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Reaching Critical Will
a project of the Women's International
League for Peace and Freedom

News in Review

Civil society perspectives on the Seventh Review Conference of the
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
May 2-27, 2005

Lost in the Echo Chamber

- Rhianna Tyson, WILPF

"We don't fully understand what's actually happening," said the Russian delegation on Monday, in the first open plenary since the NGOs took the floor last week. "We'd like to have more transparency."

They're not the only ones.

Closed-door debates are the order of the day. Ever since the agenda was adopted last Wednesday, the Review Conference has broken down into frustratingly opaque regional group consultations, sprinkled only with the occasional, equally opaque General Committee meeting.

Are they close to agreement? Will Main Committees begin today? Tomorrow? This week? *At all?* Russia complained that, as non-members of the General Committee, they (like NGOs) "only get echoes of the debates which are taking place between (the President) and the regional groups and the various delegations." This babble of echoes becomes increasingly difficult to decipher, especially after taking into account each delegation's political and strategic agenda.

To some in the Western Group, the Non-Aligned (NAM) are disorganized and undisciplined, unable to see past their differing procedural preferences in order to formulate a strategy based on their common political and strategic goals. To some in the NAM, the Western Group is doing a shoddy job of glossing over the wildly diverging opinions between most of their members and the US, which often stands

alone in opposition to a proposal.

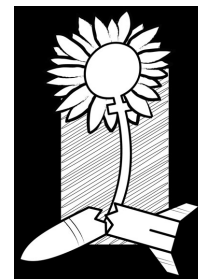
In this murky world of disarmament diplomacy, it is difficult to even keep one's eye on the ball, so to speak. The fight, once centered on the agenda, moved on to the language contained in the footnote to the agenda before tackling the question over the number of subsidiary bodies to create. By now, the battle is taking place over the mandates of these subsidiary bodies.

It is looking more likely that, should any agreement be reached at all, the Conference would create three subsidiary bodies, one per each Main Committee (MC): one on nuclear disarmament (MC I); one on regional issues (MC II); and the last on withdrawal (MC III).

That doesn't mean that the MCs will actually convene any time soon. Having capitulated to the successive, inexcusable demands of the US- no reference to past Review Conferences, no subsidiary body on the Middle East and no subsidiary body on security assurances- it does not seem as if the NAM will agree to a MC I subsidiary body that does not have the explicit mandate to focus on security assurances. This, to NAM, is the line in the sand; a subsidiary body on disarmament is fine, so long as it *also* makes time for security assurances.

If agreement on the mandates of the subsidiary bodies cannot be reached, all hope for substantive work is not quite lost. One late afternoon echo heard throughout the Vienna Café was that, if agreement is not reached by Tuesday morning's open plenary (at 10 AM in Confer-

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The Motives Behind Disarmament

- Naomi Gingold, WILPF

While a mere handful of States still cling to the notion of nuclear weapons as the ultimate guarantor of security, a much larger number of States have recognized the insecurity that nuclear weapons bring. As the NGOs pointed out in their presentations on May 11, "If you point nuclear weapons at anyone, then they are pointed at you." Out of the 182 Non-Nuclear Weapon States parties to the NPT, most have never pursued a nuclear weapons program. Some, however, have, such as Brazil, Argentina and South Africa, and at some point, these visionary States renounced these weapons in return for a more sustainable security.

What exactly impelled those countries, already possessing or quite close to possessing nuclear weapons, to disavow them? Was it plump carrots, mere good will, or, perhaps, an experience of nuclear destruction on its own soil? Facilitated by the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission Chairman, Hans Blix, the panel, "Why do States Abandon Nuclear Weapons Ambitions?" at the start of week two of the NPT Review Conference addressed those questions and more.

Professor Jim Walsh of Harvard University first urged audience members to view the NPT in an optimistic light and recognize the success the NPT has had thus far. He pointed to statistics that show a steadily declining rate of new States that acquired nuclear weapons, noting that 75 % of countries which once considered starting nuclear weapons programs

have aborted them. Professor Walsh urged that, "we should figure out what we are doing right" and build on that to further our quest for nuclear disarmament.

Although factors such as security guarantees, the absence of threats, a lack of money, and democracy are often considered some of the prime instigators of nuclear restraint, Walsh stressed that bureaucratic politics and regimes are the main deterrents to a country's nuclear ambitions. According to Walsh, the two lessons to be learned from the success of the last 35 years are the importance of internal politics and the importance of the NPT and regime as deterrents to a nuclear weapons program.

Echoing Walsh, Patricia Lewis, the Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, stated that domestic politics and feasibility, not security, lie at the core of the decision to develop nuclear weapons. Adding to Walsh's optimistic tone, Lewis explained that the NPT has "established the norm," by providing "a framework for action". The NPT altered the way States view and think about nuclear weapons, and worked to delegitimize the possession of nuclear weapons, thereby setting the standards that lead the way towards disarmament.

Lewis spoke of the need for incentives and good leadership on the part of the Nuclear Weapon States in order for the process of nuclear disarmament to continue. Stressing the importance of insti-

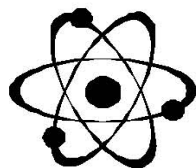
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NUCLEAR TERRORISM, NUCLEAR POWER, & ARTICLE IV

EXPERTS BRIEFING FOR DELEGATES AND NGO REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE

DR. ANDREW KANTER, PHYSICIANS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

DR. TARIQ RAUF, INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY



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MAY 18, 2005 1:15-2:45 PM
UN CONFERENCE RM. E

Nuclear Genie Is *Unleashed* at the United Nations

- Carol Naughton, WMD Awareness Programme

On Friday at the UN, two filmmakers from Chicago screened their newest film, "Genie In A Bottle: Unleashed," to a truly international crowd in Conference Room E.

In the two weeks' worth of presentations, seminars, meetings, briefings, roundtables, workshops, even a march and rally, no event came anywhere near this screening for vitality, for laughs or for holding the audience's total attention. In every other session I have watched people dose off, chat, read papers or even play computer games but not here. The audience loved it so much the film had to be given a second showing!

These two film makers, Stephen Sotor and Trace Gaynor deserve nothing less than a Peace Oscar for what they have achieved in making this fifteen minute film. These

thirteen-year-olds filmed, directed, produced and edited the film; Gaynor even composed the original musical score.

This, their second film, tells the story of the first atomic bombs from their development, through the Trinity Test to the horror of the first use of the most horrific weapon known to humanity, the dropping of the nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The excellent, witty and quick-fire dialogue is interspersed with original footage of key events and interviews with those who were involved in the original nuclear programme and those who opposed it even then, such as the creator of the 'Doomsday Clock'. The old excuse we hear so regularly to excuse the lack of movement in nuclear disarmament, of the Genie being out of the Bottle was completely turned on its head and the Genie himself was interviewed.

The strong theme of secrecy is brought out again and again. We hear that only half

the scientists on the Manhattan Project knew what they were developing. Issues, such as secrecy, the cost of nuclear programmes and the sheer horror of the use of a nuclear weapon are portrayed in such an innovative way that you cannot help but learn. The story of Sadoko- the origin of the Japanese paper crane- is beautifully told and illustrated, too.

This creative use of editing is just perfect when it comes to the interview with the 'Genie'. He is desperate to loose his image as the 'bad guy' and to let us know that he did not ask to let out of the bottle!! He makes it clear that the creation and dropping of the atomic bombs that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, that shocked the world, did not just happen. It was not an accident or a natural event. It was a deliberate act carried out by humans against fellow humans. This for me was one of the strongest message of the film and using *continued on page 6*

The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) and the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) cordially invite you to a panel discussion – co-hosted by the German and the Swiss Delegations to the 2005 NPT Review Conference – on:

TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN NUCLEAR ARMS

Tuesday, May 17, 2005

1:15 - 2:45 pm

Conference Room No. IV

Speakers include:

H.E. Ambassador Nobuyasu ABE, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs
H.E. Ambassador Volker HEINSBERG, Permanent Representative of the Germany to the CD
H.E. Ambassador Jürg STREULI, Permanent Representative of Switzerland to the CD
Prof. Dr. Heiner HÄNGGI, Assistant Director/Head of Research, DCAF
Dr. Hans BORN, Senior Fellow, DCAF
Dr. Annette SCHAPER, Project Director, PRIF

At the international and domestic level, transparency and accountability is essential for the international community to collectively work towards the disarming of nuclear weapon states; to avoid the accidental use of nuclear weapons; to prevent nuclear terrorism; and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. There must be an understanding of the governance structure in nuclear weapons states to successfully apply the multilateral international governance system which has been established. The panel will primarily address the issue of transparency as a prerequisite for disarmament and accountability as a prerequisite for non-proliferation.



Geneva Centre for the
Democratic Control



For more information on this event see:
<http://www.dcaf.ch/news/NPT05.2005/>

Threats to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

- Erika Simpson, PhD

Every five years, diplomats gather in New York City at the United Nations to hold a full-scale Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The treaty is one of the world's most important multilateral agreements, dating from 1968 when it came into force; 189 states around the world are signatories. The NPT has helped to curtail nuclear proliferation to just nine countries—in the 1960s, many believed that there would be fifteen or twenty nuclear powers by now. But the fact that nearly all the countries in the world have signed and ratified the NPT is an indication of its long-term success.

Charges of 'Hypocrisy' Threaten the Nuclear Weapon States

However, the treaty is facing the most daunting challenges in its history during this month's review conference. Part of the problem is that the original Nuclear Weapon States—the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, and China—have not lived up to their promise under Article Six of the NPT to move decisively toward the irreversible elimination of their nuclear arsenals. That means many countries, like India, Pakistan and North Korea, have another rationale to obtain their own nuclear arsenals. The Great Powers' relative inaction is also contributing to charges of 'hypocrisy' because they want to deny access to nuclear technologies to non-nuclear weapons states, like Iran. The US and UK have threatened military pre-emption to prevent the acquisition of nuclear weapons by other countries, as in the case of Iraq, yet their own disarmament records are spotty. Many representatives of the 189 nations meeting at the United Nations fear their meeting will end in acrimony and unfettered worldwide nuclear proliferation.

Last Year's NPT Meeting Collapsed

Two weeks of diplomatic negotiations at the United Nations last spring did not produce recommendations for this year's conference, as preparatory meetings have in the past. Hours after the meeting was supposed to end, it was simply adjourned with a final report containing minimum details. Most of the meetings during the last week were held be-

hind closed doors so it is difficult to ascertain what, exactly, happened. But it seems clear that the political debate at the heart of all the procedural wrangling was the relative weight that should be given to disarmament and

It seems clear that the political debate at the heart of all the procedural wrangling was the relative weight that should be given to disarmament and non-proliferation.

non-proliferation. Diplomats could not agree on whether the treaty's chief priority should be disarmament, as promised under Article Six by the nuclear powers, or addressing proliferation threats by countries such as North Korea and Iran.

Stalemate Surrounds Implementation of the "13 Steps"

Another key sticking point of the negotiations was whether to acknowledge the final document of the previous review conference in 2000. This procedural question was a lightning rod for the political divisions among the delegates since the final document included what became known as "the 13 steps"—specific actions the nuclear powers agreed to as part of their disarmament commitments under the NPT. Most importantly, the 13 steps included "an unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear weapon states to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals." That undertaking included signing and ratifying the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, reducing tactical nuclear weapons, and halting the production of weapons-grade nuclear materials.

The US administration under George Bush opposed the 13 steps, most notably it pulled out of the CTBT and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and it opposed halting the worldwide production of weapons-grade materials (which, ironically, Iran also opposes). Because of the stalemate, last year's preparatory meeting could not even agree on seemingly routine items such as an agenda for this month's conference. While the collapse of

negotiations was met with great dismay among diplomats, the news received little media coverage in the United States, Canada or worldwide.

The New Agenda Coalition Builds a Bridge

Recently, eight NATO States built a 'bridge' on the long road to nuclear disarmament by supporting a New Agenda Coalition resolution at the UN calling for more speed in implementing commitments to the NPT. The bridge gained extra strength when Japan and South Korea joined with the NATO 8—Belgium, Canada, Germany, Lithuania, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway and Turkey. These states, along with the New Agenda countries—Brazil, Egypt, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, South Africa and Sweden—now form an impressive centre in the nuclear weapons debate and could play a determining role in this month's review conference.

The fact that important NATO players such as Canada, Germany, Norway, the Netherlands and Belgium have taken a more proactive stance indicates that they want to send a message to the nuclear weapons states, especially the US, to take more significant steps to fulfill commitments already made to the NPT. As retired Canadian Senator Douglas Roche, chair of the Middle Power Initiative states, "The situation the NPT finds itself in is so serious and the threat of nuclear terrorism so real that governments need to put aside their quarrels and power plays and take meaningful steps to ensure that the NPT will not be lost to the world through erosion."

Working Together Toward an International Strategy

The Middle Powers Initiative, chaired by Douglas Roche, held an international consultation co-hosted by former President Jimmy Carter at the Carter Centre in Atlanta, Georgia in January. Many middle powers and non-nuclear weapon states tried to build support for a series of achievable measures. The final report of this Extraordinary Strategy session provided the launching point for discussions in other countries. For example, the Middle Powers Initiative, Pro-

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ject Ploughshares, the Canadian Pugwash Group, Physicians for Global Survival, and Lawyers for Social Responsibility organized an 'Ottawa roundtable' that was attended by many high-level representatives from around the world, including Ambassador Sergio Duarte, the President of the NPT Review Conference. In a dialogue that engaged many prominent non-governmental organizations and government officials, we explored avenues to bring moderate NATO

Many delegates fear their meeting will end in acrimony and unfettered worldwide nuclear proliferation.

states and New Agenda Coalition states together in support of a strategy to bridge the growing gap between disarmament and non-proliferation elements in the NPT review process.

Threats from the United States, France, the UK, Iran and North Korea Shadow Talks

Yet there is no doubt that this month's conference—which everyone hopes will close huge loopholes in the Treaty—is likely to fail despite its global importance. While diplomatic representatives at the conference may be painstakingly aware of the salience of their discussions for the future of humankind, they have been unable to agree on anything at all despite two weeks of discussions. It seems that mid-level diplomats sent by the US want to avoid the issue of 'vertical' proliferation—which relates to Article Six and previous promises to decrease, rather than increase the numbers of weapons of the nuclear weapon states. They prefer to focus on issues surrounding 'horizontal' proliferation—revolving around Iranian and North Korean plans to acquire or develop nuclear weapons. It appears American diplomats want to jettison the 13 steps rather than update them. Adding to the potential for a meltdown, Iran has vowed to resume producing nuclear fuel and North Korea is dismissing President Bush as a "philistine whom we can never deal with." Instead of moving toward nuclear

disarmament—and eventual nuclear abolition—these countries are drastically decreasing global security. It is possible that the most important arms control treaty in history collapses this month—not with a bang—but with a whimper.

This article first appeared in the publication Embassy on May 4, 2005, Issue 52, p. 7.

Dr. Erika Simpson is an associate professor of international relations in the Department of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario and the author of NATO and the Bomb (2001: McGill-Queen's University Press).



60 years after Hiroshima, the United States continues to build nuclear weapons in Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

AUGUST 6 2005

Today, W76 (Trident) warheads are being refurbished to last for 100-120 years in Oak Ridge, TN.

- DOE has approved a new, \$1.1 billion bomb plant in Oak Ridge.

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RE-ACTIVATING THE WILL: CAN NUCLEAR DOCTRINE SAVE THE NPT?

A forum of expertise, politics and faith sponsored by the World Council of Churches.

Room E at the UN -- Wednesday, May 18, at 3 pm

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty risks failing its five-year 'check-up'. A wide range of remedies is on offer from governments and NGOs. Opinion polls around the world show a global quorum for change. Yet the treaty's Cold War bargain remains broken and its aging logic morally flawed.

While some tinker with the treaty, others insist it needs a moral heart transplant. What is required now? Can basic nuclear doctrine reactivate the political will? The World Council of Churches invites you to a forum including Protestants, Orthodox and Catholics, and nuclear disarmament analyst Rebecca Johnson.

Contact for further information:

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the 'Genie' to portray it was a fantastic idea.

Sotor and Gaynor handled the question and answer session with such confidence and good humour I could have listened to them for another hour. They explained that this was not a school project but that they had become interested in the issue after hearing of it in school. They had done a lot of research with their fellow pupils to ensure it was orientated towards 'Kids' and would be seen from their angle.

I cannot wait for copyright issues to be clear and to be able to use this in work in organisations and schools in the UK.

Asked whether they felt we could achieve nuclear disarmament by 2020 they thought it was a mite too soon. Although, they reasoned, "Nothing is impossible."

With people like Sotor and Gaynor to guide us then they are right – As the Youth presentation on Wednesday afternoon finished - Are we ready to join them?

Carol Naughton is a co-founder of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Awareness Programme in the UK.

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ence Room IV), the regional consultations will give way to open-ended consultations of the whole of the Conference.

This strategy is widely favored for several reasons. First, it would allow for the opportunity to present working papers on substantive issues, and allow States like Australia, which has been working across regional groupings to formulate these papers, to demonstrate their delegation's commitment to the NPT and to this review process. Second, it would force consensus-blockers to take the floor to express their (oftentimes) lone opposition to a proposal, and demonstrate exactly who is culpable for the failure of the Conference to engage in substantive negotiations.

Even if the regional strategy is discarded Tuesday and some sort of substantive work commences, prospects for the outcome grow dimmer every day. Any remaining ray of hope may yet be entirely snuffed out in the dearth of transparency. At this point, however, we must hold fast to these last strands of hope, before they, too, are only an echo.

www.reachingcriticalwill.org

Motives continued from page 2

tutional memory, Lewis heaped praise on NGOs. "The role of the NGOs is absolutely paramount," Lewis adamantly stated. NGOs retain the institutional memory and historical context that is sometimes overlooked or forgotten by delegates; they educate the domestic audience, as well as the diplomatic one. Lamenting the fact that NGOs are often left out of official discussions, Lewis stated that, "We must radically rethink the way we do business at the NPT Conference." Both Lewis and Walsh also stressed the need for an educated and empowered populace to keep the momentum moving towards nuclear disarmament.

As the attendees filed out of the conference room, one could feel a rejuvenated sense of promise in the NPT hanging in the air.

Naomi Gingold is an intern with the Reaching Critical Will project of WILPF UN Office.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)'s Reaching Critical Will Project seeks full-time Project Associate for the UN Office.

Eligible candidates must possess the following skills and capabilities:

1. Experience in policy and advocacy work;
2. Strong oral and written communication and analytical skills;
3. Knowledge of and commitment to international disarmament, nonproliferation and arms control issues;
4. Knowledge of and commitment to gender and peace issues;
5. Ability to present complex themes in a brief but comprehensive manner; and
6. Experience with MS Office, PowerPoint; experience with Quark, Dreamweaver or related web-design programming preferred.

Last day to apply: 15 June 2005

See our website or contact Rhianna Tyson, RCW Project Manager for more information.

Email: rhianna@reachingcriticalwill.org