



MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS OF ICELAND

# MEETING PROGRAM

## THE LEGACY OF THE REYKJAVÍK SUMMIT

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An inspiration for arms control and reducing tensions today?



10 – 11 October 2016  
Höfði House, Reykjavík

On 11 and 12 October 1986, the President of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan, and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, met in the capital of Iceland, Reykjavík, to discuss a radical plan: reduction of nuclear-armed missiles and a move towards a nuclear free world. The meeting was a breakthrough in relations between the USSR and the United States, and is widely considered as the beginning of the end of the Cold War.

Thirty years later, tensions between Russia and the West are at their highest since the Cuban Missile Crisis. Instability in other parts of the world, like the Middle East and the South China Sea, is also creating new risks, and leading to a new arms race.

Can the anniversary of that historic meeting at the Höfði House in Reykjavík thirty years ago provide an inspiration to de-escalate tensions between NATO and Russia? Can it help to promote non-proliferation, and reignite the hope of a nuclear free world? These are issues that the International Peace Institute (IPI) would like to discuss at a high-level meeting in Reykjavík. Participants will include former and current diplomats, arms control experts, historians, and representatives of civil society.



# MONDAY 10 OCTOBER 2016, HÖFÐI HOUSE

18:00 – 20:00 Welcome reception hosted by City of Reykjavík

Welcome remarks:

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**Dagur B. Eggertsson**

*Mayor of Reykjavík City (host)*

**Lilja Alfreðsdóttir**

*Minister for Foreign Affairs, Republic of Iceland*

**Terje Rød-Larsen**

*President, International Peace Institute*

Presentation:

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**Ken Adelman**

*Author of Reagan at Reykjavik — Forty-Eight Hours that Ended the Cold War, Former Director of the U.S. Arms Control Agency for President Ronald Reagan during the 1986 Reykjavik summit*

Opening statements:

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**Mikhail Gorbachev**

*President of the Soviet Union in 1990–1991 (via video)*

**George P. Shultz**

*United States Secretary of State under Reagan in 1982-1989 (via video)*

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# TUESDAY 11 OCTOBER 2016, HÖFÐI HOUSE

## SESSION I

08:30 – 10:00 The impact and legacy of the Reykjavík Summit

By the mid-1980s, the superpowers had accumulated enough nuclear weapons to destroy the planet several times over. They were positioned in a posture of mutually assured destruction. However, to the surprise of many, when Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev met in Reykjavík thirty years ago, they discussed stopping the nuclear arms race and even eliminating nuclear weapons. In hindsight, what was the significance and impact of the Reykjavík Summit? What lessons can be learned for today?

Chairperson:

**David Holloway**

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*Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies*

Discussants:

**Ken Adelman**

*Author of *Reagan at Reykjavik — Forty-Eight Hours that Ended the Cold War*, Former Director of the U.S. Arms Control Agency for President Ronald Reagan during the 1986 Reykjavik summit*

**Sergey Batsanov**

*Director, Geneva Office, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs; Former Representative to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva in 1989-1993*

**Jack Matlock Jr.**

*Rubenstein Fellow at Duke University, American Former Ambassador, served as U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1987 to 1991*

**Pavel Palazhchenko**

*Head of International and Media Relations, Gorbachev Foundation; Principal English Interpreter for Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze, 1985-1991*

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10:00 – 10:30 Coffee break

10:30 – 12:00 Security and cooperation today: how to recapture the spirit of Reykjavík?

More than twenty-five years after the end of the Cold War, tensions between Russia and the West are high. What steps can be taken to de-escalate tensions, de-militarize relations, and return to diplomacy? On what issues can the parties find some common ground, and can a more constructive spirit be created? If high-level dialogue was possible in 1986 during the Cold War, what would it take to enhance dialogue today?

Chairperson:

**Walter Kemp**

*Senior Vice President, International Peace Institute*

Discussants:

**Valur Ingimundarson**

*Professor of Contemporary History, University of Iceland*

**Christian Strohal**

*Ambassador, Special Representative Austria's OSCE-2017 Chairmanship*

**Lamberto Zannier**

*Secretary General, OSCE*

12:00 – 14:30 Lunch (Bjortuloft, Harpa Conference Centre)

Keynote remarks:

**Guðni Th. Jóhannesson**

*President of Iceland*

14:30 – 16:00 Back to the future: restarting arms control and a nuclear free world

The nuclear arms race has not stopped. Proliferation and testing continue. Yet many leaders have pledged to promote a nuclear free world. How is it possible to recapture the “spirit of Reykjavik”? What are the obstacles and opportunities towards a world free of nuclear weapons? What steps could be taken to move closer to this objective?

Chairperson:

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**Scott D. Sagan**

*Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies; Senior Fellow at the Center for International Security and Cooperation  
Caroline S.G. Munro Professor of Political Science*

Discussants:

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**Vladimir Dvorkin**

*Russia’s Leading Expert on strategic nuclear forces, missile defense, and military space issues, Lead Scientist at the Center of the International Safety of the Institute of Economic and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences*

**Vladimir Orlov**

*Head, Center for Global Trends and International Organizations, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation; Founder and Special Advisor, PIR Center; Member, UN Secretary-General’s Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters*

**Thomas M. Countryman**

*Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of International Security and Non-Proliferation, US Department of State*

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16:00 – 16:30 Coffee break

16:30 – 18:00 The road ahead

Based on this meeting in Reykjavík, and inspired by the example of the meeting thirty years ago, what policy-oriented steps can be taken to reduce tensions, improve dialogue, restart talks on arms control, and move towards a nuclear weapons-free world?

Chairperson:

**Terje Rød-Larsen**

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*President, International Peace Institute*

Discussants:

**Des Browne**

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*British Labour Party politician; Vice Chairman, Nuclear Threat Initiative*

**Jayantha Dhanapala**

*President of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, Former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs (1998-2003)*

**Alain Le Roy**

*Former Secretary General, European External Action Service (EEAS)*

**Alexey Obukhov**

*Former Deputy Foreign Minister, USSR; Expert, Second European Department (2ED), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russia*

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18:00 – 18:15 Concluding remarks