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# Middle Powers Initiative Report

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## **The Article VI Forum**

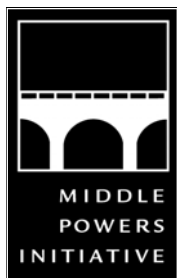
## NPT: Pathfinder to a Nuclear Weapons-Free World

### **Report of the Fifth Meeting**

Dublin, Ireland

March 26-27, 2008

March 2008



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# The Dublin Article VI Forum

## *NPT: Pathfinder to a Nuclear Weapons-Free World*

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## LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Dear Excellencies, Colleagues and Friends,

It is my honor to present to you the report of the fifth meeting of the Article VI Forum, entitled *NPT: Pathfinder to a Nuclear Weapons-Free World*. This meeting was convened with the support of the Government of Ireland and was held at the extraordinary and historic Dublin Castle. On behalf of MPI, I wish to extend my deepest thanks to the government and the staff of Dublin Castle for their hospitality.

This consultation represented a milestone in the evolution of the Article VI Forum. As we have argued since the 2005 NPT Review Conference, there is ample evidence that near consensus already exists among states on the practical ways to move forward in fulfilling the mandates of the NPT. This fact gave us the confidence to move, with the Dublin meeting, into a second phase of our work. Over the life of the Article VI Forum, we have identified seven priority steps; we now want to link those steps more explicitly to the vision of a nuclear weapons-free world. The steps and the vision go together. The NPT must succeed in 2010 in order to allow the world to move forward with the vision.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Douglas Roche". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C.  
Chairman, Middle Powers Initiative

## FOREWORD

Ireland's hosting of the Article VI Forum is a special honor. In an exemplary manner, it has a unique history of stepping forward into a leadership role in addressing nuclear weapons.

Fifty years ago, in an address to the UN General Assembly (GA), Irish Foreign Minister Frank Aiken proposed a committee be established to examine the dangers inherent in the further spread of nuclear weapons and what measures could be taken to avoid those dangers. Thereafter, Ireland tabled resolutions at the UN aimed at preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In 1959, the GA adopted a resolution proposed by Ireland that called for nuclear weapon states to refrain from providing weapons to non-nuclear states. Two years later, another Irish draft resolution on the "prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons" was also adopted by the Assembly. This series of "Irish resolutions" served as a foundation for the basic obligations of both nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon states which evolved into history's most successful arms control treaty: the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Our meeting focuses on the nuclear disarmament obligation of that Treaty embodied in Article VI.

When the NPT was opened for signature, Ireland's unique role was recognized with an invitation to be the first signatory. It is thus not surprising that in recent years Ireland became an active member of the New Agenda Coalition, along with Mexico, Sweden, Egypt, South Africa, Brazil and New Zealand.

Inventive leadership is needed again. Failure within the past several years to fulfill commitments made in 1995 to gain the indefinite extension of the NPT and the substantive commitments made at its 2000 Review Conference, the emergence of doctrines that lower the threshold of use, NATO's implicit adoption of the aggressive nuclear posture of the US and the spread of nuclear weapons into South Asia, for example, contrast sharply with the opportunities before us created by the overwhelming mandate of public opinion in support of abolition, its legitimization by numerous high level public figures and the impoverishment of arguments that promote continued reliance on nuclear deterrence. In the face of such clearly divergent routes to our collective future, strong bold leadership is required.

The world need not await such leadership from only the larger more powerful states, although we must all work to make it easier for them to fulfill the obligations that power bestows. More than anything the world needs multiple leaders. Whether one believes we live in a global village or a multi-polar world, no one can doubt that we all share a collective fate when it comes to nuclear weapons. Thus, we all have a right and duty to step forward to avoid catastrophe and promote a saner world based on cooperative security, universal norms, values and the rule of law. In such a world, nuclear weapons have no place.

We thank Ireland for hosting the Article VI Forum and we urge all and everyone to head its example and exercise creative endeavors to eliminate nuclear weapons.

Sincerely,



Jonathan Granoff  
President, Global Security Institute

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Middle Powers Initiative (MPI), with the support of the Government of Ireland, convened the fifth Article VI Forum in Dublin, Ireland, March 27-28, 2008. Entitled *NPT: Pathfinder to a Nuclear Weapons-Free World*, the consultation sought to link the vision of the abolition of nuclear weapons with the need to reconnect with the necessary practical measures. Keeping with the spirit of this duality, the Forum dealt primarily with three issues which are of immediate concern for the viability of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as well as necessary for the long-term viability of nuclear disarmament: reductions and de-alerting of strategic forces; missiles, missile defense systems and space weapons; and strategies for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The opening session featured remarks by the Hon. Douglas Roche, the Chairman of MPI; Irish Foreign Minister Dermot Ahern; and Baroness Shirley Williams. All three speakers emphasized that the 2010 NPT Review Conference needs to overcome the deficiencies of the 2005 conference. Sen. Roche noted that the NPT “is credible. What is not credible in the age of the global commons is the resistance of some states in not living up to the Treaty. It is the responsibility of all governments to demonstrate their commitment to the NPT through its full implementation.” Likewise, Baroness Williams spoke of “huge opportunities right now” for “bringing about nuclear disarmament,” in which middle powers are especially well-placed.

Foreign Minister Ahern said the NPT “and in particular Article VI, the focus of this event, remains the only multilateral legally-binding commitment by the nuclear weapon States to nuclear disarmament... The work here this week will be very valuable in identifying and clarifying the practical steps which can be taken in this direction.”

UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Sergio Duarte, speaking in a luncheon keynote address, argued that one of the greatest hurdles in taking concrete steps towards disarmament is “the lack of what might be called a ‘disarmament infrastructure’” in nuclear weapon states, meaning “the absence of governmental agencies with official mandates in the field of nuclear disarmament.” Mr. Duarte added, “We still live in a world with nuclear-weapon complexes, but without disarmament complexes.”

The first panel focused on the issues of *Reducing and De-Alerting Strategic Forces*. The case was made that effective, sustainable nuclear disarmament requires progress on quantitative reductions as well as qualitative issues of use and doctrine. In particular, this argument focused on the strategies surrounding operational readiness and nuclear weapons’ role in security doctrine and efforts to combat modernization of warheads. On the quantitative side of the problem, there are opportunities - especially after January 2009 - to pursue a more ambitious agenda than was previously possible; the arms control community still has a robust, relevant agenda to fulfill.

The second panel examined the linkages among *Missiles, Missile Defense Systems and Space*, and the further linkage to nuclear weapons. Much of the discussion centered on the plans of the United States for missile defense systems both at home and abroad. The effectiveness and cost

efficiency of these systems were questioned, as well as the US's willingness to rely on technology to solve national security problems. These systems were described as "the first path" to build a capacity to launch attacks from space. From the European side of the equation, the argument was made, in particular by Mr. Jan Kavan, former Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic, that the US planned deployment of a missile defense infrastructure in eastern Europe seriously downplays the political ramifications of a military system so close to Russia's borders.

The panelists on *Towards the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons* dealt with both the short- and long-term strategies for achieving elimination. Emphasis was placed on the Hoover Institution Initiative and the 2007 *Wall Street Journal* op-ed that gave a public face to this plan for abolition. The argument was made that the non-proliferation side of the NPT bargain is endangered as the disarmament commitments are being abandoned. Therefore it was necessary to return to the vision of Reykjavik and begin making deep cuts in the US and Russian arsenals. One path discussed was the draft Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC), which includes schedules for dismantlement and destruction, phases for negotiations of entry-into-force and provisions for settling compliance disputes. On the national level, concrete actions can be led by parliamentarians in both national and international politics in promoting nuclear disarmament.

There were three breakout sessions at which participants were able to discuss in greater depth three priority issues at the Dublin Forum. The session on *Verified Reductions* was framed around a proposal that there should be negotiations for deep cuts under which the United States and Russia would reduce to 300 weapons each; 50-75 weapons each for the UK, France and China; 15 each for India, Pakistan and Israel; and zero for North Korea. The argument was that 300 weapons for the two major powers would demonstrate deep cuts without changing the balance of power. *De-alerting* dealt with both the operational (how to make de-alerting irreversible) and the political (how de-alerting can be an interim step towards disarmament). A great deal of attention centered on the General Assembly resolution on the subject (A/GA/62/36) adopted



*Prior to the opening of the Dublin Article VI Forum, Pax Christi Ireland and MPI hosted a public event on the evening of Wednesday, March 26, entitled Peace, Disarmament & Development: A Sustainable Agenda for the New Century. The panelists were UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs Sergio Duarte, Baroness Shirley Williams of Crosby and Senator Douglas Roche, the Chairman of MPI. The event was moderated by Mr. Joe Little of RTE News, Ireland's major broadcasting network. Addressing and engaging a capacity audience at the Coach House on the grounds of Dublin Castle, the panelists discussed the deficiencies and promises in the international arms control regime, lamenting the slow progress of governments in fulfilling their nuclear disarmament obligations, but expressing confidence that numerous force – especially global public opinion – will lead to the elimination of nuclear weapons.*



*The opening session of the Dublin Article VI Forum (L to R): Foreign Minister Dermot Aherne of Ireland; the Hon. Douglas Roche, OC, Chairman of MPI; Baroness Shirley Williams of Crosby; HE Sergio Duarte, UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs; Ambassador Volodymyr Yelchenko, President of the Second Session of the NPT Preparatory Committee.*

in 2007 and which attracted overwhelming support from states and what role it can take in framing the debate. *Missile Control, Defenses and Space* focused on the links between the development of missile defenses and the plans for the weaponization of space, with the emphasis on the argument that governments should look at these issues inclusively to order to see how they will truly impact on collective security.

In a change in format from previous Forums, the Dublin meeting held a *Working Group of the Whole*, at which a number of initiatives to promote nuclear disarmament – both existing and planned – were placed before the meeting. Governmental initiatives included the New Agenda Coalition and the Norwegian-led Seven Nation Initiative, as well as the January 2008 Oslo Conference. Other presentations dealt with the possibilities of returning to the International Court of Justice for an opinion on “good faith” as it is used in the NPT, convening a fourth Special Session For Disarmament in the General Assembly (SSOD), the development of the Vision 2020 campaign of the Mayors for Peace and a new educational campaign demonstrating the links between a limited nuclear exchange and global famine.

In concluding remarks, Mr. Jonathan Granoff, the President of the Global Security Institute, said the time is now for foreign ministers and heads of state to start speaking out. “Seize the time before the NPT review, before a new President comes into the United States, because it shouldn’t look like the rest of the world is waiting for the United States to change. Nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament is a global issue, not just an issue of any one state or even group of states. It is certainly not just a United States issue,” Mr. Granoff said.

The following countries participated in the Dublin Article VI Forum: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Egypt, Germany, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Mexico, The Netherlands, Norway, Spain, South Africa and the United Kingdom.



*Excerpt from the opening remarks of Foreign Minister Dermot Ahern of Ireland:*

Since our signature of the NPT in 1968, Ireland's highest priority in the area of disarmament and non-proliferation has been support for efforts to strengthen the Treaty and to ensure full respect for all of its provisions. The NPT today remains the cornerstone of the nuclear non-proliferation regime, and we are proud of our history of association with it. The Treaty, and in particular Article VI, the focus of this event, remains the only multilateral legally-binding commitment by the nuclear weapon states to nuclear disarmament. This is of particular importance to Ireland, not just in itself, but because disarmament and non-proliferation are mutually reinforcing processes. I very much welcome the focus placed in the program for these two days on the centrality of nuclear disarmament. The work here this week will be very valuable in identifying and clarifying the practical steps which can be taken in this direction...

Ten years ago, here in Dublin, my predecessor David Andrews launched the initiative of a group of states for "A Nuclear Weapon-Free World: The Need for a New Agenda." This New Agenda called on the governments of each of the nuclear weapon states and the three nuclear weapons-capable states to commit themselves unequivocally to the elimination of their respective nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons capability and to agree to start work immediately on the practical steps and negotiations required for its achievement.

It was also in early 1998 that the Middle Powers Initiative was established, with the aim of encouraging and educating the nuclear weapons states to take immediate practical steps that reduce nuclear dangers, and to commence negotiations to eliminate nuclear weapons. MPI has developed effective relationships with middle power governments and with non-governmental organizations and there is a close working relationship with the New Agenda Coalition. I commend the MPI for its work over the past decade to revitalize nuclear disarmament and to identify areas where consensual progress is possible and to shape practical steps to this end. It is a model of how of like-minded governments and civil society experts can move the nuclear disarmament agenda forward. ...

Ireland will work closely with its partners in the New Agenda Coalition and in the EU for an ambitious outcome to the 2010 Review Conference. The NAC paper of last May set out the main issues which we believe must be addressed at this juncture – universality; nuclear doctrines; reductions in nuclear forces; security assurances; nuclear weapon-free zones; negotiation of a treaty on fissile material; and testing of nuclear weapons. After the failure of the 2005 Review Conference, it is critical that the ground be well-prepared to ensure success in 2010 and there are a number of achievable steps which could be taken in the immediate term to create an atmosphere conducive to this. Building on the 13 Practical Steps agreed in 2000, transparency and confidence-building are areas which should be explored, including transparency on reductions of warhead numbers and in operational status... The majority of the priority measures identified by MPI for the 2010 Review Conference are shared by Ireland, particularly the need for verified reduction and standing down of nuclear forces; negotiation of a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty; bringing the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty into force and security assurances. ...

The objective of universal nuclear disarmament remains a central plank of Ireland's foreign policy. I believe that, after a period where this objective seemed impossibly remote, the tide may be starting to turn. But if we are indeed to make progress in this direction it is vital that those of us who share that goal make every effort to ensure that the necessary preparations are in place. The detailed work you will do at this Forum in the coming days will undoubtedly contribute to our joint endeavors in the months and years ahead. I look forward to learning of the outcome of your discussions and I wish you well in them.

## OPENING SESSION

The opening session of the fifth Article VI Forum, entitled *NPT: Pathfinder to a Nuclear Weapons-Free World*, featured remarks by the **Hon. Douglas Roche**, the Chairman of MPI, Irish **Foreign Minister Dermot Ahern** and **Baroness Shirley Williams**. Foreign Minister Ahern noted that Dublin Castle was a particularly appropriate venue to convene this forum considering Ireland's rich history of non-proliferation and disarmament. Indeed, it was Ireland that introduced Resolution 1665 (XVI) for the "Prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons" to the General Assembly in 1961. This document ultimately led to the negotiations of the NPT.

The speakers emphasized that the 2010 NPT Review Conference needs to overcome the deficiencies of the 2005 conference. Towards that end, it was suggested that a plea be made in the PrepCom that governments be represented by either their head of state or foreign minister at the upcoming Review Conference.

Senator Roche noted that the NPT "is credible. What is not credible in the age of global commons is the resistance of some states in not living up to the Treaty. It is the responsibility of all governments to demonstrate their commitment to the NPT through its full implementation. Nuclear proliferation must be stopped. Disarmament must occur."

Likewise, Baroness Williams spoke of "huge opportunities right now" for "bringing about nuclear disarmament," in which middle powers are especially well-placed.

In particular, Baroness Williams pointed out the need to create a new framework for inspections and control of civil nuclear power. She pointed to the current construction of 25 nuclear power plants worldwide, with an additional 76 planned for the near future as a cause for concern. In a world of expanding



(L. to R.) Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C., Chairman of MPI; Hon. Dermot Ahern, Foreign Minister of Ireland; Mr. Jonathan Granoff, President of the Global Security Institute; and Mr. Alyn Ware, the Global Coordinator of Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament.

To the side of the Dublin Article VI Forum on March 27, Irish Foreign Minister Dermot Ahern held a private meeting with members of the MPI Executive. Besides thanking the Minister for Ireland's support for the Article VI Forum, the MPI delegation focused on advancing Ireland's long standing commitment and leadership in the field of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. The delegation suggested that the government consider the possibility of an initiative to rally like-minded governments ahead of the NPT Review Conference in 2010, arguing that Ireland was well-positioned to "strike the match" to engage middle power countries ahead of the 2010 Review Conference given the current historic momentum. Among the documents presented to Minister Ahern were the MPI Brief, *Towards 2010, Securing Our Survival: The Case for a Nuclear Weapons Convention* and *The Rome Declaration of Nobel Peace Laureates*.

nuclear power it will become increasingly difficult to control proliferation of nuclear weapons. She lauded the efforts of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) while noting that they do great work in spite of being under-staffed, under-funded and over-stretched. She made a plea that the IAEA be given the resources it needs to carry out its mission effectively.

There was also agreement that it is time to reorganize the world order vis-à-vis international institutions. A lingering effect of the post-World War II model is that it confers great power to states that possess nuclear weapons, which in turn confers great power to nuclear weapons.

Foreign Minister Ahern said the NPT “and in particular Article VI, the focus of this event, remains the only multilateral legally-binding commitment by the nuclear weapons states to nuclear disarmament...I very much welcome the focus placed in the program for these two days on the centrality of nuclear disarmament. The work here this week will be very valuable in identifying and clarifying the practical steps which can be taken in this direction.”

## **REDUCING AND DE-ALERTING NUCLEAR FORCES**

Nuclear disarmament requires, as **Dr. Rebecca Johnson**, the Executive Director of the Acronym Institute, asserted, quantitative reductions as well as qualitative issues of use and doctrine. The first panel of the Dublin consultation - *Reducing and De-Alerting Nuclear Forces* - focused on these latter issues, which are, as she said, “absolutely, critically connected” to the goal at hand. Without attention to nuclear doctrine and the subsequent values attached to nuclear weaponry, we will not effectively address their proliferation or, more importantly, their possible use.

In international forums like preparatory committees, nuclear weapon states (NWS) often point to the decreasing quantitative number of warheads in their arsenals. However, Dr. Johnson argued, “unless we address why states want *some* [nuclear weapons...] we will still see proliferation, we will see the kinds of doctrines that look for more usable nuclear weapons... as tools in the military arsenals.”

Dr. Johnson noted two approaches for addressing the qualitative status of nuclear weapons - physically lowering their operational readiness and diminishing their role in security doctrine. Both of these related approaches are embodied in points 4 and 5 of paragraph 9 of the 13 Steps agreement contained in the Final Document of the 2000 Review Conference of the NPT. (Paragraph 9 refers to interim steps NWS can take leading to disarmament, including reducing the operational status of nuclear weapons.)

She drew attention to the new General Assembly resolution A/GA/62/36, which aimed at reducing the readiness posture of nuclear weapons. Co-sponsored by the geographically disparate governments of Chile, New Zealand, Nigeria, Sweden and Switzerland, the resolution drew 139 votes in favor, 3 opposition votes and 36 abstentions in the First Committee. With its modest language aimed at attracting NATO support, the resolution succeeded in that 6 NATO members - Germany, Norway, Iceland, Italy, Portugal and Spain - all joined the majority of states voting in favor of this resolution.

Dr. Johnson aligned herself with many experts who fear that the taboo on using nuclear weapons has

been eroded. The recommendations of the WMD Commission which called for assurances against use, as well as Step 9 of the 13 Steps “were critically aimed at trying to reinforce the taboo.” For instance, some voices in NATO circles speak of a concept of “tailored deterrence,” a new buzzword that lacks a precise definition. To some, it implies a smaller arsenal focused on a stricter target, while to others it calls for conflating nuclear and conventional forces, in line with the 2002 Nuclear Posture Review of the US. However defined, it entails a smaller, more usable nuclear arsenal.

Even qualitative reductions such as negative security assurances remain inadequate in the absence of a prohibition regime. Even “no first use pledges” imply that it remains morally and ethically, if not politically and legally, permissible to justify retaliation for use of a nuclear weapon—a “right” which is at the heart of some deterrence doctrines. Retaliation must be taken off the table, just as they were with biological and chemical weapons. We must “create a situation where no leader of a civilized country who does not want to be put on trial for war crimes could possibly contemplate the use of nuclear weapons for any purpose,” Johnson agreed.

Nuclear weapons must be removed from all deterrence strategies, with greater emphasis on the role of diplomacy, the conventional military, trade, psychology and cultural influences. The inclusion of nuclear weapons in deterrence jeopardizes the very survival of humanity. Dr. Johnson cited a study from Rutgers University in which they demonstrated the calamitous effects of even a relatively small nuclear exchange. Even if the exchange were limited to one region (South Asia, in the case of the study), the irreparable effects it would have on our climate would engender global starvation and massive impoverization, threatening our survival.



*Dr. Steven Miller and Dr. Rebecca Johnson*

Absent the goal of total stigmatization, efforts to reduce the numbers and prominence of nuclear weapons will remain insufficient. We may end up with fewer weapons, Dr. Johnson argued, but more possessors and a greater likelihood that they will, eventually, be used.

Critical analysis of quantitative reductions does not ignore the security-enhancing role that such numbers reductions play. It was only twenty years ago, the Belfer Center’s **Dr. Steven Miller** noted, that there were about 65,000 nuclear weapons in existence. The combined arsenals of

the US and the Soviet Union was a number so staggering in its implication for planetary survival that it “makes us wonder what we were doing.”

He provided an illustrative review of arms control efforts and obstacles, starting with the Reykjavik talks in the mid-1980s. However, despite creative, brave leadership—including that by George H.W. Bush,

who was, according to Dr. Miller, “among the most imaginative.... about how to create a new pattern of interaction” with Russia—we failed to galvanize and sustain the political will necessary to fulfill the promise held by the ending of the cold war.

Dr. Miller lamented the lack of progress on several fronts, including strategic reductions beyond those initiated through the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). While it is vastly important to have reduced strategic numbers by 45,000 weapons, “the bad news is we still have 20,000 nuclear weapons in this nuclear relationship. We have also failed to make significant progress on tactical weapons. Most of the reductions that were made in the 90s, he pointed out, were “unilateral and voluntary, not verifiable, accountable or irreversible,” he added.

Thirdly, Dr. Miller asserted that, far from making qualitative reductions in posture, we have actually witnessed regression in this area, with the US and Russia maintaining what he calls “quasi-automatic responses”. At one time, Russia had a no first use policy, which it later abandoned. The US has recommitted the centrality of nuclear weapons in its defense policy, and NATO, for its part, reaffirmed its commitment to nuclear weapons at its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1999.

Another area which necessitates renewed and reinvigorated attention is the problem of “loose nukes” and unaccounted fissile materials resulting from the deterioration of the Soviet Union. In Dr. Miller’s view, the initial attention paid to this problem “didn’t go the distance.” By his calculation, “60% of the job is still in front of us.”

Eventually, he concluded, the official arms control process of the 1990s “came to a dead stop.” The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty was destroyed and hopes for a START III came to a screeching halt, leaving us only with the insufficient, unverifiable Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT). The post-90s period “is the most barren period”, with the George W. Bush administration envisioning “an end to the arms control era”. There have been no discussions, no agenda, and no proposals for negotiations. Moreover, there has been vigorous determination for a renewed modernization process in the US, to manufacture new warheads and new delivery systems, established within a long timetable for future posture requirements.

If we can drum up a renewed commitment to the past agendas set forth by Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin in Helsinki, or the 13 Steps agreed to in 2000, “we would have made a great leap forward,” Dr. Miller said. He, like many others, noted his appreciation for the *Wall Street Journal* op-eds by Schultz, Perry, Kissinger and Nunn\*, in that they assert abolition as being in “the interest of America” and “gives cover to a more ambitious agenda than what was previously possible.”

In the discussion that followed, many participants addressed the need to effectively address the qualitative role of nuclear weapons. One participant highlighted the importance of capacity-based planning, stressing that quantitatively reducing one’s arsenal to  $\frac{3}{4}$  its original size means nothing when the nuclear weapons complex is being overhauled and reconstructed with a view towards longevity. Another participant called to attention to the insufficiency of the 13 Steps in that, because the agreement does not

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\* “A World Free of Nuclear Weapons” by George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger and Sam Nunn. *The Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 2007. “Toward a Nuclear-Free World,” January 15, 2008.

*Excerpt from the remarks by Baroness Shirley Williams of Crosby:*



*Baroness Shirley Williams and  
Mr. Sergio Duarte*

On the NPT front, it is essential to strengthen and widen regulatory powers. Let me say bluntly, we simply cannot expect the one international body that commands credibility throughout the world (with exception of American politics) to do it all. The IAEA has done a staggering job in averting a war between US and Iran - not yet complete - but nobody should neglect the operations that ElBaradei has performed in this respect. I think the essential point here is that we are trying to control nuclear weapons and potentially now extending to the whole of the civil field on the basis of a desperately under-financed, under-staffed, over-stressed international agency. It holds the key to nuclear disarmament and to the control of nuclear proliferation because it is one body in a world of distrust that is trusted internationally. The next responsibility that rests upon you and us - nuclear weapon states as well - is to give the IAEA the staff it needs to do the job we're asking it do. As we leap forward to a much greater extent of danger, we must openly say it must be given the resources it needs. It is peanuts in relation to what we spend on nuclear weapons.

There are other great opportunities in the civil nuclear field, and I think the NPT [Review Conference] in 2010 should at least strongly press for a level of regulation and inspection that will enable the world to be confident that civil nuclear power is not diverted elsewhere. It is crucial that we press very hard for the adoption of the Additional Protocol by all countries that are engaged in any kind of nuclear power. The Additional Protocol, as you know, allows instantaneous and unprepared inspection by the IAEA and is absolutely critical. It's not enough, but it's a very important second step. At the NPT in 2010 we must have great pressure on countries to accept the additional protocol combined with another pressure- on India, Pakistan and Israel to become members of the NPT to bring them into the club. Outside the club, they represent a continual temptation for others to develop nuclear weapons without being a part of the international system...

[The middle power countries] are important for retaining that vision of the movement toward abolition. Don't underestimate the extraordinary impact of the four American senior officials because it suddenly made it respectable to talk about disarmament in a way it had never been respectable before. I'm not an admirer of Kissinger's career, but nevertheless he has protected American statesmen and American journalists from what one might call the savagery of the right wing reaction by creating an umbrella that is virtually impenetrable.

address the moral, humanitarian and political dimensions of nuclear weapons, it does not get us to zero nuclear weapons. However, another delegate suggested that technical requirements for moving to zero must be articulated first, before political questions are even asked.

Other topics touched on in the discussion included the need for increased support for the next GA resolution on de-alerting, strengthened commitments to no first use and negative security assurances, the importance of civil society participation and key alliances such as the New Agenda Coalition, and the need for a global solution to the post-cold war problem of nuclear weapons, such as, for example, a new, universal negotiation process.

## MISSILES, MISSILE DEFENSES AND SPACE

**Dr. Jurgen Scheffran, Dr. Philip Coyle and Mr. Jan Kavan** led a discussion examining the linkages between missiles, missile defense systems, space weapons and nuclear weapons. It was noted that contained within the preamble of the NPT was a commitment by all States party to eliminate the delivery systems for nuclear weapons, which includes ballistic missiles.

Dr. Scheffran explored the history of ballistic missiles by identifying their key characteristics of ballistic missiles, such as high accuracy and high speed, which drove states to acquire them. But it was some of these same characteristics he argued that rendered ballistic missiles destabilizing. Specifically, their very existence fuels an arms race. He highlighted the link between horizontal and vertical proliferation and the impact this could have with regards to non-state actors acquiring ballistic missiles. Dr. Scheffran also examined the close relationship between ballistic missile technology and space launches, citing similarities in accelerators, gyroscopes, solid rocket fuel, reentry vehicles and thrust vectors. While many regimes are in place, including the Joint Data Exchange Center, Hague Code of Conduct and the Proliferation Security Initiative, Scheffran asserts that the world will never be able to truly monitor the spread of ballistic missiles until there is a stringent system of verification. While the world mainly relies on radar and satellite surveillance to monitor ballistic missile activity, Dr. Scheffran argues that on the ground inspections ultimately will be the only way to way to effectively verify agreement.

Additionally, it is important that work be done to help distinguish between a space launch and a ballistic missile launch. The current ambiguity between the two could easily lead a nation to mistake a peaceful, commercial satellite launch for an aggressor launching a ballistic missile at its territory. Linked to this discussion was the idea that missile defense systems are “the first path” to build a capacity to launch attacks from space. He outlined what he described as the pentagon of space warfare, examining the linkages between ballistic missiles, missile defense, satellites, anti-satellite systems and space launchers.

Dr. Coyle too highlighted the linkages between ballistic missiles, missile defense systems and space weaponization. He pointed out that the development of an effective layered missile defense system required the placement of space-based interceptors. Such a development would spawn a new arms race in space.

He discussed one system in particular, Brilliant Pebbles. He noted that when this scheme was proposed in the late 1980’s, conventional wisdom held that 100,000 satellites would need to be deployed to ensure effectiveness. Since that time an evolution of opinion, seemingly based only on budgetary constraints and not on science, concluded that 1,600 brilliant pebbles would constitute an adequate defense. However, even with this very conservative estimate would require a burden of over \$40 billion in launch costs alone.

Much of the discussion centered on the US’s plans for missile defense systems both at home and abroad, which led to many questions concerning the efficacy of missile defense. Mr. Kavan pointed out that the trajectories of ballistic missiles reveal their source, a veritable “return address” for retaliation.. This point leads to two conclusions about their potential threat to a nation.

*Excerpt from the remarks of Mr. Jan Kavan:*

I remember the first [NATO] Alliance meeting I took part in as a Foreign Minister. It was in April 1999... Colin Powell raised there the issue of the US anti-missile umbrella and the need for Europeans to support it. Then UK Secretary of State Robin Cook responded quite passionately and warned fellow Europeans not to have anything to do with this dangerous form of “star wars.” I do not recall any explicit support for the US then.

This unreliability was recently stressed in Prague by Dr. Philip Coyle who repeated over and over again that the anti ballistic missile system is not effective under real operational conditions. The tests were carried out without decoys or other means of deceptive tactics to defeat the ABM system and with information which would normally not be available such as the test missile trajectories. Even under such unreal advantageous conditions 6 tests out of 13 failed, according to Dr. Coyle, who also informed us that even close US allies such as Canada or South Korea refused to participate in the anti-ballistic missile defense because they believe that it is not effective and they fear that it would cause instability in the system of international relations... It therefore raises the suspicion that the bases in the Czech Republic and Poland will be a kind of guinea pigs providing the greatest joy to firms such as Raytheon, Lockheed and many others. After all, failure of the current system and the subsequent need for further development, response to counter-measures improvements means a permanent commercial success....

What is clear is that majority of both Czech and Polish citizens oppose the establishment of foreign military bases on their soil. In the Czech Republic, frequent opinion polls indicate that 70% of the people have been unmoved by the government’s propaganda. Besides the arguments already mentioned, many people and peace groups such as No to Bases mention several others:

Czech Republic could become a target of the first attack without being in a war. It will become co-responsible for US conduct of preventive wars, which the US is prepared to carry out whenever it feels that its interests are endangered;

The decision to use the base will remain entirely in the US hands; the Czech Republic will only be subsequently informed. There will be an increased danger of terrorist attacks in the Czech Republic and against Czech citizens abroad;

As no one in the Czech Republic or Poland really believes that we may be threatened by Iran now or in the future, some hope that the bases together with US commitments will become sufficient deterrent to Russia. Others fear that the bases will unnecessarily provoke the Russian bear and make us vulnerable to any retaliation the Russians might consider adequate. President Putin’s Munich speech of February 2007 evoked the possibility of a new and dangerous “nuclear arms race.” I was not surprised when President Putin evoked the 1962 Cuban crisis when Soviet missiles were similarly close to US homeland and the world was on a verge of a major war. Putin backpedaled soon but the image remained.

It seems to me that the Americans seriously underestimated Russian sensitivity to US bases in Eastern Europe, so close to their homeland. The potential of this crisis to get worse and to lead to a new kind of a cold war should not be disregarded lightly despite the recent talks between the top representatives of the USA and Russia.



First, nations are not suicidal; therefore it is unlikely that ballistic missiles would be employed. Second, if a nation were to utilize ballistic missiles they would do so with numbers that would annihilate their adversary. This second point challenges the rationale behind the US's current missile defense program, which is designed to intercept one or two incoming missiles. Coyle noted that the Pentagon currently lists 20 nations that could threaten the US with ballistic missiles, when in fact only two non-allied countries currently have the capability to strike in the US. Such a flawed threat assessment drives the Missile Defense Agency. This realization, coupled with the fact that a nation wishing to use ballistic missiles would need to do so in an overwhelming fashion raises another question. Would it not be much more likely that an adversary would choose to use an unconventional delivery system, such as a container ship, as opposed to an expensive, technically challenging ballistic missile? If so, against what threat are missile defense systems being developed to protect?



*Dr. Philip Coyle, Ms. Alexa McDonough MP, Mr. Jan Kavan and Dr. Jurgen Scheffran*

Mr. Kavan presented his analysis of the proposed US missile defense installations in Poland and the Czech Republic. Iran does not possess a ballistic missile capable of reaching Europe. If the Iranian missile program is not interrupted it will be some ten years before they acquire such a capability. At the point in which they can strike in Europe, there will be no strategic rationale encouraging such a decision. Unless that is, the Czech Republic is host to US missile defense systems. Mr. Kavan views the missile defense installations as the only potential driver for future Iranian strike.

Another point on missile defense systems was the US's willingness to rely on technology to solve national security problems. Dr. Coyle said then-Secretary of Defense William Perry's trip to North Korea, in which he negotiated an end to the testing of their long-range missiles, "was dollar-for-dollar" the most effective missile defense ever.

During the discussion period, many questions were asked about the driving forces behind missile defense systems given their ineffectiveness. The panel pointed out a few motivating factors that give life to continued missile defense investments. Within the US Congress, there is a real sense that although missile defense systems have been ineffective thus far, with enough investment they eventually they will be. It was noted that this belief is completely divorced from physics. There is also a sense within the US that regardless of whether an effective missile defense system is developed, simply having one in place will deter would-be attackers.

## TOWARDS ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The panelists on *Towards the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons* dealt with both the short- and long-term strategies for achieving elimination, focusing on legal and diplomatic tools. **Ambassador Thomas Graham**, the Chairman of the Bipartisan Security Group and **Mr. Alyn Ware**, Consultant for the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms, outlined the elements of a global treaty for the abolition of nuclear weapons and **Ms. Uta Zapf**, MP from Germany and Co-President of PNND, discussed ways parliamentarians can move a disarmament agenda forward on the national level.

Amb. Graham detailed the genesis of and the strategy behind the Hoover Institution Initiative which linked the vision articulated by Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev at Reykjavik in 1987 to the 2007 *Wall Street Journal* op-ed that gave a public face to the initiative. Max Kampelman, who was an arms control negotiator in the Reagan administration, originated the idea in 2005 as a way of reviving the vision of a nuclear weapon free world endorsed by the two presidents in 1987. A first meeting at the Hoover Institution, convened by Reagan's Secretary of State, George Shultz, was held in 2006, which, Amb. Graham said, led to the 2007 op-ed. "The individuals involved are serious and committed and more is going to happen," he said.

Amb. Graham said the success of the NPT is based on the "carefully crafted" bargain between the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation that "for the last three decades has formed the central underpinnings of the international non-proliferation regime." But now a part of that bargain – disarmament by the nuclear weapon state – "appears to have been largely abandoned," so that "now the other side of the bargain has begun to fall apart." Graham argued that getting back to the vision of Reykjavik has to start with an understanding between the United States and Russia to begin the process of deep cuts. The next phase would be negotiations among the five nuclear powers and then the "longtime holdouts" from the NPT: India, Pakistan and Israel. Once all eight were involved, they would be "required to eliminate almost all of their arsenals down to very low levels over a number of years." Beyond cuts, the NPT would also be strengthened by the entry into force of the CTBT, progress towards FMCT and extension of START I and its verification provisions.



*Amb. Thomas Graham*

Amb. Graham quoted the analogy in the 2008 *WSJ* op-ed by the same authors that "the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons is like the top of a very tall mountain ... We must chart a course to higher ground where the mountaintop becomes more visible."

Mr. Ware outlined the legal, technical and political elements required to achieve a nuclear weapons-free world and thus built into the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention. Citing the same mountain simile for the achievement of a nuclear weapons free world, Mr Ware said that it is vital to have a plan on how to reach the top even if it is going to take a number of steps to get there. "Without such a plan we might not be prepared for certain obstacles on the way, we might head up the wrong path, or we may be dis-

sualed from even starting the journey from a lack of confidence that reaching the top is possible.” The draft convention, first published in 1997 and revised in 2007, calls for a five-phase implementation period starting with de-alerting and decoupling warheads from delivery vehicles, with all weapons dismantled after five years and destroyed after 15 years. The draft also has provisions for verification and monitoring, security assurances, enforcement and settling compliance disputes.



*From left to right: Mr. Tariq Rauf (IAEA), Amb. Luis de Alba (Mexico), Amb. Lucia Fiori (Italy), Mr. Werner Bauwens (Belgium), Mr. Geoff Gartsshore (Canada), and MP Uta Zapf (Germany), Co-President of PNND*

Ms. Zapf noted that tools parliamentarians can use to promote nuclear disarmament vary from country to country, but common ones are hearings, parliamentary questions and resolutions. However, “it will not be enough to pass resolutions with nice visions,” she said, work needs to be done to affect change in government policy. For NATO countries, one area where parliamentarians can influence strategy is on nuclear-sharing policies. The goal is to influence the strategic review that will be decided upon in 2009.

Ms. Zapf said the PNND network must take a more active role in promoting discussions among parliamentarians on nuclear issues. “We must take up a serious dialogue with our colleagues in other parliaments to discuss nuclear issues,” she said, “We should strengthen our endeavors to raise the awareness for the issues and to promote parliamentary action.”

For countries that are members of the Nuclear Suppliers’ Group, there is “an excellent case in the near future for parliamentarians to act,” she said. The US India nuclear sharing agreement threatens the nuclear non-proliferation regime, therefore parliamentarians should “speed up” discussions on the deal to influence their governments’ vote on the plan. Parliamentarians can influence the debate by insisting on strict non-proliferation and disarmament conditions before agreeing to the deal. Those conditions should include ratification of the CTBT, full-scope safeguard agreements and support for international regulations for nuclear fuel production and supply.

## **BREAKOUT SESSIONS**

### ***Verified Reductions***

The session on *Verified Reductions* was framed around a proposal that there should be negotiations for deep cuts under which the United States and Russia would reduce to 300 weapons each, based on the argument that 300 weapons for the two major powers would be demonstrative deep cuts without changing the balance of power.

The discussant, Amb. Graham, began the session with a brief review of the history of strategic arms treaties – Strategic Arms Limitations Talks and START - with an emphasis on the provisions for limitations and reductions. The newest treaty – SORT – brings the numbers down to 2200 by 2012, but those cuts can be reversed and are not verifiable. Therefore the immediate steps should be to extend START I and bring START II into force and revive the ABM Treaty since, he said, Russia would never agree to START II limits without the ABM. A subsequent step would be progressive, deep cuts by all nuclear weapon states. Amb. Graham suggested that the US and Russia would reduce to 300 weapons each; 50-75 weapons each for the UK, France and China; 15 each for India, Pakistan and Israel; and zero for North Korea.

Graham noted that Israel’s nuclear weapons – probably numbering around 200 warheads – were “far more sophisticated” than anyone imagined, meaning that Israel would more rightly be grouped with France and the UK, rather than India and Pakistan, both of which have fewer than 100 warheads and are less sophisticated weapons.

He noted positive signs in the US including the Obama proposal for real reductions; the UK and France are reducing their arsenals, with the UK going “down to very low levels.”

This led to a discussion that focused on the cuts Amb. Graham proposed and how such deep cuts would be verified, since – as several participants noted – such reductions would require more intrusive and sophisticated inspections.



*Ms. Uta Zapf MP*

In response to comments from the floor, Amb. Graham said the 300 weapons levels are “straws in the wind” but realistic since there are not 300 targets for nuclear weapons. “It is inconceivable that 300 would not be enough” for the US and Russia, but such cuts would not change the balance of power, he said. The negotiations would be framed in the context of Article VI of the NPT . In conjunctions with the cuts, the nuclear weapon states would be allowed to stockpile enough fissile materials for about 25 weapons - under safeguards - as a hedge against breakout. This concept of “virtual disarmament” or “virtual zero” could be realized in less than 25 years, Graham said.

Verification was discussed from both political and technical perspectives. Graham said closer cooperation between the US and Russia was “absolutely critical,” but such cooperation does not exist for a number of reasons, including NATO expansion, Iraq and missile defenses. If the two powers could begin working together, it would be easier to bring the UK and France into the process; if the four would willing to work together, then China would not want to be left out in the cold. Then “serious discussions” could begin with India, Pakistan and Israel. Such a framework would require, in the first case, “highly intrusive verification” - “security guarantees for countries on verge of conflicts” - meaning India, Pakistan, Israel and Iran - and commitments by all major states to respect these guarantees and else a combined force by the rest of world to compel compliance. On the technical side, it was argued that international inspectors would need more sophisticated equipment than is currently available.

### ***De-alerting***

Chaired by Dr. Johnson, *De-alerting* dealt with both the operational (how to make de-alerting irreversible)

and the political (how de-alerting can be an interim step towards disarmament). A great deal of attention centered on the General Assembly resolution on the subject A/GA/62/36 adopted in 2007 that attracted overwhelming support for states and what role it can take in framing the debate.

According to participants involved in promotion of the GA resolution “Decreasing the operational readiness of nuclear weapons systems” the issue will be back on UN Agenda next year, with the expectation that newly-created working groups in New York and Geneva would further refine the resolution. Several participants expressed support for the measure, but sought a greater discussion on several key elements of de-alerting as part of a larger disarmament and verification regime such as reversibility, verifiability and accountability.

There was an in-depth discussion of the utility of de-alerting as an achievable step within the framework of the 13 Steps. While de-alerting was affirmed as an integral step towards disarmament, there was a reaffirmation of the need to not lose sight of the larger interests served by addressing disarmament holistically. However, it was also suggested that there was an implicit advantage in focusing on a specific step such as de-alerting instead of attempting to address all of the 13 Steps concurrently as a way to diminish the potential of rejection and advance concrete steps towards disarmament.

As to the technical steps necessary for de-alerting, there was a debate regarding transparency and whether de-alerting should be a negotiated process or whether steps could take steps unilaterally. With regards to verifiability, it was pointed out that absent a coherent, universal verification regime, states rely on other states to report progress on de-alerting and disarmament.

There was an expressed sense that there exists an important opportunity to use the current momentum to strengthen public awareness and that NGOs and civil society play an integral role in educating the public in the strengthening of taboos against using these weapons. It was suggested that greater awareness of the continuing threat of nuclear weapons must be generated amongst youth. One suggestion was that NGOs and civil society could play an important role in raising public awareness of the real costs of nuclear weapons by studying the potential impact of nuclear weapons on the environment, infrastructure, atmosphere and livelihood.

The necessity to address the different approaches that would be needed to implement de-alerting currently operating nuclear programs outside of the NPT.

There was a concern expressed that A/GA/62/36 should relate to non-NPT states as well as NPT states, without conferring legitimacy on non-NPT nuclear states.

The session ended with positive indications of flexibility in negotiations on the A/GA/62/36 on the part of the proponents as a way to progress forward on the issue.

## *Missile Control, Defenses and Space*

The Missile Control breakout session was chaired by **Ms. Rhianna Tyson**, Senior Officer of the Global Security Institute (GSI). In her opening remarks she noted that there is inextricable link between missiles, missile defense systems, outer space security and non-proliferation.



*(L to R): Alexa McDonough MP (Canada); Amb. Johannes Landman (Netherlands), Amb. Alfredo Labbé (Chile), Mr. Knut Langeland (Norway), Amb. Leslie Gumbi (South Africa) and Amb. Adiyatwidi Asmady (Indonesia)*

With regards to US efforts towards missile defense, there has been a push and pull to develop or stall ballistic missile defense, with a primary driver being the US congress. It was noted that Democrats as well as Republicans have “championed” ballistic missile defense. In an effort to mollify these demands, then-Secretary of Defense William Perry developed the concept of 3+3: three years of development, and, if it proved successful, three years of deployment. However, the Pentagon did not stop at three, they continually tested without success. Congress then created the Missile Defense Agency which eventually moved to procurement and deployment. There are several rationales for the continued investment in missile defense even if such investments do not culminate with an effective system. First, the perception of missile defense systems may be more important than

the systems themselves. Regardless of their effectiveness, their existence signals their strategic thinking to potential adversaries. Second, missile defense is an avenue towards space weaponization. It builds an infrastructure and a constituency base that will continue to accrue funding and places assets in space that will need to be protected. The first victim of space weaponization will be the NPT. In all war gaming scenarios, the instant that commanders lose communication or satellite coverage, conflicts escalate at an alarming rate.

It is incumbent on diplomats and parliamentarians now to begin discussions and convene hearings on the efficacy of missile defense specifically and space weaponization more broadly. It was suggested that NATO should conduct a policy review to examine the role missile defense systems and nuclear weapons play in their collective security. Short of such a broad plan, European governments have an important role to play now. As the plans for the US missile defense installations in Europe move forward, it is important that NATO does not embrace this initiative. A statement by NATO in favor of these plans would likely lead to an expanded role and deployment of these systems in the future.

## **WORKING GROUP OF THE WHOLE**

In a change in format from previous Forums, the Dublin meeting held a Working Group of the Whole, at which a number of initiatives to promote nuclear disarmament – both existing and planned—were placed before the meeting:

**Dr. John Burroughs** of the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA) discussed the role of the International Court of Justice’s (ICJ) 1996 advisory opinion and the possibility of returning to



*Dr. John Burroughs*

the Court for an opinion on “good faith” as it is used in the NPT. The purpose of such an endeavor is twofold; first, it keeps the legal imperative of disarmament front and center of international discussions and secondly, to signal that the 1996 opinion is not just an anomaly to be discarded in the dustbin of history, but rather is a living tool by which we must continue to advance disarmament. Contrary to the 1996 process, Dr. Burroughs envisions a return to the ICJ that will be less confrontational than the last time the Court deliberated nuclear weapons use and threat of use. This time, the Court will not be challenging the NWS, i.e., asserting that it is wrong for them to rely on these weapons, but rather will seek “to clarify what good faith negotiations require of governments.” For instance, a large majority of governments maintain that “good faith negotiations” requires the elimination of nuclear weapons, yet the US, France and Britain resist any sort of timeframe towards that end. A return to the Court could help resolve this dispute, which, as it is codified in the NPT, is part legal in nature. Moreover, clarification on this by the Court would apply to hold out states, thereby going beyond the NPT, and could be regarded as part of an overall strategy for achieving a nuclear weapons-free world.

**Ms. Allison Kelly**, Director of the Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Office in the Irish Foreign Ministry, illustrated current opportunities within the NPT context, noting the repercussions of the *Wall Street Journal* op-eds and the “need to shape it into concrete progress” at the 2010 Review. She recalled the main issues identified by the New Agenda Coalition that must be addressed, including universality, nuclear doctrines, reductions, security assurances, nuclear weapon-free zones and treaties banning the production of fissile material and nuclear testing.

Ms. Kelly also highlighted achievable steps that she urged could be taken immediately, such as those articulated in the 13 Steps. In particular, she noted support for confidence-building measures such as enhanced transparency on warhead numbers and operational status and a prioritization of CTBT ratification.



*Ms. Allison Kelly*

In conclusion, she stressed the importance of outcomes of previous Review Conferences. It is “indefensible,” she maintained, “for consensus outcomes to be downplayed and reinterpreted,” and she urged instead that they be kept at the forefront of attention.

IPPNW’s **Ms. Xanthe Hall** presented the conclusions of a recent study on the effects of a so-called “limited” nuclear exchange—50 Hiroshima-sized nuclear weapons—on global climate. The climatologists found that, beyond the 20 million people immediately killed, the effects of the explosions would cut short the growing season in key areas of the world and poison existing stockpiles of food, resulting in massive famine on a global scale. Such catastrophic resource depletion would spark numerous local conflicts around the globe, which then assume their own dynamic.

In sum, Ms. Hall stated, today’s threats posed by global warming “would be a tea party” compared to what would result from a regional nuclear war. With the global public now familiar with the grave threats posed by climate change, we have an opportunity to reframe the imperative of nuclear abolition in similar terms.

*Excerpt from the remarks of Mr. Sergio Duarte:*

Clearly the failure to achieve nuclear disarmament is not due to the lack of a vision - for such a vision has existed throughout the world for decades. The failure is not due to the lack of proposals for concrete action. They exist in abundance - as seen in the 30 nuclear-weapons recommendations of the international WMD Commission chaired by Hans Blix, in the 2005 report to Secretary-General Kofi Annan by the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change and in countless General Assembly resolutions, to name only a few. The current Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, has repeatedly stressed the high priority he attaches to progress in nuclear disarmament. Since the launching of the Hoover Plan for a nuclear weapon-free world, we have seen a cornucopia of nuclear disarmament proposals arising from civil society.



*H.E. Mr. Sergio Duarte*

We are not seeing any lack of good ideas - if anything, we are seeing an *embarrass de richesse*-yet with persistently disappointing results.

The missing ingredient appears to be political will - specifically, a firm commitment by the leaders of our world to make the achievement of global nuclear disarmament a high priority, high enough to invest substantial resources to secure its achievement. The bridge that most needs to be built today is the bridge between promises made and promises kept. I welcome all this new attention to disarmament by government and civil society, but I caution all who care about this issue not to raise the flag of disarmament so high that it vanishes from sight...

Unfortunately, concrete steps to nuclear disarmament will take hard and persistent work to resolve remaining technical and political challenges. One of the greatest hurdles ahead is the lack of what might be called a "disarmament infrastructure" in the states that possess such weapons. I am referring here to the absence of governmental agencies with the official mandates in the field of nuclear disarmament, a problem that is further aggravated by the lack of budget allocations, operational plans, timetables, domestic legislation and greater interest in the legislatures. As Gertrude Stein once said, "there is no there there."

In terms of institutions, we will live in a world with nuclear-weapon complexes, but without disarmament complexes. With respect to the positive steps that some or all of the nuclear weapon states have announced - which include some limits on deployments, a moratorium on testing, claims of stockpile reductions, a halt in the production of fissile material for weapons, tighter non-proliferation and physical security control and other such activities. These are all of course welcome. They are necessary, but far from sufficient for disarmament. They lack a foundation in binding commitments, and institutional and political support...



**Ambassador Alfredo Labbé** of Chile discussed the possibility of convening a fourth Special Session of Disarmament in the General Assembly (SSOD). Noting the windfall of achievements spawned by the first SSOD in 1978—the “big bang” of multilateral disarmament machinery— Amb. Labbé asserted that we are in “dire need” for another such explosive movement forward.

**Ambassador Knut Langeland** discussed the role of Norway in pushing the disarmament agenda forward. The recent conference in Oslo was the outgrowth of the Seven Nation Initiative, intended to find ways of helping countries implement disarmament and non-proliferation measures. The Oslo conference identified five principles and ten steps, including, but not limited to, the need for leadership and involvement of all stakeholders, multilateralism, transparency and the need to convene a panel like that of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, “to give it urgency and to move the agenda forward.”

**Mr. Aaron Tovish** of Mayors for Peace noted that the risks posed by nuclear weapons are most acute to cities, which are the targets for nuclear weapons planning. The continual threat of their incineration is an existential, immoral threat, and as such it incites mayors the world over to work for the abolition of nuclear weapons.

As a growing, global network of mayors committed to nuclear abolition, Mayors for Peace, led by the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, has developed a “Vision 2020” campaign. At the 2010 Review Conference, the mayors will put forward a comprehensive plan for abolishing nuclear weapons by 2020, possibly through a complementary protocol to the NPT. The focus of their plan will be to eliminate the discrimination codified in the NPT, (whereby five states can possess nuclear weapons and others cannot) securing all weapons and fissile materials and jumpstarting immediate negotiations on disarmament. The focus of their plan will be to eliminate the discrimination codified in the NPT, (whereby five states can possess nuclear weapons and others cannot) securing all weapons and fissile materials and jumpstarting immediate negotiations on disarmament, Mr. Tovish said.

In additional comments, **Ambassador Adiyatwidi Adiwoso Asmady** of Indonesia proposed the creation of a UN Nuclear Disarmament Day, which would serve as “a forum for all stakeholders.” **Ambassador Anne Plunkett** of Australia said the nuclear weapon-states “by their actions must confirm” a reduced role for nuclear weapons in their national security strategies and a reduction in the operational status of the weapons. Non-NPT states need to “take practical nuclear disarmament steps” including ratifying the CTBT, supporting the FMCT and reducing their arsenals

## CONCLUDING SESSIONS

The featured speakers in the concluding session were **Mr. Tariq Rauf** of the IAEA and **Mr. Jonathan Granoff**, the President of GSI. Mr. Rauf updated the participants on the development of expanded and improved verification networks and the need for additional funds to create and maintain that network.

Growing interest in nuclear power, including countries seeking complete fuel cycle, means more facilities that will need monitoring, he said. In addition, there are potential new roles in nuclear disarmament

including verifying the dismantlement of nuclear weapons and monitoring of the fissile materials in which the IAEA may be called on to monitor.

Mr. Granoff spoke of new opportunities opening, citing in particular the Hoover Institution initiative. This “is a wonderful thing because it has forever put to rest the notion that to be for the abolition of nuclear weapons is impractical or un-American,” he said, “By virtue of having such distinguished Americans come out in principle for the abolition of nuclear weapons, no one can say to you, as diplomats, again, ‘If you are for the abolition of nuclear weapons, you’re anti-American.’ That’s gone.”

However, Mr. Granoff cautioned that “if we think that a group of eminent persons on their own, outside of the institutional system will be at all sufficient, I think we are deluding ourselves.” Now is the time for foreign ministers and heads of state to start speaking out. “Seize the time before the NPT review, before a new President comes into the United States, because it shouldn’t look like the rest of the world is waiting for the United States to change. Nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament is a global issue, not just an issue of any one state or even group of states. It is certainly not just a United States issue,” he said.

“There was a realism that brought to an end the conflicts in Nicaragua and San Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, realism that peace could prevail. There was a realism that ended the cold war without a hot war, and there was a realism that ended apartheid without bloodshed. There is a realism that can bring us to a nuclear weapons-free world,” Mr. Granoff concluded.



*Mr. Jonathan Granoff and Hon. Douglas Roche*



# APPENDIX A

*Materials from the fifth meeting of the Article VI Forum:  
Program  
Roster of Participants  
Acknowledgments & Supporters*

# **The Article VI Forum**

## ***NPT: Pathfinder to a Nuclear Weapons-Free World***

*convened with the support of the Government of Ireland*

**Wednesday, March 26**

**7:30 – 9:30 pm:** Public Event, Dublin Castle Coach House

**Thursday, March 27**

**9 – 10:30 am:** Opening Session

Welcome: **Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C., Chairman, Middle Powers Initiative**

Opening: **Mr. Dermot Ahern, T.D., Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland**

Keynote: **Baroness Shirley Williams**  
“Strengthening the International Framework on Proliferation”

**10:30 – 11 am:** Coffee Break

**11 am – 12:30 pm:** Panel I  
TOPIC: “Reducing and De-Alerting Nuclear Forces”

Chair: **Dr. Rebecca Johnson, Executive Director, The Acronym Institute**

Speakers: **Dr. Steven Miller, Director, International Security Program, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs**  
“Reconfiguring the Nuclear Balance: Reductions, De-Alerting and the Future of the US-Russia Nuclear Relationship”

**12:30 – 2 pm:** Lunch

Keynote speaker: **H.E. Mr. Sergio Duarte, UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs**

**2:15 – 3:45 pm:** Panel II  
TOPIC: “Missiles, missile defenses and space”

Chair: **Ms. Alexa McDonough, MP, Halifax**

Speakers: **Dr. Jurgen Scheffran, Adjunct Associate Professor, University of Illinois**  
“Banning ballistic missiles? Missile control for a nuclear weapons-free world”

**Dr. Philip Coyle, Center for Defence Information**  
“Missile defenses and weaponization of space”

**Mr. Jan Kavan**  
“Missile defenses in Europe”

**3:45 – 4:15 pm:** Coffee Break

**4:15 – 6 pm:**

Breakout Topic I: Verified reductions

Discussant: **Amb. Thomas Graham, Chairman, Bipartisan Security Group**

Breakout Topic II: De-alerting

Discussant: **Dr. Rebecca Johnson**

Breakout Topic III: Missile control, defenses and space:

Discussant: **Ms. Rhianna Tyson, Senior Officer, Global Security**

**Institute**

**6:15 pm:** shuttle bus from Dublin Castle to Iveagh House

**6:30 – 8:30 pm:** Reception, hosted by the Foreign Ministry of Ireland, Iveagh House

**8:30 pm:** shuttle bus from Iveagh House to Radisson Hotel

**Friday, March 28**

**9 – 10:30 am:** Panel III

TOPIC: “Towards Elimination of Nuclear Weapons”

Chair: **Mr. Mark Fitzpatrick, Senior Fellow for Non-Proliferation, International Institute for Strategic Studies**

Speakers: **Amb. Thomas Graham**  
“Getting to a nuclear weapons-free world: The Hoover Institution Program”

**Mr. Alyn Ware, Global Coordinator, Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament**  
“Towards a Nuclear Weapons Convention or package of agreements”

**Ms. Uta Zapf, Member of the German Bundestag, Chairperson of the Committee on Disarmament**  
“Role of parliamentarians and middle power governments”

**10:30 – 11 am:** Coffee Break

**11 am – 1 pm:** Working Group of the Whole: Towards Elimination of Nuclear Weapons  
*Short presentations (3-5 minutes) on nuclear disarmament initiatives followed by open floor and general discussion*

Chair: **Mr. Alyn Ware**

*Topics:*

**Dr. John Burroughs, Executive Director, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy**  
“International Court of Justice opinion on nuclear disarmament obligation”

**Alison Kelly**  
“Opportunities at the NPT”

**Ms. Xanthe Hall, Co-Director, IPPNW Germany**  
“Further reasons for abolition: nuclear famine research/ ICAN”

**Amb. Alfredo Labbe, Deputy Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations**  
“SSOD IV”

**Mr. Knut Langeland, Senior Adviser, Disarmament and Non Proliferation Division**  
“Oslo Conference on Nuclear Disarmament”

**Mr. Aaron Tovish, Mayors for Peace**  
“Mayors for Peace/ 2020 Campaign”

**1 – 2:30 pm:** Lunch

**2:30 – 3:45 pm:** Wrap-Up discussion (including reports from breakout sessions)

Chair: **Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C.**

Featured speakers:

**Mr. Tariq Rauf, Head of the Verification and Security Policy Coordination,  
International Atomic Energy Agency**

“The Future of the Non-Proliferation Regime: Strengthening the IAEA”

**Mr. Jonathan Granoff, President, Global Security Institute**

“Moving Forward”

**3:45 – 4:15 pm:** Concluding Session

**4:15 – 5:30 pm:** Tour of Dublin Castle



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# APPENDIX B

MPI Briefing Paper

*Back from the Margins: The Centrality of Nuclear Disarmament*







A program of the  
Global Security Institute

# Middle Powers Initiative Briefing Paper

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## Back from the Margins The Centrality of Nuclear Disarmament

Briefing Paper for the Fifth Meeting of the Article VI Forum

Dublin, Ireland  
March 27-28, 2008

March 2008

## **THE MIDDLE POWERS INITIATIVE**

A Program of the Global Security Institute

[www.gsinitiate.org](http://www.gsinitiate.org)

Through the Middle Powers Initiative, seven international non-governmental organizations (Global Security Institute, International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Weapons, International Network of Engineers and Scientists, International Peace Bureau, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) are able to work primarily through "middle power" governments to encourage and educate the nuclear weapons states to take immediate practical steps that reduce nuclear dangers and commence negotiations to eliminate nuclear weapons. MPI is guided by an International Steering Committee, chaired by Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C., former Canadian Disarmament Ambassador.

[www.middlepowers.org](http://www.middlepowers.org)

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This Middle Powers Initiative Briefing Paper was prepared by Dr. John Burroughs, Executive Director of the New York-based Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy (LCNP). LCNP is the US affiliate of the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms.

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## SUMMARY

At the 1986 Reykjavik Summit, Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev seriously considered proposals for elimination of nuclear weapons within 10 years. Now, more than two decades later, among elite analysts and top government officials there is renewed attention to achievement of a nuclear weapons-free world. This is indeed a welcome development. But caution must be exercised in assessing it. It is not sufficient to invoke the vision of abolishing nuclear weapons while focusing more on prevention of their spread and their acquisition by terrorists. There is still a failure really to come to grips with the unsustainability of a two-class world. The central task is accomplishing disarmament, thereby universalizing and entrenching the norm of non-possession.

The Middle Powers Initiative (MPI) believes that the vision of abolishing nuclear weapons needs to be reconnected with the necessary practical measures, to unlock the ability to implement those measures. The Article VI Forum aims to enfold the steps into what was formerly called the unequivocal undertaking to eliminate nuclear arsenals. To that end, this meeting of the Forum considers the Hoover Institution program for elimination of nuclear weapons and the revised Model Nuclear Weapons Convention as well as civil society and governmental proposals for generating the requisite political will.

MPI has itself examined and identified seven priority measures (see “Towards 2010: Priorities for NPT Consensus,” April 2007, online at [www.middlepowers.org](http://www.middlepowers.org)). They are:

- verified reduction of nuclear forces;
- standing down of nuclear forces (de-alerting);
- negotiation of a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty;
- bringing the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty into force;
- strengthened negative security assurances;
- regulation of nuclear fuel production and supply;
- improved NPT governance.

This meeting further examines the first two measures, reductions and de-alerting. The meeting also considers the arena of missiles, missile defenses and weaponization of space. Issues arising from that arena posed insurmountable obstacles at Reykjavik, and they have come to the fore again in controversies over European missile defense and satellite destruction. This Briefing Paper begins with these topics and then discusses programs for abolition.

## A. VERIFIABLY REDUCING US-RUSSIAN NUCLEAR FORCES

1. Reducing US and Russian arsenals remains the indispensable step toward global elimination of nuclear forces. Between them, the United States and Russia have about 95% of the world's 10,000-plus operational warheads and of the total world stockpile of over 25,000. The 2002 Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT) commitment for each side to deploy no more than 2200 strategic warheads expires upon its coming into effect at the end of 2012, and SORT does not require verified dismantlement of delivery systems or withdrawn warheads. The 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), which verifiably limits multiple-warhead missiles and provides some monitoring mechanisms for SORT reductions, expires at the end of 2009.
  
2. The United States and Russia have discussed the expiration of START. They explained their positions at the Conference on Disarmament in February 2008. Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergei Lavrov stated: "Our goal is to preserve stability and predictability in strategic relations between Russia and the United States. Therefore, we suggest that all the best elements of [START] be borrowed and placed in the foundation of a new agreement. [It] could provide for new, lower ceilings subject to verification on both strategic delivery vehicles (intercontinental ballistic missiles, sea-launched ballistic missiles and heavy bombers), and their warheads. However, it has so far been impossible to arrive at acceptable solutions." The reason for the stalemate is clear; the Bush administration is not interested in a new, legally binding agreement on verified reductions. Instead, as Thomas D'Agostino, Administrator of the US National Nuclear Security Administration, explained, the United States insists on a "post-START arrangement" with a "focus on transparency and confidence-building measures to enhance strategic security relationship."
  
3. From MPI's standpoint, it is essential to realize that US-Russian reductions – and how they are carried out – is not simply a matter of stability between the two powers. Rather, that the reductions are verified and irreversible, and that they are deep, are preconditions to progress towards a nuclear weapons-free world. Otherwise, other nuclear weapon states will not join in the process, nor will non-nuclear weapon states be assured that disarmament is on the horizon. Further, there should be international involvement in verification of US-Russian and subsequent reductions. The world must be assured of the trustworthiness of reductions if global elimination is to be accomplished. Key short-term steps are:
  - negotiation of a new US-Russian strategic reduction treaty applying the principles of verification, transparency and irreversibility to both delivery systems and warheads that would include a requirement of dismantlement of warheads withdrawn under SORT;
  - extension of START, unless superseded by a new treaty;
  - US withdrawal of nuclear bombs based in NATO countries, and negotiation of reduction of US and Russian non-strategic nuclear weapons, either together with reduction of strategic nuclear weapons or separately.

From the Bush administration comes the objection that Cold War-style arms control is not necessary. The answer is simply, yes it is necessary: disarmament requires legally binding, verified, irreversible and transparent reductions. Perhaps the process need not be as cumbersome as has been true in the past. But whether or not a process is demanding is not the main consideration when it comes to controlling

4. Departures in other ways from Cold War-style arms control are desirable. In a 1997 Wall Street Journal op-ed, former top US Defense Department officials Ashton Carter and John Deutch proposed a process they called CART, for Continuous Arms Reduction Talks. CART would address both strategic and non-strategic weapons, and unlike START, which addresses delivery systems, CART would require verified dismantlement of warheads as well. Other nuclear weapon states would also be involved in defining a second, multilateral phase of CART. In this vein, Russia and the United States have recently indicated some interest in engaging other states. It has been proposed by both countries with respect to elimination of intermediate and short-range missiles, and suggested by Russia with respect to missile defenses. As recommended by the International Panel on Fissile Materials, declarations of fissile materials contained in military stocks and warheads is a near-term and important way to involve all states possessing nuclear weapons.

5. Along with negotiations, Russia and the United States can and should implement their own reductions, so long as provision is made for verification and irreversibility. This is the thrust of the recent report, *Toward True Security*, from the Federation of American Scientists, Natural Resources Defense Council and Union of Concerned Scientists. The report argues that regardless of what other states do, the United States should drastically reduce its arsenal, and make other changes as well, for example in policies on use and targeting, launch-on-warning and warhead modernization. This approach is supported by the Practical Steps for disarmament adopted by the 2000 NPT Review Conference, which provide for “further efforts by the nuclear-weapon States to reduce their nuclear arsenals unilaterally.” A little discussed, but important, area for reduction is the large infrastructures for maintaining, producing and researching nuclear weapons. In the United States, spending on nuclear weapons research and maintenance, at more than \$6 billion annually, exceeds Cold War levels.

## **B. STANDING DOWN NUCLEAR FORCES (DE-ALERTING)**

6. Though a commitment was made in the Practical Steps to “concrete agreed measures to further reduce the operational status of nuclear weapons systems,” the basic relationship of a nuclear balance of terror between Russia and the United States with large numbers of warheads ready for immediate launch remains intact. According to a recent estimate by Bruce Blair of the World Security Institute, the two countries together have 2,654 warheads deployed in this posture. The imperative of changing this anachronistic relationship was addressed by a 2007 General Assembly resolution, “Decreasing the operational readiness of nuclear weapons systems” (GA/62/36). Sponsored by Chile, New Zealand, Nigeria, Sweden and Switzerland, it was adopted by a vote of 139 to three, with 36 abstentions. It had substantial support from NATO non-nuclear weapon states.

7. The resolution observes that “the maintenance of nuclear weapons systems at a high level of readiness increases the risk of the use of such weapons, including the unintentional or accidental use.” It also recognizes that “reductions in deployments and the lowering of operational status contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as to the process of nuclear disarmament, through the enhancement of confidence-building and transparency measures and a diminishing role for nuclear weapons in security policies.” The resolution “calls for the taking of further practical steps to decrease

the operational readiness of nuclear weapons systems, with a view to ensuring that all nuclear weapons are removed from high alert status.”

8. In Wall Street Journal op-eds building on conferences held at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn have also highlighted de-alerting. Their January 2008 op-ed identified as a near-term measure: *“Take steps to increase the warning and decision times for the launch of all nuclear-armed ballistic missiles, thereby reducing risks of accidental or unauthorized attacks.”* They explained: “Reliance on launch procedures that deny command authorities sufficient time to make careful and prudent decisions is unnecessary and dangerous in today's environment. Furthermore, developments in cyber-warfare pose new threats that could have disastrous consequences if the command-and-control systems of any nuclear-weapons state were compromised by mischievous or hostile hackers. Further steps could be implemented in time, as trust grows in the US-Russian relationship, by introducing mutually agreed and verified physical barriers in the command-and-control sequence.” In addition to the danger of computer hacking, Blair has emphasized another risk factor. At the same time as the Cooperative Threat Reduction program aims to secure warheads and fissile materials in Russia, high alert status requires many hundreds of weapons to be in transit or temporary storage at any given time, and therefore vulnerable to diversion to terrorists or other states.

9. In addition to elimination of the launch-on-warning option and changes in command-and-control, the US-Russian nuclear standoff can be defused through measures applied directly to delivery systems, lengthening the time required for a nuclear launch from hours to days to weeks to months. Warheads can be removed from missiles, strategic submarines kept in port, and nuclear bombs and air-launched cruise missiles stored separately from air fields. As the WMD Commission suggested, a US-Russian joint commission could facilitate implementation of such measures and the necessary monitoring. While most urgent with respect to Russia and the United States, it is also vital that other nuclear weapon states, which to various degrees already maintain their forces in a de facto de-alerted condition, adopt and affirm de-alerting as an entrenched, declared policy and practice.

### **C. MISSILES, MISSILE DEFENSES and SPACE SECURITY**

10. When the DPRK conducted seven ballistic missile tests in July 2006, the Security Council condemned them, affirming “that such launches jeopardize peace, stability and security in the region and beyond, particularly in light of the DPRK’s claim that it has developed nuclear weapons” (SC/Res/1695). Little noticed was that the United States and India conducted tests around the same time, and a few months later France fired its new submarine-launched long-range missile over the Atlantic in its first experimental flight.

11. Indeed, ballistic missile tests provide a window into the ongoing world of missile maintenance and development. From June 2004 to September 2006, the United States conducted 11 tests of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and one test of a submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM). During the same period, Russia conducted seven tests of ICBMs and 11 tests of SLBMs; China conducted three tests of ICBMs and two of SLBMs; India performed about a dozen tests of short (less than 1,000 kilometers) and medium (1,000 – 3,000 km) range missiles; Pakistan carried out nine tests of short- and medium-range



missiles; and Iran performed several tests of a medium-range missile. Only the five NPT nuclear weapon states have ICBMs and SLBMs with a range of over 5,500 km. As of 2005, there were six additional countries with missiles over a range of 1,000 km: India, Iran, Israel, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the DPRK. It does not appear that there is a near-term trend toward more countries developing or acquiring such missiles. At least another 19 countries have short-range ballistic missiles. It is estimated that about 70 have cruise missiles, many for more easily accomplished anti-ship missions. Only three countries deploy nuclear cruise missiles, France, Russia and the United States; China, Pakistan and possibly Israel have them under development.

12. Efforts are made to restrict the spread of missile-related technology through export controls under the Missile Technology Control Regime, and to provide for confidence-building measures, such as pre-launch notification, under the Hague Code of Conduct. However, aside from US-Russian agreements and the NPT disarmament obligation applying, per the preamble, to “nuclear weapons and the *means of their delivery*,” there are no treaty constraints on the acquisition, development and deployment of missiles. At the Reykjavik summit, Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev considered proposals for global elimination of ballistic missiles. The proposals were revisited after the end of the Cold War, for instance in the Zero Ballistic Missiles concept put forward in 1993 by the Federation of American Scientists and supported by Paul Nitze and others. In 1996, the Canberra Commission forcefully took up this topic, calling for a “global treaty controlling longer range ballistic missiles” and, as an interim step, exploration of a missile flight test ban. The Commission explained that such a treaty would “increase the confidence of nuclear weapon states that nuclear disarmament will not damage their security” and “avoid the potential destabilizing effect of ballistic missile defense systems.” But these and similar proposals have gone nowhere.

13. In this context, the United States in particular has relied on two interrelated military strategies: first, the development and deployment of advanced delivery systems capable of preemptively taking out, among other things, an enemy’s missiles; and second, development and deployment of missile defenses, against both short-range and longer-range ballistic missiles, that can work in tandem with preemptive strikes. Missile defense has benefited from its intuitive appeal (there must be some way within national control to end vulnerability to devastation!), and also from the constant drumbeat about “rogue states” – despite the fact that there are only a handful of states, aside from the nuclear weapon states, that possess or seek to acquire longer-range missiles.

14. Generally there is an intensified drive to develop and deploy missile defense systems, in Europe and elsewhere. The Declaration of the November 2006 NATO Riga Summit notes “the signature of the first major contract for a NATO Active Layered Theatre Ballistic Missile Defense system which is a major step towards improving the protection of deployed NATO forces.” It also welcomes the completion of a “Missile Defense Feasibility Study” and “tasked continued work on the political and military implications of missile defense for the Alliance.” Several NATO member states, and European companies, are developing missile defense systems in cooperation with the United States, as are non-NATO states including the Republic of Korea, Japan, Australia and Israel. India recently tested a system designed to intercept short and medium-range missiles. All of this activity is underway despite the fact that missile defense still is not a proven technology. Thus the US ground-based missile defense system deployed in Alaska and California has yet to be tested in operationally realistic conditions.

15. This is a trend that deserves the closest attention because of its potentially negative impacts on reduction and elimination of nuclear forces. That potential has been dramatically illustrated by the controversy over the US plan to deploy a missile defense system, ostensibly to counter an emerging Iranian capability, in Poland (interceptors) and the Czech Republic (radar installation). Negotiations are underway between the Bush administration and the Polish and Czech governments. To build public support, the two European governments reportedly would like NATO backing for the plan. The US Congress has required that the interceptors be demonstrated by realistic tests and declined to fund construction in the two countries in 2008, but continued to fund the project otherwise. The United States reportedly also will seek to place a radar station in southeastern Europe.

16. Russia has objected strenuously to the plan. It contends that the system could be used against its ICBMs and thus would undermine strategic stability. The concern is that, if expanded beyond the 10 interceptors now planned, the system could make a preemptive strike theoretically more possible because it would be backed by missile defenses. The United States denies the Russian contention, but some non-governmental analysts have supported the Russian view. The controversy contributed to Russia's decision to "suspend" implementation of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, and has prompted belligerent statements by Russian officials, *e.g.* that Russia would target the missile defense sites.

17. The Practical Steps adopted in 2000 provide for the preservation and strengthening of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. Nonetheless, the United States subsequently withdrew from the treaty. The negative consequences of that step are now beginning to be felt. It is crucial that renewed attention be devoted to the question of missiles and missile defenses. As an immediate matter, at a minimum a way can and must be found to meet Russian concerns about the plan for a US missile defense system based in Europe; optimally, the plan would be cancelled. More broadly, the basic premise of the ABM Treaty remains valid. Given ongoing reliance on nuclear forces, missile defenses can undermine stability and prevent reduction and elimination of the forces. Accordingly, limits on missile defenses need to be reinstated. The real defense against nuclear-armed missiles is agreements to eliminate them where they exist and to prevent their installation in additional countries. Thus the control of missiles as well as missile defenses, in US-Russian, regional, and global settings, needs to be put back on the international agenda.

18. Missile control is feasible, as explained, for example, by *Beyond Missile Defense*, a 2002 briefing paper of the International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation. It could begin with a ban on testing of missiles and anti-missile missiles whose verification would be relatively straightforward. As for reduction and elimination of existing missiles, the US-Soviet/Russian arms control experience shows that the deployment and storage of missiles can be monitored by satellite, and their destruction per agreement can be verified by on-site inspection. Development of missiles would be severely hampered or prevented by the flight test ban. Also, much of infrastructure for missile development – *e.g.*, production facilities, test ranges, missile containers – is susceptible to monitoring. While challenging, on-site monitoring of space rocket programs can minimize the risk that they will contribute to ballistic missile development.

19. Recently there has been resumed discussion of a proposal dating back to 1991, globalization of the US-Russian Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty. In October 2007, Russia and the United States jointly called "on all interested countries to discuss the possibility of imparting a global character to this important

regime through the renunciation of ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges between 500 and 5,500 kilometers, leading to the destruction of any such missiles, and the cessation of associated programs.” In February 2008, Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov said that some states were not prepared to support the initiative, but that Russia would like to continue searching for solutions.

20. Control of missiles and missile defenses implicates to some degree proposals to prevent the use of space as a platform for anti-satellite, anti-missile and air- and ground-strike systems. Most directly, this is because space-based anti-missile systems could be one part of an architecture of missile defense also composed of air-, ground- and sea-based systems, as US proponents of missile defense have long argued going back to Edward Teller’s 1980s vision/nightmare of a space-based “nuclear-pumped X-ray laser.” However, placing weapons-related systems in space for any purpose is extremely expensive, and making the systems both effective and defensible is very technically challenging. Also, for many purposes, ground- or air-based systems are more effective and certainly cheaper. Notably, destruction of satellites using ground or sea-based missiles or anti-missiles has been demonstrated by the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1980s, and more recently by China and again the United States.

21. The United States vigorously resists pressure to expand limitations on the placement of weapons-related systems in space, most recently firmly rejecting a “draft treaty” introduced by Russia and China in February 2008 with some fanfare at the Conference on Disarmament. However, it appears that what might be feasible in the next 10-15 years is deployment of space-based anti-satellite systems, along with systems for protecting satellites (*e.g.*, enhancing maneuverability, disabling approaching objects). Whether the United States or other countries would actually choose this course of action is another matter; it could and should be viewed as making more vulnerable highly prized assets, satellites that serve a wide array of crucial functions, commercial, public and military. Deployment of space-based anti-missile systems does not seem to be on the near-term horizon.

22. Nonetheless, whatever the likelihood or timeframe or nature of “weaponization” of space, negotiating a space security instrument that would prevent that outcome is extremely desirable. In addition to its own general peace-enhancing, resource-saving effects, it would contribute to making limits on ground-, sea- and air-based missile defenses more acceptable. Space would be ruled out as a platform for missile defenses, and a ban on striking space objects from the ground and air would reinforce limitations on missile defenses and missiles or provide an incentive for their adoption. A space security instrument would also create an environment more conducive to the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons and their associated delivery systems, especially missiles. States may be reluctant to give up their nuclear weapons if they view them as an equalizer against a United States that has amplified its superiority in non-nuclear armaments with space-based strike capabilities, or may one day do so.

## **D. PROGRAMS FOR THE ABOLITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

23. In October 2006, a conference was held at the Hoover Institution on the occasion of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Reykjavik Summit. The conference generated an initiative by former top US officials to operationalize in today’s world the vision of Reagan and Gorbachev, and the promise of the NPT, of a

nuclear weapons-free world. In an op-ed published in the Wall Street Journal in January 2007, Shultz, Perry, Kissinger and Nunn wrote that “first and foremost is intensive work with leaders of the countries in possession of nuclear weapons to turn the goal of a world without nuclear weapons into a joint enterprise.” In that op-ed and a second one a year later, they identified a number of steps for leaders to agree upon, generally mapping those supported in UN and NPT contexts by non-nuclear weapon states and by NGOs including MPI. A second conference was held at the Hoover Institution in October 2007, and a third was organized by the Norwegian government, the Nuclear Threat Initiative and the Hoover Institution in Oslo in February 2008.

24. What is most distinctive about the Hoover program is the framing of well-known steps within the goal of abolition of nuclear weapons. Given its proponents, the initiative forever puts to rest the assertion that being for the abolition of nuclear weapons is unrealistic. In the United States, it has freed think tanks and NGOs devoted to influencing policy in Washington to speak more forcefully. It has been approvingly cited by governments, most recently in February 2008 by German Minister of Foreign Affairs Frank-Walter Steinmeier in an important speech at the Munich Security Conference and by Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov in his statement to the Conference on Disarmament. It has had a stimulating effect on UK policy, not immediately affecting, however, its program to replace the Trident nuclear weapons system.

25. In June 2007, UK Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Margaret Beckett endorsed the first Wall Street Journal op-ed. In January 2008, Prime Minister Gordon Brown, in a speech in Delhi, pledged “that in the run-up to the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in 2010 we will be at the forefront of the international campaign to accelerate disarmament amongst possessor states, to prevent proliferation to new states and to ultimately achieve a world that is free from nuclear weapons.” In February 2008 at the Conference on Disarmament, UK Secretary of State for Defense Des Browne stated that the United Kingdom “is willing to host a technical conference of P5 nuclear laboratories on the verification of nuclear disarmament before the next NPT Review Conference in 2010.” The United Kingdom also continues longstanding research into verification of warhead dismantlement and related matters and to that end is engaged in a technical cooperation initiative with several Norwegian defense laboratories and VERTIC, a London-based NGO. Further, it is contributing to a study to be completed this year of the political and technical requirements for a nuclear weapons-free world by the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

26. The Hoover program is focused on developing a political consensus, especially in the United States and other nuclear weapon states, on the necessity of implementing manifestly practical measures already supported by most governments as well as by MPI and other NGOs. It does not address the elimination of nuclear weapons within a time bound framework considered by Reagan and Gorbachev, nor specific procedural steps like a world summit or a General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament. Nor does it venture into areas outside the existing agenda, for example global control of missiles or missile defenses. In calling for bilateral or collective measures, the program leaves the impression that, absent agreements or coordination, little immediate action is implied by the call for movement toward a nuclear weapons-free world. There is no urging of unilateral steps or restraint by the United States or other nuclear weapon states, to reduce arsenals, refrain from warhead or delivery system modernization, change use and targeting policies, or reduce nuclear weapons infrastructure.

27. Beginning in the 1960s, US nuclear weapons policy has had three pillars, deterrence, non-proliferation and arms control. Since 2000, it is the first pillar, deterrence, that has received by far the most emphasis, reinforced by doctrines of military counter-proliferation, even including possible use of nuclear weapons. Apart from its invocation of the vision of a nuclear weapons-free world, the Hoover program thus far has emphasized practical measures whose implementation would shore up the pillars of non-proliferation and arms control. However, the need for progress through credible steps toward elimination must not be marginalized. In the absence of such progress, it may not be possible to manage the instability now being experienced by an inherently unstable two-class world.

28. A contrasting program for the abolition of nuclear weapons calls for negotiation of a convention prohibiting and eliminating nuclear weapons similar to that in force for chemical weapons. An annually adopted General Assembly resolution, “Follow-up to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*,” first underlines “the unanimous conclusion of the International Court of Justice that there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control.” It then calls “upon all States immediately to fulfill that obligation by commencing multilateral negotiations leading to an early conclusion of a nuclear weapons convention prohibiting the development, production, testing, deployment, stockpiling, transfer, threat or use of nuclear weapons and providing for their elimination.”

29. In 2007, the resolution (GA/62/39) was approved by a vote of 127 to 27, with 27 abstentions. The abstentions and negative votes largely came from countries aligned with the Western nuclear powers. Japan explained its abstention on the ground that negotiation of a convention is “premature,” an explanation that probably would be offered by other states that abstained or voted no. Members of the New Agenda Coalition voted for the resolution, as did China, India and Pakistan. Despite the studied lack of interest by the other nuclear weapon states, the call for a convention is gaining attention. In a February 2008 speech, Sergio Duarte, UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, described “the refusal to negotiate or discuss even the outlines of a nuclear-weapons convention” as “contrary to the cause of disarmament.”

30. In December 2007, Costa Rica and Malaysia requested the UN Secretary-General to circulate the updated Model Nuclear Weapons Convention as a document of the General Assembly (A/62/650). They explained that it is a “useful tool in the exploration, development, negotiation and achievement” of a convention or a package of instruments establishing a nuclear weapons-free world. The updated model convention is contained in *Securing Our Survival: The Case for a Nuclear Weapons Convention*, released in 2007 by International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms and the International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation. The book examines the desirability and feasibility of nuclear disarmament in the context of

the changed. global security dynamics since the model convention was first circulated in 1997. Whether or not the political will is summoned in the near future to negotiate the elimination of nuclear weapons, it is undoubtedly true that all measures now under active consideration – the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty is a very good example – must be designed and negotiated with a view to their place in the architecture of a nuclear weapons-free world. The model convention is an important contribution to this work.

## **E. CONCLUSION**

**31. The Middle Powers Initiative believes that a crucial route to achieving global security is middle power leadership. Middle power countries can exercise such leadership through individual initiatives, such as Norway's work with the United Kingdom on verification of nuclear disarmament and its hosting of the recent Oslo conference, and Canada's establishment of the Centre for Treaty Compliance. But it also must be exercised collectively, by bringing joint middle power influence to bear in NPT, UN and NATO contexts. In so doing, middle powers can be assured that they have public opinion behind them. Measures supported by middle powers enjoy very broad support around the world, as indeed does nuclear disarmament. For example, a 2007 WorldPublicOpinion.org poll found that large majorities of Americans and Russians favor taking nuclear weapons off high alert, sharply cutting their numbers, banning the production of weapons-grade nuclear material, and, once advanced methods of verification are established, undertaking their elimination. Developments since the failed 2005 NPT Review Conference, among them the constructive tone of discussions at the 2007 NPT PrepCom and the renewed attention to nuclear disarmament by opinion leaders, including presidential candidates, in the United States, signal that the 2010 Review Conference will provide an opening to set the world on a course to the global elimination of nuclear weapons. Middle powers must seize this opportunity.**

**ENDORSEMENTS OF THE MIDDLE POWERS INITIATIVE  
AND THE ARTICLE VI FORUM**

*“MPI has developed effective relationships with middle power Governments and with non-governmental organizations and there is a close working relationship with the New Agenda Coalition. I commend the MPI for its work over the past decade to revitalize nuclear disarmament and to identify areas where consensual progress is possible and to shape practical steps to this end. It is a model of how of like-minded governments and civil society experts can move the nuclear disarmament agenda forward.”*

**- H.E Mr. Dermot Ahern, T.D., Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland**

*“I am very proud to be a part o the Middle Powers Initiative. I am on the Advisory Board of the Global Security Institute... I try to share whatever political capital comes from my former positions to be involved... but I recognize that my ability to do that rests very much on the kinds of work that people do around this table.”*

**- The Right Honourable Kim Campbell, P.C., Q.C., Secretary-General of the Club of Madrid, former Prime Minister of Canada**

*“I am very much in favor of what you are doing, trying to revitalize the NPT. I’m also very much in favor that you try to do this with the Middle Powers Initiative, saying, listen, we cannot afford to assume that the P5 will do everything for us and simply wait until they take action. You have to organize it.”*

**- The Right Honourable Ruud Lubbers, former Prime Minister of the Netherlands**

*“[The Article VI Forum] is a pilgrimage to the sources of the moral basis of what we do at the United Nations... a pilgrimage to the sources of decency. These meetings have provided us all with the possibility to exchange views... the possibility to reaffirm our faith in the long term goal of a world free of nuclear weapons. For this, I and my country are very thankful, and we encourage you to keep on the same way and the same path.”*

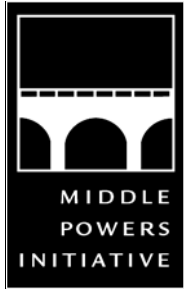
**- H.E. Mr. Alfredo Labbé, Deputy Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations**

*“Something must rise from the ashes of the NPT Review and I want to thank you, Senator Roche, and the Middle Powers Initiative for the Article VI Forum. There is some hope.”*

**- Hon. Marian Hobbs, MP, former New Zealand Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control**

*“To be convincing to your superiors, you need to have very good arguments. I must say that I have been very inspired. I have used information from our Forum meetings in the past and I am continuing to do so. These gatherings certainly pay off.”*

**- H.E. Mr. Johannes C. Landman, Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the United Nations in Geneva**



## MIDDLE POWERS INITIATIVE

[www.middlepowers.org](http://www.middlepowers.org)

A program of the Global Security Institute

Through the Middle Powers Initiative, seven international non-governmental organizations work primarily with “middle power” governments to encourage and educate the nuclear weapon states to take immediate practical steps that reduce nuclear dangers, and commence negotiations to eliminate nuclear weapons. MPI is guided by an International Steering Committee chaired by Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C., former Canadian Disarmament Ambassador.

Middle power countries are politically and economically significant, internationally respected countries that have renounced the nuclear arms race, a standing that gives them significant political credibility.

MPI, which started in 1998, is widely regarded in the international arena as a highly effective leader in promoting practical steps toward the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The work of MPI includes:

- a) **Delegations** to educate and influence high-level policy makers such as Foreign, Defense and Prime Ministers, and Presidents. Delegations focus on leaders who have great impact on nuclear weapon policy making, both domestically and internationally. MPI Delegations are planned to coincide with significant political events such as the NPT Review Conferences and their preparatory meetings, NATO and other summits;
- b) **Strategy Consultations**, which serve as the “off the record” interventions designed to provide a working environment in which ambassadors, diplomats, experts, and policy makers can come together in an informal setting at pivotal opportunities, in order to complement the ongoing treaty negotiations at various forums such as the United Nations or the European Parliament; and
- c) **Publications**, such as Briefing Papers, that examine whether or not the nuclear abolition agenda is progressing and make corresponding recommendations to governments and activists. MPI Briefing Papers serve as intellectual catalysts for the MPI Delegations and MPI Strategy Consultations, and are widely read.



## GLOBAL SECURITY INSTITUTE

[www.gs institute.org](http://www.gs institute.org)

Promoting security for all through the elimination of nuclear weapons

The Global Security Institute, founded by Senator Alan Cranston (1914-2000), has developed an exceptional team that includes former heads of state and government, distinguished diplomats, effective politicians, committed celebrities, religious leaders, Nobel Peace Laureates and concerned citizens. This team works to achieve incremental steps that enhance security and lead to the global elimination of nuclear weapons. GSI works through four result-oriented program areas that target specific influential constituencies.