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Reaching Critical Will
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League for Peace and Freedom

News in Review

Civil society perspectives on the Seventh Review Conference of the
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
May 2-27, 2005

Hold That Pessimism

- Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Institute

We're now into the third week and frustration is running high. All those reports and painstakingly written, often coordinated working papers languishing in silence with no main committees or subsidiary bodies in which to strut their stuff. Paralyzed by that classic negotiating tactic "nothing agreed until everything is agreed", the President shuttles between the groups of delegations. But the NAM and Western groups are also being frustrated internally by the obstructionist tactics of one or two of their members. Just as it appeared that politeness and protectionism would doom the Conference and allow a handful of clever manipulators to avoid accountability, Australia, which has sometimes been accused (not without reason) of shielding its American allies, insisted on being given plenary time to introduce working papers. Though President Duarte was nervous that this might be challenged, he was persuaded to agree.

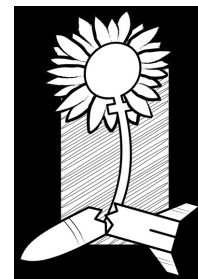
The Aussies did us proud with a strong statement calling for entry-into-force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) on behalf of the G-10 (Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Hungary, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden). Malaysia stepped up immediately after and introduced the NAM's substantive working papers on issues ranging from nuclear disarmament and negative security assurances to regional issues and nuclear energy. In quick succession, the European Union, Japan, Canada, Egypt and China all jumped at the opportunity to talk about their working papers on withdrawal, disarmament education, reporting, the Middle East, security assurances and other relevant issues.

In the packed Committee Room 4, it was as though a breath long held was gently exhaled in relief. Not only had the Chair's authority to open the plenary to allow discussion of the working papers not been challenged, but the initiative had been seized on constructively by some important delegations to enable them to put their substantive ideas and recommendations on the table for consideration.

Somewhere in the middle of this, Iran raised a point of order to try to object, belatedly recognizing that the swift acceptance of this constructive use of the plenary by so many delegations could become a means to bypass the deadlock over establishing the committees and subsidiary bodies. Iran seemed at pains to stress that it "welcomes" Australia's intervention, but feared that this would "not give a positive impression to civil society outside". I'm not sure which part of civil society Iran meant to represent, particularly as transnational civil society includes views and positions that are as varied politically and strategically as the positions of States. However, most of the NGOs in attendance were delighted to see the working papers being introduced and talked about, and were glad that Australia had had the gumption to take this forward and set an important precedent that could potentially move the conference forward.

Moreover, it was politically and substantively important that the G-10's first working paper so clearly underlined the centrality of the CTBT to the NPT compact, and the profound proliferation dangers attached to holding open the option to resume nuclear testing; if the Nuclear Weapon States keep the testing door open by failing to ratify the CTBT, others may march through, conduct their own nuclear explosions and risk shattering the non-

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Advancing Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Through Accountability and Transparency

- Regina Hagen, INESAP

What is the rationale of countries to continue with secrecy on nuclear matters although they promised more transparency in the Review Conferences to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, both in 1995 and in 2000? Why must Working Papers introduced to the 2005 Review Conference continue to "confirm the importance of measures aimed at increasing accountability and transparency with regard to nuclear arsenals" (NPT/CONF.2005/WP.35 introduced by several countries on May 11)? Would it harm 'national security' to "provide periodically the aggregate number of warheads, delivery systems and stocks of fissile materials for explosive purposes in their possession?" (If so, would Reaching Critical Will's "Model Nuclear Inventory" report harm international security, this author wonders.)

No, it wouldn't, says Annette Schaper, director of the project on transparency in nuclear arms control at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF). Rather, the more transparency countries offer, the better the preconditions for non-proliferation and disarmament. Non-proliferation, e.g., requires information about nuclear installations and materials. Joint decisions on export controls can only be made when information on the sensitivity of (nuclear) technologies is available. Nuclear disarmament, in its turn, is inconceivable without information on deployments or stockpile stewardship activities. Knowledge about material properties and quantities is a requirement for disposition of excess materials. Verification is a must to ensure the irreversibility of nuclear disarmament (i.e. to make sure that warheads are dismantled and not just stored for possible further use.)

Accountability, according to Hans Born, Senior Fellow at the Geneva Centre for the

Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), is rather more voluntary than verification, and yet closely related to the demand for more transparency. Accountability has to do with control over nuclear weapons, and with democracy. He laid out that accountability has three perspectives, namely non-proliferation, command and control, and democratic governance, and that accountability is structured into five layers:

- (military) command and control (e.g. separate storage of warheads and delivery vehicles or decision making by more than one person),
- civilian control (civilian expertise available to decision-maker(s) to counterbalance the military knowledge and point of view),
- parliamentary control ratification of international treaties, budget control – in particular with respect to procurement and development -, but also parliamentary debates and hearings),
- public control (information from think tanks and NGO experts, referenda, elections),
- and last but not least international control (which can in turn increase transparency, e.g. through reporting obligations).

The panel organized by PRIF and DCAF was co-hosted by the German and Swiss Delegations to the 2005 NPT Review Conference. Ambassador Heinsberg from Germany and Ambassador Streuli from Switzerland in their brief introductions to the topic both took the chance to express their frustration

about the lack of any movement forward at the Review Conference and expressed their gratitude that this panel gives those present, as Jürg Streuli put it, the opportunity "to finally discuss not procedural issues

but substance."

Ambassador Heinsberg stressed the high priority transparency and accountability has for Germany, as exemplified by German activities in the framework not only of the NPT but also of the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Conventional Forces in Europe treaty, the Vienna documents, the Open Sky agreement, as well as the annual public disarmament report issued by the German government.

Ambassador Streuli confirmed the importance that the NPT retains its credibility as the most important tool with respect to nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament and that the treaty regime maintains what it has been able to achieve in the past.

UN Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Ambassador Nobuyasu Abe, in his introduction mentioned that transparency becomes ever more important the closer the world eventually moves toward the goal of complete abolition of nuclear weapons. While a certain margin of error can still be tolerated as long as nuclear weapons states possess hundreds or even thousands of nuclear warheads, this is no longer possible once they move down to dozens and then to zero.

In the subsequent discussion, all panel participants, as well as the audience, raised interesting aspects and quite a few (sometimes unanswered) questions. And this author, as so often in the past days of this stalemated conference, wonders what good these valid deliberations can do in a time when States Parties to the NPT can't even agree to finally start discussions that would allow them to raise all those important issues, among them how to further non-proliferation and disarmament through an increase in accountability and transparency.

Regina Hagen is Coordinator of the International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation (INESAP).

Transparency becomes ever more important the closer the world eventually moves toward the goal of complete abolition.

Advocates Welcome Study Recommending Expanded Compensation for Those Hurt by US Nuclear Tests; Groups Call on Congress to Move Quickly to Help Victims

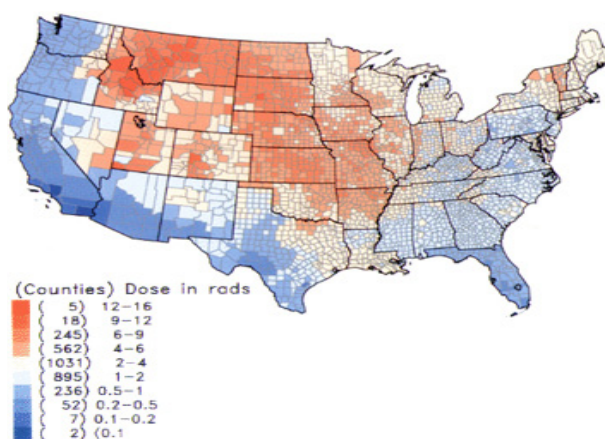
Groups concerned about the health effects of radioactive fallout welcomed today's release of a National Academy of Sciences (NAS) report recommending that eligibility for the federal compensation program for people suffering from cancer connected to US nuclear weapons tests not be limited to its current geographic boundaries and urged Congress to move quickly to assist sick downwinders. The NAS study said that Congress should implement science-based changes that, in effect, would extend coverage of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (RECA), which is now limited to residents of parts of Nevada, southern Utah and Arizona as well as workers who handled uranium.

"The National Cancer Institute has shown that there were hot spot areas all over the country where milk was contaminated. People with a high risk of thyroid cancer should be compensated without delay wherever they lived without having to jump through hoops," said Arjun Makhijani, Ph.D., president of the Institute for Energy and Environmental Research (IEER), referring to a 1997 National Cancer Institute (NCI) report on radioactive iodine doses from fallout. "The cancer risks from fallout other than thyroid cancer still need to be determined by careful study. The available science on other cancer risks from testing is inadequate because scientists have not talked to the downwinders carefully enough to determine all the pathways by which they were exposed. For example, radioactive ash deposited after test blasts on laundry as it dried outside could have led to higher exposures than what has been accounted for."

"The NAS report is a mixed bag," said Mary Dickson, lifetime resident of Salt

Lake City and survivor of thyroid cancer. "It admits that fallout affected the entire country. But it is not possible for many victims to produce hard scientific evidence of their exposure because studies were not done at that time. At this point, all the government has to do is wait for the victims to die."

Susan Gordon of the Alliance for Nu-



Per capita thyroid doses from NTS tests

Source: NCI 1997

www.cancer.gov/cancer_information/doc.aspx?77f79d46b27c

clear Accountability welcomed NAS's recognition of the need to include additional geographic areas under RECA. "However," Ms. Gordon qualified, "under no circumstances should benefits be taken away from the 22 currently eligible RECA counties. Current RECA benefits should not be changed."

Kimberly Roberts of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) welcomed the NAS recommendation for a broad federal education and communication program about fallout risks. "Patients must have access to information to make informed decisions about their exposures. Congress should include physician education and outreach as part of any new RECA legislation," Ms. Roberts added.

"RECA funding should not subject to the whims of annual appropriators, so

that those who are sick and dying receive a check to pay for their chemotherapy rather than a government IOU," said Vanessa Pierce of the Healthy Environment Alliance of Utah. "Also, those who were harmed by fallout should receive awards for health damages comparable to the \$150,000 payments received by nuclear weapons workers who contracted similar diseases. The public was deliberately misinformed by the government about the health risks of nuclear testing and deserve as much."

"It's time for the federal government to make good on its obligation to help all people sickened by US nuclear weapons testing," Jeremy Maxand, Executive Director of Idaho's Snake River Alliance, concluded. "The Bush Administration and Congress should focus on making the RECA program work effectively rather than pursuing the dangerous resumption of nuclear weapons tests."

RECA was originally passed by Congress in 1990 and amended in 2000. The legislation was historic because it was the first time the government publicly acknowledged that downwinders and uranium workers had been hurt and deserved compensation. In the 1950s and early-1960s, the US conducted nearly 100 aboveground nuclear weapons tests. A National Cancer Institute (NCI) study on the health impacts of fallout released in 1997 found that millions of people in the US received significant doses of radioactive iodine and that hot spots occurred thousands of miles from the test sites.

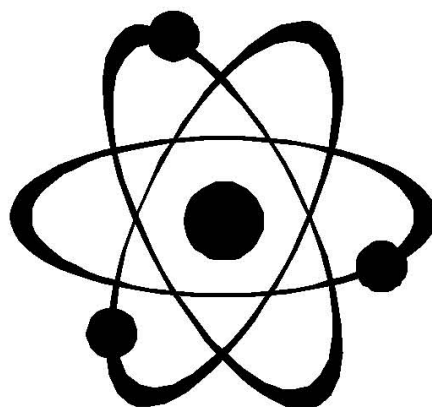
The NAS investigation began in 2002 to assess recent scientific evidence, including the NCI data, to determine whether other groups of people should be covered under the RECA program.

NUCLEAR TERRORISM, NUCLEAR POWER, & ARTICLE IV

EXPERTS BRIEFING FOR DELEGATES AND NGO REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE

DR. ANDREW KANTER,
PHYSICIANS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

DR. TARIQ RAUF,
INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY



**MAY 18, 2005
1:15-2:45 PM
UN CONFERENCE ROOM E**

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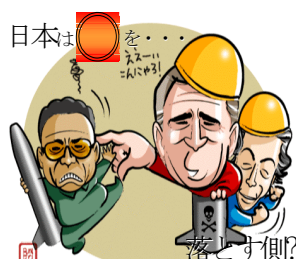
PSR® Physicians
for Social
Responsibility

Peace Boat Education Kit

This Introductory Kit was developed by Tokyo-based International NGO Peace Boat to be used as a presentation source to explain current issues in response to Nuclear Weapons in the world, especially focusing on Japan's status in the context. We concentrated our effort on transmitting the idea of how nuclear issues are urgent and how they are closely related to our lives. The structure of this kit is organized in a way so that people may realize the need to overcome the blind belief of Nuclear Deterrence by outlining the policy of nuclear proliferation and our acquiescence in accepting nuclear weapons as something necessary.

In the making of this kit, focus was placed on issues to be presented in an easy to understand way, for those who have never touched on this issue before. It is understood that it should not be something to be easily misunderstood, and exaggeration should carefully be avoided, however, it is also created in a way, which is very clear and gives a strong impression to be remembered clearly. This kit is based on the book "*Nuclear Proliferation*" (A. Kawasaki (2003), Iwanami Shinsho), with further research and investigation on fact relevance.

We sincerely wish this kit to be used in the wider community such as schools and study groups, and raise awareness among people, especially this year, 60 years after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and also the year for the NPT review conference.



The Nuclear Psychology

- Hongwei Chen, WILPF

The arena of nuclear politics is shrouded with logical paradoxes: the possession of weapons that can annihilate the planet are necessary for protecting the homeland; threatening war is necessary for peace; streamlining nuclear arsenals is disarmament. While many have attempted to rationalize these intuitively irrational axioms, such as deterrence theory, Diane Perlman of the Psychologists for Social Responsibility believes that the roots of States' pathological dependence on nuclear weapons lies in the psychologies of decision-makers. In a May 10th discussion in Conference Room E, Perlman noted that a society that maintains nuclear weapons must have a set of "hegemonic belief systems" that make their possession seem absolutely necessary.

Referencing research done by Dr. Robert Lifton, Perlman argues that the very existence of nuclear weapons- a Damocles' sword hanging over the entire planet-

creates psychological changes as the human mind tries to cope with the "unthinkable" prospect of nuclear war. These changes usually enable the person to think of nuclear weapons in less threatening ways, by downplaying the human dimensions of nuclear strategy to justifying one's own arsenal as necessary to deter enemies. All the nuclear war planning, the technostrategic discourse and the political theory justifying nuclear doctrines are ways to cope with the fundamental paradox of nuclear weapons- that in order to achieve peace, one has to threaten, with utmost credibility, global annihilation.

Perlman noted other belief systems that were involved with nuclear weapons doctrines, such as the mantra 'the only thing they understand is force' or the false binary opposition between 'doing nothing' and military intervention. Many of these beliefs are based the image that the enemy is necessarily manipulative, uncompromising, and self-interested- an image that is continuously reinforced by

mainstream international relations theory as well as mass media.

The main task for the disarmament movement, she concluded, is to create a positive message. So far, most of the language surrounding abolition demands has been negative- we need to *get rid of* our nuclear weapons etc.; we have yet to project a positive vision of security in a nuclear-free world. Those who champion nuclear weapons provide people with positive promises of security, while anti-nuclear activists demand to remove that security. Therefore, it is necessary for such movements to propose alternatives to militarized and nuclearized defense, such as social defense networks or diplomatic sanctions. Such proposals help severing the psychological link between possessing weapons and security.

Hongwei Chen is an intern with the Reaching Critical Will project of WILPF UN Office.

What's On: Calendar of Events

Wednesday, April 18

Daily morning interfaith prayer vigil

Where: Ralph Bunche Park, 42nd Street, 1st Avenue

When: May 2-6, 7:30 AM

Contact: Caroline Gilbert, Christian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Abolition 2000 Morning Caucus

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: Daily, 8 AM- 9 AM

Contact: Monika Szymurska, Global Coordinator

The Quest for Justice and a Non-Nuclear Future

Where: United Nations Conference Room E

When: 10 AM- 1 PM

Contact: Judy Lerner, Peace Action

Nuclear Terrorism, Nuclear Power and Article IV

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 1:15-2:45

Contact: Jaya Tiwari, Physicians for Social Responsibility

World Council of Churches and Nuclear Disarmament

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 3-5 PM

Contact: Dr. Hans Heijis, World Council of Churches

Thursday, May 19

Daily morning interfaith prayer vigil

Where: Ralph Bunche Park, 42nd Street, 1st Avenue

When: May 2-6, 7:30 AM

Contact: Caroline Gilbert, Christian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Governmental Briefing- Amb. Javad Zarif (Iran)

Where: Conference Room E

When: 9-10 AM

Abolition 2000 Morning Caucus

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: Daily, 10 AM- 11 AM

Contact: Monika Szymurska, Global Coordinator

People of Color Communities Organizing to Ban Nuclear Weapons

Production, Testing, and Waste Disposal

When: 10:15 AM

Briefing on Space Security

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 1:15 - 2:45 pm

Contact: David Wright, Union of Concerned Scientists

Pessimism continued from page 1

proliferation regime together with the test ban.

A closed session in the afternoon proved that breaking the logjam once does not necessarily get all the logs rolling in the right direction. Once it had been shown that work could proceed in the plenary directly under the President's auspices, the race was on again to convene the main committees. This time, Iran and the United States appeared to be out front pulling, causing suspicious minds to wonder why.

As delegations failed to agree on how to allocate the remaining eight working days so that the committees and various subsidiary bodies would get sufficient time to go through the motions, it is important to ask whether it is sensible to go ahead with convening the committees so late. There is a real risk that, with so little time left, they will not be utilised successfully to facilitate debate and substantive negotiations, but instead could become the means for further posturing and delay. The number of sessions currently being considered could tie hands well into next week, giving the Conference little time to manoeuvre if any of the committees gets bogged down, as has happened in the past. It would be worth considering alternative ways to use the remaining time and skills of the designated chairs more effectively to draw out the best ideas and recommendations from the valuable resources represented by the many working papers, so that substantive negotiations can begin early next week. Unfortunately, this seems unlikely – we should never underestimate the inertia of bureaucratic minds and special interests!

Want to read more analyses from Rebecca Johnson?

Visit www.acronym.org.uk/npt for frequent but irregular analyses from the Acronym Institute.

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