



News In Review

A collection of NGO views on the NPT PrepCom 2003

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The Real Reason We Are Here

Many of the delegates representing States Parties to the NPT have been deliberating or negotiating non-proliferation and disarmament agreements for years. It is easy to understand how, when caught up in technical discussions such as a Fissile Material Cut Off Treaty or CTBT verification measures, delegates begin to view nuclear weaponry in a way that disengages them from the horrific realities of nuclear weapons. A critical function of NGOs is to re-humanize the effects of nuclear weapons for delegations in order to move the deliberations from a dry, rationalist debate to one of conscious commitment to progress towards genuine disarmament.

Most of the deliberations take place behind closed doors, but in response to a determined push by NGOs, some supportive states, and the DDA, the NPT has opened a morning session for NGOs to brief the delegates. Kathy Wan Povi Sanchez opened this year's NGO session by characterizing the dominance of scientific and technical language within disarmament discourse as a "separation of the mind and the heart." Through her way of "seeing through the eyes of the heart," she insisted that "the culture of nuclear violence began its existence as a cold, calculating parasitical entity" that feeds off of the land and lives of those inhabiting this earth. Her community in northern New Mexico, USA, (which shares a border with the Los Alamos nuclear laboratories) has been adversely affected by the nuclear industry for decades, as a result of uranium mining, nuclear waste disposal, and nuclear test explosions.

If Kathy Sanchez's people have experienced first hand the horrors of the nuclear industry, Vic Sidel of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) provided the technical and medical language to convey the effects felt by peoples around the world, from indigenous peoples to the hibakusha, the atomic bomb survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Mr. Sidel demonstrated his extensive expertise in public health by speaking extemporaneously on the health effects of nuclear weapons, (especially the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrators currently in development by the US government) nuclear testing, and depleted uranium.

To counterbalance their overwhelming critique of the behavior of Nuclear Weapon States (NWS), the NGOs offered a list of recommendations on a variety of aspects of the NPT. There were calls for the codification of Negative Security Assurances (NSAs), a

reversal of current trends in NWS nuclear strategies, and other critical ways and means of strengthening the NPT.

Aaron Tovish, speaking on behalf of the NGO Committee on Disarmament, addressed the urgency and danger of the DPRK withdrawal by proposing the establishment of a mechanism of the NPT to investigate and resolve emergency compliance situations.

There were calls for the establishment of an International Sustainable Energy Agency to promote the use of safe and clean sources of energy that do not provide the means and materials to make nuclear weapons. There was also support for UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's proposed global conference to eliminate nuclear dangers of all kinds.

Regina Hagen of the International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation (INESAP) called for a cessation of missile and missile defense systems testing, in conjunction with the initiation of negotiations for a global treaty banning ballistic missiles and missile defense systems.

After the presentations were delivered, several delegations, including Mexico, Chile, Canada, and Cuba, called for increased participation of NGOs in future PrepComs and Review Conferences. Further participation would, the Chilean delegate remarked, be one way of the NPT States Parties to fulfil their obligation of increased transparency. The reiteration for heightened NGO presence will hopefully make its way into the Chairman's Factual Summary of the PrepCom, due at its close next week.

This is what we offer as Non-Governmental Organizations: expertise, dedication, and a reminder of the humanity common to us all. We are not here to criticize and blame the delegates for the continued spectre of nuclear war; we are here to connect with them as individuals, as human beings, all fighting the fight for the survival of the human race, free from the threat of nuclear terror. As the doors to the plenaries now close on NGOs, we hope that our recommendations, our proposals, our critiques, and our plea for humanitarianism empowers the delegates to recommit to their obligation to end the nuclear threat.

To conclude the morning session, Atomic Mirror presented a collection

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Alyn Ware

International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms

1. What are your hopes or expectations for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation 2003 Prepcom?

At the 2000 NPT Review Conference Malaysia and Costa Rica submitted a working paper on elements of a Nuclear Weapons Convention, and the UK submitted a report on verification of complete nuclear disarmament. My hope for 2003 is that these initiatives are supported and extended.

2. What topics do you work on most or find the most interesting in this forum?

Compliance mechanisms interest me as they encompass the psychology and politics of State

behavior, and frame the legal mechanisms necessary to enable nuclear disarmament to be realized. I would like to see some more creative exploration by the NPT Prep Coms of mechanisms and approaches to compliance with NPT obligations by NWS and nuclear capable states. The Model Nuclear Weapons Convention (A/52/7) contains some stimulating ideas in this respect.

3. What led you to be doing the work that you are doing now?

I learnt a lot about security and peace as a kindergarten teacher - cookies, milk and apples should be shared equally, weapons are not allowed in the sandpit, and everyone needs a cuddle when they are hurt. I thought the world worked that way but was shocked out of my complacency with the horrendous health effects of nuclear testing in the Pacific and learning about the dangerous illogic of nuclear deterrence. I realized that I had to work to prevent children (of all ages) from being destroyed by nuclear weapons, and to help adults remember some of the wisdom from kindergarten to add to their experience and knowledge.



After his Death

It turned out
that the bombs he had thrown
raised buildings:

that the acid he had sprayed
had painfully opened
the eyes of the blind.

Fisherman hauled
prize winning fish
from the water he had polluted.

We sat with astonishment
enjoying the shade
of the vicious words he had planted.

The government decreed that
on the anniversary of his birth
the people should observe
two minutes pandemonium.

Norman MacCaig

International Movement of Poets Against
War

<www.PoetsAgainstTheWar.org>
submitted by the Atomic Mirror



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of poems to the Chairman. In the introduction to the collection, Pamela Meidell quotes Ben Okri, a Nigerian poet and winner of the Booker Prize:

"The real war always has been to keep alive the light of civilization, everywhere. It is to keep culture and art at the forefront of our national and international endeavors. The end of the world begins not with the barbarians at the gate, but with the barbarians at the highest levels of the state. All the states in the world. We need a new kind of sustained and passionate and enlightened action in the world of the arts and the spirit."

*Rhianna Tyson
Reaching Critical Will
WILPF*

with the generous editing assistance of Alyn Ware, IALANA

India Reflects U.S. Nuclear Policy

On January 4, 2003, the Indian Cabinet Committee on Security expanded India's nuclear use options by announcing that "in the event of a major attack against India, or Indian forces anywhere, by biological or chemical weapons, India will retain the option of retaliating with nuclear weapons". The statement was made less than a month after the Bush administration announced that the United States "reserves the right to respond with overwhelming force including through use of all of our options to the use of [weapons of mass destruction]". Nuclear weapons were specifically cited as one of the options.

In this significant respect, India has dropped its policy of "no first use" of nuclear weapons. Unlike U.S. policy, the Cabinet Committee did appear to foreclose the use of nuclear weapons for a preemptive strike against enemy nuclear forces, stating ambiguously that "a posture of no first use will only be used in retaliation against a nuclear attack on Indian territory or on Indian forces anywhere". But the new doctrine is contradictory in retaining its former policy of a "Credible Minimum Deterrent" while also stating that "nuclear retaliation to a first strike will be massive and designed to inflict unacceptable damage".

The doctrine also stated India's retention of its policy of non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states — now limited, though, by the option of nuclear retaliation against a biological or chemical attack. Here the Indian policy is similar to U.S. policy, except that the latter does not rule out preemptive nuclear use against biological or chemical threats. There is no indication that India has adopted the U.S. option of nuclear use against an overwhelming conventional attack.

U.S. Influence on Indian Policy

Indian adoption of U.S. nuclear doctrines reflects a negative pattern of U.S. influence on Indian policy. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), which bans all nuclear explosions, was signed in 1996 by U.S. President Clinton only on condition of the continuance of the huge "Stockpile Stewardship" program of expanded nuclear weapons laboratory experimental and computing capabilities. This includes the National Ignition Facility, a mammoth laser-driven machine intended to produce thermonuclear explosions reaching ten or more pounds of TNT equivalent, a result facially prohibited by the treaty. In 1999, the U.S. Senate failed to approve ratification of the CTBT. This rejection of the treaty, along with the undermining of its goals inherent in the "Stockpile Stewardship" program, factored significantly in India's decision not to sign it, despite international censure for its nuclear testing in May 1998,

and its decades-long history of supporting the test ban and nuclear disarmament.

Also, in 2001 India approved U.S. missile defense plans and U.S. withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Partly in return, the United States lifted economic sanctions on India for its 1998 nuclear testing. This may contribute to arms racing, as the United States sells and transfers arms and dual-use technology to India.

"Strategic Rationality"?

Deterrence theory is the lens through which the United States views Indian nuclear policy. M. V. Ramana, a physicist and policy analyst at Princeton University, warns that this framework is fundamentally flawed and dangerous. In a February 6 article in the Daily Times (Lahore, Pakistan), Ramana critiques India's Emerging Nuclear Posture by Rand analyst Ashley Tellis, whose current role, as senior advisor to the U.S. ambassador to India, makes his views particularly germane in understanding U.S. policy. According to Ramana, Tellis recommends that the U.S. should press for an Indian nuclear arsenal that is "small but safe, survivable and reasonably effective, stealthy and surreptitious, and not rapidly useable". Ramana thinks Tellis' outlook is blurred by a "realist brand of strategic analysis" which "forces him to look for strategic rationality where there is none". Ramana concludes that "more dangerous than Tellis' flawed analysis is the faith in nuclear deterrence that underlies the thinking of the nuclear elites. That is a profoundly dangerous belief, the failure of which will have catastrophic consequences."

The nuclear crisis implicit in the tense military stand-off between India and Pakistan that lasted eighteen months with troops massed along the Line of Control dividing Jammu and Kashmir, following a terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001 has now abated somewhat. Violent incidents continue, however, as long-standing and deep-rooted ethnic, religious, and political divisions remain. If the United States invades Iraq, the violence likely will escalate.

As the new Indian doctrine illustrates, U.S. nuclear policies are exacerbating nuclear dangers in South Asia. Further, U.S. prescriptions for nuclear "restraint" in the Tellis mode will ring hollow until the United States changes its own policies. What is needed is a rejection of "deterrence" as a basis for South Asia security. To credibly advocate that course, and to address the Chinese nuclear arsenal that partly motivates Indian policy, the United States will have to renounce its own adherence to nuclear deterrence, and work towards immediate global de-alerting of nuclear forces and their rapid, verifiable reduction and elimination.

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Sound Byte

[now I m]... more interested in following what s going to be happening in the next few years leading up to the 2005 Review Conference with the whole process of reporting.... the Non-Aligned States are really looking to hold the nuclear weapons states accountable on paper this time...

*Pamela Meidell
The Atomic Mirror*

"So do you think they just forgot what SHOCK & AWE used to mean?"

WHAT S ON

All Week-

NGO Morning Caucus, **9am - 10 am, Conference Room XXIV**

Linus Pauling Exhibition, Palais des Nations- **Halle des Pas Perdu**

THURSDAY MAY 1

*Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament Presentation to the Morning Caucus, **9am - 10 am, Room XXIV**

* Workshop on Citizen s Inspection Teams, presented by For Mother Earth, **10am - 1pm, Room XXIV**

* UK Government presents Verification of Nuclear Disarmament , chaired by David Boucher, Permanent Representative of the UK Mission to the CD. **1:30 - 3pm, Room XXV** Sandwiches will be provided at 1:15pm

*Sir Joseph Rotblat presents The Nuclear Issue Post Iraq , **1:30pm - 3pm, Room XXII**

*Founding Meeting of European Working Group on Missile Defense and Space Weaponization , **4pm - 5pm, Room XXIV**

*Panel Discussion, Toxic Legacy of the Nuclear Age , **5pm - 7pm, Room XXIV**

*Linus Pauling Exhibition Reception, **6pm - 8pm, Halle des Pas Perdu**

FRIDAY MAY 2

* Ambassador Molnar to address Morning Caucus, **9am - 10am, Room XXIV**

*NGO Committee for Disarmament Business Meeting (all welcome),NOTE CHANGE OF VENUE, **from 10am, Room XXIV**

*Panel: Steps to Nuclear Disarmament: A European Initiative, **1pm - 3pm, Room XXIV**

*Abolition 2000 Global Council Dinner (by invitation), Cafe du Soleil, pl. du Petit-Saconnex

SATURDAY MAY 3

*Abolition 2000 General Meeting, **10am - 6pm, Centre Universitaire Protestant**