

Civil society perspectives on the First session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2010 Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, April 30-May 11, 2007

Now's the Perfect Time

Susi Snyder, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Welcome to Vienna, the home of the International Atomic Energy Agency, located in a country whose Parliament voted unanimously to reject nuclear energy. Over four hundred governmental officials and three hundred NGO representatives have registered to participate in the first meeting of the eighth review cycle of the nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty. We arrive shuffling stacks of new ideas, our suitcases full of visions for a better world, to take this opportunity to strengthen our collective security.

Ambassador Amano of Japan has been working hard to gain consensus on an agenda for this conference, and he is reportedly close to success. Although states parties will not be taking substantive decisions at this meeting, they can start by agreeing on an agenda, debating the pressing issues, presenting and discussing innovative working papers, and developing strategies to deal with disagreements. Any state that uses procedure to block discussions at this meeting is delivering a clear signal to the world that it believes preventing such discussions is more important than the Treaty itself.

It is well known that the 2005 NPT Review Conference ended without any substantive outcome because a few states parties used procedural arguments to prevent discussions on critical issues, resulting in seventeen days of procedural delay. This Preparatory Committee comes at a time when multilateral disarmament diplomacy has moved past the repeated failures of 2005 and into the modest incremental successes of 2006, but is still in crisis mode.

Delegates to this PrepCom have an opportunity to continue the trend of positive outcomes exemplified in the Biological Weapons Convention Review Conference, and in advances made in the Conference on Disarmament, which is inching closer to negotiating a Fissile Materials Treaty.

This first Preparatory Committee is supposed to be a place to discuss the most important issues of the review cycle, so states and NGOs focus on discussing ideas and circulating proposals. The Non Aligned Movement, chaired by Cuba, will be presenting more than a half dozen working papers. The NGO community has brought ample food for thought, including a launch today (1:30pm, Conference Room A) of *Securing Our Survival*, an updated case for a Nuclear Weapons Convention. Reaching Critical Will is launching an updated *Model Nuclear Inventory*, providing factual infor-

mation on states' weapons and fissile materials holdings; and *Nuclear Disorder*, a civil society response to the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission Report will be distributed. These inputs generated by NGO experts are intended to stimulate and nurture the discussions that will lead to action to fully implement the NPT and rid the world, once and for all, of these weapons of terror.

During this review cycle, there are opportunities for significant changes in global power structures and perceptions. It is not enough for states parties to repeat rhetoric while nuclear weapon states move towards qualitative improvements in their arsenals. NPT states parties must examine all aspects of this treaty, reflect on the achievements of the past, and recognize that now is the perfect time to make a path forward to a Nuclear Weapons Convention.



You are invited to the international launch of
Securing our Survival (SOS):

The Case for a Nuclear Weapons Convention,
and the

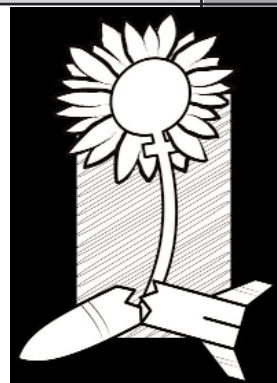
International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear
weapons (ICAN)



Monday April 30
1:30 – 2:45 pm
Plenary Room A

*Speakers include Tadatashi
Akiba, Mayor of Hiroshima and
Canberra Commissioner
Dr. Ron McCoy*

*Cosponsored by the government of
Malaysia, the International
Physicians for the Prevention of
Nuclear War, the International Alliance of Lawyers Against
Nuclear Arms, the International Network of Engineers and
Scientists Against Proliferation*



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The views expressed herein are not necessarily those of WILPF or the Reaching Critical Will project.

If you would like to submit an article or graphic to the News in Review, contact the Editor.

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Nuclear Word Search

n p i g a i j a i u n t y o a
 o o a c l u r n i e n r p g a
 i u i e s o a s e o i a a i t
 t r d t l g n e c h n e v d e
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Editor: **Stephen Schwartz**, Center for Nonproliferation
 Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, USA

Volume 14, 2007, 3 issues per year

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FACT OR FISSION

Australia's industry-funded Uranium Information Centre states: "Low levels of radiation comparable to those received naturally in some places (up to 50 mSv/yr) are not harmful."

In fact, epidemiological studies simply cannot resolve the question beyond dispute, so the basis for radiation protection standards around the world is the 'linear no threshold' (LNT) hypothesis which assumes that the risk is proportional to the radiation dose and that there is no threshold below which radiation is safe. An important 2005 study by the US National Research Council's Board on Radiation Research Effects has added significant weight to the LNT model and the associated risk estimates. Chair of the Council's research panel, Professor Richard Monson, concluded: "The scientific research base shows that there is no threshold of exposure below which low levels of ionizing radiation can be demonstrated to be harmless or beneficial."

www.nap.edu/books/030909156X/html

-Provided by Jim Green, Friends of the Earth



Towards 2010: Promoting Proliferation or Disarmament?

Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy

Project ahead to 2010: How do we want the international nonproliferation regime to look in three years time? Or ten years, or thirty? How will we assess the global security challenges and health of the NPT? Will we still be worrying about Iran and North Korea? Will Britain be receiving accolades for its courageous decision not to renew Trident after all, and will the other weapon states be seeking ways to gain security by reducing their reliance on nuclear weapons as well? Or will we be lamenting the reinvigoration of nuclear doctrines and discussing how to stop Egypt, Japan, South Africa or another state from withdrawing from the NPT? Will we be worrying about further nuclear testing or celebrating the entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)? Will we be urging states to ratify the fissile materials treaty or still lamenting deadlock in a Conference on Disarmament that no-one takes seriously anymore?

These are some of the questions delegates to the NPT PrepCom in Vienna will need to keep in mind. On paper, this PrepCom may appear to be a routine diplomatic meeting; rather unexciting perhaps, since no decisions have to be taken. Think again. This meeting is not only to prepare for 2010 but to lay better groundwork to save the NPT. Make no mistake: the states parties may number 189, but the foundations of the treaty are shakier than at any time since it was opened for signature in 1968.

There are three core reasons for this that will need to be addressed.

Sixteen years after the cold war ended, the P-5 permanent members of the Security Council are still investing significant resources in perpetuating their nuclear weapons, advertising them to the world as the only truly effective, magical 'insurance policy' snake-oil, to ward off all known (and unknown) nasties that might emerge. And, as an added benefit, they imbue the holder with wondrous potency and are rumoured to prevent dandruff (or at least to deter people from telling you).

As a consequence, weak and unattractive regimes are keen to get hold of this magical snake-oil for themselves, especially if it will make others treat them as if they are more important than their neighbours (and if not more attractive, then at least scarier). Unfortunately, the NPT was set up at a time when no-one thought cooperative enforcement powers would be needed for its Parties, since the founding sheriffs (who had to have nuclear weapons) thought they had the power to make everyone else obey. This institutional deficit means that the good guys – the ones abiding by the Treaty without any nuclear weapons – have no real, collective tools or powers to make the bad guys – the ones undermining the treaty from within and without – comply.

Finally, nuclear energy – intended as a worthwhile incentive 40 years ago – just ain't all that attractive these days. It's expensive and dangerous to produce; it requires centralised electricity grids and costly site security; and then when the

fuel is spent, it leaves mountains of waste that will be radioactive for tens of thousands of years. And on top of these disintents, it provides the essential technologies and materials to make nuclear weapons. And that, sadly, is the main (if seldom explicit) incentive for those seeking to acquire or further develop nuclear fuel capabilities. But we're not supposed to talk about that, for fear of making the incentives package appear less inviting to the real non-nuclear states. Especially since a nuclear weapons free world – the Treaty's headline incentive – is being so egregiously negated by the nuclear addicts.

So, what will be important for this PrepCom to work on?

If you want to lay the groundwork for strengthening the Treaty, then don't let the nuclear weapon states get away with upgrading, renewing, modernising or replacing their nuclear weapons. As Kofi Annan said at Princeton last year, call such developments what they really are: "nuclear rearmament". And no, they are not compatible with the NPT.

Don't withhold condemnation of Britain for wanting to renew Trident because you think "Aww, poor Brits, they're so small, and they're not as bad as some of the others." Is that what you'd say about a shooter who puts 'only' 160 bullets instead of 200 into his ammunition belt and heads for the local school? Would you really turn a blind eye because 160 bullets is a lot better than 400 or 10,000? On the contrary, Britain should be held accountable because, unlike some of the others, it knows that what it is doing is wrong and unlawful, and most of its people believe there are better alternatives for dealing with Britain's psychological and security problems. What you say at the PrepCom about the renewal of Trident may actually make a difference and help Britain to do the right thing after all. As a joint letter from the heads of the Catholic and Protestant Churches in Scotland said, "Nuclear dangers and human insecurity will increase if nuclear weapons continue to be treated by some countries as if they are a currency of power or as if they were an indispensable part of defence for the foreseeable future."

The nonproliferation regime cannot risk another debacle like 2005. But nor can it afford to negotiate important consensus agreements, as it did in 1995 and 2000, only to have them ignored, dismissed or reinterpreted to suit the interests of a few powerful states with illusions that their notions of national security are more important than the security of other nations. Agendas, special time, summaries and final documents, important though they may be, are just tools of the review process, not its objectives.

Your primary objective here is to use diplomacy and politics to halt proliferation and promote the total elimination of all nuclear threats. Your debates have to make it impossible for anyone to think of using nuclear weapons, and your decisions should devalue nuclear arms and strengthen the powers and institutions for nonproliferation and disarmament.

The World Court Coalition

George Farebrother, World Court Project UK

In 1996 the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the highest court in the world, confirmed that all states are legally obliged to pursue negotiations in good faith on nuclear disarmament. In fact, the ruling goes one step further than the NPT obligation because it says that a result – nuclear disarmament – must be achieved. Sitting around a table talking is not enough. Nuclear weapons must be abolished.

“Good Faith” means negotiating sincerely and flexibly to achieve the desired result – a nuclear weapon-free world. The objective should be pursued consistently with real political will. The conclusion should be reached with “all deliberate speed” rather than drag on for decades. Finally, the parties must avoid policies which contradict the very purpose of the negotiations.

How are the nuclear-armed states measuring up to the Good Faith Obligation? Not very well, it seems. Instead of fulfilling their obligation, they:

- Pay lip-service to global abolition, but aim to keep their nuclear weapons indefinitely and retain them for “minimum deterrence”;
- maintain or expand the role of nuclear weapons beyond a hedge against survival to include undefined “vital interests”;
- reject stringent verification of nuclear arms reductions while calling for strict control of nuclear technology when it comes to states outside the nuclear club;
- fail to make their nuclear weapon reductions irreversible by retaining the means, material and expertise to resume a rapid expansion at any time; and
- refuse even to begin real nuclear disarmament negotiations, preferring to spend years failing to agree on steps along the way, such as the Test Ban Treaty and the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty.

In the face of this foot-dragging, several organisations have come together to form the World Court Coalition. So far the Coalition includes:

- International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War;
- International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms;
- International Peace Bureau;
- Abolition 2000 Europe;
- International Law Campaign;
- Pax Christi International;
- International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility; and
- International Network of Engineers and Scientists.

We are planning to ask the judges whether the nuclear states are complying with their Good Faith obligation and to explain what compliance would require. We believe this will bring more legal pressure on the minority of states with nuclear weapons to keep their promise to work towards a world free from their menace.

This will be an exciting project, and a demanding one. We already have a lobbying and drafting group which has prepared a draft request to the World Court for the UN General Assembly, and is busy working with diplomats to take it forward. However, the initiative will need the support of citizens worldwide to engage civil society, governments, the media and the public.

We have two NGO events in Vienna and the details are in News in Review. You are cordially invited to take part in these. If you would like to be kept in touch with the World Court Coalition contact George Farebrother, World Court Project UK, 67 Summerheath Rd, Hailsham, Sussex UK, geowcpuk@gn.apc.org, with your name, address, and your comments and questions.



Towards 2010: Priorities for NPT Consensus

A Middle Powers Initiative panel featuring:

The **Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C.**, Chairman of MPI, author of *Beyond Hiroshima*, chairing the session

And as panelists:

H.E. Sergio De Queiroz Duarte, President of the 2005 NPT Review Conference; Head of the Brazilian delegation to the first session of the NPT preparatory committee

Dr. John Burroughs, Executive Director, Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy; Co-editor of *Nuclear Disorder or Cooperative Security?*

Where: NGO Room in the Austria Center

When: 1:15-2:45, Wednesday, May 2

Contact: Jim Wurst, Middle Powers Initiative,

jwurst@gsinstitute.org Website: www.middlepowers.org



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- Resolution 1540 and the Proliferation Security Initiative



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What's On Today's Calendar of Events

Abolition Caucus Strategy Meeting: Open

Where: NGO Room in the Austria Center (02 C 246)

When: 8-9am

Contact: Anthony Salloum

Website: www.abolition2000.org

Launch of Securing our Survival: The Case for a Nuclear Weapons Convention

International Launch of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)

Where: Plenary Room A

When: 1:15-2:45

Contact: Felicity Hill

Website: www.icanw.org

Registration for NGOs

Where: Austria Center, 2nd Floor

When: Starting at 8 am

Contact: Ms. Kristin Jenssen, Office of Disarmament
Affairs

Website: <http://disarmament.un.org>

Opposing nuclear rearmament: Trident replacement, Star Wars and the urgency of a global ban

Where: NGO Room in the Austria Center (02 C 246)

When: 3-6pm

Contact: Sam Akaki, Parliamentary Officer, Campaign for
Nuclear Disarmament

www.cnduk.org

*The Global Security Institute cordially invites you
to a lunchtime panel:*

“WEAPONS IN SPACE AND THE DISARMAMENT/NONPROLIFERATION REGIME”

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Dr. Hans Blix, WMD Commission

Dr. Patricia Lewis, UNIDIR

Ambassador (Ret.) Robert Grey, fmr. US
ambassador to the CD

Chair: Jonathan Granoff, President, GSI

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*Lunch will be provided

