



# NPT News in Review

*Civil society perspectives on the  
2010 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference  
3–28 May 2010*



## You can't even use them!

Beatrice Fihn | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

At 12:00 AM on Tuesday, 25 May, the President of the Review Conference released the first draft of the Final Declaration. It is a compilation of the Chairs' draft reports from the three main committees and subsidiary bodies, with the addition of a preamble. While the substance has not been changed from the last revised versions discussed in each committee, the Non-Aligned Movement requested time to review the document, so negotiations were postponed until Tuesday afternoon.

When the afternoon closed meeting kicked off at 4:00 PM, delegations engaged in a section-by-section review of the document, making comments, suggesting changes, and identifying areas where consensus still has not been reached. These areas are roughly the same as the beginning of the Conference, and include such controversial topics as the action plan on disarmament, the IAEA safeguards system and its additional protocol, export controls, and non-compliance. In addition to these, the issue of a nuclear weapons free zone in the Middle East hangs over the Conference like the sword of Damocles with no official reactions to the draft proposed by Ambassador Kelly last week.

While some compromises have already been made on the remaining areas of disagreement and some potentially bridge-building proposals have been suggested, the diversion of views on key issues is still fundamental. And as the Conference gets down to its last three days, time is running out for perfect solutions to these differences. There is a possibility that the substance of each text will be stripped away to the point of unacceptability for those states that are genuinely committed to progress on these issues. There is also a possibility that a final document could include a list of paragraphs that no one is happy with but all can live with and still consider the Conference a success.

However, a successful outcome does not automatically guarantee progress on nuclear disarmament or non-proliferation, as has become evident since 2000. Real progress

on such issues must come through a shift in thinking about security to a mindset far removed from the Cold War mentality that created the NPT.

It is beyond doubt that nuclear weapons are not usable in warfare. The International Court of Justice stated that "the threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law." The potential for devastating human and societal consequences cannot be accepted. Furthermore, these weapons are completely useless in combating the threats the world is facing today, such as climate change, intrastate conflict, poverty, and terrorism. Rather, the existence of nuclear weapons create conditions for further tensions and injustice around the world that can enhance such threats. That nuclear weapons are not for use is confirmed by the nuclear weapon states that purport their arsenals are solely for deterrence purposes.

But deterrence does not work on climate change. Deterrence does not reduce social inequalities, nor does it prevent terrorism. How long are citizens of these countries going to accept such argument for useless weapons? In our recent publication, *Beyond arms control: challenges and choices for nuclear disarmament*, we note in the fiscal year of 2008, the US spent an estimated \$52.4 billion on nuclear weapons-related programmes alone. According to a 1998 United Nations Development Programme report, an additional \$40 billion a year (only half of what has just been spent on the modernization of nuclear weapons in order to ratify New START) would be enough to achieve and maintain universal access to basic education for all, basic health care for all, reproductive health care for all women, adequate food for all, and clean water and safe sewers for all.

How can we still accept this?

In light of the current economic climate,

*continued on page 3*

**26 May 2010  
No. 18**

In this issue:

- 2 | A Middle East NWFZ—the background**
- 4 | French Senators: We support Ban Ki-moon's plan!**
- 5 | Fear, faith, and nuclear weapons**
- 6 | Time changed. Will you follow?**
- 7 | Implementing the African NWFZ Treaty**
- 8 | Calendar of Events**
- 8 | Nuclear Crossword**

The *News in Review* is a daily publication produced by the Reaching Critical Will project of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

See [www.reachingcriticalwill.org](http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org) for information, statements, papers, reports, archived *News in Reviews*, and more from the NPT.

## A Middle East nuclear weapon free zone—the background

Hillel Schenker | *Palestine-Israel Journal*

Does anyone know the answer to the brainteaser — “What happened on 9 December 1974 that connects the Middle East with Hiroshima and Nagasaki?” The answer is that on that day, the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 3236 calling for “the establishment of a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the region of the Middle East.”

That resolution has been reaffirmed many times over the years. This year, the Egyptian delegation to the NPT Review Conference has once again raised the issue in New York.

Dr. Sameh Aboul-Enein, a noted Egyptian scholar and expert on disarmament issues, wrote the following in the recent issue of the *Palestine-Israel Journal* ([www.pij.org](http://www.pij.org)) devoted to “A Nuclear Free Zone in the Middle East: Realistic or Idealistic?”:

“The 1995 Resolution on the Middle East adopted by the NPT Review and Extension Conference recognized the region’s special status, as did the Final Document of the 2000 NPT Review Conference. Insofar as it pertains to the NPT, particularly its review, implementation and universality, the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East focused on achieving the following clear objectives:

- The establishment of a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the Middle East;
- The accession to the NPT by states in the region that have not yet done so; and
- The placement of all nuclear facilities in the Middle East under full-scope IAEA safeguards.”

Dr Aboul-Enein noted that as the 2010 NPT Review Conference drew near, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak once again issued a call for “the

establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East (as) a first step toward creating an effectively verifiable zone in the Middle East that would be free of all weapons of mass destruction—nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and their delivery systems.”

Easier said than done, though we can all agree that this is clearly a worthy goal, in the interests of all the peoples and states in the Middle East.

The most serious attempt to confront the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East took place within the framework of the “Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS)” working group talks between 1992-1995. With the participation of 14 regional actors, ACRS was one of the five multilateral working groups established after the post-Gulf War 1991 Madrid Conference hosted by the Spanish government and co-sponsored by the USA and the USSR.

The primary reason the talks collapsed was a fundamental disagreement between the Egyptian and Israeli delegations about priorities. The Egyptians said that the creation of Middle East nuclear-free-zone was the first priority, while the Israeli delegation said that comprehensive Israeli-Arab peace was the precondition for creating a ME NWFZ.

This leads us back to the need to understand the motivation behind the Israeli nuclear program. According to Dr. Avner Cohen, the leading historian of Israeli nuclear policy, the origins of the program began with the perception of the country’s first prime minister David Ben-Gurion—soon after the State of Israel was established in 1948, just three years after the end of the Nazi Holocaust, which had killed one third of the Jewish people—that a nuclear insurance policy was necessary to ensure that “never again” would such a catastrophe occur. Israel reached a nuclear weapons capacity around 1967–68, and according to foreign sources, it is assumed to have between 80–200 nuclear warheads. However, Israel has never officially declared that it has nuclear weapons, and according to a formula first enunciated by Shimon Peres, considered one of the fathers of the nuclear program, in a meeting with American President Jack Kennedy in 1963: “Israel will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons to the Middle East.” In recent years Peres, now the Israeli president, has periodically reaffirmed the official Israeli position in support of an eventual nuclear and weapons of mass destruction free zone in the Middle East. However this is always accompanied by the

NPT News in Review

26 May 2010 | No. 18

Reaching Critical Will

A project of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom

777 UN Plaza, 6th Floor, New York, NY 10017  
ph. +1 212.682.1265 | fax +1 212.286.8211  
contact: [info@reachingcriticalwill.org](mailto:info@reachingcriticalwill.org)

Editors: Ray Acheson and Beatrice Fihn  
Reporters: Emma Bjertén, Allison Pytlak

*The views expressed in this publication are not necessarily those of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom or the Reaching Critical Will project.*



*continued on next page*

A Middle East NWFZ (cont.)

condition that this would only be an “end of days” scenario, i.e. as a final component of comprehensive Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Arab peace.

The other primary factor that has to be taken into account when trying to promote a Middle East nuclear-weapons-free zone is the Iranian nuclear program. This program did not begin with President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. The original Iranian nuclear program began in the 50s with the aid of American President Eisenhower’s “Atoms for Peace” program, and it is well documented that the Shah of Iran was a strong proponent of the program. Today, the Iranian leadership officially declares that its program is only dedicated to peaceful purposes, and it too officially expresses support for a Middle East nuclear-free zone, but Western and regional governments, as well as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), have expressed various degrees of skepticism and concern about the actual goals of the program. Another concern is that if the Iranians do gain nuclear weapons potential, it may set off a regional nuclear arms race which will include many of the Arab Sunni regimes in the region, which may feel threatened by Shiite non-Arab Iran.

So the first thing to ask when promoting a Middle East nuclear-weapons-free zone is, what are the borders of the Middle East? Are we just talking about Israel and its Arab neighbors? What about Iran? And what about Pakistan, and India, which are acknowledged to have nuclear weapons?

One thing is clear—asking Israel to sign the NPT is a futile exercise, because it will not unilaterally disarm, a condition for joining the Treaty, before comprehensive peace is achieved.

That doesn’t mean that nothing can be done. We now have a tool which didn’t exist in 1974 when the first UNGA resolution on a Middle East nuclear-weapon-free zone was passed, which didn’t even exist when the ACRS talks collapsed in 1995. I’m referring to the Arab Peace Initiative (API), which was passed at the Arab League summit conference in Beirut in 2002, and reaffirmed at successive summit conferences. The API, signed by 22 Arab states, and supported by 57 Moslem countries, including Iran, offers Israel comprehensive peace and normalized relations, in exchange for a withdrawal to the 1967 borders, the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel, and an agreed upon solution to the Palestinian refugee problem.

What we need today is two parallel tracks, with the participation of all the relevant players. One should move towards the achievement of Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Arab comprehensive peace. And the other should move, simultaneously, towards the achievement of a nuclear-weapons-free and weapons of mass destruction free zone in the Middle East.

*Hillel Schenker, who lives in Tel Aviv, is co-editor of the Jerusalem-based Palestine-Israel Journal ([www.pij.org](http://www.pij.org)). •*

You can't even use them! (cont.)

with high unemployment and huge budget deficits around the world, spending on these weapons seems more irrational than ever. Could the US not spend \$80 billion on something that would provide more benefits for its people and their security than a modernization of useless, illegal, and immoral weapons? Does the UK not have other holes in its budget to fill to increase the welfare of its citizens rather than the £97 billion that the lifetime cost of Trident replacement is estimated to?

As delegates are preparing for a last concerted effort to agree on acceptable language on actions in a final document, we must remember the big picture and ensure that the outcome meets human needs rather than the needs of the politico-military elite of nuclear-armed governments and the industries that support them. •



## French Senators: We support Ban Ki-moon's plan!

*The following is a letter sent yesterday to NPT President Cabactulan by Senators Jacques Muller and Michelle Demessine indicating the support from the French Senate and National Assembly for the UN Secretary-General's five-point plan in the context of the 2010 NPT Review Conference. The letters were organized and translated by Jean-Marie Collin, French Coordinator for Parliamentarians for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament.*

To his Excellence, Ambassador Cabactulan,  
President of the 2010 Review Conference of States-Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Mister President,

The 2010 Review Conference of States-Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will soon be completed. I'm aware of the persistence of several obstacles to the propositions for strengthening of the NPT that you are facing in this period. I'm also aware that a part of those obstacles are generated by some countries, which, unfortunately, our own country.

Therefore, Mister President, I—as French Senator and Council Member of the Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND)—wish to express our strong support to the actions led to promote the strengthening of the NPT and a world free of nuclear weapons.

I wished to remind you that the French delegation, representing the French Parliament, of the Interparliamentary Union approved and voted the resolution (April 10th, 2009) at the time of 120th Inter-Parliamentary Union Assembly: "Advancing nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament and securing the entry into force of the comprehensive

nuclear test ban treaty: The role of Parliaments". This resolution "Urges parliaments to instruct governments to express their support for the UN Secretary-General's Five Point Proposal contained in his address, "The United Nations and Security in a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World".

In the same way, Senator Michelle Demessine, Council Members of the Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) presented on December 23rd, 2009 a motion for a resolution on "the review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty". This resolution "Estimates that to start again the process of disarmament nuclear, there is urgency to give again life with the treaty of nuclear nonproliferation by adapting its rules to the new international order, of which the ultimate goal would be the signature of a Convention of complete abolition of the nuclear weapons". This text was supported by 23 senators.

I wanted to remind you, Mister President Cabactulan, its elements in its crucial hours for the NPT.

Please accept, Mister President Cabactulan, the expression of our most distinguished salutations.



Senator Jacques MULLER, France



Senator Michelle DEMESSINE, France





## Fear, faith, and nuclear weapons: an interfaith view on the NPT

Allison Pytlak | Religions for Peace

Pax Christi USA and the Muslim American Freedom Foundation jointly presented a thought provoking side event on Tuesday, 25 May. Its purpose was to examine the role that fear plays in maintaining the nuclear status quo and illustrate that faith and trust are a way to quell that fear. In understanding what faith is about, one can better understand the role that faith-based organizations play in the nuclear disarmament movement.

Mr. Ibrahim Ramey is the Director of the Human and Civil Rights Division at the Muslim American Freedom Foundation. He brings years of experience related to nuclear issues as well as expertise in advancing interreligious dialogue and action. He opened his presentation by noting the growing awareness of the importance of religion in how we live and how we govern our world through agreements and treaties. Put simply—faith matters.

Noting that there are not many Muslim organizations in the broader peace movement, Mr. Ramey used this opportunity to provide a Muslim perspective on subjects of conflict, war, and peace. Islam sets out strong and binding language about conduct in conflict and the need for reconciliation afterward. He set out two “essential tasks” related to nuclear abolition. The first is to recognize that even when nuclear weapons are not detonated or used, they are still dangerous because of the fear and irrationality that they create. The second task was to ask that Muslim Americans develop a more holistic approach to their participation in society, as it is the role of citizens to create the conditions that make

justice and peace a possibility.

Mr. Dave Robinson is the Executive Director of Pax Christi USA. He is an internationally recognized expert in the field of disarmament and nuclear deterrence and has represented Pax Christi International on disarmament issues at the United Nations and abroad for many years. He began by remarking on the similarities between the Catholic ‘just war’ tradition and the Islamic rules for conduct in conflict. But whereas Mr. Ramey spoke extensively about faith, Mr. Robinson focused on fear.

Fear, he noted, is the ultimate barrier holding back abolition. Fear is what drives the development of concepts like deterrence; it is a tool and a “manipulative commodity”. Faith traditions offer a narrative to help us understand the world we live in. But the narrative of fear runs contrary to what is outlined in the Christian tradition and can only result in the lessening of security. Challenging this is critical, and something that Pax Christi USA has been engaging in across the United States. They are working to build trust—and faith—to counter fear, somewhat akin to ‘confidence building measures’ but in the parish setting.

The event ended with substantial questions that further explored the role of faith-based organizations, how different religions are perceived and how believers relate with others of the same faith in other countries. It was moderated by Manuel Padilla, also of Pax Christi USA.

*Allison Pytlak is the Disarmament Program Coordinator for Religions for Peace. •*



## Time changed. Will you follow?

A final report and comments from the German Youth Delegation

After the NGO presentations on 7 May, which included our youth speech, we were criticized by a few delegates. One ambassador said the NGOs failed. completely. In the last thirty years, he said, the peace movement and especially the youth have not provided real support for disarming nuclear weapons. Additionally, another delegate mentioned that we would have wasted lots of money in unrealistic dreams. Did we? Do we?

Sixty years ago a genie was released from its bottle, and more than once the world was at the brink of destruction. We—the youth—were not born yet. Even some of our parents were not.

Twenty years ago, the wall in Berlin fell. The large “west vs. east” conflict ended, and with it the fragile “balance of tension”. We—the youth—were small children or babies, some of us were still not born.

Today in the 21st century, the old ghost still haunts over the earth, and some leaders still behave like they were living decades ago.

We—the youth—are faced by this ancient ghost. We did not create it, we did not support it, and we think finally—60 years after its creation and 20 years after the large pressure of the cold war dropped away—it is time to live in a modern world where nuclear weapons have no right to exist.

But we are not alone. The modern world has governmental, military, and civil leaders and the majority of people in all states who have the same dream. This is a major difference to the world decades ago. In the changing world today it would be foolish to raise our voice in the same way generations did before.

We—the youth—have to use techniques from the 21st century to be effective. We talk to the world leaders instead of just opposing them because they are leaders. We organize small and efficient flashmobs instead of large demonstrations. We know how to do public relations and are not dependent on small black-white flyers that nobody reads. We are connected to more people from other cultures, continents, and countries than any generation before—and we use these networks to communicate and spread our opinion. And we are elemental part of the most powerful tool for democracy which was ever created: the internet.

Of course we also organized good old rallies: the German Youth Delegation, BANg, and IPPNW held a “Global Zero Now! Festival”. It was connected with messages for the German foreign minister and postcards shown at the festival. We and 10,000 others also took part at the large rally on Sunday, 2 May.

But we did more. Before the Conference, at

home we visited several German cities and talked with mayors to bring their message to New York—symbolized by a city sign. This will connect the global topic nuclear disarmament to local cities and therefore is an ideal way to raise awareness among people on site.

We also visited representatives of several states, emphasizing the need for a nuclear weapon free world and a Nuclear Weapons Convention. Our delegation also wrote and handed all states supporting the NWC “Thank You” cards signed by all NGOs.

We met a group of parliamentarians of all five parties in the German Bundestag who deal with disarmament and arms control. They are responsible for disarmament in all five large parties and we all urged further cooperation to spread the topic within the Bundestag.

Besides this we also established or extended the contact to several other youth or non-youth NGOs to establish much better coordination between all the groups with their unique strengths and attributes.

As one of the NGOs to attend the Review Conference, we were part of the team which created the Youth Speech presented at Friday, 7 May.

And—of course—we photographed and recorded videos. We did not just document the Conference itself, we also created media of special events and tried to catch the vibe of the summit and all surrounding activities to raise awareness.

This will be done by personal contact, but also with one of our distinct strengths: the internet. During the whole Conference we have published in social networks like Facebook or StudiVZ, used microblogs like twitter or blogs like wordpress, and used communication abilities of social networks, messengers with audio and video chat, and even mail to spread news about the Conference and the issue of nuclear disarmament itself.

Time changes. Society changes. Techniques change. But one thing remains valid all the time: nuclear weapons are a danger for all of us.

We—the youth—hope, that this will be understood by decision makers. New steps to raise awareness in society have been launched successfully. Following media shows that our work neither failed nor consists of unrealistic dreams. But now its time for sustainable decisions by every single state to fulfill the will of the majority of people worldwide.

We and all future generations will thank you for abolishing nuclear weapons!

*Ernesto Ruge is a member of the German Youth Delegation and Global Zero Student Representative. •*



## Implementing the African Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty

Emma Bjertén | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

Yesterday was Africa Day, an annual celebration of African unity. The Institute for Security Studies welcomed us to celebrate this day by hosting an event regarding the entry-into-force of the Treaty of Pelindaba, which occurred on 15 July last year. The event was also sponsored by the government of Nigeria and the Center for Non-Proliferation Studies of the Monterey Institute of International Studies. The organizers aimed to discuss the implementation of this Treaty, which has been ratified by 29 of 53 countries. The discussion focused on how the Treaty contributes to international disarmament as well as different challenges for implementation.

Mr. Noel Stott, senior research fellow at the Institute for Security Studies in South Africa, explained that the Treaty prohibits testing, obliges states to pledge renouncing nuclear devices, prohibits dumping, and supports the use of peaceful science and technology. The “verification of peaceful uses” is important as it differs from the commonly used “peaceful use of nuclear power”. Mr. Stott said that it is important to engage the nuclear weapons states that have not yet ratified the treaty. He noted that France and Spain possesses islands in the area, which are considered as a part of the European Union, and he mentioned that Protocol III obligates

them to observe certain provisions of the Treaty with respect to these territories. France has ratified the protocol while Spain has not. Mr. Stott indicated that this issue has to be sorted out.

Another matter that was mentioned by both Mr. Stott and Dr. Patricia Lewis, from the Monterey Institute of International Studies, was the issue of the Middle East. In 1996, African Arab states said they would not sign a nuclear weapon free zone until Israel renounced its nuclear weapons programme. Dr. Lewis explained that there is a deep reluctance among some of the African states that are a part of the Middle East. They don’t want to get further entrenched in arms control agreements if they are not getting something back. However, some of these states have signed the Pelindaba Treaty since then.

Dr. Lewis expressed concern about the issue of Article 9c regarding the prohibition to provide fissionable material or equipment designed for peaceful purposes of any non-nuclear weapon state. She thought that the African states might question why they are denied the sale of these materials while other countries are able to do so because of the India deal with the Nuclear Suppliers Group. She found this as an important issue to discuss as the Treaty pushes forward. •





## What's On Today's Calendar of Events

### Abolition Caucus

Where: Conference Room A, North Lawn Building  
When: 8:00–8:50  
Contact: Alice Slater, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

### Off-the-record government briefing for NGOs:

#### Delegation of Norway

Where: Conference Room A, North Lawn Building  
When: 9:00–9:50  
Contact: Ray Acheson, Reaching Critical Will

### Plenary

Where: Conference Room 4, North Lawn Building  
When: 10:00

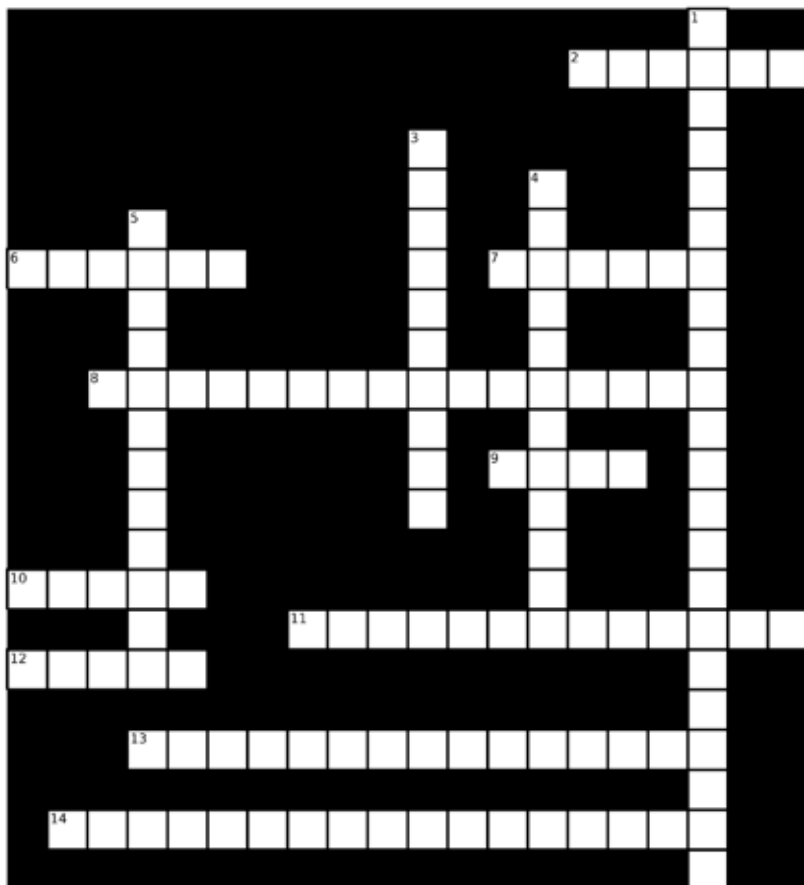
### Nuke Tweets, New Media and the NPT

Where: Conference Room A, North Lawn Building  
When: 13:15–14:45  
Contact: Stephanie Fraser, Nuke Tweets

### Plenary

Where: Conference Room 4, North Lawn Building  
When: 15:00

## Nuclear Crossword



### Across

2. This nuclear weapon free zone treaty that entered into force in 2009 covers this continent.
6. The Preparatory Committee of the NPT in 2003 was held in this city.
7. Which American president was in charge when the atomic bombs dropped on Japan?
8. President Ronald Reagan and this leader agreed on eliminate all their intercontinental ballistic missiles within 10 years (two words).
9. How many UN members are not parties of the NPT?
10. What is the acronym for this global think tank that was founded in 1966 and is located in Stockholm?
11. What is the name of the first French nuclear powered surface vessel (three words)?
12. How many nuclear weapon states were party to the NPT by the time of the first Review Conference in 1975?
13. Who was the first head of state to call for an agreement to halt nuclear testing in 1954?
14. Who is the President of the Pugwash Conferences (two words)?

### Down

1. Who is the chair of the NPT Review Conference 2010 (three words)?
3. Which American president proposed the “Atoms for Peace” programme?
4. Alva Myrdal shared the Nobel Peace Prize with this Mexican diplomat who played a leading role in the conclusion of the 1967 Treaty of Tlateloco (two words).
5. He was the President of the NPT Review Conference in 2005 (two words).