

Canada's Role in Nuclear Disarmament in a Multi-Polar World

Report to the Government of Canada
on Special Roundtable



"Nuclear Bubble"

László Moholy-Nagy, Nuclear II, 1946,
oil on canvas, 49 ¾ x 49 ¾ in.
Milwaukee Art Museum

October 23, 2023

For the first time, the four leading organizations in Canada devoted to nuclear disarmament issues — **Canadian Pugwash Group, Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention** and **Project Ploughshares** — co-sponsored a single event on October 19, 2023. This extraordinary Roundtable, “Revitalizing Nuclear Disarmament After the Ukraine War,” was convened at a moment of extreme danger to the world. This is the Roundtable report to the Government of Canada.

The global nuclear arms control and disarmament machinery is in a deep crisis. This crisis far predates the Ukraine war and must be understood in the broader context of the breakdown and abandonment of nuclear weapons treaties alongside the advent of new destabilizing weapons technologies and modernization of existing nuclear arsenals. Russia's threat to use nuclear weapons in the Ukraine war has exacerbated the existential risk of nuclear conflict.

Due to a lack of sustained leadership on human security issues, blind allegiance to allies, and structural underfunding of arms control work, Canada has lost credibility, capacity and trust. There is an urgent need for Canada to restore its place as a leading middle power with powerful ideas. Chief among these is that international law must be followed at all times. This applies not only in the resolution of the Russia-Ukraine war and the Israel-Gaza conflict but especially in the outlawing of weapons of mass destruction.

The ongoing Ukraine war and the violent hostilities in the Middle East ought not to be used as excuses for the failure to advance a workable plan for comprehensive negotiations for the elimination of nuclear weapons, but rather as catalysts to accelerate progress on this urgent objective. During the Cold War, states were able to "compartmentalize" their work for nuclear disarmament in the midst of the exigencies of the East-West divide. Now, in the new multi-polar world, which is fraught with confrontation, states must return to the use of trust-building communication to advance mutual security interests. The goals of nuclear disarmament have been undermined in these perilous times; thus we must re-energize the nuclear disarmament process by repeatedly emphasizing the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons.

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) was built on the base of the threat to humanity and ought not to be scorned by the nuclear weapons states and the NATO leadership. Even if Canada is not prepared, at this juncture, to sign the TPNW, it should at least show its concern for the protection of humanity by attending as an Observer the second meeting of the states parties to the TPNW Nov. 27-Dec. 1, 2023. We encourage Canada to join those other countries that want to play a bridging role between the nuclear and non-nuclear weapons states. Canada must stand up against the intimidation tactics of those who still falsely claim that nuclear weapons are the "supreme guarantee" of security.

Canada must join the overwhelming call by the international community for urgent progress towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons as the only way to avoid a future catastrophe. With such a determination, Canada could help strengthen the Non-Proliferation Treaty and thus help prevent horizontal proliferation that is an absolute precondition for human security. Full adherence to the NPT's disarmament measures prepares the way for the needed common security architecture in the world.

We congratulate Canada for currently pursuing a dialogue within NATO on reducing nuclear risks; but the government should go further and advocate, within the processes of the NPT, the replacement of nuclear deterrence with a common security program.

In a multi-polar world, common security is the only way to peace — and survival. Canada must re-focus its vision away from reliance on nuclear deterrence and amplify the declaration issued by the G20 that any threat or use of nuclear weapons is “inadmissible.”

Urgent steps toward this end would include:

1. A government call for the immediate resumption of bilateral talks between Russia and the U.S. to conclude a follow-up agreement to the New START prior to its expiration in 2026.
2. Promotion of No-First-Use policies to reduce the saliency of nuclear weapons in national security policies.
3. Advocating de-alerting of nuclear weapons to insert a firebreak for nuclear use.

Finally, the Special Roundtable appeals to the government to lead in lifting the level of parliamentary debate and public discourse to a higher level in recognizing the demands for common survival in the new multi-polar world. Canada must pierce the darkness around us with a new diplomatic light.

Le Rôle du Canada dans le Désarmement Nucléaire au sein d'un Monde Multipolaire

Rapport au Gouvernement du Canada sur la Table Ronde Spéciale

Pour la première fois, quatre organisations canadiennes de premier plan se penchant sur les questions de désarmement nucléaire, le Groupe canadien Pugwash, le Réseau Canadien pour l'Abolition des Armes Nucléaires, le Rassemblement canadien pour une convention sur les armes nucléaires et le projet Ploughshares, ont co-parrainé un même événement organisé le 19 octobre 2023. Cette extraordinaire table ronde, intitulée « Revitaliser le désarmement nucléaire après la guerre en Ukraine » (Revitalizing Nuclear Disarmament After the Ukraine War), fut convoquée à un moment de grand danger pour le monde. Voici le rapport de la Table Ronde au Gouvernement du Canada.

Le processus de contrôle des armes nucléaires et de désarmement mondial connaît une crise profonde. Bien antérieure à la guerre en Ukraine, celle-ci doit être considérée dans le contexte plus large de l'effondrement et de l'abandon des traités sur les armes nucléaires, de concert avec l'avènement de nouvelles technologies d'armement déstabilisantes et la modernisation des arsenaux nucléaires existants. En menaçant d'utiliser des armes nucléaires dans le cadre de la guerre en Ukraine, la Russie a aggravé le risque existentiel d'un conflit nucléaire.

Faute d'un leadership soutenu sur les questions de sécurité humaine, d'une allégeance aveugle aux alliés et d'un sous-financement structurel des actions de contrôle des armements, la crédibilité, la capacité et la confiance du Canada se sont érodées. Il est donc urgent que le Canada regagne sa place en tant que puissance intermédiaire de premier plan, porteuse d'idées puissantes. Parmi ces idées, la plus importante est le respect systématique du droit international. Cela vaut non seulement pour la résolution de la guerre entre la Russie et l'Ukraine et du conflit entre Israël et Gaza, mais également pour l'interdiction des armes de destruction massive.

Le conflit actuel en Ukraine et les violentes hostilités au Moyen-Orient ne devraient pas être invoqués pour justifier l'absence d'un plan viable de négociations complètes visant à l'élimination des armes nucléaires, mais plutôt comme des catalyseurs susceptibles d'accélérer les progrès vers la réalisation de cet objectif urgent. Au cours de la guerre froide, les États ont pu « cloisonner » leur travail en faveur du désarmement nucléaire en dépit des exigences du clivage Est-Ouest. À présent, dans le nouveau monde multipolaire, où la confrontation est omniprésente, les états doivent rétablir la communication pour accroître la confiance en vue de promouvoir les intérêts mutuels en matière de sécurité. En ces temps périlleux, les efforts de désarmement nucléaire ont été sapés ; il faut donc relancer le processus de désarmement nucléaire en soulignant sans cesse les graves conséquences humanitaires de tout recours aux armes nucléaires.

Le Traité sur l'Interdiction des Armes Nucléaires (TIAN) a été élaboré en tenant compte de la menace qui pèse sur l'humanité et ne doit pas être dédaignée par les états détenteurs

d'armes nucléaires ni par les dirigeants de l'OTAN. Bien que le Canada ne soit pas prêt, à ce stade, à signer la TIAN, celui-ci pourrait au moins manifester son inquiétude pour la protection de l'humanité en prenant part, en tant qu'observateur, à la deuxième réunion des états parties à la TIAN, qui se déroulera entre le 27 novembre et le 1er décembre 2023. Nous encourageons le Canada à rejoindre les autres pays souhaitant jouer un rôle d'intermédiaire entre les états détenteurs d'armes nucléaires et les états non-détenteurs d'armes nucléaires. Le Canada doit se dresser contre les tactiques d'intimidation de ceux qui persistent à affirmer à tort que les armes nucléaires sont la « garantie suprême » de la sécurité.

Le Canada devrait se joindre à l'appel pressant de la communauté internationale en faveur d'un progrès urgent sur la voie de l'élimination totale des armes nucléaires, seul moyen d'éviter une catastrophe à l'avenir. Fort de cette détermination, le Canada pourrait contribuer à renforcer le Traité de Non-Prolifération (TNP) et, partant, à prévenir la prolifération horizontale, condition sine qua non de la sécurité humaine. La pleine adhésion aux mesures de désarmement du TNP prépare la voie à la mise en place de l'architecture de sécurité mondiale commune dont nous avons besoin.

Nous félicitons le Canada qui poursuit actuellement un dialogue au sein de l'OTAN visant à réduire les risques nucléaires, cependant le gouvernement devrait aller plus loin et précociser, conformément aux processus du TNP, le remplacement de la dissuasion nucléaire par un programme de sécurité commun.

Dans un monde multipolaire, seule la sécurité commune permet d'assurer la paix et la survie. Pour ce faire, le Canada doit réorienter sa vision en s'éloignant de la dissuasion nucléaire et en renforçant la déclaration du G20 selon laquelle la menace ou l'utilisation d'armes nucléaires est « inadmissible ».

Les mesures urgentes à prendre à cette fin sont les suivantes :

1. Un appel du gouvernement à la reprise immédiate des discussions bilatérales entre la Russie et les États-Unis pour conclure un accord de suivi du New START avant son expiration en 2026.
2. La promotion de politiques de Non-Recours en Premier afin de diminuer le poids des armes nucléaires dans les politiques de sécurité nationale.
3. Prôner la levée de l'état d'alerte des armes nucléaires pour créer un coupe-feu à l'utilisation de l'arme nucléaire.

Enfin, la Table Ronde Spéciale appelle le gouvernement à relever le niveau du débat parlementaire et du discours public en reconnaissant les exigences de survie commune dans ce nouveau monde multipolaire. Le Canada doit percer l'obscurité qui l'entoure avec une nouvelle lumière diplomatique.

Appendix I: Roundtable Speakers and Participants

Speakers



Robin Collins has been active in several civil society organizations since the early 1990s — working mostly on disarmament issues related to nuclear weapons, anti-personnel mines, and cluster munitions.

Currently he is Co-Chair of the Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons and Secretary of Canadian Pugwash Group. He is a board member of Rideau Institute and World Federalist Movement — Canada.

He has published short commentaries about UN reform, peacekeeping, common security, disarmament and a variety of global governance ideas. He has been writing book reviews for *The Canadian Field-Naturalist*.

Robin worked in technology companies for 40 years and recently retired. He has a BA in political science from Carleton University.



Cesar Jaramillo is executive director at Project Ploughshares and Chair of the Canadian Pugwash Group. His focus areas include nuclear disarmament, the protection of civilians in armed conflict, emerging military technologies and conventional weapons controls.

As an international civil society representative Cesar has addressed, among others, the UN General Assembly First Committee, the Conference on Disarmament, the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, as well as states parties to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to the Arms Trade Treaty.

In 2022 Cesar participated in the 10th Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a member of the official Canadian government delegation.

He has given guest lectures and presentations at academic institutions such as New York University, the National Law University in New Delhi, the China University of

Political Science and Law in Beijing, and the University of Toronto.

Cesar graduated from the University of Waterloo with an MA in global governance and has bachelor's degrees in honours political science and in journalism. Prior to joining Project Ploughshares, he held a fellowship at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI).



Sylvie Lemieux is a retired Lieutenant-Colonel Army Engineer and a retired executive from the Public Service of Canada. She has served across Canada and has participated in a UN humanitarian mission in Pakistan as a teacher for mine awareness to support Afghans' repatriation. Upon her retirement, she completed a master in Globalization and International Development at the University of Ottawa and a doctorate in Conflict Studies at Saint-Paul University. Her thesis was centred on the process of global treaties through the lenses of the Ottawa Treaty.

Sylvie has represented the Green Party of Canada in 2008 and 2011 as the candidate for Glengarry-Prescott-Russell.

She enjoyed participating in World Social Forums (Tunisia 2013 and Sarajevo–Peace in 2014 and Montreal in 2016) and other civic public spheres (Canadian People Forum in 2014 and COP21 in 2015).

While she remains a strong environmentalist, her activism efforts are now focused on peace and the abolition of Nuclear Weapons. She is co-chair for CNANW, a board member of G78, CPRA and IPB, and a member of Pugwash.



Paul Meyer is Fellow in International Security and Adjunct Professor of International Studies at Simon Fraser University. He is a founding Fellow of the Outer Space Institute, a senior advisor to ICT4Peace and a Director of the Canadian Pugwash Group. Prior to assuming his current positions in 2011, Mr. Meyer had a 35-year career with the Canadian Foreign Service, including serving as Canada's Ambassador to the United Nations and to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva (2003-2007). He teaches a course on diplomacy at SFU's School for International Studies and writes on issues of Canadian diplomacy, nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, outer space security and international cyber security.



Peggy Mason has been the President of the Rideau Institute on International Affairs since June 2014. Under her leadership, this independent think tank (which does not accept funding from government or industry) seeks – through policy research, advocacy, and public engagement - to revitalize Canada's peacekeeping, diplomatic peacemaking, arms control and disarmament, and peacebuilding roles in the world, through inclusive multilateralism, strengthening the UN capacity for conflict prevention, and peaceful conflict resolution and the progressive enhancement of international law.

An inaugural member of the University of Ottawa Common Law Honour Society (2003), Mason's distinguished career highlights diplomatic and specialist expertise in the field of international security, with a particular emphasis on the United Nations, where she served as Canada's Ambassador for Disarmament from 1989 to 1995. She has led Canadian delegations to NPT and BWC Review Conferences, chaired UN expert groups on arms control verification and small arms regulation, and served for two terms on the UN Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament. In 2016 she received an achievement award from Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention for her commitment to a nuclear-weapons-free world.

As a regular mentor, trainer and exercise developer (1995 -2014), Mason brought the UN political/diplomatic perspective to a range of UN, NATO and EU military training exercises to help prepare military commanders and their senior staff for complex, multidisciplinary peace and crisis stabilization operations, including ISAF deployments to Afghanistan.

Peggy Mason is proud to be a longstanding and active member of several Canadian non-governmental organizations focusing on peace and security including the Group of 78 (past Chair), Canadian Pugwash Group (past Vice-Chair) and the Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (Advisory Board member).



John Charles Polanyi, educated at Manchester University, England, was a post-doctoral fellow at Princeton University, U.S.A. and the National Research Council, Canada. He is emeritus faculty member in the Department of Chemistry at the University of Toronto. His research is on the molecular motions in chemical reactions in gases and at surfaces. He is a Fellow of the Royal Societies of Canada (F.R.S.C.), of London (F.R.S.), and of Edinburgh (F.R.S.E.), also of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the Pontifical Academy of Rome and the Russian Academy of Sciences. He is a member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada (P.C.), and a Companion of the Order of Canada (C.C.). His awards include the 1986 Nobel Prize in Chemistry, the Royal Medal of the Royal Society of London, over thirty honorary degrees from six countries.

He has served on the Prime Minister of Canada's Advisory Board on Science and Technology, the Premier's Council of Ontario, as Foreign Honorary Advisor to the Institute for Molecular Sciences, Japan, and as Honorary Advisor to the Max Planck Institute for Quantum Optics, Germany.

He was a founding member of both the Committee on Scholarly Freedom of the Royal Society, and a further

international human rights organization, the Canadian Committee for Scientists and Scholars. Additionally he was the founding Chairman of the Canadian Pugwash Group in 1960, and has been active for 40 years in International Pugwash. He has written extensively on science policy, the control of armaments, and peace-keeping. He is co-editor of a book, *The Dangers of Nuclear War*, and was a participant in the 'Canada 21' study of a 21st-century defence posture for Canada. He was co-chair (with Sir Brian Urquhart) of the Department of Foreign Affairs International Consultative Committee on a Rapid Response Capability for the United Nations. In 2022 he was awarded the Andrei Sakharov Prize of the American Physical Society for 'outstanding leadership.. in upholding human rights, and a visionary approach to a peaceful future'.



Tariq Rauf is a Vienna-based expert and consultant on nuclear governance matters. He has served as Head of Verification and Security Policy Coordination, Office reporting to the Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); Alternate Head of the IAEA Delegation to NPT Conferences and PrepComs; IAEA Liaison and Point-of-Contact for the Trilateral Initiative, the Plutonium Management and Disposition Agreement, the Fissile Material Control Treaty, the Nuclear Suppliers Group, UNSCR 1540 Committee and (UN) Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force; Coordinator of IAEA Multilateral Approaches to the Nuclear Fuel Cycle, and IAEA Forum on Experience of Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones Relevant for the Middle East.

Also, former:

- Member, Group of Eminent Persons for Substantive Advancement of Nuclear Disarmament established by the Foreign Minister of Japan.
- Consulting Advisor for policy and outreach to the Executive Secretary, Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO).
- Director, Disarmament and Arms Control, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
- Member of Canada's NPT Delegation.
- Advisor, Foreign Affairs and National Defence Committees, Parliament of Canada,
- Director, International Organizations and Nonproliferation Programme, Centre for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute for International Studies.
- Senior Research Associate, Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament.

Education: University of the Panjab (Pakistan); University of London: London School of Economics & Political Science (LSE) and King's College; Carleton University and the University of Toronto in Canada where he was the Ford Foundation Fellow in Dual Expertise: International Security/Arms Control and Soviet-East European Studies.



Douglas Roche O.C. was a Senator, Member of Parliament, Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament, and Visiting Professor at the University of Alberta. He was elected Chairman of the United Nations Disarmament Committee at the 43rd General Assembly in 1988.

The author of 25 books. His latest is *Keep Hope Alive: Essays for a War-Free World* (2023). Mr. Roche holds nine honorary doctorates from Canadian and American universities and has received numerous awards for his work for peace and non-violence, including the Mahatma Gandhi Foundation for World Peace Award (Canada) and the United Nations Association's Medal of Honour. In 1995, Pope John Paul II presented him with the Papal Medal for his service as Special Adviser on disarmament and security matters, and in 1998 the Holy See named him a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great. He received the 2003 Peace

Award of the Canadian Islamic Congress and the 2005 Luminosa Award for Unity from the Focolare Movement, North America. In 2005, he was given Lifetime Achievement awards from both the Canadian Pugwash Group and the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation. In 2009, he received the Distinguished Service Award of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians for his "promotion of human welfare, human rights and parliamentary democracy in Canada and abroad."

In 2018, he was recognized by the International Peace Bureau as one of three recipients of the Seán MacBride Peace Prize. He is an Officer of the Order of Canada.

Roundtable Participants

Dr. Adele Buckley, Steering Committee, Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention Steering Committee; Member, Pugwash Council; Past Chairperson and Board of Directors (Emerita), Canadian Pugwash Group.

Robin Collins, Co-Chairperson, Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons

Bev Tollefson Delong, Member, Canadian Pugwash Board; member, Steering Committees of Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons and Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

Prof. Walter Dorn, Defence Studies, Royal Military College & Canadian Forces College; Member Board, Canadian Pugwash Group.

Dr. John Guilfoyle, President, IPPNW-Canada.

Cesar Jaramillo - Chairperson, Canadian Pugwash Group; Executive Director, Project Ploughshares.

Dr. Arnd Jurgensen, Sessional Lecturer, Dept. of Political Science, University of Toronto; Steering Committee, Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons

Firdaus Kharas, Steering Committee, Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention Steering Committee

Dr. Sylvie Lemieux, CD, Co-Chairperson, Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons; Member, Board, Group of 78.

Paul Maillet, Colonel retired, Paul Maillet Center for Ethics and Peace Services.

Peggy Mason, former Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament; President, The Rideau Institute.

Paul Meyer - former Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament; Adjunct Professor of International Studies and Fellow in International Security, Simon Fraser University; Past Chairperson, Canadian Pugwash Group.

Alex Neve, O.C., Chairperson (incoming), Steering Committee, Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention. Senior Fellow & Adjunct Professor, GSPIA & Law Schools, University of Ottawa & Dalhousie University.

Prof. John Polanyi, C.C., University Professor Emeritus, University of Toronto; Nobel Laureate in Chemistry; Member, Canadian Pugwash Group.

Tariq Rauf - member, Canadian Pugwash Group Board. independent arms control expert; former Head of Verification and Security Policy, Office reporting to the Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Douglas Roche, O.C. - former Canadian M.P., Ambassador for Disarmament and Senator; Steering Committee, Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

Prof. Erika Simpson, Department of Political Science, The University of Western Ontario; President, Canadian Peace Research Association; Steering Committee, Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons.

Earl Turcotte, Past Chairperson, Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons; former Canadian diplomat.

Appendix II: Sponsoring Groups

Canadian Pugwash Group is the Canadian affiliate of Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize recipient, and seeks a world free of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons is a collaboration of 17 Canadian groups.

Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention is a civil society initiative working for nuclear disarmament and is supported by over 1000 recipients of the Order of Canada.

Project Ploughshares is a Canadian peace research institute with a focus on disarmament efforts and international security.



**CANADIAN NETWORK TO
ABOLISH NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

**Le Réseau canadien pour
l'abolition des armes nucléaires**

**Canadians for a
Nuclear Weapons Convention**



**Rassemblement canadien pour
une convention sur les armes nucléaires**



Ploughshares