



NPT NEWS IN REVIEW

Civil society perspectives on the 2012 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Preparatory Committee 30 April–11 May 2012



Reaching Critical Will

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

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A new review cycle, a new chance to ban nuclear weapons

Beatrice Fihn | *Reaching Critical Will of WILPF*

Once again states parties, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations are meeting in Vienna to start another review cycle of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Unlike in 2007, however, we are returning to this first preparatory committee with a final document and an action plan adopted by consensus from the last Review Conference.

Just two years ago, this document was considered a great achievement. But within days of the conclusion of the Review Conference, some states qualified their support for the process to establish a weapons of mass destruction (WMD) free zone in the Middle East, while the UN Security Council imposed additional sanctions against Iran. In the two years since then, progress on implementing the action plan has been limited. In a new *Reaching Critical Will* publication, the 2010 NPT Action Plan Monitoring Report, we assessed the level of implementation of the action plan two years after its adoption. Our report concludes that while the actions related to nuclear energy and non-proliferation are moving forward (although some with limited progress), most of the 22 actions on nuclear disarmament are far from being achieved. In fact, only five out of 22 actions can be considered implemented two years after the plan's adoption.

During the two years since the 2010 Review Conference, it has been clear that limited reductions and non-proliferation measures are not enough to fulfill obligations under article VI of the NPT. Especially when such reductions and measures are carried out alongside extensive nuclear weapon modernization programmes. A new study by *Reaching Critical Will*, *Assuring destruction forever: nuclear weapon modernization around the world*, highlights that all five nuclear weapon states under the NPT are committed to not only maintaining but also "improving" and "upgrading" their arsenals. As the publication notes, "allowing these states to retain their nuclear weapon capabilities, accepting their reliance on nuclear weapons as a form of security and defence, and remaining silent when they develop new

weapons and facilities might be the greatest challenge to international peace and stability that the world is facing."

While the 2010 NPT Final Document and its action plan were welcome steps forward, and marked the best outcome that could be achieved at the time, they were never intended to be an end goal. States still have a long way to go to implement article VI of the NPT and the action plan is only a partial step in this direction. By 2015, not only does the action plan need to be fully implemented, but states will also have to agree on further steps to achieve disarmament. It is therefore important that the three preparatory committees in this review cycle are not only used to report and applaud achievements from the past, but to prepare and draw up a road map for the next steps to be taken.

Such a road map is particularly important in the light of some recent positive developments. In particular, the adoption of a historic resolution by the Council of Delegates of the world's national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies calling for the total elimination of nuclear weapons in November 2011 is a significant achievement. The resolution pledged the Red Cross and Red Crescent societies' determination to work towards this goal. Furthermore, on 17 April 2012, the Norwegian Foreign Minister announced that his government will host a meeting in Oslo in March 2013 on the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons.

This increased momentum towards a ban on nuclear weapons must be taken seriously by states parties of the NPT. More than forty years after the Treaty's entry into force, it is past time for the concrete achievement of nuclear disarmament. It is critical that any road map developed by NPT states parties complements these developments and that the idea of concluding a ban on nuclear weapons becomes central in the NPT review process. •

The NPT in 2012: challenges and changes

Rebecca Johnson | *Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy and the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)*

In gathering for the first NPT Preparatory Committee meeting (PrepCom) of the 2015 review cycle, what are the most important tasks and issues for governments to address? Of course the first PrepCom has to adopt an agenda that takes into account the consensus outcomes from 2010, 2000, and 1995 at the very least. Beyond that, this PrepCom's main tasks should be to work out how best to implement the Treaty's objectives and obligations, taking into account recent developments on the relevant action points adopted by the 2010 NPT Review Conference (RevCon).

The hot ticket item from the 2010 RevCon was the decision to hold a conference of all states in the Middle East to take forward the objective of a zone free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, as contained in the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East. Yet despite the importance of this agreement in enabling a consensus final document to be adopted, it took over 15 months to agree on a host country (Finland) and facilitator (Jaakko Laajava, the Finnish Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Security Policy). To fulfil the role envisaged in the 2010 RevCon, the Middle East Conference needs to ensure high level engagement from Iran and Israel as well the Arab governments. Much has changed in the region, particularly through the transformative actions of Arab civil society. Though generally positive, such rapid change can bring uncertainty for regional and international relations. Civil society has also refused to let the provocative sabre rattling from sections of the Israeli and Iranian governments go unchallenged. Some weeks ago, Israeli citizens started posting Facebook messages declaring, "Iranians we love you" and "Iranians we will never bomb your country". With courage and humanity, significant numbers of Iranian civilians are responding on Facebook and YouTube, "Israelis we love you".

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) has recently hired campaigners in Egypt, Israel, Bahrain, Turkey, and Syria, to work closely with nuclear-ban campaigners in Iran and various European and African countries. In many different ways, civil society is leading the way to political change all over the world. It is vital that the voices of civil society from the Middle East region be invited and heard in advance of and during the Finland Conference. Bearing in mind concerns some have expressed about civil society meetings being held at the same time as the governmental conference, one possibility might be for Finland or another country (Turkey perhaps?) to host a pre-meeting for civil society from the Middle East a month or so in advance so that representatives can debate the issues and feed in their recommendations to the Finland Conference. Another potential problem is timing.

While supporting all efforts to hold a well-prepared conference before the end of 2012, the clock is ticking to get all the necessary political elements lined up and organised in time to fulfil the intended purpose of the Finland Conference to initiate a process to get rid of all weapons of mass destruction from the Middle East. If the proximity of the US election in November and various seasonal holidays at the end of the year look like squeezing this important conference, it may make sense to 'stop the clock' to enable it to take place in January 2013. Though this time-honoured diplomatic fall back should not be employed without good reason, such an option may need to be canvassed.

Though the 2010 RevCon was a success for NPT diplomacy, we have to be honest about the ways in which it also exposed how traditional non-proliferation and arms control approaches are failing to address the security concerns of the majority of NPT states parties regarding nuclear weapons modernization, regional proliferation threats, power projection, and the risks of nuclear use, terrorism, and accidents. Whilst acknowledging the importance of the NPT in slowing proliferation over the past four decades, the 2010 RevCon did not manage to agree on actions to strengthen the NPT's own safeguards, verification and implementation processes and deal with non-compliance and treaty withdrawal.

The fact that important decisions to rescue and reinforce the regime could not be taken even though the 2010 RevCon was held in an unusually constructive international environment demonstrates that the NPT regime is operating at the limits of its capabilities—

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Nuclear crossword

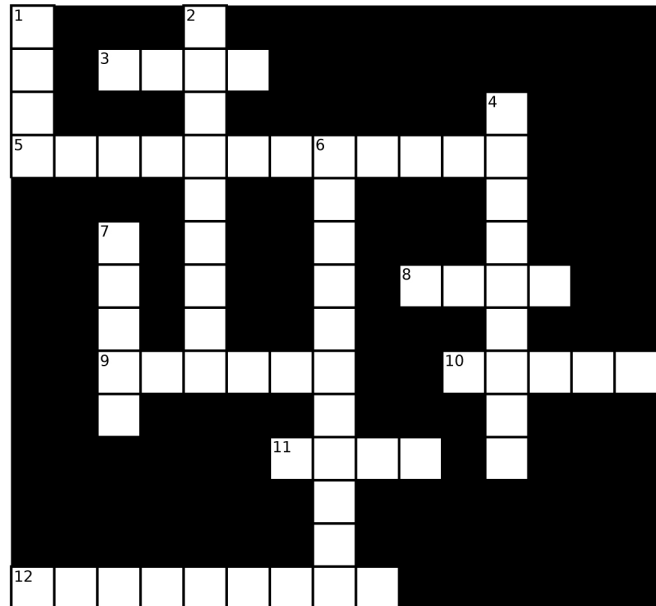
Puzzles by Lily Gardener

and that this is not enough to prevent proliferation or achieve genuine disarmament. In the period leading to 2015 tough choices will need to be faced. The existing regime will either decline or be transformed. The direction of necessary transformation was signalled in the 2010 Final Document, which recognized that there needs to be genuine progress towards establishing “the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons”.

To do this, NPT states will need to tackle the ways in which the current regime privileges nuclear-armed states and perpetuates the value and power attached to nuclear weapons. Nuclear deterrence doctrines have served the interests of nuclear-armed states by diverting attention from the terrible consequences of using nuclear weapons. Their possession is made implicitly legitimate and acceptable through the rubric that “the whole point about the deterrent is not to create the circumstances in which it can be used but on the contrary to try to create circumstances in which it is never used.” This quote, from the former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair when he promoted the renewal of Trident in 2006, also epitomises the oxymoronic employment of labels like “deterrent” to distract from the reality that nuclear armaments are in fact weapons that are designed to cause mass destruction and annihilation. The delusions of nuclear deterrence are slipping now, exposing the false premises, self-serving voodoo, and very high risks inherent in relying on nuclear weapons for security. This was reflected in the 2010 Final Document which, despite opposition from some nuclear states, contained the first NPT-related reference to the “catastrophic humanitarian consequences” of using nuclear weapons and the importance of International Humanitarian Law.

Taking this understanding further, the Council of Delegates of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement on 26 November 2011 passed an important resolution appealing to all states “to ensure that nuclear weapons are never again used” and “to pursue in good faith and conclude with urgency and determination negotiations to prohibit the use of and completely eliminate nuclear weapons through a legally binding international agreement, based on existing commitments and international obligations.”

In addition to paying attention to these regional and humanitarian developments, it will also be necessary for NPT states parties to revise the optimistic “nuclear renaissance” recommendations from 2010 in light of the Fukushima disaster that has unfolded in Japan following the terrible earthquake and tsunami in March 2011. Civil society will be watching to see how governments respond as the next NPT review cycle gets underway. •



Across

3. In 2010, what month was nuclear abolition day held?
5. The International Monitoring System uses the following four technologies to monitor the planet for nuclear explosions: seismic, hydroacoustic, infrasound, and ...
8. An unidentified ‘double flash’ of light that was detected by an American satellite in September 1979, possibly a nuclear detonation, is referred to as ...
9. After two years of trying, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory had their first successful design of what test series?
10. Which country is currently the Chair of NAM?
11. ICAN’s global report on the financing of companies that manufacture, modernize, maintain nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles is *Don’t Bank on the ...*
12. Fat Man, Little Boy, and Smiling Buddha are all what?

Down

1. How many countries oppose the negotiation of a nuclear weapons convention?
2. In February 2012, which Annex II state ratified the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty?
4. The CD has a permanent agenda known as the ...
6. Finish the telegram from Einstein: “The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking and thus we drift toward unparalleled ...”
7. The UN Disarmament Commission turns how old in 2012?



Three in four nations want a nuclear weapons ban

Tim Wright | *International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons*

In October 2008, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon announced an ambitious five-point plan aimed at reigniting multilateral negotiations for nuclear disarmament. In the first point of the plan, he encouraged nations to begin work on a nuclear weapons convention—a treaty to outlaw and eliminate nuclear weapons—as a way of fulfilling their longstanding disarmament obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Although the parties to the NPT were ultimately unable to agree at the Review Conference in May 2010 to begin work on a nuclear weapons convention, the final document did refer twice to such a treaty, and called for “special efforts” to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons. The document therefore provides a solid basis for continued discussions on a convention at this year’s NPT Preparatory Committee.

The increased government support for a nuclear weapons convention in recent years stems from growing dissatisfaction among non-nuclear-weapon states at the slow rate of progress towards nuclear disarmament, concerns over the expansive modernization programmes that are under way in each of the nuclear-

weapon states (which indicate an intention to retain nuclear weapons indefinitely), and the inability of the NPT to curb nuclear proliferation in a world that is still armed to the brink.

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) has closely examined recent government statements in relation to a nuclear weapons convention and found that 146 nations—roughly three out of four—support the immediate commencement of negotiations. Only 26 nations are opposed to the idea, while 22 “sit on the fence”. Many of the so-called fence sitters appear to be balancing alliance pressures with the demands of their own citizens.

The whole of Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa are in favour of a nuclear weapons convention, along with most nations in Asia, the Pacific and the Middle East, according to the ICAN study, titled *Towards a Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons* (January 2012). Support is weakest among European and North American nations, many of which are part of NATO.

Only four members of the European Union are supportive—Austria, Ireland, Malta and Sweden—and just one NATO member is in favour: Norway. Russia and



**Three in four
nations want a
global ban on
nuclear weapons.**

Is your government standing in the way?

Israel are both resistant to a convention. Of the nuclear-armed nations, four have expressed their support: China, India, Pakistan and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Three of the countries listed in the ICAN study as being “on the fence” are non-NATO allies of the United States that claim reliance on US nuclear weapons: Australia, Japan and the Republic of Korea. Five NATO countries have also been designated as on the fence: Canada, Croatia, Germany, Iceland and Romania.

Most of the other nations that are neutral towards a nuclear weapons convention, having neither expressed support nor opposition, are in defence relationships with France (e.g. Andorra and Monaco) or the United States (e.g. the Marshall Islands and Micronesia), or they are seeking membership of NATO (e.g. the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia).

Nations that support a nuclear weapons convention make up approximately 81 per cent of the world's population, with the fence sitters accounting for 5 per cent and the opponents 14 per cent. In the nuclear-armed states that do not favour a convention—namely, the

United States, Russia, Britain, France and Israel—opinion polls show that the public is nonetheless supportive.

In addition to official statements of support for a convention, many non-government organizations have also advocated for such a treaty in recent years. ICAN was launched in 2007 with the simple aim of galvanizing public and government support for a treaty ban. In November 2011, the Red Cross and Red Crescent movement, which has close to 100 million volunteers and members globally, put its full weight behind a nuclear abolition treaty.

It appealed to states to “pursue in good faith and conclude with urgency and determination negotiations to prohibit the use of and completely eliminate nuclear weapons through a legally binding international agreement, based on existing commitments and international obligations”. At this Preparatory Committee session, nations must heed that call, and begin an effective process for a universal ban on nuclear weapons.

Tim Wright is the Australian director of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons. •

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Calendar of events for Monday, 30 April 2012

See www.reachingcriticalwill.org for a complete listing of events and regular updates

When	What	Where	Who
7:30	Interfaith prayer vigil	Square outside the VIC	Christian CND UK
8:00–8:50	Abolition Caucus	CR M2	Abolition 2000
9:00–9:50	Government Briefing for NGOs: Norway	CR M2	Reaching Critical Will
10:00–13:00	Nuclear weapons in Europe and nuclear sharing	CR M2	International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility
13:05–13:35	Opening ceremony of A-Bomb Exhibition: “Under the Mushroom Cloud”	MOE Exhibition Area	Gensuikyo
13:15–14:45	The costs of nuclear weapons: a Disarmament for Development perspective	CR M2	International Peace Bureau (IPB)
13:15–14:45	Critical Issues Forum: High school students non-proliferation and disarmament conference	CR M3	James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies
15:00–17:50	The role of science in nuclear and military-related research and technology	CR M2	IPB and International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility
18:00–18:50	Preparing for simulated NWC negotiations	CR M2	INESAP, Technische Universität Darmstadt, and Universität Hamburg

Europe and nuclear disarmament

Wednesday, May 2nd, 13:15–14:45

NGO Room (Room M2), Vienna International Centre

Paul Quilès, former Defence Minister of France and member of Global Zero

Rebecca Johnson, director of the Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy

Otfried Nassauer, founding director of the Berlin Information-center for Transatlantic Security

Facilitator: Dominique Lalanne, chair Abolition2000-Europe

A Germany without NATO nuclear weapons in the near future? The UK with no early renewal of Trident? France staying alone in a high alert status with a nuclear posture including “first use” even against non-nuclear States? Is that the European future ?

Experts from these nuclear states will comment on the current situation and give their views on these issues.

Abolition2000-Europe, Abolition 2000-UK