

CSCAP MEMORANDUM NO. 19

Reduction and Elimination of Nuclear Weapons



**A Memorandum from the
Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP)**

February 2012

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Introduction

The reduction and elimination of all types of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons are an integral part of the global nonproliferation regime. The Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BTWC), the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) all have provisions that require or call for the elimination of weapon stockpiles. Based on total prohibition provisions included in the two conventions, there are no acknowledged stockpiles of biological weapons and all states that acknowledge possession of chemical weapons have established programs to eliminate them. The NPT is more ambiguous regarding disarmament as Article VI commits all states “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.”

The political commitment to eliminate nuclear weapons must be matched by a willingness by all states to develop the political and technical conditions that make the implementation of universal and verified nuclear disarmament possible. States that possess nuclear weapons have the obligation under their treaty commitments to reduce the size of their arsenals and ultimately eliminate them while those that do not possess nuclear weapons have the obligation to not undertake programs to acquire or develop them. Complete elimination of nuclear weapons is contingent upon creating a sense of trust among all states and confidence in the capacity of multilateral processes to address security concerns through systematic steps to irreversibly reduce the size of existing arsenals while simultaneously preventing the proliferation of the weapons, their components, and delivery systems. A nonproliferation regime that emphasizes the obligations of all states to ensure the security of nuclear-related materials coupled with transparent and enforceable verification is needed to give states the assurance that violations will be detected and will be acted upon.

Given the central importance accorded to nuclear weapons in the current structure of the international security order, there is a need to ensure stability is maintained as these weapons are being phased out. Moving to an order free of nuclear weapons requires gradually phasing out the nuclear dimension of deterrence and eliminating nuclear weapons from security strategies and operational doctrines. This will create a sense of confidence and, in turn, reinforce further movement toward universal nuclear disarmament. This Memorandum offers a set of principles to guide policy recommendations to enable the process of moving toward a nuclear-weapon-free world.

Principles

The total elimination of nuclear weapons should be a priority for all states.

Disarmament and nonproliferation efforts are mutually reinforcing.

Multilateral cooperation is essential for achieving nonproliferation and disarmament.

While nuclear disarmament is a gradual process that requires participation by all states, those possessing nuclear weapons have a special responsibility to take the initiative to verifiably reduce and ultimately eliminate arsenals.

Disarmament measures that are transparent and irreversible contribute significantly to the goal of building trust needed to achieve the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

All states bear responsibility for easing international tensions and strengthening trust in order to facilitate the progress toward the elimination of nuclear weapons and to cooperate to avert the risk of proliferation of WMD, related materials, and technology to state and non-state actors.

Preventing the weaponization of outer space is in the interests of all states.

Strengthening existing nuclear-weapon-free zones and establishing new ones through voluntary consensus of countries in a region are highly valued in the pursuit of nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation objectives.

Education and increased public awareness can help create an environment conducive to nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation.

Recommendations

Building upon recommendations of the CSCAP Study Group on Countering the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Asia Pacific, this memorandum recommends policy actions to promote improved verification and transparency and increased political will to move toward the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. These recommendations include promoting and supporting an improved international normative-legal-enforcement framework, advancing national-level initiatives, and developing a wider understanding of the disarmament process through education and public awareness.

International Legal Framework

All states should promote the development of an international normative and legal framework to facilitate the process of de-emphasizing the role of nuclear weapons as a part of the international order and prohibit the transfer of nuclear weapon components and delivery systems. All states should support and promote specific actions to include:

- Strengthen the role of IAEA as the competent authority responsible for verifying compliance with IAEA safeguards agreements.
- Strengthen the International Monitoring system (IMS) of the CTBT to help maintain the continued moratorium on nuclear testing, prior to entry into force of the treaty.
- Take measures to enable the CTBT's entry into force.
- Participate in good faith in negotiations on completing a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty on the basis of the 1995 Shannon Mandate.
- Take steps to de-legitimize the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.
- Make the proliferation of special nuclear materials (defined as plutonium, uranium-233, or uranium enriched in the isotopes uranium-233 or uranium-235) an international crime and develop the means to prevent non-state actors from acquiring nuclear weapons, pending their total elimination.
- Take steps toward the development of an international convention to prohibit the deployment and use of space-based weapons.

- Take steps toward the development of an international convention to prohibit the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.
- Take steps toward the development of an international convention that prohibits the development, production, and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and establishes a timeframe for eliminating all nuclear weapons.

National Initiatives

Reducing the role of nuclear weapons in national security strategies and operational military doctrines is a key part of creating the trust needed to proceed toward the complete elimination of these weapons. To promote multilateral confidence and demonstrate the political will to fulfill disarmament commitments, all states based on their treaty commitments should take action to:

- Fully implement the actions contained in the Final Document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference.
- Adopt national legislation to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and related materials in accordance with the requirements of UN Security Council Resolution 1540.
- Criminalize the proliferation of WMD-related materials.
- Conclude a country-specific Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement and Additional Protocol with the IAEA to improve transparency of all nuclear facilities. States that have a Small Quantities Protocol (SQP) in force should adopt the modified SQP version.
- Promote transparency and develop verification capabilities related to nuclear disarmament.

The states in possession of nuclear weapons have a special responsibility to promote disarmament. While most of this burden falls on the US and Russia due to their large arsenals, all states possessing nuclear weapons must be engaged in seeking ways to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in the international security order. To promote transparency and discourage other states from developing nuclear weapons programs, all states that possess nuclear weapons should:

- Reaffirm negative security assurances stating that nuclear weapons will never be used against countries that are in full compliance with their nonproliferation obligations.
- Declare or take steps toward a “no first use” or “sole purpose” policy for nuclear weapons.
- Accelerate the dismantlement and verified destruction of all nuclear forces and fissile materials declared in excess of requirements by individual states. Treaties should mandate the verifiable destruction of nuclear warheads.
- Make an open and detailed declaration regarding the size and composition of existing weapon arsenals and fissile material production facilities and stockpiles.
- Sign protocols for and adherence to all nuclear weapon-free zones.
- Develop a protocol for the safe and verified disablement and destruction of any nuclear weapons captured on the territory of a non-nuclear weapon state.
- Ensure that disarmed weapons are safely and securely destroyed, not just disabled.

All states in possession of nuclear weapons should establish confidence-building measures aimed at a systematic reduction of reliance on these weapons in military doctrines. These include:

- Take all necessary measures to reduce the risk of accidental or unauthorized launch of nuclear weapons.
- De-alert nuclear weapons from quick-reaction status.
- Limit the missions assigned to nuclear weapons and mandating their use only as a last resort and exclusively in response to the use of nuclear weapons.
- Avoid and prevent the policy of compensating for the reduction in nuclear systems by increasing the number of strategic conventional systems or modernizing nuclear weapons.

Education and Public Awareness

An important longer-term means of creating the political will to advance the goal of complete elimination of nuclear weapons is through disarmament and non-proliferation education. It is essential to raise public awareness that any perceived security or political advantages of nuclear weapons are outweighed by the grave threat they pose to humanity. To this end all states should promote and dedicate sufficient resources to:

- Increase awareness of the threats posed by nuclear, biological, and chemical proliferation and the value of nonproliferation and disarmament efforts.
- Conduct research into disarmament verification and enforcement mechanisms for responding to noncompliance with nuclear disarmament.
- Examine the process leading to the prohibition of chemical and biological weapons as a basis for establishing a prohibition convention for nuclear weapons.
- Develop a roadmap for the elimination of nuclear weapons that can be reviewed and revised as circumstances change.
- Detail the conditions that must be established for all states in possession of nuclear weapons to accept nuclear transparency and move in the direction of complete nuclear disarmament.
- Conduct studies to better understand the relation between nonproliferation and disarmament.
- Conduct studies to describe the nature of an international security order without nuclear weapons.

ASEAN Regional Forum member governments should promote awareness of the threats posed by WMD proliferation and the value of nonproliferation and disarmament efforts.

ABOUT CSCAP

CSCAP is a non-governmental (second track) process for dialogue on security issues in the Asia Pacific. Membership in CSCAP is on an institutional basis and consists of Member Committees. Current membership comprises Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Canada, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Mongolia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and the USA.

The functions of CSCAP are as follows:

- a. to provide an informal mechanism by which political and security issues can be discussed by scholars, officials, and others in their private capacities;
- b. to encourage the participants of such individuals from countries and territories in the Asia Pacific on the basis of the principle of inclusiveness;
- c. to organise various working groups to address security issues and challenges facing the region;
- d. to provide policy recommendations to various intergovernmental bodies on political-security issues;
- e. to convene regional and international meetings and other cooperative activities for the purpose of discussing political-security issues;
- f. to establish linkages with institutions and organisations in other parts of the world to exchange information, insights and experiences in the area of regional political-security cooperation; and
- g. to produce and disseminate publications relevant to the other purposes of the organisation.

Study groups are the primary mechanism for CSCAP activity. As of February 2012, there were six CSCAP Study Groups. These are concerned with: (i) Countering the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Asia Pacific; (ii) Significance of the Existence of Regional Transnational Crime Hubs to the Governments of the Asia Pacific Region; (iii) Multilateral Security Governance in Northeast Asia/North Pacific; (iv) Naval Enhancement in the Asia Pacific; (v) Water Resources Security; and (vi) Cyber Security.

This memorandum was produced by the CSCAP Study Group on Countering the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Asia Pacific and was approved by the 36th CSCAP Steering Committee Meeting in Hanoi, Vietnam, on 20 November 2011.

Further information on CSCAP can be obtained from the CSCAP website at www.cscap.org or by contacting the CSCAP Secretariat:

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CSCAP Memoranda

CSCAP Memoranda are the outcome of the work of Study Groups approved by the Steering Committee and submitted for consideration by the ASEAN Regional Forum and other bodies.

- Memorandum No.18 - Implementing the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP)
Author: Study Group on the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP)
Date published: September 2011
- Memorandum No.17 - Promoting the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy
Author: Study Group on Countering the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Asia Pacific
Date published: June 2011
- Memorandum No.16 - Safety and Security of Offshore Oil and Gas Installations
Author: Study Group on Safety and Security of Offshore Oil and Gas Installations
Date published: January 2011
- Memorandum No.15 - The Security Implications of Climate Change
Author: Study Group on the Security Implications of Climate Change
Date published: July 2010
- Memorandum No.14 - Guidelines for Managing Trade of Strategic Goods
Author: Export Controls Experts Group (XCXG)
Date published: March 2009
- Memorandum No.13 - Guidelines for Maritime Cooperation in Enclosed and Semi-Enclosed Seas and Similar Sea Areas of the Asia Pacific
Author: Study Group on Facilitating Maritime Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific
Date published: June 2008
- Memorandum No.12 - Maritime Knowledge and Awareness: Basic Foundations of Maritime Security
Author: Study Group on Facilitating Maritime Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific
Date published: December 2007
- Memorandum No.11 - Human Trafficking
Author: Study Group on Human Trafficking
Date published: June 2007

- Memorandum No.10 - Enhancing Efforts to Address the Factors Driving International Terrorism
 Author: Study Group on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Campaign Against International Terrorism with Specific Reference to the Asia Pacific Region
 Date published: December 2005
- Memorandum No.9 - Trafficking of Firearms in the Asia Pacific Region
 Author: Working Group on Transnational Crime
 Date published: May 2004
- Memorandum No.8 - The Weakest Link? Seaborne Trade and the Maritime Regime in the Asia Pacific
 Author: Working Group on Maritime Cooperation
 Date published: April 2004
- Memorandum No.7 - The Relationship Between Terrorism and Transnational Crime
 Author: Working Group on Transnational Crime
 Date published: July 2003
- Memorandum No.6 - The Practice of the Law of the Sea in the Asia Pacific
 Author: Working Group on Maritime Cooperation
 Date published: December 2002
- Memorandum No.5 - Cooperation for Law and Order at Sea
 Author: Working Group on Maritime Cooperation
 Date published: February 2001
- Memorandum No.4 - Guidelines for Regional Maritime Cooperation
 Author: Working Group on Maritime Cooperation
 Date published: December 1997
- Memorandum No.3 - The Concepts of Comprehensive Security and Cooperative Security
 Author: Working Group on Comprehensive and Cooperative Security
 Date published: December 1995
- Memorandum No.2 - Asia Pacific Confidence and Security Building Measures
 Author: Working Group on Confidence and Security Building Measures
 Date published: June 1995
- Memorandum No.1 - The Security of the Asia Pacific Region
 Author: CSCAP
 Date published: April 1994