadership, Allies and partners and extended deterrence, if they are to gain the support of the American people for the associated policy and costs.

Our review sought to address and respond to this new, more dangerous, and more competitive environment, while looking for ways to improve strategic stability and reduce the risk of conflict. We know that this will be difficult on many levels, but we believe that our recommendations can help shape needed future strategy and posture decisions.

For the most part the Commission deliberately avoided making specific force structure recommendations; instead, we identified capabilities beyond the existing program of record (POR) that will be needed. We believe it is appropriate to leave specific material solution decisions to the Executive Branch and Congress. We were clear, however, that the nuclear force modernization POR is absolutely essential, although not sufficient to meet the new threats posed by Russia and China, and that the elements of the POR should be completed on time, expedited wherever possible, and expanded as needed.

We also found that adopting new technologies faster, and working with smaller innovative companies will be necessary to support a modern, flexible, force structure and infrastructure in the future.

While we did not conduct a cost analysis of our recommendations, it is obvious they will cost money. We do recognize budget realities, but we also believe the nation must make these new investments and U.S. leaders must communicate to U.S. citizens both the need and urgency to rebuild the nuclear infrastructure and modernize the nuclear forces. These investments in the nuclear enterprise are a relatively small portion of the overall defense budget but provide the backbone and foundation of deterrence and are the nation's highest defense priority. The investments the Commission recommends in both nuclear and conventional capabilities will provide a safe, secure, reliable, effective, and credible deterrent, which is essential to reduce the risk of conflict, most importantly nuclear conflict.

From the outset the Commissioners understood that our most valuable contribution to U.S. national security would be a consensus report. There were certainly differences of opinion and a multitude of views expressed amongst our members during our many robust debates and discussions. No doubt some commissioners might have stated some things differently. For example, a number of commissioners believe it is inevitable that the size of the U.S. nuclear stockpile and the number of delivery systems should increase. We all agreed, however, on the findings and recommendations in this report and the need for actions now to better position the United States for the future and ensure a safe, secure, reliable, and credible deterrent.

We believe that sustained bipartisan consensus is possible and necessary to secure a strong future and credible deterrent for the United States. Moreover, we hope this report illustrates to policy-and decision-makers that even with different opinions, people of good faith can work together for the common good on fundamentally important matters.

This report would not have been possible without the excellent work of the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA) leadership and staff. We extend a sincere thank you to our Executive Director, Maj. Gen. William Chambers (USAF retired) and the IDA staff.

Executive Summary of the Final Report

The United States faces a strategic challenge requiring urgent action. Given current threat trajectories, our nation will soon encounter a fundamentally different global setting than it has ever experienced: we will face a world where two nations possess nuclear arsenals on par with our own. In addition, the risk of conflict with these two nuclear peers is increasing. It is an existential challenge for which the United States is ill-prepared, unless its leaders make decisions now to adjust the U.S. strategic posture.

The Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States was established by the Fiscal Year (FY) 2022 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), and concludes that America's defense strategy and strategic posture must change in order to properly defend its vital interests and improve strategic stability with China and Russia. Decisions need to be made now in order for the nation to be prepared to address the threats from these two nuclear-armed adversaries arising during the 2027-2035 timeframe. Moreover, these threats are such that the United States and its Allies and partners must be ready to deter and defeat both adversaries simultaneously.

We arrive at these conclusions following a comprehensive year-long review of the threats America faces and its strategy and planned capabilities to address those threats. The evidence demonstrates that the U.S.-led international order and the values it upholds are at risk from the Chinese and Russian authoritarian regimes. The risk of military conflict with those major powers has grown and carries the potential for nuclear war. Therefore, the Commission reached the unanimous, non-partisan conclusion that today's strategic outlook requires an urgent national focus and a series of concerted actions not currently planned. In sum, we find that the United States lacks a comprehensive strategy to address the looming two nuclear-peer threat environment and lacks the force structure such a strategy will require.

In reaching that overall conclusion, we make clear that the fundamentals of America's deterrence strategy remain sound, but the application of that strategy must change to address the 2027-2035 threat environment. Those changes drive necessary adjustments to the posture of U.S. nuclear capabilities—in size and/or composition. A full spectrum of non-nuclear capabilities is also essential to the nation's strategic posture. Such adjustments, in turn, drive the need to strengthen and expand the capacity of the infrastructure required to sustain and enhance U.S. strategic capabilities. In addition, Allies and partners are central to our findings regarding strategy and posture. We also emphasize the need for robust risk reduction efforts as fundamental to the U.S. approach in the new threat environment.

Adhering to the stipulations of our mandate, the report that follows delineates 131 findings and makes 81 recommendations. Those findings and recommendations are found at the beginning and end, respectively, of each chapter that follows; a complete list is also included following the report's conclusion. Our most important recommendations are summarized here:

STRATEGY

To achieve the most effective strategy for stability in light of the 2027-2035 threat environment, the Commission identifies three necessary changes:

- The United States must develop and effectively implement a truly integrated, whole-of-government strategy to address the 2027-2035 threat environment.
- The objectives of U.S. strategy must include effective deterrence and defeat of simultaneous Russian and Chinese aggression in Europe and Asia using conventional forces. If the United States and its Allies and partners do not field sufficient conventional forces to achieve this objective, U.S. strategy would need to be altered to increase reliance on nuclear weapons to deter or counter opportunistic or collaborative aggression in the other theater.
- The size and composition of the nuclear force must account for the possibility of combined aggression from Russia and China. U.S. strategy should no longer treat China's nuclear forces as a "lesser included" threat. The United States needs a nuclear posture capable of simultaneously deterring both countries.

The Commission recommends the United States maintain a nuclear strategy consistent with the Law of Armed Conflict (LOAC), based on six fundamental tenets—assured second strike, flexible response, tailored deterrence, extended deterrence and assurance, calculated ambiguity in declaratory policy, hedge against risk—and apply these tenets to address the 2027-2035 threat.

STRATEGIC POSTURE

In the context of a strategic posture deploying both conventional and nuclear capability, the Commission believes the traditional role of nuclear weapons in U.S. defense strategy remains valid and of continuing importance: deterrence of adversaries; assurance of Allies; achieving U.S. objectives should deterrence fail; and hedging against adverse events.

The current modernization program should be supplemented to ensure U.S. nuclear strategy remains effective in a two-nuclear-peer environment.

Comprehensive risk-mitigating actions across U.S. nuclear forces must be executed to ensure that delays in modernization programs or early age-out of currently deployed systems do not result in militarily significant shortfalls in deployed nuclear capability.

The U.S. strategic nuclear force posture should be modified to:

- Address the larger number of targets due to the growing Chinese nuclear threat.
- Address the possibility that China will field large-scale, counterforce-capable missile forces that pose a threat to U.S. strategic nuclear forces on par with the threat Russia poses to those forces today.
- Assure the United States continues to avoid reliance on executing Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) launch under attack to retain an effective deterrent.

- Account for advances in Russian and Chinese integrated air and missile defenses (IAMD).

The U.S. theater nuclear force posture should be urgently modified to:

- Provide the President a range of militarily effective nuclear response options to deter or counter Russian or Chinese limited nuclear use in theater.
- Address the need for U.S. theater nuclear forces deployed or based in the Asia-Pacific theater.
- Compensate for any shortfall in U.S. and allied non-nuclear capabilities in a sequential or simultaneous two-theater conflict against Russia and China.
- Address advances in Russian and Chinese IAMD.

NUCLEAR SECURITY ENTERPRISE INFRASTRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

The Commission recommends the DOD and DOE/NNSA strategic infrastructure be expanded to have sufficient capacity to:

- Meet the capability and schedule requirements of the current nuclear modernization POR and the requirements of the force posture modifications recommended by the Commission in time to address the two-peer threat.
- Provide an effective hedge against four forms of risk: technical failure of a warhead or delivery system, programmatic delays, operational loss of delivery systems, and further deterioration of the geopolitical environment.
- Flex to respond to emerging requirements in a timely fashion.

To support the proposed strategy, the Commission recommends Congress fund an overhaul and expansion of the capacity of the U.S. nuclear weapons defense industrial base and the DOE/NNSA nuclear security enterprise, including weapons science, design, and production infrastructure. Specifically:

- Congress should fund the full range of NNSA's recapitalization efforts, such as pit production and all operations related to critical materials.
- Congress should forge and sustain bipartisan consensus and year-to-year funding stability to enable the defense industry to respond to innovative DOD contracting approaches and invest with more certainty.
- Congress should enact annual DOD and DOE authorization and appropriation bills before the beginning of each fiscal year.
- Congress should place the purview of all "050" programs (President's Budget line item for "national security") that are in NNSA under Defense appropriations subcommittees (House Appropriations).
- Cabinet Secretaries, working with states and union leaders, should establish and increase the technical education and vocational training programs required to create the nation's necessary skilled-trades workforce for the nuclear enterprise. Committee-Defense (HAC-D), Senate Appropriations Committee Defense (SAC-D).

The Commission recommends a number of specific actions to expand the capacity and effectiveness of the nation's infrastructure and supply chain for its strategic capabilities.

NON-NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES

The Commission recommends:

- The United States urgently deploy a more resilient space architecture and adopt a strategy that includes both offensive and defensive elements to ensure U.S. access to and operations in space.
- The United States and its Allies take steps to ensure they are at the cutting edge of emerging technologies—such as big data analytics, quantum computing, and artificial intelligence (AI)—to avoid strategic surprise and potentially enhance the U.S. strategic posture.
- The United States prioritize funding and accelerate long-range non-nuclear precision strike programs to meet the operational need and in greater quantities than currently planned.
- The United States develop and field homeland IAMD that can deter and defeat coercive attacks by Russia and China, and determine the capabilities needed to stay ahead of the North Korean threat.⁴
- The Secretary of Defense direct research, development, test and evaluation into advanced IAMD capabilities leveraging all domains, including land, sea, air, and space. These activities should focus on sensor architectures, integrated command and control, interceptors, cruise and hypersonic missile defenses, and area or point defenses. The DOD should urgently pursue deployment of any capabilities that prove feasible.
- The Secretary of Defense and the Military Departments transfer operations and sustainment responsibility for missile defense to the appropriate Military Departments by 1 October 2024. This will allow the Missile Defense Agency (MDA) to focus on research, development, prototyping and testing.

ALLIES AND PARTNERS

The Commission believes it is in the U.S. national interest to maintain, strengthen, and when appropriate, expand its network of alliances and partnerships. These relationships strengthen American security by deterring aggression regionally, before it can reach the U.S. homeland, while also enabling U.S. economic prosperity through access to international markets. Withdrawing from U.S. alliances and partnerships would directly benefit adversaries, invite aggression that the United States might later have to reverse, and ultimately decrease American, allied, and partner security and economic prosperity. Further,

⁴ A “coercive” attack consists of limited conventional or nuclear strikes intended to convince U.S. leadership that the costs of intervening or persevering in a conflict involving the attacker are too high.

the Commission believes that our defense and the defense of the current international order is strengthened when Allies can directly contribute to the broader strategic posture, and the United States should seek to incorporate those contributions as much as possible.

- The Executive branch should recognize that any major change to U.S. strategic posture, policies, or capabilities will have great effect on Allies' perceptions and their deterrence and assurance requirements. As a result, any changes should be predicated on meaningful consultations.

RISK REDUCTION

The Commission believes it is of paramount importance for the United States to work to reduce strategic risks. This involves activities and programs across the U.S. government, including in nonproliferation and arms control, as well as maintaining strong, viable, and resilient military forces.

- The Commission recommends that a strategy to address the two-nuclear-peer threat environment be a prerequisite for developing U.S. nuclear arms control limits for the 2027-2035 timeframe. The Commission recommends that once a strategy and its related force requirements are established, the U.S. government determine whether and how nuclear arms control limits continue to enhance U.S. security.
- The Commission recommends that the United States continue to explore nuclear arms control opportunities and conduct research into potential verification technologies in order to support or enable future negotiations in the U.S. national interest that seek to limit all nuclear weapon types, should the geopolitical environment change.
- Where formal nuclear arms control agreements are not possible, the Commission recommends pursuing nuclear risk reduction measures to increase predictability and reduce uncertainty and the chances for misperception and miscalculation.

The 2009 Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States reported that the United States was at “a moment of opportunity, . . .but also a moment of urgency”—because the security environment had improved and the threat of nuclear proliferation was the principal concern. Since 2009, the security environment has dramatically worsened and new existential threats have emerged. This Commission concludes that the United States now faces a high stakes challenge that requires urgent action. Nevertheless, the Commission has not seen the U.S. government demonstrate the urgency and creativity required to meet the challenge. Nothing other than synchronized steps taken by the Executive and Legislative Branches will craft the strategy and build the posture the nation requires.

The challenges are unmistakable; the problems are urgent; the steps are needed now.

Document No. 2. Jon Kyl, Congressional Record of the United States Senate, *Proceedings and Debates of the 106th Congress, First Session, October 8, 1999*, pp. S12258-S12262.**

Mr. President, I rise today to explain why I strongly oppose the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty that has been submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent. I think the words of six distinguished Americans who formerly bore the responsibility for safeguarding our nation's security as Secretary of Defense frame the issue before the Senate quite well. In a letter to the majority leader this week, James Schlesinger, Dick Cheney, Frank Carlucci, Caspar Weinberger, Donald Rumsfeld, and Melvin Laird who served as Secretaries of Defense in the Reagan, Bush, Ford, and Nixon administrations, stated:

“As the Senate weighs whether to approve the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) we believe Senators will be obliged to focus on one dominant, inescapable result were it to be ratified: over the decades ahead, confidence in the reliability of our nuclear weapons stockpile would inevitably decline, thereby reducing the credibility of America's nuclear deterrent.”

For this reason, these former Secretaries of Defense conclude that the CTBT is “incompatible with the Nation's international commitments and vital security interests . . . Accordingly, we respectfully urge you and your colleagues to preserve the right of this nation to conduct nuclear tests necessary to the future viability of our nuclear deterrent by rejecting approval of the present CTBT.”

I couldn't agree more with the considered judgment of these distinguished Americans who have had the awesome responsibility of maintaining the U.S. nuclear deterrent throughout the cold war and beyond.

Before discussing some of the flaws of the CTBT and how it will undermine the credibility of our nuclear deterrent, a few words on the importance of nuclear deterrence, and the limits of arms control I think are in order.

As my colleagues recall, during the cold war, the Soviet Union enjoyed a tremendous advantage in conventional military forces in Europe. The United States was able to offset this advantage in conventional forces, and to guarantee the security of Western Europe until the cold war ended peacefully, through the maintenance of a credible nuclear deterrent. Our nuclear “umbrella,” as it is called, was extended to our allies in other parts of the world as well.

Since the end of the cold war, some have argued that nuclear deterrence is an outdated concept, and the U.S. no longer needs to retain a substantial nuclear weapons capability. However, deterrence is not a product of the cold war and has been around since the beginning of diplomacy and war. Over 2,500 years ago, the Chinese philosopher Sun Tzu wrote about

** Available at <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CREC-1999-10-08/pdf/CREC-1999-10-08-pt1-PgS12257-6.pdf#page=1>.

the value of deterrence stating, "To win one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the acme of skill. To subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill."

Furthermore, the end of the cold war does not mean national security threats to the United States have evaporated. James Woolsey, President Clinton's first Director of Central Intelligence, aptly described the current security environment when he said, "We have slain a large dragon [the Soviet Union]. But we live now in a jungle filled with a bewildering variety of poisonous snakes."

Rogue nations like North Korea, Iran, and Iraq have weapons of mass destruction programs and are hostile to the United States. China is an emerging power whose relationship with the United States has been rocky at best. And Russia retains significant military capabilities, including over 6,000 strategic nuclear warheads.

The gulf war is an excellent case study of the continuing importance of nuclear deterrence in the post-cold-war world. In that conflict, the maintenance of a credible nuclear weapons capability, coupled with the understanding that it was possible that the United States would respond with nuclear weapons if attacked with other weapons of mass destruction, saved lives by deterring such an attack.

As my colleagues recall, Iraq possessed a large arsenal of chemical weapons that it had used against its Kurdish population, and against Iranian troops during the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s. It is widely acknowledged that Iraq did not use chemical weapons against the United States-led coalition during the gulf war because we possessed a credible nuclear deterrent.

Prior to the start of the gulf war, U.S. leaders practiced the art of deterrence by issuing clear warnings to Saddam Hussein. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney stated:

"He [Saddam Hussein] needs to be made aware that the President will have available the full spectrum of capabilities. And were Saddam Hussein foolish enough to use weapons of mass destruction, the U.S. response would be absolutely overwhelming and it would be devastating. He has to take that into consideration, it seems to me, before he embarks upon a course of using those kinds of capabilities."

President Bush also sent a strongly worded message to Saddam Hussein which said:

"Let me state, too, that the United States will not tolerate the use of chemical or biological weapons. . . . The American people would demand the strongest possible response. You and your country will pay a terrible price if you order unconscionable acts of this sort."

Iraqi officials have confirmed that these statements deterred Baghdad from using chemical and biological weapons. In 1995, Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz reported to Rolf Ekeus, chairman of the U.N. commission charged with inspecting Iraqi weapons of mass destruction facilities, that Iraq was deterred from using its arsenal of chemical and biological weapons because the Iraqi leadership had interpreted Washington's threats of devastating retaliation as meaning nuclear retaliation.

Aziz's explanation is corroborated by a senior defector, General Wafic Al Sammarai, former head of Iraqi military intelligence, who stated:

"Some of the Scud missiles were loaded with chemical warheads, but they were not used. We didn't use them because the other side had a deterrent force. I do not think Saddam was capable of taking a decision to use chemical weapons or biological weapons, or any other type of weapons against the allied troops, because the warning was quite severe, and quite effective. The allied troops were certain to use nuclear arms and the price will be too dear and too high."

Mr. President, as these statements show, a credible nuclear deterrent remains vitally important to our nation. I would hope that we could begin this debate on the CTBT by agreeing that a strong U.S. nuclear deterrent remains essential and that the Senate should reject any actions that would undermine the credibility of this deterrent.

To the second preliminary point, the fallacy of arms control:

Unfortunately, the CTBT negotiated by the Clinton administration would do just that. This is not surprising since the Clinton administration has sought to protect our national security with a fixation on arms control that columnist Charles Krauthammer aptly calls "Peace through Paper."

Of course, arms control is not a new idea. After all, in the year 1139, the Roman Catholic Church tried to ban the crossbow. Like so many other well intentioned arms control measures, this one was doomed to failure from the start.

And who can forget the Kellog-Briand treaty, ratified by the United States in 1929, that outlawed war as an instrument of national policy. This agreement and others spawned in its wake left the United States and Britain unprepared to fight and unable to deter World War II.

Yet despite these and many other notable failures, the Clinton administration still looks to arms control as the best way to safeguard our security. Under Secretary of State John Holum explained this philosophy during a speech in 1994, stating [:]

"The Clinton Administration's policy aims to protect us first and foremost through arms control—by working hard to prevent new threats—and second, by legally pursuing the development of theater defenses for those cases where arms control is not yet successful."

The administration continues to cling tenaciously to the ABM Treaty, which prevents us from defending ourselves against missile attack, and numerous other arms control measures have been proposed by senior officials like Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, such as bans of shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles, laser weapons, anti-satellite weapons, landmines, and even a proposal to limit the availability of assault rifles.

As George Will has said of the administration's arms control philosophy,

"The designation 'superstition' fits because the faith of believers in arms control is more than impervious to evidence, their faith is strengthened even by evidence that actually refutes it."

There is enduring wisdom in President Reagan's statement of "Peace through strength." In 1780, our Nation's first President, George Washington said, "There is nothing so likely to

produce peace as to be well prepared to meet an enemy.” Two hundred years later another President, Ronald Reagan, called this doctrine “Peace Through Strength.”

I urge Senators to think about the enduring wisdom of these statements in the coming days as we debate the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the negative effects its ratification would have on our Nation’s security.

Let me turn now to a discussion of the CTBT’s many flaws.

America’s nuclear weapons are the most sophisticated in the world. This was the point of the letter of the former Secretaries of Defense. They pointed out that each one typically has thousands of parts, and over time in nuclear materials and high-explosive triggers in our weapons deteriorate, and we lack the experience predicting the effect of these changes.

Some of the materials used in our weapons, like plutonium, enriched uranium, and tritium, are radioactive materials that decay, and as they decay they also change the properties of other materials within the weapon. We lack experience predicting the effects of such aging on the safety and reliability of our weapons.

We did not design our weapons to last forever. The shelf life of our weapons was expected to be about 20 years. In the past, we did not encounter problems with aging weapons, because we were fielding new designs and older designs were retired. But under the CTBT, we could not field new designs to replace older weapons, because testing would be required to develop new designs.

Remanufacturing components of existing weapons that have deteriorated also poses significant problems. Over time, manufacturing processes will change, some chemicals previously used in the production of our weapons have been banned by environmental regulations, and our documentation of the technical characteristics of older weapons, in some cases, is incomplete. Furthermore, as James Schlesinger—who formerly served as Secretary of defense and Secretary of Energy—has testified to the Senate, the plutonium pits in some of our weapons are approaching the end of this life-span. According to Dr. Schlesinger, one of our national laboratories estimates the pits used in some of our weapons will last 35 years. Since many of the pits used in the current arsenal are about 30 years old, this means that we will soon need to replace these pits. But without testing, we will never know if these replacement parts will work as their predecessors did.

As the former Director of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Dr. John Nuckolls said last month in a letter to me:

“Key components of nuclear warheads are ‘aging’ by radioactive decay and chemical decomposition and corrosion. Periodic remanufacture is necessary, but may copy existing defects and introduce additional defects. Some of the remanufactured parts may differ significantly from the original parts—due to loss of nuclear test validated personnel who manufactured the original parts, the use of new material and fabrication processes, and inadequate specification of original parts. There are significant risks of reducing stockpile reliability when remanufactured parts are involved in warhead processes where there are major gaps in our scientific understanding.”

The fact is that, despite our technical expertise, there is much we still do not understand about our own nuclear weapons. As C. Paul Robinson, Director of the Sandia National Laboratory has aid, “some aspects of nuclear explosive design are still not understood at the level of physical principles.”

These gaps in our knowledge do not merely present a theoretical problem. As President Bush noted in a report to Congress in January 1993, “Of all U.S. nuclear weapons designs fielded since 1958, approximately one-third have required nuclear testing to resolve problems arising after deployment.”

Furthermore, in 1987, Lawrence Livermore Lab produced a report titled “Report to Congress on Stockpile Reliability, Weapon Remanufacture, and the Role of Nuclear Testing” in which it extolled the importance of testing, noting that “. . . there is no such thing as a ‘thoroughly tested’ nuclear weapon.” The report also goes on to state that of the one-third of weapons designs introduced into the stockpile since 1958 that have required testing to fix, “In three-fourths of these cases, the problems were discovered only because of the ongoing nuclear testing.” This report went on to say that “Because we frequently have difficulty understanding fully the effects of changes particularly seemingly small changes on the nuclear performance, nuclear testing has been required to maintain the proper functioning of our nation’s deterrent.”

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger summed this point up nicely in 1986 when he said:

“The irreducible fact is that nuclear testing is essential to providing for the safety and security of our warheads and weapons systems. It also is essential if we are to maintain their reliability. This is not a matter of conjecture, but a lesson learned through hard experience. For example, in the case of one nuclear system—the warhead for the Polaris [SLBM]—testing allowed us to fix defects that were suddenly discovered. Until corrected, these defects could have rendered the vast majority of weapons in our sea-based deterrent completely inoperable.”

The importance of testing to the maintenance of any complex weapon or machine cannot be underestimated. As the six former Secretaries of Defense noted in this letter opposing the CTBT,

“The history of maintaining complex military hardware without testing demonstrates the pitfalls of such an approach. Prior to World War II, the Navy’s torpedoes had not been adequately tested because of insufficient funds. It took nearly two years of war before we fully solved the problems that caused our torpedoes to routinely pass harmlessly under the target or to fail to explode on contact. For example, at the Battle of Midway, the U.S. launched 47 torpedo aircraft, without damaging a single Japanese ship. If not for our dive bombers, the U.S. would have lost the crucial naval battle of the Pacific war.”

The Clinton administration has proposed a program that it hopes will replace actual nuclear tests with computer simulations and a much greater emphasis on science-based

experiments. It is called the Stockpile Stewardship Program. According to the Fiscal Year 2000 Stockpile Stewardship Plan Executive Overview, released by the Department of Energy in March this year:

“The overall goal of the Stockpile Stewardship program is to have in place by 2010 ...the capabilities that are necessary to provide continuing high confidence in the annual certification of the stockpile without the necessity for nuclear testing.”

I support the Stockpile Stewardship Program because it will improve our knowledge about our nuclear weapons. But as former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, and former CIA Director John Deutch said in a letter this week, “the fact is that the scientific case simply has not been made that, over the long term, the United States can ensure the nuclear stockpile without nuclear testing.”

First, the Stockpile Stewardship Program faces tremendous technical challenges. As the Director of Sandia National Laboratories, Dr. Robinson has said, “the commercially available and laboratory technologies of today are inadequate for the stockpile stewardship tasks we will face in the future. Another hundred-to-thousand-fold increase in capability from hardware and software combined will be required.”

Dr. Victor Reis, the architect of the stewardship program, said this about it during a speech in Albuquerque:

“Think about it—we are asked to maintain forever, an incredibly complex device, no larger than this podium, filed with exotic, radioactive materials, that must create, albeit briefly, temperatures and pressures only seen in nature at the center of stars; do it without an integrating nuclear test, and without any reduction in extraordinarily high standards of safety and reliability. And, while you’re at it downsize the industrial complex that supports this enterprise by a factor of two, and stand up critical new manufacturing processes.

This within an industrial system that was structured to turn over new designs every fifteen years, and for which nuclear explosive testing was the major tool for demonstrating success.”

Senior officials at the Department of Energy and our nuclear labs are generally careful in how they couch their remarks about the Stockpile Stewardship Program. They typically state that the stewardship program is the best approach to maintaining our weapons in the absence of testing. But they are also careful not to guarantee that, despite the unquestioned brilliance of the scientists, the Stockpile Stewardship Program will succeed in replacing testing.

In fact, the Stockpile Stewardship Program has already experienced setbacks. For example, the National Ignition Facility, which is the linchpin of the program, has recently fallen behind schedule and is over budget. It still faces a critical technical uncertainty about a major goal of its design: will it be able to achieve thermonuclear ignition?

Another problem with relying on computer simulation to replace testing is the increased risk of espionage. Former Lawrence Livermore National Lab Director John Nuckolls made

this point in his letter to me as well: “Espionage is facilitated when U.S. progress is frozen, and classified information is being concentrated and organized in electronic systems.” In short, in order to achieve the vast increases in computing power required for the stewardship program, much of the computer code required for the program will be written by hundreds of people at participating universities and colleges—in many cases by people who are not even American citizens.

Mr. President, the bottom line is that a credible nuclear deterrent is just too important to put all our eggs in the stewardship basket.

In addition to impairing the reliability of our nuclear arsenal, the CTBT will prevent us from making our nuclear weapons as safe as they can be. This is extraordinarily important.

Nuclear weapon safety has always been a paramount concern of the United States. Throughout the history of our nuclear weapons program, we have made every effort to ensure that even in the most violent of accidents there would be the minimum chance of a nuclear explosion or radioactive contamination. The results of such an accident would be catastrophic.

That’s why President Clinton’s Secretary of Defense, Bill Cohen, opposed a test moratorium when he was a Senator. During debate on an amendment imposing a moratorium on testing, August 3, 1993, then-Senator Cohen said, “A vote to halt nuclear testing today is a vote to condemn the American people to live with unsafe nuclear weapons in their midst for years and years—indeed until nuclear weapons are eliminated. Not just a few unsafe nuclear weapons, but a nuclear stockpile in which most of the weapons do not have critical safety features.

I digress a moment to note when he was asked about this statement this week, now-Secretary Cohen said, we have replaced those weapons with weapons in our inventory now that are safe.

I know defense Secretary Cohen would agree, that is not a correct statement. All of the weapons in our current inventory lack one or more of the essential safety features that we have been talking about here.

As the Director of Los Alamos National Lab, Dr. Sig Hecker, indicated in a letter to me in 1997, “with a CTBT it will not be possible to make some of the potential safety improvements for greater intrinsic warhead safety that we considered during the 1990 time frame.” The reason is that nuclear tests must be done in many cases to confirm that once new safety features are incorporated, the weapons are reliable and still operate as intended. The CTBT makes it pointless to try to invent new, improved safety features because they could not be adopted without nuclear testing. Even worse, the CTBT eliminates the possibility of improving the safety of current weapons through the incorporation of existing, well understood safety features.

Safety features include items such as insensitive high explosive and fire resistant pits. Insensitive high explosive in the primary of a nuclear weapon is intended to prevent the premature detonation of the high explosive trigger, resulting in a potential nuclear explosion should the weapon be subjected to unexpected stress, like being dropped or penetrated by shrapnel or a bullet. Fire resistant pits are intended to prevent the dispersal of plutonium

resulting in radioactive contamination of an area should the weapon be exposed to a fire, such as an accidental blaze during loading of a weapon on an aircraft.

Unfortunately, few people know that many of our current weapons do not contain all the safety features that already have been invented by our National Laboratories. Only one of the nine weapons in the current stockpile incorporates all six available safety features. In fact, three of the weapons in the stockpile—the W78 warhead, which is used on the Minuteman III ICBM, and the W76 and W88 warheads, which sit atop missiles carried aboard Trident submarines—incorporate only one of the six safety features. Another weapon, the W62 warhead, does not have any of the six safety features incorporated into its design.

The bottom line is that a ban on nuclear testing prevents us from making our weapons as safe as we know how to make them and creates a disincentive to making such safety improvements.

Mr. President, another point I think is extraordinarily important as we debate this CTBT is that the purpose of the treaty cannot be achieved by its ratification. In addition to undermining our nuclear deterrent, as I have just spoken to, the treaty will not achieve its goal of halting nuclear proliferation.

Supporters of the treaty say the United States must lead by example, and that by halting nuclear tests ourselves, we will persuade others to follow our example. Yet the history of the last eight years shows this theory is false. Since the United States halted testing in 1992, India, Pakistan, Russia, China, and France have all conducted tests.

Furthermore, the CTBT will not establish a new international norm against nuclear weapons testing or possession. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the NPT ratified by 185 countries has already established such a norm. The NPT calls for parties to the treaty, other than the five declared nuclear powers—the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, China, and France—to pledge not to pursue nuclear weapons programs.

Yet North Korea and Iraq, to name two who are parties to the NPT, have, of course, violated it. They have pursued nuclear weapons programs despite their solemn international pledge never to do so. The CTBT will not add anything useful to the international nonproliferation regime since these nations, in effect, would be pledging not to test the nuclear weapons they have already promised never to have under the NPT. So much for the international norm.

Nor will the CTBT pose a significant impediment to the acquisition of nuclear weapons by rogue nations since, although nuclear testing is essential to maintaining the sophisticated nuclear weapons in the U.S. arsenal today, it is not required to develop relatively simple first-generation nuclear devices, like those needed or being developed by Iran and Iraq. For example, the United States bomb dropped on Hiroshima was never tested, and the Israeli nuclear arsenal has been constructed without testing.

Incidentally, the Clinton administration does not dispute this point. In Senate testimony in 1997, CIA Director George Tenet stated:

“Nuclear testing is not required for the acquisition of a basic nuclear weapons capability (i.e. a bulky, first-generation device with high reliability but low efficiency.) Tests using high-explosive detonations only ([with] no nuclear yield)

would provide reasonable confidence in the performance of a first generation device. Nuclear testing becomes critical only when a program moves beyond basic designs to incorporate more advanced concepts.”

I believe Director Tenet is absolutely correct, based on the letter of the Secretary of Defense that I quoted earlier. We can’t afford to underestimate the weapon described by Director Tenet—a “bulky, first generation device with high reliability but low efficiency” is a lot like the bomb we dropped on Hiroshima to change world history. It is a strategic weapon—if North Korea or Iran were able to deploy such a weapon, they could—to put it mildly—severely reduce our ability to protect our interests in East Asia or the Persian Gulf. These are weapons that would be designed to intimidate and kill large numbers of people in cities, not destroy purely military targets, as the United States weapons are designed to do.

Another problem with the CTBT is that it is totally unverifiable. It cannot be verified despite the vast array of expensive sensors and detection technology being established under the treaty, so it will be possible for other nations to conduct militarily significant nuclear testing with little or no risk of detection. Effective verification requires high confidence that militarily significant cheating will be detected in a timely manner. The United States cannot now, and will not in the near future, be able to confidently detect and identify militarily significant nuclear tests of one kiloton or less by the way, that is roughly 500 times larger than the blast which destroyed the Murrah Building in Oklahoma City. We cannot detect a test of that magnitude.

What is “militarily significant” nuclear testing? Definitions of the term might vary, but I think we’d all agree that any nuclear test that gives a nation information to maintain its weapons or to develop newer, more effective weaponry is militarily significant.

In the course of U.S. weapons development, nuclear tests with yields between 1 kiloton and 10 kilotons have generally been large enough to provide “proof” data on new weapons designs. Other nations might have weaponry that could be assessed at even lower yields. As we know, crude but strategically significant weapons, like the bomb we dropped on Hiroshima, don’t need to be tested at all. But for the sake of argument, let’s be conservative and assume that other nations would also need to conduct tests at a level above 1 kiloton to develop a new nuclear weapon design.

The verification system of the CTBT is supposed to detect nuclear blasts above 1 kiloton, so it would seem at first glance that it will be likely that most cheaters would be caught. But look at the Treaty’s fine print—the CTBT’s International Monitoring System will be able to detect tests of 1 kilotons or more if they are nonevasive. This means that the cheater will be caught only if he does not try to hide his nuclear test.

But what if he does want to hide it? What if he conducts his test evasively?

It is a very simple task for Russia, China, or others to hide their nuclear tests. One of the best known means of evasion is detonating the nuclear device in a cavity such as a salt dome or a room mined below ground. Because it surrounds the explosion with empty space, this technique—called decoupling—reduces the noise, or the seismic signal, of the nuclear detonation.

The signal of a decoupled test is so diminished—by as much as a factor of 70—that it will not be possible to reliably detect it. For example, a 1,000-ton hidden test would have a signal of a 14-ton open test. This puts the signal of the illicit test well below the threshold of detection.

Decoupling is a well-known technique and is technologically simple to achieve. In fact, it is quite possible that Russia and China have continued to conduct nuclear testing during the past 7 years, while the United States has refrained from doing so. They could have done so by decoupling.

There are also other means of cheating that can circumvent verification. One is open-ocean testing. A nation could put a device on a small boat or barge, tow it into the ocean, and detonate it anonymously. It would be virtually impossible to link the test to the cheater.

While evasive techniques are expensive and complex, the costs are relatively low compared to the expense of a nuclear weapons program, and no more complicated than weapons design. Further, established nuclear powers are well positioned to conduct clandestine testing to assure the reliability and undertake at least modest up-grades of their arsenals. Russia and China do not have good records on compliance with arms control and nonproliferation commitments. In addition, according to the Washington Times, United States intelligence agencies believe China conducted a small underground nuclear test in June and Russia is believed to have conducted a nuclear test earlier this month. While neither country has ratified the CTBT, both have signed the treaty and have promised to adhere to a testing moratorium. Again, so much for the norm.

The bottom line is that a determined country has several means to conceal its weapons tests and the CTBT is not effectively verifiable.

Let me stress here that my assessment is not based on opinions. Our inability to verify a whole range of nuclear testing is well-known and has been affirmed by the U.S. Intelligence Community. As the Washington Post reported earlier this week, our intelligence agencies lack the ability to confidently detect low-yield tests. We would be irresponsible in the extreme to ratify an unverifiable arms control treaty—especially when that treaty will inevitably reduce our confidence in our own nuclear deterrent.

President Clinton's first Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, James Woolsey, summed up the problems with verification of the treaty stating in Senate testimony that, "I believe that a zero-yield Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is extraordinarily difficult, to the point of near impossibility—and possibly to the point of impossibility—to verify from afar."

In addition to the negative consequences that would result from treaty ratification, I would also point out that this accord is very poorly crafted. The CTBT is weakest at its very foundation—it actually fails to say what it bans. Nowhere in its 17 articles and 2 annexes are the terms "nuclear weapon test explosion" or "nuclear explosion" defined or quantified and these are the terms used in the treaty's basic obligations.

Acting Under Secretary of State John Holum admitted this point in responses to questions for the record on June 29 of this year stating:

"The U.S. decided at the outset of negotiations not to seek international agreement on a definition of 'nuclear weapon test explosion' in the Treaty text. The course of negotiations confirmed our judgment that it would have been extremely difficult, and possibly counterproductive, to specify in technical terms what is prohibited by the Treaty."

May I read that again:

"The course of negotiations confirmed our judgment that it would have been extremely difficult, and possibly counterproductive, to specify in technical terms what is prohibited by the Treaty."

But another nation might choose to apply a less restrictive definition and conduct very low-yield testing, what we call hydronuclear testing. While the United States interprets the treaty to ban all nuclear explosives testing—that is why they call it a zero ban test—other nations could conduct very low-yield testing, as I said, which we could not verify but which they would consider in compliance with the treaty. This so-called hydronuclear testing is very useful to nuclear weapons programs by helping improve the understanding of fundamental nuclear weapons physics, develop new weapons concepts, ascertain existing weapons' reliability, and exercise the skills of scientists, engineers, and technicians. The nuclear energy released in a hydronuclear test can be less than the equivalent released by four pounds of conventional high explosives. This is virtually nothing, and such a low-yield test would almost certainly escape detection.

This is where the treaty's vagueness is actually harmful to our interests. Even if we were able to detect it, the nation conducting a hydronuclear test could simply argue that it was legal under the treaty. And they would have the historical CTBT negotiating record on their side. Many drafts of the CTBT prior to the Clinton administration allowed for low-yield "permitted experiments."

The verification regime of the CTBT—centered around the International Monitoring System, or IMS—will not be able to detect tests with far greater yields than hydronuclear tests. These tests can be conducted with virtually no risk of detection by either the IMS system or U.S. technical means.

There is much more to say about this treaty, but I believe I have outlined the primary reasons why the only prudent course for the Senate is to reject the CTBT. It will jeopardize rather than enhance our national security. It will undermine our vital nuclear deterrent by jeopardizing the reliability of our nuclear stockpile. It will prevent us from making our weapons as safe as they can be. It will not stop nuclear proliferation, and it is not verifiable. It is not worthy of Senate approval.

Document No. 3. Senator Jon Kyl, "Privilege Of The Floor (Executive Session)," *Congressional Record*, 106th Congress (1999 - 2000) - 1st Session, Vol. 145, No. 136, October 8, 1999, p. S12284.***

I want to talk a little bit about a common thread of the remarks of many of the people who are in opposition to the treaty; that is, that it is difficult for the United States to sustain our position as the world leader, that many in the international community would find it objectionable if the United States rejected the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and that this would hurt our ability to lead with respect to proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world.

Let me quote from a newspaper story today in the Washington Post, the headline of which is, "U.S. Allies Urge Senate To Ratify Test Ban." It is certainly true that they have done that. There are a variety of them that made comments hoping we would adopt the treaty, not defeat it. Let me quote a couple of things.

"International anxiety also has been compounded by new worries over U.S. efforts to escape constraints imposed by the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which limits the ability of the United States to build systems to defend against missile attack. Russia and China say it would destabilize the strategic balance if the United States built a missile defense system, because Washington could be tempted to attack others if it felt invulnerable to retaliation."

"Jayantha Dhanapala, the U.N. under secretary for disarmament affairs, said many countries agree to a permanent inspection regime four years ago only on the basis of a written guarantee by the nuclear powers to negotiate and ratify a worldwide test ban as one of several key steps toward nuclear disarmament."

I read two parts of the Washington Post story to suggest the world community, which does not want the United States to develop a ballistic missile defense, which doesn't want the United States to do anything that requires an amendment to the ABM Treaty, and some of which is very much in favor of total nuclear disarmament and has agreed to participate in this treaty only after leaders promised them this Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty would be one of several key steps toward nuclear disarmament, all of those people in the world, I submit, are not people who we want to make U.S. national defense policy. Their goals are not the same as our goals.

We have an obligation as the leader of the free world to ensure our nuclear deterrent is safe and reliable; they don't. We may have to do things they could never dream of doing, including nuclear testing to ensure the safety and reliability of our nuclear stockpile. They don't have to worry about that, but we do. While they can lament the fact that the United States is not willing to sign onto the treaty, they don't have the same responsibility as we do, just as they can call for us not to amend the ABM Treaty or to build a national missile defense or even theater missile defenses without the obligations that The United States has.

*** Available at <https://www.congress.gov/106/crec/1999/10/08/145/136/CREC-1999-10-08-pt1-PgS12264.pdf>.

The United States has to defend our troops around the world--which most of these countries don't have to do--to defend allies around the world and, of course, even to defend the United States. I, frankly, don't care much if people around the world who don't want the United States to defend itself against ballistic missile attack are going to criticize the Senate for rejecting a flawed unverifiable ineffective CTBT.

Finally, quoting from the last two paragraphs of this article:

"I don't like to talk about any country exercising world leadership, but in this case we see that the United States must play a special role,' Sha Zukang, China's top arms control official, said in an interview. Sha added that China is even more alarmed by U.S. efforts to develop a regional missile defense system than by the Senate's reluctance to approve a test ban treaty."

So I presume that next, in order to assuage the concerns of the Chinese, we will forego the development of a regional missile defense system because it would upset them if we proceeded with that. Why would it upset them? Because, of course, they wouldn't be able to threaten Taiwan. We have obligations that other countries don't have. If we are to be the great leader that people on this side of the aisle have urged the United States to be, then we have to exercise leadership. Sometimes that means doing things other people in the world are uncomfortable with.

"Boris Kvok, Russia's deputy chief of disarmament issues, said the U.S. decision on the test ban treaty would not affect the deliberations of Russia's parliament on the pact or alter his country's test moratorium. "But if the U.S. moves ahead with ballistic missile defense, it would be a disaster . . . and we would have to start developing new weapons. . . ."

He is saying we don't really care about the CTBT in terms of what we are going to do, but if the United States moves ahead with ballistic missiles, that would be a disaster. I presume next we hear people come to the Senate floor and say international opinion says we should not develop a missile defense to protect the people of the United States so we should not move forward with that.

My point is this: The United States cannot be held hostage to world opinion. We have obligations they don't have, and if they don't care about building a defense for their people, we need to because we can be a target of rogue nations whereas other countries may not be. They are not making the decisions and actions in the world that may cause these terrorists or rogue states to want to retaliate against them. However, the United States, by taking a world leadership role, has put itself in that position.

It is not a political issue; it is a physics issue. We have to have confidence in our nuclear stockpile.

The whole world thought Ronald Reagan was wrong, that he had left his senses when he said no to Mikhail Gorbachev at Reykjavik. They both talked about trying to rid the world of nuclear weapons. When Gorbachev said the price of that agreement was that the United States would have to forego the development of the Strategic Defense Initiative, Reagan said

no. All of the world leaders gasped--except Margaret Thatcher. But the rest of the world leaders gasped and said: Mr. President, you should reconsider that.

All of the arms control advocates said it was a bad mistake for President Reagan to have said no. Of course, it later transpires that George Shultz mentioned the fact that Mikhail Gorbachev told him that was the turning point of the cold war. That is when Gorbachev concluded that he could not win the cold war and called it the turning point.

Ronald Reagan, in calling the Soviet Union the evil empire, upset a lot of the world leaders, but he stood his ground and history has proven him correct. I submit that history will prove us correct if we return this flawed treaty and say let's go back to the drawing board.

We can do better. We can persuade world leaders it is in the best interest of long-term peace that we do better than this flawed treaty.