



NVMP

Artsen voor vrede

50 jaar NVMP (1969-2019)

Urgent Appeal for a nuclear weapon free world

*Connecting the medical-humanitarian
and political perspectives*

Peace Palace, The Hague

Tuesday, Nov. 26, 2019, 1:00 pm - 6:00 pm



REPORT

Speakers in front of the Peace Palace



Organizing committee



Urgent Appeal for a nuclear weapon free world

Connecting medical-humanitarian and political perspectives

PEACE PALACE, THE HAGUE, 26-11-2019

Chair: **Peter Buijs**, physician, chair NVMP-Artsen voor vrede/IPPNW Netherlands



PART I | Welcome & Introduction

13.00 Opening

- * **Piet Hein Donner**, former Vice-President of the Council of State, former Minister, Chair Carnegie Foundation:
[Welcome on historic ground of war prevention.](#)
- * **Peter Buijs**
[Welcome & Introduction: Urgent need to act!](#)
- * **Stef Blok**, Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs:
[Towards the 2020 NPT review conference.](#)
- * **Izumi Nakamitsu**, UN under-Secretary-General, High representative on Disarmament:
[State of nuclear disarmament affairs.](#)
[The 2020 Review Conference on the Non-Proliferation Treaty: the keys to success.](#)



PROGRAMME

PART II | Diagnosis: Medical-humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons

- * **Setsuko Thurlow**
[A testimony of a Hiroshima survivor \(video\)](#)
- * **Ira Helfand**, physician, co-president IPPNW:
[Medical-humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons.](#)
- * **Miguel R. Jorge**, physician, President World Medical Association:
[WMA condemns nuclear weapons \(video\)](#)

PART III | Prognosis: How serious is the current situation and the risk of an (un)intended nuclear war?

- * **Sergey Batsanov**, former USSR and Russian Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva:
[Development of nuclear disarmament 1975 - 2019.](#)

URGENT APPEAL FOR A NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE WORLD

PART III | Continued

- * **Tom Countryman**, Chairman Arms Control Association, former USA Acting Undersecretary of State for Arms Control, and International Security:
[How dangerous is the current situation?](#)
- * **International Committee of the Red Cross**
[What would you choose in case of a nuclear attack? \(Video\)](#)

15.00 Break
15.30

PART IV | Therapy : How to reach world without nuclear weapons

- Prevention:
- * **Mary Robinson**, chair of The Elders, former President of Ireland and High Commissioner Human Rights:
[An agenda for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament.](#)
- First Aid /Stabilisation:
- * **Sico van der Meer**, Nuclear Weapon expert at the Clingendael Institute:
[How to avert the direct danger?](#)
 - * **Eirini Lemos-Maniati**, Deputy Director, Arms Control, Disarmament and WMD Non- Proliferation Centre NATO:
[NATO's Contribution to Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-Proliferation.](#)



PROGRAMME

PART V | PANEL-discussion

Panel

Moderator:

- * **Jan Hoekema**, former chair Dutch Mayors for Peace

Comment from 2020 NPT RevCon vice-presidents:

- * **Adam Bugajski** (Ambassador Poland)
- * **Marjolijn van Deelen** (The Netherlands)

Closing remarks:

- * **Peter Buijs**
[Presentation Peace Palace Appeal](#)

18.00

Reception opened by Johan Remkes acting Mayor of the Hague

URGENT APPEAL FOR A NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE WORLD

FOREWORD

The world faces two major existential threats: climate change and the use of nuclear weapons, intended or accidental. Therefore, the NVMP Physicians for Peace¹ marked its 50th anniversary by a wakeup call, on the 26th of November 2019 in the Hague Peace Palace, titled *Urgent Appeal for a nuclear weapon free world*.

The speakers – ranging from UN under-SG Izumi Nakamitsu to the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Stef Blok, from Mary Robinson, chair of The Elders to Tom Countryman, under Obama Undersecretary of State dealing with Nuclear Weapons, from Beatrice Fihn (ICAN), 2017 Nobel Peace Prize, to the Russian veteran on nuclear disarmament negotiations, Sergey Batsanov - came up with such powerful speeches, that we decided to publish them in this report.

Many of them warn that the current situation is much more dangerous than during the Cold War and any moment things may end terribly wrong. But, contrary to 'Climate', there is hardly any discussion about the current 15.000 Nuclear Weapons.

This discussion is urgently needed, "... to save ourselves and our planet" (former president Gorbachev, quoted by Minister Blok).

So we believe this report will help to create the need for action, with an initiating International role for The Netherlands.

Peter Buijs, chair NVMP Physicians for Peace, IPPNW Netherlands

¹ the Dutch affiliate of IPPNW, International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War, awarded by the Nobel Peace Prize 1985.

Welcome by Peter Buijs, *Chair of NVMP Physicians for Peace*

Dear guests,

Most welcome to all of you at the *Urgent Appeal for a nuclear weapon free world!*, because of the organizers, the NVMP Physicians for Peace, the Dutch affiliate of IPPNW, International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War, awarded by the Nobel Peace Prize 1985.

Welcome in particular to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Stef Blok, representing a government that has a unique line in his Constitutional Declaration, and I'm proud to quote: "This government actively pursues a nuclear weapon free world" – the reason to propose the Ministry to collaborate on this event, which it did: thanks for that!

Thanks and welcome also to the other speakers. We feel deeply honoured by this incredible line up! Of course you are all equal to us, and later on I will introduce all of you, but forgive me to mention in particular three ladies: Miss Izumi Nakamitsu, under-SG of the UN and high representative on Disarmament, Mary Robinson, former President of Ireland and UN High Representative of Human Rights, now chair of the Elders - the legacy of Nelson Mandela, and Beatrice Fihn, in 2017 accepting the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of ICAN (International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons) for the efforts regarding the ban treaty, together with Setsuko Thurlow, also in our programme. For the other esteemed speakers – in total almost gender-balanced – please see their bio's in the programme.

“Let's create a stage to bring together national and international voices in
favour of a nuclear weapon free world.”

Welcome also to the CD, among them a lot of ambassadors and other diplomats, active in the area of nuclear disarmament: again we feel very honoured.

Welcome too to the many students, also from abroad: you are representing the future and I very much hope that you will further engage for our common cause and include the NW-issue into your climate protests: saving the planet from a nuclear disaster.

Last but not least welcome to the others. All of you must be praised to sit here by free will for several hours without much of a say yourself, listening to quite heavy stuff!



When you got 50 years old, you don't want to get presents anymore, you want to give them! So we thought: "What can we, Dutch medical doctors, better give than a present that can help preventing the greatest hidden danger for the global health and well-being: a nuclear war?. So let's create a stage to bring together national and international voices in favour of a nuclear weapon free world."

According to the experts, the question is not *if*, but *when* they will be used, with disastrous medical-humanitarian and environmental consequences.

Are we dreamers, away from reality? Idealists, lost in Wonderland? No, we physicians may need some idealism, but certainly need realism. And it is very realistic – as you will hear today - to see the world facing an existential choice, although too many people are unaware: either nuclear weapons are here to stay – and then, according to the experts, the question is not *if*, but *when* they will be used, with disastrous medical-humanitarian and environmental consequences, and without any hope for help - or, however difficult that may be, we have to destroy these weapons before they destroy us. And we are very lucky we still can choose, giving the many times the world was already on the brink of nuclear annihilation, intended (Cuba crisis) or unintended, by human or technical failure.

And if we were dreamers, 85 % of the Dutch are dreamers, being against NWs. If we were dreamers, the world is dreaming with us:

- in 1946, when the very first UN-resolution unanimously was supported, also by the US and the Soviet Union, to abolish NWs;
- In 1970, when the Non-Proliferation Treaty came into force, signed by almost all UN-members, also the P5, the main nuclear powers, fully aware that Article VI obliges to disarm totally;
- In 2017, when 122 countries voted in favour of the Ban Treaty.

Finally, if we were unrealistic, why would all these eminent speakers would have come over, also from NATO, for this *Urgent Appeal for a nuclear weapon free world!*?

Our program will follow a classic medical scheme *Diagnosis*: the medical-humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons; *Prognosis*: How dangerous is the current situation and how urgent the need to act? *Therapy*: when a great health risk is imminent, physicians use to take emergency measures to prevent death-at-the-spot, and afterwards they can start a more fundamental treatment. So what must the nuclear powers do for the short and longer time? A panel discussion and a Peace Palace Appeal will conclude the day.

So, most welcome to this *Urgent wakeup call* in the iconic Peace Palace.

Now Piet Hein Donner, former Vice-President of the Council of State and former minister and now chair of the Carnegie Foundation will briefly further introduce this gift of Carnegie, meant to prevent war.



(During the afternoon program the Chair Peter Buijs has shortened several of his original contributions for time's sake. In this report his full remarks are given).

PART I | Welcome & Introduction

Piet Hein Donner, Chair Carnegie Endowment **Welcome on historic ground of war prevention**

Excellencies, distinguished guests, it's an honor, a pleasure to me as chair of the Carnegie Foundation to welcome you here at the Peace Palace. Let me be the first to congratulate you on your fiftieth anniversary. It's amazing to see what has been achieved these past fifty years in cooperation with the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. Your gathering here today to make an urgent appeal for a nuclear weapon free world. And I'm glad you're doing so here at the Peace Palace global icon of peace and justice because by doing so you are following in the footsteps of the first Hague Peace Conference 120 years ago.



In 1899 politicians and diplomats from all over the world met here in The Hague with the object of seeking the most objective means of ensuring to all people the benefits of a real and lasting peace and over all of limiting the progressive development of existing armaments. Participants adopted three declarations one of which was to prohibit the discharge of projectiles and explosives from balloons or by other similar new methods. So you see at the end of the ninety century it was about balloons this charging explosives, today it's about nuclear weapons but the objective remains the same. We'll ensure people the benefits of a lasting peace. One of the result of the conference was to set up a permanent court of arbitration to prevent conflicts from the coming violence by the application of international law. Subsequently it was decided to build the Peace Palace to house that court. It was Andrew Carnegie who provided the funds to build the palace. It opened its doors in 1913. Nowadays the Peace Palace houses not only the permanent court of arbitration but also the International Court of Justice, one of the principal organs of the United Nations and the only one housed outside of New York. Courts are supported by the Peace Palace library, the largest library in the world in the field of

international law and peace. It not only serves the court and some 200 international organizations in the Hague but also the Hague academy of international law that is housed in the Peace Palace and for which some 1200 students each year pass summer and winter courses.

“Peace wins her way not by force,
her appeal is to the reason and the conscience of men”

But apart from the similarities what do we learn from history? First of all that engagement and commitment of people and organizations like yours make a difference. The court has been able to defuse international crisis and to prevent war though not all. Gatherings like yours and their appeals have an effect and not only by increasing public awareness of the risk we run. But they don't have an everlasting effect. It takes a continuous effort and constant watchfulness to adapt the instruments to changing circumstances. That the Carnegie Foundation Peace Palace is also changing in order to promote peace today and tomorrow. Facilitating peace through law remains our core business. But we have added other dimensions by adopting programs for peace through dialogue and peace for education. By connecting people and bringing them together we aim to foster understanding and cooperation and to inspire people to make a change in as many human lives as possible.

There is a similarity in the way you are connecting people and experts all over
the world and connecting medical-humanitarian and political perspectives.

There is a similarity in the way you are connecting people and experts all over the world and connecting medical-humanitarian and political perspectives. Our common task is to be linking things and to bring people together to act and as our founder Andrew Carnegie once wrote “Peace wins her way not by force, her appeal is to the reason and the conscience of men”. We are therefore very honored to host your conference here today. I wish you an inspiring day and hope you will remember the work of your predecessors. The statue of one of which stands in our hallways, the Nobel peace laureate Henri Dunant founder of the International Red Cross. Thank you.



Introduction by Peter Buijs

Urgent need to act!

As a 13 year old boy I was biking to school, close to this Peace Palace, in October 1962, at the height of the Cuba Crisis, and I can remember very well the fear, realizing I might never come home again because of a nuclear war. Later on that fear appeared to be fully justified: it was a very near escape, thanks to Kennedy, Chruchev and above all the commander of the soviet nuclear submarines, Vasili Archipov who decided not to answer the US depth bombs. He really saved the world, just like the other Soviet officer, Stanislav Petrov, on the 26th of September 1983 by not responding to an assumed US nuclear attack, that turned out to be a computer error. Spectres of the past? Ask the people on Hawaiï about their 40 minutes ordeal last year after a warning real missiles were coming in.



But I also remember very well the great feeling of being involved in the global actions to stop new nuclear weapons like the Neutron Bomb, cruise missiles and Russian SS20's in the 70s and 80s: 550.000 marched not far from here - the biggest Dutch demonstration ever.

That spirit we will very much need again, since the experts assess the current nuclear situation as much more dangerous than during the Cold War, posed by the most devastating Weapons of Mass Destruction ever invented, and the only ones still tolerated, nuclear weapons. Still 15.000 are around – with thousands on hair-trigger alert – hundreds of times more powerful than the two that wiped out complete Japanese cities,

killing about 250.000 civilians. The coming years the risk of a nuclear disaster will only grow faster by skipping important arms control treaties, by technical developments (Artificial Intelligence, laser, cyber, drones, hypersonic missiles) and by an imminent new nuclear arms race, given the US and Russian plans presented last year, developing new weapons, also to be used at the battlefield, lowering the nuclear threshold. Anytime a nuclear warhead can be launched and can lead to a chain of nuclear reactions causing unspeakable medical-humanitarian suffering on an unimaginable scale - without hope for help - or even the end of all of us.

For our main instrument – Therapy - we need others: politicians, experts, diplomats, moral leaders, according to today's subtitle: *Connecting medical-humanitarian and political perspectives.*

Because of this we, physicians, have to raise our voice, to signal the huge risk and to urgently call for action, like this afternoon with our *Urgent Appeal for a nuclear weapon free world*. However, we can help with the Diagnosis and the Prognosis, but for our main instrument – Therapy - we need others: politicians, experts, diplomats, moral leaders, according to today's subtitle: *Connecting medical-humanitarian and political perspectives*. That is what we are going to do this afternoon and that is what the NVMP has done in our country, together with others. And we have experienced that Dutch

politicians did not only listen, but also started acting, first in our parliament, followed by the government. Let's have a closer look at this hopeful development.

Our Medical Appeal was used to introduce a resolution, leading to the Netherlands as the only NATO-country joining the UN Ban negotiations.

In 2016 we, the NVMP, presented our medical-humanitarian arguments to Parliament, signed by 100 prominent healthcare workers, and it appeared to be quite convincing: our Medical Appeal was used to introduce a resolution, leading to the Netherlands as the only NATO-country joining the UN Ban negotiations. Encouraged by this the NVMP initiated a civil society coalition with the Red Cross, the Roman-Catholic and Protestant churches, Mayors for Peace, the peace movement PAX and humanistic organisations: the Balieberaad. With common actions we kept on pressuring our Parliament and government, leading to more remarkable resolutions and to a unique phrase in the *Constitutional Declaration* of our new, centre-right government, opposed to the ban treaty, but stating end 2017: "This government actively pursues a nuclear weapon free world". MP's told us that had not happened without our civil society actions.

This of course energized us to increase pressure with Appeals, Manifestations and increasingly direct contact with MPs, especially those of the four governmental parties, and also with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. And what did Minister Blok wrote to Parliament dd 21-6-2018: "Nuclear disarmament is a Dutch priority. The government has committed itself clearly and repeatedly to (...) *Global Zero*, according to the obligations under Article VI NPT. (...) The only way to exclude nuclear weapon use is their complete elimination." Active NGOs support "... the government is striving actively for *Global Zero*". International tensions make "... the Dutch pioneer role even more important, as initiator and bridge builder.", concluding: "Making the NPT Review 2020 a success is *top priority!*"

One of the aims of this afternoon is to support Minister Blok to succeed with his top priority, and to give him suggestions about how to achieve it, like a delegation of the speakers already did this morning at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a discussion with the Staff on Nuclear Disarmament.

However, there are also some long existing tough questions, needing new answers, like the quote in many ministerial letters to parliament: "NATO remains a nuclear alliance as long as there are nuclear weapons." Does this 'mantra' not sound like a vicious circle, that we need to escape from?

deterrence is only credible when the opponent is convinced that 'the other' really will use nuclear weapons.

And even more important: this government remains committed to both nuclear disarmament *and* a "credible nuclear deterrence". However, deterrence is only credible when the opponent is convinced that 'the other' really will use nuclear weapons! Earlier this year I met Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, former NATO SG and now chair of the main Dutch Advisory Board about International Relations, that this year advised the government about nuclear weapons, containing the same contradiction, and I asked him about this contradiction. "That is an intellectual twist you cannot resolve!" he answered, and I reacted: "I think we urgently have to find a solution for this paradox before it is too late!"

Maybe we will hear more about this from Minister Blok himself, because he will speak directly after me about these issues from a Dutch perspective, while the next speaker, the UN under –SG Izumi Nakamitsu, is in an excellent position to do the same from the global perspective.

After these introductions we arrive at the Diagnosis part: What is the medical-humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons? Followed by the Prognosis part: How serious is the current situation and the risk of an (un)intended nuclear war? And how urgent we must act!

After the break one of our Dutch allies in our civil society coalition, the Roman Catholic Bishop Gerard de Korte will say a few words by video, introducing the most vital part of this afternoon: The therapy : How to reach a world without nuclear weapons? That question is also leading at the panel discussion with these four speakers, together with IPPNW-copresident Ira Helfand, moderated by Jan Hoekema, former diplomat, politician and chair of the Dutch Mayors for Peace. Central questions: what needs urgently be done next year, the crucial year 2020 to take steps towards nuclear disarmament , towards the world without nuclear weapons? The second question is what can The Netherlands do?

‘...his country has foregone voluntarily its arsenal of nuclear weapons in 1991’

Before the panel starts Britt Vegting, a Dutch medical student will give a pitch about how to secure her future, while during the panel discussion mister Ilyassov, the ambassador of Kazakhstan will make a short statement about how his country has foregone voluntarily its arsenal of nuclear weapons in 1991.

Afterwards two of the three 2020 RevCon vice-presidents - Adam Bugajski (Poland) and Marjolijn van Deelen (Netherlands) – will comment the results of the panel and the earlier contributions.

Finally, after some closing remarks from me, the Hague Peace Palace Appeal, written by the NVMP, will be presented by Chazia Mourali, a famous Dutch media presentator, and handed over to Izumi Nakamitsu and Mary Robinson.

Then the Mayor of The Hague, Johan Remkes, will introduce the Reception, offered by The Hague, City of Peace and Justice and is it finally time to relax.

I very much hope you will not only have an interesting afternoon, but above all that the contributions may result in progress in a very complex matter, and may give a realistic perspective on the ultimate goal: a world without nuclear weapons, where no schoolchildren nor anyone else have to fear not coming home again because of a nuclear war. Thank you.



Peter Buijs: As I told before, this Event is supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and one of the consequences is that I now have the honour to ask our Minister of Foreign Affairs Stef Blok to come forward, representing a government, that stated in its Founding Declaration to actively pursue a nuclear weapon free world – the base for our cooperation.

Stef Blok, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of the Netherlands **Towards the 2020 NPT review conference**

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

First of all, I'd like to welcome all of you who have travelled to the Netherlands for this important meeting. And to offer a special welcome to Izumi Nakamitsu, UN Under-Secretary-General and High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, who has come here from UN headquarters in New York.

And most of all to the hosts of this meeting from the NVMP/IPPNW. I'd like to congratulate them on their organization's 50th anniversary and on the success of their recent anniversary conference.

"Colossal danger". Gorbachev used these words to sound the alarm about the ongoing risk to the world posed by nuclear weapons.

"Kolossal'naya opasnost". These are the words of 88-year-old former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, in a recent interview with the BBC. Translated, it means: "colossal danger". Gorbachev used these words to sound the alarm about the ongoing risk to the world posed by nuclear weapons. And he is not alone. UN Secretary-General Guterres, fears that the progress that had been made in reducing the danger of nuclear weapons has "come to a halt". And that we are even going backwards, having lost "an invaluable brake on nuclear war".



Why these alarming messages?

The architecture of nuclear arms control is under serious pressure. And geopolitical tensions are spiking in Europe, in the Middle East, on the Indian subcontinent, and in East Asia.

To be more specific: The two countries that have the most nuclear weapons do not seem to be making any further progress on nuclear disarmament. In fact the opposite. A treaty on limiting nuclear missiles – the INF treaty, the one the Secretary-General called "an invaluable break" – has been abandoned, following violations by the Russian Federation. And a year after the US pulled out of the 2015 nuclear deal with Iran, Iran is taking more steps to produce enriched uranium, which could be used for weapons. Moreover, North Korea has been expanding its nuclear weapons program. To the point that experts think its missiles could possibly hit the US West Coast. And on top of that, India and Pakistan are still at odds, and came close to armed conflict earlier this year.

The two countries that have the most nuclear weapons do not seem to be making any further progress on nuclear disarmament.

The threats we are currently seeing to the international architecture of nuclear arms control, are a sign of the times. Times when multilateralism as a whole is under pressure. Geopolitics is shifting towards zero-sum thinking, and away from a search for shared interests. There is a shift towards rivalry and competition, away from cooperation.

And towards conflict, away from dialogue. If we think of nuclear disarmament as a marathon - I'm a runner myself - we could say that today we are facing strong headwinds. Especially when we think of the enormous impact a nuclear weapon would have.

To illustrate: The first atomic bomb ever dropped, had an explosive yield equivalent to 12,500 tons of TNT. And later today we will hear someone bear witness, about what that meant for the survivors in 1945...

But five years later, in the 1950s, nuclear weapon test explosions reached the megaton range. The equivalent of one million tons of TNT. Roughly one thousand times more powerful than the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. One thousand times.... And that's the destructive capacity of just one nuclear weapon. Imagine there are more of them. And there are. Enough to destroy the world. Many times over. With technologies of our own making.

Luckily however, ladies and gentlemen, we have something that could potentially prevent the destruction of humanity. It's a treaty, a strategic bargain, resulting from decades of painstaking diplomacy. In this Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, 185 countries promised to give up – forever – the nuclear bomb, the most powerful weapon ever devised. And five countries – out of the nine current nuclear weapon states – who do possess this weapon, agreed to ultimately eliminate their own nuclear weapons. And to share peaceful nuclear technology with all treaty-compliant states.

That would make possible an eighty per cent reduction of the global stockpile of nuclear weapons from Cold War levels. Worldwide. This reduction, enshrined in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, makes it the bedrock of global efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

These conferences are crucial ways for countries like mine – the Netherlands – to exert pressure on the nuclear weapon states.

And yet, as I made clear earlier, we find ourselves in a uniquely dangerous period in the atomic age. So it's a good thing that the NPT will have its tenth review conference next year in New York.

These conferences are crucial ways for countries like mine – the Netherlands – to exert pressure on the nuclear weapon states. And also crucial forums for discussing new proposals and ideas, and lobbying for new initiatives, to move towards a world free of nuclear weapons. I believe the Netherlands is well positioned to do this.

Our ambassador for the NPT, Marjolijn van Deelen, will chair one of the main committees at the review conference, and be one of the conference vice-presidents. Of course I try to contribute to nuclear disarmament as well, whenever possible. For example, I was recently at a ministerial conference on the CTBT, where I called on states that have not yet ratified it to do so.

Just last Saturday, in Japan, I was talking to my counterparts in the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative about how to move forward on nuclear disarmament. I proposed there that the Netherlands host a follow-up ministerial meeting of this diverse group of twelve countries from all over the world. We'll have a very clear message for this meeting: the NPT review conference must be a success. And we must demand that the nuclear weapon states take action to implement NPT Article six. And of course I mean to attend the review conference myself, focusing on reaffirming our joint commitments to the NPT. Including on nuclear disarmament.

The Netherlands is dedicated to achieving a world free of nuclear weapons, in a safe, secure and stable way.

We know that the NPT is the only credible instrument that can move us towards that goal. Other attempts - like the Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty - are neither effective nor enforceable. Because they cannot be verified, and have no support from any states possessing nuclear weapons. We have to be honest about this. We all know that achieving a world without nuclear weapons requires patience and hard work. It's a huge task, and there are limits to what the Netherlands can do. We cannot simply tell the nuclear weapon states what to do. I wish it was that easy. This is why the Netherlands has chosen to play a leading role on disarmament by forging partnerships and focusing on international cooperation.

Together with like-minded states, we are pressing for a treaty eliminating fissile materials, that can be used to produce nuclear weapons. And for the comprehensive test ban treaty to enter into force. We are also trying to find ways to verify nuclear disarmament agreements. We are encouraging restraint in the formulation of nuclear doctrines. And we are asking the nuclear weapon states to be as transparent as possible, in order to build confidence and facilitate steps towards disarmament.

Meanwhile, we are involved in international talks on how to create an international political environment that stimulates – rather than complicates – the disarmament process. And we always work in groups. Sometimes with countries that think the way we do, but also with countries with different political views. Just as we work both with our EU partners and with other countries from all over the world, in the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative. Last but not least, we fully support the disarmament agenda put forward by the UN Secretary-General. Madam High Representative, I can assure you of the Netherlands' full cooperation. I commend both you and the entire UN for all your efforts.

**The Netherlands is dedicated to achieving a world free of nuclear weapons,
in a safe, secure and stable way.**

We too are doing everything we can to use our international position to de-escalate nuclear tensions. That includes our position as a NATO ally of three nuclear weapon states. After all, the Netherlands is a founding member of NATO; An alliance that is dedicated to making the planet safer, and to creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons. We believe that even though friendship may not be on the table between all countries right now, diplomacy and dialogue should be.

At the start of this speech, I compared nuclear disarmament to a marathon. It is not a sprint. Despite the headwinds we face, it is important for us to keep running. Heading in the right direction. And ensuring that no accidents happen along the way. This is even more important than speed. So I sincerely hope this meeting will help us keep our eyes on the prize.

**I hope all of us here in the Peace Palace in The Hague, will use this momentum
to look for new and innovative solutions.**

I hope all of us here in the Peace Palace in The Hague, will use this momentum to look for new and innovative solutions. Let's look ahead. And pool our different backgrounds and views, to craft new ideas. Not just for us. Not just for Europe. But for all of humanity. So that no government or political leader ever considers giving an order to use nuclear weapons, ever again. Or even better, as Mr Gorbachev so wisely said to the BBC last month: "All nations should declare that nuclear weapons must be destroyed. This is to save ourselves, and our planet."

Thank you.

Peter Buijs: And now it's a big honor for me and the NVMP to announce our next speaker: the under-secretary general of the UN and High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Ms. Izumi Nakamitsu. A year ago we have already spoken here in The Hague about the importance of civil society involvement in nuclear weapon affairs, and during the PrepCom this year we met again, so I could invite her for our Peace Palace Event, organized by Dutch Civil society. And thanks also by the support of the Minister of Foreign Affairs I may now invite miss Nakamitsu on stage!

Ms. Izumi Nakamitsu, High Representative for Disarmament Affairs
State of nuclear disarmament affairs. The 2020 Review Conference on the Non-Proliferation Treaty: keys to success.

His Excellency, Foreign Minister Mr. Stef Blok,
Mr. Piet Hein Donner,
Distinguished delegates,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Let me begin by thanking NVMP, and Dr. Peter Buijs, for the invitation to join you. For fifty years, this organization has played a critical role in raising awareness about the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons.

I take this opportunity to thank you for your tireless efforts over five decades to reduce the dangers posed by nuclear weapons, to promote research and education, and to help take us all along the path to a world free of nuclear weapons.



Unfortunately, your dedication and expertise are needed now more than ever.

After more than three decades of forward movement towards the elimination of nuclear weapons, not only has that momentum ceased, but we appear to be going backwards. The only exception in the recent years is the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW).

A combination of various factors is threatening our security today. They include fraught relations between nuclear-armed States, an increasingly complex security environment characterized by new technologies and new fault lines, the proliferation of sophisticated weapons systems – not least ballistic missiles – and the emergence of a multipolar nuclear order and regional nuclear challenges.

These factors are, inter alia, precipitating the re-emergence of dangerous rhetoric about the utility of nuclear weapons – including, alarmingly, about fighting and winning a nuclear war – that should have been consigned to history. They are fueling a qualitative nuclear arms race based not on numbers but on competition to create faster, more accurate, stealthier and, indeed, more lethal nuclear weapons. And they are resulting in the erosion of the hard-won disarmament and non-proliferation regime established over some fifty years of painstaking negotiation and dialogue.

I am worried that the barriers to the use of nuclear weapons are lower than they've been since the darkest days of the Cold War.

International relations are now marked by the absence of trust, diminishing transparency, a preference for competition over cooperation, and a dearth of dialogue. In nuclear disarmament, gaps between States are growing over the right path to take.

In such an environment, I am worried that the barriers to the use of nuclear weapons – intentionally, by accident or through miscalculation – are lower than they've been since the darkest days of the Cold War.

As we approach the 2020 Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, or the NPT, the stakes are high. The current security context places multiple obstacles on the road to success. But I do not believe they are insurmountable. Rather, I continue to believe the Review Conference represents a unique double-headed opportunity.

First, occurring on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Treaty's entry into force and the twenty-fifth anniversary of its indefinite extension, the Review Conference provides a symbolic opportunity for States parties to: 1) reaffirm their commitment to the Treaty and a world free of nuclear weapons; 2) demonstrate the implementation of all obligations undertaken to attain this goal – including those made at various Review Conferences; 3) strengthen non-proliferation measures against evolving challenges; and, 4) take practical steps in nuclear disarmament.

Second, and looking beyond 2020, the Review Conference could also function as a jumping off point to consider what disarmament and non-proliferation should look like in the twenty-first century. There are growing concerns that the current environment – with all of its new variables, challenges and opportunities – requires a new vision to address the dangers posed by nuclear weapons and to chart a course to their elimination. As the cornerstone of the regime and the de facto negotiating body on these issues, the NPT is a good place to begin a reflection.

The need for interlocutors to step forward who can engage with the different sides of current divisions and attempt to forge consensus.

Successive review conferences have seen the creation of such groups.

The question is, who will put their hand up now?

However, neither of these outcomes will happen if States do not act quickly. Three fundamental concerns need to be addressed immediately.

First, there is a need for committed leadership, especially by the nuclear-weapon States. I hope that they will be able to put aside their differences to act in accordance with the collective good.

Second, is the need for interlocutors to step forward who can engage with the different sides of current divisions and attempt to forge consensus. Successive review conferences have seen the creation of such groups. The question is, who will put their hand up now?

Finally, States parties have to think strategically about exactly what success looks like in 2020 and how to get there. Heading into April 2020, States parties will need common understandings about what could constitute an outcome from the Review Conference.

Failure to agree on a consensus outcome document in 2020 will not doom the treaty. Failure to approach the Conference ready to engage in dialogue, to recognize the legitimate concerns of others, and to work in a spirit of flexibility, could damage it.

We often talk about the need for common ground to contribute to a successful outcome. I believe that the NPT is common ground. It is recognized as an intrinsic element of our collective security and an instrument from which all States parties continue to derive significant value. Ensuring that the security and other benefits provided by the Treaty remain intact should be every States parties' number one priority.



I look forward to working with the Government of the Netherlands, as a bureau member in 2020, to achieve this outcome.

The concept of new vision is still in its infancy. But, some of the key questions facing nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation are starting to be asked by many.

For example, how can we preserve the great gains made to date while creating a framework that takes into account new challenges, such as those posed by emerging revolutionary .

Technologies? How can we rebuild habits of cooperation and transparency to create trust and confidence?

What will arms control look like – if further numerical reductions become more difficult, can it be based on weapon capability, such as the prohibition of particularly destabilizing weapons?

It should be based in the norms of the non-use of nuclear weapons and the urgent and shared goal of their total elimination. It should strictly adhere to the principles of verifiability, irreversibility and transparency, but also accountability, compliance and enforcement.

How can we ensure it addresses non-strategic nuclear weapons, as well as the long overdue issue of missiles, the primary delivery vehicle for nuclear weapons? Can it tackle the thorny issue of anti-missile systems, especially ballistic missile defense? Can it incorporate potential new developments such as hypersonic weapons or nuclear-armed drones?

These questions will take some time to answer, but what is already clear is the normative basis in which any new vision must be grounded.

It should be based in the norms of the non-use of nuclear weapons and the urgent and shared goal of their total elimination. It should strictly adhere to the principles of verifiability, irreversibility and transparency, but also accountability, compliance and enforcement.

Security concerns have to be taken in to account, but so too should the understanding that disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation are key measures to prevent, mitigate and resolve conflict. They are important tools for our security. In this context, a new vision also needs to find ways to further strengthen the protection of civilians and to take into account the gendered impact of weapons.

I very much welcome the Netherlands' leadership and its willingness to support creative ways to advance discussions on a new vision for disarmament.

A new vision should seek to re-establish the practice of good faith dialogue and negotiations and it should develop a common understanding of the new risks we face, especially posed by the rapid development of new technologies, and their interaction with existing concerns.

Finally, a new vision should recognize the importance of multilateral solutions. As I have said before, without the multilateral system and respect for international rules, we risk a return solely to power relations, reward-sanction mechanisms and a cycle of frozen conflicts. Today, we need a recommitment to multilateralism. We also need to ensure that our multilateral institutions are strong and nimble enough to deal with today's challenges.

We should aspire to the vision outlined by the Secretary-General of a networked and inclusive multilateralism centered on closer cooperation with a variety of stakeholders – traditional and non-traditional – to make heard as diverse a range of voices as possible. In a multipolar world characterized by increasingly interconnected challenges, we will need to look to multi-stakeholder approaches to identify viable solutions and reinforce collective ownership.

I am pleased to note that States have already begun to come forward with their own views on these issues. In particular, I very much welcome the Netherlands' leadership and its willingness to support creative ways to advance discussions on a new vision for disarmament.

What I have outlined will not take place over night, and there are many variables and questions remaining. However, I believe we should at least start the conversation now. I look forward to working with partners such as the Netherlands in the next couple of years of serious reflections to secure our common future.

Thank you.

PART II | Diagnosis: Medical-humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons

Peter Buijs: we now enter the diagnose part of our conference: What is the medical-humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons?, and we are very privileged to start with an impressive video from Setsuko Thurlow called *Testimony of a Hiroshima survivor (hibakusha)*. She was 13 years old when the US Atom Bomb was dropped, and is now 87 years of age, but still very alive and kicking. We have met several times in the past years and when I called her in Toronto, she said: "I would love to collaborate, and maybe IPPNW can help me!" So, thanks to the help of the IPPNW Head Quarters in Boston, now your attention for a very special 10 minutes.

Setsuko Thurlow

A testimony of a Hiroshima survivor (video)

I'm pleased to have this opportunity to send a Hibakusha's greeting to my brothers and sisters in The Netherlands. It has always been a tremendous support for me working with the members of IPPNW around the world. Congratulations! You have done a good job in this point, but we have a lot more to do. Today I was asked to share a bit of my experiences of that day, the 6th of August 1945, so I will describe during a few minutes what I witnessed.



I was thirteen years old and a high school pupil and in those days Japan was losing badly in a war and we couldn't just stay in the classroom. We were mobilized to do the work for the army. So I wasn't at school that day I was at the military headquarters. Can you imagine a thirteen years old girl at the military headquarters? I was acting as decoding assistant, we had to learn how to decode the top-secret messages, just imagine. Anyway that day was a another hot, sweaty day and at eight o'clock I took thirty girls with me to the military headquarters. We were on the second floor of a wooden building which was about one mile away from the hypocenter of ground zero. And at eight o'clock we started the work and the major was giving us a pep talk. And then suddenly I saw the blinding flash the blueish white color flash in the window and then I got the sensation of floating in the air. I don't know how long I was unconscious but when I began to regain consciousness I found myself pinned under the collapsed building. I tried to move my body but I couldn't, I knew I was facing death.

It's strange, I wasn't upset, I was calmly facing death. Then I started hearing faint voices of the girls "Mother help me, God help me." So I knew I was surrounded by my schoolmates I just brought to the headquarter.

Then all of a sudden somebody shook my left shoulder saying "Don't give up, don't give up, keep moving, keep pushing. I'm trying to loosen you, I'm trying to free you. You see that light? Crawl, move to that direction". And that's what I did, by the time I came out of the rubble which was already on fire that meant that the thirty girls that were with me in the same room were all burnt to death alive.

The horror we witnessed that day it was ... just evil, totally unacceptable evil.

No human being deserves that, no human being should ever have to go through what we went through.

When all this happened at 8:15 in the morning, by the time I came out it was dark outside. My eyes had to adjust to that darkness, then I began to see some moving objects coming towards me. It were injured people who were escaping from the center of the city. They didn't look like human beings, a soldier said, "you girls, join that procession and escape to the nearby hill". So we joined that procession of ghosts, that's what I call them, because they simply did not look like human beings. Their hair was standing upwards, parts of their body was missing, they were bleeding, all burned and swollen, blackened. So we joined this procession and slowly shuffled and we stepped over the death bodies and escaped to the nearby hill. At the foot of the hill there was a huge military training ground about the size of two football fields. So you can imagine it was a huge place. By the time we got there the place was packed with dead bodies and dying people. Everybody had a faint voice begging for water, nobody was shouting, nobody was running, nobody had that strength left. They simply begged for water. We wanted to give them water but we couldn't so we went to the nearby stream and washed off the blood of our body, tore off our clothes and soaked it in the water we took it back and put it over the mouths of dying people. That was the only so-called first aid that we could give them. I looked around there were no doctors, no nurses because they were killed too. Where I was thousands of thousands of people were dying and begging for water, not a drop of water was given to them. People just didn't have eyeballs, they were carrying their eyeballs in their hands. The stomach was burst open intestines stretching out...it was as if the hell was just on earth, I think it was, I saw it.

I looked around there were no doctors, no nurses because they were killed too.

Where I was thousands of thousands of people were dying.

Anyway that's the brief description of what I saw that day. But that death and destruction was caused by a very primitive nuclear weapon. I can't call it really primitive because it was enormous. It just destroyed an entire city killing hundreds of thousand people indiscriminately. Children, women, elderly all of us together.

So what we do know about the nuclear weapons today is we are talking about a different scale of destructiveness. So I hope that everybody who hear this story remember that.

The horror we witnessed that day it was ... just evil, totally unacceptable evil. No human being deserves that, no human being should ever have to go through what we went through. That is our aim, that is why we are working hard and I know you people joining us, working together let's continue to give all we've got, because life is beautiful, the people, the planet is beautiful. We have to keep it and pass it on to our following generation. That's our moral imperative, Thank you.

Peter Buijs: After seeing this video I think we all know what has to be done. But to convince others we physicians also have to present the scientific evidence of the consequences of nuclear weapons And who is more capable to do so than Ira Helfand, co-president of our organization IPPNW, e.g. representing the Nobel Peace Prize 1985 rewarded IPPNW at the yearly World Summit of Nobel Peace Prize Winners and at the Steering Committee of ICAN. In daily life he practiced emergency medicine and now internal medicine at a Primary Care Unit in Massachusetts. He will give an overview of the effects of a nuclear detonation and show why we are so committed to make an end to all nuclear weapons.

Ira Helfand , co-president of IPPNW

Medical-humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons.

Setsuko Thurlow has just given us a painful reminder about the terrible destruction that occurred 74 years ago in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And the destruction caused in those cities is a powerful warning about the danger posed by nuclear weapons. But the most important thing for us to understand about Hiroshima and Nagasaki is that they do not begin to prepare us for the devastation that modern nuclear weapons will cause.

In the event of a nuclear war today it will not be one or two small 15 kiloton bombs on one or two cities. In the case of a large scale war between the US and Russia, it will be 10 or 15 bombs each 30 to 50 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb falling on many cities.

Even a more limited nuclear war, as might take place between India and Pakistan, will cause damage across the entire sub-continent and catastrophic consequences across the globe.

In 2006 a study published by Alan Robock and his colleagues showed that a war in South Asia, involving just 100 Hiroshima sized bombs targeted on major urban targets would kill some 20 million people in the first week as a result of the fires, the explosions and the immediate radiation effects. But that was only part of the story. The fires caused by these bombs would loft some 5 million tons of soot into the upper atmosphere and drop temperatures across the planet an average of 1.3 degrees cutting global food production enough to trigger a worldwide famine.



At this point in time, we are ill prepared to deal with a major fall in world food supply. global grain stocks are equal to a few months of consumption and they would not provide any significant reserve in the event of a sharp decline in global production.

At our current baseline there are already hundreds of millions of people suffering chronic malnutrition. The average adult needs somewhere between 1800 and 2000 calories per day, depending on his or her stature, to meet basic metabolic requirements and sustain a minimal level of physical activity. Requirements for children are dependent on age and size. There are some 800 million people in the world whose daily caloric intake falls below

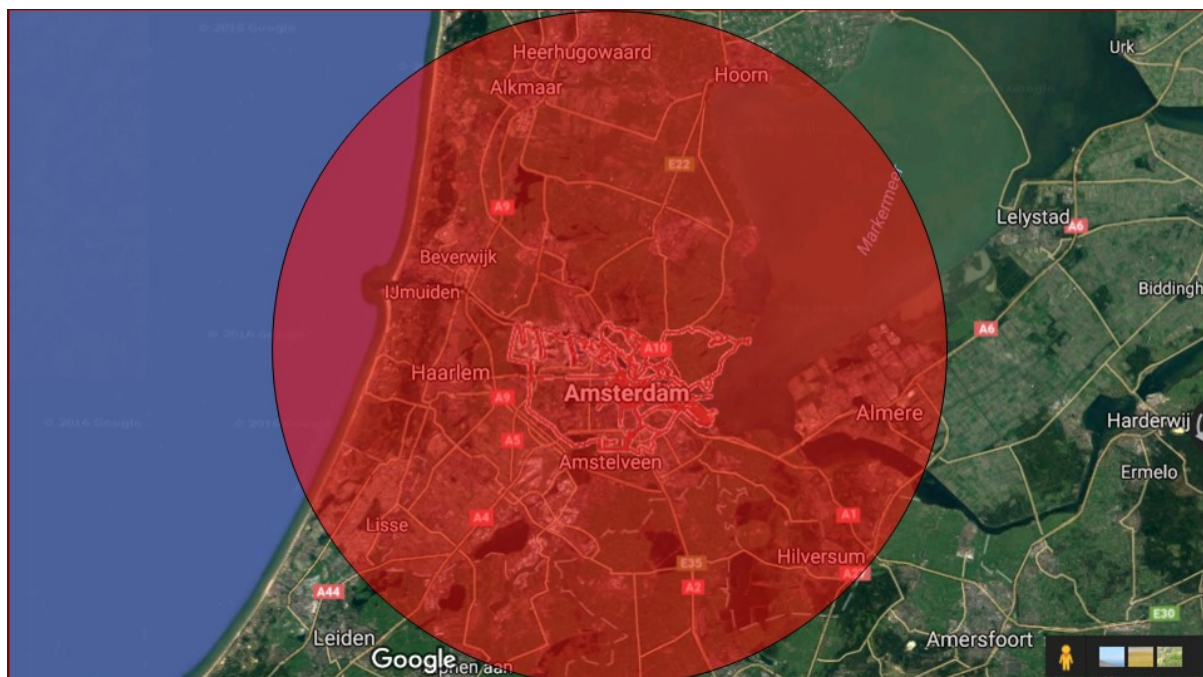
these minimum requirements. Each year some five million children in this group starve to death. A small further decline in available food would put this entire group at risk.

This data led us to conclude that a nuclear famine could put up to 2 billion people at risk of starvation.

In addition, there are hundreds of millions of people who have adequate food consumption now but who live in countries where much of the food is imported. These people would also be at risk if there were a major interruption in international food trade. And there are a billion people in China who are adequately nourished today, and live in a country where most of the food is domestically produced, but who remain poor and would be hard pressed to buy food given the enormous increase in food prices that a global famine would cause.

This data led us to conclude that a nuclear famine could put up to 2 billion people at risk of starvation. That was our understanding of the danger when we published the original study on nuclear famine. This year a team of climate scientists led by Brian Toon and Alan Robock has revised their predictions based on the growth in the number of warheads that India and Pakistan possess, the increased size of those warheads and the growth of the cities that will be destroyed. Their findings are even more alarming. They considered a range of scenarios each involving 100 Indian and 150 Pakistani warheads with yields of 15 kilotons, 50 kilotons or 100 kilotons. The immediate death toll is now predicted to range from 50 to 125 million people, the amount of soot lofted into the upper atmosphere, from 16 to 36 tera-gram's, and the global average temperature drop from 2 to 5.5 degrees. If there was any doubt previously that a conflict in South Asia would be a catastrophe for the entire planet, that doubt, has been erased. This war would not cause the extinction of our species, but it would mean the end of modern civilization. No civilization in history has ever withstood a shock of this magnitude and there is no reason to believe that the complex, fragile economic system on which we all depend would do any better.

Using the model of a single 20 megaton explosion.
This is what happens to Amsterdam.



But even this is not the worst danger we face. The large arsenals of the nuclear superpowers, thousands of warheads, most many times more powerful than those in the Indian and Pakistani arsenal, pose an even greater danger. So let's consider what these weapons can do. Let's start by looking at the effects of a large scale nuclear attack on a major city.

We don't know the exact targeting strategy of either the US or Russia, but, as I mentioned earlier, experts suggest that a major city might be targeted with 10 to fifteen weapons, each 30 to 50 times

more powerful than Hiroshima. We can describe the effects of such an attack using the model of a single 20 megaton explosion—it actually underestimates the damage done by many smaller weapons, but gives an adequate approximation. This is what happens to Amsterdam. Within one thousandth of a second a fireball would form reaching out for 3 kilometers in every direction, 6 kilometers across. Within this area temperatures approach 20 million degrees, hotter than the surface of the sun, and everything is vaporized—the buildings, the trees, the people, the upper layer of the earth itself simply disappears.

To a distance of 6 kilometers, in every direction, the explosion generates winds greater than 1000 kilometers per hour. Mechanical forces of this magnitude destroy anything that humans can build

To a distance of 9 kilometers, in every direction, the heat is so intense that automobiles melt

And to a distance of 25 kilometers, in every direction—and note we have had to change the scale of this map to accommodate this greater circle of destruction—the heat is still so intense that everything flammable burns. Wood, cloth, paper, heating oil, gasoline, plastic. It all ignites. Hundreds of thousands of fires which, over the next half hour, merge into a giant firestorm 50 kilometers across. Within this entire area, the temperature rises to 800 degrees C, all of the oxygen is consumed, and every living thing dies. In the case of Amsterdam well over two million people. And if this were part of a large scale war between the US and Russia, this level of destruction would occur at every major city in both countries, and if NATO were drawn into the conflict, most of the great cities in Canada and Europe as well. All told several hundred million dead in a single afternoon.

This is not the scenario for a Hollywood disaster movie. It is the danger that we live with every day as long as we allow these weapons to exist.

But as was true with a limited war in South Asia, this is only part of the story. The soot lofted by these firestorms would drop temperatures across the globe an average of 8 degrees C. In the interior regions of North America and Eurasia temperatures would fall 25 to 30 degrees. We have not seen such conditions on this planet since the coldest moment of the last ice age and we would essentially create a new, manmade, nuclear ice age. Under these conditions the ecosystems that have evolved since the last ice age would collapse. Food production would stop, the vast majority of the human race would starve, and we might become extinct as a species.

This is not the scenario for a Hollywood disaster movie. It is the danger that we live with every day as long as we allow these weapons to exist. Even if no nuclear armed state takes a deliberate decision to initiate nuclear war, there is always the danger of an accidental war. We know of at least 6 occasions since 1979 when either Moscow or Washington prepared to launch nuclear war in the mistaken belief that they were themselves already under attack. In May of 1967 a solar flare knocked out contact with US early warning radar stations in the Arctic—the US believed that they sites had been destroyed by the Soviets and began the process of launching a counter attack. On November 9, 1979 a training tape was accidentally loaded into the main computer at the US nuclear command centre simulating a full scale Soviet attack on the US. In June 1980 a computer chip malfunctioned again causing a false indication of Soviet attack. In September 1983 a Soviet computer error simulated a US attack on Russia, and in November 1983 the Soviet leadership mistakenly concluded that a large scale NATO exercise, Able Archer 83, was the cover for a planned surprise attack on the Soviet Union. Most recently, on January 25, 1995, a full 5 years after the end of the Cold War, the US launched a weather rocket from Norway. In accordance with international arrangements we notified the Russians in advance of this launch, but someone in Moscow failed to pass the notice on. The Russian military was not expecting the launch. The Russians know that the US always keeps nuclear missile submarines in the North Atlantic off the coast of Norway. When the launch was picked up on radar they interpreted it as a possible missile attack.

“We lucked out ... It was luck that prevented nuclear war.”

On each of these occasions we were not saved because of the soundness of our doctrines, or the infallibility of our technology or the wisdom of our leaders. We were saved, as former US Defense Secretary Robert McNamara famously observed, because, “We lucked out ... It was luck that prevented nuclear war.”

And the current policy of the 9 nuclear armed states is nothing more than a hope for continued good luck which is an insane basis for global security policy. Our luck will not last forever. If we allow these weapons to exist, sooner or later, and perhaps sooner, our luck will run out, they will be used and all of the terrible things we have been discussing will come to pass.

That is why, 50 years ago, the framers of the NPT called for negotiations for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. The nuclear armed states have flouted that requirement of the Treaty and their ongoing efforts to enhance their nuclear arsenals have made clear to the rest of the world that they have no intention at this time of honoring their commitments under Article VI. That is why 122 nations voted in July of 2017 to adopt the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. The nuclear armed states have attacked the TPNW, with the absurd claim that it undermines the NPT when, in fact, it is their failure to fulfill their responsibilities under Article VI that are the real threat to the NPT.

If the nuclear armed states and their allies are serious about preserving the NPT they should embrace the TPNW, make public their support for it, and enter now into negotiations for a verifiable, enforceable timebound agreement to dismantle their remaining nuclear weapons so that they come into compliance with both the TPNW and the NPT. We owe it to our children to actually achieve the security of a world free of nuclear weapons and to make this a safer world for them to live in.

Peter Buijs: to make it clear this is not only what an idealistic bunch of IPPNW doctors think, we will now present a short video message of Miguel Jorge, the president of the World Medical Association (WMA) which represents 10 million doctors all over the world.

Miguel Jorge, President of the World Medical Association **WMA condemns nuclear weapons (video)**

Hi Peter, dear ladies and gentlemen, it is an honor for me as president of the World Medical Association to participate in this meeting where we are commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Dutch branch of IPPNW.



It's the duty of every physician and responsibility to continue fighting against nuclear weapons.

I think this is a very important issue and the World Medical Association represents 10 million physicians worldwide has a special policy on this matter where we consider that it's the duty of every physician and responsibility to continue fighting against nuclear weapons and to serve humanity. We know that any kind of nuclear accident threatens a lot the health of the people for whom we are responsible to care. I am very glad to participate even through a video in this important occasion. I hope that you will continue doing what you have done all those fifty years, to fight against nuclear weapons and to prevent nuclear war.

Thank you very much for your kind attention.

PART III | Prognosis: How serious is the current situation and the risk of an (un)intended nuclear war?

Peter Buijs: this was the end of the Diagnosis part, meant to make clear that from the medical-humanitarian point of view nuclear weapons are totally unacceptable and should be banned and abolished completely. Now it's time for the second medical key activity: to make a prognosis of the situation. We are glad to have two very experienced speakers for that. To begin with, Sergey Batsanov, already in 1976 starting his diplomatic career of negotiating in arms treaties on nuclear disarmament and also on the other weapons of mass destruction, chemical and biological. He did that also for the Russian federation till his retirement, but is still very active in this field, oa. As a Pugwash member. He came already two times over to Holland to be well prepared, so we are very glad to have him over for the third time to tell more about the nuclear disarmament history and lessons we can learn from the past. Sergey may I give the floor to you.

Sergey Batsanov, former USSR and Russian Ambassador to the Conference of Disarmament in Geneva

Development of nuclear disarmament 1975-2019.

I'd like to congratulate the organization NVMP on its fiftieth anniversary and inviting me to the group of speakers and also to express gratitude especially to the Dutch Foreign Ministry for helping in preparations and making this possible.

I'm a former diplomat as Peter already told you and initially thought it was a bit strange that I was asked to talk about prognoses. Sometimes people think that diplomats are very different from doctors. Diplomats are supposed to express the respective positions of their governments. So where is the treatment and where is the therapy here? But thinking a little bit more I concluded that there is some truth about that. Real diplomats however have to understand that the interests of their governments and nations is in ensuring off course their security but nowadays individual and national security cannot be assured without regional security and without global security. And to arrange for global security you need regional security, good relations with neighbors but also faraway countries, this is what diplomats must do. So there is an element of treatment, there is an element of aiming at recovery whatever the disease is. Now what is the disease? That is also an element of prognosis: how do we identify the disease? I think we have more than one disease, but certainly nuclear weapons are a disease of the world. Irrespective of whether a given country possesses nuclear weapons, has them on its territory or doesn't have to do much with nuclear weapons at all.

The nuclear weapons today with all there frightening firepower are beginning to move to becoming obsolete as warfighting instruments.

In a way nuclear weapons are normally, they were developed under very special and tragic circumstances during the Second World War and immediately thereafter. But when nations who obtained them realized what the possession of nuclear weapons means, they noticed that apart from contributing to the perception of deterrence, nuclear weapons defeat the traditional perception about warfighting, because warfighting used to be about convincing an enemy to either surrender completely or to agree to some arrangement or to obtain more resources or to obtain more land and so on. Now nuclear weapons make this all irrelevant, because the result of their use would be devastating. There would be no normal benefits of war. This is off course a very tricky situation. If one goes for the elimination of nuclear weapons as weapons that are presenting a deadly threat to the civilization and our earth should that mean that we have to go back in time to traditional ways of waging war? Actually

I don't think we should do that. It is tricky because on the one hand when you try to link the two aspects you can be accused of making linkages to prevent nuclear disarmament. On the other hand if you forget about it you may help run the process of nuclear disarmament in additional problems. There is no simple answer to that but most probably the answer is in the need to understand certain guiding principles. The nuclear weapons today with all their frightening firepower are beginning to move to becoming obsolete as warfighting instruments. There are new technologies, new weapons which hopefully would make nuclear weapons not necessary at all. But in this process we would have to go through several phases of destabilization. One had to be particularly careful about this. And also we have to realize that the road itself is changing in many respects. We have new power relationships, we have new political agendas, we have new ways of addressing different global and regional forms of conflicts. So all that is also in the flux. Taken together with new technologies that would create additional risks.

It's not that we have no history of addressing nuclear weapons, reducing nuclear risks and moving towards nuclear disarmament. We had a period when certain agreements would be reached. But I would allow myself to mention two factors and then their consequences. The two factors that I have in mind are that on some point, maybe in the mid 1960's, the two major players, the United States and the Soviet Union, reached a certain stage in their relationships, what could be characterized as a kind of military balance between the two of them although not everybody agreed to that. Also the idea became alive of the infinity of the nuclear arms race. We had the Cuba crisis where the leaders had to chance to understand much clearer where the uncontrolled nuclear arms race the absence of mutual positive engagement of talking to each other maintaining critical communications might lead to at one point or another. A series of nuclear agreements some bilateral, some multilateral, some global which were definitely partial measures with a goal of rather stopping the nuclear arms race and not completely eliminating the nuclear weapons.



'No wait, something is wrong here. I'm not going to push the button now'.
Now that window is disappearing.

So we had agreements like SALT I, SALT II, START I, START II, START III later. We had a BM treaty which is interesting today because it was about relationships between offensive and defensive strategic systems. We had global treaties to start with the NPT of course, even before that we had the Partial Test Ban Treaty with some good environmental consequences. The problem however is that in the early ninety nineties some of this major precondition started to disappear creating very much a completely new background for further efforts. On the one hand we witnessed the arrival of new

nuclear weapon states. Then we had very dramatic changes in the military balance between the two biggest nuclear weapon states. We started to lose a perceived need to restrict the nuclear arms race in general through dialogue and through long lasting agreements. We began to witness the erosion of international law and its major elements including in the first place the principle of the non-use of force. Because we did witness instead a number of attempts to find elegant or sometimes not so elegant ways to bypass the prohibition of the use of force in accordance of the UN-charter and other legal parameters. People are inventive in that respect. And then in parallel we witnessed an enormously rapid development of science and technology with consequence off course for all spheres of our live, not just nuclear, not just military, but also bringing absolutely incredible things to nuclear and military aspects. Basically bringing with them the risk of destabilization, the risk of eliminating the window which was still existing and probably exists today for either the governments or for some brave officers to say to themselves: 'No wait, something is wrong here. I'm not going to push the button now'. Now that window is disappearing.

You outsource it to not somebody else but to something else like artificial intelligence whether you should push the nuclear button.
And that now is really frightening.

The amount of information that is being collected about everything in the world may have utility for early warning and decision-making. That increased to such a great degree that a human mind or even the minds of thousands of analysts would not be able to digest that. And what do you do? You outsource it to not somebody else but to something else like artificial intelligence whether you should push the nuclear button. And that now is really frightening.

Today a combination of these various trends, of which I forgot to mention one, the absence, the degradation of dialogue. With that I just not mean two sides not talking to each other but also multilateral dialogue. It's probably time to act and sit down to think much more seriously.

So this is what I understand as a multi-therapy, we need to combine more modest steps and more radical vision.

So my prognosis frankly is very cautiously optimistic in the sense that the human race has found in the past new ways of addressing what seemed to be insurmountable problems. But there is very little room for the right to make mistakes here. That is also a part of the reality. It seems to me that when talking about therapy, what doctors do to the patient that is seriously ill, and correct me if I'm wrong, doctors may prescribe a range of therapies, a multi-component therapy. Because when you try to give a strong medicine against a particular disease you may also wish to give some other medicine or substance to keep the sick person alive and protect him from the effects of the very strong medicine you gave him in the first place. So this is what I understand as a multi-therapy, we need to combine more modest steps and more radical vision. We need to try to avoid an antagonize between those who perhaps prefer more modest steps and those who prefer to go more straight ahead and very far and they should talk to each other more not only antagonistic countries. There should be more discussions between proponents of radical approach and those of more moderate and modest measures. We need to take steps to somehow reduce risk of destabilization for technical reasons. The last thing I wanted to say is it would be a great misfortune if the lack of dialogue, the lack of spirit for cooperation and coordination and understanding each other would allow us all to lose the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The occasion for that might come during the next review conference, I hope it won't but this were we also should concentrate our efforts. Thank you very much, thank you for your attention.

Peter Buijs: when we and the Minister of Foreign Affairs were looking for a counterpart from the United States we were running to an unexpected problem called Thanksgiving – a US holiday period, starting tomorrow. That applied for several speakers we asked: they all very much wanted to participate, but were not able to. Fortunately that was not the case with Thomas Countryman, under president Obama Undersecretary of State dealing with the nuclear weapon issues. Like with other speakers Tom and I had already long conversations by the old fashioned telephone, so it is a great pleasure and honor for me to hear him now live!

Thomas Countryman, Chairman Arms Control Association

How dangerous is the current situation and the risk of an (un)intended nuclear war?

It is an undeserved honor for me to be here with such distinguished women and men, not because they are distinguished, which they are, but because they are passionate and active.

Dr. Helfand gave us a clear diagnosis: Nuclear weapons present a fatal, catastrophic threat to human civilization. The human cost of nuclear weapons is unconscionable, and a world without nuclear weapons is a world that we must all actively pursue. This is the reason that we constantly repeat the words of Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev who said: “A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.”

To be brief, the prognosis is grim. The risk that the world will stumble into nuclear war is higher than it has been since the end of the Cold War, and I will try to explain why.

The issue of a nuclear conflict,
would amount to climate change at supersonic speed.

I am not a physician, but I think I am correct in saying that the prognosis is not helped when the patient is unable to acknowledge that he is at risk. The human capacity for denial, and for generational amnesia, is nearly limitless. After 74 years during which nuclear war has not occurred, too many humans assume that something that hasn't happened in their lifetime will never happen, whether it is a flood, an earthquake, or nuclear war. People are not reminded of the risk of nuclear war on a daily basis, as they were during the Cold War, nor are mass media covering the risk with the seriousness it deserves. It is positive that so many people are concerned about the more visible effects of climate change, but to an extent, it diverts public attention from the issue of nuclear conflict, which would amount to climate change at supersonic speed. Without detracting from the world's focus on climate change, we must do more to raise public consciousness about the nuclear risk, to make the patient aware of the true prognosis.

Let me highlight four particular reasons that contribute to a higher risk of nuclear conflict.

We live in a time in which there are a number of potential geographic flashpoints at which a conventional conflict could escalate rapidly into a nuclear confrontation.

North Korea and Iran attract the most attention from the U.S. administration, but they are not what concern me the most. Despite its worrying actions, Iran remains years away from a weapons capability. And while the U.S. and DPRK seem incapable of advancing peace, they have at least backed off their mutual threats of fire and fury.

Of greater concern is the risk of nuclear war between India and Pakistan, which I consider the most likely arena to see the first use of nuclear weapons since 1945. In February, we saw the first case in modern history of two nuclear-armed states flying combat missions over each other's territory. Even worse, journalists, social media, and officials considered to be 'responsible' on both sides were publicly

advocating the use of nuclear weapons. And in the weeks following, India's defense minister seemed to reverse the country's no first use policy.

If New START does expire, the world's two largest nuclear arsenals will be without limits for the first time in nearly 50 years.

The risk of nuclear conflict between Russia and the U.S. is, in my opinion, lower than it is between Pakistan and India, but it is still higher than it has been since the end of the Cold War, and perhaps the highest it has been since 1962. And, of course, an all-out nuclear confrontation between the U.S. and Russia would be virtually certain to spell the end of our civilization. The U.S.-Russian arms control relationship is severely fractured, with the demise of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty in August and no clear prospect for a five-year extension of the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, or New START. The treaty expires in February 2021 but can be extended if both U.S. and Russian president's agree. Moscow has expressed its willingness to extend the treaty, but Washington has failed to engage. If New START does expire, the world's two largest nuclear arsenals will be without limits for the first time in nearly 50 years.



Russia's continued military occupation of two of its neighbors, and its interference in other countries, must raise concerns about a conventional military confrontation in Europe. And the military doctrine of both nations makes it quite possible that a conventional conflict can escalate in a series of steps to an all-out nuclear exchange. A new simulation developed by Princeton University estimates that if, in a NATO-Russian confrontation in the Baltics, one side resorts to the "tactical" use of nuclear weapons and the other responds, their current war plans could lead to an escalatory exchange involving 1,700 nuclear detonations against military and civilian targets. Within just the first five hours, nearly 100 million people would be killed or injured. (I urge you to watch the short video 'Plan A' on YouTube)

To be brief, the prognosis is grim. The risk that the world will stumble into nuclear war is higher than it has been since the end of the Cold War.

For twenty years after the Cold War, most national leaders avoided talking about nuclear weapons as what made their country 'great.' But more recently, first the Russian President and now the American President have reverted to the kind of language we once heard mainly from North Korea.

More worrying is that military leaders in both countries have gone back to the Cold War practice of imagining that a nuclear war can be 'limited' 'contained' or 'won.' Russia maintains a stockpile of 2000

non-strategic nuclear warheads, a number that is impossible to reconcile with its declared nuclear doctrine. And the U.S. is expanding its delivery options for so-called 'low-yield' warheads. Planning for the unthinkable has long been the job of military planners. But the current discussion in Moscow and Washington is not just about sustaining deterrence in extreme situations—it is actually making the unthinkable more likely to occur.

There is no such thing as a 'limited' nuclear war.

Most experts agree that it would be stabilizing if states in possession of nuclear weapons would declare a 'no first use' policy and adapt a posture consistent with that policy. Unfortunately, neither Russia nor the U.S. have declared such a policy, nor have most of the other nuclear-capable states. What these countries refuse to acknowledge is that there is absolutely no guarantee that a nuclear war can be controlled. There is no such thing as a 'limited' nuclear war.

Third, the nuclear strategies that could lead to the firing of hundreds of nuclear weapons remain susceptible to false alarms. This risk has not diminished with the passing years. Others have documented the several cases in which human error caused national alerts and brought leaders in Moscow or Washington within minutes of making a civilization-ending decision. Consider just one such event: In 1995, the Russian early warning system interpreted the launch of a scientific rocket from Norway as a nuclear missile from an American submarine. In the absence of any tension between Russia and the U.S., President Yeltsin did activate the mobile nuclear command center, but did not authorize a launch of Russian weapons. In 2019, with the current deep distrust in the great power relations, can we have any confidence that the current leaders would react as calmly and deliberately?

As argued convincingly by former Secretary of Defense William Perry, the continued reliance by both major nuclear powers on intercontinental missiles for the bulk of their deterrent is a major factor in the hair-trigger nature of their nuclear postures. The pressure of 'use it or lose it' is what causes both to consider that they have only a few minutes to distinguish between an actual attack and a false alarm.

And fourth, new and emerging technologies offer some potential for reducing the risk of accidental nuclear war—but the downside risk is greater. Hypersonic vehicles, cyber technology, artificial intelligence, and autonomous weapons systems all could upset the delicate assumptions upon which bilateral stability has rested. To take just one example, cyber 'probing' by one nation against another nation's military command and control systems could be interpreted as a prelude to a nuclear attack and lead to a pre-emptive launch of nuclear weapons.

Others will discuss the appropriate therapy to address this risky situation, but let me offer a few quick thoughts.

The 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons is a powerful moral statement and—we can hope—will be seen by historians as a crucial ethical turning point for humanity, worthy of a Nobel prize. In my view, the more urgent need now is for leading nuclear and non-nuclear states to halt and reverse the arms race, reduce the salience of nuclear weapons, and eliminate the most destabilizing types of weapons.

If great powers will not lead, others must.

This means that decisions that can make nuclear war more or less likely cannot be left only to Presidents Trump and Putin. NATO members must show leadership in implementing the alliance's declared policy of reducing reliance on nuclear deterrence and moving toward a nuclear-free world. I especially welcome the fact that the parliaments of the Netherlands and Canada have actively pushed their governments to articulate and press for policies in this direction and that those governments have responded.

In the environmental movement, we say “act locally, think globally.” What I hope to see from the Netherlands and other allies is that they work within NATO, but that they not limit their creative thinking and policy initiatives to the strictures of NATO doctrine. Specifically, NATO members must use summit-level contacts, such as the NATO Summit next week in London, to convince the U.S. President of the importance to the Alliance of New START extension.



And if we are to avoid a repetition of the nuclear Euromissile race of the 1980s, practical ideas will not come from Washington or Moscow—they must come from Europe.

And non-nuclear states must speak clearly: that they do not accept the efforts by Washington and Moscow to re-define and walk away from their legal obligation to pursue nuclear disarmament. If great powers will not lead, others must.

The prognosis is that a full-scale nuclear confrontation—given the current potential hot flashpoints, risky doctrines governing nuclear use, the continued possibility of false alarms in early warning systems, and emerging game-changing technologies – remains a distinct possibility.

As I have outlined, however, there are steps to be taken by both nuclear and non-nuclear powers and by allies. But the task of building a world without nuclear weapons is not limited to governments and national leaders. As Pope Francis stated this week in Japan, when he reiterated the immorality of the possession of nuclear weapons: “Turning this ideal into reality requires the participation of all: people, religious communities, civil society, states that possess nuclear weapons and those that do not possess them, military and private sectors, and international organizations.”

Now, the Holy Father did not specifically mention doctors, so let me thank the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Medische Polemologie and say that it is the activism of doctors focused on the health and survival of the human species, of educators teaching the hard realities to the next generation, of elder statesmen, of civil society activists, of pragmatists, of radicals, and of pragmatic radicals. These are the ones who inspire each of us to teach individuals, to motivate society, and to move governments to a more peaceful path.

Thank you, and God bless.

Peter Buijs:

The very first organisation we contacted end 2018 to speak here today was the ICRC, the first to be present in Hiroshima after the nuclear catastrophe. Of course they wanted to be here too, at the highest level of representation, but unfortunately the yearly conference on Land Mines today was, understandable, a higher priority. In the words of the contact person, cited with *informed consent*: “Dear Peter, I hope this message finds you well. I am also deeply sorry that the ICRC will not be able to attend your important event at an appropriate level. You have a fantastic programme (I really like how you framed your agenda) and amazing participants, so I am delighted for you and all the organizers. We are all working towards the elimination of nuclear weapons and let’s hope that for the 75th anniversary we will be closer to the goal of a nuclear weapon free world. I am still one of your most enthusiast supporters and I will follow the event from the other side of the Atlantic.”

Instead we will play a 2 minutes video “**What would you choose in a nuclear attack? To live or die?**”



Peter Buijs: Well, something to think about during the break, you really have deserved! Thank you for your attention and patience so far. We will start again after half an hour!



PART IV | Therapy : How to reach world without nuclear weapons

Peter Buijs: before I announce the next live speaker I ask your attention for a Dutch ally from our Civil Society Coalition, the Bishop of the Roman Catholic church dealing with nuclear weapons, Gerard de Korte. He can't be here, but is very much in favor of our event and he has tried to arrange a video message from the Pope, who is a big global ally. Unfortunately that was not possible because he was travelling ... but I just heard during the break that we have a surprise for you.

Pope Francis:

Dear Friends,

As I prepare for my upcoming visit to Japan I would to address to you these words of friendship. The theme chosen for my visit is: protect all life. This strong instinct which resonates in our hearts to defend the value and dignity of every human person takes on particular importance in the lights of the threats of peaceful coexistence that the world is facing today especially in armed conflicts.

Your country is well aware of the suffering caused by war. Together with you I pray the destructive power of nuclear weapons will never be unleashed again in human history. The use of nuclear weapons is immoral.



You also know the importance of a culture of dialogue, of fraternity, especially among different religious traditions, which can help overcome division, promote respect for human dignity and advance the integral development of all peoples. I trust that my visit will encourage you along the path of mutual respect and encounter that leads to a secure and lasting peace. Peace is beautiful, and when its real it does not retreat: it defends itself with every ounce of strength.

Bishop Gerard de Korte

The Christians in the first centuries were pacifists. After all they were familiar with the education of Jesus, who had said: "He who takes up the sword shall also perish by the sword".

We know that Jesus died without violence on the cross in order to receive new life by God himself.

In the fourth century we can see a change. Kings, emperors, they convert themselves to the Christian faith but unfortunately also wage war. Theologians are then confronted with the question when a war can be just. Not to sanction war this way or to approve it but in fact to restrain wars.

Two criteria for a just war are important to mention. First of all: a war is only just if it's defensive. So offensive wars are always unjust.



The second criterium is a very sharp distinction between soldiers and civilians.

In the twentieth century nuclear weapons were invented and it's obvious that since then it's in fact impossible to wage just wars because the distinction between civilians and soldiers completely vanishes. We only need to think about the numerous victims in Japan through the bombs that were dropped down there in 1945 and because of this still thousands of people are suffering until today.

I wish all the participants of this congress in the Peace Palace today all the best. I hope that you will have a very fruitful dialogue in order to work on a world with less nuclear weapons and hopefully in the end all those weapons will be eliminated.

That you may thus be working on a safer world for our children and grandchildren.

Peter Buijs: now it is time for the most important part of this afternoon, the Therapy: How to reach a world without nuclear weapons. Again we are very honored to have in our midst Mary Robinson former president of Ireland and a former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Currently she is chair of the Elders - Nelson Mandela's legacy - who earlier this year have launched another warning to mankind regarding nuclear weapons. Mary, will you sketch for us the bigger picture of nuclear disarmament and how to get there.

Mary Robinson, chair of the Elders

An agenda for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament

Excellencies, Madam Under-Secretary-General, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a pleasure to be back in the Peace Palace in The Hague for this fascinating and timely discussion on how to move to a world without nuclear weapons.

When I received the invitation, I was very pleased to see the title of today's conference is an *Urgent Appeal for a nuclear weapon free world*. I could not agree more. The Dutch Medical Association for Peace Research has done a great amount of valuable work over the past fifty years on the disastrous medical and health consequences of nuclear weapons.

It is testimony both to their expertise but also the alarming international environment that their work remains as relevant today in 2019, as it was at their founding in 1969. As we have heard from the varied and impressive speakers earlier today, the threat of nuclear war remains devastating and an ever-present political and military risk.



Indeed, I believe it is one of two existential threats facing humanity today, together with the climate crisis, and needs to be addressed with a comparable sense of urgency. Both climate change and nuclear weapons constitute an intergenerational injustice. We risk bequeathing an unlivable planet to future generations if we are unable to face up to the seriousness of the issues and the need to take radical, comprehensive steps to protect our common home.

Indeed, I believe it is one of two existential threats facing humanity today, together with the climate crisis, and needs to be addressed with a comparable sense of urgency.

Those of us who grew up in the shadow of the Cold War were all too familiar with the nuclear threat. We took it seriously; we marched in the streets for peace and disarmament; and we cheered when the leaders of the two nuclear superpowers – the United States and the Soviet Union – declared in 1987 that “a nuclear war can never be won, and should never be fought”.

But in the decades that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the withdrawal of intermediate-range weapons from European bases, a dangerous complacency was allowed to take hold, that said that nuclear weapons were “old news” and should no longer be treated as a priority by politicians and policymakers.

Today, the global geopolitical environment is far removed from the exhilarating days of November 1989. The world now faces the dangerous prospect of a new nuclear arms race between the United States and Russia, with cascading effects on other nuclear states - both declared and non-declared - as well as countries who may feel encouraged or compelled to pursue their own nuclear ambitions.

Relations between the two main nuclear powers are at a worryingly low ebb, shrouded in mistrust and confusion and there is no constructive dialogue between them on the subject. The termination of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty poses a severe threat, primarily to European peace and security, and greatly reduces the chances of maintaining any sort of arms security control in the world.

As The Elders warned at the time of the US decision to terminate the INF Treaty, this was only one element of the destabilizing uncertainty around the future of arms control. If the New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) is not renewed in 2021, there will be no nuclear arms agreement in force between Russia and the United States anymore, and no remaining limits on the size of their deployed nuclear arsenals.

All nuclear powers - the P5 as well as Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea - need to face up to their responsibilities and work together to reduce – and ultimately eliminate – their nuclear stockpiles.

The situation is further aggravated by reports that the United States may “unsign” the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test Ban Treaty and President Trump’s unilateral withdrawal from the Iran Nuclear Deal and continued actions to destroy the deal all together. Recent reports that the United States may be prepared to withdraw from the Open Skies Treaty – which has helped to build mutual trust between Russia and NATO countries for almost two decades – is yet another alarming development.

All nuclear powers - the P5 as well as Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea - need to face up to their responsibilities and work together to reduce – and ultimately eliminate – their nuclear stockpiles. Other countries who shelter under the so-called *nuclear umbrella*, including NATO member states like the Netherlands, also have a vested interest in seeing more extensive and rapid disarmament.



If nothing is done, I do not see how the non-proliferation regime can survive in the long run and perhaps even in the medium term. It is right to celebrate the significant achievements of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, but there is also a fundamental inequality and hypocrisy at the heart of the NPT,

with its fundamental assumption that it is legitimate for the P5 to possess nuclear weapons, but illegitimate for any others to have the same aspiration.

This formulation was undoubtedly necessary to get the buy-in of the nuclear powers back in the 1960s, but such a transparently two-tiered system cannot credibly be sustained forever – and indeed has not prevented other states, declared or otherwise, from developing their own nuclear weapons programs in the decades since. Without a clear commitment from all existing nuclear states to seriously pursue disarmament – which for the P5 is a requirement under the NPT – it is almost inevitable that the number of nuclear-weapons possessing countries will continue to grow in the long-term.

Every one of the nine nuclear armed states should make an unequivocal “No First Use” declaration.

Such a prospect should terrify us all – and it begs the question: what can be done, in practical terms that are cognizant of political realities, to ease tensions and avert a nuclear catastrophe? At the Munich Security Conference earlier this year, The Elders presented to the participants a few proposals aimed at raising public awareness of the issue and suggesting ways for progress towards nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. In the face of such a complex challenge, we are proposing an incremental “minimization” agenda which acknowledges geopolitical realities whilst insisting on the urgency of action.

Our proposals are summarized under the following four headings - which we call “the 4 D’s”:

Doctrine: every one of the nine nuclear armed states should make an unequivocal “No First Use” declaration.

De-alerting: a staggering 2000 US and Russian weapons remain on a dangerously high state of alert. The highest priority should be given to taking as many as possible of those weapons off this status.

Deployment: over a quarter of the world’s stockpile of nuclear weapons remain operationally deployed. This is unnecessarily excessive and poses excessively high risks to global security. An extension of New START is a crucial next step - which makes the current lack of dialogue between Russia and the US all the more worrying.

Decreased numbers: The Elders believe that the number of nuclear warheads in existence should be reduced from its present estimated level of almost 14,000 to around 2000, with Russia and the US reducing to no more than 500 each. That is enough to destroy the planet several times over.

There are many other initiatives of course, some of which have also featured on our agenda today. The existing international treaty frameworks must of course be at the heart of disarmament efforts, including the NPT and the Nuclear Ban Treaty, which have strengthened legal and normative processes towards the overall elimination of nuclear weapons.

I am also encouraged to see that there has been a recent proliferation of member state initiatives such as the Swedish Stepping Stones initiative and the German Missile Dialogue Initiative. This is not to mention the critical contributions that civil society groups have made to the nuclear debate, such as the Global Zero campaign and of course the work of ICAN, which deservedly received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2017 for its leading role in securing the Nuclear Ban Treaty.

These steps show that small states can and do make a difference.

I was very pleased to hear Minister Blok talk about the Netherlands’ role as Vice-President of the NPT Review Conference next year together with Poland. This is a critical multilateral process which reminds us that nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation needs to be a priority for all countries, not just the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council and other nuclear-armed states.

These steps show that small states can and do make a difference. My own country, Ireland, played a leading role in the international negotiations in the early Cold War period that eventually led to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

I encourage the Government to continue to show leadership on this vital issue, and I hope it can be as influential on today's debates as Ireland showed itself to be in the 1960s.

In 1958, Ireland introduced the first of what became known as the *Irish Resolutions* at the UN which eventually led to the NPT. In recognition of this pioneering role, Ireland was the first country invited to sign the NPT in 1968.

The declaration in 2017 of the current Government of the Netherlands that it will “actively engage itself to reach a nuclear weapons-free world” is a welcome and laudable antidote to the bellicose posturing of some leading powers.

I encourage the Government to continue to show leadership on this vital issue, and I hope it can be as influential on today's debates as Ireland showed itself to be in the 1960s.

That spirit of multilateral endeavor is sorely needed in today's troubled and turbulent times.

Next year, 2020, marks the 75th anniversary of the end of Second World War and of the birth of the nuclear age, founded in slaughter and unprecedented destructive power at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

But it also marks the 75th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, built on the ashes of the terrible conflict that had raged for six long years – and also on the memory of the failure of the pre-war League of Nations to halt the rise of racist, Fascist military aggression.

This is an important moment for member states to recommit to its founding values, and for civil society worldwide to act with vigilance and resolve to not only celebrate past achievements, but ensure the organization can succeed in its mission in the future.

The United Nations and the international community at large – which includes civil society, academics, doctors, young people and all other sectors of society – needs to be bold and work together to meet common challenges.

Faced with the existential threats of nuclear weapons and the climate emergency, the United Nations and the international community at large – which includes civil society, academics, doctors, young people and all other sectors of society – needs to be bold and work together to meet common challenges.

In the words of one of the greatest UN Secretary-Generals, Dag Hammarskjöld, “It is when we all play safe that we create a world of utmost insecurity. It is when we all play safe that fatality will lead us to our doom. It is in the ‘dark shade of courage’ alone that the spell can be broken.”

So let us be seized by that sense of courage today, inspired by peacemakers like Dag Hammarskjöld, and commit to doing all we can to make 2020 not only an anniversary when we recall the terrifying, wanton destructive power of nuclear weapons, but a landmark moment on the path to their ultimate eradication. Thank you.



Peter Buijs: We're glad that we also have a Dutch speaker, Sico van der Meer from the Cingendael Institute for Foreign Relations. When radio and television programs are looking for an expert regarding nuclear weapons they mostly end up with him. We have asked Sico to translate a typical medical skill to global policy: emergency measures to prevent that the patient dies at the spot and to create time under safer conditions to work on the fundamental but more time consuming long term therapy: abolition of nuclear weapons, Sico, the floor is yours.

Sico van der Meer, Clingendael Institute

How to avert the direct danger?

Congratulations to the NVMP of course, I always enjoy cooperating with you. I must confess I feel a little bit small today, with this eminent line of speakers, as a humble thinktank researcher. Much has been said already and I couldn't agree more to what has been said so I must repeat some things although not all. I want to focus on first aid therapy. We have talked about the doctor's perspective today. We heard a lot about the long term therapy for the victim: the world is ill and there must be a therapy. The therapy is of course the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons. But we have to admit that is not a short term process. That will not happen in one year, or two years or even ten years. So there is also a direct danger, we heard about that as well today. I think there are also options for a smaller therapy for the short and medium term, that can avert the direct danger, at least a little bit. I call it risk reduction measures.

...the use of nuclear weapons. We haven't seen it since 1945 but it could happen any moment, it's not theoretical.

The direct danger is of course the use of nuclear weapons. We haven't seen it since 1945 but it could happen any moment, it's not theoretical. You could think about accidents with nuclear weapons, you could think of intentional use of nuclear weapons and also about intentional use of nuclear weapons but based on misperceptions. For example human errors, information errors, system errors. So there are really risks on the short term as well and we have to deal with that.



I want to provide you some of the possible medicines for that, the short term therapies. Maybe it is a somewhat boring list, but I want to show you that we can also do a lot on the short term. I see four categories of short term therapies. The first one is declaration policies, it was mentioned by Mrs.

Robinson as well. No-first use-declarations: nuclear armed states declaring 'we will never use nuclear weapons unless we are attacked by nuclear weapons'. No first use is very important I think. Another one is negative security assurances which means that nuclear armed states declare: we will never attack states that do not have nuclear weapons. Also a very simple short term solution is making statements reassuring the world that nuclear armed states are taking nuclear weapon use seriously in the sense that they will not do it that easily. It was mentioned by Mr. Countryman: the statement by Gorbatshev and Reagan in 1987. They reassured the world that nuclear war can never be won and should never be fought. Any state leader of a nuclear armed state could issue this kind of statement, preferably they would do it all together, just reassuring the world that they do not think too lightly about nuclear weapons.

Also important is ensuring clear lines of communication. We have witnessed at least six incidents where nuclear war almost started.

A second short term category of medicines is what I call 'communication and cooperation'. I think it is a little bit more difficult, but I think this is a key category. We heard today already that during the Cold War there was more dialogue, communication and understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States than nowadays between Russia and the United States. Let alone other nuclear armed states like China, North-Korea, India, Pakistan. It's about increasing dialogue in any form between nuclear armed states, but also between nuclear armed states and non-nuclear armed states. It's about information sharing, it's about transparency and you could even think about joined warning centers to be sure that you are on the same page, to look each other into the eyes and you know how you both think about the situation before you push the button. It's about joined training, lessons learned from each other's incidents and accidents. About what could go wrong and what did not go wrong and what can we learn about it. Also important is ensuring clear lines of communication, especially during times of crisis. As mentioned earlier today, we have witnessed at least six incidents where nuclear war almost started. What is very important in times of crisis and stress is whether you could call someone who is at the other side and say, OK we do think this is the case, but is it? Hot lines like the red telephone. They are there, but not enough I think, and also, especially in the current times with new technologies like cyber, it's even more important that those communication lines are also safe. So think about a nuclear crisis and you want to have contact with a nuclear armed state and your system is not working because hackers are in there. Also, when you talk about cyber-attacks on communication infrastructure, think about third actors adding wrong information into systems of nuclear armed states. So that they think that they are attacked by nuclear weapons for example. Some kind of agreements among nuclear armed states about not tampering with communication systems could also be a short term therapy.

De-targeting, so when there is an accident the nuclear weapon will not hit a redefined target but will be directed to open ocean targets.

A third category is what I call 'operational measures'. Such as de-targeting of nuclear weapons, so when there is an accident the nuclear weapon will not hit a predefined target but will be directed to open ocean targets. Think about de-alerting and in general, adding more decision time within nuclear launch procedures. This will ensure that decisionmakers will have enough time to look in all information they have; is it really necessary to use nuclear weapons?

Think about short range and intermediate range nuclear missiles.
Get rid of them I would say.

The last category I would like to call 'limiting roles, types and numbers of nuclear weapons'. The roles of nuclear weapons in doctrines and postures of nuclear armed states. You could increase the

threshold for use by saying in your doctrines and postures that you will only use nuclear weapons in these or these circumstances. Currently the threshold is decreasing, it is lowering. When Trump came two years ago with his new Nuclear Review Posture it was even mentioned that the US could use nuclear weapons in response to a massive cyber-attack. That is lowering the threshold while it should be increasing. There should also be a very clear defined line between conventional and nuclear warfare to prevent any misunderstanding: when is it conventional, when is it nuclear? Also think about limiting types of nuclear weapons, especially nuclear weapons that are very confusing for other parties. Is it a nuclear attack or not? Think about cruise missiles with nuclear warheads, they could also have a conventional warhead. So how are you going to respond when you see cruise missiles coming in? Think about short range and intermediate range nuclear missiles. Get rid of them I would say. Tactical nuclear weapons in general and low yield nuclear weapons in general. Even before the big bunch of nuclear weapons, those confusing kinds of nuclear weapons could be dealt with first. You could also think about limiting the locations of nuclear weapons. Think about not deploying tactical nuclear weapons in border areas for example. And of course, in the end, you should also limit the number of nuclear weapons.

These are just some categories I'd liked to share with you. I know it's a bit of a boring list but I think that it is important to see that there are also many short term measures you can take even before the end goal of complete elimination is approached at last. I think it is very important also to show all states, especially the nuclear armed states, that this kind of arms control measures are not ideological. It's about shared benefits, it's about security for us all. No one will win if anything happens with those weapons.

Smaller countries like the Netherlands could increase political willingness in nuclear armed states. Talking in doctors language again: it's injecting good ideas into policy debates.

In the end we have to be realistic, it's only the nine states that have nuclear weapons that could really do anything in this regard. But it doesn't mean that countries like The Netherlands and the other non-nuclear armed states can't do anything. I think that it's important that we see that this whole discussion has to do with political willingness. Smaller countries like the Netherlands could increase political willingness in nuclear armed states. Talking in doctors language again: it's injecting good ideas into policy debates. And when a doctor gives you an injection the needle hurts a little bit but a few minutes after you feel better. So it may sound painful, but we should really do it. When you talk about political willingness I know many people who are quite pessimistic, saying well this will not happen on the short term. But I want to point at some moments in history that it happened, for example the beginning of the nineteen nineties when there were the Presidential Nuclear Initiatives (PNI's) in which the American president and also the Russian president just took a unilateral decision saying I'm going to limit our number of nuclear weapons. The same could happen nowadays if there's political willingness among political leaders.

So I don't want to be too pessimistic from that perspective. I have offered you some short term medicines, yet the end goal remains disarmament of course. So this is only an interim measure. We have to remain alert for any window of opportunity that could create a chance for more rapid reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons.

Thank you for your attention.

Peter Buijs: we also have a special guest, suggested by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, coming from the NATO-headquarters in Brussels, Eirini Lemos-Maniati, deputy director for arms control, disarmament and weapons of mass destruction and non-proliferation centre of NATO. She is in the middle of a very busy period – e.g. the NATO Summit next week – so our conversations by email and telephone mostly were at ‘night owl-time’.

I have to admit I was a bit surprised when I heard that NATO was an advocate of a nuclear weapon free world too, thanks to Dutch pressure put into the final NATO-communiqué after its Warsaw Summit in 2016. So I most welcome Eirini Lemos-Maniati, explaining to us how NATO can contribute to a nuclear weapon free world.

Ms. Eirini Lemos-Maniati, deputy director for Arms Control NATO **NATO's contribution to arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation**

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for inviting me to this important event.

Congratulations to NVMP for this remarkable line up of distinguished speakers;

I would like to also thank the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs for suggesting NATO's participation at this dialogue.

Honoured to take part to today's conference for addressing one of the most pressing issues we face in the international security area, how to meaningfully advancing nuclear arms control and disarmament.

In the next few minutes I will look at 3 issues:

- What leads us to seek nuclear weapons?
- What challenges do we face – and what practical steps can we take in the real world - to eliminate nuclear weapons?
- And finally what is NATO's role in advancing nuclear disarmament?



So let's start by remembering why states seek nuclear weapons in the first place.

Is it sheer bloodthirstiness? Indifference to human suffering? No.

Fundamentally, states have sought and developed nuclear weapons because they think it is in their security interests.

At the core, states have security dilemmas, or even active conflicts, which they feel that they cannot adequately address without nuclear deterrence.

Fundamentally, states have sought and developed nuclear weapons because they think it is in their security interests.

So, if we wish to progress towards a world without nuclear weapons, we can get there only through the painstaking work of resolving underlying political tensions and conflict or manage our conflicts through other means than nuclear weapons.

And of course all sides have to be committed. Once we make that the foundation of our understanding, we can begin to see what can advance nuclear disarmament.

If one were to start from scratch today to promote a world without nuclear weapons, what kind of international agreement would you ideally write?

- It would be one that would bring nuclear weapons states and non-nuclear weapons states together.
- It would require from every party a commitment to build a world without nuclear weapons.
- It would enable effective mechanisms for monitoring and verification.
- It would have the capacity to adapt to changing political and security conditions.
- It would be able to support and incorporate other initiatives that address special challenges – like particular classes of weapons or efforts to restrict access to technologies of concern.
- It would create a body that meets regularly to discuss anomalies, potential violations, and the functioning of the Treaty itself.
- It would provide incentives for nations to join and benefits to stay in the regime.
- It would, in short, look a lot like the NPT.

And this is why, for nearly 50 years now, the NPT has served as the cornerstone of the international arms control and disarmament regime. Its central bargain has been successful. That all states will work to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

All states will work towards general and complete disarmament
– so a world without nuclear weapons.

All states will work towards general and complete disarmament – so a world without nuclear weapons. And all states that comply can access the benefits of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Before the NPT was negotiated, it was widely speculated that the number of nuclear weapons states would grow to more than 25 by the year 1975. The NPT has averted that truly terrifying outcome.

The NPT has provided the structure and context that has helped the nuclear weapons states verifiably reduce their own arsenals. From a Cold War high of more than 70,000 to a current global total of around 15,000.

The US extended deterrence guarantees, including NATO's nuclear sharing arrangements, which predates the NPT, provided additional assurances to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons and technology. A truly astonishing progress, quite unimaginable from the point of view of the negotiators at the end of the 1960s.

The NPT has also allowed other arms control and disarmament initiatives to flourish.

The NPT provides the only multilateral arena where nuclear weapons states and non-nuclear weapons states can address these issues together.

And the only one that has ever led to real progress on nuclear disarmament and arms control, on the path to general and complete disarmament.

Does that mean the NPT is perfect, or that it will automatically lead to a world without nuclear weapons? Obviously not.

Indeed, the NPT – and the broader arms control and disarmament architecture – are under tremendous strain. Russia, China, continue to expand their nuclear arsenals and capabilities.

The INF is lost, due to Russian violations. Yet we will not evoke arms race;

India, Pakistan, and North Korea have still not signed the Treaty even as they continue to develop nuclear weapons.

The 2015 Review Conference of the NPT, as we all know, failed to produce a consensus outcome and was widely viewed as a failure.

There is no guarantee that the next RevCon will be a success – and no certainty as to what success would even look like.

Stepping back, it's not surprising that events have shaken many people's confidence in the pragmatic, step-by-step approach to nuclear disarmament. And we understand why simpler approaches seem superficially appealing.

But the truth is that disarmament imposes real costs on states, like limits on their sovereignty and military capabilities, intrusive verification, and constraints on the use of military force as a tool of policy.

States will not accept those costs unless they think that the benefits of arms control and disarmament – above all for their own security – outweigh the costs.



This two-pillar approach – safe, secure and effective deterrence combined with our commitment to effective step-by-step nuclear disarmament – has reaped huge rewards.

NATO has a special role to play in advancing nuclear disarmament under the NPT; as NATO is an Alliance focused on security first and foremost.

NATO is an Alliance of values, committed to the preservation of peace, security and stability.

We have a unique role in promoting security, both among Allies, and with our large community of partners in Europe and around the world.

Let's acknowledge, right from the start: NATO is a nuclear Alliance – and we will remain so, as long as nuclear weapons exist.

Nuclear deterrence is part of the foundation of NATO's collective defence policy – and every one of our heads of state and government has affirmed this together.

And this is matched by our fundamental commitment to full implementation of the NPT in all its aspects, including at Article VI.

This includes creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons, in full accordance with the NPT and in a step-by-step and effective way.

This two-pillar approach – safe, secure and effective deterrence combined with our commitment to effective step-by-step nuclear disarmament – has reaped huge rewards. It created the security and political conditions necessary for the arms reduction agreements that started with the INF in the late Cold War and continued through to New START in 2010. This has enabled the extraordinary reduction of nuclear arsenals from their Cold War peak, as I mentioned earlier.

In July 2018, at the Brussels Summit, NATO underlined its commitment to taking further steps toward nuclear disarmament that promotes international stability and is based on the principle of undiminished security for all.

But in the broadest terms – do we expect earth-shaking breakthroughs on nuclear disarmament in the immediate future, like major new arms limitation agreements? No. The political and security environment is simply too unpromising.

Russia's illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea, its non-compliance or selective compliance of most of its arms control obligations, its violation of the INF Treaty and development of destabilising new nuclear weapons systems, are among many other examples that have undermined international trust and increased insecurity in way that make the negotiations of major new instruments extremely challenging.

China's increasing size and sophistication of its military arsenal,, with missiles able to reach Europe and the US, while refusing to substantially engage on nuclear arms control discussions, floating the narrative that this is a western construct, largely irrelevant to its strategic situation. DPRK, Iran.

He (NAVO SG Stoltenberg) stated that NATO's goal is a world without nuclear weapons, and that the NPT is the only way to achieve this.

'... we will all work towards general and complete disarmament and to prevent nuclear proliferation'.

But it is precisely because the environment is so challenging that real ambition is essential.

The step-by-step approach to disarmament is never more important than when it is under threat.

The NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg laid out some of our specific ambitions when speaking in Brussels last month, at NATO's annual WMD conference.

He stated that NATO's goal is a world without nuclear weapons, and that the NPT is the only way to achieve this.

As he noted, the fundamental bargain of the NPT remains sound – we will all work towards general and complete disarmament, to prevent nuclear proliferation, and to help all states benefit from the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

As he noted, we must also adapt nuclear arms control to new realities.

That means that we must address the most discouraging recent development in nuclear arms control – the end of the INF Treaty as a result of Russia's violation.

NATO is responding in a defensive, measured and coordinated way to the new Russian missile threat, but we have not lost sight of the fact that we must continue to work towards general disarmament.

And we must do so in a verifiable way that promotes security for all.

Even without major new agreements, we can do more to effectively implement the NPT as it stands.

There are very promising initiatives now underway.

The Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative – NPDI - spearheaded by the Netherlands, is promoting greater transparency in how nuclear weapon states fulfill their disarmament obligations, and has contributed to the P5 discussions on transparency and doctrine;

The Swedish Stepping Stones Approach brings together states with very different perspectives and background to reduce nuclear risk and improve transparency;

The US initiative on Creating an Environment for Nuclear Disarmament is launching a multilateral dialogue on:



- how all states can create an environment conducive to further progress on nuclear disarmament
- how to reduce the incentives for states to retain, acquire, or increase their holdings of nuclear weapons;
- and how to address risks associated with nuclear weapons and reduce the likelihood of war among nuclear-armed states;

And it does so while bringing in nuclear weapons-possessor states that are not parties to the NPT – which is essential if we are to advance global disarmament.

Many of these national efforts focus on disarmament verification, which is key to successful and credible disarmament.

Several NATO Allies and partners are strengthening the technical and legal foundations for verifying the application of the NPT and other crucial ADN instruments.

This improves our implementation of these agreements and increases their effectiveness, while sidestepping the challenges that we would face in trying to negotiate new instruments.

And NATO will continue to support these important national initiatives with a single Allied voice.

We will also continue to support Allies and partners in addressing evolving threats using arms control and disarmament approaches.

New missile systems pose serious concerns for security and stability – especially in the nuclear realm.

We are exploring how to better limit the proliferation of delivery systems.

We are also looking at the impact of emerging and disruptive technologies – which pose challenges for traditional arms control.

These new technologies may also offer new opportunities – for example by improving our verification capabilities.

NATO supports nuclear disarmament by:
ensuring political engagement, through our dual track approach of deterrence
and defence and dialogue.

To conclude:

These efforts, taken together, are more than just a signal of our continued commitment to nuclear arms control and eventual disarmament under the NPT. They are building a foundation for concrete action, for the moment when political circumstances change – when those who are undermining international arms control realize that they are attacking their own interests.

On that day, when Russia – or North Korea – or Iran - re-commits to meaningful international engagement, these initiatives will be ready to go.

Ladies and gentlemen, by pursuing incremental steps – and taking advantage of every opportunity to move the ball forward on arms control - we may find new opportunities to build trust and possibly address the political calculus that underlies arms control.

In the end, any successful effort to advance nuclear disarmament demands two things:

Political will from all parties. And a mechanism for turning that will into meaningful progress on disarmament. The NPT provides the mechanism. And NATO Allies will contribute the political will.

Peter Buijs: Is it a coincidence that in this therapy part there are three ladies and one man. Would that benefit our efforts to reach a world without nuclear weapons? Who knows? Anyway, I'm honored to invite the last lady, Beatrice Fihn, director of ICAN, already introduced in my introduction earlier. Together with many other proponents of a nuclear weapon free world I could witness in Oslo, December 2017, when she and Setsuko Thurlow get the Nobel Peace Prize for the ICAN-efforts regarding the Ban Treaty. So we are also proud that after a NATO-speaker a TPNW-advocate can speak on this platform. Beatrice, you are most welcome.

Beatrice Fihn, Executive Director of ICAN

How can the TPNW contribute to make the 2020 NPT Review Conference a success?

Thank you very much Peter and thank you to the Dutch part of the IPPNW, it's a great pleasure to be here. Thank you also for the Dutch government to have us here. I think it's a real important issue that we talk about today.

We don't want nuclear war, we don't want climate change to kill us all.
But when it comes to actually doing something
...hmmm well that's a little bit harder.

What struck me today was the sheer number of solutions, so many small ideas here and there. Of course that's good but it also reminds me of the issue of climate change. Nobody wants to burn, nobody wants the world to die. We don't want nuclear war, we don't want climate change to kill us all. But when it comes to actually doing something ...hmmm well that's a little bit harder. And we like to have so many ideas that it gets very easy for governments to avoid having to do anything. You can shift around and debate the different options endlessly. That's the difference with the TPNW, it cuts through and forces people to make up their mind.

We need to discuss honestly both the successes and shortcomings of the NPT. And that means talking about the gap that the NPT has left — the gap between the original intention as a springboard to complete disarmament, and the actual implementation of that vision.

Through the Cold War, the NPT served to hold back the spread of nuclear weapons. Along with a constellation of bilateral treaties like the INF and START treaties, we created a patchwork system that held a fragile, but very dangerous peace.

The NPT kept the virus of nuclear weapons from spreading. We can forgive leaders and diplomats of the time for thinking this was the best we could do. At the time, the U.S. and the Soviet Union were poised to destroy one another and the entire world with them. The challenge was to freeze the doomsday clock before it ticked over to midnight.

But even then, the drafters of the NPT made sure it included a commitment to a separate Treaty that completely eliminated nuclear weapons. The two Treaties were always designed to be complementary. It is helpful to remember the simplicity with which the NPT declares this, in Article VI:

"Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control."

By sheer luck we have survived the 51 year gap between the intention and the reality of a NPTreaty for complete nuclear disarmament. ICAN is helping close that gap through the Treaty on the Prohibition Nuclear Weapons.

The Cold War ended. But something strange happened, nuclear weapons did not end with it. In fact, the doomsday clock sits at the same place today as it did during the height of the US-Soviet standoff, at two minutes to midnight.

This is the gap we must urgently address.

To be sure, the verification methods and institutions built up through the NPT helped pull several new nations in the post-Soviet world back from the nuclear brink. This was a success.

The NPT has shown that diplomacy can work even during times of great tension and even when it comes to these weapons of mass destruction. The NPT has been a success and it's continued success is vital to maintaining global security.

But...and you knew there must be a "But," an NPT regime that ignores Article VI is insufficient for the threats we face in an increasingly connected, fast-moving, and digitized world.

One shortcoming of the NPT was a failure to address the humanitarian disaster of nuclear weapons and root nuclear abolition in humanitarian law.

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons fills that gap.

The end of the Cold War may have seen a reduction in the total number of nuclear weapons, but these past three decades have seen an increase in states threatening the world with nuclear weapons -- including India, Pakistan and North Korea. Additional states like Saudi Arabia have threatened to acquire nuclear weapons.

How did we get here? Well, there are many factors, but one shortcoming of the NPT was a failure to address the humanitarian disaster of nuclear weapons and root nuclear abolition in humanitarian law. The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons fills that gap.



The TPNW complements and reinforces the NPT, filling a legal gap by outlawing nuclear weapons in the same way the international community has banned other weapons of mass destruction: biological and chemical weapons.

Any use of nuclear weapons would cause catastrophic humanitarian, developmental, and environmental impacts that no state or group of states or relief agencies could effectively remediate. The TPNW is the first Treaty to address nuclear weapons in this humanitarian frame, as the moral imperative for their total rejection.

But this is not the only way the TPNW is filling the gap between intention and disarmament.

The NPT has established a strong taboo against the spread of nuclear weapons globally. But it has not established an effective taboo against nuclear weapons as such — as the original framers intended.

The TPNW strengthens the NPT by doing precisely that. For decades States called for a way to end nuclear weapons, the TPNW now provides that pathway. It is the only instrument that, without prejudice or special treatment for any group or state, finally makes nuclear weapons themselves illegal.

As Pope Francis said on Sunday, "the possession of atomic weapons is immoral" and "we will be judged on this".

While the NPT may be a cornerstone, the piecemeal architecture of arms control built upon it is crumbling. The bilateral agreements between Russia and the US have given way to a new nuclear arms race. This nuclear arms race cannot be seen in isolation of other developments like the AI arms race, increased cyber threats, terrorism, a rise of authoritarianism and nationalism.

The NPT has established a strong taboo against the spread of nuclear weapons globally. But it has not established an effective taboo against nuclear weapons as such — as the original framers intended.

The notion that non-proliferation will keep a lid on nuclear aggression is a fallacy. All nuclear-armed states are engaged in extensive modernization programs, aimed at ensuring their nuclear weapons defeat missile defense systems. India and Pakistan are engaged in a nuclear standoff. Leaders are even so cavalier as to make threats of total destruction — a war crime — on Twitter. The nuclear weapons landscape has shifted dramatically and terrifyingly.

Yet despite these developments, nuclear-weapon states failed to implement specific actions from the 2010 NPT Action Plan, such as ratification of the CTBT, negotiation of a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty, further bilateral US- Russian reductions, or even reducing the role and significance of nuclear weapons in military doctrines. What the TPNW does is eliminate the underlying issues blocking action on all of these issues. It removes the legitimacy of any nuclear weapons. And once States overwhelmingly stop providing cover, or excuses for continued possession of weapons designed to destroy cities- the other pieces of the disarmament architecture can be built.

The President of the 74th General Assembly, Tijjani Muhammad Bande, noted the international communities support for the TPNW, saying: "We commend Member States that have ratified the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, and urge those who have not done so to join in this important action."

States that join the TPNW are helping to move the world towards this sort of nuclear disarmament demanded by the NPT. They are following the democratic will of their people in doing so. 33 states have ratified or acceded to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and 80 total have signed. These leaders are on the right side of history and serving the security interests of their people.

Here in the Netherlands, unfortunately, that democratic will is not being represented. Two-thirds of Dutch citizens want the nation to immediately join the TPNW according to a recent survey. But the government still has not found the courage to stand with their people and up to Trump and the nuclear-armed states. The government is hesitant to have an honest discussion about the squadron of Dutch fighter pilots trained to use nuclear weapons, and what that means in terms of the Dutch responsibilities under international law. Instead of finding ways and means to reduce the reliance on nuclear weapons in the Dutch security strategy, the government seeks to roll back progress and actually elevated nuclear weapons in the national doctrine. The people of the Netherlands deserve better, they deserve to have their voices heard and heeded.

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons brings humanitarian framing, legal grounding and moral clarity to the promise of nuclear weapons elimination. That promise was first articulated in the first UN resolution, enshrined in Article VI of the NPT and now has a strengthened legal framework and much needed momentum in the TPNW.

Given the increasing risk of use of nuclear weapons – both intentional use and accidental, all states committed to disarmament and international humanitarian law must reject the new nuclear arms race and join the TPNW, consistent with their obligation to pursue such a Treaty as part of their commitment to the NPT.

This is a precarious moment for the NPT and indeed the world. We can only salvage both with a renewed commitment to ending nuclear weapons before they end us. Thank You.

PART V | PANEL-discussion

Peter Buijs: now is the moment for discussion. Jan Hoekema, a former Dutch diplomat, MP and Mayor – being for years the Chair of the Dutch branch of Mayors for Peace, is leading a panel which includes the speakers after the break as well as Ira Helfand as the representative of our mother organization IPPNW.

However, until now we have missed one voice in particular and that is of the youngest grown up generation, that has not invented nuclear weapons, but has to deal with this heritage from the Cold War. So we have asked the Dutch medical student Britt Vegting to make a statement, so I'm glad to give the floor to her.

Britt Vegting, medical student

In high school, I learned about the second world war. My grandparents told me stories about it. I learnt about the cold war and the nuclear weapons arms race. I was constantly reminded about the fact that we live in a free Europe and that I should be grateful for that.

Nuclear policy is taught to us as a relic of the Cold War and not as a modern political issue - if it is even taught at all in high school or universities. I only learnt about the dangers nuclear weapons pose to us when I organized the Erasmus Summer School on Climate Change and Disaster Medicine back in 2018.

I was shocked to discover the threat we face every day:
a disaster of unspoken suffering for enormous amounts of people,
and no-one under the age of 50 is even talking about it.

When people of my age talk about such a disastrous crisis, they are usually talking about Climate Change. But human life on earth is facing two existential threats – climate change *and* nuclear weapons. Climate change is happening slowly and could be halted, the damage from nuclear weapons will be immediate and irreversible and should be halted/prevented.

There is no denying that nuclear weapons policy is complex and confusing. Some might even call it intimidating. It is not an easy topic for to engage on. But despite nuclear policy's inaccessibility—and maybe even because of it—nuclear war remains a significant global threat, if not *the* most significant global threat.



It is time for my generation to add our voices to this critical debate about the abolishment of nuclear weapons

It is time for my generation to add our voices to this critical debate about the abolishment of nuclear weapons. I believe that young people around the world have a critical role to play in raising awareness and developing new strategies to reduce threats from weapons of mass destruction, including their proliferation. It is imperative for all of you to listen, engage and work with my generation in discussions on disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control issues.

So, I ask you all to let my generation be part of the highly important negotiations about nuclear arms abolition. Let us contribute to facilitating progress on nuclear disarmament. Because we have not caused the harmful situation we are currently in, but we will have to live with the disastrous consequences.

To those who say the NPT is not effective, I say, this treaty is what we make of it. It is an honest effort to change the world. But what has been done until now has not been enough. I am a medical student and from a health perspective the current situation is truly unacceptable. This should be a top priority in health policy in every country and the other way around but I don't see our minister for health, welfare and sport here.

I call upon all of you who truly desire the abolition of nuclear weapons, who want to see a safe, secure world, based on wellbeing, equity and respect. Let us all work together from this moment on.

Jan Hoekema, chair of the panel discussion:



Thank you very much Britt for this impressive statement.

I will chair the panel which will last for about an hour so we are still on time. I would now like to invite Mary Robinson, Beatrice Fihn, Ira Helfand, Eirini Lemos and Britt Vegting to the stage.

But while the members of the panel take their place I would like to ask the ambassador of Kazakhstan Mr. Ilyassov, to make a short statement. Kazakhstan is one of the few countries that has foregone voluntarily their arsenal of nuclear weapons in 1991.

Ambassador Ilyassov of Kazakhstan.

First of all I'd like to thank the organizers of this special event to bring us all together and the inspiring and mind extending presentations of the speakers.

I represent Kazakhstan and since we are talking in medical terms from the very beginning I'd like to say that our country represents the case where the patient was heavily, heavily sick but eventually we managed to heal ourselves. At the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 our country ended up to be the fourth largest nuclear power in the world, with about 1.100 warheads in our possession that were part of the Soviet missile system and we were also the country where the largest nuclear test site was located. About 500 nuclear tests have been carried out for 50 years. This has heavily polluted an area that is the size of half of The Netherlands. So what we did was first of all the political decision to get rid of our nuclear arsenal in cooperation with our Russian and American partners.

We kept the research institute and nuclear reactor for peaceful research but it is under the control of the international nuclear agency (IAEA) so it's absolutely safe.

Our country represents the case where the patient was heavily, heavily sick but eventually we managed to heal ourselves.



By 1997 we had totally eliminated this nuclear infrastructure, all the nuclear warheads were dismantled and gone to US-facilities to be downgraded to industrial plutonium.

Then what we did next was to start to expand to Central Asian region in 2009 we declared this region free of nuclear weapons in 2012 Kazakhstan created a project Atom where we tell the story of what is nuclear testing what is nuclear war how people suffer how environment can suffer. We do this as an outreach to younger generations. In 2015 our country hosted the international bank of low-enriched uranium, we allowed to store low-enriched uranium in one of our former military facilities. This is under the auspices of the IAEA. We undersigned the Treaty of the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) in 2018. July 3rd 2019 we ratified this Treaty, this is the ultimate document that everyone should join to.

So the story is to heal yourself, we did a lot of practical things not only for own security but also for the security and safety of the region and of the world. And as one suggestion for what can be done next I can remind everyone that we spoke about political will that it is the individuals that take those crucial decisions we refer to president Reagan and Gorbatsjov. During president Obama there was a very good initiative of the Nuclear Security Summit, there were four of them, one of them in The Hague in 2014. But when president Obama stepped down this initiative faded away. So Kazakhstan suggests that we restart this top level platform around the world and as a practical step my government is ready to host the next Nuclear Security Summit as long as the leaders of the world agree to get together and restart discussing the international nuclear security.

Thank you very much for your attention.

PANEL-Discussion

Jan Hoekema:

I have two questions for the speakers in this panel on which I'd like you to give short answers of one or two minutes.

The first question is what needs urgently be done next year, the crucial year 2020 to take steps towards nuclear disarmament, towards the world without nuclear weapons? I'd like you to focus on the most urgent agenda for next year.

The second question is what can The Netherlands do?



Mary Robinson: I think for 2020 the most important thing for global security is to have the new START extended. I hope that as many heads of state possible will speak to president Trump and persuade him that this is very important. The other thing is of course a successful NPT-review conference.

I think for 2020 the most important thing for global security is to have the new START extended.

Jan Hoekema: How do you see the relation between the NPT and the Ban Treaty?

Mary Robinson: The Elders are very inclusive in our approach we welcome the Ban Treaty, we see the NPT as very important. I think that if the Nuclear Ban Treaty would be ratified by sufficient states in 2020 it would be a big moral influence. That would also be very important on the NPT. The NPT really needs something, 2015 was a bad year but we are in an even more bumpy time now. So we need inputs and I think the Nuclear Ban Treaty can galvanize civil society to push in the way that we absolutely need. We need a Greta Thunberg of young people like Britt to make this an issue for the under fifties.

We need a Greta Thunberg of young people like Britt to make this an issue for the under fifties.

Jan Hoekema: The Elders have 4 important central points in their program. I think you said somewhere during the day that 1 ½ point out of 4 would stand a chance of getting more acceptance. Could you elaborate a little bit more about the perspectives of this 4 points agenda?

Mary Robinson: Well what I indicated is that we are taking our paper to the P5 initially. We've already spoken to the Chinese and they do support the no-first use. We would like to see all nine Nuclear Weapons States support the no-first use, that would be a big help. It would create more trust in this very distrusting world. I think there is more agreement on deployment and decreasing numbers of nuclear weapons. There is real room for negotiations on both of those. One that worries me is that

there isn't agreement on taking off the excessive number that is on high alert. That is absolutely ridiculous.

Jan Hoekema: also for Ira Helfand the same questions, what needs to be done urgently in 2020? And what for mood swings you have been in as since you started as a doctor to work for an nuclear weapon free world?

I think we've been on thin ice for decades, we have been unbelievably lucky time after time and it's totally unbelievable that our luck will last forever.

Ira Helfand: I think what needs to happen next year is and I refer to what Sico said that we're not going to get rid of nuclear weapons is one or two years or maybe ten. I think we should not have that as our starting point. I think we must assume that it is possible to make very rapid progress on this issue. And there is reason to believe that because we have done that before. In 1981 when Ronald Reagan became president he promised he would fight and win a nuclear war in Europe. He built an arsenal to do it and deployed Pershing missiles over here to do that. Three years later he gave a State of the Union speech in which he said 'Nuclear war can never be won and should never be fought'. It was a fundamental, 180 degree change in US-nuclear policy at least. So the international movement got through to the US-administration demanding an end to the nuclear arms race of the Cold War. And I think we need to have that optimism, that we can again bring about that very rapid change in the situation of the world. Because frankly we don't have a lot of time. I think we've been on thin ice for decades, we have been unbelievably lucky time after time and it's totally unbelievable that our luck will last forever. People who advocate the elimination of nuclear weapons are accused sometimes of being unrealistic. I would like to turn things around, it are the people who want to maintain these arsenals who assured that we have tens of thousands of nuclear warheads and not have something go wrong, they are being unrealistic. So I think what needs to happen next year is we need to be able to create that same kind of shift in the opinion about nuclear weapons. We need to come with that next year with ideally perhaps a new US-administration, a real commitment that the abolition of nuclear weapons will be the central security focus of US nuclear policy. And then perhaps NATO will be free to pursue a similar policy.



Jan Hoekema: one more connected question, I was struck by the fact in your presentation you were not speaking generally about nuclear famine or nuclear winter but you were really focusing on scenario's like India-Pakistan. Is that in your opinion a better way to make a convincing case?

Ira Helfand: Well people need to understand that this isn't an abstract threat. There are real events in the world that can lead to a

nuclear war if we are not going to do something about it. I think India-Pakistan is perhaps the place where nuclear weapons are most likely to be used next. This is a real danger and I think we have to look at this as a real concrete thing. The study that I was talking about was based on a very specific concrete scenario developed by a group of experts from South Asia of what might likely happen if fighting breaks out between India and Pakistan and how that might escalate into a nuclear war between the two countries.

‘Nuclear war can never be won and should never be fought’. It was a fundamental, 180 degree change in US-nuclear policy at least.

Jan Hoekema: Britt Vetting the same question for you, what would be your agenda for 2020? Mary Robinson was talking about linking the wakeup call to climate and nuclear weapons. Do you feel as a minority in your age group because you are one of the few concerned about nuclear weapons?

Britt Vegting: I think for next year it will be two-sided, first of all I think it's really important that people from my generation are actually invited to this table, we can bring new ideas we are activists like Greta Thunberg. As for climate change the same for nuclear weapons should happen. There should be more awareness. That brings me to my second point, I am a medical student and I think there is so much opportunity to raise awareness if you bring the medical perspective to the nuclear weapons, then you can make the whole situation actually more human.



Jan Hoekema: Do you have plans to become further active on this issue in 2020? What's your personal agenda?

Britt Vegting: I think I would like to work more with the NVMP here in The Netherlands because there is an IPPNW-student movement but this is not active yet in The Netherlands. So I think that is a great steppingstone to get active.

Jan Hoekema: Eirini Lemos-Maniati you are actually here as a representative of NATO, that must feel a

bit difficult maybe, were you also surprised to be invited in such an NGO-gathering in this nature?

So we at NATO are very open for these discussions and we even had Beatrice Fihn at our recent summit.

Eirini Lemos-Maniati: I was very pleased to be invited here, I wasn't invited by doctors before for this kind of diagnostic event. But as NATO we must include a dialogue with what we are doing. We must mix the communities and I'm extremely pleased to see the youth at this debate. It's important that is a dialogue with everybody as we take realistic steps to the goal we all have, a world free of nuclear weapons. So we at NATO are very open for these discussions and we even had Beatrice Fihn at our recent summit.

Jan Hoekema: your agenda for 2020 starts next week with the Heads of states-meeting are you preparing briefing papers on the new START, on INF, on the NPT?

Eirini Lemos-Maniati: Well the NPT is crucial for us, the implementation of arms control commitment is critical. So we make sure that this is an issue that will certainly be discussed in the leaders' meeting coming up next week. So arms control is a tool for our security and it's very important to underline this continuously. In terms of what is our agenda, we live in a very difficult period but this is the period where we need to start thinking and working, coming up with ideas and addressing the challenges, it's not just to sit and not act. These issues are really high on NATO's agenda and I don't see them ending by 2020 at the NPT. We will continue to actively engage in discussions among ourselves but also with our partners. NATO has partnership with almost one third of the human family so this touches the lives of more than the 29 allies of NATO.

Jan Hoekema: Beatrice Fihn you were planning to close the gap in 2020 between the NPT and the Ban Treaty could you elaborate on that? You were talking about a number of state parties, a number of states having signed.



Beatrice Fihn: It's more about closing the gap between the sort of intend of the NPT and rheology more than closing the gap between the NPT and the Ban Treaty. But yes off course the number one priority for us and what I think for the world is to get the Ban treaty entering into force. We have 34 ratification and so we need 16 more to get to 50. We know there are is lots of them in process like Ireland. So we hope to reach 50 next year and that will be a most exciting moment. 2020 is also the 75 anniversary of the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I think that is a huge educational moment for the world to realize that we need to denuclearize fully. Only a few of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors are left, we really need to listen to them. When I left to Japan just immediately after the Nobel prize ceremony I was so touched by how much this treaty means to the survivors. I always here: "There's no nuclear arms state that has signed the treaty so it's not realistic , it's not important". But as for the survivors, this means a lot to them. What happened to them has not been recognized by international law as being prohibited. So this treaty is a huge step for them.

Finally we do want a 'Greta Thunberg' for the nuclear issue, but let's not wait for that. I'm really tired of the whole 'people aren't marching so we just going to sit here and wait for people to march;'. That's not how things work, there's decades of climate change campaigning, it's not a new thing just like nuclear weapons.

But what we really have to do I think, we have to be the leaders, in our workplace, in our local city, in our governments. We can't wait, we have to start with what we have. There are young people who care about this issue and we need to take care of them better.

Jan Hoekema: You were talking about increasing the moral pressure, political pressure and also the legal pressure by getting the Ban treaty ratified and enter into force. Obvious it's quite unlikely that important countries like NATO-allies or on of the nuclear weapon states will be joining the treaty, how do you respond to that?

I also think that we shouldn't say that NATO-states won't join the TPNW

Beatrice Fihn: I would challenge that they are important countries. We have an extremely Western centric view of who is important. I would say that an African country is just as important. Particularly because we know that as war happens it are the most vulnerable countries that get the disproportional effects. So in the example of the India-Pakistan conflict the Dutch people might survive the nuclear famine but Southern-African countries might not. That's why their voices are perhaps more important. So we shouldn't distinguish between more important countries and less important countries.

And I also think that we shouldn't say that NATO-states won't join. Last year there was a government negotiation in Spain that Spain should sign the treaty. Unfortunately the government fell a few months later. But it's not impossible, we have several NATO states that are very progressive on these issues and it might be hard and scary for one to go first but I do think that we also can create a coalition of very progressive NATO-states that could take steps to this and start attending the meetings of states parties start engaging for example on the practical level with victim assistance and prepare for the day that the time is right. I think it's unrealistic that all NATO-states and all nuclear arms states will somehow find themselves in this magical state of peace where everyone is ready at the same time. It's

going to happen in different waves not every country will be ready at the same time, so a couple of them are going to be first.

Part V Panel discussion part II

Jan Hoekema: now I would like to go to the second round of questions on the role of The Netherlands. Mary Robinson what are your hopes for The Netherlands could you elaborate on that please?

Mary Robinson: I think my hope for The Netherlands is that they can help us with what is not a very big gap in Europe because of the collapse of the INF as both Russia and the United States pulled out. Tom Countryman has posed an interesting challenge whether The Netherlands as a NATO-country could combine with some non-NATO countries. I can't volunteer Ireland, I don't have the authority to do that but the question is how can we actually address the serious situation we are in. I think The Netherlands is in a really good position to give a leadership in thinking and forming and come up with the ideas that will provide a protection against the dangerous situation which especially Europe is facing now.

Jan Hoekema: but would you also then see alliances of The Netherlands with countries like Sweden, Finland, Ireland and also other NATO-countries like Germany?

Mary Robinson: yes I do, I think this is a big European concern now. It needs leadership from European countries and it needs both NATO and non-NATO countries to engage on it and come up with ideas. Europe has to step up now because others have failed doing so.

The Netherlands has been a great friend of the United States, it needs to help us. We have a serious addiction problem with nuclear weapons and we need help overcoming that

Jan Hoekema: now let me ask Ira, what is your hope for The Netherlands?

Ira Helfand: I hope that The Netherlands will sign the TPNW, 67% of your population wants to do it, this is democracy so the government should do it. And I hope they will do it for several reasons, one is because I think it's important for The Netherlands to take this moral stand and to be part of the community of nations which is saying we would not have nuclear weapons anymore. But as a US-citizen I hope they will do it because I think it would put very important pressure on the United States. In the US there was a big advertising campaign about fifteen years ago against drunk driving and the slogan was "friends don't let friends drive drunk". Among nations I think it would be 'friends don't let friends have nuclear weapons'. The Netherlands has been a great friend of the United States, it needs to help us. We have a serious addiction problem with nuclear weapons and we need help overcoming that. To have a NATO ally say look this is fundamentally wrong, deterrence is not an acceptable policy, it doesn't work, it isn't the reason why you have nuclear weapons, deterrence is actually part of the reason why you have nuclear weapons but the United States has nuclear weapons so they can bully the world and so do the Russians.



The US was very explicit in the Nuclear Posture Review under Obama in 2010 that deterrence was only part of the ratio to have nuclear weapons, part was also to be able to protect US power around the world. I think it would be a useful thing as an American for The Netherlands to help me, to help my government to get over this addiction.

Jan Hoekema: would that be a moral-ethical discussion or a political-military discussion?

Ira Helfand: I think more kind of a security-health discussion. I recognize the moral dimension of this question but I think the

real issue is that nuclear weapons are going to kill us all. They're going to kill our children, they are the greatest threat to public health that ever existed. As physicians we have a responsibility to prevent this threat to public health. We must continue to insist that the nuclear security policy that is grounded in

the possession of nuclear weapons is unacceptable. Obviously this can't be done unilaterally it needs to be universal nuclear disarmament but there needs to be a clear commitment to that which there is not. The United States is not going to retreat nuclear weapons but it has to and that could be the thing that could happen next year. The weapons might not disappear in one year but the political decision that we are in fact going to eliminate them could be taken.

Jan Hoekema: Britt is among your friends, among your age group, the concern about climate or about nuclear weapons limited to people who vote for the green left or is it some sort of broad conviction that this urgent issue needs to be tackled?

Britt Vegting: I think it's definitely broader than the green left. In fact this is bringing people together. Both climate change and nuclear weapons are both issues that we can all agree on.

Jan Hoekema: is there any attention in your group of friends for nuclear weapons or are you trying to create that attention? On climate there is this perspective of being able to act such as to separate your waste, to stop flying, to become a vegetarian etc. But how can you act on nuclear weapons?

Britt Vegting: that's a good question and I think that many people of my generation don't know how to act on nuclear weapons and that is something we should work on.

First of all The Netherlands is a very important ally so for us. The leading role it taken also in the context of the NPT is really important.

Jan Hoekema: Eirini Lemos it will be difficult for a member of the NATO-secretary to comment on a member state but The Netherlands has always been a faithful NATO ally. What role of the Netherlands would you suggest for the next year?

Eirini Lemos-Maniati: first of all The Netherlands is a very important ally so for us the leading role it taken also in the context of the NPT is really important. We do look particular at the context of the NPT to ensure that they have a pragmatic approach when it comes to weapon constitutes and success and looks at all the implemental steps and that they are also spearheading in terms of verification, risk-reduction and bring that debate forward and continuing that debate also at NATO. We are very pleased to see the Dutch efforts in that context.

I think also it will be important to continue having dialogue like this one. This is where I see the Dutch being a big part of the alliance community, the effort we are going to take moving to a world without nuclear weapons. I think the co-presidency they are going to have next year at the NPT is very important in ensuring to have a pragmatic approach at bringing everybody together in terms of the discussions we're going to have in New York with all the allies and all the members of the internationally community.



So The Netherlands is a strong ally, always been and will continue to be. We wish them good luck and want to have an active role in underlining the importance of NPT as the cornerstone, and the only one, to reach that objective of a nuclear weapon free world.

Jan Hoekema: Beatrice you were talking about The Netherlands citing a survey saying that 85% of the population would be in favor of joining the Ban Treaty. How does that rhyme with the parliamentary decision making?

People have to be louder and remind politicians, decisionmakers and journalists that this is important

Beatrice Fihn: I think opinion polls do not always reflect the parliament and the public always has a lot of different issues when they vote. So there is no party in The Netherlands that runs exclusively on this platform of nuclear weapons. But what we really have to do is to articulate this will much louder.

People have to be louder and remind politicians, decisionmakers and journalists that this is important and this is what we need to be doing. So I think the public opinion is there but it needs to be channeled into actual political pressure. We do that by calling on all of our parliamentarians and tell them that this is really important to us. We do that by asking our city councils to join this huge number of cities that appeal for a nuclear weapons free world like Amsterdam. They don't like to be a target for nuclear weapons. We also do that by calling our banks and pension funds to divest from nuclear weapons industry. So that is how we also break it down for people to make it easier to take action. Because if we frame the issue as only relevant for very macho male leaders at the top of some countries then we're going to feel demoralized. To me the biggest obstacle for nuclear disarmament is not the nuclear armed states it is our lack of confidence in that what we do matters. So when the public really wants, they can make a difference.

“Archbishop Tutu why are you such an optimist?” He looked at her and shook his head “Oh no no deary, I'm not an optimist, I'm a prisoner of hope”.

Jan Hoekema: Mary Robinson you want to make a comment on this?

Mary Robinson: As being chair of the Elders we have a duty as to always bringing hope to a conversation and we really had a good discussion here. I remember being in a panel with the first chair of the Elders Desmond Tutu when an American journalist said quite sharply “Archbishop Tutu why are you such an optimist?” He looked at her and shook his head “Oh no no deary, I'm not an optimist, I'm a prisoner of hope”.

Why does that matter, it matters because if you're a prisoner of hope then the glass isn't half full but you work with what you have. If you have hope you have the energy of hope. You have the inspiration I can do something. So that's the importance. On the two existential threats climate change and nuclear weapons we got to have the hope and the sense that we can make a difference. It's what you're appeal says: Let's wake up!

Jan Hoekema: those would be the ideal final words for this panel discussion. However we have an elder statesman in the room. Dr. Wim van Eekelen would like to pose one question. I would like to offer him the opportunity to make a short statement. Dr. Wim van Eekelen was a minister of Defense and a longtime politician.

Wim van Eekelen: Thank you very much Jan. In those days I was a member of the Dutch delegation to NATO where I heard of this new subject: nuclear planning. I became the Dutch representative in the nuclear planning staff group. So this brings me to my question that is the question of deterrence. I was a little bit amazed as the American representative said he was against the policy of deterrence. I thought that deterrence was the main line of our defense policy. I heard a lot of good things this afternoon about the continuing, the saving of the existing treaties and the further reduction of the numbers of nuclear weapons that are far too high. But what would we do in a world without nuclear weapons, what would be the deterrence? Would there be other ways of finding deterrence? We now focus on hybrid warfare is that the area to where we shift? How can we ensure our security and credibility in a world where this notion of deterrence is weakening?

Ira Helfand: let me say I wasn't saying I was opposed to deterrence, I was actually saying deterrence is largely a myth. The possession of nuclear weapons perhaps had some inhibiting effect on The US and Russia in terms of times when they might engage in a widespread conflict then they did. But they certainly during the nuclear era engaged in extensive conflict offered by proxies so it didn't really deter them from fighting.

But more to the point the possession of nuclear weapons they don't have some special quality or guarantee they won't be used. We've seen repeated instances where we became within minutes of nuclear war, when deterrence has actually failed. As many great architects of the nuclear policies have said: 'it really wasn't the policy that saved us, we were unbelievably lucky'. And if this fails. It's the end of the world, so we do need to come with some other mechanism. We're going to have to work something out for the 21-st century. We have to get nuclear weapons off the table before they are used.

Comment from 2020 NPT RevCon vice-presidents:

* **Adam Bugajski** (Ambassador Poland)

* **Marjolijn van Deelen** (The Netherlands)

Jan Hoekema: Now I would like to call on the stage Ambassador Marjolijn van Deelen and Ambassador Adam Bugajski, from The Netherlands and Poland. They were presiding over two of the preparatory conferences for the NPT review conference, they are a member of the bureau of the conference and they will be presiding over one of the main committee's during next year's review conference.

Adam Bugajski

Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen.

My country Poland and Netherlands work together in this area and the most visible and effective cooperation is the current NPT-cycle where we chaired the two first prep coms in Vienna and Geneva and we will next year share responsibility for NPT-review conference as chair for the committees responsible for non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and peaceful uses of nuclear energy. In this regard I'm very grateful to my colleague Marjolijn van Deelen for all the assistance.



If we apply the medical concept to the NPT the prep coms can play a role of diagnosis, the prognosis would be the rev con and the implementation of rev con decisions would be called treatment

I must say I was very intrigued by the medical dimension of today's conference. I will try to make two short comments on that dimension. First of all the NPT if we apply the medical concept to the NPT the prep coms can play a role of diagnosis, the prognosis would be the rev con and the implementation of rev con decisions would be called treatment and therapy. Let's assume that the diagnosis of the different prep coms were not without problems but in fact they served the problems. Now everything depends on the prognosis which have always been a difficult part and sometimes life depends on it immensely. How we will perform during the rev con depends on our medical, our diplomatic instruments, our knowledge, our diplomatic skills and also the political will to reach consensus. We will see next year.

Let me make two general points regarding the NPT, first of all the state of play. In fact prep com is around the corner, it will be tomorrow, it's not a very long perspective there is not much space to provide input. Failure of the conference is not an option. Unfortunately security environment clearly shows that this scenario cannot be excluded. To the contrary it remains possible or even likely, in order to avoid it all of us NPT state parties and NGO's and thinktanks must show their commitment, responsibility and realism. I expect every actor to reaffirm their unequivocal support for the NPT. We should regard the NPT as a value which deserves to be strengthened, all political and diplomatic means

should be used to prevent drowning of the treaty. Otherwise the ship called 'security' could lose one of the last anchors with the universal dimension and we could float into uncharted waters. A question can be post: a failure of the rev con will be a disaster for the NPT. It will strike a very serious blow to the treaty and it will pose an existential question about its future.

So a final point is what can be expected next year. We intend to do a full review of the treaty: what is the level of ambition to produce a substantial consensual outcome agreed by all NPT state parties? We encourage high level participation and the rev con strong political support and good knowledge from thinktanks.

The positive news I think apart from big political dilemma there is a broad avenue for making progress on practical or even technical issues across all three dimensions. I should mention institutions like IAEA, UND, CTBO they are all important and let me say we are ready to find the consensus needed for these important issues. Thank you very much.

Marjolijn van Deelen

First I like to thank NVMP for organizing this big event. I'd to thank all the speakers for all the ideas they have put on the table. We've been listening very carefully, we've been taking a lot of notes and on a national basis we will study those and discuss with my minister to see what we can take from that in our national policies. I would also like to thank Adam Bugajski as a very good colleague and also and expedient of an excellent cooperation which we had with Poland in this endeavor and I have to say I agree with everything Adam said. But what I really took from the discussions today was the sense of urgency and off course we are well aware of that as diplomats. We do have the intrinsic motivation to go the extra mile for disarmament. But your message here today is really a big support for that. It will help us do our jobs even better it will keep us motivated and especially because of the voices of youth that we hear today.



But what I really took from the discussions today was the sense of urgency and off course we are well aware of that as diplomats. We do have the intrinsic motivation to go the extra mile for disarmament.

So from the presentations today it was clear that there different visions on how to approach disarmament and what steps to take next. In that sense I really liked ambassador Batsanov's metaphor, when the patient is very, very sick you use multiple therapies. I think this is the direction we have taken nationally, we look at all avenues that we think can realistically reach results and I think this is what my minister said in his opening speech today, the many areas in which we are active and trying to make concrete steps.

For a country as the Netherlands the multilateral contacts are very important, that's how we work , that's who we are and it's how we can be most effective.

For a country as the Netherlands the multilateral contacts are very important, that's how we work , that's who we are and it's how we can be most effective. So let me focus a little bit on the NPT because that's the cornerstone of that policy and also that's the hat I'm wearing right now in this panel. As Adam said our task in April-May next year is to review the Treaty and it is only fitting at the fiftieths anniversary that we also like to reconfirm the importance of the NPT to all of us and that we try to define concrete steps on how to implement the treaty in the next five years. Very concrete steps that need to be identified and very encouraged by Izumi Nakamitsu and what she said about a new vision which also helps us think of beyond the review conference in May. We do not believe in quick fixes, that will not help our security. So we work on different tracks. We will have to be very ambitious to find common ground on the NPT rev com. And that will not be easy. Like in this room there are very different views on how we can reach our goals and very often in a UN-meeting room the civility can be less than here and discussions can be tough. That's why we keep calling for creative ideas especially focused on the nuclear weapons states that have a particularly responsibility but non-nuclear weapon states can do a lot and as The Netherlands we will take that responsibility very seriously. As vice-chairs we will cooperate with Poland as another vice-chair, Malaysia, that's the third vice-chair and Argentina that will be the president of the review conference.

Non-nuclear weapon states can do a lot and as The Netherlands we will take
that responsibility very seriously.

The four of us will try to get that spirit of cooperation going and to keep it going not to have a zero-sum gain type of attitude. We do this by fostering transparency through the process, it's not something that's to be decided only by a few and we want to be really inclusive because we believe all voices need to be heard in this area. But some countries shout louder than others. On our way to get to hear these different voices and to enable these voices to be expressed we have them barked on a series of regional conferences that we organized as The Netherlands as a preparation of that first preparatory committee.

We think that has been really instrumental in getting that process of the ground in a constructive way. And after 2015 that didn't look very easy. So we were very proud to have this innovation it really enabled more in that dialogue. And we will keep looking for ways to have more innovations to the NPT review cycle, both as vice-presidents in a chairing role and as well in a national capacity. We have to work with what we have, is what we heard, that's what we'll do and we'll try to create more to work with and we should always keep hope, I very much agree with that. Thank you.



Closing remarks:

*** Peter Buijs**

Presentation Peace Palace Appeal

Peter Buijs:

Well, finally we have now arrived at the Closing Remarks, and I want to start with what mostly comes at the end: to thank the organizing committee, because this afternoon would have been completely impossible without a very committed, dedicated bunch of man and women who organized all the jobs to be done, starting only about a year ago as voluntaries, being absolutely not used to organize events like this. Sometimes I had a real conflict between being a professional occupational physician and being a chair of this NVMP, because of all the work that had to be done, especially after the summer period, culminating in very full mail boxes the last weeks. So I want a warm applause for my co-organizers.

Of course I also want to thank again the eminent speakers, coming from all over the world to give this afternoon a very special and constructive content. A warm applause for them too!

The title *Urgent appeal for a nuclear weapons free world* apparently has done its work, listening to the speeches. This feeling of urgency should and must be spread as much as possible and we will contribute where we can. We are living in borrowed time when we take note of how many near escapes has already happened in the past, and how complicated the future will look like, given all the dangerous technical developments mentioned today.

As a subtitle we have chosen *Connecting the medical-humanitarian and political perspectives*. Well, that was very much the case too today and we will continue tomorrow with most of the speakers to work out what has been said today and to hopefully translate it in as concrete as possible ways to continue and support this process.

I was very pleased hearing Marjolijn van Deelen saying that this conference was really helpful for the Dutch government too. That was exactly what we were aiming at by proposing Minister Stef Blok to collaborate on this event. We are convinced that The Netherlands really can play a crucial role before, during and after the 2020 Review Conference of the NPT, like Ireland did in the sixties regarding the implementation of that important treaty. Another role The Netherlands can play is to mobilize as many countries as possible to make clear to the nuclear weapon states that they really have to act on article VI: they have promised to do so, the signed for it, and not acting will really undermine the NPT.

We are also convinced that we, physicians, have an important role to play because of our Oath of Hippocrates – protecting the health of our patients - and our position of trust, not suspected of telling *fake news*. That is what we aimed at today, and that is what IPPNW doctors did in the early eighties, in the heart of the Cold War, and were rewarded with the Nobel Peace Prize. Reagan and Gorbachev publicly declared that their medical-humanitarian arguments gave them the final push to go to the table in Reykjavik, stop the nuclear arms race, negotiate treaties like the INF and starting a reduction from 70.000 to the current 15.000 nuclear warheads.

However, as we have heard today that heritage is under extreme pressure, INF has been jeopardized, New Start may follow and a new nuclear arms race is imminent. So we, physicians, must find new ways to convince the current leaders – how difficult that may be – by our own arguments as well as by helping to mobilize Civil Society, like we did in this small country. We have to connect with experts, moral leaders, diplomats and politicians, to mobilize public opinion and build up global pressure on the Nuclear Weapon States to finally keep their promises to start negotiations “in good faith” to come to *Global Zero*.

To contribute to this we have prepared a special tool – at the same time a brief summary of today’s discussions: a Peace Palace Appeal. So I now invite a very special person, Chazia Mourali, a famous Dutch presentator and actor, to present the Hague Peace Palace Appeal.

THE HAGUE PEACE PALACE APPEAL

Urgent appeal for a nuclear weapon free world

We, Dutch physicians for peace (NVMP), organizers of the conference *Urgent appeal for a nuclear weapon free world* in the Hague Peace Palace, November 26, 2019 are deeply worried about the unacceptable risks of nuclear weapons for the global health and well-being. So it is our medical duty to raise our voice.



Let's wake up! There are still 15,000 nuclear weapons around - 93% Russian or American, up to hundreds times more powerful than the two destroying Hiroshima and Nagasaki (1945), with devastating medical-humanitarian impact on civilians and with no help possible. About 2000 are on high alert, ready to be launched within minutes, and nuclear weapon states have openly threatened to use them, risking total annihilation of mankind - the Nuclear Winter.

Let's wake up! Even from a so called limited regional nuclear war we all will suffer: huge amounts of soot in the stratosphere will block the sun, causing massive crop failure, huge migrant streams and up to two billion hunger deaths - the Nuclear Famine.

Let's wake up! Often we've been close to unintended nuclear attacks by false alarm, technical or human failure. Developments like cybercrime, killer robots and artificial intelligence will make it even harder to stop an unintended nuclear launch or prevent retaliation.

Let's wake up! Important international treaties are in danger or jeopardized and a new nuclear arms race is imminent. Instead of abolishing their arsenals as promised, Russia and the US are modernizing and upgrading them in their strategies, even for real use, lowering the nuclear threshold. Trillions of dollars are involved, not available for treating diseases or for prevention by combatting hunger, poverty and inequity.

So mankind is facing an existential choice: either nuclear weapons are here to stay – and then, according to the experts, sooner or later they will go off, intended or unintended.

Or, how difficult that may be, we have to eliminate them before they eliminate us.

That is why almost all countries, also the main nuclear powers, signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT, 1970), including Article VI, obliging to eliminate all nuclear weapons.

Until now however the nuclear powers did not keep their promises. So we must find ways to urge them to disarm, by mobilizing politics, civil society and public opinion, by supporting the ban treaty TPNW as a pressure tool, to help making the 2020 NPT Review Conference a success. And it is feasible: in 1985 there were 70,000 nuclear warheads worldwide, and now 15,000, thanks to Gorbachev's and Reagan's courage to negotiate. Let's finish that job!

Finally, when a great health risk is imminent, physicians use to take emergency measures to prevent death-at-the-spot. So on short notice we strongly recommend the nuclear powers to de-alert and de-target their weapons of mass destruction and to agree to 'No First Use', in order to minimize the acute risks and to be able to realize the final prevention, in accordance with the very first UN-resolution (1946), unanimously supported, also by the USA and the Soviet Union: Global Zero!

It is time to bring resolutions and promises into practice, for the sake of survival!

"A nuclear war cannot be won and should never be fought!" -Reagan/Gorbachev, 1986



Peter Buijs: Thank you so much for this presentation, Chazia! Please stay here, because now is the moment we like to hand over this appeal to two women representing a lot of diplomacy and experience, one with a huge and very important network 'behind the screens' - Mary Robinson - and Izumi Nakamitsu, a lady very much in charge in New York as the UN under-Secretary General and High Representative on Disarmament, hoping you can be helpful to spread this message, together with all the other speakers. And we, the NVMP, will be helpful wherever we can



Peter Buijs: To my surprise it is only a few minutes past six, the planned end of this Event. So I declare this conference being closed, thank again the speakers and finally ask your attention for the Mayor of the city of The Hague where I spend fifteen years of my youth, and is now the city for peace and justice. He will open the reception, offered by the City of The Hague. So, please a warm welcome for Johan Remkes.

Johan Remkes, Mayor of the Hague

Ladies and Gentlemen,
A very warm welcome to The Hague!
And congratulations on your fiftieth anniversary.
Where better to celebrate that, than here in the auditorium of the Peace Palace? A building which, more than any other, represents what The Hague stands for: peace and justice.

Peace and justice have been an inseparable part of our city for the last hundred twenty-five years. The Hague is known worldwide as the place where people are working to create a safe and just world, in other words: a better world.

A world governed by the rule of law, rather than the law of the jungle. A world in which conflicts are fought out in the courtroom and not on the battlefield. And this brings to mind, of course, the institutions housed here in the Peace Palace: the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the International Court of Justice. But The Hague also houses many other international organisations and NGOs. Like the Mukwege Foundation of Nobel Prize-winner, Dr. Denis Mukwege. The help that Dr. Mukwege provides to victims of sexual violence in war zones is as an outstanding example of the efforts made by countless doctors for the sake of humanity and for peace. And that brings me to the theme of this conference: an *Urgent Appeal for a Nuclear Weapon Free World*.



Even now that the Cold War has ended, the threat posed by these weapons has in no way diminished. As shown by the Nuclear Security Summit that took place here five years ago. The biggest international conference ever held in The Hague. The fifty-eight world leaders there made specific agreements to prevent nuclear materials that could be used to make a nuclear weapon from falling into the hands of terrorists. An important step forward. Nevertheless nuclear proliferation continues to be a matter of great concern.

And that is another reason why it is so positive that this conference is being held here. With an impressive line-up of internationally recognized speakers.

In short, an excellent way to celebrate the anniversary of your society which for the past fifty years has dedicated itself to striving for a safe and peaceful world.

Your association with the Mayors for Peace is only natural, of course. Because peace is not something which is made only at the highest levels. A peaceful society also needs to be anchored in the streets and neighbourhoods of our cities. Or to put it in the words of Baruch Spinoza, who lived out his final years in The Hague:

“Peace is not the absence of war, but a virtue based on strength of character.”

And the activities of your organisation are clearly led by that virtue. May that spirit continue to reign over the future of your organisation.

I would now like to invite you all for the reception.



The Speakers



(1.) Stef Blok

Since March 2018 Stef Blok has been the Dutch minister of Foreign Affairs in the third Administration of Prime-Minister Marc Rutte. Before that he was the minister of Security and Justice. Blok is member of the liberal-conservative VVD (Peoples Union for Freedom and Democracy).

(2.) Izumi Nakamitsu

Ms. Izumi Nakamitsu assumed her position as Under-Secretary-General and High Representative for Disarmament Affairs on 1 May 2017. Prior to taking on this post, Ms. Nakamitsu served as Assistant Administrator of the Crisis Response Unit at the UN Development Programme since 2014. She has many years of experience within and outside the UN system, most recently as Special Adviser Ad Interim on Follow-up to the Summit on Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants between 2016 and 2017. She was previously Director of the Asia and the Middle East Division of the UN Department of Peace-keeping Operations between 2012 and 2014, and Director of the Department's Division of Policy, Evaluation and Training, from 2008 to 2012.

(3.) Setsuko Thurlow

Setsuko Thurlow survived the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on 6 August 1945, when she was 13 years old. ('As I crawled out, the ruins were on fire. Most of my classmates in that building were burned to death, alive. I saw all around me utter, unimaginable devastation.')

As a Hibakusha she became one of the most active nuclear disarmament campaigners, most recently for the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear weapons (ICAN). Together with Beatrice Fihn she has given the acceptance speech for the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize for ICAN's efforts regarding the Treaty to Prohibit Nuclear Weapons (TPNW).

(4.) Ira Helfand

Ira Helfand, MD, is co-president of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW, Nobel Peace Prize 1985), with affiliates in 64 countries, like the NVMP and many PSR's: Physicians for Social Responsibility. He is also co-chair of the Nuclear Weapons Abolition Committee of PSR USA. Dr. Helfand has worked for many years as an emergency room physician and now practices internal medicine at an urgent care center. He represents IPPNW at the annual World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates and is a member of ICAN's International Steering Committee. Dr. Helfand co-authored PSR's report, Nuclear Famine: 2 Billion at Risk?, which outlines the global health consequences of regional nuclear war.

(5.) Miguel Roberto Jorge

Miguel Roberto Jorge, M.D., is a Brazilian Associate Professor of Psychiatry and Chair of the Research Ethics Committee of the Federal University of São Paulo (UNIFESP). He is the current President of World Medical Association (WMA), an association representing millions of physicians from 112 different countries. Dr. Jorge was a former Secretary for Sections of the World Psychiatric Association (WPA) and for many years was also a member of the World Health Organization (WHO) Panel of Experts in Mental Health.

(6.) Sergey Batsanov

Sergey Batsanov, former USSR and Russian Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva: Development of nuclear disarmament 1975 – 2019. He worked on the whole range of arms control, disarmament, non-proliferation and outer space-related issues in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1989-1993 he was leading the Soviet, and later the Russian delegations to the Conference on Disarmament. He participated in a number of conferences to review the operation of various disarmament treaties, such as Non-Proliferation Treaty, Biological Weapons Convention and the Chemical Weapons Convention. In Pugwash Batsanov is dealing with issues of nuclear disarmament. He is also a member of the International Advisory Board of the Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces.

(7.) Tom Countryman

Tom Countryman is the chair of the Arms Control Association board of directors, a position he has held since October 2017. He served for 35 years as a member of the U.S. Foreign Service until January 2017, achieving the rank of minister-counselor; and was appointed in October 2016 to the position of acting undersecretary of state arms control and international security. He simultaneously served as assistant secretary of state for international security and nonproliferation, a position he had held since September 2011.



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(8.) Mary Therese Winifred Robinson

Mary Robinson is an Irish Independent politician who served as the seventh President of Ireland from December 1990 to September 1997, becoming the first woman to hold this office. She also served as United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights from 1997 to 2002. On 18 July 2007, in Johannesburg, South Africa, Nelson Mandela and others convened a group of world leaders called The Elders to contribute their wisdom, independent leadership and integrity to tackle some of the world's toughest problems. Robinson has been active in The Elders' work, participating in a broad range of the group's initiatives and on 1 November 2018 became its chair, succeeding Kofi Annan who had died earlier in the year.

(9.) Sico van der Meer

Sico van der Meer is a Research Fellow at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'. His research focusses on non-conventional weapons such as Weapons of Mass Destruction (nuclear, chemical and biological) and cyber weapons from a strategic policy perspective. He graduated from the Radboud University Nijmegen with a Master in History. Before joining the Clingendael Institute, he worked as a journalist and as a Fellow of a think tank on civil-military relations.

(10.) Eirini Lemos-Maniati

Eirini Lemos-Maniati, since May 2018, serves as the Deputy Director for NATO's Arms Control, Disarmament and WMD - Non Proliferation Centre in the Political Affairs and Security Policy Division at NATO HQ. Prior to this assignment, she worked as NATO Secretary General's Representative for the OSCE, following a Warsaw Summit decision to enhance relations with the OSCE. In this context, she established a NATO presence in Vienna for dealing with all Vienna based International Organisations. From May 2010 to December 2015, she was the first NATO Senior Civilian Liaison Officer to United Nations, a post established by the NATO HQ following the signing of the UN-NATO Joint Declaration in September 2008. Eirini Lemos-Maniati has been working at NATO HQ, at the Political Affairs and Security Policy Division, since 2002.

(11.) Beatrice Fihn

Beatrice Fihn is the Executive Director of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize-winning campaign coalition that works to prohibit and eliminate nuclear weapons. Ms. Fihn led the campaign since 2013, and has worked to mobilize civil society throughout the development of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Previously, she managed the disarmament programme at the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Reaching Critical Will project as well as worked with the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. She was recently listed as one of the 50 innovators who changed the global landscape in 2017 by Bloomberg Media. Ms. Fihn is also Executive Producer of the film *The Day the World Changed*, the first-ever interactive virtual reality memorial experience to pay tribute to those affected directly by nuclear warfare spanning back to 1945.

(12.) Peter Buijs

Occupational physician, former family doctor, from 2010 on (co-)chair of the NVMP, Dutch IPPNW affiliate (Nobel Peace Prize 1985), IPPNW International Board member since 2017. In the 70s and 80s active against the Neutron bomb and cruise missiles. Since 1980 he worked at the Dutch Institute for applied science TNO, focusing on '*How to provide adequate, preventive health care for workers, especially by Primary Care*'. After his retirement (2014) he had time for studying the nuclear weapon issue and was stunned about the intolerable Doomsday machine 'we' have created, able to destroy all life on earth - by accident.



NVMP

Artsen voor vrede

**Urgent Appeal for a
Nuclear Weapon free world**
*Connecting the medical-humanitarian
and political perspectives*

Organizing committee:

- * **Peter Buijs**, MD, PhD, chair NVMP Artsen voor Vrede (Dutch affiliate IPPNW); member IPPNW International Board; occupational physician, former general practitioner
 - * **Jan Hoekema**, former MP, ambassador, mayor, presently consultant
 - * **André Kottnerus**, MD, PhD, epidemiologist, emeritus professor of General Practice, former president Health Council of the Netherlands, former chair Scientific Council for Government Policy
 - * **Gerrit van der Wal**, MD, PhD, supervisor/advisor, former Inspector General/ Chief Medical Officer Netherlands, emeritus professor Public Health, former General Practitioner.
 - * **Wil Verheggen**, MD, press officer
 - * **Hans van Iterson**, office manager
- And NVMP board members:
Marianne Begemann (MD), Leo van Bergen, Rob Leemans (MD) and Bert Sweerts.
- * Photos in the report were taken by **Willy van Zanten**

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Tribunaal voor de Vrede



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Artsen voor vrede

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