



# NPT NEWS IN REVIEW

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



Reaching Critical Will

**3 May 2012**  
**No. 3**

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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.

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

## Editorial: A ban would bring balance

Ray Acheson | *Reaching Critical Will of WILPF*

After two days of general statements, it is clear that the old non-proliferation versus disarmament debate lives on, though nuclear-armed states seem more prepared these days to assure their non-nuclear counterparts that they do not see non-proliferation as the singular objective of the NPT. Indeed, most states call for a “balanced” implementation of the Treaty and the 2010 action plan, though, as the Brazilian delegation pointed out, non-proliferation has already been delivered, while nuclear weapons still exist. Ambassador Guerreiro of Brazil called for an end to the “groundless addiction” to nuclear weapons, noting that the international community has already been wise enough to ban the other two categories of weapons of mass destruction.

This was forcefully echoed during the afternoon's civil society presentations, when non-governmental activists and experts from around the world called for a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons. From the Mayor of Nagasaki and a survivor of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima to two young people from Italy and Pakistan, the message was clear: nuclear weapons should not exist and must be eliminated now.

It is not just civil society that believes this to be the case. The vast majority of the governments represented here at this PrepCom support the elimination of nuclear weapons and criticize the nuclear weapon states for their continued defence of their arsenals. The Mexican delegation highlighted the irrationality of conferring strategic value to nuclear weapons as guarantors of international security, arguing that instead, nuclear weapons constitute a threat to international peace and security. Ambassador Perez-Duarte of Mexico argued that as long as some states maintain these weapons, others will pursue them. He suggested that the way to strengthen the non-proliferation regime is nuclear disarmament, as did Ambassador Laggner of Switzerland on Monday, who argued, “More significant progress on disarmament might help to create a more favourable climate for broader acceptance of more binding safeguards.”

The importance of disarmament as a key tool for enhancing non-proliferation has been a clear and consistent message from the Non-Aligned Movement, the New Agenda Coalition, and many other states over the years; however, several Western governments still tend to indicate that non-proliferation is a condition for disarmament instead. Given how extremely difficult it is to prove a negative, to prove that a state is not developing a new nuclear weapon as opposed to proving that it is, holding non-proliferation as a pre-condition for disarmament means that the process to eliminate nuclear weapons can be put off indefinitely.

A new discourse is needed on non-proliferation that clearly and resolutely rejects the double standards and hypocrisies that are embedded in the Treaty and that have developed in the international normative regime. While this may seem like an obvious narrative, it is remarkable how many delegations at international meetings such as this PrepCom call for an end to double standards in one breath while they call for Iran to cease its uranium enrichment programme in the other, yet do not apply any active pressure on Israel to join the Treaty or challenge the sale of nuclear material to non-state parties India and Pakistan.

On Monday the representative of the Holy See called for the diffusion of a “culture of non-proliferation” among states and citizens, arguing that it is time for a “profound rethinking and change in our perception of nuclear weapons,” as both disarmament and non-proliferation are essential from a humanitarian point of view. This is an interesting proposition in light of continued calls for the promotion of a culture of peace; it offers an opportunity for further developing the norm against nuclear weapons rather than against certain states developing these weapons or against their upkeep and modernization and indefinite retention. It is also relevant in the context of the revived efforts to highlight the humanitarian and environmental consequences of the use of nuclear weapons. In addition to the civil society statements on this topic, 16 states

*continued on page 5*

**Towards a Nuclear Weapon and WMD Free Zone in the Middle East*****Recommendations of the Israeli disarmament movement and ICAN in Israel for Helsinki 2012****Nadav Sha'altiel & Sharon Dolev | Israeli Disarmament Movement (According to Foreign Sources) & ICAN Israel*

There is no argument that the 2012 talks for establishing a zone free of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the Middle East must succeed. The question, of course, is what will be considered a success.

One condition, is the participation of the major Arab states, of Iran, and Israel.

Another criterion for success is the outcome: some kind of agreement, plan for continuation of the process, and maybe even a timeline.

The first obstacle we can tackle is to bring Israel to the table. Israel's typical response to arms control initiatives is to pose the condition of pre-existing regional peace. Arab nations assert that Israel is the sole nuclear state in the region and represents their main concern of nuclear proliferation and attack.

It seems that Israel is not inclined to join the talks, and if does, it will be without good will and with its standard demand that peace and normalization should come first.

It also appears that the Arab states will refuse to offer Israel more time or take any steps towards normalization as long as Israel refuses to talk about peace and disarmament and continues its occupation of Gaza and the West Bank.

Given the importance of the 2012 talks, because this is the first step forward since 1995, and because we believe the talks must not fail, we think that in order to secure Israeli participation, several things need to happen, including: parallel talks about regional peace and regional security; an agenda that is not overly or unrealistically ambitious; a timeline for Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs); and a fixed date for the next round of talks

In our minds, the agenda for Helsinki 2012 should be clear, achievable, and not overly ambitious. It should not set a timetable for reduction and disarmament; rather it should establish CBMs such as the notification of maneuvers and missile test launches, and targeting of test and deployed missiles to the sea.

The Helsinki 2012 conference should build special mechanisms to oversee the process of confidence-building and supply the United Nations with feedback about its progress. These mechanisms will contribute to the continuity of CBMs as a process and make sure that what happens in Helsinki will not stay in Helsinki.

Confidence-building measures should not be viewed as normalization of the relationship with Israel. It should be clear that the opposing sides are taking action to avoid unnecessary bloodshed and that the geopolitical issues will be addressed in a different forum. We believe that such a view of CBMs will allow Iran and Israel to attend the event and enable Arab nations to leave the event with a successful outcome and a road

map for more achievements.

Israel's unique security circumstances must also be taken into account and should not be dismissed. Israel views itself as an island surrounded by enemies. This view should be taken seriously in order to achieve Israeli participation in good will.

The conference should also put forward and encourage the use of renewable energy technologies as a means of assuaging the regional tension and calming fears of misuse of civilian nuclear programs. We realize that the NPT recognizes nuclear energy as a right, but we believe that renewable energy is a smarter and safer choice now and in the long term.

Lastly, we would like to emphasize the importance of correlating the process with other disarmament initiatives such as the Nuclear Weapons Convention, or any other universal nuclear weapons ban. Expectations that Iran will turn a blind eye to Pakistan and Israel, or that Syria will ignore NATO tactical nuclear weapons stationed in Turkey, are misguided, just like the expectations that Pakistan will ignore the Indian arsenal, India the Chinese arsenal, and so on.

Discussing a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone or WMD Free Zone in the Middle East in isolation, as if the Middle East were an isolated island, won't do.

We hope that the 2012 talks in Helsinki will be written in history as an important milestone in the creation of a Middle East WMD Free Zone. We applaud the initiative and hope to achieve the full participation of all concerned parties in good will. •

**NPT NEWS IN REVIEW****3 May 2012 | No. 3**

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*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.*





## ***Increasing Transparency of Nuclear-warhead and Fissile Material Stocks as a Step Toward Disarmament***

**IPFM**  
INTERNATIONAL PANEL  
ON FISSILE MATERIALS

The “Action Plan on Nuclear Disarmament” agreed in the 2010 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference affirmed that “nuclear disarmament and achieving the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons will require openness and cooperation, and ... enhanced confidence through increased transparency and effective verification.”

To help inform this process, IPFM will offer a path for how NPT nuclear weapons states could fulfill their transparency commitments through a series of successively more detailed declarations of the numbers, status and histories of their nuclear warhead and fissile material inventories.

**Speakers:** *Zia Mian*  
*Frank von Hippel*  
*Harold Feiveson*  
*Alexander Glaser*

**Friday, May 4th, 10:00am-noon**  
**Conference Room M2 (NGO Room)**  
**Vienna International Centre**

**News in Brief***Beatrice Fihn and Ray Acheson | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF***Disarmament**

- Mexico criticized the lack of implementation of article VI and said it is “irrational” to confer strategic value to nuclear weapons sine they constitute a threat to international peace and security.
- Japan announced that it will host the Global Forum on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education from 10–11 August 2012 in Nagasaki with the United Nations University.
- Iran called on the NWS to be sincere with their disarmament obligations and highlighted the billions of dollars that will be spent on nuclear weapon modernization.
- Philippines argued that no-first-use policies or negative security assurances are of limited utility and believed that the non-existence of nuclear weapons would really be the reassurance needed.
- Iran voiced concerns over nuclear sharing and military alliances.

**International humanitarian law (IHL)**

- Mexico said the possible use of nuclear weapons would contravene IHL and constitute a crime against humanity.
- Austria, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, Holy See, Egypt, Indonesia, Ireland, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Philippines, South Africa, and Switzerland delivered a joint statement on the humanitarian dimension of nuclear weapons.

**Non-proliferation**

- Japan, Mexico, Canada, Ukraine, and Indonesia promoted the application of the additional protocol amongst all states parties.
- Ukraine argued that there is a strong need for adher-

ence to legal instruments such as the International Convention on the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism and the amended Convention on Physical Protection of Nuclear Material.

- Indonesia drew attention to its recent ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and called on all other remaining states to follow suit.

**Nuclear weapon free zones**

- Mongolia reported from the first preparatory meeting of the 2015 conference of nuclear-weapon-free zones and Mongolia (NWFZM) and Indonesia announced it has agreed to serve as the President.
- Philippines and Indonesia noted the positive steps towards accession to the Protocol of the Bangkok Treaty by the NWS.

**Nuclear energy**

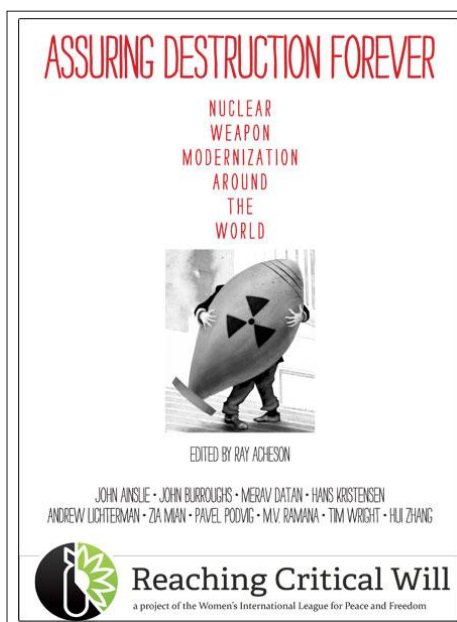
- Japan announced it will organize a Fukushima Ministerial Conference on nuclear safety in co-sponsorship with the IAEA in December 2012.
- Peru argued that the resources of the IAEA technical cooperation programme should be predictable, efficient, and increased.
- Ukraine discussed its complete removal of highly enriched uranium in 2012 and supported the establishment of the IAEA Low Enriched Uranium Bank.

**Nuclear safety and security**

- The Republic of Korea described the Seoul nuclear security summit as a “step forward to goal of world without nuclear weapons and nuclear terrorism”.
- Canada reported on efforts to secure nuclear material and its financial contributions to the IAEA.

**Universalization**

- Mexico called on India, Israel, and Pakistan to join the

**Modernization of nuclear weapons:****Launch of *Assuring destruction forever*, a new civil society study**

In March 2012, Reaching Critical Will published a civil society report on the modernization plans and programmes of the nuclear weapon possessors. This side event will hear presentations from several of the report authors.

- Ray Acheson, Reaching Critical Will (Moderator)
- John Ainslie, Scottish CND
- John Burroughs, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy
- Andrew Lichterman, Western States Legal Foundation
- Tim Wright, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons

**Thursday, 3 May • CR M2 • 13:15–14:45**

This side event was made possible with the support of the Austrian Federal Ministry of European and International Affairs

**Hard copies of Reaching Critical Will's report will be available at the side event.**



## Nuclear crossword

Puzzles by Lily Gardener

NPT and expressed concern with the DPRK, India, and Pakistan's recent ballistic missile tests.

- Syria argued for the need to call upon states parties that possess nuclear weapons to bring pressure on Israel to join the NPT as NNWS without conditions as a part of their responsibilities for preserving international peace and security.

### DPRK

- Japan, the Republic of Korea, and Canada criticized the DPRK's activities and called for compliance with UN Security Council resolutions (UNSCRs).

- Mexico called on the DPRK to refrain from nuclear tests and comply with relevant UNSCRs and agreements of the six-party talks.

### Iran

- Iran voiced optimism over the upcoming negotiations following the recent talks in Istanbul.

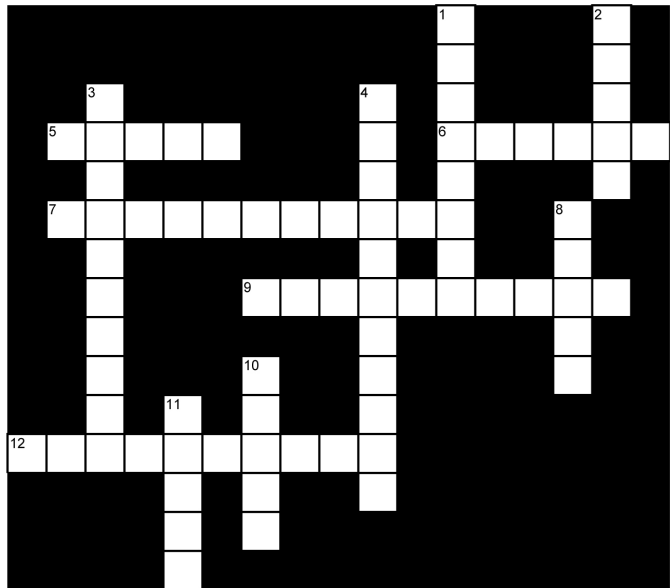
- Japan and Canada urged Iran to comply with relevant UNSC and IAEA Board of Governors (BoG) resolutions.

- The Republic of Korea called on Iran to "restore confidence" in the peaceful nature of its nuclear programme.

- Mexico issued support for the IAEA BoG's request for Iran to suspend uranium enrichment.

- Canada argued that Iran's continued "illegal" enrichment of nuclear material can only be understood in the context of "nuclear weapons development efforts".

- Iran emphasized that nuclear weapons have no place in its defence doctrine and reiterated the Supreme Leader's prohibition of nuclear weapons. •



Text

### Across

5. RCW's latest publication, *Assuring destruction forever*, explores nuclear weapon modernization programmes in how many countries?
6. In 2008, along with China which country submitted a draft treaty for a ban on weapons in outer space?
7. Complete the following quote from Indian PM Singh: "I can assure you we are a ... nuclear power."
9. During the Cuban missile crisis, what was the US military blockade called?
12. Einstein has been misquoted as claiming that if he had known, he would have become a what?

### Down

1. How many countries are known to operate uranium enrichment facilities?
2. New START was signed on what month in 2010?
3. What is an effective way for the corporate world to advance the goal of nuclear abolition?
4. The IAEA has research laboratories in ... and Monaco.
8. The last name of the first non-Japanese doctor to reach Hiroshima after the atomic bombing, who called for the bomb to be banned outright.
10. In 1965, then-Pakistan's foreign minister Bhutto claimed Pakistanis would eat what in order to obtain a nuclear bomb?
11. The UN Disarmament Commission meets for how many weeks each April?

### Editorial, cont'd

delivered a joint statement on the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons. These 16 states argued that "nuclear weapons are useless in addressing current challenges such as poverty, health, climate change, terrorism or transnational crime" and noted that any financial resources for nuclear weapons could be made available for social welfare, health care, or education.

There is much work to be done inside and outside of these conference rooms to develop and universalize a narrative that categorically recognizes nuclear disarmament as the ultimate guarantor of non-proliferation and of international peace and security. This process will need to start with how the international community addresses specific cases of proliferation concern. As Austria's delegation said on Monday, all NPT state parties have a vested interest in resolving these issues "in a way that strengthens the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime." •



## **\$3.1 billion to be spent on P5 nuclear weapons during PrepCom**

*Tim Wright | International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons*

Over the course of this two-week meeting, the P5 nuclear-weapon states will together spend around US\$3.1 billion on their nuclear forces. Well over half of this expenditure will be in the United States, which has the most ambitious nuclear weapons modernization programme of any nation, despite President Barack Obama's professed commitment to a world free of nuclear weapons.

The Global Zero organization has estimated that in 2011 the nine nuclear-armed nations spent a total of US\$104.9 billion on their nuclear arsenals. This includes spending on the so-called "refurbishment" of nuclear warheads, the production of new nuclear-capable missiles and submarines, and the development of missile defence systems designed to "defend" against nuclear weapons.

In opening speeches on Monday, several delegations, including the Holy See, Norway, and South Africa, drew attention to the fundamental incompatibility of such modernization programmes with the goal of nuclear disarmament. Some remarked that investing in programmes to bolster nuclear arsenals indicates an intention to retain nuclear weapons indefinitely.

Nuclear weapons divert vast public resources from health care, education, climate action, disaster relief and other essential services. With the nuclear-armed nations legally obliged to pursue and achieve nuclear disarmament, it defies belief that all are wasting billions of dollars a year maintaining and modernizing their nuclear forces, and none appear to be preparing for a future without these ultimate weapons of terror and destruction.

By extending the lifetime of their nuclear weapons for many decades—and building new missiles, submarines, and bombers to deliver them—they are undermining disarmament efforts and fuelling a potentially catastrophic nuclear arms race. At this PrepCom, non-nuclear-weapon states should voice their concerns about modernization programmes, and the great diversion of wealth away from meeting human needs globally.

The United States spent twice as much on its nuclear weapons in 2011 as it did on foreign aid. Its nuclear weapons budget is roughly equal to the gross domestic product of Sudan and South Sudan put together, whose population is around 45 million people. Total global nuclear weapons spending in 2011 was more than the

### **NPT disarmament scorecard after 44 years:**

<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>WARHEADS LEFT</b>	<b>MODERNIZING?</b>	<b>SCORE</b>
<b>United States</b>	<b>8,500</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>F</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>11,000</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>F</b>
<b>Britain</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>F</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>F</b>
<b>China</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>F</b>

gross domestic product of Bangladesh, a nation of 159 million people.

One year of nuclear weapons spending is equal to 42 years of the regular UN budget of US\$2.5 billion, which covers the work of the Secretariat, the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice, and the special political missions in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The annual peacekeeping budget—which funds missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Darfur, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Western Sahara, Haiti, Timor-Leste, India and Pakistan, Cyprus, Kosovo, and Lebanon, among other places—is larger, at US\$7.3 billion. One year of nuclear weapons funding is equal to 14 years of peacekeeping.

The UN Office for Disarmament Affairs—the principal UN body responsible for advancing a nuclear-weapon-free world—has an annual operating budget of approximately US\$10 million, which is less than the amount the nuclear-armed nations spend on their nuclear weapons every hour. The global nuclear weapons budget of US\$104.9 billion is more than 10,000 times

greater than the UN disarmament and non-proliferation budget.

National disarmament work is also grossly underfunded. For example, US spending on warhead dismantlement has decreased dramatically under President Obama. In the 2009 fiscal year, it was US\$186 million. This was slashed to \$96 million in 2010 and just \$58 million in 2011. There has been a corresponding decline in the rate of dismantlement, with an estimated 260 warheads dismantled in 2010 compared with 648 in 2008. In the 1990s more than a thousand US warheads were taken apart every year.

In some of the nuclear-armed states, particularly the United States, Britain, and France, private companies are heavily involved in nuclear weapons production. In order to challenge modernization and delegitimize nuclear arms, banks, pension funds, asset managers and other financial institutions should be called on to divest from these companies. Non-nuclear-weapon states should also ensure that public funds are not being used in any way to support this earth-endangering industry.

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

### **The Egyptian Council For Foreign Affairs (ECFA)**

**Dr Ali Alsaedi , ECFA member Former Minister of Energy and Electricity**

**Ambassador Dr Mahmoud karem , Member of ECFA Board**

**Ambassador Dr Mohamed I Shaker, Chairman of ECFA Board**

**Invites all NPT PrepCom delegates to attend a Fringe Meeting on  
The 2012 Conference on the Middle East Free Zone of  
Nuclear Weapons and all other Weapons of Mass  
Destruction: The Initiative and Prospects**

#### **Honoured Guest & Speaker**

**Ambassador Libran N. Cabactulan, Permanent Representative of the Philippines  
to the UN & Chairman of the 2010 NPT Review Conference**

#### **Guest Speakers**

**Ambassador Khaled Shamaa, Egypt's Ambassador to Austria & Member of the  
IAEA Board of Governors**

**Ambassador Wael Al-Assad, League of Arab States, Multilateral Affairs**

**Thursday, 3 May 2012 | 1:00-3:00 p.m**

**Hall L, Austria Center Vienna, Bruno-Kreisky-Platz 1 | A-1220 Wien**

**\*\*Refreshments & Sandwiches will be served.**



**Side event report: Monitoring the 2010 NPT Action Plan***Mia Gandenberger | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF*

During a side event hosted by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, the Center for Non-proliferation Studies (CNS) and Reaching Critical Will (RCW) presented two monitoring reports on the level of implementation of the 2010 NPT Action Plan.

After a short introduction of both projects by the chair William C. Potter (CNS), Gaukhar Mukhatzhanova (CNS) presented a research report on the implementation of the disarmament-related actions of the 2010 NPT Action Plan. She pointed out the various challenges one is faced with when trying to measure developments under the Action Plan. According to the report, the overall progress of the implementation of the actions is limited and varies across the nuclear weapons states (NWS). Ms. Mukhatzhanova noted some positive developments such as the ratification of New START and the Russian signing and ratification of the protocols to the Rarotonga and Pelindaba nuclear weapon free zones but concluded that many areas of concern remain. She reported that nuclear weapons still play an important role in all military and security concepts and existing stockpiles are being modernized in all NWS. Furthermore the report highlights the lacking progress on the promotion of disarmament education, even though the concept enjoys a broad support among member states of the NPT.

Beatrice Fihn (RCW) presented a comprehensive monitoring report that dealt with the entire action plan, including the parts on non-proliferation and nuclear energy. She too highlighted difficulties in developing a methodology that would allow for measureable and quantifiable results. A traffic light system to show progress on the different actions (red: no/not enough progress, yellow: moderate progress, green: progress/completed) made it easy for participants to see the different pace of progress under the three pillars. While states have been fairly active on actions dealing with the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and some moderate progress under the non-proliferation pillar had been made, states are lagging behind when it comes to the implementation of the actions under the disarmament pillar.

Both reports were well received and questions from the participants mainly focused on methodology. However, some participants suggested putting the 2010 NPT Action Plan in the context of the entire outcome document from 2010, as well as previous documents from 1995 and 2000.

In his closing remarks, Ambassador Benno Laggner of Switzerland emphasized the need for further efforts on implementation of the action plan, especially on the disarmament pillar by the NWS. He believed that the implementation of the action plan was central for the credibility of the NPT and its member states. •

**Side event report: Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative***Lily Gardener | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF*

Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative (NPDI) held a lunchtime outreach session. The cross-regional group, comprised of Australia, Canada, Chile, Germany, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Poland, Turkey, and the United Arab Emirates, was established after the 2010 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference. The Netherlands representative and session chair discussed the four joint working papers submitted to the Preparatory Committee: transparency in disarmament, a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT), the IAEA Additional Protocol (AP), and disarmament and non-proliferation education.

The Australian ambassador provided a short history of NPDI. He explained that after 2010, Australia and Japan sought membership to establish a 'like minded' group to find ways to deliver on the objectives agreed to at the 2010 NPT Review Conference.

The Turkish representative spoke about the next NPDI meeting to be held in Istanbul after the PrepCom, at which members would have the opportunity to "take stock and plan future actions". She highlighted the possibility of civil society or academic participation.

Poland's representative discussed the need for increased transparency and claimed NPDI had adopted a practical approach that was "realistic and result orientated". He invited the representative from Australia to provide further comment, who explained that the reporting form is "what a non-nuclear weapon state would want to know about a nuclear weapons state". He stated that he did not expect the P5 to complete the form in entirety, describing it as 'intellectual' input.

The representative for the United Arab Emirates spoke about NPDI's promotion of the universalization of the AP. He discussed the importance of bilateral and regional assistance and talked about potential steps, such as providing assistance to IAEA.

Germany's representative claimed that the next logical step is the negotiation of an FMCT. He provided information on scientific/expert meetings and encouraged NPT states parties to participate in the May (Germany) or the June (Netherlands) meetings.

Canada's representative referred to the United Nations Secretary-General's ultimatum to the Conference on Disarmament to progress the disarmament process. She expressed hope that this would motivate the CD, however, warned that they might not succeed, and encouraged the discussion of alternative options. The objective is not to undermine the CD, rather that NPDI will assist in the process.

Japan's representative addressed disarmament and non-proliferation education. He outlined the working papers: importance of passing on knowledge to younger generations, engaging various actors (governments,

*continued on page 9*



## Side event report: Europe and nuclear disarmament

Susi Snyder | IKV Pax Christi

A near future? The UK with no Trident renewal? A twelve-step program to get France to kick the nuclear habit? These questions and more were discussed during the session organized by Abolition 2000 Europe, Abolition 2000 UK, and Abolition 2000 Germany.

Otfried Nassauer is the founding director of the Berlin Information Centre for Transatlantic Security and he discussed the dashing of Germany's hopes for the removal of up to 20 US owned B61 sub-strategic nuclear bombs from their country. His interpretation is that this hope was fully dashed when NATO foreign ministers met in April 2010 in Tallinn, when they agreed to adopt US Secretary of State Clinton's five NATO nuclear principles, many of which then found their way to the October 2010 NATO Strategic Concept. Included in these was the agreement that NATO would remain a nuclear alliance as long as nuclear weapons exist. In a couple of weeks, NATO will adopt a Defence and Deterrence Posture Review, which was agreed by NATO Defence and Foreign Ministers at their recent 'jumbo' ministerial. Apparently the language in that does not go much beyond the Strategic Concept and NATO will have agreed that nuclear forces are a core component for their deterrence and defense capabilities.

While this Defence and Deterrence Posture Review will not specify a role for sub-strategic nuclear weapons, there is a chance it will reveal a security assurance similar to the policy adopted by the United States in its Nuclear Posture Review of 2010. It seems that despite a German Parliamentary resolution, language in the government coalition agreement, and intensive civil society efforts, NATO will only go so far as to agree not to use or threaten states in compliance with their NPT obligations. Of course this does not clarify who makes decisions about compliance. It seems Germany has been willing to settle for this small posture change, but will also get to keep a committee set up at the time of the Strategic Concept on Arms Control and Disarmament (affectionately called the AC/DC in some NATO circles).

Paul Quiles is a former French Defence Minister who has had a change of heart since leaving his post a couple of decades ago. He explained that the global security environment has changed, and nuclear deterrence is no longer relevant to the threats faced by France (and the rest of the world). He offered an eleven-step program to help France overcome its nuclear addiction. His steps however, do not closely follow the proscription of Alcoholics Anonymous, but there are a few parallels. For instance, he suggested that France recognize that its security lies not with nuclear weapons, but with the higher power of the European Union and participation in international legal instruments. He also suggested

that France declare it will only use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear attack. He said it was high time for France to rally around the vision of a nuclear weapons free world, and transparency about numbers and types of weapons, at least to the same level as the UK, would be a positive step. Instead of giving up the bomb cold turkey, Paul suggested that there be a freeze at the current stockpile levels and that modernization plans be scrapped, with further reductions once the US and Russia reached numbers around 1,000. He supported Russian and US negotiations on further reductions of non-strategic weapons. His last three steps were to do a European demarcate to the US for CTBT ratification, support for the start of negotiations on a zone free of nuclear weapons in the Middle East and to exert pressure on Pakistan to start fissile material treaty negotiation in the Conference on Disarmament. When asked after the event if a helpful 12th step might be the negotiation of a nuclear weapons convention, he agreed that would be the cream on the cake.

Rebecca Johnson of the Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy reviewed the recent history (since 2007) of discussions in the UK on a possible renewal of the Trident system. She noted how UK officials rarely use the word 'nuclear' when describing Trident, instead referring to "our deterrent" or, more frequently (and rather ironically) "our independent deterrent". Rebecca further explained a strategic security review that took place in the UK that was prohibited from examining non-nuclear security strategies.

In the UK one positive trend is that the nuclear weapons budget has been moved into the overall defense budget. This forces decisions about what to cut, especially in these times of austerity. Rebecca finishes her presentation with the hope that the UK would join the leading group of enlightened states on this issue, like the sixteen that supported the statement on humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons. •

### NPDI, cont'd

NGOs, private sector), and the use of new technology to inform citizens about disarmament and non-proliferation issues.

Mexico's representative discussed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and reported that NPDI members are making efforts to secure the agreement of the remaining states necessary to bring it into force.

The ethos of NPDI is to press for great transparency, build on treaties, and to promote the importance of disarmament education. While these are all important steps, at the conclusion of the outreach session one had the feeling they should be demanding much more. •



**Side event report: Political economy, social change, and disarmament***Emma Rosengren | Swedish Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*

This workshop/seminar introduced a joint project of the Western States Legal Foundation (WSLF) and Reaching Critical Will of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), and was facilitated by Jackie Cabasso of WSLF. Andrew Lichterman, also of WSLF, introduced the project and said that its main aim is to explore new ways of thinking and acting in the nuclear disarmament sphere by bringing in diverse political, economic, and social factors. The project takes its starting point in an analysis of the present world order, which according to Mr Lichterman faces two different kinds of crises: a) a crisis of the system, including financial and ecological crises as well as unequal distribution of financial resources; and b) a crisis of the opposition, including lack of democracy, erosion of the legal order, and the weakening of civil society organizations.

Mr Lichterman elaborated on how different power structures, interests, and identities interact and all contribute to constituting inequalities, negative priorities and militarist mentalities. As a result of interrelated causes, disarmament does not happen in a vacuum, and strategies must be formulated accordingly. For example, in a world order where international institutions are not perceived as being in the interest of the political

and economic elites, cuts from nuclear weapons programs are not likely to be spent on the strengthening of international institutions. Rather, they are more likely to be used to serve the interests of the already strong and privileged elite.

Mr Lichterman called for a broad approach to disarmament and asked participants to think about the connection between disarmament and other issues, how these connections can be operationalized into political action, and who the relevant partners in future disarmament strategies could be. Ms Cabasso added that although the nuclear disarmament movement was very strong during the 1980s, it was weakened after the end of the cold war. However, the end of the bipolar power struggle between the US and Russia during the cold war did not mean an end to nuclear weapons. In fact, the US nuclear weapon budget today is the highest it has ever been. Thus, even though the end of the cold war was perceived as the end of nuclear weapons, there is still need for anti-nuclear protests, and these protests have to build on an updated analysis of the complexity in the world order in which these weapons exist.

Several issues and reports were brought up in the discussion following the introduction. For example, workshop participants emphasized the need to work with changing people's minds and threat perceptions as a strategy to remove fear—a founding principle of a militarist world order. Furthermore, a new approach could be to work with inclusive methods as a way to include diverse perspectives, to facilitate participation, and to reach conclusions that are not likely to come up in old-fashioned organization and meeting structures. •

*We're old enough to give up  
the "nuclear security blanket"*



*Cartoon by Susi Snyder*



### **The Consequences of Failure: Can Article VI Continue to Be Ignored?**

**Thursday, May 3, 10:00 am – 1:00 pm**  
NGO Room (M2), Vienna International Centre

Forty-two years after the entry into force of the NPT, the Nuclear Weapon States continue to rely upon nuclear weapons. What are the potential consequences should the NWS continue refuse to negotiate a Nuclear Weapons Convention for the phased, verifiable, irreversible and transparent elimination of nuclear weapons?



### **Speakers on the panel include:**

**David Krieger**, NAPF President  
**Senator Douglas Roche**, Acting Chair, MPI  
**Alice Slater**, NAPF New York Director  
**Jackie Cabasso**, Western States Legal Foundation

## Exclusive poll: « Presidential Election : The French & Military Spending »

Realised by IFOP for Le Mouvement de la Paix



### The results of the study



#### 1 The sector to be subject to reduced spending in case of budgetary restrictions

Question : In the current context, if public spending were to be cut, which sector should be reduced first ?

	March 2012 (%)		
• Defense, the Army	37	• Security, the police	4
• Aid to the unemployed	21	• Higher Education	2
• Culture	18	• Retirement Pensions	2
• The premium for employment	14	• Health, hospitals	2
• Environment, ecology	9	• Schools, secondary and high schools	1
• Justice, prisons	5	- None of those	25
		TOTAL.....	(*)

(\*) The total is higher than 100, since interviewees could give two answers

#### 2 Support to various proposals on the French defense strategy.

Question : Personally, are you in favor or against the fact that France might...?

	TOTAL Favorable %	Fully supportive %	Rather favorable %	TOTAL Against %	Rather unfavorable %	Quite against %	TOTAL %
• Engage in a process of an international convention for total and controlled disposal of nuclear weapons initiated by the UN	81	32	49	19	14	5	100
• Reduce its military expenditure	73	28	45	27	21	6	100
• Participate with the United Nations in international peace-keeping operations	66	18	48	34	25	9	100
• Export arms and military technology	44	10	34	56	38	18	100
• Renew and modernize its atomic weapons (submarines, missiles, etc.)	36	7	29	64	43	21	100

#### 3 The wish to see the subject of military spending better addressed in the public debate

Question : Do you wish the subject of military spending and the budget to be allocated to national defense in the next years to be more present in the public debate and particularly addressed by the candidates in the presidential election?

	All of the French (%)
TOTAL Favorable	78
quite in favor	24
rather in favor	54
TOTAL Against	22
rather against	19
quite against	3
TOTAL	100



**CTBTO Tours***Wilbert van der Zeijden | IKV Pax Christi*

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organisation (CTBTO) offers participants of the NPT Prepcom the opportunity to come and watch what the organisation does. The experience helps one understand the impressive technological capabilities of the organisation to detect and analyse any nuclear explosion in the world. The tour also provides a welcome reminder of the the real life implications of the deliberations ongoing in the Plenary sessions.

The tour starts with an overview of the history of nuclear testing. Starting with the Trinity explosion in the United States in 1945, about 2000 nuclear tests were conducted to date. The total explosive power of the tests conducted above ground is a whopping 29,600 Hiroshima bombs. Testing helped over the years to increase the yield of nuclear weapons, from 13 kiloton for the bomb dropped on Hiroshima, to the Russian Czar Bomba test at 50 megaton. Testing also helped develop new technology that allowed minimization of nuclear devices, from 4630 kg for Fat Man to 23 kg for Davy Crocket.

The halflife of the nuclear isotopes can be an incredible 23 thousand years. If—as the tour guide tells us—the neanderthals would have tested nuclear weapons, some places would still be affected today.

The opening lecture of the tour also explains the process that led to and the workings of the CTBT. It explains how the predecessor, the Partial Test Ban Treaty pushed nuclear testing underground and how every test has been a political message as well as a contribution to the background radiation levels we all live with. If you want to know all about it—take the tour.

The upbeat presentation slumps a bit of course, when the guide has to explain that the Treaty has not actually entered into force, as not all the nuclear capable states have signed and ratified the treaty. The Treaty Organisation however is operational, treaty or not.

A large chunk of the presentation is devoted to the technical side of things. The CTBTO runs an independent global network of facilities that allows it to detect any nuclear detonation around the globe, and much more than that. The system, consisting of five satellites and numerous detection facilities across the globe, also registers earthquakes, crashing aircraft, tsunamis, meteorites, and exploding submarines.

The tour takes you deeper into the heart of the organisation for an explanation about the different forms of measuring that are used. Infrasound, seismic measurements, nuclear particles are used to trace back where and when exactly a nuclear event may have occurred, and what the magnitude of an explosion may have been.

The final and best part of the tour takes you to the roof of the VIC where the CTBTO keeps an impressive set of measuring equipment. Air is filtered to count nuclear

particles, a process that takes 72 hours in total. This, for me, was the big surprise: confirmation by the CTBTO that a nuclear detonation has occurred takes three days! The machinery on the roof is there for testing. And for getting the message across to visitors like me that - however much paperwork we produce on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, in the end this is about real explosives measured in kilotons. And about pollution of the Earth's atmosphere with radiation that can be measured decades later even on the roof of the room where you are reading this report.

For more information on the CTBTO and for registration for tours, please visit the CTBTO information booth next to M Plenary. •

**Side event report: IAEA activities on nuclear safety and security***Katharina Stark | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF*

In the side event on Wednesday, representatives of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) informed about the Agency's work on nuclear safety and nuclear security. Mr. Lyons, Director of the division of nuclear installation safety, emphasised the 12-point action plan that was initiated after the disaster in Fukushima. Amongst many things, the action plan attempts to facilitate assessment of safety vulnerabilities and strengthening the IAEA peer review system. Mr. Lyons noted that the actions are not listed in any particular order, which indicates that no actions are more important than others. He explained that the part of the action plan that deals with strengthening emergency preparedness and response is supposed to assist member countries that, as of yet, do not have the capacity to adequately deal with emergencies in nuclear power plants. He also noted that the action plan further aims to strengthen the effectiveness and independence of national regulatory bodies.

Mr. Mrabit, Director of IAEA Nuclear Safety and Security, drew attention to the four key elements of the Agency's nuclear security plan for 2010–2013, namely: 1) needs assessments information collation and analysis; 2) contributing to the enhancement of a global nuclear material security framework; 3) provision of nuclear security services; and 4) risk reduction and security improvement. He emphasised that the IAEA believes that nuclear security should be an enabler and not a hindrance for states developing nuclear energy. He cautioned against the threat of terrorists and other non-state actors obtaining nuclear weapons and radioactive material. Such threat, Mr. Mrabit argued, must be dealt with on both a national and an international arena.





## Side event report: Nuclear weapons convention

Josefin Lind | IPPNW Sweden

This seminar featured experts on different aspects of a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) and was arranged by the International Association Of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA). Xanthe Hall of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) facilitated.

Peter Weiss, IALANA, stressed that even though states say that they are committed to reaching global zero, they do not necessarily propose progressive disarmament initiatives. He argued that an NWC is essential for reaching a nuclear weapons free world. As Mr. Weiss believed that nuclear weapon states (NWS) are in violation with their NPT obligation to disarm in good faith, civil society organization must continue pushing for concrete initiatives and not accept words with no substance.

Arielle Denis of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) questioned the concept of arms control and argued that since arms control has not managed to bring about positive outcomes, it is time ask for something else. She argued that the Conference on Disarmament is an example of a body that doesn't work, and the international community must try new ways of doing disarmament. According to Ms. Denis, an NWC is both necessary and possible, and it is the responsibility of all states to contribute to the establishment of a legally binding convention banning nuclear weapons.

John Burroughs of the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy (LCNP) discussed the reference to a framework agreement in the 2010 NPT Review Conference outcome document and argued that the international community should explore how such a framework would look like in reality. He believed that though a framework approach might establish a taboo of the use of nuclear weapons, there is a risk that a loose framework opens up loopholes. Although a NWC might take longer to develop, Dr. Burroughs argued that a treaty has better potential of leading to nuclear disarmament than a weak framework would have.

Jürgen Scheffran, International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility (IN-ESAP), spoke about the environmental consequences of nuclear weapons and argued that an NWC would be both an environmental treaty and a disarmament treaty. The environmental effects of the nuclear chain as well as new research about nuclear famine clearly show how an NWC would contribute to environmental protection. According to Dr. Scheffran, the research on a potential nuclear winter from the 1980s is still valid. He argued that new research shows that even a war between India and Pakistan with in total 100 nuclear weapons could cause the same phenomena.

Professor of International Law Kenji Urata especially emphasized the illegality of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. According to him, it is time to approach the International Court of Justice (ICJ) with the fact that the NWS do not live up to their obligations to disarm in good faith. Furthermore, Mr. Urata stressed that nuclear accidents in Three Mile Island, Chernobyl, and Fukushima prove that the NPT was written in a context when the dangers of nuclear power were not fully known, and that there is reason to work on a treaty that does not accept nuclear power.

The Q&A session covered a wide range of issues such as strategies for the forthcoming Review Conference in 2015, the necessity of divestment, and the illegality of placement of warheads in areas where the population in question does not welcome them. In conclusion, both obstacles and possibilities were elaborated upon, but the main message was that negotiation of an NWC is urgent, realistic, and necessary. •

### #NPT2012

Several participants are using twitter during the NPT (including Reaching Critical Will on @RCW\_). Here are some to watch:

- UK Ambassador Jo Adamson, @UKMissionGeneva
- IKV Pax Christi, @nonukescampaign
- International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons @ICANW\_org
- Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Institute, @acronyminst
- Center for Non-Proliferation Studies, @CNS\_NPT
- Gaukhar Mukhatzhanova, CNS, @GaukharM
- US Ambassador Laura Kennedy, @AmbKennedy
- Susi Snyder, IKV Pax Christi, @suisnyder
- International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, @IPPNW



# NPT NEWS IN REVIEW

## Calendar of side events for Thursday, 3 May 2012

See [www.reachingcriticalwill.org](http://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: New Agenda Coalition	CR M2	Reaching Critical Will
9:00–11:00	Workshop on “Resolving the Conflict over Iran’s Uranium Enrichment Program”	VCDNP Conference Room, Andromeda Tower, Floor 13, Donau-City- Strasse 6	International Panel on Fissile Materials <i>RSVP to <a href="mailto:info@vcdnp.org">info@vcdnp.org</a> is mandatory</i>
10:00–13:00	Consequences of Continued Failure	CR M2	Nuclear Age Peace Foundation
10:00–17:00	A-Bomb Exhibition “Un- der the Mushroom Cloud”	Near main entrance zone of the University of Vienna	Gensuikyo
13:15–14:45	Modernization of nuclear weapons: launch of <i>Assur- ing destruction forever</i>	CR M2	Reaching Critical Will and the Austrian Federal Ministry of European and International Affairs
13:15–14:45	UK-Norway Initiative: Managed Access Exercise	CR M3	UK Ministry of Defence
13:15–14:45	Joint US/Russia New START Implementation Briefing	CR M1	US Department of State
13:15–14:45	The 2012 Conference on the Middle East Free Zone of Nuclear Weapons and all other Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Initiative and Prospects	Hall L, Austria Center Vienna, Bruno-Kreisky- Platz 1 A-1220 Wien	Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA)
14:00–15:00	Testimony of A-Bomb Survivors at the A-Bomb Exhibition	MoE Exhibition Area	Gensuikyo
15:00–17:50	Civil Society’s Strategies for Establishing a Nuclear Free Middle East	CR M2	NAPF, ICAN, and Ban All Nukes generation
16:00–21:00	Symposium: The role of the IAEA after Fukushima	City Hall, Vienna Friedrich-Schmidt-Platz 1, Top24 (Arkadenhof)	Registration: <a href="mailto:kongress@ialana.de">kongress@ ialana.de</a> Cost: 10 Euro
18:00–18:50	Preparing for simulated NWC negotiations	CR M2	INESAP, Technische Uni- versität Darmstadt, and Universität Hamburg
18:30–20:00	Hiroshima and Nagasaki Speak	University of Vienna, Institute of East Asian Studies	Gensuikyo