

May 25, 2005
No. 18

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

Negotiate This

- Rhianna Tyson, WILPF, with William Peden, Greenpeace

With several drafts of the reports from each Committee and subsidiary body flying around, each with very different language and objectives, hopes for agreement on a Final Document are slowly dimming.

It seems as if disagreement over the Middle East might bring this fragile house of cards tumbling down. Midway through Tuesday, a draft text of the report from subsidiary body II sparked deep disagreement over every sentence—literally, every sentence. References to Israel seemed to have been the greatest source of controversy; diplomats in that Committee never even got around to debating language on North Korea. If agreement on this highly controversial text cannot be found—as many are betting it won't—then the Chair may simply report on the number of times that they met, noting only that regional issues were discussed, without any further clarification or recommendations for addressing regional challenges to the Treaty.

The lack of agreement over references to the Middle East may sabotage all other efforts to obtain a Final Document, including those of Main Committee I, which continues to struggle through disputes over language pertaining to disarmament and security assurances.

President Duarte threatened to end the meeting precisely at 6 PM on Friday, deadening any predictions that negotiations would last deep into the night, as they did in 2000. Delegates, he reasoned, have had enough time to sort out their text, and no amount of time can build a bridge between the opposing views.

Many delegates, however, believe that if the majority of States wish to press on, the President will have no choice but to stop the clocks and slug it out.

At this point, Duarte has two possible options for wrapping up this Conference. The first is to make a controversial statement in a public plenary, which would force delegates to respond openly with their criticisms, a public display of true colors that have been masked by the secretive nature of subsidiary body negotiations.

His other option is to offer a much more bland statement, one that simply seeks to reaffirm and uphold the integrity of the Treaty. However, even such a benign (yet utterly important) statement may itself prove controversial, as States are already debating the auspices under which this statement would be given—would it be a Chairman's summary à la Mólnár, a Chair's working paper à la Sudjadnan, or would it just be a statement from Duarte the President, without any official Conference document number, and therefore political weight, affixed to it?

In the meanwhile, we believe it useful to republish the basic recommendations that were presented by civil society two weeks ago, delivered as an Annex to the NGO presentations. These recommendations were offered as the general foundation from which we had hoped negotiations would grow. Now they are offered again as a reminder of the principles and objectives that States parties came to New York to uphold and strengthen. It was this text, distinguished delegates, that we had hoped you would have negotiated.

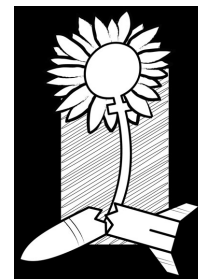
Even as our hopes for this Review Conference grow dim, we still believe that one day—hopefully one in the near future—we will reach a critical mass of political will necessary to make real progress on international disarmament and nonproliferation. Until that day comes, the recommendations that we offered on May 11, 2005 will continue to have relevance to the regime and legitimacy with the world's people, who will never cease to demand a nuclear weapon free planet.

Recommendation 1

Ensure a successful outcome to the 2005 Review. A Final Document must reaffirm:

a. the 1995 and 2000 final consensus documents, including the Resolution on the Middle East of 1995 and the 13 Practical Steps of 2000;

b. the unanimous opinion of the International Court of Justice, formulated in 1996, that "the threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and in par-



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The *News in Review* is a daily publication brought to you by the Reaching Critical Will project of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, United Nations office (WILPF UNO), and made possible by a grant from the Arsenal Foundation.

The views expressed herein are not necessarily those of WILPF or the Reaching Critical Will project. If you would like to submit an article or graphic to the *News in Review*, contact the Editor.

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ticular the principles and rules of humanitarian law," and that "there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control;" and

c. that the Treaty is binding at all times and under all circumstances.

Recommendation 2

Honor the commitment to total nuclear disarmament and to good faith negotiations.

Recommendation 3

Establish and respect timelines for disarmament that are expeditious, feasible, and achievable.

Recommendation 4

Stand down nuclear forces.

Recommendation 5

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty must enter-into-force.

Recommendation 6

Ensure that disarmament is verifiable and irreversible.

Recommendation 7

Withdraw all tactical nuclear weapons from Europe.

Recommendation 8

Terminate all programs for the development of new or modified nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon delivery systems,

including programs that are characterized as "concept development".

Recommendation 9

Nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon states should take additional concrete non-proliferation and disarmament steps.

a) a global, verifiable ban on the production of weapon-usable fissile materials by 2010 and the establishment of a global inventory of fissile materials.

b) the adoption of the IAEA Additional Protocol on Safeguards by all states — nuclear as well as non-nuclear-weapon states — by 2010. This voluntary agreement should be made both mandatory and universal.

c) the commitment of all states to work, under the auspices of the IAEA, toward the placement of all nuclear fuel under international control, specifically by:

i. adopting a global ban on spent nuclear fuel reprocessing;

ii. negotiating and adopting a treaty regulating the control and storage of spent nuclear fuel. This commitment would help improve the security of spent nuclear fuel throughout the world, which could be attractive to terrorists seeking to acquire nuclear materials for a "dirty bomb."

iii. negotiating and adopting a treaty to internationalize the control of all enrichment and reprocessing facilities as well as the production and trade of fissile materials. Tough on-site inspections of nuclear power facilities must be universally applied to all states, and all fissile materials should be monitored by the International Atomic Energy

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For over 30 years,

Arms Control Today has provided citizens, decision-makers, scholars, and the press with accurate and timely information on nuclear, chemical, biological, and conventional weapons and the best methods to halt their spread and prevent their use.

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The image shows a stack of *Arms Control Today* magazines. The top cover features the title "Arms Control TODAY" in large, bold letters, with the subtitle "THE SOURCE ON NONPROLIFERATION AND GLOBAL SECURITY". Below the title, there are several headlines: "INSIDE: WILL BUSH'S MISSILE DEFENSE WORK?", "INSIDE: Examining Bush's New Verdict", and "INSIDE: Dissecting Bush's New Budget". The main headline on the cover is "NPT 2005: Can It Meet the Nuclear Challenge?". Other headlines include "The Khorn Network: Turning a Blind Eye?", "Rumors, Carrots, and Sticks", and "Tackling the Nuclear Dilemma". The cover also features a photograph of a man, likely a nuclear expert, and a small photo of a group of people. At the bottom of the stack, the text "Subscribe now" is prominently displayed.

Peace Walk

- Bilbo Taylor, International Peace Walk

Walking is one of the oldest forms of communication, bringing messages from community to community giving you a unique chance to hear real stories from the people who have been affected by the nuclear industry first hand. It is these real life struggles that give you the inspiration and courage to walk, and to carry the stories from the grassroots, survivors and others to the pearly towers of government.



Sixty people from America, Australia, Japan, Austria and Cape Verde gather in a wide circle at the Bear Creek Road entrance to the Y12 National Security Complex in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Bumper to bumper traffic lines the road, carrying workers into the plant. Their job? Manufacturing components for the W76 (Trident) thermonuclear warhead. Weapons of Mass Destruction.

In the circle, smoke from sage rises into the air, Native American prayers mixing with the sound of Buddhist chanting as the circle gathers its energy for the day. It is March 14, 2005, and the International Peace Pilgrimage is preparing to set off from Y12 to walk to the N.P.T. conference at the United Nations, seven weeks and nearly 800 miles away.

The Walk chose Y12 as its launching point because the uranium that fueled the Little Boy bomb was enriched at Y12 in 1945. Since that time, Y12 has been a critical manufacturing facility for every nuclear weapon in the US arsenal. In 2005, it continues to manufacture thermonuclear bomb parts as part of the "Stockpile Life Extension Program," old warheads are being returned to Y12, refurbished, aging parts replaced, and the warhead deployed back into the active arsenal, now certified reliable for the next 100-120 years.

Y12 is the last full-scale operating nuclear weapon production plant in the US. In February, 2005, DOE announced a decision to seek \$1.1 billion to build a new bomb production plant at Y12 to replace aging facilities there.

Members of the Oak Ridge Environmental Peace Alliance, co-sponsors of the Peace Walk, and local hosts for the week of preparation and the send-off, have been actively working against Y12 activities through the Stop the Bombs campaign. On August 6, 2005 OREPA will welcome thousands to Oak Ridge to stand against nuclear weapons.

The Peace Walk was a response, in part, to the call of Mayors for Peace for a Year of Remembrance and Action marking the sixtieth year since Hiroshima and Nagasaki were destroyed by US atomic bombs.

Communities of Color Deal with Toxic Runoff in Rivers

- Jean Verthein, WILPF

Youthful experiences compelled three people to rouse their communities of color against nuclear waste and residual uranium piles. Burial or run-off contaminates their lives, rivers and even the ocean. As indigenous, African-American or Chicano teenagers, all three began educating themselves to campaign against nuclear contaminants.

Building Action for Sustainable Environments (BASE) joins 18 community based efforts. Highlighting five decades of nuclear waste dumping, strip mines and radioactive elements left exposed in inhabited areas, this program grew out of the Peace Development Fund research. According to Ka Flewellen, former board chair and consultant, at its 25th anniversary evaluated this major fund for grassroots peace projects "ignored communities of color." For her, "Democracy depends on the rights of citizens to know what is going on."

Twa-le Abrahamson, from the Spokane reservation, identified key cultural losses. Spokane women have tanned hides of elk and deer who try grazing in the abandoned uranium mines. These tanners find themselves apt to be poisoned from the radioactive yellow uranium dust in the animals.

Environmental and cultural degradation have intertwined. Noticeably premature deaths of Spokane elders in their seventies, eighties and nineties reduced the concept of elders to fifty year olds. Abrahamson originated her environmental awareness in her studies the University of Washington on how uranium mining affected her reservation, its culture and health.

Destroying two sacred sites there meant leaving high open piles of uranium. Mining companies abandoned the mines, when its price fell on the world market. With her mother, she co-founded SHAWL, Society for Sovereignty, Health, Air, Water and Land, to highlight cultural effects ignored by other environmental groups. Through its advocacy, one of two open pit mines, the Midnight Mountain, has so far qualified for cleanup. Uranium left piled near the pits blows into the air, drains into the Blue Creek and spreads on the Spokane Rivers throughout the reservation and into the Columbia River. Authorities have still not scrutinized groundwater poisoning. Yellow uranium dust, left by exhausted miners slumping between shifts into sleep, still blows out of mattresses in their homes. The Spokane endured this mining practice with exposure to nuclear substances out of economic need. Companies avoided lawsuits by refusing to hire women as miners until after childbearing years. Then many hired on.

Martin Yaniz, also from the Northwest, mapped out the waste process. Huge operations pipe water from the Columbia River, a national scenic landmark, to cool the Hanford nuclear plants. Since the 1940s, they were built to produce the nuclear bomb. No public area signs mark the existence of the plant.

Three federal government agencies, he notes, refuse to study waste influence on the salmon. Plant waste is still buried in plastic covered holes. This potential for harm has magnified in an area that has recently doubled the size of the Hispanic population. Also, chiefs of local indigenous villages along the Columbia river system report increasing cancer and its possible signs, such as, external lumps on their front torsos. High legal costs discourage applicants for claims.

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Who's Who: Blanche Wiesen Cooke, WILPF



Many analysts and experts are saying that the NPT is at its greatest crisis in history. Do you agree with that statement?

Yes. Our beautiful blue planet is more endangered by nuclear catastrophe than at any time since the hopeful NPT was signed 30 years ago. Not only nuclear war, but new uses of radioactive filth, especially depleted uranium, new "strategic" and "space" weapons, and new nuclear powers terrorize the life and health of planet earth. Radioactive pollution cares nothing about increasingly meaningless borders, or political boundaries. Although silence and "cover-up" dictates much public ignorance, most peace activists know that civilians and combatants representing every "side" have been sickened, deformed, killed by the use of these weapons in the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq — to name only the most blighted areas of recent and current horror. The US has turned its back on Dwight David Eisenhower's 1956 observation: "You can't save Budapest [and also that year The Suez Canal] by bombing it." What does it mean that a nuclear power is willing to bomb open cities of non-nuclear powers, and demands the right to "first strike?" How have we drifted into a world where the only measure of security is to build and wave nuclear weapons? How do we return to the demand for immediate nuclear disarmament? Where are the world leaders to demand nuclear disarmament *now*— beginning with a moratorium on new nuclear weapons?

In your view, what would be the best respectively the worst outcome of this Conference? How do you think NGOs can be more effective at these NPT meetings?

Political leaders at the UN will only be moved to justice and disarmament when the NGOs organize and people everywhere mobi-

lize against the ongoing horrors that blight our current situation, and pollute our future. According to former US president Jimmy Carter, the "US is the major culprit in this erosion of the NPT." The US is testing new weapons, "small bombs" and big missiles, and has abandoned solemn treaty obligations and the US pledge not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states. Russia's vast nuclear arsenal, spread across Europe and Central Asia also needs to be accounted for. Where are the stockpiles? Where are the weapons? Who controls their safety? And what of Pakistan's sales of nuclear capability? And what of Israel's nuclear arsenal which, noted Jimmy Carter, "entices Iran, Syria, Egypt and other states to join the community of nuclear-weapon states." It cannot be disarmament for thee, but not for me. It cannot be justice and power for me, but not for thee. The only hope for continued life on earth is to diminish the threat of an agonized and pitiless nuclear death.

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

My interest began as a military historian graduate student at the Johns Hopkins University. I was one of the founders of the Peace History Society (originally the Conference on Peace Research in History, CPRH) in 1964. I wrote my dissertation on the anti-militarists of WWI, including the women who founded WILPF, which I joined in c. 1966 — and have been a proud and happy life member of WILPF ever since.

Blanche Wiesen Cooke is a historian, journalist and a Distinguished Professor of History at John Jay College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York. She has authored numerous books, notably two volumes about Eleanor Roosevelt (with a third and final volume coming) and The Declassified Eisenhower.

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Agency (IAEA).

d) full implementation of Security Council Resolution 1540 by 2010, which calls for tougher export controls, collective interdiction capabilities, and the universal criminalization of WMD activities undertaken by non-state actors.

Recommendation 10

Until nuclear weapons are completely eliminated, the nuclear-weapon states make no-first-use commitments.

Recommendation 11

Until nuclear weapons are completely eliminated, the nuclear weapons states must provide unconditional negative security assurances to non-nuclear weapon states.

Recommendation 12

Adopt a supplementary protocol to promote energy security and energy independence through clean, sustainable, renewable energy sources as an alternative to nuclear energy.

Recommendation 13

Support the creation and integrity of Nuclear Weapons Free Zones.

Recommendation 14

Commit to accounting, transparency and reporting in order to

advance the goal of full compliance with the substantive provisions of the Treaty.

- a) act swiftly and decisively in the case of any notice of withdrawal from the Treaty, applying specific, pre-agreed penalties upon withdrawal.
- b) provide the IAEA with the tools and funding it needs to verify compliance with the Treaty, and should further develop and universalize those tools in the counter-proliferation toolbox — such as the Proliferation Security Initiative — that strengthen compliance.
- c) further afford non-governmental organizations greater access to the NPT review process by allowing NGOs to participate in all NPT plenary and cluster sessions, and to deliver oral and written statements.

Recommendation 15

Promote disarmament and peace education.

All states should earmark 5 percent of their defense budget for international and national disarmament and peace education initiatives.

The full list of NGO recommendations can be found as an Annex to the NGO presentations, available at: www.reachingcriticalwill.org.

You are invited to a briefing

**Nuclear States' Readiness to Harm:
Health and Environmental Impacts of Nuclear Weapons
Production and Testing and Its Connections to Nuclear
Disarmament and Non-Proliferation**

with Arjun Makhijani, Ph.D.
Institute for Energy & Environmental Research

Wednesday, May 25, 2005

1:15 p.m. to 2:45 p.m.

**Conference Room E
United Nations building**

All nuclear weapons states have harmed their own people without informed consent. U.S. government studies confirm that radioactive substances from nuclear weapons tests have been spread across the globe. Precious water resources are at risk or are already poisoned from Cold War contamination. Depleted uranium – a waste of the Cold War and half a century of nuclear power production – is being strewn over battlefields and test areas, creating risks for soldiers and civilians alike in the U.S. and abroad.

The IEER briefing will examine – and most importantly, offer suggestions for addressing – this sad chapter in world history. The focus will be on the United States, but the lessons apply globally. The briefing will impart credible and relevant information and analysis that is not typically obtained in UN fora.

About the presenter

Arjun Makhijani, Ph.D. is president of the Institute for Energy & Environmental Research (IEER) and a leading expert on security, health, and environmental aspects of nuclear weapons. He is co-editor of *Nuclear Wastelands: A Global Guide to Nuclear Weapons Production and Its Health and Environmental Effects*, which was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize. With the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, IEER published *Radioactive Heaven and Earth: The Health and Environmental Effects of Nuclear Weapons Testing In, On, and Above the Earth*, the first and only global analysis of the health and environmental effects of nuclear weapons testing.



This briefing is sponsored by the **Institute for Energy and Environmental Research (IEER)**, a non-governmental organization based in the United States that provides the public and policy makers with sound scientific and technical information. IEER has worked extensively on many aspects of nuclear weapons development, from disarmament and nonproliferation issues to environmental and health impacts. For more information about IEER, visit <http://www.ieer.org>.

For further information about this event call 1-301-270-5500 or e-mail ieeroffice@ieer.org.

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"The scientific community," Martin Yaniz comments, "refuses to deal with the radioactive impact on health." Yet declassified papers document "radioactive vapors" as far back as the 1950s. He suspects they affect area orchards to this day.

Across the US in the Southeast, at age 17, Dr. Mildred McCain tasted milk, reportedly from radioactive cows, sickening her with a condition that doctors told her rendered her life expectancy at 35 years. But at 56, she still runs Citizens for Environmental Justice in South Carolina. This former English and social studies teacher says, "I'm called to do this work." She and her organization have observed tritium spills on the river. She links this and other substances with high ovarian and prostrate cancer rates in women and men along the Savannah. "It's often said," according to this dynamic woman in African dress, "that Black people have no interest in the NPT. We're totally involved and ready to launch a professional campaign for Abolition and zero tolerance [of environmental damage]. The earth is our mama."

Jean Verthein is the UN representative for the US section of WILPF.

What's On: Today's Calendar of Events

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

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

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

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

Lisa Ledwidge, IEER

William Peden, Greenpeace

Susi Snyder, WILPF

Bilbo Taylor, International Peace Walk

Jean Verthein, WILPF;

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

Mayors and Parliamentarians Address the Democratic Deficit at the NPT Review Conference

- *Susi Snyder, WILPF*

The final Monday of the NPT Review Conference began with an early morning session hosted by the Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament. The event, "Mayors and Parliamentarians Cooperating for Nuclear Disarmament" was chaired by Alyn Ware and provided a forum for US Congressman Dennis Kucinich, former Canadian MP Doug Roche and Mayor's for Peace Campaign Director Aaron Tovish to present their point of view of the current status of the NPT at this point in the Review.

Congressman Kucinich provided an alternative view to the one usually heard from Washington D.C. Noting the importance of the UN in providing a forum for "achieving human unity through enhanced cooperation", he recognized and acknowledged that the representatives from the US at this conference are denying commitments made to facilitate disarmament and are "even worse, nullify[ing] this forum through non-cooperation."

Recognizing the democratic deficit at this particular conference, Senator Roche stated that a small number of people from a small number of states have subverted the progress of the NPT in a balanced way. Roche went on to recommend that NGOs issue a statement of warning to the delegates telling them that it is unacceptable that they go home after a month of supposed work without achieving any progress whatsoever on nuclear weapons.

Aaron Tovish spoke of the more than 100 Mayors that came to NY for the first days of the review conference. He said that these elected officials have recognized their responsibility to protect their citizens from intentional or accidental use of nuclear weapons, and understand that the best way to protect them is through nuclear abolition. More than 450 cities (or equivalent) have Mayors that have signed the International Mayoral Statement, and over 200 cities have registered their support for the 2020 Vision Campaign.

Congressman Kucinich said the "2005 NPT Review may not produce a final, agreed-upon document, but the very process of reviewing the status of our worldwide nuclear dilemma brings, from around the world, people of good will in an exemplification of human unity." While the governments of the world may not reach consensus, the thousands of NGO participants, and the millions of voices they are representing have agreed that good will is not enough to bring about nuclear abolition, but it would be a good start.

You can find the full text of Congressman Kucinich's speech at: <http://www.kucinich.us/>

Susi Snyder is the Secretary-General of WILPF, based in Geneva.