

Disarmament Times

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News & Analysis | [Sejal Vora](#)

Moving the Small Arms Agenda Forward

Report from the Third Biennial Meeting of States

A wave of optimism swept over the United Nations small arms process in July, when progress on implementing the 2001 Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms in All Its Aspects received new momentum.¹

On 18 July, after seven months of preparation and five days of face-to-face discussions at the Third Biennial Meeting of States, 134 states voted to adopt a final outcome document outlining actions needed to counter the global illicit trade in a variety of small and medium caliber weapons and explosive ordnance.² (See accompanying story, page 7, for details of the outcome document.) The vote provides new impetus to a process that began in July 2001 at the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons.

While the decision represents a significant victory, it is also a complicated one. The lopsided vote — 134-0-2 (Iran and Zimbabwe abstained) — could not be reached by consensus, which is traditionally the way decisions are reached in this and a variety of other fora at the United Nations. The result was also weakened by the absence of a large number of states, including the United States, which participated in only one round of discussions at the Biennial Meeting.³

Nonetheless, the agreement lifted the small arms process out of the stalemate that had dogged negotiations since the 2006 Review Conference on Small Arms failed to achieve consensus on a final document, leading to a loss of confidence in the process. Following the 2006 conference, many states questioned whether the small arms issue could progress at all in an international forum.

Building Agreement

Progress did not come easily or without anxiety. However, despite a white-knuckled last few hours, fears of a repeat failure this year were unfounded. Much of the credit should go to the meeting's chair, Ambassador Dalius Cekuolis of Lithuania, who worked tirelessly to secure a high level of agreement. Conscious that the meeting could have easily resulted in a lack of clear commitments, Ambassador Cekuolis prepared a tight agenda and draft outcome document in advance of the meeting, highlighting items around which he felt significant agreement already existed.

Individual facilitators were assigned and, in the months prior to the Biennial Meeting, consultations were held around four themes: 1. international cooperation, assistance and national capacity-building to counter the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons; 2. illicit brokering; 3. managing stockpiles and destroying surpluses of weapons; and 4. the new international instrument on tracing small arms. These topics were considered relatively uncontroversial and therefore increased the chances of achieving general consensus. The draft agenda and report that emerged from these discussions provided the structure to guide the conference.

Progress, not Perfection

While the 2008 outcome document has its shortcomings (more on this later), it also represents significant progress. It is the first outcome document to elaborate on the implementation of the Programme of Action since it was adopted in 2001. It goes further than documents from Biennial Meetings in 2003 and 2005, which merely outlined discussions held during the meetings, but contained few or no pro-

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UN Photo

Universal Declaration of Human Rights Marks 60 Years

Eleanor Roosevelt of the United States holding a Declaration of Human Rights poster in 1949, a year after its adoption at the United Nations (Lake Success, New York, 1 November 1949). This year marks the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration. See related stories below and inside, page 3.

Opinion | [Douglas Roche](#)

The Human Right to Peace and a New Politics of Hope

In the early 1990s, the world suddenly entered a new moment of hope for peace. The Berlin Wall had fallen, the Soviet Union imploded, and democracy spread throughout the world. Then came the first Iraq war, more conflicts in Africa and the Middle East, the terrorist strikes of 9/11, and wars in Afghanistan and again in Iraq. Hopes for peace were lost when fear became the dominant political note.

Now, as the second decade of the 21st century looms on the horizon, another golden opportunity in the long struggle of the world to find ways to live in peace has arrived. A new politics of hope is challenging the corroded politics of fear.

This new moment comes just as the international community prepares to observe the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Far from being an accident of timing, the new politics of hope stems from the slow but persistent implementation of the Universal Declaration. In fact, the champions of human rights are responsible for this uplift in the human condition.

The Preamble to the Universal Declaration states: "The recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world." The United Nations, in its best moments, has pursued the development of this theme to the point where it is now recognized that security is primarily about the protection of *individuals*, not just the defense of the *state* from external threats. In 1984, the General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace which affirmed: "The peoples of our planet have a sacred right to peace."

When the leaders of the world assembled at the UN in September, 2005 to commemorate the organization's 60th anniversary, they reflected a higher understand-

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North Korea and Six Party Talks Resolving a Nuclear Crisis

August 11 was the day many expected North Korea to be removed from the United States' list of state sponsors of terrorism as a result of Pyongyang's progress towards dismantling its nuclear program. The day, however, came and passed with the United States taking no action, and some observers grumbled that the on-again, off-again Six Party Talks, which aim at resolving the nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula, had once again come to a stand still. But even given this most recent hurdle, these misgivings are premature. Indeed, if one looks back at the talks' progress thus far, patience and guarded optimism should be the rule of the day.

The Six Party Talks

The Six Party Talks, a series of meetings between the United States, China, Japan, Russia, South Korea and North Korea, were initiated in 2003 after North Korea withdrew from the nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). Significant progress was made in early rounds, most notably the 19 September 2005 Joint Statement in which North Korea affirmed its commitment to abandon all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear programs and return to the NPT and to International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards.

While this was a huge step forward, North Korea subsequently tested a nuclear weapon in the fall of 2006, which virtually negated all progress to date. Yet the process continued, and in February 2007 the talks netted a significant victory when the North Koreans reaffirmed their commitment to the 19 September statement, and, going further, the six parties agreed to a number of steps to implement the principles of the 19 September statement. It was established that the six party process would move forward utilizing "action for action" as the guiding principle. Implementation was divided into three main phases.

Phase One

The first phase called on North Korea to shut down its primary nuclear facility in Yongbyon. In exchange, the other five parties would provide shipments of heavy fuel oil and release previously frozen North Korean funds. The first phase, it turned out, was not a smooth one. The North Koreans missed their deadline for closing Yongbyon. For the United States' part, there were delays in the fuel oil shipments, and a bureaucratic holdup in the release of \$25 million held in a Macau bank. Eventually, however, the money

was returned, and in July 2007, the IAEA confirmed that the facility at Yongbyon had been shut down.

Phase Two

In September 2007, the six parties agreed to the steps of the second phase. The North Koreans agreed to disable their nuclear facilities and provide a complete and accurate declaration of all their nuclear programs by 31 December 2007. In exchange, the other five parties agreed to continue fuel oil shipments and the United States pledged to lift the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy Act as they applied to North Korea and to take steps to remove North Korea from the US State Sponsors of Terrorism list.¹

Once again, there were distractions and delays. The United States deemed North Korea's November 2007 declaration of nuclear holdings inadequate. But North Korea issued a second declaration in June 2008, at which time North Korea also destroyed the cooling tower at the Yongbyon reactor, an important, if largely symbolic, gesture.

As a result, the Bush Administration immediately ended the application of the Trading with the Enemy Act and announced its intention to remove North Korea from the State Sponsors of Terrorism list after a legally-mandated 45-day waiting period (bringing us to the August 11 date). But the devil, as always, is in the details. Removal from the list was made contingent upon an agreement on verification, which has yet to be reached. So August 11 marked yet another missed deadline, but progress, if fitful, will almost certainly continue.

Phase Three

Looking forward, once a verification regime is agreed to and North Ko-

rea is removed from the State Sponsors of Terrorism list, it is likely that another meeting of the six parties will convene. (It is difficult to anticipate exactly when this will happen, but indications are that the Bush Administration will push hard to bring closure to the second phase before it leaves office in January.) Here they will establish sequencing for the third phase of the process, which is expected to include nuclear disarmament by North Korea and full IAEA inspections in that country. In exchange ("action for action"), the US, as a nuclear-weapon state, is expected to formally declare that it will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear North Korea (called "negative security assurances"). There is also the possibility the United States will sign a peace treaty with North Korea, formally ending the Korean War, which technically has been in a cease fire since 1953.

This third phase is likely to take place after the inauguration of the next United States president. Candidates from both the Democratic and Republican parties have indicated their intention to continue diplomacy through the six party framework.

All of these are smaller steps towards the larger goal of formalizing diplomatic relations between the United States and North Korea. While the Six Party Talks should prove instrumental in achieving this long-term North Korean objective, it is not likely to be included in the six party process. The United States maintains that there are too many other bilateral issues to be resolved before such full diplomatic relations can be established — a few of these being North Korea's ballistic missile program, its role in the production and dissemination of counterfeit US dollars, and ongoing human rights abuses.

Looking Back, Looking Forward

Despite what sometimes seems to be the one step forward, two steps back movement of the Six Party Talks, the multilateral format *has* achieved results for the interested parties. Japan, for instance, is getting the bilateral talks with North Korea it has so long desired concerning the abductee issue. South Korea's fears of a collapse of the North Korean regime and ensuing refugee crisis are being allayed. And North Korea, after all, is inching closer to nuclear disarmament, which will bring greater security and stability to all. Equally important, if less tangible, is the level of interaction between the United States and China on this important strategic problem. The trust forged between these two powers through the six party process has the potential to unlock untold dividends in the future.

Still, the process has its detractors. Some prominent American conservatives, former United States Ambassador to the UN John Bolton being chief among them, are highly critical of the six party process. They say they are wary of the North Koreans' intentions and have general distrust of Pyongyang. While these concerns are not without merit — North Korea has a terrible record of keeping its

word — this particular process, especially with China playing an important role, seems to apply the comprehensive pressure that is necessary to ensure that the gains that are made will endure.

Clearly the process has been far from perfect and significant challenges remain. There is still much to be learned about North Korea's uranium enrichment program. Proliferation concerns linger, specifically regarding Pyongyang's relationship with Syria. Yet in spite of difficulties, the Six Party Talks continue. Diplomacy can be a painstakingly slow process. But if the history of these talks tells us anything, it is that diplomacy can overcome even very high hurdles.

Kevin Davis is the program associate for the Bipartisan Security Group, a program of the Global Security Institute (www.gsainstitute.org).

Notes

1. The Trading with the Enemy Act, sometimes abbreviated as TWEA, is a United States federal law enacted in 1917 to restrict trade with countries hostile to the United States. The law gives the President the power to oversee or restrict any and all trade between the US and her enemies in times of war. As of 2008, Cuba is the only country restricted under the act. North Korea is the most recent country to have the restrictions lifted (Wikipedia).

"State Sponsors of Terrorism" is a designation applied by the United States Department of State to nations who are designated by the Secretary of State "to have repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism." Inclusion on the list imposes strict sanctions, including a ban on arms sales and exports, prohibitions on economic assistance, and financial and other restrictions. The list began on December 29, 1979 (Wikipedia).

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The Human Right to Peace

(Continued from page 1.)

ing of the relationship between peace and human rights: “Peace and security, development and human rights are the pillars of the United Nations system and the foundations for collective security and well-being . . . and are interlinked and mutually reinforcing.”

The fact that the leaders were able to agree that sustainable development and human rights are integral parts of the quest for security is a remarkable testimony to human advancement. Of course, integrating these ideals into the messy business of daily relations remains a huge challenge.

The cynics state that the UN declarations are just wishful thinking and that in the real world the business of managing wars must go on. They do not believe that a culture of peace can ever overtake a culture of war. Peoples are fated to fight, they claim. A clash of civilizations is coming. Therefore arms expenditures

The time has come to recognize that human rights and nuclear weapons are absolutely incompatible. They cannot continue to co-exist on the planet.

— always in the name of “peace” — must be kept high. It is no surprise, then, that world arms spending reached \$1.3 trillion in 2007, a six percent rise over the previous 12 months. The military-industrial complex, with its vast resources, is well able to influence and manipulate malleable politicians.

But we miss the undercurrent of what is happening today if we view the issues of war and peace only through the prism of militarism. For beyond the headlines of war, something is happening to lift up humanity. A new caring for the wholeness of life is being defined. This has never happened before on a global scale. An awakening of concern about how we human beings treat one another and the planet is taking place that has tremendous possibilities for moving the world forward to a new era of peace. I believe this new awareness of a global conscience is taking hold.

When terrorists struck on 9/11, efforts to develop a culture of peace were initially brushed aside in the new “war on terror.” But revulsion against war and violence could not be held down for long. Civil society leaders in dozens of fields of activity are now building partnerships for development and environmental protection. The Millennium Development Goals are a sign of this new determination along with the Kyoto Protocol on climate change, the Landmines Treaty, the International Criminal Court, the Cluster Munition Treaty and progress in the con-

trol of small arms. These are the early results of the positive movement forward of history and global conscience. All have come about because of humanity’s richer understanding of the fullness of human rights.

One issue stands out as we survey the progress made in achieving human rights in the 60 years since the Universal Declaration was written: nuclear weapons.

The time has come to recognize that human rights and nuclear weapons are absolutely incompatible. They cannot continue to co-exist on the planet. The use of nuclear weapons would obliterate everything the human rights agenda stands for. Humanitarian law would be devastated. If the powerful states insist on maintaining the 25,000 nuclear weapons still in existence, proliferation to other states is a certainty, for a nuclear two-class world is not sustainable. The longer nuclear weapons are maintained in core military doctrines, the greater the risk of use.

The abolition of nuclear weapons is no longer just a lofty goal, a noble aspiration, an idealistic thought. It has become the irreducible essential for survival. Peace is impossible as long as the threat of nuclear war hangs over our heads.

A nuclear weapons convention, prohibiting the production as well as use, of all nuclear weapons in all circumstances is urgently needed. Lawmakers — i.e., politicians and government bureaucrats — must be awakened by public demand to pass such legislation. An ironclad law prohibiting all nuclear weapons must be made.

The organization Mayors for Peace, now numbering 2,200 mayors in 130 countries, has called for the implementation of a Nuclear Weapons Convention in 2020. That year will mark the 50th anniversary of the Non-Proliferation Treaty — which was supposed to lead to a nuclear-weapons-free world.

The end of slavery, colonialism and apartheid — all great evils of their time — came when a critical mass of public opinion arose. So too the end of nuclear weapons, the ultimate evil, can be achieved when enough activists and parliamentarians speak out, recognizing that time frames are necessary to energize political processes.

The old ways of war are increasingly being challenged as a result of the deeper understanding of human rights. The vanguard of this movement to raise up the politics of hope is already being heard from. The 200,000 Germans who assembled to hear Barack Obama in Berlin are a dramatic sign of the hunger for a new, higher and more inclusive political process.

Human rights for all and the abolition of nuclear weapons must become a single dynamic issue. Then we will know that hope can triumph over fear.

Former Canadian Senator **Douglas Roche** is Chairman of the Middle Powers Initiative. His memoirs, *Creative Dissent: A Politician’s Struggle for Peace* (Novalis), is being published this fall.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Adopted 10 December 1948
(excerpts)

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. . . .

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal

Article 11

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence

Article 13

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. . . .

Article 15

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality

Article 16

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. . . .

Article 17

(1) Everyone has the right to own property

alone as well as in association with others

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. . . .

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression. . . .

Article 20

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. . . .

Article 21

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. . . .

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to its realization, through national effort and international cooperation

Article 23

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work. . . .

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. . . .

Article 26

(1) Everyone has the right to education. . . .

Article 27

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society. . . .

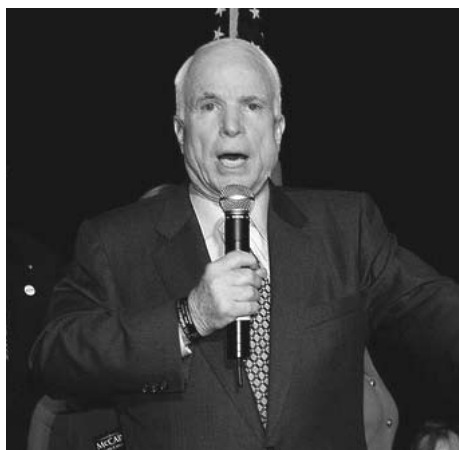
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www.ohchr.org/english/issues/education/training/udhr.htm
www.un.org/cyberschoolbus/humanrights/index.asp

Where They Stand

John McCain and Barack Obama

on Nuclear Security and Related Issues

The next president of the United States is likely to face a number of foreign policy and security challenges, including the war in Iraq, disputes with Russia, tensions with Iran, and the future of the US nuclear weapons program. It will be a time of unprecedented challenges, but also great opportunity, and policy decisions made by the United States will affect not only Americans, but people worldwide. As the elections near, we bring you a comparison of the positions of John McCain and Barack Obama on national and international security issues.



Senator John McCain speaks in Seattle. Photo by Dan Bennett, 8 February 2008.



Senator Barack Obama speaks at the Las Vegas Presidential Forum. Photo by Ralph Alswang for The Center for American Progress, 24 March 2007.

Nuclear Weapons

John McCain “[T]he Cold War ended almost 20 years ago and the time has come to take further measures to reduce dramatically the number of nuclear weapons in the world’s arsenals. It is time for the United States to show the kind of leadership the world expects from us . . . I believe we should reduce our nuclear forces to the lowest level we judge necessary, and we should be prepared to enter into a new arms control agreement with Russia reflecting the nuclear reductions I seek.”
Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 27 May 2008.

Barack Obama “As President, I will set and seek the goal of a world with no nuclear weapons. We will always maintain a strong deterrent as long as nuclear weapons exist. But we will move forward down the long road toward eliminating nuclear weapons by securing all loose nuclear materials within four years; stopping the development of nuclear weapons; working with Russia to take US and Russian ballistic missiles off hair trigger alert; seeking dramatic reductions in US and Russian stockpiles of nuclear weapons and material; and setting a goal to expand the US-Russian ban on intermediate-range missiles so that the agreement is global.”
“Statement on Call for World without Nuclear Weapons,” www.barackobama.com, 17 January 2008.

Development of New Nuclear Weapons/Reliable Replacement Warhead (RRW)

McCain “I would only support the development of any new type of nuclear weapon that is absolutely essential

Continues top of next column.

for the viability of our deterrent, that results in making possible further decreases in the size of our nuclear arsenal and furthers our global nuclear security goals. I would cancel all further work on the so-called Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator, a weapon that does not make strategic or political sense.”
Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 27 May 2008.

In four votes from 2003-2005, **Senator McCain** voted to proceed with work on a new generation of nuclear weapons. He has not explicitly addressed the Reliable Replacement Warhead.

Obama “. . . I believe the United States should lead the international effort to deemphasize the role of nuclear weapons around the world . . . We can maintain a strong nuclear deterrent to protect our security without rushing to produce a new generation of warheads. I do not support a premature decision to produce the RRW.”
2008 President Candidates’ Responses to Seven Key National Security Questions from a Council for a Livable World Survey, 16 August 2007.

Nuclear Testing and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

McCain “As President I will pledge to continue America’s current moratorium on testing, but also begin a dialogue with our allies and with the US Senate to identify ways we can move forward to limit testing in a verifiable manner that does not undermine the security or viability of our nuclear deterrent. This would include taking another look at the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to see what can be done to overcome the shortcomings that prevented it from entering into force. I

opposed that treaty in 1999, but said at the time I would keep an open mind about future developments.”
Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 27 May 2008.

Senator McCain voted no on adopting the CTBT in the US Senate in October 1999.

Obama “As President, I will make it my priority to build bipartisan consensus behind ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In the meantime, the least we can do is fully pay our contributions to the [Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization].”
2008 President Candidates’ Responses to Seven Key National Security Questions from a Council for a Livable World Survey, 16 August 2007.

Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty

McCain “We should move quickly with other nations to negotiate a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty to end production of the most dangerous nuclear materials.”
Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 27 May 2008.

Obama “I will work to negotiate a verifiable global ban on the production of new nuclear weapons material.”
Foreign Affairs, 7 June 2007.

Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty

McCain “In 2010, an international conference will meet to review the Non-proliferation Treaty. If I am President, I will seize that opportunity to strengthen and enhance all aspects of the non-proliferation regime. We need to strengthen enforcement of the so-called ‘atoms for peace’ bargain by

insisting that countries that receive the benefits of peaceful nuclear cooperation must return or dismantle what they receive if they violate or withdraw from the NPT.”

Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 27 May 2008.

“The nuclear non-proliferation regime is broken for one clear reason: the mistaken assumption behind the nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty that nuclear technology can spread without nuclear weapons eventually following.”
Foreign Affairs, November/December 2007.

Obama “When I’m President, we’ll strengthen the nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty so that nations that don’t comply will automatically face strong international sanctions.”
Speech, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois, 2 October 2007.

Removing Nuclear Weapons from High Alert Status

McCain Senator McCain has not specifically addressed this issue.

Obama “We’ll work with Russia to take US and Russian ballistic missiles off hair-trigger alert and to dramatically reduce the stockpiles of our nuclear weapons and material.”
Speech, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois, 2 October 2007.

Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction/Securing Loose Nuclear Material

McCain “We need to increase funding for our own non-proliferation efforts, including the Cooperative Threat Reduction programs established by the landmark Nunn-Lugar legislation, and ensure the highest possible standards of security for existing nuclear materials.”
Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 27 May 2008.

Obama “The threat of nuclear proliferation must serve as a call to action. I have worked across the aisle with Richard Lugar [R-Indiana] and Chuck Hagel [R-Nebraska] in the Senate to secure dangerous weapons and loose nuclear materials, and as President, I will secure all loose nuclear materials around the world in my first term.”
Speech, “The World beyond Iraq,” Fayetteville, NC, 19 March 2008.

With Senator Richard Lugar, **Senator Obama** introduced the Cooperative Proliferation Detection, Interdiction

Assistance, and Conventional Threat Reduction Act, which passed as part of the Department of State Authorities Act of 2006.

Weapons in Space

McCain Senator McCain has not taken a position recently on this issue, and while his campaign website does address "America's Space Program," there is no mention of weapons in space.

Obama "Weapons in space are a bad idea. A treaty that increases space security is a good idea but is likely to take a long time to negotiate. There is a simpler and quicker way to go: a Code of Conduct for responsible space-faring nations. One key element of that Code must include a prohibition against harmful interference against satellites."

2008 President Candidates' Responses to Seven Key National Security Questions from a Council for a Livable World Survey, 16 August 2007.

Missile Defense

McCain "The first thing I would do is make sure that we have a missile defense system in place in Czechoslovakia and Poland, and I don't care what [Putin's] objections are."

Republican Presidential Candidates' Debate, Orlando, FL, 21 October 2007.

Senator McCain voted yes in the US Senate in March 1999 to deploying National Missile Defense as soon as possible. He has said missile defense is needed to protect America from states such as Iran and North Korea, and potentially from China and Russia as well.

Obama "If we can responsibly deploy missile defenses that would protect us and our allies we should — but only when the system works. We need to make sure any missile defense system would be effective before deployment."

Statement on Visit of Polish President Lech Kaczyński, 16 July 2007.

Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) with Russia

McCain "We should be able to agree with Russia on binding verification measures based on those currently in effect under the START agreement, to enhance confidence and transparency."

Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 27 May 2008.

Obama Senator Obama introduced legislation with Senator Chuck Hagel (R-Nebraska) (S. Res. 1977) in August 2007 on strengthening US non-proliferation policy including provisions related to START.

US-India Nuclear Deal

McCain "We need to enlist all willing partners in the global battle against

nuclear proliferation. I support the US-India Civil Nuclear Accord as a means of strengthening our relationship with the world's largest democracy, and further involving India in the fight against proliferation."

Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 27 May 2008.

Obama Senator Obama voted for the US-India nuclear deal in 2006, but he also voted for amendments to condition the deal on India ending military cooperation with Iran and a presidential certification that nuclear cooperation with India would not aid India in making more nuclear weapons.

Iran

McCain "I intend to make unmistakably clear to Iran we will not permit a government that espouses the destruction of the State of Israel as its fondest wish and pledges undying enmity to the United States to possess the weapons to advance their malevolent ambitions."

Remarks to Conservative Political Action Conference, 7 February 2008.

Senator McCain has rejected "unconditional" dialogue with Iran.

Obama "The world must work to stop Iran's uranium enrichment program and prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons. It is far too dangerous to have nuclear weapons in the hands of a radical theocracy. And while we should take no option, including military action, off the table, sustained and aggressive diplomacy combined with tough sanctions should be our primary means to prevent Iran from building nuclear weapons."

Speech to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee Policy Forum, 2 March 2007.

Democratic People's Republic of Korea

McCain "If we are unable to fully verify the declaration submitted today [June 26, 2008] and if I am not satisfied with the verification mechanisms developed, I would not support the easing of sanctions on North Korea."

Statement on North Korea, 26 June 2008.

Obama "We must develop a strong international coalition to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons and eliminate North Korea's nuclear weapons program. . . . In confronting these threats, I will not take the military option off the table. But our first measure must be sustained, direct, and aggressive diplomacy."

2008 President Candidates' Responses to Seven Key National Security Questions from a Council for a Livable World Survey, 16 August 2007.

Russia

McCain "Today, we see in Russia diminishing political freedoms, a leadership dominated by a clique of former intelligence officers, efforts to bully democratic neighbors, such as Georgia,

and attempts to manipulate Europe's dependence on Russian oil and gas. We need a new Western approach to this revanchist Russia. We should start by ensuring that the G-8, the group of eight highly industrialized states, becomes again a club of leading market democracies: it should include Brazil and India but exclude Russia."

Foreign Affairs, November/December 2007.

While we have serious differences, with the end of the Cold War, Russia and the United States are no longer mortal enemies. As our two countries possess the overwhelming majority of the world's nuclear weapons, we have a special responsibility to reduce their number. I believe we should reduce our nuclear forces to the lowest level we judge necessary, and we should be prepared to enter into a new arms control agreement with Russia reflecting the nuclear reductions I will seek.

Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 27 May 2008.

Obama "We'll work with Russia to take US and Russian ballistic missiles off hair-trigger alert and to dramatically reduce the stockpiles of our nuclear weapons and materials."

Speech, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois, 2 October 2007.

Iraq

McCain Senator McCain co-sponsored the 2002 bill to authorize the use of force in Iraq but has been a critic of the Bush administration "mismanagement" of the war. Senator McCain was an early supporter of a "surge" or increase in American troop numbers in Iraq and has consistently opposed a timetable for withdrawal as defeatist.

Obama Barack Obama opposed the war while a State Senator in Illinois in 2002. Although he voted no on early proposals to set a timetable for withdrawal by Russ Feingold (D-Wisconsin) and others, he now votes consistently in favor of a timetable for withdrawal. Senator Obama's plan calls for withdrawing most American troops from Iraq by the end of 2009. He also opposes establishing permanent American military bases in Iraq.

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

McCain "We need to increase IAEA funding and enhance the intelligence support it receives. We also need to reverse the burden of proof when it comes to discovering whether a nation is cheating on its NPT commitments. The IAEA shouldn't have to play cat-and-mouse games to prove a country is in compliance. It is for suspected violators to prove they are in compliance. We should establish a requirement by the UN Security Council that international transfers of sensitive nuclear technology must be disclosed in advance to an international authority such as the IAEA, and further require that undisclosed transfers be deemed

illicit and subject to interdiction. Finally, to enforce treaty obligations, IAEA member states must be willing to impose sanctions on nations that seek to withdraw from it."

Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 27 May 2008.

Obama Senator Obama supports strengthening the IAEA and introduced legislation (S. 1977) in August 2007 authorizing \$15 million annually for IAEA activities.

Nuclear Fuel Supply

McCain "To persuade countries to forego enrichment and reprocessing, I would support international guarantees of nuclear fuel supply to countries that renounce enrichment and reprocessing, as well as the establishment of multinational nuclear enrichment centers in which they can participate. Nations that seek nuclear fuel for legitimate civilian purposes will be able to acquire what they need under international supervision."

Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 27 May 2008.

Obama "Countries should not be able to build a weapons program under the auspices of developing peaceful nuclear power. That's why we should create an international fuel bank to back up commercial fuel supplies. . . . It's encouraging that the Nuclear Threat Initiative, backed by Warren Buffett, has already offered funding for this fuel bank. . . . But on an issue of this importance, the United States should not leave the solution to private philanthropies. It should be a central component of our national security, and that's why we should provide \$50 million to get this fuel bank started and urge other nations, starting with Russia, to join us."

Remarks to the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 23 April 2007.

Nuclear Energy

McCain "I will also greatly increase the use of nuclear power, a zero-emission energy source."

Foreign Affairs, November/December 2007.

Obama "With respect to nuclear energy, what I have said is that if we could figure out a way to provide a cost-efficient, safe way to produce nuclear energy, and we knew how to store it effectively, then we should pursue it. . . . Now, if we cannot solve those problems, then absolutely. . . we shouldn't build more plants."

Democratic Presidential Candidates' Debate, Las Vegas, Nevada, 15 January 2007.

The information in our comparison comes in part from the websites of the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation (www.armscontrolcenter.org) and the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (www.wagingpeace.org). Danielle Monaco, intern with Disarmament Times, assisted in compiling the candidates' positions.

For more information go to the candidates' websites at www.johnmccain.com and www.barackobama.com.

Moving the Small Arms Agenda Forward (continued from page 1)

posals on how to put them into practice. In comparison to these past reports, the 2008 report digs deeper and gives a more detailed breakdown of the commitments outlined by the Programme of Action, with recommendations on how to move forward in the four key areas. Although sections of the report may appear to be reiterations of the original Programme of Action, large topics such as stockpile management have been divided into recommendations which provide modest yet tangible steps for states and potential donors to follow. The report includes proposals such as encouraging states to use vital mechanisms like the new Implementation Support System. It also recognizes the report issued by the Group of Government Experts on brokering and the need to implement its recommendations.

Breaking with Tradition

To adopt the outcome document, the 2008 Biennial Meeting of States broke away from the culture of consensus and resorted to voting. The traditional UN preference for consensus effectively gives the power of veto to any one state that does not fully approve of proceedings. This year Iran voiced objections over the negotiating procedure and insisted on line-by-line discussions about the content of the final report — which would have effectively ended chances of achieving consensus in the short time frame set aside for the meeting. Iran's insistence prompted many delegations to urge, in strong terms, that Iran join the consensus on the document, to no avail.

Thanks to the procedural change the outcome document was adopted, but the document itself did not satisfy everyone. The substance of the final report was weaker than most civil society groups and delegations from states most affected by gun violence would have liked. For example, the recommendations on stockpile management only refer to stocks of weapons, but not ammunition, even though stockpiles of ammunition are a serious hazard to public safety, as proven by explosions that have killed or wounded more than 5,000 people around the world in the past seven years.

More generally, the focus on the four “consensus-building” topics limited the scope of discussion and left other equally significant, yet perhaps more controversial, issues off the agenda. The hallmark of the Programme of Action is its holistic, multidimensional character, and some felt that narrowing the discussion to selected technical topics obscured the broader “human security” approach.

Overall, however, the final document is, as Rebecca Peters, director of the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA), noted, “a significant step forward for the international effort to tackle the illicit gun trade.” The meeting succeeded in its primary aim — to refocus international attention on the implementation of the Programme of Action. And there were other victories. Some 150 representatives, coordinated by IANSA, attended the meeting, ensuring a high



UN Photo/Ky Chung

UNOCI Conducts Arms Embargo Inspections

United Nations Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI) peacekeepers conduct arms embargo inspections on government forces in western Cote d'Ivoire (Toulepleu, Cote d'Ivoire, 21 June 2005). The small arms process moving forward at the United Nations is addressing the illicit trade in small arms such as the weapon pictured above, with a particular focus on areas most affected by conflict.

level of cooperation between civil society groups and national delegations. (Nearly 10 percent of states had a civil society representative sitting as part of their official delegations, a record for the small arms process.)

Women's groups and others were heartened that the list of “other issues” of concern in the final report included gender and also civilian possession of small arms — another first in the small arms process. In another break from UN convention, rapper and former Sudanese child soldier Emmanuel Jal recounted his experiences to the plenary through his idiosyncratic use of spoken word and song.

Modest Gains, Significant Progress

Ultimately, the modest steps laid by the 2008 Biennial Meeting of States offer supporters of the UN small arms process encouragement: states have demonstrated their commitment, even at the cost of departing slightly from convention. Given the past difficulties in advancing the Programme of Action, this is significant progress. The groundwork has been laid for more decisive and confident work against the scourge of small arms and light weapons until the next Biennial Meeting of States in 2010.

Sejal Vora is communications assistant for the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA), a network of more than 800 civil society groups globally.

Notes

1. To read the Programme of Action in its entirety, go to <http://disarmament.un.org/cab/poa.html>.

The Programme of Action, which was adopted by consensus in July 2001, is a non-binding agreement to strengthen or develop norms and measures to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, with particular emphasis on regions that have experienced conflict

While the Programme of Action is not a

legally-binding treaty, all UN Member States have committed themselves to meeting its requirements.

The Programme of Action says, in part, that states will undertake to enact laws, establish national points of contact, and take action against those involved in the illegal production, sale or possession of small arms and light weapons. States will undertake to ensure arms are marked and their production, sale and transfer recorded; enforce and abide by UN Security Council arms embargoes; destroy small arms surpluses; effectively deal with small arms and light weapons in post-conflict situations; and encourage cooperation at the state, regional and international levels to combat the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons.

Subsequent to the adoption of the Programme of Action, the UN General Assembly established a calendar of follow-up meetings, as mandated by the Programme. Biennial Meetings of States were held in July 2003, July 2005, and most recently July 2008, to consider its implementation.

A Review Conference was held in New York in July 2006 to review progress toward implementation of the Programme for Action. The Review Conference, which ended without consensus on a final document, was largely considered a failure.

2. The term “small arms” usually refers to small caliber, handheld firearms such as handguns, rifles, shotguns, manual, semi-automatic and full automatic weapons, and man-portable machine guns. “Light weapons” usually may include a range of medium-caliber and explosive ordnance, including man-portable and vehicle-mounted anti-personnel, antitank and anti-aircraft rockets, missiles, landmines, anti-aircraft guns, mortars, hand grenades, and rocket-propelled grenades (Wikipedia).

3. See www.reachingcriticalwill.org for a full listing of those states that voted for the outcome document and those that were absent, as well as other detailed information and analysis regarding the meeting.

On 18 July, after seven months of preparation and five days of face-to-face discussions at the Third Biennial Meeting of States, 134 states voted to adopt a final outcome document outlining actions needed to counter the global illicit trade in a variety of small and medium caliber weapons and explosive ordnance.

The following websites provide additional information:

Reaching Critical Will, a project of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, provides a summary of the meetings, as well as the full text of statements made at the Biennial Meeting and more at www.reachingcriticalwill.org.

United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs at <http://disarmament.un.org/cab/salw/html>.

2008 Small Arms Survey at www.smallarms-survey.org

Transparency in Transfers of Small Arms and Light Weapons: Reports to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, 2003–2006 by Paul Holtom (SIPRI Policy Paper No. 22, ISBN 978-91-85114-58-0), Stockholm International Peace Research Institute at www.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=362.

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Edited by Michael Spies and John Burroughs
Foreword by Zia Mian

Published by Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy with support from Western States Legal Foundation and Reaching Critical Will, a project of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Available for download at <http://wmdreport.org/ndcs/online/>

Report of the Third Biennial Meeting of States to Consider the Implementation of the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects

New York, 14-18 July 2008

Customarily meeting reports have been adopted by consensus, but because of objections by Iran, a vote on the final report of the Third Biennial Meeting of States was called. The report was adopted 134-0-2 (Iran and Zimbabwe abstaining). A number of delegations, including the United States, were absent from the vote.

The report, like the Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons, is not legally-binding. Below is a summary of key elements of each section. (Read the entire document, see the list of countries and their votes and read country statements at www.reachingcriticalwill.org.)

I. International cooperation, assistance and national capacity-building

States discussed efforts by states to exchange information and promote cooperation, as well as efforts by international, regional and civil society organizations to aid in the implementation of the Programme of Action. States noted efforts underway but also underlined the need to do more. States encouraged regional approaches and civil society involvement.

States welcomed the coordinating role of the UN as well as efforts by the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs and the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research to assist states and facilitate cooperation.

The Way Forward

States are encouraged to specify the types of assistance they can provide and the types of assistance they need (in national reports, on the Programme of Action Implementation Support System, and elsewhere) and to speak in terms of concrete projects with measurable goals.

States are encouraged to develop or work with regional organizations and civil society groups in the planning and implementation of projects.

II. Illicit brokering

It was noted that although 50 Member States reported they have laws regarding brokering of small arms and 30 Member States are developing such controls, much more needs to be done to ensure that all states have adequate legislation in place. It was noted that while illicit brokering affects some regions more than others, it is a global problem that requires international cooperation.

States noted the importance of certifying and verifying the end users of arms to keep arms out of the wrong hands.

States exchanged views on the possibility of negotiating an international legally-binding instrument on the brokering of small arms and light weapons.

The Way Forward

States reaffirmed commitments to regulate those who broker arms, including the registration of brokers, licensing of transactions, and the imposition of penalties for illicit brokering.



UN Photo/Marie Frechon

FDLR Child Soldiers

Child soldiers of the Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda (FDLR) (Pinga, Democratic Republic of the Congo, 24 June 2008). Small arms have facilitated the use of child soldiers.

Ultimately, the modest steps laid by the 2008 Biennial Meeting of States offer supporters of the UN small arms process encouragement: states have demonstrated their commitment, even at the cost of departing slightly from convention. Given the past difficulties in advancing the Programme of Action, this is significant progress.

III. Stockpile management and surplus disposal

States stressed that each state must make its own decisions regarding how to manage weapons stockpiles and whether and how to dispose of surplus weapons. States recognized the threat posed by poorly managed and inadequately secured stockpiles of small arms and light weapons and acknowledged that adequate record-keeping, marking and tracing systems are needed to manage weapons stockpiles.

States acknowledged the need to keep stockpiles physically secure and to dispose of surplus weapons responsibly, preferably through destruction by trained staff, in an environmentally-responsible way.

The Way Forward

States are encouraged to regularly inventory surplus stockpiles of small arms and light weapons, keep accurate records of small arms and light weapons, store weapons safely and securely, and work together to aid those states most affected by small arms and light weapons.

IV. Other issues

Some states mentioned additional issues they felt were important (which were listed without discussion), including (but not limited to): illicit manufacturing of small arms and light weapons; prohibiting the supply of small arms and

light weapons to non-state actors and terrorists; civilian possession of small arms and light weapons; ammunition for small arms and light weapons; linkages between terrorism, organized crime, trafficking in drugs and precious minerals and the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons; linkages between security, armed violence, development and human rights; gender perspectives; children; transforming the Programme of Action into a legally-binding form.

Annex

Implementation of the International Instrument to Enable States to Identify and Trace, in a Timely and Reliable Manner, Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons

100 states submitted national reports that included information on the implementation of the International Tracing Instrument.

States noted the importance of marking weapons at the time they are produced and/or imported to better trace them and the importance of keeping records of marked weapons. States also noted that cooperation is of tantamount importance.

It was noted that a number of states have established national points of contact to coordinate implementation of the International Tracing Instrument. Those that have not yet established points of contact were encouraged to do so.

States were urged to train law enforcement officials and make use of INTERPOL resources and expertise. Some states noted the importance of regional organizations and approaches and the potentially positive role of civil society organizations.

The Way Forward

States agreed marking weapons, keeping records and tracing weapons are important and mutually-reinforcing steps. States urged technical, financial and other assistance among nations in all of these areas.

United Nations Document no. A/CONF.192/BMS/2008/L.3/Rev.1

News in brief

Nuclear Suppliers Group Approves Trade with India

On 6 September, the 45-member Nuclear Suppliers Group, the worldwide body that regulates the sale of nuclear fuel and technology, approved a deal that will allow India to engage in nuclear trade for the first time in three decades. The decision came despite the fact that India remains one of only three countries that have never signed the nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT).¹ The governments of India and the United States pushed hard for the exemption, which the Washington-based Arms Control Association calls “a nonproliferation disaster.” For US trade to begin, the deal must first be approved by the US Congress. (Other countries, however, are presumably free to begin trading with India.)

A Problematic Decision

Because India remains outside the NPT, it is not legally bound to pursue nuclear disarmament. Critics of the deal worry that the sale of nuclear material to India, which is supposed to be used exclusively to power nuclear reactors, will free up Indian domestic uranium supplies for bomb-making. The result could be a nuclear arms race between India and its South Asian neighbors.

On a broader scale, critics note that the Indian exemption further strains already fragile global efforts to ensure that access to peaceful nuclear trade and technology is available only to those states that meet global nonproliferation and disarmament guidelines.

Tough Negotiations at the NSG

The deal comes as a result of tough negotiations and some compromise, and how it will be interpreted in practice is not at all clear. While India had sought an “unconditional” waiver, it seems likely (given both the NSG’s September 6 statement and national statements by some key countries) that NSG states will place some conditions on nuclear trade with India. According to Daryl Kimball of the Arms Control Association, it is likely that NSG states will not engage in “full” nuclear trade with India, that they will terminate nuclear trade with India if it resumes nuclear testing, and that the deal will be reviewed on a regular — perhaps annual — basis.² None of these stipulations, however, are guaranteed by the current agreement.

What the current agreement does stipulate is that India must separate its civilian and military nuclear programs and must open a number of its civilian reactors to international inspections and safeguards.

For its part, the Indian government

has said it will not resume nuclear testing, it is under no legal obligation to continue its present moratorium. India has made such promises in the past only to break them. And statements made prior to the NSG’s decision indicate that India does not believe nuclear trade would be halted (at least not immediately) even if it does resume testing.

Opposition on the part of some Indian political parties to the nuclear deal has been intense and nearly brought down the government of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh over the summer. Indian opposition has centered on the idea that this deal might in the end hamper India’s nuclear weapons program by ceding too much control to outside countries which could cut off India’s supply of nuclear material for a variety of reasons.

Final US Approval

For the US to begin nuclear trade with India, final approval must first come from the US Congress, which according to current law must be in session a full 30 days to consider the deal. With fewer than 30 days remaining in the current Congressional session before recess for the elections, approval will require an expedited vote. While a majority of lawmakers in both houses seems to support the measure, it is unclear if some Democrats may try to block the vote from taking place in the current session.

Both John McCain and Barack Obama have supported nuclear trade with India, although Senator Obama (unlike Senator McCain) also voted for amendments to condition the deal on India ending military cooperation with Iran and a presidential certification that nuclear cooperation with India would not aid India in making more nuclear weapons.

Melissa Gillis is the editor of *Disarmament Times*.

Notes

1. The NSG statement on India is available from the Arms Control Association at www.armscontrol.org.
2. According to a response by the US State Department to questions posed by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, US fuel assurances to India would be invalid if India tests for any reason. For more information see www.armscontrol.org/node/3338.

For more information, see “The US-India Nuclear Deal,” by Daryl Kimball in the summer 2008 issue of *Disarmament Times*, available at <http://disarm.igc.org>. See also the website of the Arms Control Association at www.armscontrol.org.

Disarmament Events Calendar

Co-sponsored by the NGO Committee on Disarmament, Peace and Security
Contact the NGO office (212.687.5340, e-mail disarmtimes@igc.org)
at least three days in advance to request a UN grounds pass.

September 16, 5:00 - 8:00 pm

Reception and screening of **Xavante Strategy** by Jose Belisario Franca (Brazil)
Dag Hammarskjold Library Auditorium

October 8, 1:15 - 2:45 pm

Briefing on Uranium Weapons

Led by Alyn Ware
Organized by the International Coalition to Ban Uranium Weapons (ICBUW)
UN Conference Room A
ICBUW Working Group on October 9, 1:15 pm, UN Conf. Room A

October 10, 1:15 - 2:30 pm

A Fissile Materials (Cut-off) Treaty and its Verification

Speakers: Frank von Hippel, Zia Mian, Jean du Preez and Alexander Glasser
Presented by the International Panel on Fissile Materials
UN Conference Room 4

October 24, 9:00 am - 4:45 pm

Seizing the Moment: A One-day Consultation on Breakthrough Measures to Build East West Consensus on Weapons of Mass Destruction and Disarmament

Sponsored by the East West Institute

9:00 am Keynote Address by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon

Plenary Panel I: Seizing the Moment: Highest Priority Steps for 2009

Speakers: Dr. Henry Kissinger (US), chair, with Amb. Sergei Kislyak (Russia), Mr. George Shultz (US), Gen. (ret.), Pan Zhenqiang (China), Gen. Ved Malik (India);

Plenary Panel II: Assymetrical Arms Control? Reconciling Unequal Power

Speakers: Marco Antonio Suazo Fernandes (Honduras), chair, with Jayantha Dhanapala (Sri Lanka), Amb. Hassan Mashhadi (Iran), Gen. (ret.) Ehsan Ul Haq (Pakistan), Amb. Sumio Tarui (Japan), and Dr. William Potter (US)

Morning events in the ECOSOC Chamber

Afternoon Breakout Groups

Delegitimizing Nuclear Weapons, Amb. Max Kampelman (US)
Regional Balances and Global Regimes, Dr. Kanwal Sibal (India), Scott Sagan (US)
Getting to Zero: What Will It Take and from Whom?, Hans Blix (Sweden), Michael Krepon (US), Ron Huisken (Australia), Paul Ingram (UK), Waheguru Pal Sidhu (India)
Toward a Global WMD Summit in 2012
The Middle East: Dealing with Nuclear Imbalance
NPT: Making the 2010 Review Conference
Location of Afternoon Breakout Groups TBA

October 30, 3:00 - 5:30 pm

Civil Society at a Defining Moment for Disarmament: What NGOs and Governments Must Do to Reduce the Level of Violence in the World, Control Arms, Eliminate Weapons of Mass Destruction, and Prevent the Stationing of Weapons in Outer Space

Location TBA

The discussion will be preceded by the annual meeting of the NGO Committee on Disarmament, Peace and Security at 2 pm and followed by a reception at 6 pm on the second floor of the Church Center for the UN, 777 UN Plaza.

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