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Reaching Critical Will
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News in Review

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

The Conference That Cried Wolf

- Rhianna Tyson, WILPF

It's official: the Main Committees will begin their work today, on the fourteenth day of this Review Conference.

At the close of the afternoon session on Wednesday, President Duarte announced the adoption of his proposal, CRP.3, declaring that "substantive work will be done as of tomorrow morning in the Main Committees."

Or will it?

Over the past few weeks, it had seemed that agreement to begin substantive work was just around the corner, right after the last remaining procedural issue was settled. Yet every time this "remaining" procedural issue was settled, another, equally divisive and equally arcane procedural disagreement arose. As one delegate sadly admitted, "Every day I leave here feeling optimistic, like tomorrow we'll get down to work. Then, every morning, when I hear about the newest disagreement, I'm depressed and pessimistic all over again."

There's only so many times that one can keep one's hope alive on a promise of work, a promise that never seems to materialize.

Why then, should we muster up any optimism for this "success", (upon which, the president declared, "all of us are to be congratulated,") since, once again, "remaining" procedural issues, well, remain?

The President left it up to the Main Committees themselves to hash out the allocation

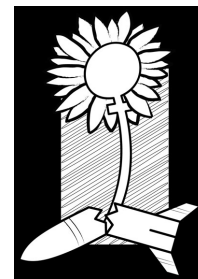
of time, a precious commodity for this Conference since so much of it has been wasted over three weeks of procedural wrangling. In 2000, for instance, there were 11 meetings of each Main Committee, with 4 meetings for their respective subsidiary body. By this point, however, each Main Committee (MC) is left only with 6 possible sessions, leaving only 2 meetings for its subsidiary body, if they are to follow the same ratio of the past.

The Conference did, however, settle another procedural issue on Wednesday- the election of the Chairs for these infamous subsidiary bodies. At first, there was a proposal for the Netherlands to chair MC I, Spain to chair MC II and Chile to chair MC III. Not quite satisfied with this regional composition, the Non-Aligned rejected the appointment of a NATO member to chair MC I, and successfully lobbied to replace him/her with a member of the New Agenda Coalition.

So yes, it is true that the Committees will convene today, starting with MC I in Conference Room 3 and MC II in Conference Room 4. Yes, it is true that the deadline for the Committees to submit their reports to the Drafting Committee has been extended until Wednesday. Yes, it is true that some States parties have demonstrated their commitment to this Conference by concurrently wrestling, over the past two days, with procedure while engaging in substantive work.

But by this time, the potential of the Main Committees seems to have lost some of its appeal. There is still

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Who's Who: Ron McCoy, President International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War



Tell us a little about IPPNW: when did this organization begin and the impetus for its creation? What role has IPPNW, as the only international medical organization

dedicated to the abolition of nuclear weapons, played in the global movement?

IPPNW was founded in 1980 at the height of the Cold War, when the momentum of the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe threatened to propel the two protagonists to nuclear war and 'mutual assured destruction.' As the only international medical organization dedicated to the abolition of nuclear weapons, IPPNW has unique credibility, professional authority and public trust when it advocates the abolition of nuclear weapons. The publication of medical research into the catastrophic effects of blast, radiant heat and ionizing radiation on the population of Boston, in the event of a nuclear war, based on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, had a dramatic impact on the consciousness of a world teetering on the brink of nuclear war in the 1980s. For this work in public health education, IPPNW received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985 and continues to play this role in all disarmament fora.

Since then, IPPNW has grown into a global federation of national physicians' groups that affirm the Hippocratic principle: *first do no harm*. In that context, IPPNW seeks to understand the economic and social causes of violence and war and the need to prevent war. IPPNW argues against the greater reliance on military power by the powerful and wealthy to advance narrow national interests and strategies that depend upon nuclear weapons.

What is the greatest priority for your organization at this Conference?

The greatest priority at the 2005 NPT Review would be for both nuclear weapon states and non-nuclear weapon states to show good faith by complying with their legal obligations under the NPT and taking a balanced approach to the mutually reinforcing imperatives of nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation. The nuclear weapon states must renounce both the use of nuclear weapons and the development of new nuclear weapons, and proceed immediately to de-alerting. Non-nuclear weapon states must renounce all ambitions to acquire nuclear weapons and fulfill their obligations in the peaceful uses of nuclear technology, under Article IV and the Additional Protocol.

In your view, what would be the best outcome of the Conference? The worst? In the case of the worst scenario, how will the international community handle the crisis of nuclear weapons, if the Review Conference should fail to significantly strengthen the regime?

The best outcome of the Conference would be for the nuclear weapon states to generate the necessary political will to strengthen the NPT by immediately building on the 13 Practical Steps agreed at the 2000 NPT Review, all of which flow from their fundamental "unequivocal undertaking" to eliminate their nuclear arsenals.

The worst outcome of the Conference would be for the nuclear weapon states to repudiate their commitments made at the 2000 NPT Review and for stalemate in the NPT process to deteriorate further, leading to further unraveling of the NPT and withdrawal of more States Parties from the NPT, as in the case of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.

If this crisis were to happen and there was no way to build a bridge between nuclear disarmament and nuclear proliferation after 35 years of diplomatic

gamesmanship, the international community would be faced with the realization that it must look beyond the NPT and take a new approach by emulating the Ottawa process and adopting a framework for the abolition of nuclear weapons through a Nuclear Weapons Convention, which is now more feasible through advances in verification technology and compliance procedures. This will take advantage of the substantial conceptual work that has already been done on the legal, technical and political requirements for achieving and maintaining a nuclear weapons free world. In fact, a Model Nuclear Weapons Convention has been submitted and circulated in the United Nations.

The concept of an abolition framework is therefore closer to what the nuclear weapon states have already agreed on disarmament and it encompasses their concerns about proliferation. It may be an easier framework with which to engage the nuclear weapon states than one which focuses mainly on disarmament.

A political judgment will be needed on whether the verification regime will offer sufficient levels of assurance, acknowledging at the same time that no verification system can provide absolute certainty. It is inevitable that some risk of attempted breakout will have to be accepted, if the greater benefits of a safer nuclear weapon free world are to be realized. In a globalizing world where the effectiveness and destructive force of conventional weapons are increasing, the development of an illegal nuclear force would be self-defeating.

Nuclear disarmament is primarily a positive obligation to undertake the technical process of dismantling and eliminating nuclear weapons, whereas nuclear abolition is a positive obligation to eliminate nuclear weapons, combined with a normative process of prohibiting

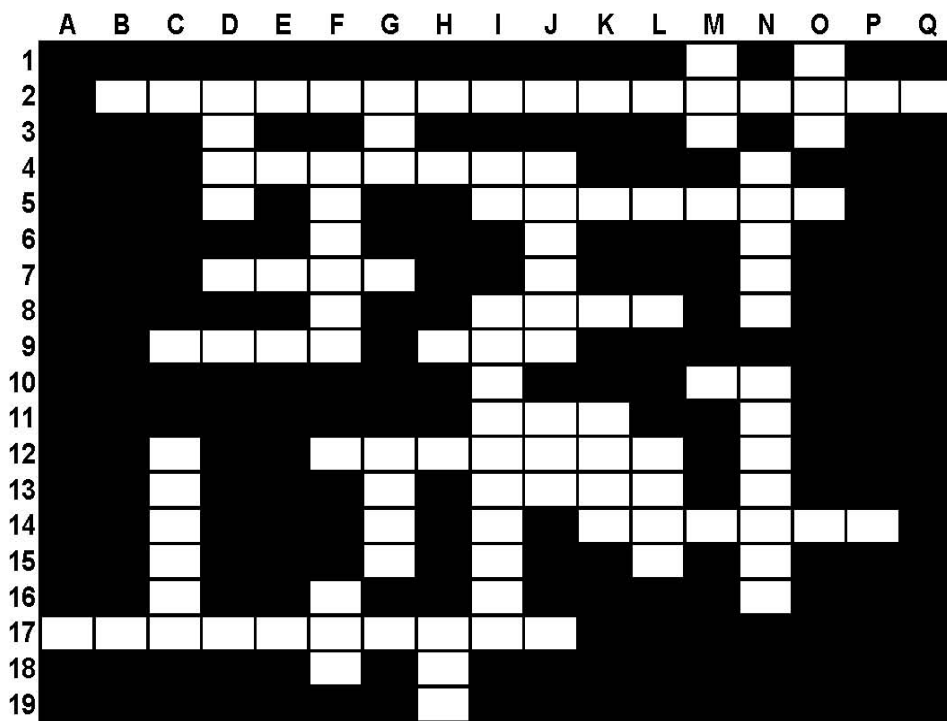
NPT CROSSWORD!

Across

- 2B. Curbing the threat of nuclear weapons
 4D. Last week, North Korea said it extracted 8,000 of these
 5J. In a category of weapons all by themselves
 7D. This Mayor delivered a speech to the General Assembly hall May 4
 8I. After eight years, *still* not entered-into-force.
 9C. The 2000 Review Conference ordered the CD to negotiate this in 5 years
 9I. The Department that manages the bulk of the US nuclear weapons budget
 10M. Despite this abbreviation, this fissile material does not smell.
 11I. Either the counterproliferation measure or the initiative undertaken by the Ploughshares Fund.
 13I. Despite the pronunciation by a particular head of state, this word only has two syllables.
 13N. This intergovernmental body has two, contradictory mandates
 14K. What the Seventh Review Conference is seriously lacking
 17A. Proliferation risks from this type of reactor are particularly high

Down

- 1M. Seven member coalition, unusually quiet this Conference
 1O. The cornerstone article of the cornerstone treaty
 2D. Central Asia is the most recent
 2G. Under the 1994 Agreed Framework, the US was supposed to provide this to North Korea
 4F. Some are seeking to strengthen and universalize these controls
 4J. Charged with a seemingly impossible job
 4N. China and Russia are the leading States in this campaign
 10N. The first ingredient to making a nuclear bomb (or power plant)
 12C. The world's largest exporter of 10N down.
 12G. so-called "peaceful"
 12L. What 4N down tries to prevent in space
 16F. Shock and, or, nuclear research center in UK



Contributors to this
 edition of the
News in Review include:

Hongwei Chen, WILPF; Ron McCoy, IPPNW; Susi Snyder, WILPF;
 Alex Sundberg, WILPF.

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the ***Model Nuclear Inventory***, a comprehensive database of nuclear weapons, power plants, research centers, fissile materials and disarmament policy.

Re-Activating the Will: Religious and Ethical Perspectives on Nuclear Doctrine

- Hongwei Chen, WILPF

Despite the meager attendance due to the Plenary next door, conference room E was rife with energy as panelists from backgrounds of faith, politics, and policy expertise converged to discuss nuclear weapons policy from the standpoint of morality.

Reverend Barbara Green, executive director of the Churches Council for Public Policy, noted that the idea of “nuclear doctrine” has become so narrow in our world as to only involve questions of when and how to use nuclear weapons. We, the human community, must instead reclaim doctrine as something more fundamental, something that embraces the beauty and complexity of life and the planet which, for her, are gifts from God. Nuclear weapons potentially threaten all of creation; short of annihilation, they represent abominable violence in terms of destroyed cities, radioactivity, and the resources funneled into nuclear production. Green maintained that these circumstances surrounding the nuclear age require “nothing less than a global confession of sin.”

Rebecca Johnson, a disarmament analyst for the Acronym Institute, combined her policy expertise with her

We, the human community, must instead reclaim doctrine as something more fundamental, something that embraces the beauty and complexity of life and the planet which, for her, are gifts from God.

ethical convictions in order to condemn the use *and* preparation of use of nuclear weapons to be fundamentally immoral. She dedicated most of her time to refuting the mantra among Nuclear Weapons States that “we possess nuclear weapons so that we never use them.” She noted that even if not used, nuclear weapons carry enormous costs such as the health harms of testing, the problems of waste disposal and the drain on resources. Additionally, the logic of deterrence no longer makes sense in a post-cold war world. A non-state agent who is determined enough to explode a nuclear weapon in a large city cannot be stopped by nuclear weapons, which leaves two options for the use of nukes for deterrence: either for pre-emption or retaliation. Both methods are fallacious because they destroy an incommensurable amount of innocent life and fragment global sympathy and response to the original act of terror. The only conceivable reason for retaliation would be as punishment or vengeance, which is immoral—if one reads the bible “only God can enact vengeance.”

Johnson believes it is necessary for NWS to immediately renounce nuclear weapons from their military doctrines as a prerequisite to disarmament. This renunciation of all uses of nuclear weapons is superior to simply reducing the numbers of nuclear weapons in the arsenal. Or to take the example of quitting cigarettes — “there is a qualitative difference between cutting down to a pack a day and choosing to stop smoking.”

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Bishop Tom Butler of the Diocese of Southwark in the UK spoke about just war doctrine, which is something that is taken seriously by military academics and leaders. The traditional just war criteria consisted of competent authority, assurance that war is last resort and there are no peaceful means for resolution, the justness of the cause, the harms vs. benefits, and the probability of success. Nuclear weapons alter the entire understanding of just war because they threaten total annihilation of all life on earth. Military leaders understood this during the cold war, but are recently starting to talk about the possible use of ‘precision’ nuclear weapons. If the taboo against nuclear use is bro-

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the General Debate of each MC to get through. There still remains the obstinacy of the US against making any progress on key issues such as negative security assurances, irreversibility and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Maybe we’re all just worn down from the past three weeks of inter- and intra-regional arguing. Maybe our brains are just too tired from trying to follow the ping pong blame game of the procedural squabbling. Or maybe, the way we would dismiss the boy who cried wolf one time too many, we find it hard to believe that the Committees, long overdue in their work, will truly produce some sort of result that will effectively strengthen the disarmament and non-proliferation regime.

Perhaps, however, we will be pleasantly surprised. The wolf, after all, *did* eventually come, even if the villagers were too tired to believe the warning calls.

Navigating The Brave New World of 1984

- Alex Sundberg, WILPF

“Logging on to commondreams.org is really a great start, but we have to go further, we have to come together and meet out in the streets.” Blanche W. Cook entered Conference Room E on May 18th, bringing with her an air of energy and passion to the stuffy little basement room. She came to talk about The Quest for Justice and a Non-Nuclear Future and even if the picture she paints of today’s world is a fairly depressing one, captured so well in her expression “the brave new world of 1984”, there is a hint of hope behind her every word. A hope for something better to come, for insanity to end, for people to leave their computers and televisions and actually join together in a growing grass root globalization to challenge the globalization of international financial institutions and censored media.

Cook is a historian, journalist, a Distinguished Professor of History at John Jay College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York, as well as the author of several books, e.g. The Declassified Eisenhower and two volumes about Eleanor Roosevelt. She speaks confidently, with the knowledge of someone who has been around for a while.

“What is going on here? How can we have this kind of insanity going on at this point?” she asks, pointing to outrageous facts about US use of depleted uranium weapons in the Gulf War, former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and the recent war on Iraq. She noted George W. Bush’s National Sacrifice Zones where US land has been polluted and irradiated by nuclear testing to the point of being completely useless, as well as the greed for tungsten that further fuels the US conquering of the world. Yet, in the midst of all the madness, she talks about islands of hope: there is peace in Europe after centuries and centuries of war; apartheid in South Africa has come to an end; and a climate of respect and demand for human rights seems to be growing among the people of the world. What it takes is the creation of a world where “people have more to live for than to die for”.

Finally, before turning the floor over to the audience for a lively discussion, Cook de-links the concepts of the post-Westphalian nation-state and nuclear weapons, once again highlighting the madness of a world where these absurdly destructive weapons still exist: “What does a border mean when we talk about nuclear explosions and air plane bombings?”

Religion and Ethics continued from page 4

ken, “all deals are off.”

Senator Douglas Roche, representing the Holy See, gave a short presentation on the position of the Holy See on nuclear weapons. The Holy See supported nuclear deterrence during the cold war as a temporary measure, but has recently condemned any planned use of nuclear weapons. He noted that in a secular society, religious organizations must speak in a language that others understand—a language that conveys essential human values. Nuclear weapons states must be told in an unambiguous manner that nuclear weapons are a threat to humanity itself and hence immoral and illegal.

The ensuing discussion featured an extended exchange about apocalyptic and fundamentalist groups *within* each of the religious traditions. One participant mentioned that

there are groups within each tradition who look forward to the destruction of the planet because of their religious interpretations. Roche and Johnson responded by indicating that fundamentalist groups are far from the mainstream of religion, yet it is still important for all groups to deal with extremist elements that fight in their name. Green indicated that much of the ideas about apocalypse and judgment that is published in the popular media are “utter nonsense.”

Other parts of the discussion concerned strategy for success at the conference, interfaith connections, and the mobilization of people of faith. Roche concluded that leaders of the major religions of the world must provide a coherent message about the immorality of nuclear weapons because in the end

the question of nuclear doctrine is not a religious problem “it’s a human problem.”



picture by Soichi Wantanabe, courtesy of World Council of Churches at:
<http://www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/english.html>

Who's Who continued from page 2

the acquisition, transfer, use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. In other words, nuclear abolition is the synthesis of the two competing approaches in the NPT process – disarmament and non-proliferation.

The concept of an abolition framework is therefore closer to what the nuclear weapon states have already agreed on disarmament and it encompasses their concerns about proliferation. It may be an easier framework with which to engage the nuclear weapon states than one which focuses mainly on disarmament.

An independent Ottawa-style conference on nuclear abolition would generate considerable media coverage and political pressure on all nuclear weapon states, declared and undeclared, to abandon nuclear weapons and embrace abolition.

Whatever the reasons or concerns that have led some States to develop nuclear weapons and doctrines in the name of security, nuclear weapons pose an unacceptable threat to human civilization and must be abolished. Nuclear weapons are weapons of genocide and totally annihilate populations. For 35 years, the NPT has failed abysmally to rid the world of nuclear weapons. The majority of the people of the world want nuclear weapons abolished. It is time to look for new ways to translate the will of the majority into democratic action to overturn the

malfeasance of the few.

How did you get interested in disarmament and non-proliferation issues?

I've had an interest in international relations for a very long time that goes back to the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of the Second World War and the liberation of Malaysia from Japanese occupation. It was only after reading John Hershey's book, *Hiroshima*, years later that I began to understand the true nature of nuclear weapons. In 1986, when I read about the activities of IPPNW and its British affiliate, Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, in the British Medical Journal, I became a member of MCANW and began my involvement in nuclear disarmament. A year later, I founded the Malaysian affiliate of IPPNW and have been its chair since. My work in IPPNW has grown over the years, first as Malaysian international councillor and later as vice-president, co-president and president of IPPNW. I've had a close working relationship with the Malaysian government on disarmament and was a member of the Malaysian government's delegation when it made its oral submission on the legal status of nuclear weapons to the International Court of Justice in 1995. I was a member of the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons in 1996.

What's On: Today and Tomorrow's Calendar of Events

Thursday, May 19

Daily morning interfaith prayer vigil

Where: Ralph Bunche Park, 42nd Street, 1st Avenue
When: May 2-27, 7:30 AM
Contact: Caroline Gilbert, Christian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Governmental Briefing- Amb. Javad Zarif (Iran)

Where: Conference Room E
When: 9-10 AM

Abolition 2000 Morning Caucus

Where: UN Conference Room E
When: Daily, 10 AM- 11 AM
Contact: Monika Szymurska, Global Coordinator

People of Color Communities Organizing to Ban Nuclear Weapons

Production, Testing, and Waste Disposal
Where: Conference Room E
When: 10:15- 1 PM

Briefing on Space Security

Where: UN Conference Room E
When: 1:15 - 2:45 pm

Contact: David Wright, Union of Concerned Scientists

UCS Press Conference on Space Security

Where: UN Conference Room E
When: 3- 3:30 PM
Contact: David Wright, Union of Concerned Scientists

Friday, May 20

Daily morning interfaith prayer vigil

Where: Ralph Bunche Park, 42nd Street, 1st Avenue
When: May 2-27, 7:30 AM
Contact: Caroline Gilbert, Christian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Abolition 2000 Morning Caucus

Where: UN Conference Room E
When: Daily, 10 AM- 11 AM
Contact: Monika Szymurska, Global Coordinator

DVD Screening: Peace by Piece/One Thousand Crane Workshop by New York University Students

Where: United Nations Conference Room E
When: 1:15- 2:45
Contact: Hiroshi Sunairi, New York University