

Testimony of Susan F. Burk
Nominee for Special Representative of the President
for Nuclear Nonproliferation, with the Rank of Ambassador
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
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Madam Chairwoman and Members of the Committee, it is an honor and privilege to be here today before you as the President's nominee to serve as Special Representative of the President for Nuclear Nonproliferation. I want to thank the President for his confidence in nominating me for this position. I wish to thank Secretary Clinton for her support and look forward to working with her, if I am confirmed. Finally, I want to express my gratitude to my husband, Mike and my daughter, Christen and son, Brian, for their love and support, and for always helping me keep things in perspective.

The Obama Administration places great importance on strengthening the nonproliferation regime, generally, and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), in particular. As Secretary Clinton said in her confirmation testimony, the Nonproliferation Treaty is the cornerstone of the nonproliferation regime, and the United States must exercise the leadership needed to shore up the regime. If confirmed, I look forward to having the opportunity to participate in this effort which is more important now than ever given the challenges the regime is facing.

The 2010 NPT Review Conference, a critical milestone in the regime, is

rapidly approaching. Given the significance of this meeting, I expect — if confirmed — to spend most of the next 14 months leading U.S. efforts to ensure a successful Conference, including our participation at this May's NPT Preparatory Committee meeting. In 1995 I was privileged to help lead the successful campaign to gain agreement among Parties to extend the NPT indefinitely, and I look forward to the prospect of participating again in the Treaty's review at another critical juncture in its history.

In working toward this objective, the United States will pursue initiatives to strengthen each of the NPT's three pillars — disarmament, nonproliferation, and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy — that reflect the basic bargain of this important international instrument, a bargain which the President affirmed in Prague, is a sound one. We need to renew and reinvigorate this bargain and the 2010 Review Conference will provide an important opportunity to do so.

The United States is committed to seek a Treaty review that is balanced among these pillars. Not only will we be prepared to work with our partners to strengthen the regime and stem the spread of nuclear weapons, we will demonstrate, as the President made clear in Prague, that the United States takes seriously its obligation under Article VI of the NPT to pursue nuclear disarmament. We will continue to support the right to the peaceful uses of nuclear

energy, reflected in Article IV, as long as those uses are in conformity with the Treaty's nonproliferation obligations. And we will work aggressively with our treaty partners to ensure that countries that break the Treaty's rules face real consequences.

Allow me briefly to address each of the three pillars in turn. Because the United States has long been criticized by other NPT Parties for inadequate efforts to attain the nuclear disarmament objective, I would like to address nuclear disarmament first. Our progress in reducing levels of nuclear weapons is undeniable – our stockpile is less than one-quarter of its size in 1990, and we now rely less on nuclear weapons for our security. Going beyond this progress, the Obama Administration is committed to further deep reductions in all types of nuclear weapons leading to the goal of a world without nuclear weapons, while ensuring the maintenance of a strong nuclear deterrent until that goal is achieved.

The United States is already planning several concrete steps in the direction of this ultimate goal. First, we are working with Russia on a legally-binding follow-on agreement to the START Treaty committing both sides to further verifiable reductions in nuclear arms. Second, we will seek negotiation of a treaty with international verification provisions that bans the production of fissile material for use in nuclear weapons. Third, we will seek the Senate's advice and consent

regarding ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.

Much work needs to be done to carry out these plans, and we are only getting started. However, in the context of the NPT, the commencement of these steps – combined with our ongoing nuclear reductions and commitment to complete nuclear disarmament – will go a long way toward demonstrating our commitment to this pillar of the Treaty, while increasing U.S. and international security.

The second pillar of the Treaty is nonproliferation. The United States, along with other NPT Parties, must act with urgency to stem the spread of nuclear weapons. We need tough and smart diplomacy – backed by real incentives and real pressures – to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon capability and to achieve the complete and verifiable denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

We will seek stronger safeguards measures by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to enable it to detect noncompliance with NPT and other safeguards obligations by these or other Parties. We will promote universal adherence to the Additional Protocol on safeguards and press to expand the Agency's verification authorities to provide effective means of detecting clandestine nuclear activities. We will also work with other IAEA member

states to ensure that the Agency has the resources effectively to carry out its essential safeguards, safety, and security missions as civil nuclear power production increases worldwide.

To stop nuclear proliferation, we must also address security in regions where it poses a threat. In this connection, the United States will continue to support the objectives of the Resolution on the Middle East adopted at the 1995 NPT Review Conference, including its call for a weapons-of-mass-destruction-free zone in that region, while remaining mindful of the need for real progress towards a comprehensive and lasting peace to create the conditions needed to fully realize this vision.

I have spent the last four years working in the State Department's Counterterrorism Office coordinating the Department's efforts with those of the Department of Homeland Security and other departments to counter the terrorist threat to the United States. This work has made clear to me the vital importance of fulfilling President Obama's pledge to lead a global effort to secure all nuclear weapons materials at vulnerable sites within four years.

The third pillar of the NPT is the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Since President Eisenhower initiated the Atoms for Peace program in the 1950s, the United States has been at the forefront of peaceful nuclear cooperation from

power production to medicine, industry, agriculture, and the environment. We have provided significant resources and technical expertise to many countries around the world. This support has helped them to safely and securely apply nuclear energy for sustainable development and a better quality of life for their people.

While we recognize the right of all NPT Parties to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, they must do so in conformity with the Treaty's nonproliferation obligations. The United States is concerned that transfers of sensitive nuclear technologies — such as enrichment and reprocessing — would contribute to proliferation. For this reason, we are working with other states and the IAEA to create voluntary mechanisms for reliable access to nuclear fuel for states in compliance with their nonproliferation obligations. Such access could support the expansion of nuclear power worldwide with a viable alternative to enrichment and reprocessing capabilities.

One of the most promising plans is for an International Nuclear Fuel Bank under IAEA auspices, supported in part by a nearly \$50 million contribution approved by Congress in 2008. While serious work still needs to be done before the fuel bank is a reality, we hope that later this year the IAEA Board of Governors will be able to establish the mechanism for administering the fuel bank.

I have described some of the elements of the Obama Administration's plans for

renewed U.S. nonproliferation leadership. These plans are coming just in time for the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) meeting of NPT Parties, taking place this May in New York. The policies and plans outlined by President Obama and Secretary Clinton have already had a significant positive impact on the atmosphere for the review of the Treaty next year. Our fellow NPT Parties recognize that the United States will not be able to initiate immediately the many measures we hope to take to strengthen the nonproliferation regime. However, many recognize and appreciate that a new era has dawned, one that will restore confidence in the NPT and the regime in general.

If confirmed, I will work with colleagues in the State Department and elsewhere in the government, as well as other NPT stakeholders, to lay the groundwork for a 2010 Review Conference that will reinforce the Treaty as an effective legal and political barrier to nuclear proliferation. We will strive for a recommitment by Parties to the three pillars of the NPT. We will also seek a Conference that helps set a new course in the direction of the greater fulfillment of the vital objectives of the Treaty — stemming proliferation, working toward a world free of nuclear weapons, and sharing the benefits of peaceful nuclear energy for sustainable development.

Madam Chairwoman, I have been privileged to serve our country for more

than 30 years at the Pentagon, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the Department of State. Twenty of those years have been spent working on nonproliferation issues. I know the issues are difficult and the challenges great. But this Administration is determined to meet those challenges while strengthening the international institutions and treaty regimes that ensure a collective effort. If confirmed, I will consult frequently with Congress, and particularly this Committee, whose interest in and support for these issues has been so consistent over the years. Thank you again, Madam Chairwoman. I look forward to the Committee's questions and to working closely with each of you in the years to come.