

# **Nuclear Security**

## Global Action Is Under Way

# This year marks several high-profile efforts to prevent nuclear terrorism and curb proliferation

The world is taking major steps toward greater nuclear security. Already in 2010 we have seen the United States and Russia forge a treaty cutting thousands of nuclear weapons from their arsenals. And leaders from 47 countries gathered in Washington, DC, to answer US President Barack Obama's call to make sure vulnerable nuclear material can never fall into the wrong hands.

Other forms of international cooperation to secure the materials needed for weapons of mass destruction, particularly at the regional level, are also gathering steam. And the community of concerned citizens and experts in the United States and around the world seem more energized than ever on this vital topic.

"We have the opportunity, as an international community, to deepen our cooperation and to strengthen the institutions and partnerships that help prevent nuclear materials from ever falling into the hands of terrorists."

—Barack Obama, Nuclear Security Summit, April 13, 2010 The April summit put a strong emphasis on the need for leadership. The technical hurdles needed for protecting and eliminating loose nuclear material are high but not insurmountable. The real challenge is in getting political leaders to take the problem more seriously and allocate the resources needed for progress. Toward that end, the Stanley Foundation worked with the Fissile Materials Working Group to organize a parallel summit of nongovernmental organizations titled "Next Generation Nuclear Security: Meeting the Global Challenge." Attending were 227 experts from 38 different countries.

In this issue of *Courier*, you will find more details on the presidential summit, the NGO summit, and recommended next steps for the process. Kenneth Luongo, president of the Partnership for Global Security, spells out the

catalytic role of the official summit. Find links on page 10 to content generated from our NGO summit and a letter from President Obama praising the NGO

summit and calling on civil society for even greater action and attention.

Also in this issue, we highlight other unheralded but meaningful multilateral efforts to secure nuclear and other material that could be used for weapons of mass destruction. Ambassador Bonnie Jenkins, the US State Department's coordinator for Threat Reduction Programs in the Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation, describes the impact of the G-8 Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction, a vital international security and nonproliferation tool. And Brian Finlay, director of the Managing Across Boundaries Program at the Henry L. Stimson Center, looks at how the quest to stop the flow of illicit nuclear materials can also help nations manage more immediate security concerns like small arms and narcotics.

Taken together, these stories illustrate not only the reality of today's nuclear dangers, they also provide evidence that thoughtful and committed action can make a tangible difference. The quest to contain nuclear threats worldwide has miles to go, but the progress made in the last several months gives us hope that the journey will be worthwhile.

—Keith Porter,

Director of Policy and Outreach, The Stanley Foundation

#### Cover.

A Prayer for a Safe Future. A young Japanese girl reflects on the 60th anniversary of the nuclear attack on Hiroshima, Japan. The 20th century witnessed the devastation that can be caused from a nuclear explosion. The new 21st-century challenge is keeping materials that could be fashioned into a nuclear device out of the hands of terrorists. (Reuters/Yuriko Nakao)

# courier

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**Nuclear Security** 

### A Catalyst for Action

Nuclear Security Summit sets benchmarks for preventing nuclear terrorism

the Nuclear Security Summit held in Washington, DC, on April 12-13, 2010, was an unprecedented event and a significant success. It brought together leaders from 47 nations and three international organizations to discuss how to prevent nuclear terrorism by improving global nuclear material security. There has never been such a gathering of high-level political officials to discuss this subject. And high-level political attention is essential to motivate rapid action on this important agenda.

The participants agreed to a communiqué that highlighted the global importance of preventing nuclear terrorism and endorsed President Obama's goal of securing all vulnerable nuclear material in four years. Additionally, they underscored the importance of maintaining effective security over all nuclear materials on their territory; encouraged the conversion of reactors that use highly enriched uranium (HEU), a weapon useable nuclear material, to low-enriched uranium (LEU); and recognized the importance of the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material as amended and the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism as essential elements of the global nuclear security architecture. Finally, the communiqué emphasized the need for international cooperation on this agenda including the importance of capacity building and responding to requests for assistance in order to secure these materials globally.

The work plan accompanying the communiqué focused on improving and universalizing existing nuclear security agreements and programs. In addi-



falling into the hands of terrorists. (Stanley Foundation/Sean Harder)

tion to the conventions mentioned in the communiqué, the work plan also notes the need to fully implement UN Security Council Resolution 1540 and support the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism and the G-8 Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction. It also recognizes the continuing importance of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and its guidelines. It underscores the need for robust and independent nuclear regulatory capabilities in all countries, the requirement for the prevention of nuclear trafficking, and the improvement in nuclear detection and forensics. It further highlights the fundamental role of the nuclear industry in the nuclear security agenda and

the importance of sharing best security practices and the human dimension of nuclear security.

Perhaps the most far-reaching objectives of the work plan included the consideration of the consolidation of national sites where nuclear material is stored, the removal and disposal of nuclear materials no longer needed for operational activities, and the conversion of HEU-fueled reactors to LEU fuels. In keeping with the need to maintain consensus on these high-level objectives, the work plan offers many caveats including allowing individual nations to implement many of these objectives "as appropriate."

#### **New Commitments**

In addition to the work plan, 29 individual countries made commitments for improving security at home. The highlights of these commitments included the removal of all the remaining HEU in Ukraine by 2012; Canada agreeing to return a large amount of spent fuel containing HEU to the United States; the United States and Russia signing an agreement to implement the plutonium disposition agreement; and the decisions by India and China to establish nuclear security centers of excellence.

Finally, there were some funding commitments that were made at the summit. These included a pledge of \$6 million by the United Kingdom and \$300,000 by Belgium for the IAEA's Nuclear Security Fund, \$100 million from Canada for security cooperation with Russia, and a call by President Obama for an additional \$10 billion for the Global Partnership.

While all of these achievements are important, there are three areas where the summit could have done more. The first is on the funding issue. At the very least, the IAEA's nuclear security office is in need of significant additional funding. Second, the issue of radiological material security was not afforded a high priority at the summit. While it was referenced in both the communiqué and the work plan, a number of counties would have liked to have seen that issue be a higher priority. Finally, there were no new initiatives announced. While there may be some international fatigue with the current set of activities, when combined, they are still inadequate to the task of effectively preventing nuclear terrorism.

#### Where Do We Go From Here

The Nuclear Security Summit has significantly raised the public profile of the nuclear material secu-

rity and nuclear terrorism prevention issues. It also has resulted in some new commitments and actions that will be taken by participating nations.

In the post-summit period it will be important to keep the dialogue among nations moving, expand the engagement beyond just the summit attendees, and also to report on progress.

The commitments made at the summit need to be implemented as rapidly as possible. By setting another meeting in South Korea for 2012, the summit participants have built in a forcing mechanism that will require them to fulfill their commitments.

But new initiatives need to be debated and implemented. Nuclear terrorism and nuclear security are complex transnational issues. Right now we have many disconnected components, and there is no cohesive and integrated driving mechanism. The key to success in driving collective and unified action on this agenda in the wake of the summit is to integrate all the necessary tools into a comprehensive, flexible, legitimate, and globally focused next generation nuclear material security framework.

This framework agreement would identify the threats to humankind from vulnerable fissile materials, especially the threats posed by terrorists, and list actions required to mitigate them. A framework agreement would allow the subject to be acknowledged at a very high political level as a global priority and then require the adherents to take specific steps to achieve the agreement's objectives.

The president has taken an important step forward in establishing global fissile material security as a top-level international objective. But the status quo for protecting the globe against nuclear terrorism is inadequate and additional steps need to be taken.

Editor's note. Adapted from congressional testimony given by Kenneth Luongo, president of the Partnership for Global Security, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the US House of Representatives on April 21, 2010. Visit www.partnershipforglobalsecurity.org for the full text of his testimony.



## Curbing Proliterate Through Developr Nuclear terrorism is not a **Curbing Proliferation** Through Development

preeminent concern for most countries, but preventing it has benefits they should consider

idening fears over catastrophic terrorism continue to stoke scrutiny of "nuclear capable" governments' capacity to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Prevailing wisdom holds that proliferation and nuclear terrorism are manageable provided these governments exercise rigorous control over limited stockpiles of nuclear materials. It was this conviction that led President Obama to convene 47 world leaders in Washington for an unprecedented summit on nuclear security in April. Although the Nuclear Security Summit highlighted the enduring need for vigilance among committed governments, regrettably, the nature of the proliferation threat has evolved so dramatically that traditional methods of prevention are growing increasingly out of date.

Today's proliferation challenges are perhaps best summarized by this disconcerting revelation: No longer do governments alone determine who gets the bomb. Globalization, privatization, and economics have empowered more actors—including private industry and individuals—in more countries with the capacity to facilitate nuclear weapons acquisition. Indeed, today's notable proliferation challenges in North Korea and Iran are, in large part, stories of unscrupulous nonstate actors that have willingly developed, shared, funded, or shipped sensitive materials and technologies. They have done so while subverting governments' preventive efforts, or while governments willingly neglect such efforts in pursuit of greater economic interests or competing security challenges.

#### **Recognizing Regional Priorities**

Convincing governments and a rapidly expanding array of private sector entities that proliferation is,



in the words of the president, an "unprecedented threat" will be no easy task. Consider this:

- Annually across Latin America, more than 100,000 people are killed by violent crimes often involving handguns linked to the growing trade in illicit drugs.
- Each year in sub-Saharan Africa, around 1.4 million people die from AIDS while an additional 1.9 million new victims are infected with HIV.
- In South Asia, as a result of malnutrition, 30 percent of infants born are dangerously underweight.

In the face of these development and security challenges, many governments will never view the threat of nuclear terrorism as a preeminent challenge to their security. Nor is it reasonable for us to expect them to. Yet many of these countries are becoming increasingly attractive acquisition points or shipping hubs for entities seeking the bomb. And there are powerful financial incentives for any government or private sector company to look the other way in the face of lucrative trade in sensitive goods and materials.



Pressing Challenges. In the face of urgent development and security challenges, many countries will never view prevention of nuclear terrorism as a domestic priority.

#### Two Birds, One Stone

In this environment, appealing to the enlightened self-interest of every link along the proliferation supply chain is critical to proliferation prevention. Fortunately, the assistance available to do so is inherently "dual-use."

For instance, seeking to diversify their tourism economies in the 1990s, Caribbean countries invested in their port and transshipment facilities, capitalizing on their strategic location at America's "third border" and at the end of the Panama Canal route. Following the September 11 attacks, US authorities demanded heightened security measures that most governments of the region could ill-afford, leaving them locked out of the global supply chain, their earlier investments for naught. As new streams of nonproliferation assistance became available, however, Caribbean governments saw an opportunity to marry those security goals with their domestic economic development and diversification plans. That assistance helped them comply with nonproliferation obligations, meet International Ship and Port Facility Security standards, and ensured their continued competitiveness in the global marketplace—all while promoting sustainable nonproliferation.

A similar dual-use dynamic is now unfolding in Central America. As governments of the region struggle with drug and small arms trafficking and the subsequent growth of violent gangs—all challenges of a higher priority than WMD proliferation—new nonproliferation assistance can help strengthen border security and cargo screening and promote the rule of law. Such measures would tighten the global nonproliferation regime while providing direct benefit to the beleaguered people of Central America.

In the Middle East, the dual-use "needs" are very different. Long-term economic planning and burgeoning energy requirements have led no fewer than 12 governments to begin exploring civilian nuclear power. Many have the financial resources to implement their plans, but most lack the human and technical capacity. Targeted technical assistance could go far to promote the safe, transparent development and operation of nuclear power generation, while simultaneously ensuring a sustainable and robust nonproliferation environment, thus bringing the region into a wider security dialogue.

In recent years, Africa has become a growing international security priority. Weak and failing states have proven themselves to be hotbeds for terrorist recruitment, and governments' inability to effectively police their borders has raised concerns over illicit transshipment. Moreover, longstanding and acute health problems have challenged African governments' ability to implement newly promulgated inter-

national health regulations and provide reasonable care for their people, thus ensuring an endless cycle of poverty and hopelessness. By identifying and marrying new streams of nonproliferation assistance to these endemic challenges, not only can we help to eliminate the growing trafficking trade in drugs, small arms, humans, and conflict resources that undermines governments and threatens people, we can inject innovative new assistance into regional public health infrastructure—all while achieving sustainable nuclear and biological nonproliferation.

As a follow up to the Nuclear Security Summit, President Obama will work to hold the 47 countries represented accountable for the promises they made. Just as importantly, he should think creatively

regarding how to build sustainable nonproliferation efforts with the next generation of governments whose priorities are often (and rightfully) elsewhere, but whose exploitation by committed terrorists could significantly undermine the president's nonproliferation agenda.



—Brian Finlay, senior associate of the Henry L. Stimson Center and director of the Managing Across Boundaries Program



# Time to Expand the G-8 Global Partnership Combating the spread of weapons of mass destruction can only occur in an inclusive multilateral framework

The G-8 Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction is a vital international security and nonproliferation tool for coordinating chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear threat reduction activities on a global scale. With 23 countries signed on to the agreement, it helps prevent proliferators, terrorists, or other nonstate actors from acquiring such weapons.

Because the current ten-year, \$20 billion commitments expire in 2012, it is time to extend the global partnership so it can continue building upon the success of its efforts to combat the spread of WMD, their delivery systems, and related technology. Canada is proposing an extension for this year's G-8, and the United States strongly supports that proposal.

#### Meeting Today's Security Needs

Unlike many multilateral commitments, the partnership is backed by funding pledges that are translated into real activities whose progress can be assessed over time. In this way, it is a vital mechanism to help nations meet their global nonproliferation obligations.

The world has changed significantly since 1992 when new states created by the fall of the Soviet Union inherited the Soviet Union's WMD infrastructure, which was vulnerable to exploitation by proliferators or domestic and foreign terrorists. This potentially dangerous situation had to be addressed, so initially the focus was put on destroying decommissioned Russian nuclear submarines and Russia's chemical weapons.

Since then, it has become increasingly apparent that the threats we face are global in scale and that proliferation problems occur in a number of regions. Terrorist organizations still seek weapons and materials of mass destruction to further their political or ideological goals. When threats are global, efforts to address them must also be global.

President Obama has called for another ten-year extension with an expanded scope/mission and committed up to another \$10 billion toward new projects, including expanding our efforts to improving nuclear security to countries not previously eligible for G-8 assistance.

#### The Way Forward

In 2007 the partners recognized that "their cooperation and future security are directly linked." As such, they concluded the Global Partnership "must evolve to meet new, emerging threats worldwide."

At the 2008 and 2009 summits, G-8 leaders agreed to expand membership in the partnership. Future work, it is now agreed, should be driven by threats, wherever they exist.

While the United States is strongly committed to completing projects already under way, we agree the expansion should happen in a number of ways. The first is geographically. The partnership should include any project funded to ensure such weapons or materials do not land in the wrong hands, regardless of where such activity takes place.

The partnership must also grow in size. To fully address the global threat, it must include new members and look to add potential regional leaders. Many nations could be considered in such an expansion, especially those that attended the recent Nuclear Security Summit.

Expansion will also allow partners to address new threats. There are a number of significant, new areas of concern that can and should be addressed before extending the agreement.

The first of these is nuclear and radiological security. The Obama administration recognizes the importance of securing all nuclear material, both civilian and military, regardless of where it exists. This was the driving force behind the recent Nuclear Security Summit, which kicked off a four-year global effort to secure all vulnerable nuclear material.

The Global Partnership is also focusing on coordinated efforts to reduce the global biological threat. One goal is improving disease detection and surveillance. Another goal is to help nations respond to an infectious disease outbreak that poses a serious threat to international security. A third objective is building sustainable capacity for securing dangerous pathogens and improving laboratory bio-safety.

It must also address concerns about former weapons scientists. Since the early 1990s there has been a particular need to ensure that weapons expertise and knowledge not be used to increase proliferation. The goal of increasing scientist engagement efforts is to prevent their knowledge from being diverted to proliferation and terrorist purposes anywhere in the world.

A key component to the success of all of these efforts is the ability, or capacity, of partner nations to implement them. Capacity-building work includes efforts to strengthen export controls and border security in support of UN Security Council Resolution 1540. It may also include proposing new export control laws, implementing regulations and licensing procedures, as well as providing greater support for export control enforcement. An essential piece of these initiatives is outreach to industry, necessary to securing private sector compliance for more successful implementation of export controls.

#### Conclusion

Global threats must be addressed on a global scale, and the United States wishes to work closely with its G-8 partners in this effort. The Cold War legacy that led to the proliferation risks for which the Global Partnership was originally created have been a major source of threat reduction activity since 1992. But, like the world itself, these threats have evolved and the United States stands ready to work even more closely with its partners, and to welcome new members of the Global Partnership so that we may continue addressing the serious challenges that confront all of us today.

Editor's note. Adapted from a policy analysis brief entitled *The Future Role of the G-8 Global Partnership: Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction* by Ambassador Bonnie D. Jenkins, coordinator of Threat Reduction Programs at the US Department of State. See pages 10-11 to order the brief or find the full text at *www.stanleyfoundation.org*.

#### Stanley Foundation Resources

These reports and a wealth of other information are available at www.stanleyfoundation.org



The Fissile Materials Working Group, a coalition of more than 40 nuclear security experts and NGOs, hosted the "Next Generation Nuclear Security Summit" on April 12, 2010, parallel to President Obama's Nuclear Security Summit. The event gathered more than 200 people to discuss materials security efforts, including representatives of 37 different countries.

To view a video of the event, visit www.ibroadcasts.tv/FMWG-04-12-2010-LiveWebcast.htm. The report, entitled Next Generation Nuclear Security: Meeting the Global Challenge, is available to order or visit www.stanleyfoundation.org.





Robert Gallucci, president of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and Gareth Evans, co-chair of the International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament, delivered the keynote addresses.

#### **NUCLEAR SECURITY**

#### The Future Role of the G-8 Global Partnership: Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction

The G-8 Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction (GP) is a vital international security and nonproliferation tool. It is the primary multilateral arrangement for financial commitments to implement and coordinate chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear threat reduction activities on a global scale.

Ambassador Bonnie Jenkins, US Department of State coordinator for Threat Reduction Programs, analyzes the current and future role of the GP in this policy analysis brief. June 2010 analysis brief.



#### Now Showing: Radioactive Challenge

The video in this event-in-a-box toolkit helps viewers examine the challenge of securing all vulnerable

nuclear materials globally. It aims to encourage discussion of the complexities of the "world's greatest security challenge," keeping nuclear material out of the hands of terrorists.

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#### Controlling and Securing Nuclear Materials: Multilateral Approaches

President Obama's Prague speech in April 2009 laid out his administration's goal of securing all vulnerable nuclear material worldwide within four years. Given the heightened importance of this global effort, the Stanley Foundation convened approximately 35 governmental and nongovernmental officials in Washington on December 2, 2009, to examine practical steps toward meeting this goal. Participants included international leading experts and diplomats, in addition to ranking UN officials and US nongovernmental analysts. The group agreed on making nuclear security a higher global priority and that nuclear security challenges cannot be met without ongoing multilateral action. March 2010 dialogue brief.

#### **HUMAN PROTECTION**

#### Wider Lessons for Peacebuilding: Security Sector Reform in Liberia

In 2003, more than a decade of civil war had cost more than 250,000 lives, earning Liberia *The Economist*'s dubious distinction as "the world's worst place to live." Seven years later, increasing stability in the country reflects the substantial progress that can be achieved by determined national leadership, active international community engagement, and realistic approaches to post-conflict peacebuilding efforts.

John Blaney, Jacque Paul Klein, and Sean McFate examine how central actors in the immediate post-conflict period reflect on lessons learned from the implementation of Liberian disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration and security sector reform programs. Rooted in the concepts of human security and building basic state institutions, their approaches reveal telling insights with potential resonance across the diverse spectrum of post-conflict experience. June 2010 analysis brief.

#### Implementing the Responsibility to Protect

The world is moving from affirmation of the Responsibility to Protect toward full implementation of this important concept. The Stanley Foundation recently hosted a conference to discuss key issues and specific steps involved in this historic effort. The meeting brought together state representatives to the United Nations, senior Secretariat officials, and experts. The event included a keynote address by United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. March 2010 online conference report.

#### **EVOLVING GLOBAL SYSTEM**

#### The United Nations and the G-20: Ensuring Complementary Efforts

In little more than a year, the G-20 has emerged as a vital summit-level forum for leaders to coordinate international economic policy. The global financial crisis drove home the need for consultations among a wider set of key economic players, more representative of 21st-century realities than the earlier G-8 club of predominately Western industrialized nations.

This development raises important questions about the future shape of the international system and multilateral cooperation. The Stanley Foundation's 41st United Nations Issues Conference convened some 35 governmental and nongovernmental officials near New York on March 26-28, 2010, to discuss effective collaboration between the United Nations and the G-20 heads of state summits and preparatory processes. Participants included UN officials, diplomats from a number of countries, and global governance specialists. June 2010 report.

#### Making Multilateralism Work: How the G-20 Can Help the UN

Our world confronts a growing range of global and transnational problems. It is also home to a diverse ecosystem of multilateral institutions. Yet the instruments of international cooperation have not matched up to the task of solving the problems. Bruce Jones, of New York University, says one place to look for help is the G-20. This may seem surprising, since the G-20 is usually cast as a rival to the United Nations. But this perceived competition misreads the nature of the G-20, the purposes and strengths of the United Nations, and the potential relationship between the two. April 2010 analysis brief.

#### Global Governance Reform: An American View of US Leadership

Not withstanding its multilateral instincts, the Obama administration is limited in its practical ability to promote and embrace sweeping reforms to global governance. Rather than casting its lot entirely with universal organizations like the United Nations, the United States will adopt a pragmatic approach to international cooperation that combines formal institutions with more flexible partnerships to achieve US national interests. Stewart Patrick, senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, examines the balance sheet for Obama's first year in office. He underscores both the opportunities for, and the constraints on, global governance reform in the current geopolitical environment. February 2010 analysis brief.

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he world's leaders say nuclear terrorism is the greatest threat we face—with good reason. Even if there's little chance of it, the explosion of one crude nuclear bomb in one major city would change the world forever. Not only could it cause death on a mass scale, but it could also trigger global economic disruption, environmental degradation, and a wider conflict requiring a military response.

There has been a serious effort to scoop up and lock down the world's nuclear materials since the end of the Cold War. Yet nearly 20 years later, we are far from having all of these radioactive materials secure. And we are at risk of them falling into the wrong hands. Only a global cooperative effort can prevent this.

Radioactive Challenge, an original Stanley Foundation video, examines the challenge of securing all vulnerable nuclear materials globally. It encourages discussion of the complexities of the "world's greatest security challenge," keeping nuclear material out of the hands of terrorists.

With event planner and moderator guides chockfull of helpful tips and resources, the toolkit has everything needed to put together a successful event. Discussion guides are provided to facilitate group discussion on the issues raised in the video. Also, the toolkit includes materials that provide further background on the discussion topics.

See pages 10-11 for information to order the toolkit or access the online version.



