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# **Transition to zero**

## **A change leadership perspective**

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The opinions contained in this presentation are those of the presenter only and do not represent UK policy, the views of my employer, or the UK Government.

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# Introduction

- “As a responsible nuclear weapon state and party to the NPT, the UK also remains **committed to** the long term goal of a **world without nuclear weapons**.”

UK Strategic Defence & Security Review 2010

- Moving to a world without NW is a major change!
  - Changes are more likely to be successful if they are led
- **Is the change being led appropriately?**

# Change models

- One transformational change - many subordinate changes - fractals
  - Each needs leadership – this model applies at all levels

8. Make it the norm

7. Consolidate gains...

6. Generate short term wins

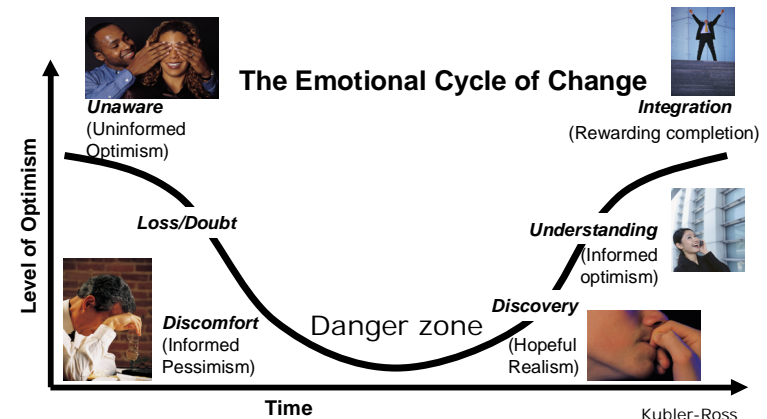
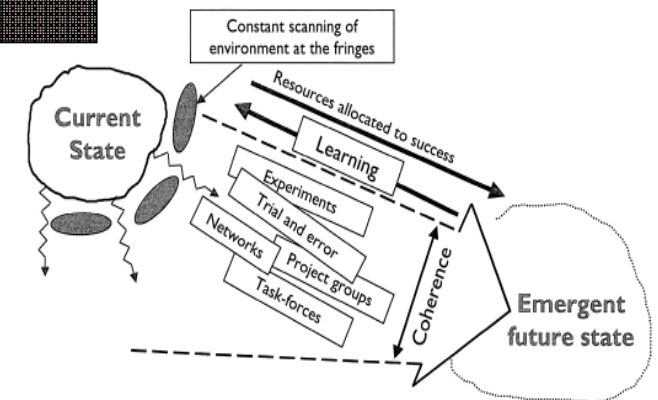
5. Enable action

4. Communicate vision

3. Develop vision & strategy

2. Create guiding coalition

1. Establish sense of urgency



# 1. Establish a sense of urgency

- Clear consequence, soon = urgency
- Uncertain consequence, long term = complacency

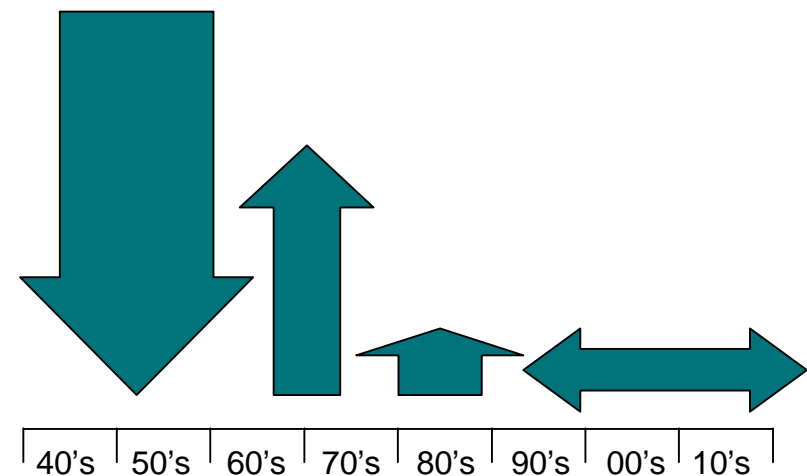
## Events that established urgency

- Piper Alpha – *the* burning platform
- '9-11'
- Cuban missile crisis
- Able Archer

## Potential future events

- sharp & deep affordability issues
- An accident
- Use!

How urgency to move to NW free world has fluctuated over time



Urgency needs to be 'refreshed' to sustain over long term

no 'crisis' – so *urgency* is low – and generally has been  
(desire is currently high – but desire is not enough to drive the changes) 4

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## 2. Create the guiding coalition

- Combination of 'influencers' & political leaders
  - 1946 - Atomic Energy Commission
  - 1980's - Reagan & Gorbachev
  - 2007 - the US 'gang of 4'
    - Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn, William Perry and George Schultz
  - 2008 - The UK Gang of 4
    - Sir Malcolm Rifkind, Lord Hurd and Lord Owen Lord Robertson.
  - 2009 German & other European gangs of 4
  - 2009 Obama & Medvedev
- However, the coalition does not cover the full range of nations

 **Enduring combination of NW & NNW state influencers & politicians, but not the full range of nations**

# 3. Develop a vision and strategy

- Vision: “a world without nuclear weapons”
  - describe what the world *will be* – not what will be absent!
- Characteristics of a good vision ...

Characteristic		assessment
Imaginable	No	- hard to imagine an absence of something
Desirable	No	- not universally
Feasible	No	- hard to see how currently
Communicable	Yes	- but not enough content
- Strategy:
  - Stabilise international relations
  - Prevent acquisition by NNW states
    - Strengthen NPT
    - Global ban on nuclear testing (CTBT into force)
    - Secure nuclear material
    - Civil nuclear energy
  - Reduce nuclear stockpiles

Obama – Prague April 09

**‘Bumper sticker’ vision describing the absence of NW**  
**Strategy stops short? - reduction in stockpiles**

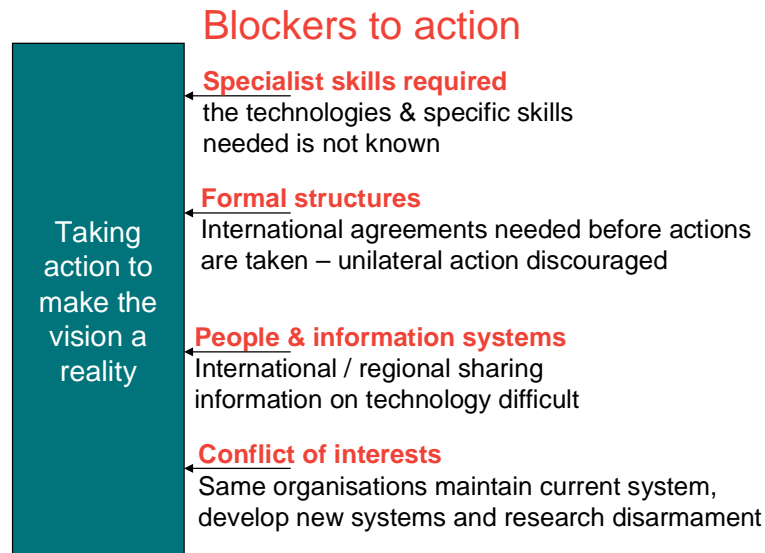
## 4. Communicate the vision

- 2007 'Gang of 4' paper
  - Followed by period of media interest
- 2008 Des Brown: UK Disarmament laboratory
- 2009 Obama: Prague speech



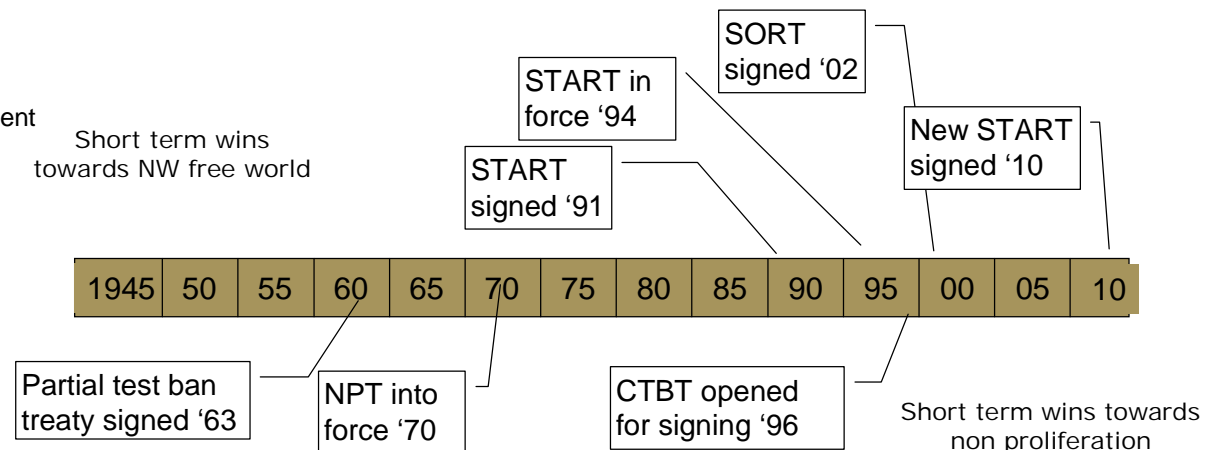
**insufficient & inconsistent messages**

# 5 - 7. Empowering & making gains



**Many barriers to taking action to achieve the vision**

**Many short terms wins**



**Some evidence of gains that have stimulated further change**



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## 8. Make it the norm

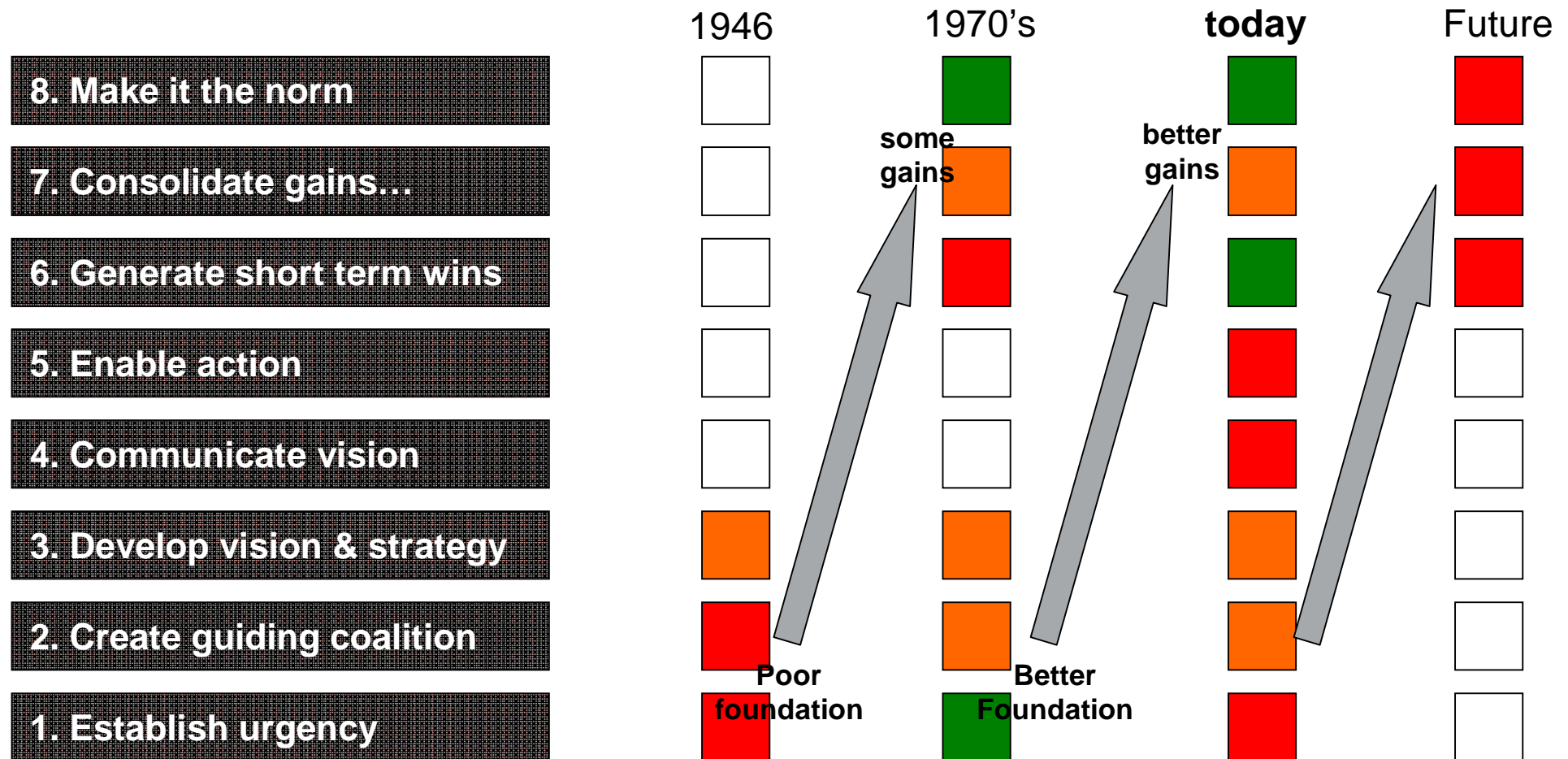
- Establishing the new situation as normal
  - Changes are embedded in treaties
  - Treaty agreements become law
  - Parties demonstrate compliance with law
- 1960's – mass proliferation was expectation
  - NPT – 'Non-proliferation' became the norm
- Situations that may become the norm in the future?
  - Having a credible deterrent with ever fewer warheads
  - CASD with 3 boats?
  - No CASD?
  - Virtual stockpile?
  - No Nuclear deterrent?



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**Changes are embedded & established as the norm**

# Assessment & recommendations



Investment in foundation stages now, pays off later  
 Focus on **building a sense urgency** and **describing the vision**