

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Twenty-five nations met in the Canadian capital on September 28-29 for a Middle Powers Initiative (MPI)-sponsored consultation on Responding to the Challenges to the NPT. This was the third meeting of the MPI's Article VI Forum, an initiative designed to create an informal setting where diplomats, experts and NGOs can discuss ways to strengthen the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).
2. The Ottawa consultation centered on the premise that the next NPT Review Conference in 2010, the central instrument meant to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons, must not repeat the failure of the 2005 Review.
3. Canadian Foreign Minister Peter MacKay delivered a welcoming address, saying "Canada is committed to a coherent, comprehensive and packaged approach toward the NPT that does not neglect any of the 'three pillars' on which the Treaty is based: non-proliferation, disarmament and peaceful uses of nuclear energy." He added, "Canada recognizes and supports the valuable role that civil society can play in the NPT Review Process. Our support for this meeting here in Ottawa today is a tangible sign of that belief." The consultation was held in the Foreign Ministry building with the support of the Government of Canada.
4. The UN Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Nobuaki Tanaka, delivered the keynote address. "Multilateralism," he said, "is what is required to consolidate these gains in a coherent global framework that is stable, permanent, and just. It is here that the middle powers have enormously important contributions to make. They enter this process from the moral high ground of those states that chose not to seek weapons of mass destruction – they are practicing what they preach."
5. In addition to 23 "middle power" governments, two of the nuclear states, the UK and China, sent diplomats to participate in the technical discussions on the first day. The US, Russia and France were invited, but did not attend. Some 60 representatives from NGOs attended, as well as officials from the United Nations, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization, and members of the International Panel on Fissile Materials, a panel of some of the world's leading nuclear scientists in order to promote the control of the stocks of weapons-grade nuclear materials.
6. The consultation focused on five technical issues, identified at earlier consultations, which are key to any progress in nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation: the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT); a Fissile Materials Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT); de-alerting and reduction of US/Russian nuclear dangers; negative security assurances (NSAs); and verification. Diplomatic and academic experts gave their views on each of these five issues, both the technical dimensions of the issue and the political potential of moving these issues forward in the disarmament and non-proliferation fields.
7. The CTBT –not yet entered into force – and an FMCT –for which negotiations have not yet

begun – were seen as the two avenues for effective work on disarmament in the short term. The CTBT was signed in 1996 but ten of the 44 countries needed for entry-into- force, including the US and China, have not ratified the treaty. This treaty is considered key to disarmament and non-proliferation efforts since by halting testing, nuclear weapons states cannot reliably develop new weapons and states aspiring to nuclear status cannot test to ensure their weapons will work. Depending on its scope, an FMCT would halt the production of new fissile materials, require the inventory of all stock and the elimination of excess materials not needed for functioning nuclear weapons.

8. Verification is a cross-discipline issue dealing with the various ways to ensure that arms control agreements – bilateral and multilateral – are adhered to. The irony is that as the science of verification (satellite inspections, detection systems for air, soil and water, tamper-proof seals) improves, the political commitment to verification is weakening. This is particularly true of the United States, which over the last six years has rejected any verification mechanisms for either existing or planned treaties, arguing that verification is too unreliable. This position has been rejected by the scientific community and the vast majority of states.

9. NSAs – guarantees by the nuclear powers not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states – are a long-standing demand of non-nuclear weapons states parties to the NPT. Their argument is simply that since they have renounced the use of nuclear weapons, the five nuclear states parties to the NPT should give them unequivocal legally-binding guarantees that they would not be targets of nuclear weapons.

10. Unlike the other four issues, which require multilateral cooperation, de-alerting is essentially a bilateral issue between the United States and Russia. The strategic postures of the two largest nuclear states still – 15 years after the end of the Cold War – involve approximately 3,000 nuclear weapons on hair-trigger alert aimed at each other. The goal of middle powers is to encourage the US and Russia to remove these weapons from high alert in order to avoid accidents.

11. The panelists addressing Multilateral Deliberations and Negotiations discussed the various stratagems for advancing the key disarmament and non-proliferation initiatives, especially an FMCT and the NPT Review Process. The lack of progress on negotiating an FMCT is raising the possibility of finding some other forum for talks outside of the Conference on Disarmament. While a permanent secretariat would help avoid deadlock in the NPT Preparatory Committees and Review Conferences, panelists believed that dedicated diplomatic initiatives using the existing mechanisms could ensure that the 2010 Review Conference does not repeat the fate of 2005. Besides political avenues, participants suggested that efforts on the technical and scientific front could help advance an FMCT, as such expertise aided the diplomats negotiating the CTBT.

12. The panel on Building Political Engagement with the Nuclear Weapon States focused on both the political underpinnings of the dialogue and the institutional methods for promoting that engagement. At the same time that nuclear doctrines expand the circumstance in which these weapons can be used, the avenues for dialogue between nuclear and non-nuclear powers contract. Therefore, convincing the nuclear weapons states that disarmament is in their own interests has become more difficult. The way out of this dilemma lies in using existing structures

– the NPT, Nuclear Weapon Free Zones – in new, creative and positive ways.

13. In conclusion, Senator Douglas Roche, O.C., the Chairman of MPI, said MPI “takes it as a hallmark that we are in business to help the NPT. We are committed to the NPT.” He added that MPI was ready to help the middle powers in ensuring a positive outcome for the NPT Review Process, which starts in 2007 and culminates in the 2010 Review Conference.

14. The 25 States participating in the consultation were: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Germany, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, Malaysia, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, South Korea, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

## OPENING SESSION

15. Senator Douglas Roche, O.C., the Chairman of the Middle Powers Initiative (MPI), opened the Ottawa Consultation by welcoming the participants to the third Article VI Forum and thanking the Government of Canada, and in particular the officers of the Department of Foreign Affairs for their great assistance and courtesy. He also offered “a special welcome to the representatives of the nuclear weapons States Parties to the NPT (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty) who have come today to engage with us in a dialogue on these technical issues. It is important for all of us to develop understanding of the perspectives and security needs of all states.”

16. Setting the tone for the two day meeting, he said, “The agenda of the Article VI Forum is both substantive and hopeful. But it is not complacent. MPI has very much in mind the recent warning of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan that the international community appears to be ‘sleepwalking’ towards a possible nuclear catastrophe.”

17. He noted this consultation was convened to examine five priority measures needed for moving forward the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation agenda: a Fissile Materials Cut-Off Treaty

(FMCT); verification of the reduction and elimination of nuclear arsenals; the reduction of the operational status of nuclear forces; the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT); and strengthening assurances of non-use of nuclear weapons against non-weapon States.



*Ms. Macha MacKay, Hon. Douglas Roche, Hon. Peter MacKay, Amb. Johannes Landman, USG Nobuaki Takana (hidden) and Mr. Jonathan Granoff*