

CONFERENCE REPORT:

REACHING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN STRENGTHENING THE NPT

STOCKHOLM 2009



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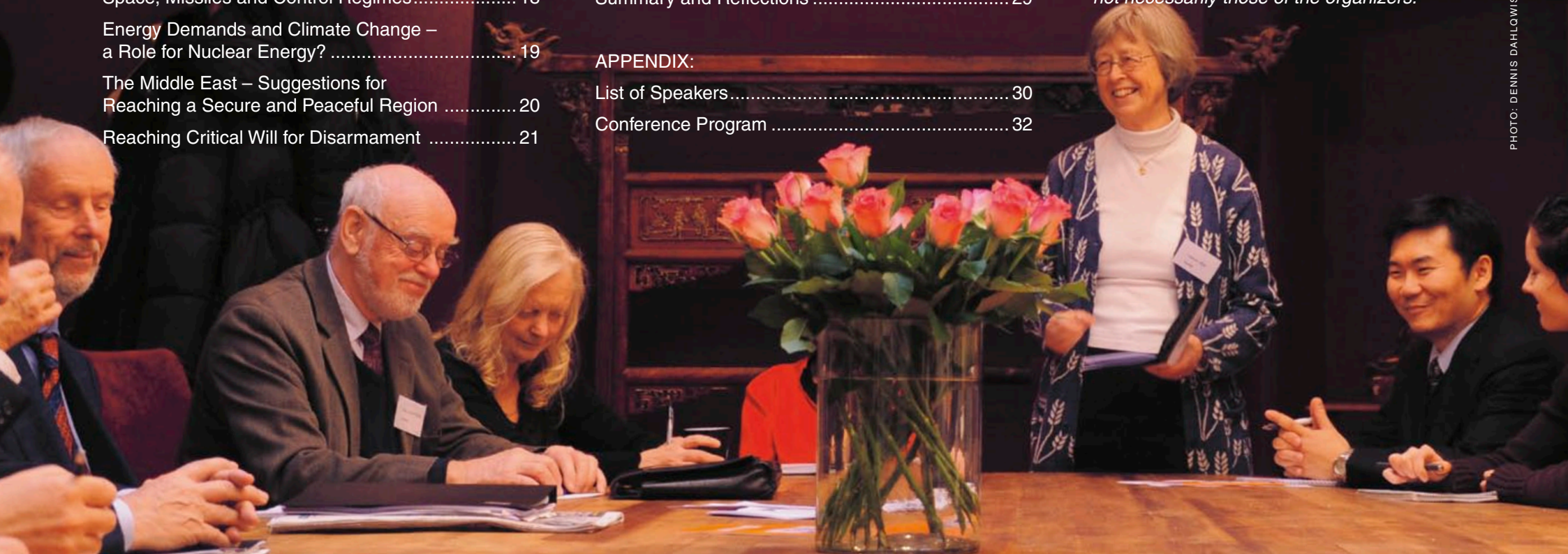


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For those who believe in progress

JOSEFIN LIND | SWEDISH PHYSICIANS FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR

6-8 of November 2009 the Swedish Network for Nuclear Disarmament, in co-operation with several organizations, held an international conference on Nuclear Disarmament in Stockholm, Sweden. The purpose of the conference was to increase public interest in nuclear disarmament and to support and inspire the existing movement against nuclear weapons that acts on national and international levels.

More than 300 women and men from 30 countries participated in the conference, and we are convinced that the conference served as an inspiration for both participants and speakers. With retrospect we can see several positive and productive initiatives as concrete results of the conference. Among other things, the proposal for a Nuclear Abolition Day on the 5th of June was widely discussed during the conference. Work is already done to co-ordinate 5th of June events around the world in order to address the question of Nuclear Abolishment.

In this conference report you will find summaries and analysis of discussions that took place during the conference. We hope that this report is useful for people who participated, for those who could not participate, and for those who want to know more about civil society's visions and demands for the 2010 NPT Review Conference.

The Swedish Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, in their capacity of principal of the Swedish Network for Nuclear Disarmament, thanks everybody who made this conference a big success. Enjoy your reading!

AN OPEN WINDOW FOR REACHING ZERO

EMMA ROSENGREN | CONFERENCE COORDINATOR SWEDISH NETWORK FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

During the three days of the conference the words “open window” were frequently repeated. For many of us who participated, those words are still in our heads as if they were the refrain of a popular song. In fact, those words also symbolize the atmosphere of the conference, featuring a great number of participants and experts from different parts of the world.

The open window mentality also influenced many speakers. A lot of the positive tones seem to have their origins in the new US administration and the recently improved climate for international diplomacy. Lena Hjelm Wallén, former Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, emphasized that “today we can welcome the window of opportunity which has been opened most recently. The preconditions for the next NPT Review Conference are by far much lighter than some years ago. President Barack Obama has shown his personal engagement in disarmament and expressed his ambition that the objective should be a world free from nuclear weapons.” Rebecca Johnson of Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy encouraged us to follow up on the positive tones

that are being articulated by state representatives; “Now that Presidents and Prime Ministers all over the world are expressing their support for the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons, it is time to work out in earnest how to turn this vision into reality, not in some long distant future, but in our lifetimes. This is possible, practical and, I argue, necessary and urgent!”

However, experts and participants were likewise concerned that a lot must be improved, and that action is urgently needed in order to keep the window open. Ray Acheson of Reaching Critical Will, a project of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, summarized; “[e]veryone seems to agree that we need to act now, before the Review Conference. This is critical. We agree that we have to act at many levels—we need education campaigns for people in the streets and for politicians and decision-makers. We need direct actions, protests, coordinated visibility. We need to engage parliamentarians, mayors, and other elected individuals. Everyone seems to agree we need coordinated strategy among all these elements. But how do we link all these efforts? Do we have a unifying message?” In asking that, Ms Acheson pinpointed the very reason for this conference: what is the unified message of civil society organizations to world leaders and decision makers? How can we mobilize our criticism and support together, in order to advance the nuclear disarmament agenda – leading to nuclear abolition.

The Role of Nuclear Weapons

One of the main messages of the conference was the importance of challenging traditional realist concepts of security politics, particularly that military dominance and military security are not appropriate approaches to meeting the challenges the world faces today. Hence, the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines needs to be diminished. According to Middle Powers Initiative (MPI) Chair Ambassador Henrik Salander, this notion now influences previous defenders of the traditional definitions; “[a]fter the Prague speech and the Security Council Summit, there’s the beginning of a more widespread realization that nuclear weapons create insecurity rather than security and that reliance on them has to be phased out.” Stressing the humanitarian dimension of security and the new era of complex interdependence, Ban All Nukes generation (BANg) coordinator Nina Eisenhardt raised the “question of security for whom, when governments are arguing that weapons will provide security. There is a big difference between military security and human security and this must be further stressed. The concept of military security is not understandable for us who grew up without experiencing the cold war and having, thanks to the globalization and technical improvements, contacts and friends all over the world.” Clearly, the link between nuclear weapons and national security is deeply rooted in the realist assumption about military strength, which influences the



Conference coordinator Emma Rosengren is currently working on disarmament issues with the Swedish Section of Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom.

nuclear reliance in today's security politics. Therefore, it is critical to point out what national security really means. This was further explained by Ray Acheson, who argued that "what [national security] means is security for the elite, technologically-proficient classes in the state. The 'national interest', as it is typically invoked in this sense, does not refer to the well-being of the general population but of those managing the military-industrial-academic complex." According to her, "the discourse of 'national security' needs to be dismantled", and the "idea that nuclear weapons do not protect anyone except the elite is a really powerful argument for their elimination", she said.

Challenging Deterrence

The core element of the realist security concept is the reliance on deterrence. Even though the theory has been widely challenged, especially by recent feminist critique of traditional International Relations literature, the belief in deterrence is still going strong. Professor Jozef Goldblat was one of the experts who questioned the deterrence approach, saying that "[a]lthough there is no evidence that the existence of nuclear weapons and the declared readiness to use them have prevented the outbreak of another world conflict, there is a fairly widespread belief that nuclear deterrence helped to maintain peace over several decades." Mr. Goldblat also noted that "[i]t is [...] surprising that the strategic doctrines, those concerning the use of nuclear weapons, remain basically unchanged" in the new post Cold War international political climate.

"the idea that nuclear weapons do not protect anyone except the elite is a really powerful argument for their elimination"

Bringing an ethical dimension into the discussion on deterrence, John Loretz of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) suggested that "[r]ather than argue about whether deterrence 'works' or not, let's insist that threatening another state with the total destruction of its cities and its economy, not to men-

tion the mass murder of its population and the poisoning of its environment, is neither acceptable nor effective as a policy for 'protecting' one's own people." According to him, the time has come to let go of the old fashioned deterrence doctrine and to replace it with effective policies protecting the lives of human beings and the environment.

Rule of Law and Legal Reform

The legal aspects of nuclear disarmament were given significant attention in particular on the second day of the conference. It was clear to the audience that international law and disarmament are complicated – but not compatible – concepts. After having presented an

important overview of the legal dimension of nuclear disarmament, Former Under Secretary-General for Legal Affairs and the Legal Counsel of the United Nations Ambassador Hans Corell emphasized that "the rule of law is a determining factor in the future. The rule of law, human rights and democracy are preconditions for international peace and security." In a similar way, United Nations High Representative for Disarmament Affairs H.E Sergio Duarte confirmed his belief in the rule of law, while also noting that international law is not constant but can be influenced and improved by, for example, non state actors; "I believe that civil society can do a lot to strengthen the rule of law in disarmament. This includes new efforts to achieve the early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty [CTBT], and to commence negotiations on a fissile material treaty [FMCT] at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva."

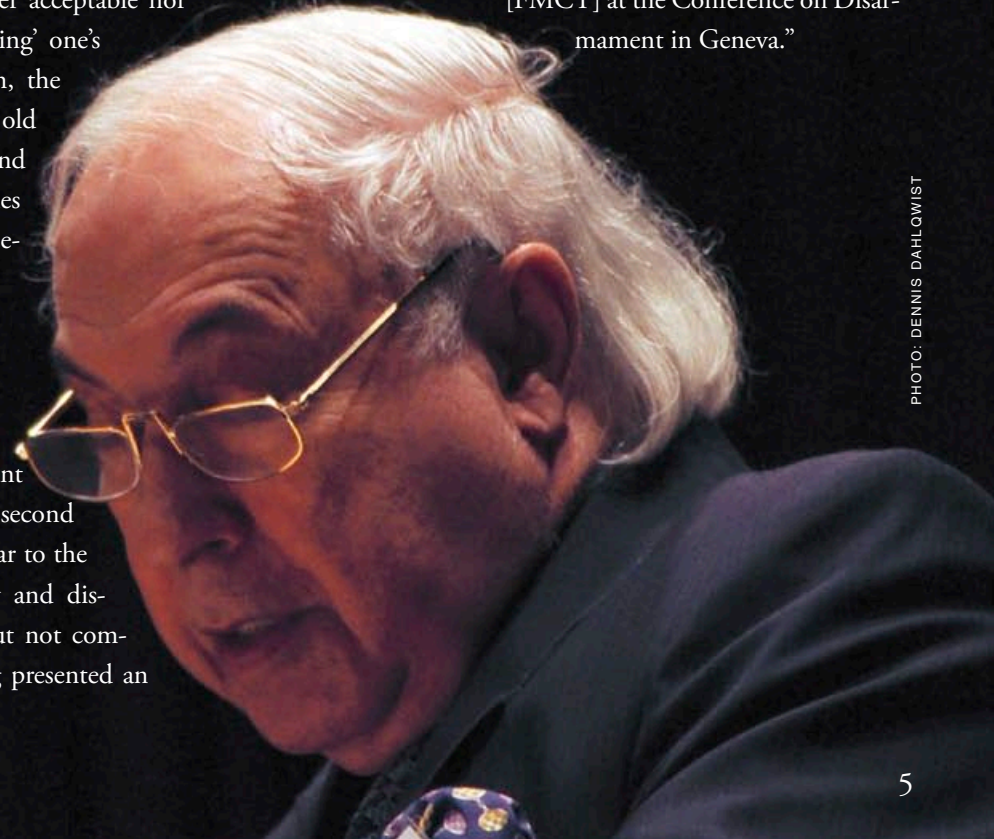


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Nuclear testing and fissile material

It is a fact that nuclear weapons continue to threaten people's lives as long as they exist, or as John Loretz put it; "nuclear weapons have always been — and continue to be — the best argument against nuclear weapons". One of the often ignored consequences of nuclear weapons is their impact in regions where nuclear tests have taken place. Ms. Sandra Fong of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, who lives in Fiji, explained that "[i]t is no news that nuclear weapon states ignored the health and environmental impacts of the tests and despite the end of nuclear testing and the establishment of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty in 1998, people in these islands have been displaced with many facing serious health issues and continue to live in radioactive contaminated environments." As a solution to the problem of nuclear testing, many speakers highlighted the urgency of bringing the CTBT into force. Among others, Dr Hans Blix, chair of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (WMDC), called for "[t]he ending of all nuclear weapons tests by bringing the CTBT into force. China that has always said it intends to ratify the treaty could do the test ban a great service by now going ahead with its ratification. Such action might help pushing the process in the US and other states. And why should not Israel and Iran go ahead?" However, some speakers emphasized the risk of putting too much weight in getting the CTBT ratified at any cost. Ray Acheson argued that "[t]he CTBT is not worth the price of modernisation, undermined as it is by technological advances. The continuation of inertial confinement fusion and subcritical tests for warhead purposes circumvent the CTBT's long-held purpose of capping vertical as well as horizontal proliferation."



During the conference Hans Blix was awarded the title of 'UN friend of the year' by the United Nations Association of Sweden.

PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLQWIST

Many speakers also emphasized the importance of getting rid of the stalemate that has characterized the Conference on Disarmament (CD) for a decade, and to start negotiations on a FMCT. Meanwhile, it is important to make sure that the negotiation of a FMCT, as well as the CTBT, does not prevent other steps to advance the disarmament agenda.

No use of Nuclear Weapons

No use of Nuclear Weapons was also mentioned by several speakers. For example, Dr Rebecca Johnson explained that "[i]n its landmark advisory opinion of July 1996, the ICJ found that in almost all situations the use of nuclear weapons would violate international humanitarian law. Declaring the use of nuclear weapons a crime against humanity would not eliminate nuclear dangers overnight, but would have major impact in taking nuclear weapons off the lustrous list of objects of political status and desire. They would then truly be treated as weapons of terror that no sane or civilized person would want or be able to use." However, like many other ex-

perts addressing the conference, Dr Johnson was more concerned about the concept of no first use. She argued that "[t]he adoption of no first use agreements would be compatible with second strike concepts of deterrence. By legitimizing the retaliatory use of nuclear weapons when deterrence fails, no first use could induce complacency and actually impede nuclear disarmament, keeping alive the dangerous illusion that some uses of nuclear weapons are okay. But any such retaliation would indiscriminately kill large numbers of civilians. It would amount to a bloodthirsty act of vengeance, not a rational means of defence." Thus, the no use policy should comprise all use, and not be restricted only to first use.

Nuclear Weapons Convention

Since the 1996 ICJ advisory opinion, the support for a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) has grown significantly over the years, and today, more organizations and more countries than ever support the idea of a NWC. With a great contribution from principal model NWC co-author Merav Datan, as well as from other experts,

many discussions covered diverse aspects of a possible legal framework prohibiting the development, testing, production, stockpiling, transfer, use and threat of use of nuclear weapons, as well as the production of fissile material suitable for making nuclear weapons.

H.E. Duarte confirmed his support for a NWC when referring the five point plan of the UN Secretary General; “From a global perspective, the best way to achieve this goal would be through negotiation of a nuclear weapon convention, or a framework of separate, mutually reinforcing instruments, as Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon proposed in his 24 October 2008 speech on disarmament. I know of no other way this goal can fully be achieved in a manner that is universal, transparent, irreversible, verifiable, and binding.” Ambassador Salander also spoke warmly about a NWC and emphasized the groundbreaking work of civil society organizations in promoting the same. Ray Acheson, John Loretz, Rebecca Johnson, Regina Hagen, Lena Helm Wallén and many others also pointed out the NWC as a cornerstone in future accomplishments, and Dr Johnson especially highlighted that even though governments might not feel comfortable referencing the nuclear weapons convention in their statements, they should be encouraged to at least “endorse the UN Secretary General’s five-point disarmament plan”, or they “could consider phrasing along the lines of the 2009 Chair’s (first) draft recommendations” as ways to mainstream the convention into governments references.

Disarmament versus non-proliferation

When talking about the NPT, the word balance is never far away. The three pillars of the NPT, whether problematic or not, are often referred to as being of equal importance thus needing equal attention. However, the discriminatory system

of Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) and Non Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS) embedded in the NPT has provoked a system of blaming and shaming on the sometimes bipolar diplomatic arena. Ambassador Salander spoke briefly on this contradiction, saying that “[t]he NWS regard non-proliferation as the decisive element, while the NNWS view disarmament as the neglected part of the bargain, generally speaking. The NWS’ rhetoric does normally not admit this stance, of course, while the NNWS point to the double standards of the NWS.” The discussion of balance is therefore often blurred, and the battle of the paragraphs leads to a deadlock. However, both NWS and NNWS do have obligations according to the NPT, obligations that need to be fulfilled.

The role of Nuclear Weapon States

The role of NWS and their obligations according to article VI was on the conference agenda several times. Mr Jan Lodal, co-author of the Foreign Affairs article *The Logic of Zero*, was one of many who mentioned the role of the two main NWS – US and Russia. According to Mr Lodal, the US should take a leading role in the disarmament process. Dr Blix also commented on US and Russian disarmament obligations, emphasizing the importance of “reduction of the stocks of nuclear weapons – now some 25.000. The process should start by the US and Russia that have by far the largest stocks. This is in fact taking place through the talks on a follow up treaty to the START 1. The process should expand to comprise all the other states that have nuclear weapons”. Thus, not only the US and Russia should decrease their nuclear arsenals, but other NWS also need to do the same.

One tricky player among the NWS, France, certainly continues to constitute one of the obstacles to reaching zero. Dominique Lalanne of Abolition 2000 argued that apart from the official blaming on countries such as



Rebecca Johnson – Founding Director and Editor of the Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy, UK.



Sergio Duarte from Brazil is the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs of the United Nations.



Susi Snyder – former Secretary General of Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, now serving as Programme Leader with IKV Pax Christi.



Jan Lodal – former President of the Atlantic Council of the United States 2005 - 2006, and previously served as Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy.



Henrik Salander – Swedish Ambassador and Chairperson of the Middle Powers Initiative.



Hase Agyeno – International Student Representative of IPPNW.

North Korea and Iran, national identity also influences nuclear politics in the country; “one of the reasons making it difficult to have an open discussion of the French attitude is the French view of national identity. Nuclear weapons are a legacy of General De Gaulle, and that reflects the end of World War II, and so nuclear weapons were and are still seen as the new way for France to be part of the international forum.

“...it is essential that contributions be in ‘good faith’... The question is: What is ‘good faith’”

Discussions with French officials could surprise you. It is often stated that nuclear weapons are a guarantee for peace: ‘the proof being that no war between nations happened in Europe since WWII, and secondly nuclear weapons are also a guarantee of independence’ officials say.” Thus, in order to reach the commitments according to Article VI of the NPT, rhetoric, mentalities and state behavior need to change simultaneously.

Modernization

Even if US-Russian bilateral negotiations succeed and the post-START agreement is a strong, legally binding treaty, concern was raised about ongoing modernization of arsenals even though their numbers are reduced. This is not only a problem when it comes to US and Russia. According to Ray Acheson, “[t]he US is by no means alone in wanting to maintain and modernize its nuclear arsenal. Britain has already made this clear. As proof of its commitment to nuclear disarmament in some far off



President of the Russian affiliation of IPPNW Sergei Kolesnikov (left) in discussion with UN high Representative for Disarmament Affairs Sergio Duarte.

PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLLOWIST

future, it has offered a plan to build only three new nuclear-armed submarines instead of four. China, France, and Russia are also modernizing their nuclear arsenals, as are India and Pakistan, and Israel. None will choose to be left behind.” Thus, when the NPT NWS choose to modernize their arsenals, they send out signals to states outside of the treaty to follow their lead.

Dominique Lalanne linked modernization to the spirit of good faith; “In the disarmament debate it is essential that contributions be in ‘good faith’. That is not only mentioned in the NPT, article VI, but also in the 1996 Statement of the ICJ. The question is: ‘What is ‘good faith’ and by what criteria are we to judge ‘good faith’? Is a modernization program compatible with good faith on disarmament issues?” According to Mr Lalanne the answer is clearly no; “the new M51 [...] missile provides possible new strategies for French deterrence, such as the possibility of targeting Beijing, the M51 range be-

ing 9000 km. The previous M45 missile had a range of “only” 6000 km, enabling the targeting of Moscow.” Hence, modernization of existing arsenals is not an act of good faith.

Operational Status

Lowering the operational status was also put forward as a strategy to reduce the danger of nuclear weapons. According to Ambassador Maj-Britt Theorin, “[t]o take nuclear weapons off alert will dramatically reduce the chance of an accidental or unauthorized nuclear weapons launch. All nuclear weapons must be taken off alert. This could in the first instance be adopted by the nuclear weapon states unilaterally. Separation of nuclear warheads from their delivery vehicles is a must and they should be placed far from each other and not easily be put together again. The physical separation of warheads from vehicles would strongly reinforce the gains achieved by taking nuclear forces off alert.” However, the separation of warheads cord

from delivery vehicles is by no means synonymous with disarmament, but rather a step to reduce the immediate risk of nuclear weapons being used by accident.

The role of Non Nuclear Weapon States

It is clear that the NWS have to live up to certain very important obligations according to Article VI of the NPT, but NNWS also have obligations. Ray Acheson argued that “many non-nuclear weapon states also have a role to play. Thirty non-nuclear weapon states shelter under the US nuclear umbrella.” Clearly, strategic and military alliances make the term NNWS a bit blurred.

NATO

NATO’s strategic concept and its reliance on nuclear weapons is an obstacle to disarmament. According to Ray Acheson, “removing nuclear sharing from NATO’s Strategic Concept, combined with removal of nuclear weapons from Europe, would be an important confidence-building measure and would likely facilitate bilateral dialogue that could lead to much deeper cuts in the US and Russian nuclear arsenals.” Similarly, Dr Blix emphasized that “[w]ithdrawing NATO nuclear weapons from Europe and a corresponding withdrawal of Russian nuclear weapons deeper into Russia – [is] a confidence building action.”

With the NATO strategic concept being revised in the near future, an opportunity has come for NNWS to change the cold war policy of the military alliance. Ambassador Salander spoke on the theme saying that “we advise middle powers to say clearly that ‘extended deterrence’ can’t justify an expansive role of nuclear weapons, or disregard commitments to a diminished role and security assurances. NATO non-nuclear members also have a big task, updating the NATO nucle-

ar doctrine and reconciling it with disarmament goals.” To make your voice heard regarding the new concept, Ms. Susi Snyder recommends visiting the NATO interactive forum at <http://natostratcon.info/forum/>.

Middle East

Many experts emphasized the importance of reaching peace and security in the Middle East. Ambassador Salander said that “[s]urprisingly, in this year’s PrepCom, some language on the Middle East managed to stay alive. It included ideas like a special coordinator, a subsidiary body and/or a future special conference. Ambitious efforts, like steps towards a NWFZ, are of course very difficult at present, but there are intermediate stages that could be discussed, like the Blix Commission’s proposal to freeze proliferation-sensitive fuel-cycle activities in the region.” Ms. Ray Acheson emphasized certain critical steps, including; “convening a conference after 2011 to begin negotiations on a framework or treaty to achieve a zone in the Middle East free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction; and appointing a standing NPT body to follow-up interessionally and support efforts toward these ends.” She also highlighted the problem of double standards, arguing that “outside powers cannot call for Israel to join the NPT while arming its neighbors; neither can they sanction Iran’s nuclear fuel cycle programme or call for a WMD free zone while enabling Israel’s nuclear programme.” The Middle East situation constitutes an obstacle in the work for a nuclear weapon free world, and needs to be dealt with without double standards during the coming RevCon.

The Role of Civil Society

Fortunately, conference participants were able to agree on the importance of civil society activity. According to Dr. Rebecca Johnson, “NGOs and civil society kept alive the hope of a CTBT and worked closely with many



John Loretz – Program Director of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Boston US.



Dominique Lalanne – French disarmament expert, working in the Abolition 2000 network.



Regina Hagen is an expert with International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Nuclear Weapons INESAP.



Sandra Fong – WILPF member in Fiji, and one of the participants in the youth delegation.



Jozef Goldblat of the Geneva International Peace Research Institute GIPRI



Merav Datan – Board Member and former Research Director of Lawyers’ Committee on Nuclear Policy LCNP

“civil society is our ‘hot line’ to the neglected part of the nuclear weapons dilemma: the ethical dimension”

diplomats and officials to create the conditions to bring the treaty to conclusion. [...] Civil society has long engaged very actively on the issues of the disarmament and nonproliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, and to control and eliminate guns, small arms and light weapons.” In a similar way, Ambassador Salander argued that “[i]t has been proven since decades back that civil society can play a deeply influential role in nuclear weapons issues.” Ambassador Salander particularly emphasized the ethical dimension, stating that “[c]ivil society is our “hot line” to the neglected part of the nuclear weapons dilemma: the ethical dimension. Mankind must reach enough moral maturity to rid itself of the self-invented means of destroying itself. The nuclear weapons era must be a parenthesis in the history of mankind. So civil society has a lot to do, and the remaining part of the work starts today.”

Information and Education

H.E. Sergio Duarte was one of many speakers who spoke warmly about civil society organizations and their contributions to disarmament. According to him, one of the most important roles of civil society is to provide information to the general public. He said; “[w]hile the States parties are the main participants in the review, the information supplied in this process is also quite useful to groups in civil society that are monitoring these con-

ferences. In many ways, these groups help the general public understand the wider purposes of the treaty and what States are doing—or not doing—to fulfill their commitments”, thus emphasized the importance of information and critical evaluation.

The message of the youth delegation to the conference was similar to that of H.E. Duarte. Nina Eisenhardt, speaking on behalf of all of the youth who attended the Palme seminar *Mobilizing the Next Generation for Nuclear Disarmament*, argued that “[t]he most important point we agreed upon was the urgency of awareness raising. The horrors from nuclear wars should no longer stay a non-issue in education. We have to inform people about the danger of nuclear weapons and visualize the military costs vs. social spending and sustainable development. This has to come both from the civil society, the governments and the media.” According to the youth delegation, it is not only a responsibility of civil society organizations to provide information about the dangers of nuclear weapons, but it is up to governments and other actors to do the same.

Openness and Transparency

Another thing that was strongly supported by H.E. Duarte was democracy in the disarmament process, and improved openness and transparency. He especially emphasized that civil society organizations have a vital role when it comes to promoting accountability, arguing that “civil society must continue its efforts to strengthen accountability and transparency, especially with respect to basic information about the aggregate size of nuclear arsenals, holdings of delivery vehicles, stocks of fissile

material held for weapons and other useful information. The UN Secretariat stands ready to serve as a common repository of such data.” H.E Duarte continued and said that “[i]n this connection, one of the most important roles for civil society is to encourage governments to be more open in describing both their own nuclear weapon programmes and their efforts to promote global nuclear disarmament. Facts help in stimulating constructive political action.” In sum, speakers genuinely agreed on the fundamental role that civil society organizations play in the game of disarmament. ■



Master of Ceremony Josefine Karlsson of WILPF Sweden (left) with conference assistant Josefin Lind of the Swedish affiliation of IPPNW.

PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLQWIST

REACHING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT – FROM VISIONS TO REALITY

LINNEA LAGERGREN (WILPF)

Chaired by Ms. Susi Snyder (WILPF), the opening panel outlined the issue of how to transform the vision of nuclear disarmament into reality. Focus was to a great extent on what the role of civil society is in promoting a stronger disarmament regime.

Showing great optimism, Dr. Hans Blix (WMDC) underlined that while the window of opportunity for nuclear disarmament was lost at the end of the Cold War, we can avoid repeating the same mistake today. Dr. Blix said that strengthening the NPT to include more effective inspections is important, and he also stressed that, matched by a Russian withdrawal of nuclear weapons deeper into Russian territory, NATO nuclear weapons must be withdrawn from Europe. Furthermore, according to Dr. Blix, the near time outlook for disarmament depends upon five factors: US- Russian relations; settlement of regional conflicts (e.g. India/ Pakistan, Middle East); interdependence among countries, meaning adjustment instead of confrontation; multilateral institutions as fora for joint deliberation and mechanisms for cooperation; and raised public opinion – something that the civil society could and should work on.

Ambassador Henrik Salander (MPI) argued that even though the NPT is in perpetual crisis, the treaty holds. Moreover, he stressed that numbers are not important for most NNWS, but the role nuclear weapons play in security policies. Therefore, underlining that negotiations between NWS and NNWS have always been unbalanced, he argued that what is needed is dialogue instead of monologue. Furthermore, arguing that the NWS need to make clear what their ambitions are to downgrade their reliance on nuclear weapons, Mr. Salander underlined how crucial the formulations of the forthcoming US Nuclear Posture Review are. Moreover, while we have the US leadership we want to have, the countering forces to the President's vision will be strong, and thus, arguments and activities must



PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLQWIST

be sharpened in both governments and civil society. Mr. Salander also underlined that the necessary steps to nuclear disarmament (e.g. deep cuts between Russia and the US, a fissile materials treaty, ratification of the CTBT etc.) have not yet been undertaken. Therefore, he encouraged civil society to keep up its work, pointing to previous important actions such as the presentation of the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention.

Dr. Rebecca Johnson (Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy) acknowledged that civil society often gets patronized and that there are sometimes setbacks, but encouraged civil society to remain committed, focused and active. This could be done, she said, by working on three realizable disarmament objectives with the power to move both politicians and the public. First, she said, the process towards a nuclear weapon convention has to get started. Second, there needs to be recognition in law that any use of nuclear weapons would be a crime against humanity. Third, Dr. Johnson argued that it is important to get one nuclear weapon state to renounce its dependency on nuclear weapons. While admitting that these are not the only campaigns to pursue, she underlined that many governments are currently pushing for these objectives, principles and steps. Therefore, Dr. Johnson argued, it is important for civil society to be at least a step ahead in its thinking about this, because by doing so civil society movements can be built and the conditions for nuclear abolition created. ■

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

RAY ACHESON | REACHING CRITICAL WILL OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

At the conference, participants agreed that civil society needs to take action on many levels leading up to the 2010 NPT Review Conference and beyond. NGOs need to engage: in education campaigns for people in the streets

and for politicians and decision-makers; in direct actions, protests, and actors of coordinated visibility; with parliamentarians, mayors, and other elected individuals. Everyone seemed to agree that civil society needs coordinated strategy among all these elements. But how do we link all these efforts? Do we have a unifying message?

The following are a few specific points to educate on, demonstrate about, mobilize around, and lobby on, in the lead up to the Review Conference and beyond.

1. Reducing the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines

To reduce the role of nuclear weapons in security postures, the value of nuclear weapons has to be diminished. The US is still behind its own rhetoric when it comes to this. During the UNGA First Committee, the US delegation continued to maintain that states “acquired

nuclear weapons in order to promote what they saw as their national security” and argued, “If they are to give them up, they must be convinced that doing so will not harm their security and that of their friends and allies.”

Here, many non-nuclear weapon states also have a role to play. Thirty non-nuclear weapon states shelter under the US nuclear umbrella. Many proponents of retaining nuclear weapons in the United States espouse “extended deterrence” as their justification. Public statements from governments under the US nuclear umbrella stating that they believe their security commitments will still be viable without nuclear weapons would thus remove a key obstacle to deeper reductions in the US nuclear arsenal.

Citizens in NATO countries, Australia, South Korea, and Japan have long advocated for their countries to let go of the cold war nuclear umbrellas and forge more independent and balanced relationships for national, regional, and international security. Now key legislators from all these countries are joining the call. We need to support these efforts and draw attention around the world to the movements against nuclear weapons in these countries.

Furthermore, removing nuclear sharing from NATO's Strategic Concept, combined with removal of nuclear weapons from Europe, would be an important confidence-building measure and would likely facilitate bilateral dialogue that could lead to much deeper cuts in the US and Russian nuclear arsenals.

Very briefly, and very specifically, civil society should call for the following commitments to be undertaken by nuclear weapon states at the Review Conference:

- agreeing to legally-binding security assurances not to attack non-nuclear weapon states with nuclear weapons;
- committing not to use nuclear weapons as a tool for “pre-emptive strike”;
- rejecting counterforce and countervalue doctrines;
- excluding “extended deterrence” arrangements in their doctrines; and
- declaring that as a matter of national policy they will not design, develop, or produce new design nuclear warheads or modernise existing warheads.

2. Dismantle the traditional national security discourse

We also need to pay attention to the discourse around nuclear weapons, which is fundamental to public perception—and thus fundamental for our advocacy on reducing the value of nuclear weapons. Changing the discourse is a fundamental element to eliminating nuclear weapons. We're going to have to shift the discourse away from national security to global security, of course. But even more importantly, perhaps the first step, is that we have to really assess what national security actually means. Because right now, what it means is security for the elite, technologically-proficient classes in the state. The “national interest,” as it is typically invoked in this sense,



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PHOTO: GABRIEL HOLMBOM

does not refer to the well-being of the general population but of those managing the military-industrial-academic complex. It is in its interest to keep money pumping into its nuclear weapon programmes. The nuclear weapons establishment constitutes a formidable set of institutions that see their interests as being well served by a mode of global military dominance ultimately underwritten by nuclear weapons.

The recommendation here is one for civil society to question the meaning of “national security”. For concrete nuclear disarmament to actually happen, the discourse of “national security” needs to be dismantled. This is unlikely to happen by the Review Conference. So what we can do is at least identify who benefits from the maintenance of nuclear weapons, what their interests are and what their role is in sustaining high-tech militarism.

And while this analysis is unlikely to enter into the mainstream dialogue at the Review Conference, these ideas can guide our advocacy in the lead-up, as a way to have citizens increase the pressure on their governments. This idea that nuclear weapons do not protect anyone except the elite is a really powerful argument for their elimination.

3. Cease the modernization of nuclear weapon systems

Most nuclear weapon states are undergoing or planning modernisation and life extension programmes for their nuclear weapon systems. In the US, this modernization will go hand in hand with reductions in the nuclear arsenal as part of the current arms control talks with Russia and will likely be one of the conditions attached to the US ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test

Ban Treaty. If the nuclear-armed states are committed to maintaining and modernizing their nuclear weapon complexes, how are these states going to agree to give up their nuclear weapons? Trading some arms control agreements or arsenal reduction for modernised nuclear weapons research and production facilities capable of building the nuclear threat anew is not disarmament. If the danger of nuclear war is to be eliminated, ceasing to plan and build for an eternal nuclear threat must come early, not late, in the process.

And so this has to be one of the key things that civil society and other governments really advocate strongly against. Modernisation is not acceptable, for any reason. Nuclear weapon states cannot be allowed to get away with espousing their dream for a nuclear weapon free world while upgrading their weapon systems.

“For concrete nuclear disarmament to actually happen, the discourse of ‘national security’ needs to be dismantled”

4. Consideration of negotiations on an international framework to achieve a nuclear weapon free world

Civil society should encourage all states parties to the NPT to commit to the negotiation of a Nuclear Weapons Convention in their statements to the NPT and push for it to be included in any final document. We should also ask for formal responses from governments to the model NWC, in order to give us an opportunity to engage in direct dialogue on its substance with as many delegations as possible.

5. Measures to implement the 1995 Middle East resolution

Toward implementing the 1995 resolution, many governments are beginning to express support for concrete measures the 2010 Review Conference can take, including:

- convening a conference after 2011 to begin negotiations on a framework or treaty to achieve a zone in the Middle East free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction; and
- appointing a standing NPT body to follow-up intercessionally and support efforts toward these ends.

These are fairly simple steps that can be taken. They were proposed by Egypt during this cycle’s PrepComs and the Russian, US, and UK delegations appeared interested—which is good. However, the Egyptians are saying that the US interest is superficial at best. Indeed, apparently it was the US that strongly objected to any reference to the Middle East in UN Security Council Resolution 1887.

This spells danger, because the Middle East is a very important issue for this Review Conference, as we heard from the panel on this issue earlier at this conference. We really need to advocate for serious commitment to the proposals I just mentioned.

In addition, governments need to avoid employing double-standards in the region. For example, outside powers cannot call for Israel to join the NPT while arming its neighbours; neither can they sanction Iran’s nuclear fuel cycle programme or call for a WMD free zone while enabling Israel’s nuclear programme. ■



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PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLOWIST

THE LEGAL AND NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK - CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES

AMILA KONJHODZIC (WILPF)

This panel, chaired by Prof. Gunnar Westberg (IPPNW), featured former Legal Counsel of the UN Ambassador Hans Corell, Board Member of LCNP Merav Datan, Prof. Jozef Goldblat of GIPRI, and Ambassador Igor S. Neverov of the Russian Federation to Sweden.

Prof. Westberg opened the panel by stating that NGO's particularly should care about the human aspects of nuclear weapons and that the normative and legal aspects primarily are tools to achieve what we want - a world free from nuclear weapons. Ambassador Corell addressed the present legal situation; institutions, laws and treaties. He especially emphasized certain items on the UNGA and its First Committee agenda, the role of the Security Council, the work of the UN Disarmament Commission, the role of the Conference on Disarmament, and the accomplishments of UNODA. After this overview, Amb. Corell reasoned on the legality of nuclear weapons, by focusing on the advisory opinion of the ICJ from 1996. According to him, it follows from the ruling that the threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law. However, the element of self defense in international law makes it difficult to decide whether the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be unlawful in extreme circumstances where the survival of the State would be at stake. Furthermore, Amb. Corell spoke about the NPT, IAEA, CTBT, CTBTO, a treaty against weapons in space, Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaties, a Nuclear Weapons Convention, bilateral disarmament treaties, and conventions for the suppression of terrorism.

Mr. Goldblat, who has worked on the nuclear weapons issue for many years, argued that there is no evidence that the existence of nuclear weapons has a preventive function. Still there is a belief that nuclear weapons have kept peace for several decades. According to Mr. Goldblat, there is no justification for nuclear weapons, not morally, not military, not politically. Even in a situation where the security of the



PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLQWIST

State is at stake, the use of nuclear weapons is out of the question. Due to certain regulations, weapons and war tactics must be directed to military targets, they must be proportional and they must not cause unnecessary suffering to the victims. The use of nuclear weapons would be contradictory to many of those principles.

Ms. Datan, principal co-author of the proposed model Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC), explained the advantages of bringing a new judicial framework to the nuclear disarmament context. According to her, a treaty banning nuclear weapons and ensuring their elimination would be more likely to succeed than a series of fragmented, inconsistent approaches to nuclear disarmament. The model NWC would constitute a complement to the NPT, and “would prohibit the development, testing, production, stockpiling, transfer, use and threat of use of nuclear weapons, as well as the production of fissile material suitable for making them [...]. It would require all nuclear-armed countries to destroy their nuclear weapons in stages, the last stage being to place all fissile material under international control to prevent nuclear weapons ever being made again” (www.icanw.org).

Ambassador Neverov presented a Russian perspective on issues that rose during the conference, and argued that the world has changed. According to him, what was logical before, during the cold war, is totally illogical today. For the first time in the history, achieving a nuclear weapon free world is possible. Ambassador Neverov emphasized that Russia supports innovative steps, which can lead the process of disarmament. At the same time, he argued that the process needs to be practical and realistic. ■

NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES – ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

LINNEA LAGERGREN (WILPF)

Chaired by Dr. Ime John (IPPNW), this panel dealt with Article VI of the NPT, and included representatives from different Nuclear Weapon States (NWS).

Mr. Jan Lodal (US) focused on the necessity of getting on “the road to zero”, arguing that states would be more prone to adopt policies saying that nuclear weapons are of no necessity than policies on the illegality to use nuclear weapons. Mr. Lodal also stressed the need for NWS to, besides reaching an effective control regime, secure materials and weapons from falling into the hands of terrorists. Furthermore, he said that civil society has to analyse what has to be done to get to zero to be able to put the pressure where it is needed.

Academician Sergej Kolesnikov (IPPNW) spoke on Russia, underlining that the Russian public is in strong favour of its nuclear weapons. Therefore, although the sector of non-profit organisations is growing, and because the government does not sponsor such organisations, very few of them are working against Russian nuclear weapons. On Russia’s nuclear weapons possession, Dr. Kolesnikov also spoke on perceived threats against the country, mentioning NATO enlargement and US missile defence, and argued that what is needed is dialogue between decision makers.

Dr. Rebecca Johnson (Acronym Institute) spoke on UK efforts, arguing that there is a growing opposition to Trident replacement. This movement was originally strongest in Scotland but is now spreading all over the UK, both publicly and politically, and concerns above all the enormous costs related to Trident replacement. Dr. Johnson welcomed Prime Minister Gordon Brown’s 2008 pledge that UK should be “at the forefront of the international campaign to accelerate disarmament”. Speaking about civil society efforts, she encouraged all the participants to work locally on global efforts.



PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLQWIST

Mr. Dominique Lalanne (Abolition 2000 Europe) spoke about France, saying that the resistance towards nuclear disarmament in France – being an independent nuclear power since 1964 – mainly depends on the fact that nuclear weapons are seen, often with great pride, as a guarantee for peace and independence and, importantly, as allowing France to be a significant part of the international forum. What is of great importance when it comes to France is therefore, according to Mr. Lalanne, to break free from theories of deterrence.

Q&A session concerned matters such as the role of NATO in relation to Russia and nuclear disarmament, and the US opposing ratification of the CTBT. Mr. Lodal emphasized that the disarmament process would not be helped if NATO were to be dissolved, arguing that focus needs to be elsewhere, while Dr. Kolesnikov claimed that NATO needs to give up its nuclear sharing principle. He also stressed that Russia feels dependent on nuclear weapons due to inferiority in conventional arms. In his summary, Dr. John highlighted the apparent need for mass mobilisation, and that NGO:s have a great responsibility to progress the agenda before the 2010 RevCon. ■

SUSTAINING SECURITY ON THE ROAD TO ZERO

SEPIDEH NEKOMANESH (WILPF)

In this seminar, speakers Jan Lodal, Igor Neverov and John Loretz, chaired by Petra Tötterman Andorff (WILPF), elaborated on how to reaching zero in a world where deterrence is still considered to fulfill security aims.

Ambassador Neverov spoke about the importance of improved bilateral negotiations between Russia and US, and argued that changing people's cold war mentalities is a critical step. According to him, Russia and the US, being the two nuclear weapon states with largest nuclear arsenals, have a responsibility to act as role models and take a leading position in the global disarmament process. However, improvement in the legal framework is necessary, and Obama has brought hope that this might become reality.

Mr Lodal, cherished co-author of the Foreign Affairs article *The Logic of Zero*, agreed with Ambassador Neverov's position and emphasized that mentalities need to change before disarmament policies will be successful. Mr Lodal also argued that even though some improvements have been made, a lot needs to be accomplished before zero is achievable. Both Russia and the US still have policies contradictory to disarmament, thus national policies need to be reconsidered before bilateral agreements will lead to fruitful results.

Mr Loretz represented a critical position and questioned whether disarmament efforts are serious when nuclear

weapons still are considered to bring security and stability to the world. In a world where people still "learn to love the bomb", and where nuclear umbrellas are considered to be means of defense, disarmament is far from a reality. According to Mr Loretz, it is critical to realize that the use of nuclear weapons is synonymous with mass murder, and that the human species never would be able to recover after a nuclear war. Therefore, it is not only important to discuss policies, but to highlight nuclear weapons actual consequences on humanity. ■

MOBILIZING PEOPLE FOR CHANGE

TOVE IVERGÅRD (WILPF)

In this seminar, speakers Peter Weiderud (Broderskap), Kristin Blom (ITUC/IFS), Anna Carin Joelsson (SSGI), and chair Jan Larsson (IPPNW) spoke on how to mobilize people in campaigns and disarmament work.

Dr. Larsson introduced the seminar with some wise words about the importance of reaching out to and engaging people in disarmament, and how to put pressure on governments. He argued that the first step is to make sure that everyone understands how devastating nuclear weapons are.

Peter Weiderud started by presenting the Swedish nuclear weapons history. During World War II Sweden had the intention to acquire nuclear weapons. Women's organizations were the first to officially oppose this, and people eventually started to realize that nuclear weapons rather

made Sweden less secure. After the cold war, there was a strong mobilization built on fear and agony where people claimed that they needed nuclear weapons for security. This would create a security dilemma as other people around them would feel the same in order to be safe from the ones who already possessed the weapons. Mr Weiderud also presented a 7 point plan on how to mobilize towards prohibition and abolishment of nuclear weapons: to use the small arms agenda as a starting point; to use the fear about climate change as an example, since the same fear and urgency can be transferred into the way people feel about nuclear weapons; to use social media



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like Facebook in order to build public opinion; to change structures and funds; to set specific and realistic goals; to recognize the enemy, i.e. P5, nuclear weapon states outside the NPT, and NATO member states; and to make the goal reachable and realistic by putting a date.

Kristin Blom presented a short introduction of ITUC/IFS and said that for many people it might sound strange that a trade union is working for peace, and that ITUC/IFS

is in a dual position when it comes to nuclear abolishment as they also represent the workers that make the arms. However, Blom argued that it is important to work across both political and religious borders. Ms Blom is convinced that the NPT is a vital instrument on the way towards nuclear abolishment. She also emphasized that military expenditure could be better spent on development purposes instead. Regarding campaigning, Ms Blom argued that it is important to explain a complicated matter in an easy form. The best thing is to make it global, to reach out to as many as possible. In order to make sure that one reach out to people it is central to not only use the internet as many people around the world still don't know how to use it or don't have access to a computers or even to electricity. It is also important to use an easy language and to avoid writing about complicated treaties which people don't have any past experience of. People don't want to sign what they don't understand.

Anna Carin Joelsson gave some inspiring words about what we actually can and will accomplish after this conference. According to her, each single individual can do something. Ms Joelsson also pinpointed that it is important that we work together with others, that different cultures live in peace with each other. She also emphasized the importance of raising awareness on a grassroots level, and that we need a plan for how to reach abolishment. According to her, it is especially important to focus on education, and to target the youth. The threat of nuclear weapons seems to be so far away from the youth today, and it is therefore important to inform them about what happened in the past. ■

NATO, EU AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE

SEPIDEH NEKOMANESH (WILPF)

In this seminar chaired by Stig Gustafsson (IALANA) speakers Daniel Nord (SIPRI), Susi Snyder (WILPF), Jens Petersson (UNA Sweden) and Steffen Kongstad (Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs) focused on NATO, the EU and Nuclear Weapons in Europe.

Daniel Nord presented an overview of nuclear weapons in Europe, and argued that the cold war is an important reason to NATO's nuclear weapons doctrine. According to him, 9/11 also affected the nuclear weapons agenda, since it brought attention to the risk of nuclear weapons being in the hands of terrorists.

Susi Snyder emphasized that even though many speakers at this conference talk about the open window for a nuclear weapons free world, decision makers are not quite there yet. Therefore, civil society organizations have a great role to play in the near future. Ms Snyder also spoke about certain initiatives in Germany, Italy and Turkey and said that interesting steps are being taken which need support. She also encouraged the audience to lobby in their countries and to visit the NATO website <http://natostratcon.info/comments/feed/> where it is possible to comment on the new NATO strategic concept.

Mr Kongstad welcomed that nuclear disarmament is back on the international agenda, and emphasized the

urgency of the issue among other things because of the development in Iran, North Korea, and India. According to him, it is now possible to achieve change. However, he underlined that deterrence is and will be a part of the NATO strategy, and that the organization still deeply believes in nuclear weapons deterrence. Changing this belief is a political issue, not a military technical one.

According to Mr Petersson, it is necessary to confront the double standards applied in nuclear weapons discussions. In a situation where strong states keep and even modernize their nuclear weapons arsenals, it is difficult to tell other states that they cannot have them. Non nuclear weapons states need to highlight these issues, as is being done in for example Germany and the Netherlands. ■

SPACE, MISSILES AND CONTROL REGIMES

RACHEL ASPÖGÅRD

(SOKA GAKKAI INTERNATIONAL)

In this seminar chaired by Frida Sundberg (IPPNW) speakers Regina Hagen (INESAP) and Agneta Norberg (GN) highlighted facts and concerns about missiles, missile control regimes, and the pending 'Space Wars'.

According to Regina Hagen, missile defence can be used as space weaponry. The system to be considered is thus nuclear warheads, missiles, missile defence and space weapons. Satellite components are used for war today by the military. The planning, research, development, testing and deployment have been taking place since the

end of WW2. One of the most important developments was “the Star Wars” speech given by President Reagan in 1983. He then proposed that a space bound defence could rid the world of the threat of nuclear destruction. At that time, however, the technology was not achievable and too expensive as well. The scientists refused to co-operate, claiming that it was unrealistic.

Regina Hagen emphasized that scientists in the civil society need to evaluate, calculate the odds and educate others responsibly – and disown such projects. Even after the Reagan era and up to this day, the plans for missile defence continue, under other names and with other technologies.

Agneta Norberg was concerned about the radar defence system currently placed all over the world. The northern contribution, i.e. Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Faro Islands and Denmark, toward the militarization of space is apparent but often overlooked when analyzing the US plans for controlling the world through space. For the US, this area is of importance because of its close proximity to Russia. According to Agneta Norberg, Sweden has a large space technology industry, playing an important role in the European Space Agency, ESA. In 2005, a governmental report from the Swedish Department of Industry argued for an increase in space technology for aviation and space industry. The report states that expanding in this field shall be one of the driving forces for Sweden’s economic growth and position as a high technology state.

Both speakers agreed to the urgency for civil society to get more involved in refuting the status quo regarding space conflict, missiles and the influence of control regimes. Regina Hagen stressed the importance of having more experts in the scientific field more active so that civil society has an opportunity to be better informed.

Civil society needs to get equipped to explain this issue to the law makers, to the parliamentarians and also foreign ministries; they often do not understand what is at stake. We also need a Nuclear Weapons Convention which would also include a ban on ballistic missiles that could be used to deploy nuclear weapons. And what is even more vital is moving towards a stop to war taking place in space. ■

ENERGY DEMANDS AND CLIMATE CHANGE: A ROLE FOR NUCLEAR ENERGY?

ELIN HEDKVIST AND SORAYA JABER (WILPF)

This seminar, chaired by Professor Gunnar Westberg, and featuring Pugwash’ Ulf Svensson and Professor Henning Rodhe, focused on nuclear energy, nuclear weapons, and climate change.

Professor Gunnar Westberg opened the seminar by speaking about the climate consequences of a nuclear war. According to him, even a minor nuclear war would have severe consequences on the environment for future generations to come.

Professor Rodhe argued that the two great threats of the world today are nuclear war and climate change. These two threats are connected as well as share features. They are both global and therefore require action from the international community. Their difference lies in the time aspect; while climate change is a long term problem, a nuclear war would be a sudden disaster. The con-

nection is that climate change causes conflicts, which increases the risk of a nuclear war. On the other hand, a nuclear war, even a small one, would cause effects on the climate. Furthermore, a nuclear war would cause ozone depletion which would make it dangerous for humans to be outdoors because of the UV radiation.

Mr Svensson presented the Swedish nuclear energy program and argued that it was not profitable to initiate it, and that the plutonium from the program was actually planned to be used in a Swedish nuclear bomb. Having said that, he stresses that there is a clear link between nuclear energy and nuclear weapons. Mr Svensson also argued that on the positive side, green energy is developing and climate change and global warming are now for the first time high politics. On the down side is the focus on building nuclear power plants, and a militarization of nuclear energy. Instead, there should be a clear link between demilitarization and nuclear energy.

The seminar was rounded up by Professor Westberg who also emphasized the history of the nuclear winter theory and the criticism it has received. As a response to the criticism new research has found that a nuclear winter would be even worse than what was expected in the 1980s, a global famine would occur, but no one can yet know the exact impact on food and crops. ■

THE MIDDLE EAST – SUGGESTIONS FOR REACHING A SECURE AND PEACEFUL REGION

THOMAS SILFVERBERG (IPPNW)

In this seminar, speakers Jan Prawitz (Em), Merav Datan (Board Member LCNP) and Ambassador Mohamed Shaker, chaired by International Co-President of WILPF Kerstin Grebäck, elaborated on the prospect of reaching a secure and peaceful region in the Middle East.

Mrs Grebäck introduced the seminar and said that solving the nuclear problem in the Middle East is one of the key questions to strengthen the NPT. Mr Prawitz argued that the solution is to establish a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NWFZ). The UN has recommended this suggestion each year since 1974, and an expert group worked out suggestions for the establishment of such a zone. This suggestion was adopted by a consensus decision by the UN General Assembly in late 1990, involving 23 countries in the region. These countries are bound to many WMD treaties already; the NPT (except for Israel), the Geneva protocol for Chemical Weapons and 13 countries in the region have ratified the CTBT. Thus many states have already committed themselves to paragraphs that would be included in a Middle Eastern NWFZ. What's more; 74% of all land outside the nuclear weapon states (NWS) are now part of NWFZ and these countries includes 1.9 billion people. However, there are some obstacles, including the Israeli governments rejection to comment on national nuclear weapons issues, the future of Iran's civil nuclear program, a century old law that NWS



PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLLOWIST

can enter the region deeply by sea with ships and submarines, and NATO NWs in Turkey since the 1960's.

Ms Datan argued it is Israel's opinion that a Middle East free from weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) is only possible after long-lasting peace and stability has come to the region. The other countries in the region believe that for peace and stability to be possible all the WMDs have to be withdrawn from the region. As a conclusion these issues need to be discussed simultaneously. An important political step for the regional road towards disarmament is the Arab Peace Initiative – where the Arab states have guaranteed Israel normalization of diplomatic relations if Israel abolish their WMDs. Israel is the only country in the world that has not ratified a single one of the disarmament treaties. This is not covered in the Israeli news and is met by surprise by many Israelis because it simply does not sound very good for Israel. Iran is considered in the media as an immediate threat to national security. It is basically only women's peace groups and the younger generation (mostly in student groups) who are willing to talk about these issues.

Ambassador Shaker emphasized that the expert report on how to establish a NWFZ in the Middle East that was met by a consensus decision in the UN is still valid. Furthermore, Israel is the only country in the region which has not ratified the NPT, which has prompted other countries in the region to acquiring NWs. Libya had a NWs program, but gave it up unilaterally. Syria is a new case where the IAEA is still investigating the matter. Iran has been a source of worries in the UN, IAEA and the region and will continue to be for still many years to come. According to Amb Shaker, one of the most important issues for the 2010 NPT RevCon is the establishment of a NWFZ in the Middle East. However, the US, Russia and the UK have not implemented their responsibilities under the 1995 resolution on the Middle East, which would be needed for adopting a NWFZ in the Middle East. Egypt is calling for an international conference to discuss the NWFZ, and also has a suggestion to have a commissionaire to be responsible to push this idea forward and work for its establishment. ■

REACHING CRITICAL WILL FOR DISARMAMENT

RACHEL ASPÖGÅRD (SOKA GAKKAI INTERNATIONAL)

This panel, chaired by John Loretz (IPPNW), included speakers Ray Acheson (RCW), Maj Britt Theorin (Ambassador), Peter Weiderud (Broderskap) and Kristin Blom (ITUC/FS).

Before the panel discussion started, Nina Eisenhardt of Ban all Nukes Generation gave a speech on behalf of the youth delegation to the conference. Ms Eisenhardt explained that “we were asked to look at what we like the best in life. Most answers to this question regarded friends, family, security and peace. Since we are the ones that will inherit the global threats and military expenditure, we would like to ask all the participants on the coming RevCon, to look at what they like best in life. We really hope that they will come up with the same answers as we do. But if this is not the case, then it is high time to make room for us, the next generation, at the negotiation table.”

John Loretz introduced the panel to discuss the “next steps of organising and campaigning”. According to him, going on from the review is important, recalling Rebecca Johnson’s determination for local and global demonstrations a week after the RevCon. Amb. Theorin followed on and talked about her own experiences as an activist. In her opinion, the USA has a strong responsibility to take the lead in nuclear disarmament – “Obama has to go from words to deeds, from the NPT conference in 2010, we will see if he will pass the test.” She also emphasized that pressure needs to be on our own governments and politicians and we need to co-operate and be prepared for the NPT RevCon. Peter Weiderud felt it a great step forward that the Swedish Network for Nuclear Disarmament has arranged this conference. Moving on to speak about specific regions and countries, Mr Weiderud called for cooperation between non nuclear weapons states (NNWS), and for the countries who are not parties to the NPT to immediately re-think their positions. He also emphasized that a good call of action is to remind the five nuclear weapon states (NWS) about their obligations according to Article VI of the NPT. Kristin Blom spoke about how the trade union movements can do their part. According to her, governments need to listen to Trade Unions and that they want to see a massive reduction in arms ex-



PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLWIST

penditure - Nuclear Weapons being a key part to this. Ms Blom emphasized that as we move toward Nuclear Disarmament, and to cut arms expenditure, we also need to make sure that the transition to the peaceful and social use of nuclear production is just and fair to those working in these areas. Ray Acheson outlined recommendations for the RevCon and emphasized that “we need education campaigns for people in the streets, for politicians and the decision makers equally, we need direct actions, we need protests, and we need co-ordinated visibility, we need to be engaged with parliamentarians, mayors, and other elected individuals.” Ms Acheson especially argued for the importance of reducing the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines – the value of nuclear weapons has to be diminished. According to her, “the best way for Civil Society to advocate for this, is to dismantle and dissect the traditional national Security discourse – Nina [Eisenhardt BANg] has mentioned this, and this is something the youth are thinking about and it is very important that they do.” With key legislators all over the world joining the call for nuclear disarmament, civil society needs to draw attention to and support these actions. Ms Acheson also criticized the modernising of nuclear weapons, something civil society needs to strongly advocate against. Ms Acheson also emphasized the commitment to a Nuclear Weapons Convention, and argued that more governments than ever before are now making reference to the NWC. According to her, now is the time to educate, engage, lobby, and demonstrate.

Chairman John Loretz summed up the panel stating that “the modernisation of nuclear weapons is a priority at the NPT review, exposing the inconsistency between rhetoric about nuclear weapons and the policies that sustain them is crucial. To look beyond the NPT to a Nuclear Weapons Convention, as well as encourage states and governments, and debate the convention bringing it into their working papers.” ■

TRIGGERING NEGOTIATIONS FOR ABOLITION

TIM WRIGHT | INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO ABOLISH NUCLEAR WEAPONS

More than a thousand NGO representatives are expected to descend on New York in May for the five-yearly review of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Hopes are running

high following pronouncements in recent years by high-level military and political figures that nuclear weapons do not have the same utility as they did back in the Cold War days. President Obama's much-publicized speech in Prague last April has also fuelled the enthusiasm. But will the conference provide us the results we are looking for?

security and the further spread of nuclear weapons. Could next year's NPT review conference be the 'trigger' to start negotiating such a treaty?

An obvious sticking point is the current lack of support from the nuclear-weapon states. Also, four of the nine nuclear-armed states — Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea — will be absent from the meeting. Since there is a diminishing chance of these states acceding to the NPT as non-nuclear-weapon states, that is a further reason why a nuclear weapons convention is needed. The limitations of the NPT review process are obvious, and the regime can only be effectively strengthened and universalised through multilateral negotiations on a comprehensive treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons for all.

In recent years, civil society has made headway in winning the moral and security arguments for achieving a nuclear-weapon-free world. Now we must focus squarely on persuading governments to consider the 'when' and 'how' of abolition. We must challenge nations which insist on looking at proliferation concerns to the exclusion of disarmament, or talk about reducing arsenals instead of eliminating them: they are preventing meaningful progress. It is time for all countries, whether nuclear-armed or not, to begin exploring the legal, technical and political requirements for abolition.

The aim in the run-up to the 2010 Review Conference should be to build up an accumulation of proposals from states expressing a need for some kind of comprehensive agreement to abolish all nuclear weapons by an agreed target date. Some countries may be resistant to the model NWC because it is seen as an NGO or Non-Aligned Movement initiative. But they should not be allowed to hide behind that as an excuse for not considering and advancing the concept of a comprehensive abolition treaty of some description.

The first step in implementing this strategy should be for NGOs in as many countries as possible to arrange meetings with foreign ministry officials, and to begin a dialogue about the importance of putting a nuclear weapons

It was clear from the Stockholm gathering of NGOs last November that civil society is firmly committed to abolition, not merely a reduction in global nuclear forces. There is also widespread support for the idea that the best way to achieve a world without nuclear weapons is through a comprehensive, verifiable convention,

where all nuclear-armed states agree on a timetable to do away with their nuclear weapons, and the world achieves more effective controls to prevent break-out, nuclear in-



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convention on the agenda. In Australia, for example, a formal roundtable meeting will be held with government and representatives from roughly 20 NGOs in advance of the NPT Review Conference. But our purview need not be limited government officials. Working with elected

However, some states may be more amenable to the suggestion that they support the five-point plan for nuclear disarmament put forward by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in October 2008, which calls for consideration of a nuclear weapons convention or something similar.

“Whatever the outcome of the NPT Review Conference, our efforts must not end there”

representatives from all parties, including mayors, could prove fruitful. The more people publicly backing the idea of an abolition treaty, the harder it will be for decision makers to ignore.

We can also assist other NGOs in our region to advance the idea of a nuclear weapons convention with their governments. It is likely, for example, that the hundred or so NPT parties in the Non-Aligned Movement would support our call, but little effort has been made to encourage them to include language about an NWC in their official statements. Working together across borders, and engaging new groups in this process, will be vital if we are to succeed.

While this strategy is not about promoting a particular model of a nuclear weapons convention, the model NWC developed by civil society and submitted to the UN in 2007 by Costa Rica and Malaysia can be a useful tool. Securing Our Survival, which incorporates the model convention, is full of ideas and arguments for what needs to be done.

With diplomatic endorsement from the highest level, this demonstrates that the idea of an NWC can no longer be dismissed as a far-off fantasy. In fact, pursuing a comprehensive treaty is perhaps the only realistic way to avert nuclear catastrophe.

Whatever the outcome of the NPT Review Conference, our efforts must not end there. In fact, it must mark just the beginning of a renewed civil society push to outlaw and eliminate nuclear weapons once and for all. This is why a large number of NGOs across the world have begun planning demonstrations for June 5, the Saturday after the close of the NPT conference. Our demonstrations will be local, but our call for a nuclear weapons convention will be global, with messages tailored to build on, or parachute over, the NPT outcome — depending on whether it is positive or negative.

The rallies can be organized at key government buildings or, for the nuclear-armed countries, at nuclear weapons facilities. In the United Kingdom, for example, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is planning events in London, Aldermaston and Faslane, Scotland. The focus and nature of the demonstrations is up to local groups, consistent with non-violence principles.

ICAN will be responsible for hosting the action website and working with local NGOs around the world to develop and promote a strong, inspiring and unified mes-

sage in response to the NPT Review Conference. If it ends in failure with no or limited agreement, then the need for a new approach will only be more apparent. If it is deemed successful, then our protests will help to build on the momentum.

As the UN high representative for disarmament affairs, Sergio Duarte, said at the Stockholm conference last year, it is time ‘to democratize disarmament’. People across the globe must take control of the process, and demand that these anti-democratic, inhuman weapons be dispensed with. In the lead-up to the NPT review and beyond, we must work together to make nuclear weapons abolition a reality — not at some indefinite point in the distant future, but in time for all of us to reap the rewards. ■



PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLQWIST

CIVIL SOCIETY STRATEGIES AND PRIORITIES FOR THE NPT REVCON

SORAYA JABER AND ELIN HEDKVIST (WILPF)

This seminar, chaired by Håkan Mårtensson (Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation), included speakers Susi Snyder (WILPF), Regina Hagen (INESAP), and Thomas Magnusson (IPB), and focused on civil society strategies and priorities for the NPT RevCon.

Håkan Mårtensson introduced the participants and the topic for the seminar and asked the panel what civil society can do in relation to the NPT RevCon and if it is possible to agree on a prioritized agenda.

Thomas Magnusson emphasized that there is a dialogue between enemies and its counterparts, and that behind the dialogue there is a power struggle between states such as the United States and Iran. According to him, the question we have to ask is; what have we done to promote the dialogue? He also mentioned that there are other issues than the NPT RevCon to focus on, such as long-term peace building, global warming and global hunger.

Regina Hagen took the opportunity to introduce the Nuclear Weapon Convention NWC which was drafted in response to the International Court of Justice ICJ ruling from 1996. She argued that we need to know how to achieve the goal of a NWC, how we want to get there and also emphasized the importance of having a good plan for

getting there. Metaphorically she compared the task of accomplishing a NWC with the climbing of a mountain - it is not enough to know that you want to get to the top; you need to plan every single step. Mrs Hagen also underlined the importance of participating in the RevCon, since it helps civil society to focus on activities, to cooperate and to work towards specific aims.



Susi Snyder emphasized the responsibilities of civil society organizations and all humans in the disarmament work. According to her, civil society's main tasks are to educate, activate and advocate. Reaching Critical Will, a project of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, keeps all statements and working papers from earlier years and functions as the collective memory of the RevCon, thus educates by keeping and distributing all data. This is important since it is difficult for those not taking part in the meeting to take part of the information. The activation phase is all about getting people excited. By focusing on international days of action, like the UN day, the World Peace Day, International Women's Day for Disarmament etcetera, it is possible to engage people

in, and visualise, the importance of disarmament work. According to Ms Snyder, the first two steps, education and activation, are crucial in order to be able to advocate. When it comes to advocacy, it is of great importance that civil society is well informed and gives correct information. ■

RAISING PUBLIC OPINION – EDUCATION, MEDIA AND GRASSROOT ACTIVITY

SEPIDEH NEKOMANESH (WILPF)

In this seminar, chair Ingrid Inglander and speakers Inger Holmlund, Tim Wright, Hans Levander and Masako Ikegami spoke on how to raise public opinion by focusing on education, media and grassroots activism.

Inger Holmlund, founder of the Relay Campaign Budkavlen, a Swedish initiative aiming to put pressure on local politicians and the public in cities, argued that it is up to everybody to do their part in influencing governments to change policies. This campaign runs through every community of Sweden, involving representatives of the local governments, press, trade unions, schools and civil society organizations in a public meeting, sometimes followed by seminars or workshops, the first Saturday every month at 11.55. By reaching Stockholm it has now passed the middle of our long country - and goes on.

Tim Wright of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons ICAN emphasized the age gap in the disarmament movement and argued that an informed, outraged, active public is necessary in order to put politi-

cal pressure which leads to political action. ICAN aims at generating a groundswell of popular support for abolition - as have landmines, chemical and biological weapons already been outlawed - by distributing short but very clear information material, with suggestions for practical action to influence our political leaders.

Hans Levander, founder of the Life Link Programme pointed to the necessity of influencing politicians in order to have disarmament education entered into the school system. A security paradigm shift is evolving, where the old security paradigm focusing on technical confrontation, weapons warfare, secrecy and unlimited resources is being replaced by a new security paradigm rooted in human communication, transparency, citizen diplomacy and sustainability. Education on this, on all levels, is a most important tool to reach abolition. By focusing on this, LifeLink has managed to involve a great number of countries around the world, including Iran.

Masako Ikegami of Pugwash emphasized the myths of nuclear weapons and what the media does not report on. According to her, one of the most critical myths is that nuclear weapons only are for deterrence, not for use. This myth darkens that nuclear weapons in fact are weapons of mass destruction, and the use of them leading to mass murder. After Hiroshima a lid was put on medias' reports on the effects of the bomb. The "secret" Chinese tests in Uigurua are recent examples of media silence.

In sum, cooperation between organizations like Mayors for Peace, ICAN, LifeLink, Educators for Peace, ITUC, Sokka Gakai and others - as well as with media and governments, is of vital importance for reaching nuclear disarmament and abolition. ■

ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND REMAINING TASKS – LESSONS FROM THE NPT'S 13 STEPS AND THE BLIX COMMISSION

LINNEA LAGERGREN (WILPF)

Focusing on the NPT's 13 Practical Steps and on the WMD Commission (WMDC) Report, this seminar was chaired by Ambassador Maj Britt Theorin and featured Ambassador Henrik Salander of MPI, Ms Ray Acheson of Reaching Critical Will, and Dr Rebecca Johnson, co-founder of Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy.

Mr. Henrik Salander briefly summarised the 13 steps, underlining that they were negotiated with the five Nuclear Weapon States (NWS), and that according to the Steps, nuclear disarmament must progress before general disarmament can be achieved. While the UN General Assembly has reconfirmed the 13 steps, which in reality are 18 steps due to sub steps, Amb. Salander pointed to the lack of progress in 11 of them. Therefore, the agreements should be reformulated in 2010. What should be learned from the Commission is the need to include not only the five NWS, but also the other states that possess nuclear weapons.

Ms. Ray Acheson presented a critical analysis of the 13 steps and argued that although being important, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty cannot be held up as a required step for disarmament. She also called for a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC), and underlined



PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLQWIST

that the Conference on Disarmament (CD) is inappropriate as a subsidiary body on nuclear disarmament due to its long lasting stalemate. Ms. Acheson also presented comments on the WMDC report. According to her, the policy on no first use is problematic since it implicitly rationalise the second use of nuclear weapons. She also questioned the CD consensus being a problem per se, claiming the system is rather being used, and that progress is not possible until consensus once again means compromise. Furthermore, Ms. Acheson linked the nuclear fuel cycle problems to the failure of disarmament initiatives and called for less reliance on nuclear power. She also underlined the relevance of gender to the science and politics of WMD.

Dr. Rebecca Johnson spoke about strategies and tactics, arguing that the NPT regime is flawed and of declining utility, why disarmament cannot become hostage to the NPT's processes. While emphasising that the 2010 NPT RevCon must adopt better tools to implement nuclear disarmament, and not just another "to do" list, Dr. Johnson called for the recognition of the use of nuclear

PHOTO: DENNIS DAHLOWIST



THE NEW GENERATION - ACHIEVING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT IN THE 21ST CENTURY

TOVE IVERGÅRD (WILPF)

In this seminar, speakers Anissa Abouzaki (WILPF), Sandra Fong (WILPF), Ehas Agyeno (IPPNW), Nina Eisenhardt (BANg), Katharina Bergmann (IPPNW), Kai Hagen (Friedenswerkstatt Mutlangen) and chair Anna Ek (Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society) spoke on the role of the youth in reaching progress on the nuclear disarmament agenda.

Anissa Abouzaki gave a broad introduction of the nuclear situation in the Middle East and the history behind it. She mentioned how Lebanon has a hard time to become a developed state due to the US strict control over the country. She also described the situation in Iran and its relation with the US. She also brought up the discussion about whether Iran's nuclear program is for a peaceful use, and mentioned that Israel is said to be the only nuclear weapon state in the Middle East. Ms Abouzaki strongly argued that direct diplomacy is needed in Iran. She also emphasized the importance of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. She finished off by talking about civil society's role and how important it is that they lobby towards the Security Council for a nuclear free Middle East.

Sandra Fong explained that people often have a false

picture of the Pacific region; they see it only as a beautiful paradise where possibly no nuclear problem could occur or exist. According to her, people have forgotten about the history of the long period of nuclear testing which took place in the Pacific. 300 soldiers from Fiji took part in these testings, and a lot of people in the Pacific have been displaced due to the testings. However, people started to mobilize for a nuclear free Pacific, and it was a radical movement for nuclear disarmament and youth collaboration. In 1975 the Pacific became a nuclear free zone. Even though, today there is a lack of education and it is hard to engage young people in the movement against nuclear weapons. The only ones that are active today are the ones that were there during the testings. Still, the islands where the testings took place still suffer from the effects. Ms Fong believes that the people of the Pacific need to be educated on these issues, as everyone seems to believe that it won't affect them individually.

Ehas Agyeno spoke on the importance of engaging young people in the work towards nuclear disarmament. According to him, the nuclear question is no longer sexy as it used to be during the 80's, and it is losing media coverage. The Nuclear Weapon Inheritance Project on IPPNW is a project aiming to engage and empower the young generation. Katharina Bergmann continued to explain a bit more about how the Nuclear Weapon Inheritance Project works. She posed the question; do you want to inherit the nuclear weapons from your father and mother, and give it to your children? According to her, if you are informed you can take action, and put pressure on politicians and work with NGOs. However, how can the youth take part in this process? Ms Bergmann urged for a dialogue with students around the world; for the need of organizing workshops to learn dialogue techniques and conflict resolution; for enabling young people

weapons as a crime against humanity. She also stressed the need for civil society to start working on governments to get the call for a NWC into the opening statements and working papers to the 2010 RevCon. Dr. Johnson concluded by calling on everyone to demonstrate locally as part of ICAN's global campaign for a NWC.

The Q&A session concerned matters such as the role of the EU, how the NWS permanent memberships to the Security Council affect the road to zero, and Israel's nuclear weapons. Amb. Salander argued that EU is being held back in its statements by France and the UK. Dr. Johnson added that the best way to influence the EU is to try to reach out to its parliamentarians. Amb. Salander also stressed that the non-NWS will not allow P5 alone to decide on compliance, while Amb. Corell from the audience claimed that the P5 have to start using their veto only when it is in their uttermost concern. Regarding Israel, Mr. Salander underlined that this matter cannot be solved through the NPT, why a NWC, including India, Israel and Pakistan, is important to achieve. Ms. Acheson emphasized the importance for governments to stop applying double standards regarding Iran and Israel. ■

to be active and to produce material and information; for the importance of taking part in dialogues with decision makers; for contact and dialogue between students from different perspectives; for using media as a tool to make nuclear disarmament sexy again; and for the need of funds and sponsorship programmes that can enable students to participate in different meetings etcetera.

Kai Hagen started his speech by taking up the dual position of many European countries. For example Germany, which is a non nuclear weapon state, still has 20 nuclear warheads in the country. He also said that there are some countries that have signed the NPT but still are members of NATO who possess their own Nuclear Weapons. Mr Hagen believes that it is important to mobilize young people to spread information during the NPT RevCon 2010. If young people from all over the world come to New York and start real negotiations they will realize how hard it is to reach an agreement on an international level. He also strongly argued for a flow of information as we won't reduce the problem until someone tells us about it. One way is to engage youth on action trips.

Nina Eisenhardt of Ban All Nukes generation explained the main pillars of BANg; it constitutes an open network which is easy to join; it is self organized with many different programmes, all projects are self-organized; it is aiming to help young people to stabilize their projects. Their overall work is focused on bringing young people together to share ideas on peace and disarmament; to inform people about the threat of nuclear weapons and the urgency of disarmament; to promote non-violent action for a more peaceful world; to support and strengthen existing campaigns against nuclear weapons by organising international youth participation; and to organize actions to increase the pressure for disarmament. According to Ms Eisenhardt, information can be spread by street actions, demonstrations, non-proliferation and disarmament education, DVDs, and posters. She also emphasized that young people do care because they know what is going on, even if it is often claimed that the youth is lacking in the disarmament movement. ■



Mobilizing the Next Generation for Nuclear Disarmament

PIA JOHANSSON (WILPF Sweden)

Nuclear disarmament negotiations have traditionally been, and still are, characterized by a lack of young people's representation. Thus, young people's perspectives are often trivialized or ignored. Furthermore, if young people are not included in disarmament they will miss out on important information. Therefore, young people's perspectives must be taken into consideration, and their voices must be heard.

In recognition of the importance of young people's perspectives, a workshop with the aim to mobilize the next generation for nuclear disarmament, funded by the Olof Palme Memorial Foundation, was held before the conference had officially started. The workshop served as a meeting point for young conference participants from all over the world, to exchange experience and ideas about working for nuclear weapons abolition. About 40 participants engaged in discussions focusing on priorities for the upcoming NPT Review Conference.

One of the most important points agreed upon during the workshop was the urgency of awareness raising. Even in a time of mass information and communication technology we see a lack of knowledge about nuclear weapons and their consequences. It is not acceptable that millions of children leave their schools without education on these issues. The danger of nuclear wars should no longer stay a non-issue in education, but should be raised as one of the most important security problems of our time.

With only one globe to guard there is no other option than to cooperate across the borders. Therefore the importance of promoting dialogue between youth around was stressed during the workshop. To prevent dehumanization and demonization as a result of the constant ongoing war propaganda, viable networks built on mutual trust and understanding are essential. Since the youth is the future, they must be mobilized and engaged in order to foster a climate of equality and sustainable peace. A fruitful dialogue is therefore not something only concerning governments or experts, but also concerns youths from the civil society.

Finally there is always a need to raise the question of security for whom, when governments stress the importance of nuclear weapons in maintaining global security. Will these weapons actually provide peace and security? Will ordinary people actually be safe and secure in a world based on deterrence? The conclusion is clearly no. There is a huge difference between military security and human security and this must be recognized.

ANASTASIA MEDVEDEVA (IPPNW Russia)

The most important thing for all of us is nuclear disarmament. The organization of the meeting was on a very high level, and it was a good opportunity to meet participants from all over the world, and from different parties and organizations; from Fiji, Nigeria, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Lebanon, Georgia, Iran, EU countries, US, Russia and other countries.

The youth movement represented was very strong; all participants were very enthusiastic and encouraged by the results of this great meeting. There were several stories shared by the youth participants, who work hard in the field of nuclear disarmament in their own countries. For example they make different posters, organize meetings, and street actions to make people all over the world and

in different societies aware about the problem of nuclear weapons.

We had the possibility to listen to people telling the real story from their country, for example Iran, India, Nepal, Fiji, and Lebanon. These countries have their own culture, a bit different from one another. It is very useful to know in what way they play their role in the process of nuclear disarmament, and we can all learn and share knowledge. By having contact with one another, we will be able to create a strong movement in the future. All the participants had the opportunity to play their role in the discussions on different topics. Having this great knowledge we will all play our individual and important role in nuclear disarmament.

ILSE WERMINK (WILPF Switzerland)

Nuclear disarmament is unfortunately not a hot topic for youth. The Palme Conference showed otherwise for those committed. It has helped to build up contacts among youth engaged in banning nukes and inform each other on projects they are involved in. It was good that the Palme Conference took place prior to the NGO Conference, to allow youth to reconnect and discuss ideas during the whole weekend. In discussing the NPT Review Conference in smaller groups there was a significant difference in background knowledge. There is a need for youth leaders to increase awareness and engage youth with the topic.

NINA EISENHARDT (BANg, Germany)

It was very motivating to meet with young people from all over the world who are interested in the topic of nuclear disarmament. We developed good ideas for cooperation towards the NPT conference in New York 2010. To see that we have common goals and a common message we can send out was very important: Our generation has not experienced the cold war. For us the military strategy of

deterrence is not logical or understandable and nuclear weapons are a useless relict we will not accept as our heritage.

SHANTA KUMAR SHRESTHA (IPPNW Nepal)

Being one of the 14 participants sponsored by Olof Palme Foundation, it is a great honor to witness and discuss what the world fora are currently doing for the Disarmament of Nuclear Weapons. It is an opportunity to get close perspective of the peace builders, to learn how things work in this field.

The workshop focused on Youth was a brain storming session which collaborated ideas, facts and possibilities from young minds around the globe and the recommendations presented before the main conference were worthwhile.

I had expected to get a better understanding of the current scenario of the Nuclear Disarmament and I got a lot more than what I had in my mind. The things discussed by the panels and the feedback from the participants elucidated many many details of the global context of Nuclear Weapons.

There are lots of challenges ahead in the pathway to a world free of Nuclear Weapons but I am sure the world is changing for good and we can be optimist of our future. The combined effort of old and new generation, the belief of co-existence, tolerance and mutual respect and the vigorous globalization of world will further diminish the need of any Weapons and we can expect a safer world in near future.

I am thankful to the Olof Palme Memorial Fund, the organizers, the experts and all the participants as well as my friends for making this conference a memorable one. ■

This Conference was arranged by:

THE SWEDISH NETWORK FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT:

Broderskapsrörelsen
Dentists against Nuclear Weapons
Educators for Peace Sweden
International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War Sweden
Nurses, Physiotherapists and Analysts against Nuclear Weapons
Psychologists against Nuclear Weapons
Scientists and Engineers against Nuclear Weapons
Soka Gakkai International, Swedish Section
Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation
Swedish Lawyers against Nuclear Weapons
Swedish Peace Committee
Swedish Women's Left Federation
The Swedish Anti-nuclear Movement
Women for Peace
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Swedish Section
Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (associated member)
The Olof Palme International Center (associated member)

In cooperation with:

ABF Stockholm
International Peace Bureau
Pugwash Sweden
United Nations Association of Sweden

Conference Organizing Committee:

Bo Wirmark (Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation), Curt Riberdahl (Swedish Lawyers against Nuclear Weapons), Emma Rosengren (Conference Coordinator, WILPF Sweden), Gunnar Lassinantti (The Olof Palme International Center), Ingrid Inglander (Educators for Peace Sweden), Leonore Wide (IPPNW Sweden), Meit Krakau (IPPNW Sweden), Stig Gustafsson (Swedish Lawyers against Nuclear Weapons)

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APPENDIX

LIST OF SPEAKERS

- AGNETA NORBERG (SE):** Board Member, Global Network against Weapons & Nuclear Power in Space
- AMI LÖNNROTH (SE):** Journalist and Author
- ANISSA ABOU SAKI (LB):** International Board Member Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) Lebanon
- ANASTASIA MEDVEDEVA (RU):** International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) Russia, participant in the Palme Project
- ANNA EK (SE):** Chairperson of the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society
- ANNA CARIN JOELSSON (SE):** Soka Gakkai International Swedish Section
- CHRISTER AHLSTRÖM (SE):** Deputy Director-General, Head of Department for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs
- DANIEL NORD (SE):** Deputy Director Stockholm International Peace Research Institute SIPRI
- DOMINIQUE LALANNE (FR):** Abolition 2000 Europe
- EHASE AGYENO (NE):** International Student Representative IPPNW
- ELENA BEZSMERTNA (UA):** IPPNW Ukraine, participant in the Palme Project
- FRIDA SUNDBERG (SE):** Vice President, Swedish Section of IPPNW
- GUNNAR WESTBERG (SE):** Former president of IPPNW
- HANS BLIX (SE):** Chairperson Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission WMDC
- HANS CORELL (SE):** Ambassador, Former Under-Secretary-General for Legal Affairs and the Legal Counsel of the United Nations
- HANS LEVANDER (SE):** Chairperson and Founder of the Life-Link Friendship-Schools Programme
- HENNING RODHE (SE):** Professor emeritus of Chemical Meteorology, Director of the International Meteorological Institute
- HENRIK SALANDER (SE):** Chairperson Middle Powers Initiative (MPI)
- HÅKAN MÅRTENSSON (SE):** Secretary General Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation
- IGOR S. NEVEROV (RU):** Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Sweden
- ILSE WERMINK (NL):** WILPF Switzerland, participant in the Palme Project
- IME JOHN (SE):** Co-president IPPNW
- INGER HOLMLUND (SE):** Founder of Budkavlen
- INGRID INGLANDER (SE):** MA, Educators for Peace
- JAN LARSSON (SE):** President Swedish Section of IPPNW
- JAN LODAL (US):** Former President of the Atlantic Council of the United States
- JAN PRAWITZ (SE):** Researcher (EM) Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Former Special Assistant for Arms Control to Sweden's Minister of Defense
- JOHN LORETZ (US):** Program Director IPPNW
- JOSEFINE KARLSSON (SE):** WILPF Sweden, Master of Ceremony

- JOZEF GOLDBLAT (CH):** Geneva International Peace Research Institute (GIPRI)
- KAI HAGEN (DE):** Friedenswerkstatt Mutlangen e.V., participant in the Palme Project
- KERSTIN GREBÄCK (SE):** Co-president WILPF
- KRISTIN BLOM (SE):** Campaigns Officer International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)
- LEILA MOEIN (IR):** IPPNW Iran, participant in the Palme Project
- LENA HJELM-WALLÉN (SE):** Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden
- LEONORE WIDE (SE):** Chairperson Swedish Network for Nuclear Disarmament, vice President Swedish Section of IPPNW
- MAJ BRITT THEORIN (SE):** Ambassador, former MP Sweden and European Parliament
- MASAKO IKEGAMI (SE):** Professor and Director of the Center for Pacific Asia Studies (CPAS), Stockholm University
- MERAV DATAN (IL):** Board Member and former Research Director, Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy (LCNP)
- MOHAMED SHAKER (EG):** Ambassador, Vice Chairman of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs
- NINA EISENHARDT (DE):** Ban All Nukes generation (BANg) Coordinator
- OLOF KLEBERG (SE):** Former editor-in-chief, Västerbottens-Kuriren, daily newspaper
- PETER WEIDERUD (SE):** Chairperson, the Swedish League of Christian Social Democrats (Broderskap),
Former Special Assistant for Arms Control to Sweden's Minister of Defense
- PETRA TÖTTERMAN ANDORFF (SE):** Secretary General Swedish Section of WILPF
- PIA JOHANSSON (SE):** Information Manager Swedish Section of WILPF
- PIERRE SCHORI (SE):** Chairperson the Olof Palme Memorial Fund
- PIOTR JANISZEWSKI (PL):** IALANA Poland, participant in the Palme Project
- RAY ACHESON (US):** Program Director Reaching Critical Will, a project of WILPF
- REBECCA JOHNSON (UK):** Founding Director and Editor of the Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy
- REGINA HAGEN (DE):** International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Nuclear Weapons INESAP
- ROLF EKÉUS (SE):** Ambassador, Chairperson Pugwash Sweden, Chairperson SIPRI
- SANDRA FONG (FJ):** WILPF Fiji, participant in the Palme Project
- SERGEJ KOLESNIKOV (RU):** Academician, President Russian Section of IPPNW
- SERGIO DUARTE (UN):** United Nations High Representative for Disarmament Affairs
- SHANTA KUMAR SHRESTHA (NP):** IPPNW Nepal, participant in the Palme Project
- STEFFEN KONGSTAD (NO):** Director General, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- STIG GUSTAFSSON (SE):** Former MP, President of Swedish Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms IALANA Sweden
- SUSANNA LIV (SE):** Olof Palme Memorial Fund
- SUSI SNYDER (US):** Secretary General WILPF, now serving as Programme Leader with IKV Pax Christi
- TIM WRIGHT (AU):** International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)
- TOMAS MAGNUSSON (SE):** President International Peace Bureau (IPB)

APPENDIX

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

FRIDAY 6 NOVEMBER: REACHING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

1-3 PM: MOBILIZING THE NEXT GENERATION FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

2-4.30 PM: REGISTRATION

4-5 PM: CONCERT BY FOLK MUSICIANS

5-5.15 PM: CONFERENCE OPENING

H.E. Sergio Duarte (UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs) - Christer Ahlström (Deputy Director General, Head of Department for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs)

5.15-6.45 PM: OPENING PANEL - REACHING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT - FROM VISIONS TO REALITY
Speakers: Hans Blix (WMDC) - Henrik Salander (MPI) - Rebecca Johnson (Acronym Institute)
- Chair: Susi Snyder (WILPF)

6.45-7 PM: AWARD CEREMONY: THE "UN-FRIEND OF THE YEAR" WILL BE ANNOUNCED BY UNA SWEDEN

7-9 PM: CONFERENCE RECEPTION

SATURDAY 7 NOVEMBER: FRAMING THE PICTURE - LEGAL, NORMATIVE AND HUMAN ASPECTS OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

9.00 - 9.15 AM: INTRODUCTION - Lena Hjelm-Wallén (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden)

9.15 - 10.15 AM: PANEL I - THE LEGAL AND NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK - CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES
Speakers: Igor S. Neverov (Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Sweden)
- Hans Corell (Ambassador, Former Legal Counsel of the UN) - Jozef Goldblat (GIPRI)
- Merav Datan (LCNP) - Chair: Gunnar Westberg (IPPNW)

10.45-12 AM: PANEL II - NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES - ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES
Jan Lodal (Former President of the Atlantic Council of the US)
- Dominique Lalanne (Abolition 2000 Europe) - Rebecca Johnson (Acronym Institute)
- Sergej Kolesnikov (IPPNW RU) - Chair: Ime John (IPPNW)

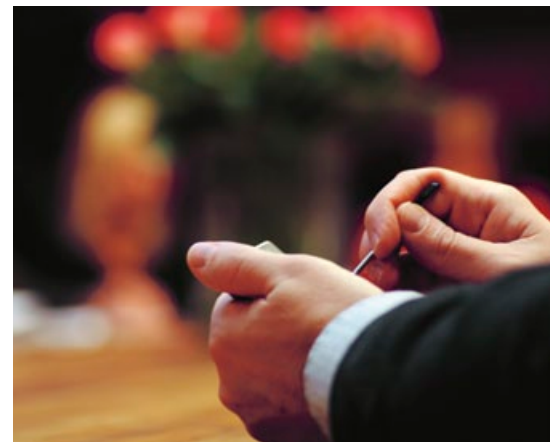
1.30-2.40 PM: SEMINAR I - SUSTAINING SECURITY ON THE ROAD TO ZERO
Speakers: Jan Lodal (Former President of the Atlantic Council of the US)
- Igor S. Neverov (Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Sweden) - John Loretz (IPPNW)
- Chair: Petra Tötterman Andorff (WILPF)

1.30-2.40 PM: SEMINAR II - MOBILIZING PEOPLE FOR CHANGE
Speakers: Peter Weiderud (Broderskap) - Kristin Blom (ITUC/IFS) - Anna Carin Joelsson (SSGI)
- Chair: Jan Larsson (IPPNW)

- 1.30-2.40 PM:** SEMINAR III - THE MIDDLE EAST - SUGGESTIONS FOR REACHING A SECURE AND PEACEFUL REGION
Speakers: Merav Datan (LCNP) - Jan Prawitz (EM) – Mohamed Shaker (Ambassador)
- Chair: Kerstin Grebäck (WILPF)
- 3.10 - 4.20 PM:** SEMINAR IV - NATO, THE EUROPEAN UNION AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE
Speakers: Susi Snyder (WILPF) - Daniel Nord (SIPRI) – Steffen Kongstad (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) – Jens Petersson (UNA Sweden) Chair: Stig Gustafsson (IALANA)
- 3.10 - 4.20 PM:** SEMINAR V - SPACE, MISSILES, AND CONTROL REGIMES
Speakers: Regina Hagen (INESAP) - Agneta Norberg (GN) - Chair: Frida Sundberg (IPPNW)
- 3.10 - 4.20 PM:** SEMINAR VI - ENERGY DEMANDS AND CLIMATE CHANGE: A ROLE FOR NUCLEAR ENERGY?
Speakers: Henning Rodhe (Professor emeritus) – Ulf Svensson (Pugwash)
- Chair: Gunnar Westberg (IPPNW)
- 4.30-5 PM:** SUMMARY AND REFLECTIONS
Gunnar Westberg (IPPNW) - Ami Lönnroth (Journalist)

SUNDAY 8 NOVEMBER: THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN STRENGTHENING THE NPT

- 9.00 - 11 AM:** PANEL - REACHING CRITICAL WILL FOR DISARMAMENT
Speakers: Ray Acheson (Reaching Critical Will) – Maj Britt Theorin (Ambassador SE)
- Peter Weiderud (Broderskap) – Kristin Blom (ITUC/IFS) - Chair: John Loretz (IPPNW)
- 11.30 AM - 1 PM:** SEMINAR I - CIVIL SOCIETY STRATEGIES AND PRIORITIES FOR THE NPT REVCON
Speakers: Susi Snyder (WILPF) - Regina Hagen (INESAP) – Tomas Magnusson (IPB)
- Chair: Håkan Mårtensson (Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation)
- 11.30 AM - 1 PM:** SEMINAR II - RAISING PUBLIC OPINION - EDUCATION, GRASSROOT ACTIVITY AND MEDIA
Speakers: Inger Holmlund (Budkavlen) Masako Ikegami (Professor)
- Hans Levander (Life-Link Friendship-Schools Programme) - Tim Wright (ICAN)
- Chair: Ingrid Inglander (Educators for Peace)
- 11.30 AM - 1 PM:** SEMINAR III - ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND REMAINING TASKS
- LESSONS FROM THE NPT'S 13 STEPS AND THE BLIX COMMISSION
Speakers: Ray Acheson (Reaching Critical Will) - Henrik Salander (MPI)
- Rebecca Johnson (Acronym Institute) - Chair: Maj Britt Theorin (Ambassador SE)
- 11.30 AM - 1 PM:** SEMINAR IV - THE NEW GENERATION - ACHIEVING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT IN THE 21ST CENTURY
Speakers: Sandra Fong (WILPF Fiji) - Ehasz Agyeno (IPPNW Nigeria) - Nina Eisenhardt (BANg DE)
- Katharina Bergmann (IPPNW DE) – Kai Hagen (Friedenswerkstatt Mutlangen)
- Chair: Anna Ek (Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society SE)
- 1.15 - 2 PM:** SUMMARY - THE WAY FORWARD - A ROADMAP FOR REACHING ZERO
Rolf Ekéus (Ambassador) - Olof Kleberg (Journalist) - Leonore Wide (IPPNW)



*A sincere thank you to all
volunteers and participants*



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