EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Middle Powers Initiative's Atlanta Consultation III: Fulfilling the NPT was marked by openness in the deliberations and an eagerness to explore all options for fulfilling the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)-both at the May Review Conference and beyond. For the third time in the run-up to an NPT Review Conference, President Jimmy Carter and the Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia, hosted this MPI consultation. It took place January 20-22, 2010.



Ambassador Burk (United States), GSI President Jonathan Granoff, President Jimmy Carter, UN High Representative Sergio Duarte and MPI Chairman Emeritus Douglas Roche

In his opening remarks, Amb. Henrik Salander, the Chairman of MPI, said governments "must be seen to start preparing for a convention, since that is the only credible way of fulfilling the NPT in the very long run." (Due to an illness that prevented him from flying, Amb. Salander was unable to attend the Consultation, but his remarks were read to the Consultation.) Sen. Douglas Roche, Chairman Emeritus of the MPI and substitute Chairman of the Consultation, noted, "Were the nuclear weapon states to make such a commitment, they would not only save the Non-Proliferation Treaty from further erosion but gain the moral authority to call on the rest of the world to curb the proliferation of these inhumane weapons."

Keynote addresses also emphasized the need for immediate action. President Jimmy Carter said, "I hope that this group will be aggressive and persistent and demanding on all of the players in shaping world attitudes and actions in future years and that does not exclude the five original nuclear powers that have signed the NPT and who in my mind, have not complied with it." The Hon. Gareth Evans, the Co-Chair of the International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament, speaking at a dinner opening the Consultation, said, "The time is better now than it's been in the last ten years when the international community has been sleepwalking. The potential is there to grab this issue by the scruff and take it forward. If we don't - and we've lived long enough to lament - we're going to regret not taking this opportunity."

Plenary and breakout sessions focused on the immediate concerns related to the Review Conference and on the longer-term issues - such as nuclear doctrine and a fissile materials cut-off - that need to be addressed in order to advance a nuclear weapon-free world. MPI representatives and other non-governmental speakers argued that there can be no more delay in proceeding towards the elimination of nuclear weapons and urged the governments present to take more explicit positions in favor of a global, non-discriminatory treaty banning nuclear weapons, such as a nuclear weapons convention (NWC). What emerged from the Consultation was a common belief that success at the Review Conference will require a balanced approach to all the commitments in the Treaty and its supporting documents, including the 1995 Middle East resolution and elements of the 13 Practical Steps. There was also clarity as to the challenges the diplomats will face in May, especially the issues upon which success of the Review Conference hinges. The future of other agreements - the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), US/Russian strategic weapons talks, a Fissile Materials Cut-off Treaty - are inextricably linked to the effectiveness of the NPT. Issues relating to doctrines - such as how to lessen and remove nuclear weapons from the security equation, no first use, and extended deterrence without nuclear weapons were also substantively examined.

The President-Elect of the 2010 Review Conference, Ambassador Libran Cabactulan, said success at the Review Conference can be defined by agreement on three "substantive challenges:" a disarmament action plan that is "doable and aggressive;" the "logical" implementation of the Middle East resolution; and "the robust strengthening of the NPT regime that would enable it to respond to questions like withdrawal, compliance, [and] full implementation of the NPT." Speaking to these issues, the UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Sergio Duarte, said, "Support for the Treaty remains overwhelmingly strong among the states parties. There seems to be general agreement that a positive outcome should be based on a balanced approach to the three pillars of the NPT."

In other speeches and the plenary sessions Strategies for the NPT Review Conference and Fulfilling the NPT: A Global Undertaking, the panelists approached the issues with a mix of optimism over the broad areas of agreement and caution because most of the well-known, intractable problems remain. The optimism was based on political (the change of policy in the United States) and technical (the settlement of most practical problems during the preparatory committee ahead of the Review Conference) reasons. On the other hand, there was broad consensus that the substantive issues that have been on the NPT Review Conference agenda for years - entry-into-force of the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty, the Middle East resolution, balancing proliferation concerns with the right to nuclear technology - remain unresolved. Some of the key areas where NPT commitments can be advanced by non-nuclear weapon states, diplomats from those countries said, include implementation of the Comprehensive Test-Ban and the Fissile Materials Cut-off Treaties and to influence debates over doctrine to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in war-fighting strategies.

A recurring theme was the pivotal role of the United States. The panel on Fulfilling the NPT: President Obama's Vision focused on the willingness of the Obama administration to reengage in multilateral efforts and the sweep of the President's April 2009 speech in Prague. This gave rise to numerous statements looking forward to a constructive US role in advancing the nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament agenda. Ambassador Susan Burk, the US Special Representative of the President for Nuclear Non-proliferation, emphasized this renewed multilateral cooperative approach of the US. "It really will require the support, the efforts and the creativity and the good will and the political will of all of our partners," she said, "We have a collective of parties to this Treaty... The Review Conference will be an opportunity to demonstrate to what some have called the cynics and the skeptics, that multilateral diplomacy is a vehicle for solving the problems of the globe."

From the beginning of the Consultation, speakers stressed that the elimination of nuclear weapons was not only necessary but inevitable. Taking this insight to heart, MPI rearranged the last day of the Consultation to take full advantage of the emerging debate on elimination. The panelists on the plenary session *Avenues to a Nuclear Weapons Convention*, agreed with Amb. Salander's analysis that preparing for a NWC "is the only credible way of fulfilling the NPT in the very long run." While accepting that a NWC was not immediately achievable, speakers called for immediate preparatory work to avoid the trap of putting the goal off so far in the future so as to render it meaningless. The argument was also made that a NWC would be an umbrella under which all nuclear arms control treaties would merge.

There were three breakout sessions focusing on issues that are regularly linked to the success of the Review Conference: the entry-into-force of the CTBT; progress on fulfilling the 1995 resolution on the Middle East; and a fundamental reconsideration of nuclear weapons in strategic doctrine. The CTBT panelists noted that while the climate for entry-into-force of the Treaty has improved, several difficult obstacles remained. Likewise, the Middle East session focused on the long-running controversies confronting the parties, including the creation of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the region. In the session

on doctrine, participants saw several openings to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons from strategic planning as a contribution to nuclear disarmament.

Twenty middle power governments, two nuclear weapon states - the United States and United Kingdom - participated in the Consultation, as well as representatives of the United Nations, the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) and the Carter Center. The twenty middle power governments were: Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Egypt, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, the Philippines, South Africa, South Korea, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, and Zimbabwe.

STRATEGIES FOR THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE

Any conference focused on fulfilling the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) logically must articulate how that goal can be advanced at the May 2010 Review Conference for the Treaty. A common theme of many keynote addresses and plenary sessions was to describe the steps and strategies necessary for the May RevCon to succeed. There was cautious optimism that the Review Conference could be a success, especially given the marked improvements in the international climate, both within the NPT review process and international relations in general.

In his opening remarks, Ambassador Henrik Salander, the Chairman of MPI, said governments "must be seen to start preparing for a (nuclear weapon) convention, since that is the only credible way of fulfilling the NPT in the very long run." (Due to an illness that prevented him from flying, Amb. Salander was unable to attend the Consultation, but his remarks were read to the Consultation.) Mr. Jonathan Granoff, President of the Global Security Institute (GSI), highlighted the steps Amb. Salander identified as necessary for moving the world forward. Some steps are met with virtual consensus, such as verified deep reductions of the two largest arsenals, a negotiated stop to the production of fissile materials and the test ban in force. Yet other, "equally necessary" steps have not yet been met with consensus, including "security assurances, multilateral regulation of the fuel cycle, de-alerting of launch-ready weapons, no first use pledges, andimproved governance of the NPT."



ICNND Chairman Gareth Evans says something amusing in his comments to President Carter. US Ambassador Susan Burk, MPI Chairman Emeritus Doug Roche, and GSI President Jonathan Granoff also pictured.

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Of the many issues the Review Conference could address, Ambassador Sergio Duarte, the UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, focused particularly on the "widespread expectation that the time has clearly come to devalue, delegitimize, and reduce the role of nuclear weapons in defense policies." Rather than modernizing or refurbishing existing arsenals, Amb. Duarte maintained "what is most in need of modernization and refurbishing right now is disarma-

ment itself--- especially in the field of transparency, including verification and credible efforts to achieve irreversible reductions."

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