

NPT NEWS IN REVIEW

Civil society perspectives on the 2014 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Preparatory Committee 28 April—9 May 2014



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The NPT News in Review is a daily publication produced by the Reaching Critical Will programme of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom during meetings of NPT states parties.

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EDITORIAL: OPEN SPACES

Ray Acheson | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

Reactions to the Chair's draft recommendations to the 2015 NPT Review Conference foreshadowed challenges to come. The nuclear-armed states seem unwilling to accept anything more than a reprint of the 2010 outcome document, while the vast majority of states are increasingly unwilling to postpone action on disarmament. The recommendations will not be adopted by the PrepCom, which is just as well given their inadequacies. But the signal from this meeting is that states that want measurable and meaningful progress must be willing to take a stand in 2015.

France and the United Kingdom complained that the text "drifted away" from the language of the 2010 outcome document. Their refusal to accept recommendations that go beyond 2010 indicates serious trouble for the RevCon. The vast majority of countries cannott be expected simply to allow the action plan to roll over for another five years, especially given the failure of the nuclear-armed states to meet their obligations.

Reaching Critical Will's NPT Action Plan Monitoring Report 2014 documents a 56% failure rate amongst nuclear-armed states in meeting their obligations. These five states have not been holding up their side of the bargain. They are preventing the effective implementation of the Treaty. Yet they seem to expect the 184 other states parties to accept a five-year extension of these exact same obligations. To what end? Are states more likely to undertake these actions in the next five years than they were in the last five? How will nuclear-armed states be held accountable for their failures in 2020 any more than they will be in 2015?

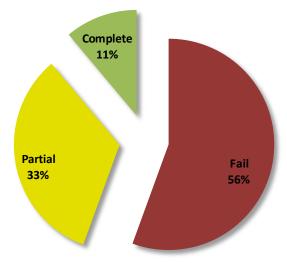
The Chair argued that if he had tabled recommendations simply containing the same language as 2010, states would not have taken it seriously. Yet this is apparently the only thing that the nuclear-armed states

are willing to take seriously, which is probably why the draft recommendations do not go far beyond 2010.

Ambassador Golberg of Canada noted that most of the cluster 2 and 3 recommendations reflect only a verbatim reproduction of the 2010 action plan, without any attempt to seek greater implementation or stronger commitments. The Arab Group said the section on the Middle East did not meet even their minimum expectations—while on the other hand, the US delegation suggested that the language in the recommendations could prevent the Middle East conference from being held.

The disarmament recommendations contain only a few updated items that build upon 2010. The Non-Aligned Movement, New Agenda Coalition (NAC), Austria, and Brazil demanded that these be strengthened. Ambassador Kmentt of Austria argued that the recommendations must reflect the urgent need for progress, while the NAC emphasized the importance of the Review Conference mapping out further actions for nuclear disarmament.

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Nuclear-armed state implementation of 2010 NPT action plan

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REPORT: NEWS IN BRIEF

Ray Acheson | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

Overall document

- Switzerland said it would have liked the draft to be more explicit and have more detail.
- UK said it would have preferred a simpler document.
- UK and France complained the draft drifted away from 2010 consensus language.
- Austria noted 2010 is a basis for work but we must take into account developments since then.
- Russia and the US said they are not prepared to accept some of the recommendations.
- NAC, NAM, Austria, Brazil, and Cuba called for strengthening the language on disarmament to ensure consistency between the recommendations on the clusters.
- Canada noted that most of cluster 2 and 3 reflected only a verbatim reproduction of the 2010 action plan, without any attempt to seek greater implementation or stronger commitments.
- Cuba said the draft's structure is inconsistent with the 2010 outcome and gives disproportional space to non-proliferation.
- Brazil called for deletion of the subtitles.
- Cuba said the RevCon should adopt an updated plan of action.

Disarmament

- Austria said article VI and many disarmament actions from 2010 remain unimplemented and the draft must reflect the urgent need for progress.
- NAC called for recommendation on establishing a subsidiary body on article VI in Main Committee I.
- NAC emphasized the importance of the RevCon mapping out further actions for nuclear disarmament.
- Cuba complained that the draft calls for negotiations on FMCT but only discussions on NSAs.
- Cuba and Nigeria noted that it only "encourages" the nuclear-armed states to not modernize or develop new nuclear weapons; Nigeria said it should call upon them.
- Cuba said it has submitted WP.43 with ten actions for nuclear disarmament.
- China said nuclear disarmament will not happen overnight and the document should reflect the need to maintain strategic stability.

- Canada said the disarmament recommendations are solid.
- Australia welcomed references to de-alerting, FMCT, and CTBT but said language on the UNSG's five-point plan should be "more accurately reflected".
- Japan suggested strengthening the language on disarmament, transparency, and humanitarian consequences.
- Brazil and Turkey called for a reference to the Shannon mandate in the recommendation on FMCT.

Humanitarian impact

- NAC said the unacceptable humanitarian harm must feature more prominently in the paper.
- France said the language on humanitarian consequences does not create a basis of discussion conducive to consensus next year.
- Nigeria noted that the humanitarian conferences were not just for fun but to convey certain objectives.
- Austria called for more forward-looking language on humanitarian impact.

Non-proliferation

 Brazil said the draft must reflect voluntary nature of additional protocol (AP) and suggested the universality of the AP should be linked to the elimination of nuclear weapons.

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• China suggested the document reflect the underlying causes of proliferation.

Regional issues

- NAC, NAM said the language on the MEWMDFZ needs to reflect the strong support for fulfilling the mandate of 2010.
- Arab Group said the document does not reflect the minimum expectations of the Arab states and highlighted several concerns related to lack of reference to the 2010 outcome, the letters of support, and importance of agreement among states of the region.
- US said the language on the MEWMDFZ might prevent the conference from being held and does not reflect progress to date.
- Australia said language on MEWDMFZ should build on positive progress.
- France said regional matters are addressed incompletely.
- Japan and ROK suggested strengthening the language on the DPRK.

Other

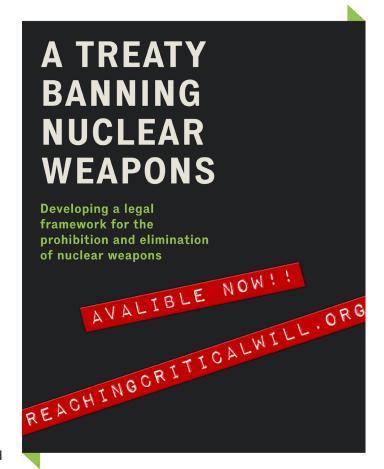
- Japan and ROK suggested strengthening the language on withdrawal.
- Australia said language on compliance should be stronger but that it understands the current context.

Moving forward

- US said a contentious debate on the text should be avoided and the conference should just move on.
- UK said more negotiating time than available would be necessary to reach consensus.
- Brazil and Mexico called for more work on the draft recommendations.
- Mexico expressed concern that not enough has been done to prepare for the RevCon.
- Russia suggested turning the recommendations into a Chair's summary.
- The Chair said that some delegations have made it clear consensus cannot be met; due to lack of time he will revise the draft on the basis of comments received and will present it as a Chair's summary on Friday morning.
- He noted that it cannot contain the same language as 2010, arguing that states would not have taken such a document seriously.

Editorial, continued

Mounting frustration over the deadlocked approach to nuclear disarmament reflected in the draft recommendations demonstrates the need for the pursuit of actual effective measures. The possibilities set out in the NAC's working paper on article VI provide a much more constructive basis for work at the 2015 Review Conference than the draft disarmament recommendations circulated on Wednesday. What is needed now is a forum to seriously discuss the options set out in the NAC paper. Since consensus could not be reached on the draft recommendations, the space for more ambitious proposals in 2015 is wide open. States parties must fill this space with bold commitments that advance the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. •





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Reaching Critical Will

REPORT: CHANGE IN ACTION

Arianna Framvik Malik | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

rganized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, and Nuclear Threat Initiative, the seminar introduced the Middle East Next Generation of Arms Control Specialists Network (MENAC). Founded by Dr. Chen Kane, the network aims at connecting and giving voice to the future leaders of the Middle Eastern region. Noticing that Middle Eastern parties sometimes misunderstand each other, MENAC seeks to highligh opportunities and offer alternatives that are not being considered. Therefore, the network focuses on bringing in young people from the region that do not suffer from the same selfimposed obstacles.

Kings College PhD-candidate and Iranian representative within MENAC, Ariane Tabatabai, expressed optimism with regards to the changes in the region that have taken place since last year's PrepCom. She highlighted the ongoing Syrian disarmament of chemical weapons that has led voices in Israel to consider ratification of the CWC; progress within the Helsinki conference-consultations; and positive reports from IAEA regarding Iran's nuclear programme.

Aviv Melamud, Goethe-Institut PhD-candidate originating from Israel, spoke on the issue of developing each country's knowledge and expertise that a disarmament process would require, as many of the countries in the region lack both the diplomatic and technical expertise to implement arms control. While the global WMD-control regime offers a basis upon which to build, through the IAEA, NPT, and CWC, he argued

that nothing comparable exists for biological weapons or delivery systems. A regional verification mechanism tailored for the Middle East would require strong national institutions equipped with technically- and politicallyknowledgeable personnel able to handle the technical and legislative process.

Karim Kamel, programme associate for the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum at the Social Science Research Council, originating from Egypt, highlighted that MENAC has developed a multilevel approach to promote arms control, regional security, and regional forums. Projects include last year's simulation of the Helsinki Conference in New Mexico, an online course available in all the regional languages on WMD in the Middle East against aimed at those who do not have previous knowledge of the issue, as well as an upcoming workshop in Turkey geared towards empowering journalists on the topic.

MENAC participants emphasized the need for not only a change in discourse, but in some countries the introduction of a discourse on the WMD-subject. Des Browne, former British Secretary of Defense and Chair of the Nuclear Threat Initiativeurged the young researchers to get out of the weeds of the details and speak in a language that people understand. He argued that nuclear weapon politics are about mysticism as much as it they are about reality. Even talking of the weapons and processes around them requires expertise, which is necessary to keep the public out of the discussion. Browne encouraged the network to keep asking the why-questions. •

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REPORT: 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF 1540

Wilbert van der Zeijden | PAX

This session, chaired by Spanish Ambassador Roman Oyarzun and Mexican Ambassador Yanerit Morgan, looked at the achievements of the first decade of UN Security Council resolution 1540. This resolution requires all states to take measures to prevent non-state actors from acquiring or using chemical, biological, nuclear, or radioactive weapons and their means of delivery. The panel consisted of Ambassador Oh Joon (Chairman of the 1540 Committee), Ms. Virginia Gamba (Deputy High Representative of UNODA), and Mr. Enrique Ochoa (of the 1540 Group of Experts).

Amb. Oyarzun said that while the UN tends to be slow to implement new resolutions, slow implementation has never been an option with 1540. Amb. Morgan added that Mexico is convinced that all states have something to learn from each other's experiences with implementation of 1540.

Amb. Joon explained that 1540 is an important component of the global security architecture and that after 10 years, the Committee is ready to move away from awareness raising and towards full and sustainable implementation. As of today, 172 of 193 UN member states have issued their national reports, bringing us closer to universal implementation. Despite past successes, daunting tasks still lie ahead, especially considering the complex international political environment and rapid technical developments.

Ms. Gamba showed a video message of UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon, in which he stressed the importance of continued efforts for universal implementation of 1540 and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons technology, remarking that there are no right hands for WMD. Ms. Gamba went on to explain that UNODA focuses efforts on three areas: support for national implementation; promoting cooperation between states; and building effective partnerships with civil society, academia, and the private sector.

Mr. Ochoa elaborated on the three main obligations under 1540: to refrain from any support for non-state actors; to adopt and enforce effective law; and to establish domestic control over materials. He noted that many states still need to take steps to fully implement all three obligations and warned that whole chain is only as strong as its weakest link.

Representatives of Poland and Croatia elaborated on positive experiences with the peer review process they undertook last year, which involved a wide range of governmental and non-governmental actors from both countries. A universal application of such peer reviews is advisable, the representatives argued. •

REPORT: NEW INITIATIVES AND IDEAS

Arianna Framvik Malik | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

rganized by Canadian Pugwash, this panel featured Jonathan Granoff, President of the Global Security Institute and Senior Advisor of the American Bar Association's Committee on Arms Control and National Security; Erika Simpson, Associate Professor of International Relations at Western University; and Michael Simpson, Director of One Sky—Canadian Institute of Sustainable Living.

In a speech that connected the nuclear weapons issue to the environmental issue, Jonathan Granoff pointed out that what nuclear weapons and the climate have in common is the existential threat to the survival of civilization. Granoff argued that advocacy for the elimination of nuclear weapons has not succeeded because the debate is framed within a traditional 'national risk vs. benefit' analysis. In reality, nuclear weapons are an existential threat constituting a pillar in a systematically dysfunctional international security order that doesn't adequately address a set of pressing global threats.

Michael Simpson aimed to address why we find ourselves in living in a world with nuclear weapons from a psycho-social perspective. Based on thoughts by writer Ken Wilber, Michael explored world security from an integral theory standpoint, arguing that a person's understanding of security depends on where this person is on a "quadrant scale" of individual vs. collective perspectives as well as interior vs. exterior perspectives. As human mental understanding develops from the baby's egocentric perspective to the teenager's ethnocentric perspective, Michael argued that about 70% of the world's population statistically will stay at this level and not develop the world centric perspective for which the UN was built.

Erika Simpson went on to speak about nuclear energy and the problem of nuclear waste. In Canada, a proposal has tabled to bury nuclear waste below ground, only 1.2–1.6km from Lake Huron. While some geologists insist that the waste will leak into the great lakes that are providing 24 million people with their drinking water, other geologists claim the hole can be successfully filled and remain intact. Lobby efforts to get the community to agree to the proposal are paying it thirty million a year not to protest. Arguing that simply bringing the nuclear waste to this location would put the area at risk for a terrorist attack, Erika urged civil society to get involved in this so far silent issue.



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REPORT: INNOVATING VERIFICATION

Gabriella Irsten | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

The Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) hosted a Thursday lunch event on verification measures together with the US Department of State. The event argued that it is time to fundamentally re-think how the global community engages with the design, development, and implementation of arms control verification. The event also shed light on how NGOs can work with governments to develop better verification measures for nuclear disarmament.

The panel consisted of Mr. Taylor from the US Government, present in his own capacity; Mr. Nasser, representing the NGO perspective; Ms. Hartigan of NTI; and Mr. Van Dassen of the International Relations Swedish Radiation Safety Authority. The event was chaired by Ms. Hinderstein of NTI.

Ms. Hinderstein explained that no one single verification approach is enough to verify a full lifecycle and that a multitude of approaches are needed. Mr Taylor, having seemed to misunderstand the NPT agreement, argued that the NPT bargain consists of the NNWS promising not to obtain nuclear weapons and the NWS moving towards disarmament. He suggested that theObama Prague speech from 2009 and the New START are paths in the right direction to that end. Mr. Nasser highlighted that the closer the world gets to zero nuclear weapons, the trust issue between NWS and NNWS will be intensified. Therefore capacity-building and trust are key issues with developing verification measures.

Ms. Hartigan and Mr. Van Dassen gave a brief overview of NTI's new pilot project that has been taking place in three expert working groups. These working groups have focused on the "how" of working toward a world without nuclear weapons, addressing difficult questions such as: How can the elimination of weapons be verified? How can we be confident that civilian nuclear materials remain in peaceful use? How can NNWS be involved in arms control verification? Their presentation outlined numerous recommendations that have come out of these meetings, including on how to preserve and restore records and information, preserving facilities, and demonstrating how nuclear archaeology is important for governments (in particular for NWS). They also highlighted the importance of including NNWS in the process of verification and other sectors working with security issues in order to come up with the best and most innovative ways of enhancing verification measures. •

REPORT: SEMINAR ON EDUCATION

Christian N. Ciobanu | NAPF and BANg

ast Friday, the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Soka Gakkai International (SGI), Peace Boat, Hibakusha Stories, and IPPNW Costa Rica, with the assistance of the Permanent Mission of Austria, convened a seminar on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation education.

Ms. Virginia Gamba, Director of the UN Office for Disarmament Affairs, focused on the UN's involvement in promoting education and emphasized the importance of educating young people. She talked about the importance of establishing solidarity amongst young people on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation issues. Their solidarity would help raise awareness about the issues.

Ms. Tamara Patton, a Research Associate at the Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (VCDNP), explained new pedagogical tools, which include: new analytic software, satellite imagery, and virtual reality projects. The software involves data from Human Geo, Geofeedia, Map Large, and Rosette to analyze issues relevant to nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament issues. Furthermore, satellite imageries enable individuals to analyze facilities related to fissile material production and centrifuge capacities. She described that CNS also developed a virtual verification course and VCDNP established a virtual reality project to support verification research.

Ms. Michiko Kodama, Hiroshima survivor and Assistant Secretary General of Hidankyo, gave her testimony about her experiences of the day when the bomb was dropped over Hiroshima. Her personal message triggered a strong response among participants and inspired reflections on the need to ban nuclear weapons.

Ms. Hayley Ramsay-Jones, SGI in Geneva, spoke about the relevance of civil society in promoting education. Specifically, Ms. Hayley Ramsay-Jones addressed SGI's international survey on attitudes towards nuclear weapons, "People's Decade for Nuclear Abolition," and the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons.

Afterwards, Dr. Alexandra Arce von Herold mentioned the importance of education through actions. She also noted that it is essential to engage with young people, for example with BANg's Game Changers project that took place in Nayarit, Mexico, or its contributions to the work of the open-ended working group in Geneva last year. Including fresh and new perspectives on nuclear disarmament can be energizing for the debate. •



REPORT: NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT THROUGH INTER-PARLIAMENTARY FORUMS

Alexandra Hiniker | PAX

This event convened by Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) and chaired by Jonathan Granoff of the Global Security Institute examined nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament processes in inter-parliamentary forums.

Ms. Paddy Torsney, the Permanent Representative of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) to the UN, spoke about the ways parliamentarians can unite legal, political, and institutional elements to address nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. She reviewed steps parliamentarians had undertaken to date, and presented a handbook published by PNND and IPU with information for parliamentarians to implement future initiatives. She encouraged parliamentarians to see which of the suggested good practices could be implemented in their own countries.

Next up, Ms. Hedy Fry of Canada underscored the important role parliamentarians have in moving an agenda forward, but pointed out that first they must be made aware of the issue, which had not been done consistently for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. She also challenged the participants with her assessment of the Budapest agreement and the current situation in Ukraine, presenting it as an opportunity to look at how such deals are negotiated, and encouraged the participants to think about what role parliamentarians could play.

Mr. Bill Kidd, a member of the Scottish parliament, spoke about the unique position of parliamentarians to raise this issue at national and international levels. He provided examples in Scotland both in terms of how the parliament addresses the Trident base, and also at the international level with the Marshall Islands lawsuit motion he presented to the Scottish parliament. He underscored the responsibility of elected officials to serve their electorate rather than to aim for reelection. Mr. Kidd praised efforts thus far in Oslo and Nayarit, and expressed hope for similar successes at the upcoming Vienna conference.

PNND founder Alyn Ware, the final speaker, explained that looking at nuclear weapons as just a technical or military issue would not solve the problem, and that engagement should rather be done in multiple forums. He posited that there are many options to address an issue before sanctions or collective force, but too often they are not discussed. He proposed highlighting cases where such tactics were used to resolve conflict, and emphasized that they should be backed up through education initiatives.

The panel concluded with a discussion on the role of delegations, with general agreement that a diverse delegation with members of opposition parties as well as NGOs is a good way to hold governments accountable for their actions overseas. •





Photo © Tim Wright

'NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE ... A RELIC OF THE COLD WAR THAT WE MUST FINALLY OVERCOME.' SEBASTIAN KURZ, FM

SEEYOUIN AUSTRIA

