

May 23, 2005
No. 16

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

Heigh-Ho the Dairy-O

-Rhianna Tyson, WILPF

In a race against time, dozens of more States took the floor of the Main Committees last week, while the Chairs scrambled to devise a plan for the formulation of their reports to the Drafting Committee, due this Wednesday.

Consultations continued throughout this past weekend. Ambassador Mólnár of Main Committee II, for instance, expressed his hope to have some sort of draft from which to base his report by the resumption of work on Monday.

With so little time left, the best tool for ensuring that each State's concerns and priorities work their way into the draft text is repetition. Reiterating one's position in statements, reports and working papers, as well as in the consultations with the Chair, adds political weight to that particular stance, especially if many others support it.

For language to make its way into a Final Document, however, it requires consensus. And, as the three-week-long battle over the agenda at-tests, consensus is a near impossible task in today's polarized political climate.

Yet where exactly do the States stand on the issues? Is the difficulty of agreement due to an array of views, or is it simply a matter of one or two views, which remain too far apart from one another to meet on a middle road to agreement?

A quick snapshot of statements from Main Committee I illustrates the latter. There remains one solitary State whose policies and perspectives on disarmament just don't match up with that of the majority:

On the CTBT:

The US: "...the United States does not support the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and will not become a party to it."

The EU: "The EU reiterates that it attaches the utmost importance to the entry-into-force of the CTBT at the earliest possible date. We call upon all States who have not done so, and in particular those States named in the Annex II to the Treaty, whose ratification is required for entry-into-force, to sign and ratify the Treaty without delay and without conditions."

Japan: "The CTBT is an historic milestone in the promotion of nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation...Japan attaches great significance to the early entry-into-force of the CTBT. We must recall that the CTBT is an integral part of the 1995 package to allow the indefinite extension of the NPT and that the 2000 Final Document pointed out 'the importance and urgency of signatures and ratifications.'"

On a Fissile Materials Treaty:

US: "The United States supports the immediate commencement, in the Conference on Disarmament, of negotiations on a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty, without verification."

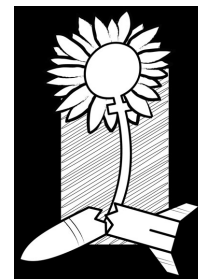
Australia: "Australia's position is that, to be credible and effective, the FMCT should include appropriate measures to verify that parties are complying with their obligations."

The relationship between disarmament and nonproliferation:

US: "It is both logically and legally untenable for those who wish that nuclear disarmament were progressing at a faster rate to pretend that compliance with nonproliferation obligations is linked to compliance with disarmament obligations..."

South Korea: "Through substantial and unequivocal progress made on disarmament, we believe that nuclear-weapon States would enhance their moral authority with which to discourage the potential proliferators from seeking nuclear ambitions, by assuring them that the long-term goal of a world free of nuclear weapons is indeed seriously pursued and universally shared."

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LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE FROM THE CRUCIBLE OF EXPERIENCE

*Background and practical proposals to preserve and strengthen
the nonproliferation regime by three leading experts*

Presenters:

MR. ROBERT S. MCNAMARA

former U.S. Secretary of Defense

MR. TED SORENSEN

former Special Counsel to U.S. President John F. Kennedy

AMBASSADOR THOMAS GRAHAM, JR.

Chairman of the Bipartisan Security Group

Moderator:

MR. JONATHAN GRANOFF

President of the Global Security Institute

Event Information:

**May 24, 2005 • 1:15 — 2:45 PM
Conference Room 4 • United Nations, New York**

*Sponsored by the Global Security Institute, www.gs institute.org
Cosponsored by Economists for Peace and Security, www.epsusa.org
For more information, contact GSI at +1-415-397-6760 or events@gsinstitute.org*

Nuclear Culture?

- Simon Carroll

Watching events unfold at the NPT Review Conference from afar provides little insight into what is happening in the myriad of closed discussions. However reading the speeches and the working papers – as well as the useful updates and analyses – has made me consider parallels with earlier wars and their causes.

A recent book examines in detail the military thinking and “rationality” that led a great nation into a series of wars with disastrous consequences around the world. To many of us the pursuit of and adherence to nuclear weapons and nuclear doctrines by nuclear weapons states and their allies appears irrational from the perspective of meaningful goals or real limits to action (let alone the global and terrifying consequences of their use). Simply describing it as an ‘irrational addiction’ does not, however, address the cause of the problem. The “rationality” may lie in the sometimes unexamined assumptions and institutional habits of the nuclear powers and their military – a nuclear culture.

Despite repeated promises and commitments to disarm, the nuclear states, their military and their allies who participate in nuclear weapons arrangements, seem to share a belief in the continuing utility of nuclear weapons. Underpinning the massive costs of developing and maintaining a nuclear stockpile, whether as a deterrent or in a potential military use, is a doctrine or organisational culture. As Hull notes:

“Organizational culture is liable to produce irrationality and dysfunction because the lessons of the past may be a poor guide to problems of the present, and because its most influential tenets are often unconscious, hidden, or taken for granted, and therefore difficult to correct. Nevertheless, organizational culture is more likely to determine action than is explicit policy or ideology.”

The basic assumptions that organisations acquire structure their perceptions of their own essence and purpose, of the problems they must solve, and of the ways they must solve them. This narrowing of perceptions and, as a result, reduction in options, makes it easier for organisations to define tasks and make decisions. However, it can lead to rigid thinking, to ‘collective blindness to important issues’, to a reluctance to seek further information, and to making unrealistic assessments.

The quality of perception strongly affects decision-making, to the extent that some perceptions such as the danger posed by a perceived enemy are in themselves already decisions –

A Case in Point: Rokkasho

A Call for an Indefinite Postponement of the Japanese Rokkasho Reprocessing Plant

Tuesday, May 24, 2005

3:00-4:30 pm

NGO conference room – Room E
United Nations, New York

Moderated by **Regina Hagen**
Coordinator, INESAP

Introductory presentations:

Akira Kawasaki
Program Director, Peace Boat

Harold Feiveson
Senior Research Policy Scientist,
Program on Science & Global Security, Princeton
University

Martin Butcher
Director, Security Programs,
Physicians for Social Responsibility

convened by:
International Network of Engineers and Scientists
Against Proliferation
Peace Boat
Physicians for Global Responsibility

short-circuiting the process of collecting and evaluating information, weighing alternatives, and only then making decisions. This then tends to lead to an almost programmed response, a ‘knee-jerk’ reaction to any issue.

I would argue that the nuclear weapons states and their allies are in this position. The “debate” at this year’s Review Conference would tend to support this. That doesn’t mean that the mind-sets are by any means the same in all cases (witness the differences of opinion within the EU and between NATO members, or amongst NAM members, for example). But if this deadly deadlock on nuclear disarmament and nuclear proliferation is going to be broken, breaking out of the current culture of self-propagating nuclear doctrines and military mind-sets is essential. Civil society and some countries, in particular members of the NAC, have made a huge contribution by showing a way forward. It is the nuclear powers and their allies that have to take the necessary steps to break out of their self-imposed strait-jacketed way of thinking.

Simon Carroll is an independent researcher based in Stockholm, Sweden.

What's On: Calendar of Events for the Week

Monday, May 23

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

Mayors and Parliamentarians Co-Operating for Nuclear Disarmament

Where: Conference Room VI

When: 9-9:45 AM

Contact: PNND (212) 818 1861

Governmental Briefing- Ambassador Carlo Trezza (Italy)

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 10-11 AM

Contact: Giorgio Alba, Archivio Disarmo

Abolition 2000 Morning Caucus

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 11 AM- noon

DVD Screening and Discussion: Nuclear Terrorism: Is the World Safer?

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 1:15- 2:45

Contact: Ann Lakhidir, NGO Committee on Disarmament, Peace and Security

YOUTH CAUCUS: WE ARE THE WORLD

Where: Conference Room IV

When: 1:15 - 2:45

Contact Kathleen Sullivan, Nuclear Weapons Education and Action Project

Assessment of NGO Participation at this Review Conference

Where: Church Center, 7th floor

When: 6:30 PM

Contact: Monika Szymurska, Abolition 2000

Tuesday, May 24

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- President Duarte (*invited, not yet confirmed*)

Where: Conference Room E

When: 9-10 AM

Contact, Rhianna Tyson

Abolition 2000 Morning Caucus

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: Daily, 10 AM- 11 AM

Contact: Monika Szymurska, Global Coordinator

Indigenous perspectives on nuclear weapons production and testing: revisiting the Moorea Declaration

Where: Conference Room E

When: 11 AM -1PM

Contact: Monika Szymurska, Global Coordinator

Lessons for the Future: From the Crucible of Experience

featuring Robert McNamara, Ted Sorensen and Thomas Graham

Where: Conference Room IV

When: 1:15 -- 2:45 PM

RSVP: Matt Werner at 610 668 5480 or matt@gsinstitute.org.
co-sponsored by the Global Security Institute and Economists for Peace and Security

An appeal to Japan for leadership--Call fo an indefinite postponement of the Rokkasho Reprocessing plant

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 3- 4:30 PM

Contact: Akira Kawasaki at kawasaki@peaceboat.gr.jp, Peace Boat

Wednesday, May 25

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

Legal, technical and political steps to a nuclear weapons free world: A Nuclear Weapons Convention?

Where: Conference Room E (may be rescheduled elsewhere)

When: 9 AM

Contact: Alyn Ware, PNND

Abolition 2000 Morning Caucus

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: Daily, 10 AM- 11 AM

Contact: Monika Szymurska, Global Coordinator

Governments' readiness to harm: Health and environmental impacts of nuclear weapons programs, and a path forward

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 1:15-2:45 PM

Contact: Lisa Ledwidge, IEER

What's On: Calendar of Events for the Week Continued

Film Screening: People vs. The Bomb: The NPT and World Law

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 3-4 PM

Contact: Kevin Sanders, (212) 807-7173

Thursday, May 26

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- Russia (*Invited, not yet confirmed*)

Where: Conference Room E

When: 9-10 AM

Contact: Rhianna Tyson, RCW

Abolition 2000 Morning Caucus

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: Daily, 10 AM- 11 AM

Contact: Monika Szymurska, Global Coordinator

NPT 2005: Prospects for Breakthrough

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 1:15- 2:45 PM

Contact: Matt Martin, BASIC (and on behalf of ORG)

Friday, May 27

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

Faith and the Future: The Inter-Religious Community and the Struggle for Nuclear Abolition

Where: UN Church Center, First Avenue at 44th Street

When: 2 PM Church Center for the United Nations

Contact: Ibrahim Ramey, Disarmament Coordinator at FOR,
Tel: 845-358-4601, E-mail: disarm@forusa.org

RevCon Closes

Medicos display the "Nuclear Rogues Gallery"

Canberra, Australia- Visual, colourful flag-filled demonstration of nuclear weapons hypocrisy, to urge action from the Australian Government in the final week of the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference.

MAPW members will display a "rogues gallery" of those nations that continue to threaten the NPT and the world with weapons of mass destruction.

The 5-yearly Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) runs from May 2 – 27 at the UN in New York. Under the terms of the Treaty, the signatories that have nuclear weapons must get rid of them, and other signatories must not acquire them.

- Five nations (Russia, the US, France, China and the UK) continue to violate the Treaty, and threaten its survival, by refusing to disarm.
- India, Israel and Pakistan have not joined the Treaty, and undermine its purpose by retaining nuclear weapons.
- North Korea has left the Treaty and is also likely to be nuclear armed.
- In total, approximately 28,000 nuclear weapons exist.

The Australian Government continues its hypocritical stance of ignoring the obligation of the nuclear weapons states (especially our ally, the United States) to disarm, while focusing on the obligations of other nations to remain nuclear-weapon free.



demonstration outside of the US Consulate in Perth, Australia, while the NGO presentations are delivered to the Review Conference in New York

MAPW President Dr Sue Wareham says, "MAPW calls on the Australian Government to demonstrate the concern it claims for the problem of weapons of mass destruction by demanding the elimination of the 28,000 most destructive weapons in the world."

Unless the NPT Review Conference in its final week satisfactorily addresses the growing resentment from many nations at the failure of the nuclear weapons states to disarm, further nuclear weapons proliferation is very likely.

"The Australian government must do all they can to persuade our friends' and allies', the US and UK in particular, to honor their obligations under this Treaty to rid themselves of nuclear weapons," continued Dr Wareham. "Our allies' failure to do so gives them a place in the Rogues Gallery on Monday."

For further comment:

Dr. Sue Wareham MAPW President

h) 02 6259 6062 (Canberra)

w) 02 6241 6161

mob) 0407 924 152

Piece By Piece

- Yukiko Taniguchi, NGO Committee on Disarmament, Peace and Security

Since 2004, New York University's Studio Art Majors have been involved in learning concepts of peace and social activism in classes, symposium, and workshops led by Professor Hiroshi Sunairi. Mr. Sunairi originally asked students from a former class their opinions regarding terrorism and the subsequent war in response to attacks in New York City on September 11, 2001. However his students seemed reluctant to express their opinions, which led him to begin this class in response. The content of the class was to study the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki based on the Peace Education program, which Sunairi had grown up in Hiroshima.

The students analyzed the impact of the atomic bombing through different media such as the photography exhibition dealing with the bombing of Nagasaki by Shomei Tomatsu, films from the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and "Barefoot Gen", a graphic novel by Keiji Nakazawa. At the end of the semester, they created artwork based on their visions of peace. The resulting exhibition, "Peace by Piece" presented at Guid & Greyshkul Galley in Soho, New York in May 2004. The exhibition used Sasako's "One Thousand Crane" story as its point of departure and exhibit 1000 origami cranes that students folded during the class. These cranes were later contributed to the statue of Sakako/The Child of Peace in Hiroshima



Peace Memorial Park on the anniversary of the bombing in 2004. The class activities were documented and broadcasted on NHK-TV, a news station in Japan, titled "New York University Student's Hiroshima".

Sunairi screened this short documentation, showed slides and explained his ideas of Peace Education and art works. Michael Miritello, one of his students, explained his artwork "Thick" that the book contains the

This exhibition will continue on May 26, 2005 to June 2, 2005 at Debrosses Gallery in New York. <http://www.desbrossesgallery.com/>

Afterwards, this show will travel to Hiroshima, Japan. It will be held from August 13 through August 20, 2005 at Old Bank at Hiroshima Branch, one of the surviving buildings from the time of the atomic bombing. Along with the exhibition NYU art students will travel to Japan, further their peace education in Hiroshima during the 60th anniversary of the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

There will also be a solo show by Sunairi called "Elephant Never Forget" at Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art. Sunairi's work will consist of collecting the remains of the atomic bombing and rebuilding it into remembrance through the issues of Hiroshima, the bombing, peace, indifference, and the current situation. Sunairi will engage his students in the process of the final completion of the art as an act of making peace and making a bridge to different countries.

Contributors to this edition of the *News in Review* include:

Judy Blythe, MAPW
Simon Carroll, Sweden
Yukiko Taniguchi, NGO Committee on Disarmament, Peace and Security

Rhianna Tyson is the Editor of the *News in Review*.

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Brazil: "Progress in nuclear disarmament is all the more important in a world in which non-state actors may seek to acquire weapons of mass destruction. Therefore our focus must be on systematic, continuous and progressive efforts to implement the obligation contained in Article VI."

The US didn't always stand quite so alone, nor was it always so hostile to the priorities and concerns of others. To completely reject, ignore or renege on promises made in the context of multilateralism is a new strategy for the global superpower, one which even some US officials view, as former Ambassador Robert Grey has, as "a radical departure from past American practice."

Yet if the Review Conference is to produce some sort of politically-binding Final Document at the end of this week, one which would address all States parties concerns and needs thereby strengthening the regime as a whole, the Chairs- and indeed all States parties- will have to figure out just how to reign in this unruly big cheese. To do otherwise will serve to further weaken the NPT and compromise the security of us all.

For in a globalized world with globalized threats to its security- of which the scourge of nuclear weapons is paramount- nobody stands alone, not even the cheese.

All statements from the Main Committees are ONLY available on the Reaching Critical Will website at:

www.reachingcriticalwill.org