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Middle Powers Initiative Report

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The Dublin Article VI Forum

NPT: Pathfinder to a Nuclear Weapons-Free World

A summary of the consultation held in Dublin, Ireland,
on March 26-28, 2008

April 2008

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Through the Middle Powers Initiative, eight international non-governmental organizations (Albert Schweitzer Institute, 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.

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The Dublin Article VI Forum

NPT: Pathfinder to a Nuclear Weapons-Free World

A summary of the consultation held at Dublin Castle, Dublin, Ireland, on March 26-28, 2008, with the support of the Government of Ireland

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 weapon; and strategies for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The opening session of the Article VI Forum featured remarks by the **Hon. Douglas Roche**, the Chairman of MPI, Irish **Foreign Minister Dermot Ahern**, and **Baroness Shirley Williams**. 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. 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.

Senator 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. 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.

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... 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.”

The first panel focused on the issues of *Reducing and De-Alerting Strategic Forces*. Effective, sustainable nuclear disarmament requires, as **Dr. Rebecca Johnson** asserted, quantitative reductions as well as qualitative issues of use and doctrine. These issues are “absolutely, critically connected,” Dr. Johnson said. She focused on operational readiness and nuclear weapons’ role in security doctrine. In particular

she discussed General Assembly resolution A/GA/62/36—on reducing operational readiness—and the recommendations of the Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) Commission which called for assurances against use. Dr. Johnson argued that while these qualitative reductions are welcome, they remain insufficient solutions to the threat of nuclear weapons use. Any role for nuclear weapons in security policy, even if strictly limited to retaliation, retains some element of a moral, ethical, political and/or legal acceptance of their use. Like biological and chemical weapons, we must aim to outlaw nuclear weapons entirely.

The Belfer Center's **Dr. Steven Miller** provided an illustrative review of the past two decades of arms control achievements, obstacles, opportunities and failures, starting with the Reykjavik talks in the mid-1980s. In sum, the arms control record of the past twenty-five years is mixed, a picture of stunning creativity—attributed to, *inter alia*, Presidents Reagan, Gorbachev and George H.W. Bush—and grim repercussions. The future of arms control is similarly mixed. We have a profound opportunity presented by the implications of the *Wall Street Journal* op-eds, which “give cover to a more ambitious agenda than what was previously possible.” We also have our path forward already paved, he said, by returning to the still-relevant, robust agenda that remains unfulfilled, ready to be seized on January 20, 2009.

Dr. Jürgen Scheffran, Dr. Philip Coyle, and Mr. Jan Kavan led a discussion examining the linkages between *Missiles, missile defense systems, and space weapons*, and nuclear weapons. It was noted that contained within the preamble of the NPT was a commitment by all state parties to eliminate the delivery systems for nuclear weapons, which includes ballistic missiles. Much of the discussion centered on the US's plans 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. Dr. Coyle said the US ballistic missile defense system will be ineffective without any real defensive capacity. He and Dr. Scheffran saw these systems as “the first path” to build a capacity to launch attacks from space. 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.

Mr. Kavan, a former foreign minister of the Czech Republic and now an opponent of the plans to place a US missile defense system in his country, said “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.”

The panelists on *Towards the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons* dealt with both the short- and long-term strategies for achieving elimination. **Ambassador Thomas Graham**, the Chairman of the Bipartisan Security Group (BSG), detailed the genesis of and the strategy behind the Hoover Institute Initiative. He linked the vision articulated by Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev at Reykjavik to the 2007 *Wall Street Journal* op-ed that served as the impetus for the initiative. He said one element of the NPT bargain – disarmament by the nuclear weapon states – “appears to have been largely abandoned” and now the other side of the bargain – non-proliferation – is endangered. Getting back to the vision of Reykjavik has to start with understanding between the United States and Russia to begin the process of deep cuts.

Ambassador Graham quoted the 2008 *WSJ* op-ed's analogy 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."



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, Chairman of the Second Session of the NPT Preparatory Committee.

Mr. Alyn Ware, the Global Coordinator of Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND), employed the same quote comparing the goal of a nuclear weapons-free world to the top of a mountain in his presentation on the Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC). Building on the International Court of Justice finding that "there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith," negotiations on nuclear disarmament and various studies, including the WMD Commission Report, that make the case for a convention, Mr. Ware detailed the features of the draft NWC, including provisions for national implementation, schedules for dismantlement and destruction, phases for negotiations of entry-into-force, and provisions for settling compliance disputes.

Ms. Uta Zapf, MP from Germany, 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 effect change in government policy. For NATO countries, one area where parliamentarians can influence strategy is on nuclear-sharing policies. Ms. Zapf, who is a co-president of PNND, said the network must take a more active role in promoting discussions among parliamentarians on nuclear issues.

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 (62/36) adopted in 2007 that attracted overwhelming support for 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:

- **Dr. John Burroughs** of International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA) discussed the role of the International Court of Justice’s 1996 advisory opinion and the possibility of returning to the Court for an opinion on “good faith” as it is used in the NPT.
- **Ms. Allison Kelly**, the 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 weapons-free zones, and treaties banning the production of fissile material and nuclear testing.
- International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War’s (IPPNW) **Ms. Xanthe Hall** presented the powerful conclusions of a recent study on the effects of a limited nuclear exchange 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. 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, Ms. Hall added.
- **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—Ambassador Labbé asserted that we are in “dire need” for another such explosive movement forward.
- **Mr. 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 5 principles and 10 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 discussed the development of the *Vision for 2020* campaign of the growing, global network of mayors committed to the abolition of nuclear weapons. 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.

In a luncheon keynote address, UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, **Mr. Sergio Duarte**, argued that failure to achieve nuclear disarmament was not due to a lack of vision or concrete proposals – both “exist in abundance” – but from a lack of political will, “specifically, a firm commitment by the leaders of our world to make the achievement of global disarmament a high priority.” He said 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.”

In the concluding sessions, **Mr. Tariq Rauf** of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) 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. Jonathan Granoff, the President of the Global Security Institute, spoke of new opportunities opening, citing in particular the Hoover Institute 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. This is a global issue, not 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.

The final report of the Dublin Article VI Forum will be published in June 2008.

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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.



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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.