

# Toward a World without Nuclear Weapons

“Reliance on nuclear weapons . . . is becoming increasingly hazardous and decreasingly effective.”

George P. Shultz  
William J. Perry  
Henry A. Kissinger  
Sam Nunn

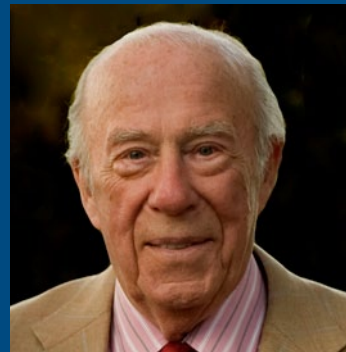
**Vision**



**Momentum**



**Steps**



**Change**



*The Vision and Steps for a Safer World*

**The Nuclear Security  
Project (NSP) seeks to  
galvanize global action  
to reduce urgent nuclear  
dangers and build support  
for reducing reliance  
on nuclear weapons,  
ultimately ending them as  
a threat to the world.**



*The Vision and Steps for a Safer World*

# A New Vision for a Changing World

## THE NUCLEAR SECURITY PROJECT

**T**he Cold War is now decades behind us, yet nuclear weapons today present a growing threat—with terrorist organizations seeking the ultimate weapons of mass devastation and the list of states with nuclear weapons expanding.

Amid rising global concern about the dramatic threat posed by nuclear weapons and materials, four senior U.S. statesmen have joined forces to make a difference. They form a powerful, nonpartisan alliance of former Cold Warriors: two Republicans and two Democrats with deep national security credentials who have come together in a new era to work toward the goal of a world without nuclear weapons.

Former Secretary of State George P. Shultz, former Defense Secretary William J. Perry, former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and former Senator Sam Nunn laid out their vision and the practical, urgent steps to get there in a groundbreaking series of co-authored *Wall Street Journal* op-eds published since 2007.

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# The Impact Is Clear

“The op-ed article in the *Wall Street Journal* caught the nuclear world by surprise. Not for the argument it made but for who was making it... a remarkable quartet of political figures.”

— *Los Angeles Times*,  
January 15,  
2012

Since the first op-ed was published:

- In 2008, both candidates for U.S. President—Senators John McCain and Barack Obama—endorsed President Ronald Reagan’s vision of a world without nuclear weapons.
  - President Barack Obama declared that efforts toward “the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons” would be official U.S. policy.
  - Former U.S. President George H.W. Bush wrote in correspondence made public in a 2012 book about the work of the four statesmen, “I would love to see ‘a world free of nuclear weapons;’
- and the steps you outline seem most reasonable to me.”
- In September 2009, the United Nations Security Council approved a resolution endorsing the vision of a world without nuclear weapons and called for implementation of many of the steps outlined by the four American statesmen.
  - Similar sets of former officials from 13 countries have joined together across party lines—including in Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and South Korea—to support the initiative and spur actions by their own governments toward the goal.



The four leaders meeting with President Obama in the Oval Office, May 2009

# About the Nuclear Security Project

“Until the *Wall Street Journal* article, even the thought of ridding the world of nuclear weapons seemed like a pie-in-the-sky idea. And while none of the influential four believes it will happen anytime in the near future, they have made it at least a possibility one day for their children or grandchildren.”

— Carnegie Results, Summer 2011

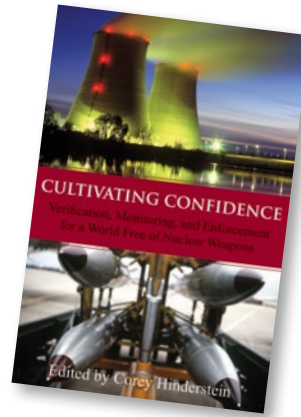
The Nuclear Security Project (NSP) coordinates the efforts of the four NSP principals—George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger and Sam Nunn—and works with partners and networks around the world, focusing on two goals:

- Addressing the tough technical and policy issues involved in taking concrete steps toward building a world without nuclear weapons.
- Generating global momentum to build broad international support for the vision and steps to reduce the risks posed by nuclear weapons—among governments, political leaders and the public.

Recognizing that progress requires international consensus and action, the NSP is designed to motivate governments to rethink policies, change direction and act on the steps that will reduce the risk of a nuclear weapon being used anywhere on the globe.

To achieve these goals, NSP activities have included high-level conferences; studies that reach government decision-makers and experts; speaking engagements by the four principals; and the production of a major documentary about the principals, their vision and the steps.

The Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), a non-partisan, non-profit organization co-chaired by Sam Nunn, serves as coordinator of the NSP, in cooperation with Stanford University’s Hoover Institution.



“Last month, Nunn wrote an op-ed article in *The Wall Street Journal* with former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and George Shultz and former Secretary of Defense William Perry that sent waves through the foreign-policy establishment.”

— *The New York Times Magazine*, February 25, 2007

“ These four gentlemen... are hard-headed, tough defenders of American interests and American security.... What they have come together to help galvanize is a recognition that we do not want a world of continued nuclear proliferation.”

— President Obama, 2009

## Answering the Tough Questions

How is a “nuclear weapons-free” world verified? What kind of monitoring and enforcement would be necessary? How can the world be confident that civil nuclear materials remain in peaceful use?

The Project recruits practitioners and experts in the field to develop the technical and policy answers to challenging questions, like these, that must be rigorously assessed in any practical discussion of a world without nuclear weapons.

At Stanford’s Hoover Institution in October 2007, the NSP principals held a conference to build on the ideas introduced in the first op-ed. The four have since presided over high-level gatherings in Oslo, Berlin, Rome, Munich and London as well as additional meetings at Stanford to consider the complex political and technical issues related to the vision and steps.

To inform and broaden those discussions, the NSP commissions research and analysis to address technical issues and questions. Example of topics and analysis include:

- **VERIFICATION**

*Cultivating Confidence: Verification, Monitoring, and Enforcement in a World Free of Nuclear Weapons*, edited by Corey Hinderstein, Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI)



- **STABILITY AT LOWER NUMBERS**

*Small Nuclear Forces: Five Perspectives*, by Malcolm Chalmers, Andrew Somerville and Andrea Berger, Royal United Services Institute (RUSI)

- **DETERRENCE**

*Disarming Doubt: The Future of Extended Nuclear Deterrence in East Asia*, by Rory Medcalf and Fiona Cunningham, Lowy Institute for International Policy

- **NUCLEAR POLICY AND DOCTRINE**

*Contemporary Nuclear Doctrines*, by Alexi Arbatov, Vladimir Dvorkin and Sergey Oznobishchev, Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO)

*Reducing Nuclear Risks in Europe: A Framework for Action*, edited by Steve Andreasen and Isabelle Williams, Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI)

## Educating the Public

The Project produced *Nuclear Tipping Point*, a documentary film narrated by actor Michael Douglas, introduced by former U.S. Secretary of State General Colin Powell, and featuring interviews with the principals and other leaders, among them former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

After a premiere at Universal Studios in Los Angeles, the film was broadcast and screened around the world, including at the White House



President Ronald Reagan during negotiations in Reykjavik with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, 1986



Former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Italian Foreign Minister Franco Frattini, Shultz and Nunn at the Overcoming Nuclear Dangers conference, Rome 2009

“ We both believed that a world of the future could prosper only if it’s a world without nuclear weapons.”

— Former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on disarmament talks with Ronald Reagan in *Nuclear Tipping Point*

“ It is important at this time in our international history that we all come together behind this initiative...”

— Former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell in *Nuclear Tipping Point*

shortly before the 2010 Nuclear Security Summit in Washington, DC. From Israel to India, Argentina to Moscow, people have watched the film and discussed the questions it raises.



Former Secretary of State Colin Powell, *Nuclear Tipping Point*

The film is available for free at [www.NuclearTippingPoint.org](http://www.NuclearTippingPoint.org) in 35-minute and 55-minute versions. The DVD includes subtitles in Chinese, Japanese, Russian, French, German and Spanish and captions in English for the hearing impaired. The Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE) prepared a guide for high school teachers, which can be used with the film. Free to download, it is available at [spice.stanford.edu](http://spice.stanford.edu).

The activities of the four statesmen—along with physicist Sidney Drell—are chronicled in *The Partnership: Five Cold Warriors and Their Quest to Ban the Bomb* (HarperCollins, January 2012) by Philip Taubman. *The New York Times* called the book “fascinating and haunting.”



White House screening of *Nuclear Tipping Point*, April 2010

“ I would love to see a ‘world free of nuclear weapons;’ and the steps you outline seem most reasonable to me.”

— George H.W. Bush, in a letter to George P. Shultz, from *The Partnership*



# Steps to a Safer World

“ Without the bold vision, the actions will not be perceived as fair or urgent. Without the actions, the vision will not be perceived as realistic or possible. ”

— George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger and Sam Nunn, *The Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 2007

The Nuclear Security Project does more than just call for a world without nuclear weapons, it tackles the challenging process for getting there. In their *Wall Street Journal* op-eds, the four principals outlined the urgent and practical steps:

1. Work with leaders of countries with nuclear weapons to turn the goal of a world without nuclear weapons into a joint enterprise.
2. Discard Cold War posture of deployed nuclear weapons for U.S. and Russian forces to reduce the danger of accidental, mistaken or unauthorized launch.
3. Substantially reduce nuclear forces in all countries that possess them.
4. Eliminate short-range battlefield nuclear weapons designed to be forward deployed.
5. Adopt a process to bring the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty into effect.
6. Secure all nuclear weapons and materials globally to the highest possible standards.
7. Develop a new international system to manage the risks associated with producing fuel for nuclear power.
8. Halt the production globally of plutonium and highly enriched uranium for weapons purposes; phase out the use of HEU in civil commerce and remove weapons-usable uranium from research facilities around the world and render it safe.
9. Redouble efforts to resolve regional conflicts that give rise to new nuclear powers.
10. Strengthen verification and enforcement capabilities.



Margaret Beckett, former British Foreign Secretary



Los Angeles Premiere of *Nuclear Tipping Point*, Universal Studios, 2010

**SEPTEMBER**

U.S. President John F. Kennedy tells the UN General Assembly, "The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us."

1961

**JANUARY**

U.S. President Ronald Reagan tells the nation, "My dream is to see the day when nuclear weapons will be banished from the face of the earth."

1984

**JANUARY**

*The Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) publishes first op-ed, "A World Free of Nuclear Weapons," outlining the vision and steps.

**JANUARY**

Mikhail Gorbachev supports the call for urgent action in a WSJ op-ed.

**JUNE**

UK Foreign Secretary Margaret Beckett announces UK government's broad support for the "vision and steps agenda."

**OCTOBER**

Presidential candidate Barack Obama says that if he is elected, U.S. policy will be to seek a world without nuclear weapons.

2007

**JANUARY**

Second WSJ op-ed highlights widespread U.S. and international support.

**FEBRUARY**

Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov states that NSP ideas "are in line with Russia's initiatives."

**MAY**

Presidential candidate John McCain endorses the vision of a world without nuclear weapons, quoting Ronald Reagan.

**DECEMBER**

Global Zero, an international grassroots movement for the elimination of nuclear weapons, launches.

2008



Senator John McCain, 2008 presidential debate

**JANUARY**

Third WSJ op-ed from the four focuses on maintaining the safety, security and reliability of the U.S. nuclear deterrent.

**JANUARY**

*Nuclear Tipping Point* premieres in Los Angeles, with screenings in Chicago and Washington, DC, to follow.

**APRIL**

More than 40 world leaders gather in Washington, DC, for the first Nuclear Security Summit.

**APRIL**

*Nuclear Tipping Point* screened at the White House with four NSP principals.

**DECEMBER**

New START is ratified by the U.S. Senate.

**DECEMBER**

IAEA member states vote for an international nuclear fuel bank, consistent with the steps.



Joan Rohlfing, Nuclear Security Summit, Seoul, 2012

**JANUARY**

*The Partnership: Five Cold Warriors and Their Quest to Ban the Bomb* by Philip Taubman (HarperCollins) is released.

**MARCH**

More than 50 world leaders convene for a second Nuclear Security Summit in Seoul, South Korea.

**MAY**

European Leadership Network (ELN) releases statement by 47 members calling on NATO to take steps to reduce nuclear risks.

**SEPTEMBER**

Asia Pacific Leadership Network (APLN) issues statement from 25 leaders urging a renewed global focus on non-proliferation and disarmament.

**FEBRUARY**

The New START Treaty enters into force, reducing by 2018 the number of deployed strategic weapons to 1,550 in the U.S. and Russia.

**MARCH**

Fourth WSJ op-ed from the four NSP principals focuses on deterrence in the age of nuclear proliferation.

**MAY**

*Nuclear Tipping Point* screened in the UK Parliament.

**May**

Four NSP principals and global experts attend London conference, *Deterrence: Its Past and Future*.

**APRIL**

In Prague, President Obama establishes vision of a world without nuclear weapons as U.S. policy.

**MAY**

Four NSP principals meet with President Obama in the Oval Office.

**SEPTEMBER**

Four NSP principals meet with directors of U.S. Department of Energy nuclear weapons labs.

**SEPTEMBER**

UN Security Council passes a resolution mirroring the NSP's vision of a world without nuclear weapons and the steps to get there.

2009

2010

2011

2012

# Building Global Momentum

“ We believe that now is the right time to act and carry the momentum of nonproliferation and disarmament forward. ”

— Op-ed in Korea JoongAng Daily, 2010

The interest, momentum and growing political space to address these issues since the January 2007 op-ed has been extraordinary. Government and opinion leaders worldwide have expressed support. More than half of the living former U.S. Secretaries of State, Secretaries of Defense and National Security Advisors have endorsed the initiative.

One of the most encouraging responses to the op-ed series has been a wave of like-minded opinion editorials from high-level, former officials around the world. To date, sets of former officials from 13 countries have joined together across party lines to publicly endorse the vision and steps agenda.

## Creating Political Space for Change

The Project has helped develop networks of leaders to create the political space for dialogue, education and action on the vision and steps toward a world without nuclear weapons. Nearly 200 senior political, military, diplomatic and scientific leaders from across Europe, Asia-Pacific and Latin America have joined the newly formed networks, and they have engaged wide-ranging audiences in an ongoing discussion about today's nuclear threats and increased public awareness and understanding of the consequences of inaction.

### ASIA PACIFIC LEADERSHIP NETWORK:

The Asia Pacific Leadership Network (APLN) includes more than 30 former senior political, diplomatic and military leaders from 13 countries. The group includes five former prime ministers and 10 former foreign and defense ministers and representation from nuclear-armed states China, India and Pakistan.

**EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP NETWORK:** The European Leadership Network (ELN) is made up of more than 60 former senior European political, military and diplomatic leaders who have come together to express concern over the world's growing nuclear dangers and work to have those dangers addressed on a multilateral basis.

**UK TOP LEVEL GROUP:** The Top Level Group (TLG) is composed of 20 senior UK parliamentarians from all three major political parties who advocate multilateral nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. The group consists of nearly all the former senior ministers of foreign affairs and defense over the last two decades



The four leaders attend the United Nations Security Council Summit on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Nuclear Disarmament, September 2009

and includes former chiefs of the defense staff who served during the same period.

#### **LATIN AMERICAN LEADERSHIP NETWORK:**

The Latin American Leadership Network (LANL), in development, will gather former ministers, politicians and diplomats from across Mexico, Central America, South America and the Caribbean to work to improve public understanding, shape public opinion and influence political decision-making and diplomatic activity on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament issues.

#### **Taking Action**

To learn more about the networks affiliated with the NSP, and to read statements, analytic papers and updates on their work, visit:

- Asia Pacific Leadership Network:  
[www.a-pln.org](http://www.a-pln.org)
- European Leadership Network:  
[www.EuropeanLeadershipNetwork.org](http://www.EuropeanLeadershipNetwork.org)
- UK Top Level Group:  
[www.TopLevelGroup.org](http://www.TopLevelGroup.org)



Participants at London conference, *Deterrence: Its Past and Future*, May 2011

# Broad Global Support

“ The need for such vision and action is all too apparent. ”

— Margaret Beckett, former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, United Kingdom, Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference, June 25, 2007

In the United States, former Secretaries of State and Defense and former White House National Security Advisors from both political parties have endorsed the vision and steps. Among them:

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT, Secretary of State

RICHARD V. ALLEN, White House National Security Advisor

JAMES A. BAKER III, Secretary of State

SAMUEL R. BERGER, White House National Security Advisor

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, White House National Security Advisor

FRANK CARLUCCI, Secretary of Defense

WILLIAM COHEN, Secretary of Defense

MELVIN LAIRD, Secretary of Defense

ANTHONY LAKE, White House National Security Advisor

ROBERT MCFARLANE, White House National Security Advisor

GENERAL COLIN POWELL, Secretary of State



Shultz, Nunn, Perry and Shirley Williams, member of the UK House of Lords, speak to Parliamentarians, London, 2011

Around the world, former prime ministers, military leaders, foreign secretaries and other key leaders across the political spectrum have added their voices to the call for change. Leaders from 13 countries penned like-minded op-eds in the ongoing effort to galvanize the public and government officials. To read the op-eds, go to: [www.NuclearSecurityProject.org](http://www.NuclearSecurityProject.org)

### Australia

“Imagine There’s No Bomb.” Malcolm Fraser, Gustav Nossal, Barry Jones, Peter Gration, John Sanderson and Tilman Ruff, April 8, 2009, *The Age*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*

### Belgium

“Toward a Nuclear Weapons Free World.” Willy Claes, Guy Verhofstadt, Jean-Luc Dehaene and Louis Michel, February 19, 2010, *De Standaard*

### Canada

“Toward a World Without Nuclear Weapons.” Jean Chrétien, Joe Clark, Ed Broadbent and Lloyd Axworthy, March 25, 2010, *The Globe and Mail*



### France

“For Global Nuclear Disarmament, the Only Means to Prevent Anarchic Proliferation.” Alain Juppe, Michel Rocard, Alain Richard and Bernard Norlain, October 14, 2009, *Le Monde*

### Germany

“Toward a Nuclear-Free World: A German View.” Helmut Schmidt, Richard von Weizsäcker, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Egon Bahr, January 9, 2009, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *International Herald Tribune*

### Italy

“Towards a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World.” Massimo D’Alema, Gianfrance Fini, Giorgio La Malfa, Arturo Parisi and Francesco Calogero, July 24, 2008, *Il Corriere della Sera*

“ It is . . . a welcome development that more and more statesmen have been sounding a wake-up call to governments and peoples to deal urgently with the nuclear crisis. ”

— Op-ed in Canada’s *Globe and Mail*

“ Nuclear deterrence is impotent in the face of the new threats of the 21st century, namely: proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems, international terrorism, ethnic and religious conflicts, and trans-border crime.”

— Op-ed in Russia’s *Izvestia*



### The Netherlands

“Toward a Nuclear Weapon Free World.” Ruud Lubbers, Max van der Stoel, Hans van Mierlo and Frits Korthals Altes, November 23, 2009, *NRC Handelsblad*

### Norway

“A Nuclear Weapon-Free World.” Odvar Nordli, Gro Harlem Brundtland, Kåre Willoch, Kjell Magne Bondevik and Thorvald Stoltenberg, June 4, 2009, *Aftenposten*

### Poland

“The Unthinkable Becomes Thinkable: Towards Elimination of Nuclear Weapons.” Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa, April 3, 2009, *Gazeta Wyborcza*

### Russia

“From Nuclear Deterrence to Universal Security.” Yevgeny Primakov, Igor Ivanov, Yevgeny Velikhov and Mikhail Moiseev, October 15, 2010, *Izvestia, Russia: Beyond the Headlines*

“The Nuclear Threat.” Mikhail Gorbachev, January 31, 2007, *The Wall Street Journal*

### South Korea

“A Road Map for a Nuclear Free World.” Lee Hong-koo, Han Sung-joo, Park Kwan-yong and Paik Sun-yup, June 23, 2010, *JoongAng Daily*

### Sweden

“Swedish Declaration on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons.” Ingvar Carlsson, Hans Blix, Karin Söder and Rolf Ekeus, April 11, 2010, *DN.se*

### United Kingdom

“Start Worrying and Learn to Ditch the Bomb.” Douglas Hurd, Malcolm Rifkind, David Owen and George Robertson, June 30, 2008, *The Times*



# Looking Ahead

The Nuclear Security Project has contributed to important progress on reducing urgent nuclear dangers. The New START treaty and the Nuclear Security Summits help advance the steps toward the vision outlined by the four NSP principals.

However, global nuclear risks are expanding and much work remains to be done. The international community, led by the United States and Russia,

must take action to reduce nuclear stockpiles, change Cold War postures and mindsets, and secure weapons materials around the world. The Nuclear Security Project is committed to building the leadership and cooperation needed to maintain the momentum—for today and for generations to come. Visit [www.NuclearSecurityProject.org](http://www.NuclearSecurityProject.org) to be part of this important work.

## GLOBAL NETWORKS WORKING TOWARD A COMMON GOAL



■ Nuclear Security Project

■ Asia Pacific Leadership Network

■ European Leadership Network

■ UK Top Level Group

■ Latin American Leadership Network (in development)

◆ Op-ed

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[www.NuclearSecurityProject.org](http://www.NuclearSecurityProject.org)

**GEORGE P. SHULTZ:**

“ We set out to create something that is not partisan at all. ”

**WILLIAM J. PERRY:**

“ This is such an important problem in my mind, that it dwarfs all other considerations. And I have, myself, decided to devote the balance of my career to working to achieve that goal. ”

**HENRY A. KISSINGER:**

“ Once nuclear weapons are used, we will be driven to take global measures to prevent it. So some of us have said, ‘Let's ask ourselves: if we have to do it afterwards, why don't we do it now?’ ”

**SAM NUNN:**

“ The way I view it is that if you view the goal of getting to zero as the top of the mountain . . . I think we have an obligation to our children and to our grandchildren to build paths up the mountain. ”

# Sustain the Momentum

To learn more and get involved, visit:

[www.NuclearSecurityProject.org](http://www.NuclearSecurityProject.org)

[www.NuclearTippingPoint.org](http://www.NuclearTippingPoint.org)



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