

# **Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs**

*Nobel Peace Prize 1995*

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## **Statement of the Pugwash Council**

**Bari, Italy**

**27 October 2007**

The threat posed to humanity by the vast destructive power of nuclear weapons remains as dangerous today as it was 50 years ago when the initiators of the Pugwash Movement first met in Pugwash, Nova Scotia. The need for “new thinking” on these matters is as urgent today as it was when the 1955 Russell-Einstein Manifesto, the founding document of Pugwash, first captured the world’s attention with its direct and urgent appeal.

In this spirit, the Pugwash Council welcomes the enhanced awareness of nuclear issues provided by recent statements by many prestigious non-governmental organizations like the WMD Commission and by senior figures and former politicians such as Mikhail Gorbachev, Margaret Beckett, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn, George Shultz, and William Perry, calling for a nuclear weapons free world. These public pronouncements create an important window of opportunity.

And yet, nuclear weapons still pose a great and over-riding peril. Many years after the end of the Cold War there are over 20,000 nuclear warheads in the world, the majority of them in possession of the US and Russia. Regrettably, many of the US and Russian weapons remain deployed on quick-reaction alert. The United Kingdom, France, China, India, Pakistan, and Israel each hold smaller numbers of nuclear weapons and do not plan to disarm. Moreover, it remains the policy of nuclear weapons states to modernize their nuclear arsenals. In addition, there are increased threats posed by the possible acquisition and use of nuclear explosive devices by non-state groups.

The nuclear non-proliferation regime is under severe stress. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and START II have not entered into force. There has been no progress on the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty. The Nuclear-Weapon States have not sufficiently met their Article VI obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; nor are they demonstrating a commitment to the goal of a nuclear weapons free world. Proposed new nuclear warheads and systems could lead to a resumption of nuclear testing. New types of missiles and missile defense systems are under development. There is the prospect that weapons may be deployed in space. In this climate, the Pugwash Council notes with deep regret the progressive unraveling of the arms control regime, including the abandonment of the Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty by the US, the risk that the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty may be undone, and the freezing of Russian participation in the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty and the non-ratification of the adopted CFE Treaty by most NATO countries. All of these developments are interrelated, and reinforce the idea that political leadership for a nuclear weapons free world is sorely needed.

Conflict and instability in the Middle East, South Asia and Northeast Asia make the threats to security posed by nuclear weapons more acute. There have been encouraging signs that the DPRK is ready to relinquish its military nuclear capabilities and the Pugwash Council welcomes the agreement reached earlier this year over the DPRK nuclear program and hopes for its speedy and comprehensive implementation and early reentry into the NPT.

As it has throughout its 50 year history, Pugwash calls for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. The Pugwash Council welcomes activities by national governments, international organizations, and other non-governmental organizations to this end, and is ready to initiate, to participate in, and contribute to these important initiatives.

Drawing on analysis gathered during the past year in Pugwash workshops, the Council advocates the following intermediate steps toward the goal of eventual elimination of nuclear weapons:

1. The US and Russia should initially commit themselves to reduce their nuclear arsenals to hundreds, and not thousands, of nuclear weapons under verifiable agreements that radically extend and continue beyond the SORT and START-1 agreements.
2. The US and Russia should destroy or disassemble decommissioned warheads and delivery systems.
3. The US and Russia should declare their quantities of tactical nuclear warheads and negotiate a treaty to withdraw and destroy them.
4. The US and China should ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. All states should sign and ratify the CTBT.
5. The danger posed by the large stocks of fissile material must be urgently addressed by eliminating it as quickly as possible and by reinforcing its physical security pending elimination.
6. A Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty should be achieved as soon as possible.
7. All states with nuclear weapons should refrain from modernizing or renewing their nuclear forces and commit themselves to further reduce their nuclear arsenals. In this light, the Council deplores the recent UK decision to modernize its Trident submarine fleet and hopes this decision eventually will be reversed.
8. The US should withdraw its nuclear weapons deployed in Europe, and NATO should abandon its reliance on nuclear weapons in its forthcoming Strategic Concept. The Pugwash Council calls for an international agreement on norms that prevent the deployment of nuclear weapons outside national territories.
9. The nuclear powers should agree to proposals for establishing further nuclear weapons free zones, and fully respect existing zones.
10. The US should forgo strategic missile defenses and understand that attempts at developing strategic missile defenses are going to decrease, rather than increase, its security and also that of the entire world.
11. The international community should prevent the development and deployment of weapons in space, under the auspices of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, and develop further restraints and confidence-building measures.

In the five years since the last Pugwash Quinquennial Conference in La Jolla, California, USA the world has seen increasing military interventions and violence. The invasion in Iraq and the intervention in Afghanistan (which was originally mandate by the UN) have resulted in chaos, increased spread of terrorist activities and dramatic suffering for the populations. We have seen misguided and counterproductive attempts to increase security through military actions, instead of fostering dialogue, reconciliation and reconstruction. Dialogue and reconciliation are often not easy to achieve, but are essential elements for building a lasting peace. The Pugwash Council welcomes

efforts to apply these principles in Palestine and Israel, Iraq, and South and Northeast Asia, and expresses its hope that the upcoming conference on the Middle East conflict will initiate comprehensive and expeditious negotiations for a final settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

The Council urges the exclusive use of diplomatic negotiations over the nuclear program of the Islamic Republic of Iran, with a view toward reaching a peaceful, non-coercive political solution with the active cooperation with the IAEA. The Council recognizes that new demands for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy are arising and notes the inalienable right of all nations to have access to nuclear technology and nuclear materials for peaceful purposes, provided appropriate IAEA safeguards and confidence-building measures are in place. The Council calls for all nations to ultimately transparently and fairly internationalize the front-end and back-end of the nuclear fuel cycle, avoid the use of double standards, and fully render the IAEA's Additional Protocol as the new norm for nuclear safeguards.

The US-India deal sends mixed signals to the international community, as it seems to suggest that nuclear weapons states, non-members of the NPT, can after some time, as de facto nuclear states, enjoy the relevant privileges of NPT members. In this way the perception that there are "good and bad proliferators" is strengthened and the NPT is weakened.

The Pugwash Council welcomes ongoing discussions in the UN General Assembly on the Arms Trade Treaty, aimed at establishing common international standards for the import, export, and transfer of conventional arms.

Pugwash will continue to work on other issues at the intersection of science and society, including the challenges posed by poverty, pandemics, global climate change, environmental deterioration, resource scarcity, scientific illiteracy, and the need for renewable sources of energy.

On its fiftieth anniversary, Pugwash reaffirms its commitment to ensuring that science and technology are utilized for the benefit of humankind, and not its destruction. This is an inherent step toward creating a world free of nuclear weapons, and a world without war, as envisioned in the Russell-Einstein Manifesto.

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The Pugwash Council met in Bari at the 57<sup>th</sup> Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs. The conference explored "Prospects for Disarmament, Dialogue and Cooperation: Stability in the Mediterranean Region." The Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hon. Massimo D'Alema, gave a keynote address to the 138 participants from 39 countries.

UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon sent a letter of greeting to the conference (attached).

Regional political leaders addressed the meeting and helped the participants gain a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities facing the Mediterranean in this time of transition. They included: Hon. Nichi Vendola (Governor of the Puglia Region); Pietro Pepe (President, Puglia Regional Council); and Silvia Godelli (member of the Regional Committee in charge of the Mediterranean Area) The Pugwash Council notes with hope recent progress toward greater regional stability.

Sir Arthur C. Clarke, the renowned writer, sent a taped greeting. The conference included a wide array of plenary discussions on the following topics, many of which interplay with regional security issues: Nuclear Energy, Non-Proliferation Risks and Iran; The Status of Nuclear Arms Control;

Pakistan: Political Developments, Dialogue with India; the Arab-Israeli Conflict; Iraq and Reconstruction; and Kashmir. There was also a brief session on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Pugwash, the report of the Pugwash Secretary General Paolo Cotta Ramusino, the Dorothy Hodgkin Memorial Lecture, a dialogue between incoming Pugwash President Jayantha Dhanapala and Sverre Lodgaard, and a presidential address by outgoing Pugwash President M.S. Swaminathan (see [www.pugwash.org](http://www.pugwash.org) for more details about the conference).

*Pugwash is extremely grateful to the Puglia Region and USPID for their support of this conference.*

In recognition of the optimism, insight, and courage of the participants in the first Pugwash Conference, held in Pugwash, Nova Scotia 50 years ago in July 1957, the Pugwash Council calls on the governments and peoples of the world to draw inspiration from the words of the 1955 Russell-Einstein Manifesto and to “remember your humanity and forget the rest.”

Adopted by the Pugwash Council  
57<sup>th</sup> Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs  
27 October 2007, Bari, Italy

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

**THE SECRETARY-GENERAL**

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**MESSAGE TO THE 57<sup>th</sup> PUGWASH CONFERENCE**  
**Bari, 21 October 2007**

I am pleased to convey my greetings to the 57<sup>th</sup> Pugwash Conference. I congratulate your departing President, Dr. M. S. Swaminathan, on his valuable contributions, and Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala, former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, who will soon assume the presidency.

Over the years, Pugwash conferences have promoted constructive dialogue on sensitive matters of international security. They have involved influential scientists and public leaders from throughout the world, even from countries that do not necessarily enjoy friendly relations with each other.

This year marks the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs. It is thus fitting for you to reflect on Pugwash's contribution to the cause of world peace, and to the challenges ahead. It is also an opportunity for all of us to reflect on the importance of disarmament, dialogue and cooperation in creating a more secure world.

In 1946, the very first resolution of the United Nations General Assembly called for the elimination of all major weapons "adaptable to mass destruction." Since then, the United Nations, together with crucial civil society partners like Pugwash, has been working towards the objective of ridding our world of all weapons of mass destruction.

We have much in common. We share a global approach to promoting disarmament and non-proliferation issues. We pursue similar aims of dialogue, peace, and security. Both our institutions have received the Nobel Peace Prize for efforts in these areas.

Yet there is no room for complacency. Developments in science and technology are raising hopes that new innovations could contribute to improving the quality of life of people throughout the world. But at the same time, developments in various fields of weaponry remind us of the potential devastation from the use of weapons of mass destruction, and the very real threat they pose to all of humanity. Many such weapons remain, amid persisting risks that they may be acquired by additional states or non-state actors. Disarmament must remain at the top of our agenda.

I hope that at this gathering, you will be able to identify specific contributions that the international community and the United Nations can make towards advancing the goal of eliminating the world's most deadly and indiscriminate weapons. In that spirit, please accept my best wishes for a successful conference.