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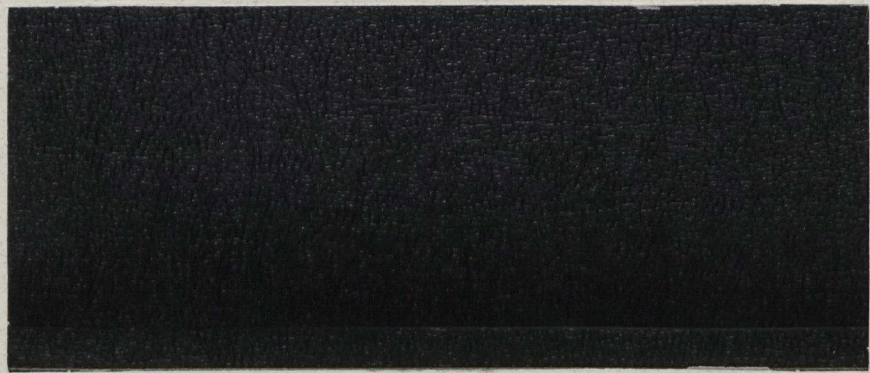
Canadian Centre
For Foreign Policy
Development



Centre canadien
pour le développement
de la politique étrangère

**Nuclear Weapons
and
the Future**







125 Sussex Dr. Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2

Dept. of Foreign Affairs
Min. des Affaires étrangères

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THE FUTURE OF NUCLEAR ARMS

IMPLICATIONS FOR CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY
Integrated Report from Roundtables in Ottawa, Kingston and
Victoria - December, 1998

THE CONTEXT

"The Future of Nuclear Weapons" was discussed at roundtables held in Kingston, Ottawa and Victoria during early December. These timely discussions coincided with the 1998 NATO Strategic Concept Review in Brussels and the pending release of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's report, "Canada and the Nuclear Challenge" (December 19, 1998).

Nuclear Weapons and the Future

International and Canadian reports from government and civil society (NGOs, think-tanks, strategic studies academics) addressed a number of key issues at the three roundtables, including:

- the NATO Strategic Concept Review
- ballistic missile defence
- the Non-Proliferation Treaty
- Canada and USA relations
- the role of middle powers
- the future role of NATO
- the elimination of all nuclear weapons - feasibility and desirability, and
- the increased threat of biological and chemical weapons

It was a complex and ambitious agenda. Nuclear weapons culture is currently undergoing transition and although some thought Canada should work within the existing US lead consensus, these roundtables confirmed support for Canadian leadership to pursue reducing and eliminating nuclear weapons.

KEY THEMES

1. Canada's objectives and roles:

There was strong agreement at the three roundtables that Canada should continue to pursue the principle to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons. Some policies and practices toward this goal should be developed. Canada should support both strong, sophisticated principles and practices. According to Professor Graham Cook, Institute of International Relations, University of British Columbia, "we shouldn't give up on one for the other (principles or practices). Canada should pursue intelligent change based on well-organized policy development." (Victoria)

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KEY THEMES:

1. Canada's objectives and roles:

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The Standing Committee's report, "Canada and the Nuclear Challenge" is a reference point for further debate and analysis and will shape Canada's role and objectives. The report was not released at the time of the three roundtables but the final draft recommendations were examined by Michel Fortmann, University of Montreal, at the Kingston roundtable (Appendix 1)

There will be 150 days to respond to the Standing Committee's report once released on Dec. 10, 1998.

2. Elimination:

a) "Prohibition": John Steinbruner, Brookings Institute in Washington, DC, stated that elimination of nuclear weapons must be taken very seriously. He claimed that ultimate elimination was not feasible in the near future and introduced the goal of "prohibition" whereby weapons are put into a "status of other than active". In his opinion, abolition of weapons needed much more thought and new strategies and practices need to be developed.

b) "Safety": The immediate nuclear operating conditions are very unsafe worldwide, with new proliferators in Asia. Problems are compounded as the US and Russia are using standard Cold War deterrence (execute within 20 minutes) when Russia's current capacity is about a century behind that of the United States. Russia is drifting with a deteriorating infrastructure. "We have not fathomed the problems in Russia - deep structural problems which have become an unmovable burden and consequently the greatest security issue in the world." (Steinbruner, Victoria roundtable) Alyn Ware raised the concerns expressed worldwide about Y2K.

c) Disclosure: Steinbruner recommended an accurate accounting system be designed and executed worldwide - a transparent, accurate accounting of all nuclear weapons as a step in achieving the goal of prohibition. Alyn Ware further emphasized the new disarmament agenda point of creating inventory for both nuclear weapons and fissile materials.

d) "Reinforcing the Moral Order": Reinforcement of the moral climate in public opinion will build public and political support for the elimination of nuclear weapons. The seriousness must be recaptured in the public's mind. "We must build a moral order and moral response to those weapons which is the central thing that durability depends upon. Remember we need to have barriers between knowledge and use which transcend a broad range of political and strategic environments. That kind of moral understanding of the heinousness of these weapons is going to be, in the long term, fundamental to a successful regime and international climate that abolishes nuclear weapons." (Ernie Regeher, Project Ploughshares, Ottawa roundtable)

e) The nuclear culture is changing: US Senator Alan Cranston (Victoria roundtable) gave an impassioned argument for moving quickly to major, not incremental, reductions in the level of nuclear weapons held by the US and Russia, supporting the technical arguments of Steinbruner and the moral issues of holding such arsenals stated by Regeher. Senator Cranston strongly stated that the post-war environment does not support the Cold War logic represented by the largely unchanged US doctrine and expenditure on nuclear weapons.

David Haglund, Queen's University, questioned for reflection that "the international system had been fundamentally altered and the transatlantic zone of peace was not based upon a balance-of-power ultima ratio but a post-westphalian, post-balance-of-power order." (Kingston) The question of nuclear arms within these worldwide changes needs new approaches as does the reflection on the issue of the possibility of real progress on nuclear issues.

3. Canada and NATO:

a) "The future of NATO" An evolving global role for NATO was articulated but not defined. Questions raised included:

- * what kind of new role for NATO
- * who leads these changes
- * what about nuclear arms out of area?
- * what is the role of the European Union and the "new Europe" ?

Canada could play an important role in shaping the changing role of NATO. Some Canadian experts feel NATO is the place to get a genuine debate going on the feasibility of eliminating nuclear weapons.

b) "NATO and Nuclear Arms" Canada is in a position to help the re-thinking of how NATO might address nuclear weapon issues. Dean Oliver (Victoria roundtable) and some other strategic studies experts cautioned that to address nuclear weapons questions in the NATO review would be divisive and counter-productive at this time. Others felt, "If not now, then when?" (Peggy Mason, CCIPS). The current NATO review process timeframe (April 1999, Washington) may be short but it is a window to raise the level of debate particularly with strong public support in Canada for NATO at this time. The NATO membership is growing to include former allies of Russia and NATO has a partnership with Russia, so this is a critical moment to raise issues and debate. ("Who is the enemy now that Russia is a NATO partner?")

c) "Political Value" Many saw an opportunity to show leadership in re-thinking the "nuclear culture". Changing the rhetoric to reduce the stated "political value" of possessing nuclear arms long after their cold war political indispensability is crucial to reduce the risk of proliferation and strengthen the NPT. The emerging document from the NATO review should not contain language that reflects the status of weapons (Tom Graham, Ottawa roundtable). Canada could play a role in these wording changes (Sir Michael Alexander, UK, Victoria roundtable)

4. Canada - United States Relations: Professor Stephen Clarkson, University of Toronto, raised Canada's capacity to take an independent position on nuclear disarmament in opposition to American policy. Despite Canada's deep integration into the American economy it was felt historically Canada had taken some initiatives (criticism of Helms-Burton Act, pursuing the ban on land mines, international criminal court) which have not provoked retaliation. However, Canada's political culture of compromise, compliance and participation will likely work against taking a stand independent of US policy. The experience of fallout for New Zealand as a result of taking an independent position must be remembered.

Louis Delvoie, Queen's University, said, "One pitfall to be avoided....is to embarrass the Americans which would play to isolationist elements in the US for two reasons: US full engagement is essential to maintain world peace and Canada is ever-more dependent on the US for its trade and well-being. (Kingston roundtable)

Cathleen Fisher said a review of US policy is long overdue and the American public should know of the varying views on what to do and the different frames of reference in discussion. She asked where is the theological and moral debate? Canada could help raise this awareness.

5. Nuclear Five, Non Proliferation Treaty and others: US Ambassador Tom Graham strongly stated "There are only 5 nuclear powers and there will only ever be 5 nuclear powers". Graham emphasized the NPT's dual bargain of non-nuclear states agreeing not to acquire nuclear weapons and that nuclear would engage in disarmament negotiations. He said any review of nuclear policy must start with the NPT which is the "security cornerstone" within the context of nuclear weapons.

Sir Michael Alexander, former UK representative on the North Atlantic Council emphasized old power and the status quo. He said the discussion of the future of nuclear arms should be with the Nuclear Five only and Canada "shouldn't knock the nuclear culture too hard". He cautioned Canada shouldn't take too high a profile in the nuclear discussions within NATO. Perhaps flagging disclosure and transparency and wording changes would be useful.

Vertical proliferation is not occurring, but horizontal proliferation is taking place in three areas of the world: the Middle East (Israel), South Asia (India, Pakistan), and East Asia (China, North Korea), although there may be some willingness for non-proliferation in China. The situation in India and Pakistan and in North Korea were immediate concerns, as is the non recognition of these new proliferators.

Brahma Chellaney from India strongly stated it is unlikely India will renounce it's nuclear capability unless the "Nuclear Five" do so. The recent testing in India was shocking and Peggy Mason reminded that norms are not binding and are not international laws. Major Avi Kober from Israel stated as long as there is a biological and chemical threat, Israel will not make any reductions in their nuclear arms.

6. Middle Powers: At the Ottawa roundtable, Senator Douglas Roche said, "Canada's abstention vote on the New Agenda Coalition (NAC) resolution at the UN signals a shift in Canada's policy on nuclear weapons." The Middle Power Initiative supports a no-first-use policy but only as an interim measure towards an unequivocal commitment to immediate steps and negotiations required for the elimination of nuclear arms. Senator Roche emphasized the need for like-minded non-nuclear governments and forward-minded movements of civil society to work together for change, as they had in the Ottawa Process to ban landmines.

Other participants emphasized the need for Canada to make real efforts to establish links with other middle powers who are potential allies, such as Germany. The economic depression in East Asia could cause Japan to move towards using a limited number of nuclear weapons as diplomatic leverage, just as China is indicating they do not want a nuclearized East Asia.

7. **Public debate, role and legitimacy of policy:** The public needs to know the depth of the seriousness of the debate. Although it is hard to engage the public in slow elimination, they do support comprehensive efforts as is evidenced in the public support for the eradication of landmines. Conrad Wynn said Canadian opinion has an appetite for ethical decisions but not anti-Americanism.

Cathleen Fisher, Stimson Center, Washington, DC, articulated the need to devise creative solutions such as new agreements on transparency and methods of engaging the UK and France in the debates. She emphasized that a theological and moral debate should take place and the need for strong political will and leadership.

Engaging retired, respected military similar to the recent statements by retired American military and civilian leaders organized by Senator Cranston was seen as a tool for legitimacy. Alyn Ware, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy, said public opinion favours the establishment of a Nuclear Weapons Convention, even though governments do not, and "there is more support for such a convention than for the elimination of nuclear weapons." (Ottawa roundtable)

8. **No First Use:** Even though the agenda is full and opinion diverse, the "no first use" discussion is seen by many as a useful vehicle to open up debate within NATO. For the upcoming NATO review, Ambassador Tom Graham stated, "NATO should downplay the significance of nuclear weapons and commit to no-first-use policy....emerging documents should not contain language reflecting the status of nuclear weapons as the most important weapon that NATO possesses, that it is essential to peace or that it is the ultimate guarantee to NATO's security..... These steps would strengthen the the NPT and reduce the risk of proliferation." (Ottawa roundtable)

The current language of NATO maintains political status of nuclear weapons, particularly the right of first-use. This political value of nuclear arms must be reduced. It was also stated that a global no-first use should be put in the existing context to include proliferators in Asia (India, Pakistan, Korea). David Haglund expressed another view, "Why rock the boat when NATO is adapting well to a new security landscape/doctrine?" If the end-game of no first use is the abolition of nuclear weapons, there is no proof there is correlation between the two. If in the end no-first use is neither here nor there, why spend political capital on the issue?"

9: **Dangers - Accidents; Command and Control; Russia:** The situation in Russia is very serious and the greatest nuclear threat. Russia is now seen to be a failing state. Russia is almost in a state of forced disarmament with poor maintenance over aging weapons, limited command and control over unemployed scientists and lacking the security of political leadership by someone like Gorbachev.

Tariq Rauf, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, California, gave a riveting presentation on the vast potential of nuclear anarchy in Russia (with strong disagreement from Igor Sutyagin, Moscow). Rauf outlined the potential for leakage, possible accidents and the human proliferation of unemployed Russian scientists going to China, Taiwan, India and Pakistan. Repeatedly stated was the importance of a commitment that nuclear arms will not be used to deter the use of chemical and biological weapons.

10. **United States Policy and Public Opinion:** Gwynne Dyer, at the Ottawa roundtable said, "No-first use exists in practice in NATO but there is a gulf between US rhetoric and US policy on nuclear arms. The US is adamant not to change their posture because of domestic vested interests of the military industrial complex rather than any strategic or diplomatic interests." The US uses the threat of biological and chemical weapons as a means of continuing the first use of nuclear weapons. The US must re-examine and alter these postures. It should show leadership.

Gordon Smith, Director of the Centre for Global Studies, also emphasized that the US must take a lead. "Today there are approximately 3,000 launchers on high alert in each of the US and Russia. It is necessary to move quickly to 500 or less on each side. The US must take the lead." (Nuclear Weapons - Cold War Relics?)

Tad Daly, UN Charter Campaign, said, "by illuminating how close we have come to nuclear war in the past it is possible to capture the imagination of the US public". He supported university campaigns, printed materials, and concerts as public mobilization methods. He stated the future of nuclear weapons should be on the agenda of the next presidential election in the US.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

- * Canada should support the review process of NATO and provide some leadership in defining the emerging role for NATO - what is it, who leads it and what does it do in the changing context of the nuclear culture ?
- * Canada should support the re-examination of NATO's strategy for the possible first use of nuclear weapons.
- * Russia's problems are enormous - the command and control and maintenance of it's nuclear weapons is frightening - the country needs assistance in many areas.
- * Canadian policy should be well-grounded and balanced in principles and practice with intelligent responses to the Standing Committee report.
- * Canadian public support is strong for NATO.
- * Civil society initiatives expand the parameters of mobilization and public support for abolition of nuclear weapons.
- * The horizontal proliferation in Asia needs to be addressed.
- * Canada should support the German Initiatives
- * Canada should not get involved in ballistic missiles.
- * It is important to include DFAIT and DND in discussions at same time as these implications impact on both foreign policy and defence policy.
- * The land-mines success proved issue-based coalitions are effective and Canada should continue to take a lead in similar processes.

Conclusion:

The Ottawa, Kingston and Victoria roundtables took place prior to the release of "Canada and the Nuclear Challenge". Underlying tensions do exist between those who feel Canada should take strong leadership and those who caution the dangers of rocking the NATO boat. Within the willingness to pursue the principle of reduction and/or elimination there are those who would take different paths.

There are those who want stronger leadership which pushes a new disarmament agenda, supports the German initiative, recognizes the strengths of civil society initiatives, knows independent action can be taken without serious retaliation, knows there is public support for reduction and understands the success of the landmines initiative. On the other side there are those that highlight Canada's experiences with nuclear weapons, the dangers of raising issues that could lessen Canada's influence and the pitfalls of embarrassing the US.

Further expert opinion and analysis should relate to the framework of the Standing Committee final report released on December 10, 1998. Themes emphasized in the roundtables and found in "Canada and the Nuclear Challenge" could be looked at further by experts who have 150 days (from Dec. 10) to respond.

Draft report prepared by:

Dawn McLean,
Consultant, Victoria, B.C.

Appendix 1:

1. to reduce the political value and legitimacy of nuclear weapons
2. to mobilize public opinion through an awareness of the humanitarian, environmental and economic costs of proliferation.
3. to provide more information to Canadians on the civil use of nuclear technology to maintain the support of public opinion for these technologies.
4. to encourage nuclear weapons states to declare their non-equivocal commitment to begin and conclude negotiations on the elimination of nuclear weapons.
5. to strongly support the concept of de-alerting of all nuclear arsenals.
6. to encourage both the US and Russia to carry on with the START process and in particular the ratification of START II by Russia.
7. to study, with the US and Russia, the possibility of installing a direct hotline with NORAD in order to avoid the possible problems with the Y2K problem.
8. to discard the option of burning mixed oxide fuel (MOX) in Canada.
9. to encourage Britain, France and China to de-alert their nuclear arsenals
10. to support all international efforts to solve the regional security problems in East Asia and the Middle East.
11. to support international efforts to impede the proliferation of biological and chemical weapons as well as delivery systems.
12. to convince other states to sign the new nuclear cooperation agreements
13. to add a clause which would require annual meetings with Canadians to all future nuclear cooperation agreements
14. to reaffirm Canada's support for the NPT and to counter any attempts to revise the treaty to recognize Pakistan and India as nuclear weapon countries. To ratify the CTBT and to incite other states to do the same.
15. to vigorously emphasize within NATO the need to include the nuclear component in the reexamination of its Strategic concept and that the latter should indicate that:
 - * all members are committed to reduce nuclear arsenals and eventually eliminate them
 - * the probability of the use of nuclear weapons is lower than it has ever been and the possibility of resorting to these weapons must be progressively diminished
 - * the Alliance's political and military strength precludes the need for American nuclear weapons in Europe to demonstrate the solidarity of its members and the transatlantic link.



125 Sussex Dr. Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2

OTTAWA

November 26, 1998
Room 307, West Block, Parliament
9 am

The International Environment on Nuclear Weapons
Gwynne Dyer
Journalist and Military Historian

Nuclear Weapons in Context: Canada - U.S. Relations
Professor Stephen Clarkson
University of Toronto

Nuclear Weapons in Context: Public Opinion
Conrad Wynn
Compass Research

COMMENT

The Disarmament Agenda
Alyn Ware
Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy

Practical Steps
Ernie Regehr
Project Ploughshares

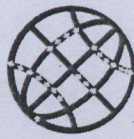
COMMENT

The Middle Powers Initiative
Douglas Roche
Senator

Other Initiatives: U.S. Public Opinion
Tad Daley
President, United Nations Charter Campaign

COMMENT

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION



125 Sussex Dr. Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2

KINGSTON

December 1, 1998

Royal Military College

Yeo Hall, Commandant's Conference Room

10am

The National Interest, U.S. Deterrence

Britain and Post West-Phalian Europe

Professor David Haglund

Director, Centre for International Relations

Queen's University

Canada's Cold War Nuclear Experience

Joel Sokolsky

Royal Military College

Other Participants Include:

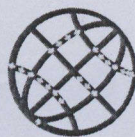
Don Macnamarra, David Law, Jane Bolden,

Boris Castel (Editor, Queen's Quarterly),

Houchang Hassan-Yari (RMC),

Lt. Col. Bill Peters (DND), Michael Fortmann,

Orrick White



125 Sussex Dr. Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2

VICTORIA

December 7, 1998
Oak Bay Beach Hotel

8:30 a.m.

The Feasibility of Eliminating Nuclear Weapons
Political factors, security issues, prospects for proliferation

Defending Against Weapons of Mass Destruction
biological and chemical weapons and the role of anti-missile defences

No First Use, Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Declarations
and Positive Security Assurances
Changes in doctrine and international law

Reducing the Risk of Nuclear War
Reducing warheads and delivery systems

December 8

Rogue Events
*Nuclear anarchy in Russia, accidents, miscalculation,
desperation, terrorism and relevance of deterrence*

Strengthening International Regimes
Responding to proliferation

Implications for Canadian Foreign and Defence Policy

Participants Include:

*Sir Michael Quinlan (Ditchley Foundation, U.K.),
Erwin Haeckel, Karl-Heinz Kamp, Avi Kober,
Nabil Ayad, Brahma Chellaney, Cathleen Fisher,
Andrew J. Pierre, Sergei Rogov, Lawrence Scheinman,
Jane M.O. Sharp, John Steinbruner*

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Nuclear weapons and the future. -

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