

Road to Zero: Nuclear Disarmament

1 November 2009 – 31 December 2013

Final Report
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About this report

This is the final report in the 2009-2013 Road to Zero project. It covers the entire grant period, and includes a specific section on the latter half of 2013. Rather than include the media annex for the entire grant period in this document, only examples of most relevant media have been included. The financial report, attached as an annex, covers the full period, and is shown in comparison to the original budget.

Summary

The Road to Zero project has achieved some of its originally stated goals. The issue of nuclear weapons has risen to a high point on both the Dutch and global political agendas. While the United States continues to deploy nuclear weapons in Europe, including the Netherlands, the issue has become more contentious within NATO. The concept of outlawing and eliminating nuclear weapons has moved from an “if” to a “how” in global discussions and more countries than ever before are calling for a treaty banning nuclear weapons. Finally, the Dutch civil society efforts to shift the national position have grown stronger as a result of continued outreach and educational efforts undertaken by IKV Pax Christi throughout the past four years. The focus on the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons and the reorientation of the debate from strategic assets to actual, usable weapons has contributed greatly to the efforts to get states on board with the idea of a treaty to outlaw and eliminate them.

Technical and substantive progress section

Overview

Political situation

In April 2009, when U.S. President Obama gave his Nobel peace prize winning speech in Prague, many around the world thought that the age of nuclear weapons was finally coming to a close. Now, nearly five years later, it is more clear than ever that the rhetoric did not match the reality. Although there are about 5,000 fewer nuclear weapons in the world, they are not yet eliminated, nor are they even prohibited through international law. The five countries recognised under the nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as nuclear weapons states are reducing the numbers, but not the destructive power of their weapons. The risk of the use of nuclear weapons has not significantly reduced, although there is a better understanding about the catastrophic impact of their use.

There has been a tremendous shift during this time period in the discourse around nuclear weapons. Once seen as something for security experts and policy analysts alone, by putting emphasis on the impact any use of nuclear weapons would have, the discussion has opened. This shift away from geo-strategic security thinking has offered an opportunity for states that do not possess nuclear weapons to take a leadership role and demand disarmament. It has started to change the game.

New actors are joining the efforts to create and maintain a nuclear weapons free world. From humanitarian organisations like the International Committee of the Red Cross and Norwegian People’s Aid, to labour organisations like the International Trade Union Confederation, those who agree with the urgent need to outlaw nuclear weapons are making their voices heard.

Regionally, the opportunity for significant changes in NATO policy through a new Strategic Concept (2010) did not materialise, and were put off to another policy review. The promised Defence and Deterrence Review (2012) offered no significant change- and instead reinforced the concept of NATO as a nuclear alliance. The one positive aspect is that the alliance agreed to remove language that requires the forward deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe. This offers only a little bit of manoeuvring room- but the same document further ties any significant changes to an expectation of Russian reciprocity (although it doesn’t proscribe what that could or should look like). The Defence and Deterrence Posture Review provided an excuse for inaction on the part of NATO members, without eliminating the opportunity to act should the political will be there to do so. That political will must come from countries individually, and it is has been a goal of this project to create it in the Netherlands.

Since 2010, the Dutch have joined other states and formed the Non Proliferation Disarmament Initiative (NPDI). The stated goal of the NPDI is to promote implementation of the 2010 NPT Review Conference Action Plan.

The Dutch government has played a key role in this process, not least by hosting a ministerial meeting of NPDI states in advance of the 2013 NPT Prepcom meeting. That ministerial issued an outcome document reinforcing a primary goal of this cross-regional grouping- namely to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in security strategies and doctrines. While the rhetoric has been positive, the fact is, more than half of the 12 NPDI members continue to rely on nuclear weapons in their national and alliance strategies, and have not taken steps to reduce this. In fact, those NPDI members who are part of NATO have elevated nuclear weapons in their security strategy, by agreeing during the DDPR that nato will remain a nuclear alliance as long as nuclear weapons exist. They are not creating the conditions for nuclear disarmament.

Since 2009, the NPT states parties have agreed a 64 point action plan for disarmament and non-proliferation. They have met in preparatory sessions in 2012 and 2013, and heard the views of member states on ways to implement these actions. For the most part, it can be boiled down to two elements- first that those with the largest arsenals (the US and Russian Federation) have the primary responsibility and no one else need act until they do, and secondly, that the universalisation of the Additional Protocol is necessary before any substantive action on the part of those who “use” nuclear weapons in security strategies and doctrines. This is not the outcome of the 2010 Review, but it is the manner in which the outcome appears to have been interpreted. This makes the other issues agreed seem to be of relatively less importance.

However, this does not quite apply to the Middle East region. In 2010, there was agreement to hold a conference of all states in the Middle East before the end of 2012, to explore ways and means to develop a regional weapons of mass destruction free zone. This conference did not take place in 2012, and is actually not likely to take place in advance of the 2014 NPT preparatory committee meeting either. This caused Egypt to walk out of the 2013 NPT meeting, and will likely cause disruption and disagreement if it cannot take place before the next review conference. Many states are holding the US accountable for failing to convene the meeting, with lesser responsibility heaped on the UK, the UN and Russia (also responsible according to the 2010 agreement). The disagreement on holding the conference has actually opened up some political space in the region to further elaborate proposals on this issue. In fact, working with partners, IKVPC has found that particularly in Israel discussions have elevated to a new level. One in which the responsibility for creating a shared security zone, including through the adherence to WMD agreements, is looked at not as an ideal notion, but one with practical and achievable steps to be taken by all countries.

The national political situation has also shifted over the last several years. Nuclear weapons and nuclear policies were formerly only an occasional debate topic in the Dutch parliament and have now shifted to be an issue debated at least monthly. The parliament has demanded the government answer questions about national policy, budget allocations, decision-making and willingness to use a weapon that would violate the principles of international humanitarian law, and held debates on these themes. Three resolutions- refuting the need for nuclear weapons in Dutch security (Azough/ van Velzen 2010), refuting the need for a modernized B61 nuclear bomb (Omzigt, 2012), and prohibiting new Dutch fighter planes from having a nuclear task (van Dijk, 2013) have forced attention to the issue at higher levels. The 2012 motion was tabled by several political parties of which the Christian Democrats took the lead. It was adopted by a majority of the parliament. The ‘anti-nuclear coming out’ of the Christian Democrats must be seen as a major victory of the ongoing work of IKV Pax Christi.

In 2013 alone, nuclear weapons were raised in Parliament during six unique debates, and questions were brought forward on at least another ten occasions. The issue is higher on the political agenda, and MPs are seeking ways to

overcome government resistance to action. In fact, in July 2013, representing a majority in the Dutch Parliament, Raymond Knops of the Dutch Christian Democratic Party (CDA) hand delivered a letter to the U.S. House of Representatives in an attempt to engage directly with the U.S. on the nuclear weapons issue. Both the parliament and the Senate will hold debates on nuclear weapons issues in early 2014 as well.

The world free of nuclear weapons that President Obama called for in 2009 has not yet materialised, but obstructionism of the few that want to keep these weapons of terror is no longer the defining factor. The stage has been set for decisive action, and some influential actors are ready to make the humanitarian drive for disarmament their main role.

Project staff

During the four years of this project, some staff have changed, while others have continued their role. There were no significant changes between the 2012 report and the conclusion of the project.

Achievements vs. Overall objectives

2013 Annual plan examined

Objectives

The objectives for 2013 were to increase discussion and attention to the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons; to engage at the diplomatic level with European and NATO members on the issue; to conduct a student crash course on nuclear diplomacy, and; to issue a global report on the financing of nuclear weapon producers. Efforts also continued to engage with the Dutch parliament and government on increasing responsibility for and actions towards creating and maintaining a nuclear weapons free world.

Anticipated Outcomes Assessed

Supporting the start of negotiations

Hopes were high in advance of the Oslo Conference on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons that a process outside of the existing multilateral forums to outlaw and eliminate these weapons would begin quickly. Such a process has not yet begun. However, the threat that one could emerge resulted in significant effort on the part of many UN members to create a new, temporary, body to address the ways and means to create and sustain a nuclear weapons free world. In 2013 this meant a UN General Assembly Open Ended Working Group on nuclear disarmament as well as the first ever High Level Meeting on Nuclear Disarmament. IKV Pax Christi participated and advocated towards both forums.

The Open Ended Working Group was by far the more dynamic of these efforts. Meeting in Geneva, the group established a practice (found in other disarmament forums, but never before on nuclear weapons) to hear from civil society contributors from the floor during the ongoing discussions. Instead of relegating civil society to be seen and not heard (as happens in the Conference on Disarmament) or to one dedicated session (as happens with the UN General Assembly First Committee and NPT meetings). During these meetings IKV Pax Christi took the floor on a number of occasions, and presented food for thought discussion points. One of these, the need to examine the role of private financiers in the production and maintenance of nuclear weapons was included in the final report of the working group to the UN General Assembly.



The High Level Meeting brought heads of state and government together to discuss nuclear disarmament at the highest political level. A recommendations letter was sent to the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs encouraging Minister Timmermans to make the issue of the humanitarian consequences the main issue in his statement. Sadly, the Minister did not take the floor on behalf of the Kingdom alone, instead he presented a statement on behalf of the 12-member Non Proliferation Disarmament Initiative. However, they did elevate the humanitarian consequences issue, and promised to make it a focal point of their discussions at their April 2014 foreign ministerial.

Changing the situation so NATO has to respond

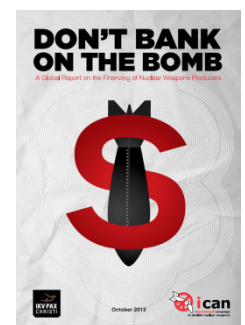
It is clear that NATO members need an external impetus to respond to instead of driving significant political change within the halls of Brussels. While most NATO member states sent representatives to the Oslo meeting in March 2013, the follow-up seemed to be more of an entrenching of positions away from a nuclear weapons free world than embracing opportunities to make that world a reality. This was seen less in NATO discussions, where the issue of nuclear weapons has moved away from the core agenda, and more in other multilateral discussions where NATO members (with the exception of Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Luxembourg) are coalescing around a hardened group position. While NATO members have promised their publics that the issue will be brought back to the NATO agenda, in practical terms it has not- and this is evidenced by the lack of arms control or disarmament on the NATO-Russia Council meeting agendas, and the slow pace of work in the Arms Control and Disarmament Committee established in the Alliance to specifically address nuclear disarmament concerns.

Inspiring student leaders

The 2013 Nuclear Diplomacy Crash course led to the creation of a student led movement in the Netherlands- PUSH for disarmament. (<http://push-ed.nl/nl/>). This group, primarily comprised of crash course graduates, continues its efforts to engage others in their work for a nuclear weapons free world. They have secured initial project funding, and remain in close communication with IKV Pax Christi as they implement their first project (on the nuclear security summit).

Stop banking on the bomb

The launch of the 2013 report brought global media attention, and has engaged campaigners in a number of countries (Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, among others) to put pressure on financial institutions to create or update policies preventing investment in the nuclear weapons industry. Additionally, a number of financial institutions have indicated that they are seeking to change their policies as a result of the report, and are asking for advice to do so successfully. The report also showed that there are fewer financial institutions investing than there were previously, even though the number of listed nuclear weapons producing companies was higher. Until the next update of the Don't Bank on the Bomb report is complete, it will be unknown exactly how many financial institutions have updated or improved their policies to clearly prohibit any type of investment in any type of nuclear weapons producer.



Assessment of main planned outputs 2013

Supporting the start of negotiations

In order to support the start of international negotiations on a legally binding treaty to outlaw nuclear weapons and lead to their elimination a number of items were produced in 2013. The Eerlijke Bankwijzer report on nuclear weapons sought to delegitimize the weapons, and encourage the Dutch financial sector to take responsibility for eliminating the financing that supports modernisation and maintenance of nuclear weapons and necessary

infrastructure. A “Vingerboekje” for Dutch parliamentarians was produced, called “How to get rid of the bomb in 5 steps”. This booklet was distributed in the Dutch parliament, as well as translated into English and circulated to campaign colleagues across Europe.

The Netherlands hosted a foreign ministers meeting of the Non Proliferation Disarmament Initiative in April. IKV Pax Christi prepared substantive recommendations for that ministerial. The document was presented to the Dutch foreign minister and disarmament diplomats, as well as circulated by partners in all of the NPDI member states. It was also broadly circulated at the Non Proliferation Treaty Preparatory Committee (NPT Prepcom), and inspired a number of direct questions raised by non-NPDI delegations during the NPDI public session.



In order to bring attention to one of the nuclear armed countries most likely to be an early joiner in negotiations for a treaty outlawing nuclear weapons, a campaigners meeting was organised in Edinburgh, Scotland in April 2013. This meeting, of the Abolition 2000 network to abolish nuclear weapons, provided the opportunity for engaged campaigners to discuss strategies ranging from the Global Zero Action Plan to the ICAN call for a ban treaty. Additionally, to emphasise the relationship between Scottish independence and an end to the UK trident nuclear weapons programme, an event was held in the Scottish Parliament.

During the nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty Preparatory Committee meeting, IKV Pax Christi facilitated daily NGO caucuses to ensure that campaigners were consistent in their messaging and calling for the start of negotiations on a ban treaty. In addition, a publication of NPT recommendations was circulated to foreign ministries and disarmament diplomats in advance and at the meeting itself.

During three of the meetings of the Open Ended Working Group to take forward proposals for multilateral nuclear disarmament, that took place in Geneva throughout summer 2013, IKV Pax Christi presented recommendations and comments. In the session titled Other practical actions that could contribute to take forward multilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations for the achievement and maintenance of a world without nuclear weapons, the working group included a direct suggestion coming from the IKV Pax Christi remarks in paragraph 48 of their final report, which reads: “Participants discussed the reallocation of funding from nuclear weapon programmes to other areas, inter alia economic development, nuclear disarmament and disarmament and non-proliferation education. In addressing the issue of divestment of nuclear weapons, the Group discussed the role of the public and private sectors.”

In advance of the first ever High Level meeting on nuclear disarmament, during the High Level Segment of the UN General Assembly, IKV Pax Christi presented a recommendations letter to the Dutch MFA as well as Dutch disarmament ambassador. This recommendation included keeping a direct focus on the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons and the need to reorient discussions to focus on this issue as a driver towards future multilateral action on nuclear disarmament.

During the UN General Assembly First Committee on disarmament and security, IKV Pax Christi played a number of mutually reinforcing roles. The second Humanitarian Disarmament Campaigners Forum was an event co-sponsored by IKV Pax Christi. This brought together practitioners in humanitarian and disarmament communities to share ideas, successes, and challenges in a cross-cutting way. During this session, the Road to Zero project hosted an evening reception, in partnership with the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, specifically looking at ways and means to strengthen the campaign’s advocacy and constituency.

Recognising that efforts to build a weapons of mass destruction free zone in the Middle East region can contribute to overarching goals, IKV Pax Christi worked with partners British American Security Information Council (BASIC) and the Israeli Disarmament Movement (IDM) to organise a roundtable and series of events in Israel in November. These afforded an opportunity for IDM to explore, with interested government officials and parliamentarians, what would reassure Israel enough so they would participate in planned conferences to discuss the zone. A recommendations paper was produced from these events, and can be found online here:

<http://www.nonukes.nl/en/documentation/belief-in-the-wmd-free-zone:-designing-the-corridor-to-helsinki-and-beyond>

At the end of 2013, IKV Pax Christi was also invited to a conference sponsored by some of the US and UK nuclear weapons laboratories. This conference took place in the UK and was an off-the record free flowing discussion between scientists, policy setters, and (three) NGOs. IKV Pax Christi defended the growing efforts to energise the non-nuclear armed countries through a focus on nuclear weapons as weapons and centring the dialogue on the consequences of any use of these weapons. This discussion, while it did not lead to any specific outcome papers or recommendations, did provide a better understanding of the policy drivers to those who operate in the laboratories that modernise, maintain and test nuclear weapons.

Changing the situation so NATO has to respond

One of the projects imagined in the early part of 2013 was a return to NATO, to research the perceptions of NATO members on the possible use of nuclear weapons. This didn't take place. Instead, efforts to bring the debate home to the Netherlands took precedence. In the latter half of 2013 this included regular meetings and briefing notes for Dutch MPs. IKV Pax Christi also participated in, and spoke at a demonstration in Brussels coordinated by the Belgian anti-nuclear movement in October (Time2Go) focused on the removal of US weapons from Europe.

In August, IKV Pax Christi joined others at the Buchel air base in Germany for a protest action. This action brought together hundreds of people from across Europe, calling for the removal of US nuclear weapons from Europe. The demonstration was filled with art and music, and offered an opportunity to reinforce some of the connections with participants in the Student Crash Course.

IKV Pax Christi also demonstrated the desire for the Netherlands to be nuclear weapons free during Prinsjesdag. Before the installation of the new King all Dutch citizens were asked to write down their dream for our country. IKV Pax Christi shared their dream: cheese not nukes! This was playing on a recurring theme from earlier in the year, when some iconic photos of the cheese market in Alkmaar were taken, and cheesemongers were asked to pose with "cheese not nukes!" signs. During this Prinsjesdag event members of parliament and other VIPs, as well as a lot of 'prinsjesdag' visitors were asked to sign for a prohibition of nuclear weapons. The traditionally dressed Dutch man and woman delivering cubes of cheese and calling for a ban on nukes were met with a lot enthusiasm, and some laughter.

As a way to build support for the idea that the Netherlands can negotiate the withdrawal of US weapons without NATO consensus without breaking any laws inspired IKV Pax Christi to bring Ted Seay to the Netherlands. He is a former US State Department official, whose main task before retiring was NATO nuclear policy. During his visit, he met with journalists, members of the Dutch Parliament, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His main thesis is that if NATO doesn't accept the will of the public in many of its member states- to remove forward deployed US nuclear weapons- it will tear the alliance apart. The status quo cannot stand and is weakening the alliance as a whole. This featured in a full page article in Volkskrant.

The budget debates offered another opportunity to engage with parliamentarians, and produced results. During the debate on the foreign affairs budget, MP Jasper van Dijk secured majority support for a motion stating that the Netherlands will not attach a nuclear task to the next fighter planes bought by the country (Joint Strike Fighter). While this motion was refused by government in January 2014, it demonstrates that there is a cross-party push by Dutch parliamentarians to do everything they can possibly do to encourage disarmament and nonproliferation without being bound by the policies or politics of other countries.

Inspiring student leaders

The Student Crash Course on Nuclear Diplomacy was held in the beginning of 2013 (see July 2013 report). Several follow-up events were held, including a well-attended nuclear pub quiz in the Hague. One of the exciting outputs of the Crash Course was the beginning of a student led effort on disarmament and nonproliferation. PUSH for Disarmament was founded by participants who felt the time had come for a student organised, student led effort to create the space for students and young people to speak out about disarmament and security issues. The group will be holding a series of events in 2014 connected with the Nuclear Security Summit, and maintains close contact with IKV Pax Christi.

Stop banking on the bomb

In the first part of the year IKV Pax Christi contributed to the Dutch Fair Banking guide ([Eerlijke Bankwijzer](#)). In February 2013, IKV Pax Christi launched the report on Dutch investors in nuclear weapon producers through the [Eerlijke Bankwijzer](#). This report drew attention to the issue of nuclear weapons, and was amplified through an opera created specifically for the event and performed on the Plein in the Hague.

In October, IKV Pax Christi launched the 2013 Don't Bank on the Bomb report. The launch took place at a press conference coordinated by partner organisation SLMK (Swedish Doctors Against Nuclear Weapons) and IKFF (Swedish branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) in Stockholm. In addition, launch activities took place in Germany, Belgium, Canada, United Kingdom, Finland, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and of course, the Netherlands.

The launch events included a press conference and a private roundtable. The roundtable included the Swedish Red Cross, IKFF, SLMK, IKV Pax Christi as well as representatives of all of the major Swedish banks - Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken (SEB), Nordea, Svenska Handelsbanken and Swedbank. Each of the bank participants were eager to explore ways to strengthen or in some cases, develop guidelines prohibiting investment in nuclear weapons producing companies. As one roundtable participant said "a ban on nuclear weapons is clearly coming and it will take time to get the policies right and through the entire group level, its best to start now."

Extensive media coverage surrounded the report, most prominently in Germany, where every print daily had at least one article. In Sweden, all major newspapers as well as national radio covered the launch. A piece appeared on Norwegian national television. There was additional follow-up media coverage in the Netherlands, with a 15 minute piece airing on Een Vandaag in January (2014).

Campaigners continue to report that they are being contacted by financial institutions, and are contacting FIs themselves. The efforts to delegitimise nuclear weapons by drawing attention to the private sector involvement is growing. In addition to multilateral discussions about this during the Open Ended Working Group meetings in



Geneva, the issue was also raised during many bilateral discussions during the UN General Assembly First Committee.

The report was also presented during the Nagasaki Global Citizen's forum in November. In the audience were officials from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Japanese Diet (Parliament) and the press. Over the course of the next several days, dozens of newspaper articles and radio commentary called on Japanese banks to disengage from the nuclear weapons industry.



The bulk of these activities, including the printing of the 298 page report were financed by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, who have also committed to supporting the report publication again in 2014.

In addition to the report itself, the www.dontbankonthebomb.com website was updated to include country profiles, producing company profiles and to maintain a record of media attention. The website also includes a campaigners guide, based on the Stop Explosive Investments campaign, tailored for those working on nuclear weapons issues.

Original programme goals

PhD Student

IKV Pax Christi over four years has participated in a consortium with the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Erasmus University to co-sponsor a PhD project on nuclear non-proliferation. Based at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The PhD candidate (one of a group of four), Mr. Sico van der Meer, has researched the motivations of states to acquire or not acquire nuclear weapons. Next to his PhD research, he has been an often contributor to the No Nukes blog, published articles and more. Sico van der Meer was involved in IKV's Crash Course Nuclear Diplomacy for Students. Sico also gave several lectures and interviews on the issue of nuclear weapons, and participated in a number of conferences at IKV Pax Christi's suggestion and invitation. Sico has written an evaluation of the four year cooperation, attached as an appendix to this report.

Occasional Reports and Papers

The project has published numerous papers, policy briefs and reports in the past four years.

During the first year, this included an NPT Recommendations paper, NPT Outcome Analysis and Tactical Nuclear Weapons in the NPT Review Conference.

In 2011, IKV Pax Christi wrote and printed the 'glossy-magazine' titled: Nukes. What about them?. It was also the year that the significant NATO report- Withdrawal Issues: What NATO countries say about the future of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe was published. The report also generated many requests for articles, and we have published 15 based on the report (and responses to it).

There were a number of reports and papers published in 2012. [Exit Strategies](#): Published in April to influence the NATO debate on the future of U.S. nuclear deployments in Europe. The report was distributed widely among

diplomats and experts and received positive feedback from a wide range of audiences. [Radiological Security Questions](#): An overview document of the current discourse on the security and safety issues and legal regimes surrounding nuclear materials. A substantive set of [recommendations](#) were published in advance of the NPT Preparatory Committee meeting. A [long article](#) calling for the Dutch government to retire tactical nuclear weapons was also published in *Internationale Spectator*. A short report on options for the Netherlands to bilaterally end its nuclear tasks was presented in Zurich in October and submitted for publication in the magazine 'European Security', published in 2013. Other articles on the same theme were published in the second half of the year. Wilbert van der Zeijden contributed as a commentator to a large volume on NATO extended deterrence, published in June by the Nuclear Threat Initiative and RUSI.

In 2013 publications included [How to get rid of the bomb in 5 steps](#) designed for parliamentarians in nuclear hosting countries; [NPDI Matters](#) a set of policy recommendations for NPDI member states also circulated by national campaigners in those countries; an updated set of [recommendations for the NPT](#) Preparatory Committee meeting, [Disarm, Dismantle, Make a Profit](#) a projection of how to turn nuclear weapons usable material into material for nuclear energy reactors; the [Don't Bank on the Bomb](#) report, and the previously mentioned [Belief in the WMD Free Zone: Designing the corridor to Helsinki and beyond](#).

Newsletter

Over the course of the project IKV Pax Christi has published newsletters in both Dutch and English. These have included precision analysis on key issues, as well as information on activities and events. The newsletters now reach an audience of 1,981 subscribers. Of these, 25.94% open the newsletter. This is a relatively high number for most NGO newsletter campaigns, and most of those who open it return there or four times to re-read sections. The highest open rate for the English language newsletter is, surprisingly, in the Netherlands, with Austria and the United States following on that. The most recent statistics for the Dutch language newsletter shows that it is opened by over 32% of recipients, and that at least 20% of those click through to the links embedded in the text. However, fewer Dutch language recipients return repeatedly to the text, instead of an average of 4 opens per subscriber, its closer to two.

Positioning IKV Pax Christi as a leading disarmament organisation

After four years of the project there is no denying that IKV Pax Christi is well placed nationally, regionally and internationally as a leading disarmament organisation. This is demonstrated by requests for speaking appearances around the world, by the request for contributions to various publications. In addition, the role on the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear weapons (ICAN) steering group has opened more doors and shown the ways that IKV Pax Christi can and is a significant strategic ally. IKV Pax Christi is also a bridge builder, connecting both with global campaign coalitions as well as the Royal United Services Institute in London, at the Center for Strategic Studies in Zurich, at the Center for Security and international Studies in Washington, at Wilton Park in the UK, and at the Berlin Information Center on Transatlantic Security.

Research on perceptions of security and mutual trust

The seminal work *Withdrawal Issues* was a concrete contribution to this style of research. Also, the publication of articles and briefings on the Middle East Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone, and the NPT have contributed to the ongoing global analysis on the relationship between nuclear weapons and (in)security.

Working with NATO nuclear hosting states

The work with NATO nuclear hosting states has included working with citizen campaigns in these states (for example, joining the activities at Buchel in August or Brussels in October) as well as directly with the governments and parliamentarians of these countries. Ongoing discussions with especially the Belgian and German governments

(as well as the Netherlands, naturally) have maintained open relationships. Strategically, the focus on NATO- as a bloc is not helpful to the global ICAN campaign. However, our connections and information sharing between these countries has resulted in growing calls, for example in the Dutch Parliament, to have the same level of discussion and transparency about nuclear weapons as those in Germany. During the course of this project there has been an ongoing focused attention on connecting especially with those in other host states, although the specific themes may have varied from the forward deployed US weapons to looking at the global picture (and the need for a new treaty).



Research steps towards supranational control of the fissile materials cycle

In 2013, we modified this particular aspect of the project to instead focus on the costs and potential benefits of moving materials from nuclear weapons into the nuclear energy supply chain. The Cost Benefit Analysis report sparked discussion during the 2013 NPT Prepcom, and resulted in an ongoing discussion especially with those connected to the Nuclear Security Summit processes.

(Re) Education of Dutch society on nuclear weapons and their changing roles

We continued our efforts to educate the Dutch public on nuclear weapons and disarmament. The education of eight very dedicated students in our Crash Course is a good example, and the crash course continued with 10 students in 2013. In addition, the No Nukes team organised or participated in the dozens of educational initiatives and events. Some highlights include lectures at the University of Eindhoven, TU Delft, Utrecht, and Vrije University in Amsterdam. At least one event per year in conjunction with 'The Hague Programme on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Efforts'. Through this platform, we work together with the T.M.C. Asser Institute for International Law, Leiden University and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The divestment efforts also draw public attention, as have the numerous public events organised on the Plein in the Hague.

Dutch 'Gangs of Four' and appeal

A Dutch 'Gang of Four' consisting of R.F.M. Lubbers, M. van der Stoep, H.A.F.M.O. van Mierlo en F. Korthals Altes wrote an op-ed in NRC Handelsblad on 23 November 2009. IKV Pax Christi was involved in this initiative and as a result has maintained an ongoing dialogue with Mr. Lubbers. During the course of this four year project, two of the original "gang" have died, yet there is some interest on the part of Mr. Lubbers to recruit other former statesmen and write additional pieces. While that has been ongoing, IKV Pax Christi has worked with him as he has published articles and opinion pieces, particularly through the European Leadership Network.

Local gangs of four

The most active local gang of four continues to hold occasional events in Doetinchem with our support. This group organises small community events, which result in occasional regional newspaper coverage. There has not been a direct focus on this initiative in the last years of the project, as an analysis of the effort vs results showed that significant more energy was going into this style of initiative and these efforts were not having any significant results.

Mobilising students

The Student Crash Course on Nuclear Diplomacy brought eight students together in four workshops and a week in Vienna (see July 2012 report for details). The 2013 Crash Course brought 10 students to Geneva for a week of the NPT PrepCom. Both of these resulted in a longer-term engagement by a number of students- four of whom were

hosted for internships at IKVPC, and two of whom have written a forthcoming legal article on humanitarian law and nuclear weapons. These students continue to remain engaged with the No Nukes project (as well as each other) keeping in touch and available to volunteer when needed for events and activities. In addition, the 2013 group began a youth movement- PUSH for Disarmament, which IKV Pax Christi stays connected with.

Publishing articles and op-eds

The number of articles that IKV Pax Christi has published or been quoted in has grown every year for the project. In 2012, about 35 articles were published, including Op-Eds that were picked up by the Volkskrant, one by Trouw, one by the online opinion site Joop.nl and Opiniestukken.com and we have been interviewed by Radio 2, CTBTO and ViceVersa. In 2013, the number of articles included a piece in Huffington Post, Nieuwsurr, [De Wereld Draait Door](#), Een Vandaag, and several full page pieces in the Volkskrant. In all, there were at least 46 instances of news coverage in the second half of 2013 alone.

Website

We have created an interactive website by actively engaging in social media (Facebook and Twitter) and posting blogs on www.protectionofcivilians.org / www.wapenfeiten.org (since March 2012) as well as www.NoNukes.nl. The Student Crash course in Nuclear diplomacy has been one of the biggest draws to our website and Facebook pages. The most popular pages continue to be those that provide unique content related to the tactical nuclear weapons issue, with some “lighter” content (for example, a blog on Sinterklaasavond from an American perspective) drawing readers.

In 2013, our numbers increased dramatically with 7,194 unique visitors to the site. 63% of these were new visitors. More than 60% of visitors come from the Netherlands, with the United States and United Kingdom ranking highest after that. This is up from a total of 5,403 unique visitors in 2012. There has also been an increase in the Dutch traffic to the site, in 2012 4,492 visitors were from the Netherlands, and in 2013 6,746 came from the country. Most visitors come to the site directly, though there was a 222% increase in referrals from twitter, and a 42% increase in referrals from Facebook. The increased level of social media references to the site has had a demonstrable impact, and brought more traffic to specific pages and publications available. The activities listed on the site also draw significant traffic, with the kom-in-actie and get-involved pages increasing overall visits to the page.

On social media, in January 2013 the IKV Pax Christi Facebook page had 1381 likes, the No Nukes page had 177, at the end of the year, the IKV Pax Christi page had 2,084 likes, the No Nukes page 398. The IKV Pax Christi twitter account now has over 2,300 followers (up from 1600), the No Nukes account has over 1,490 (up from 1000).

Commentaries on political party programmes

This was particularly relevant for the programme in 2010 and in 2012. In 2010- IKV Pax Christi wrote a letter to the people responsible for the development of the party programs where they were asked to include the ‘road to zero’ in their program and name concrete deadlines for removal of the American nuclear weapons stored at Volkel. Meetings were held with the SP, PvdA, CDA, Groen Links, D’66 and SP on this request and all of them have a paragraph on this in their program. While the content of each varies, we know that we influenced these programs substantially.

We also developed a [stemwijzer](#) in which we asked people their opinion on nuclear disarmament and advised them accordingly which part to vote for. 2.264 people took the survey, and of those 85% supported a nuclear weapons free world, while 83% said they did not want the Netherlands to invest in the JSF aircraft- capable of dropping nuclear weapons.

Political parties have shown an increased interest in nuclear disarmament issues over the past few years. This is reflected in the party programmes released in May and June in preparation of the September 2012 general elections. Six parties use language that was either suggested by us actively, or language that reflects our recent publications and statements. We published an overview of the programmes in our July newsletter. In November and December, meetings were held with all political parties to encourage action on the language in their programmes. These resulted in a motion adopted during the budget discussions at the end of December 2012.

Expert meetings in conjunction with Institute Clingendael

There were fewer meetings in conjunction with Clingendael over the course of the project than perhaps initially intended. However did organise at least one event per year. IKV Pax Christi co-organised an event in 2010 focused on the on the outcomes of the NPT Review Conference. In 2011, an expert group meeting was coordinated with Clingendael on the issue of tactical nuclear weapons. In 2012 and 2013 Clingendael hosted the opening lectures for the Student Crash Course on nuclear diplomacy.

Nuclear disarmament as a debate issue in parliament

During the time of this project the issue of nuclear weapons has elevated tremendously as a discussion topic in Parliament. Nearly every AO on NATO, the issue of nuclear weapons was raised by at least one (usually more) parties. During the budget discussions in 2012 and 2013 motions were passed on this issue. In 2013, there were seven distinct discussions on nuclear weapons, up from just two or three in 2011. This also resulted in a 24 page letter detailing the government policy on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation being presented to parliament, which has follow-up debates in early 2014. Lastly, a list of unanswered questions collected over the years was submitted to the government, totalling over 107, which required response from the ministry of foreign affairs. While IKV Pax Christi was not responsible for all of the questions asked, many parliamentarians did contact the organisation for advice. The issue has risen to the point that MPs have taken this issue up as a matter of personal priority.

Providing Dutch MPs with regular information

Throughout the project, but more in the last 18 months, meetings take place on a regular basis with members of parliament. A number of private policy briefs have also been written for Dutch MPs, including responses to the Government policy on nuclear weapons, and the early 2013 broadly circulated publication “5 Steps”.

Providing Dutch MPs with info on the Joint Strike Fighter (JSF)

At the end of 2013, a strategic moment emerged to engage directly with Dutch MPs on the JSF question. After providing information on the additional requirements necessary for the fighter plane to be able to handle the Dutch nuclear task, MPs from SP, CDA, D66, Green Left and Labour came together and adopted a motion during the budget debates forbidding the future JSF to have a nuclear task.

Providing information and lobbying for an end to the Dutch air force nuclear task

Tied to the discussions about the JSF and the removal of US weapons from the country, the end of 2013 motion in the Tweede Kamer made the link extremely clear. Regular information has been provided both to MPs and to the media, about the role of the Netherlands in NATO nuclear planning and preparation for the use of nuclear weapons. Attention was also brought to this during 2013 at the time of NATO nuclear planning exercises. Similarly to efforts in 2012 where the NATO “Operation Steadfast Noon” exercise in October. Instead of getting stuck in the historic ‘neither confirm nor deny’ debate about the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons in the Netherlands, these exercises offer an opportunity to bring attention to the role the Dutch air force plays in the potential use of nuclear weapons by NATO. The resulting news article emphasised this and provides some opportunity to highlight the need

for the Netherlands to join the growing international efforts to focus on the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons, and shift positions as a result.

Briefing note for MPs on Dutch position for NPT

For every NPT meeting that has taken place during the course of the project a detailed briefing and recommendations paper was prepared. In 2013 no Dutch parliamentarians attended the NPT meeting, we circulated our recommendations paper to a number of Parliamentarians to share a comprehensive alternative analysis of opportunities at the NPT, just as was done in 2012.

Lobby at NPT

In advance of the 2013 NPT Preparatory Committee meeting we prepared a series of substantive [recommendations](#). These were presented to the Dutch Foreign Ministry, as well as circulated to at least thirty other disarmament ambassadors. The recommendations paper formed the basis for our lobbying in advance of the meeting. In addition, we joined the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) in calling for the start of negotiations on a treaty to ban the bomb, and to prioritise language reflecting that any use of nuclear weapons would cause a humanitarian catastrophe. There was also an intensive advocacy effort resulting in 80 countries joining a statement on this issue.

EU role in nuclear disarmament

We did not organise our own Conference on the EU role in nuclear disarmament, instead we engaged with other organisations working across the EU in coordinated efforts to lobby EU governments to take a stronger disarmament position in the common position for NPT as well as in regards to other EU initiatives. Primarily, as the EU has only worked on non proliferation efforts, our work has focused on tracking the Iran negotiations and occasionally offering suggestions and recommendations towards that.

Coalition building

In addition to working with new Global Zero student campaigners in the Netherlands, we continue to work with allies including the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, Abolition 2000 and ecumenical organisations. As a steering group member of ICAN, IKVPC is playing a leading role in the global efforts to shift disarmament dialogue from military security to focus on the humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons- including through a civil society forum in Oslo in March 2013 immediately preceding the government conference. On a national level, efforts to increase membership in ICAN of Dutch organisations, including by establishing a specific Dutch email group for this purpose.

Lobbying relevant bodies

Our lobby efforts focused on UN member states in advance of and during the NPT meeting and UN General Assembly First Committee and Open Ended Working Group, as well as NATO representatives during key moments. While calling for a clear and unequivocal rejection of continued forward deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe, we saw instead an attempt to downplay the odious Defence and Deterrence Posture Review. The NPT offered opportunities to engage directly with emerging leaders including Mexico, New Zealand, Austria, South Africa, Switzerland and the Philippines. During the UNGA, we worked closely with the governments of Switzerland and New Zealand to bring the number of countries calling for nuclear weapons to be outlawed based on their humanitarian consequences from 80 to 125.

Procedures for monitoring progress

The team continues to hold bi-annual internal evaluations to assess progress and reorient where necessary. In 2011, over the course of seven months, an external evaluation was held. This contributed to reinforcing the work of the programme, especially regarding US nuclear weapons in Europe.

Reflection on the progress of the project

The four years of the project have brought some ups and downs. Some moments, for example surrounding the publication of the Withdrawal Issues report in 2011 or the Don't Bank on the Bomb report were energetic and brought global attention to the programme. The cycle of international diplomatic discussions- NPT and UNGA First Committee afford opportunities to strengthen existing efforts with colleague organisations as well as renew or establish new diplomatic contacts. The ability to adjust strategies and tactics- through consultations within the team, the organisation, and key partners has led to an effective and impressive body of work over its four year timeframe. Cooperative strategizing, in particular as part of the leadership of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear weapons has reinforced earlier programme decisions and created the space for more significant and substantive contributions to global, regional and national efforts.

What has had the most progress? What are the learning moments?

Demonstrable, quantifiable progress was seen in moving the numbers of countries supporting a humanitarian nuclear disarmament approach from 16 at the 2012 NPT to 125 at the 2013 UN General Assembly, in the number of high-level expert meetings IKVPC is presenting papers to, and in the number of Dutch political parties engaging and supporting the December motion. That the motion was presented by CDA is a success in itself, as CDA has historically been quiet on the nuclear weapons issue. There are definite learning moments as well. While it was not exactly a waste of time to engage with those focused on radiological security and the nuclear security summit process, it was certainly not the core business of the project and the (lack of) results justified an end to that engagement.

One other reflection is the powerful impact that of publications when a thorough and systematic outreach plan was established beforehand. Both media and political coverage of reports required lengthy and time consuming outreach efforts for months before the publications were launched. This was demonstrated in 2011, and reinforced in 2013. Lastly, the division of labour through the project- with a focused researcher/writer, a focused policy analyst/ international advocate, and an enthusiastic campaigner/ parliamentary lobbyist has demonstrated significant results- especially in the period 2012-13.

Is it effective? Are there more efficient ways to implement the project?

As it currently runs, the project is quite efficient. Effectiveness is harder to judge at times, as the political seeds sown often do not bear immediate fruit. However, the responses seen from ministry officials, other think tanks and campaign organisations, as well as the growing interest of the public at large show that demonstrable effectiveness takes time- but is possible.

What are the biggest threats to the future of the project and why?

There are two clearly identified threats to the project. One, as first noted in the July 2012 report, is the question about future funding. The second, is the question about what outcome can be expected from the Humanitarian Initiative. While efforts are underway to raise additional funds, and there is a modicum of control over this issue (and ways to mitigate it) there is only so much that can be done to ensure that a process to outlaw and eliminate nuclear weapons is actually beginning and won't be thwarted by those who prefer the status quo.