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Reaching Critical Will
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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

A Diplomatic Theory of Relativity

- Rhianna Tyson, WILPF

Main Committee (MC) I emerged yesterday as the strongest success story coming out of this Review Conference. With only four committee meetings and two meetings of its subsidiary body on disarmament, MC I was rife with disagreement over most all its substantive issues. By the end, it submitted only a technical report (one which confirms the number of meetings they held, when they were held, who the Chairs and participants were, etc.) with the reports from the Chair and the subsidiary body affixed as appendices to the report. (It is noted in the technical report that appendices are not agreed upon text, and will not be included in any final product as such.)

While a banal technical report void of any substantive recommendations or conclusions may not sound like success, when compared with the work of the other two committees, MC I is a resounding diplomatic triumph.

For the other two committees could not even agree to disagree. Several creative diplomatic solutions to the impasses were debated: annexes, asterisks and other innovative formulations for the disputed substantive texts. After extended debates that continued even after the interpreters left their posts, Main Committee III died without any sort of agreement. It will not even submit a technical report outlining how many meetings they held and what papers and issues they considered.

Main Committee II met a similar fate. Hotbed issues such as Iran, Israel and North Korea log-jammed the few substantive meetings that they were able to hold, and the Committee could not agree to allow Chairman Molnár to continue his search for a solution.

Main Committee I, therefore, which could at least figure out a way to submit *some* sort of

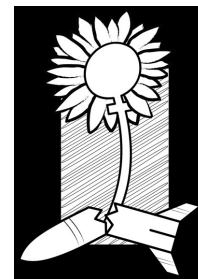
proof of their meetings, emerges by default as the diplomatic victor of this Conference- a diplomatic theory of relativity.

The Drafting Committee convened Wednesday afternoon. One would think that without hefty pages of agreed upon text to pore over, their meeting would have been relatively short. Yet hours passed by as they argued over how to properly reference the asterisk in the agenda. Seriously.

(For those of you whose brain might have turned to mush in this labyrinth of procedural debacles, the infamous asterisk refers to the statement that President Duarte read aloud upon the belated adoption of the agenda the second week. The drafting of these dozen or so words in itself consumed a few days' worth of debate.)

This sort of outcome may have been predicted four weeks ago, had we employed the diplomatic theory of relativity. After all, without heavy-hitting pressure for success from high-level governmental officials, without the intervention and pressure from the top echelons of the United Nations and void of substantive media coverage worthy of the NPT, the outcome (or lack thereof) of this Conference remains relative to the political capital that was put into it.

So what's left for this procedural quagmire called a Review Conference? President Duarte still must offer his concluding remarks, which, depending on whether he chooses to offer a bland, substance-free declaration, or if he bravely issues a more controversial text, may yet salvage some sort of political weight from this Conference. Though with prospects this low, it's all relatively speaking, of course.



Inside this issue:

The Crucible of Experience	2
What's On: Calendar of Events for Today	2
Why Women?	3
Global Truth Commission	4
Who's Who: Tiphaine de Champchesnel	5
Atoms for Cancer	5

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The Crucible of Experience

-Naomi Gingold, WILPF

On Tuesday, May 24, three distinguished former US government heavyweights took the floor to engage in a spirited presentation and discussion on nuclear weapons and the NPT. The two hour panel entitled, *Lessons for the Future from the Crucible of Experience*, was punctuated at times by bursts of spontaneous applause from the audience as Robert McNamara, Ted Sorensen, and Thomas Graham made their case for a strong NPT and a nuclear weapon free world.

Ted Sorensen, former Special Counsel to President Kennedy, regaled the crowd with a history of nuclear disarmament as told through the actions of the US government. According to Sorensen, the first US Supreme Commander to question and challenge the legitimacy of nuclear weapons was John F. Kennedy during his election campaign against Richard Nixon. Kennedy's fear of mass proliferation guided his decisions to advocate strict controls on nuclear warheads and seek an international treaty for arms control; it was Kennedy's efforts that paved the way for the creation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Ambassador Thomas Graham, Chairman of the Bipartisan Security Group, explained that the success of the NPT rests wholly on the balance achieved by the central bargain enshrined in Article IV, whereby the five nuclear states agreed to share peaceful nuclear technology, disarm, and never attack non nuclear states (the Negative Security Assurance) in exchange for nonproliferation on the part of the non nuclear states. Graham warned the jaded audience that this central bargain and the future tenability of the NPT has never been

more threatened than today.

Calling the US's implementation of its commitments made at the 1995 RevCon "minimal" and its implementation of commitments made at the 2000 RevCon "nonexistent," Graham stressed that the US must take the lead. The nuclear power states must uphold their legal commitments or the careful balancing act created by Article IV will go crashing down, "undermining the long-term political viability of the NPT," Graham stated.



photo courtesy of http://medias.lemonde.fr/medias/image_article/in_fogofwar_030523_165.jpg

Robert McNamara, a man whose name rings synonymously with the Cuban missile crisis and the cold war, presented his multifaceted prescription to strengthen the NPT and hopefully save the lagging review conference. From recommending that the issue be taken up by the UN Security Council upon failure of the conference, to

demanding that Nuclear Weapons States reconfirm Negative Security Assurances and increase the speed of warhead reduction, the former US Defense Secretary boldly stated, "We should not permit the US to stand in the way of pursuing action when the existence of nations and human beings is at risk." "If there is a problem, the rest of the world should deal with it, with or without the US," McNamara declared.

Echoing McNamara, moderator Jonathon Granoff, President of the Global Security Institute, urged all nations to recognize that the nonproliferation issue is one of global responsibility. He implored the need for higher, power-wielding echelons within governments to take up and act on upon the nuclear issue until the disconnect between popular opinion on nuclear weapons and governmental action disappears.

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

PRESS BRIEFING: Outcome of the 2005 NPT Review Conference & Future NGO Actions to Achieve Disarmament

When: 10:30am-11:00am
Where: UN Press Room (Room 226)
Contact: Chris Cooper, Abolition 2000
ccooper@abolitionnow.org, 212-726-9161

"Prospects for Breakthrough at the NPT Review Conference?" press conference by BASIC-ORG

Where: UNCA Club

When: 2 PM

Contact: Matt Martin, 202-468-0638, mmartin@basicint.org

Indigenous Perspectives on Nuclear Weapons Production and Testing

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 1:15- 2:45 PM

Contact: Monika Szymurska, Global Coordinator
<http://www.abolition2000.org>

Hope: UN premier of a new 7 minute DVD entitled

"Hope," by Luna Media Film, also short DVD by Nagasaki rock band Tatsumaki, "The Ribbon", followed by a discussion of hope in the the time of "the unruly big cheese"

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 3 PM

Contact: Jackie Cabasso, wslf@earthlink.net; (510) 306-0119

Why Women?*

-Felicity Hill, WILPF

In 2000, the Security Council passed a resolution about Women, Peace and Security acknowledging for the first time that women exist, and that war affects them differently, and that it's about time for security decision making to be less male dominated. In response, women's organizations have been very busy on many issues... They have called on the Security Council to do the job they were given 60 years ago in the Charter. The UN Charter, in Article 26 instructs the Security Council to deliver a plan for the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources to armaments. We are still waiting for this plan 60 years later. Women's organizations have realized that if the Security Council Permanent Radioactive 5 done this job of making "a plan for the least diversion of our human and economic resources to armament", rather than being the chief profiteers in the weapons trade and prancing about with their nuclear weapons, then the world would look very different.

Why are women working on this as a women's issue? Well, while the main characteristic of nuclear weapons is that they kill indiscriminately no matter what your sex, class, race or creed, a gender lens reveals a lot. Let's consider the biological effects: scientists and researchers have found that women are more at risk of developing a fatal cancer than are men when exposed to the same ionizing radiation exposure. Dr. Rosalie Bertell attributes this to two factors: first, that women's breast and uterine tissue is at high risk for cancer, and second, that women's longevity provides for longer development time for tumors. Women's reproductive health is especially susceptible to the effects of radiation released from nuclear testing. The landmines campaigners had very vivid images to jolt the world into action, we have a harder time making the epidemic of cancer visible. It is currently estimated that one in 20 women in the US alone will be diagnosed with breast cancer at sometime in her life. Nuclear testing has a lot to answer for here; as the National Cancer Institute study told us, radioactive isotopes from the testing have been found in every county of the US. Many babies of Pacific Islander women living "downwind" from nuclear testing are born boneless and with transparent skin – they're called jelly babies. And what about the inability to conceive, a phenomena that is happening amongst women living near Chelyabinsk right now - where only 1 of every 10 pregnancies actually results in a healthy human.

Weapons involve human beings operating in their social and political environment. To understand the context of disarmament,

it is absolutely necessary to ask the question of who the players are: who owns the weapons? Who has access to policy and decision-making power? Men have been systematically over-represented in the science, research development and decision-making on weapons of mass destruction issues. YES there are some women, and some women in high positions, but you can't rub out the almost complete gender segregation, and testosterone in the very high 90 percentile with the words Margaret Thatcher. Sorry, that's not an argument, that's an exception that does not disprove the rule. In the 10 years between 1992 and 2002, 33 women headed delegations to the six Review Conferences of the NPT, compared to 660 men in that role. During the

same period at the General Assembly First Committee on Security and Disarmament, women headed only 7% of country delegations. Out of 88 Ambassadors in the Security Council between 1992 and 2005, only 4 have been women.

Nuclear weapons decision-making is clearly undemocratic – and not only on the gender front. Every major decision taken by those governments that developed nuclear weapons was done in the absence of even full cabinet knowledge, let alone approval of the population, that

is, undemocratically. The decision to develop nuclear weapons was in each case undemocratic. Because of the secrecy and clandestine research and human experimentation undertaken, it must be acknowledged that nuclear weapons are intrinsically corrosive and corruptive of democratic rule.

In the economic sphere also, men are disproportionately represented in the trade in weapons and natural resource exploitation associated with nuclear weapons, i.e., uranium mining and nuclear power plants. However, while the economic implications of conflict are enormous, an economic analysis alone neglects some of the most powerful ideological and private processes that perpetuate nuclear militarism.

Carol Cohn did a study of defense intellectuals and the language they use, the complexity of which I can't do justice to here, but in her essay, *Wars, Wimps and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War*, she reveals the symbolic system in which certain ideas, concerns, interests, information, feelings and meanings are marked in national security discourse as feminine and soft, devalued as weak, as wimpish, as insufficiently macho. Consider the code words used to tell Truman of the successful first nuclear test, "It's a boy" and if it was unsuccessful, he would have been told, "it's a girl." The first nuclear weapon was called "Fat Man".

And the overt gender refer-

continued on page 6

*This is an excerpt from a speech given at the "Reaching Nuclear Disarmament" Conference held in Stockholm, Sweden, February 2005.

A Global Truth Commission for the Victims of the Nuclear Weapons Establishment

- Chelsea Collonge and Lisa Putkey, WSLF

What is the difference between national security and human security? This key analytical distinction reveals the worthlessness of nuclear weaponry and helps the world see beyond the current nuclear security strategies of Nuclear Weapon States. Nothing can articulate this distinction as well as the stories of the “atomic veterans,” those who have been hurt by their countries’ nuclear weapons production and testing.

On Wednesday afternoon, Arjun Makhijani from the Institute for Energy and Environmental Research (IEER) presented a talk entitled “Nuclear States’ Readiness to Harm: Health and Environmental Impacts of Nuclear Weapons Production and Testing and Its Connections to Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation.”

Makhijani detailed a brief history of governments- the US in particular- hurting their own citizens in the process of nuclear testing in the name of security. He described the Bikini Lagoon testing of 1946 as a sort of “coming out party” for the atomic bomb. As the test went off, the entire US Pacific Fleet was miles away, only to return to the lagoon and suffer pre-

ventable radiation. Makhijani stressed that contrary to some people’s perception, the US government was aware of the dangers of radiation at that time, and indeed from the very beginning of the nuclear weapons establishment.

Another common perception is that the government didn’t have the ability to predict where fallout would travel and who it would affect. On the contrary, during the above-ground nuclear weapons testing in Nevada, the government was able to provide Kodak with secret information about tests so that Kodak could protect its film from radioactive exposure—all to avoid a lawsuit. The government failed, however, to inform the dairy industry of the contamination of local milk with radioactive strontium, which caused thyroid cancer in infants nationwide.

Makhijani explained that the reason for such secrecy had to do with keeping the political will for nuclear weapons high in the United States. They even relinquished the chance to criticize the Soviet Union by exposing the secret disaster that happened at the Soviet-equivalent of our Hanford Site in the 50s—all because they didn’t want US citizens to question the nuclear facilities at home.

This secrecy needs to be exposed, and awareness must be raised about the health impacts that IEER and other researchers have documented. The atomic victims also need a forum to tell their stories to the world, especially as some victims are aging. “We’re losing the hibakusha, the downwinders,” said Susi Snyder of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, who enthusiastically supports Makhijani’s idea of creating a Global Truth Commission for the victims of nuclear weapons production. “People need to see that it’s not just the bombing that hurts people and the environment – it’s testing and indeed the entire production chain.” This commission, only a vision at this point, could be a collaboration between NGOs and governments to reach the public at a more personal level and seek some measure of justice for the impacted individuals.

Another forum for atomic veterans to tell their stories is happening this summer at the actions for the 60th anniversary of the US atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For example, at the “Many Stories, One Vision for a Nuclear Free World” gathering at the Nevada Test Site, members of the Western Shoshone nation and downwinders from Utah will be testifying to the damage that nuclear weapons have caused to their land and their bodies. Their voices are a crucial element of the anti-nuclear movement’s message to the world: that nuclear weapons undermine security rather than enhancing it, and indeed endanger humanity every step of the way.

Chelsea Collonge and Lisa Putkey are interns at the Western States Legal Foundation.



Legal, Technical and
Political Steps to a Nuclear
Weapons Free World –

A Nuclear Weapons
Convention?



Friday, May 27, 9:00-10:00 am
Conference Room 7, UN, New York

Moderated by **Regina Hagen**
Coordinator, INESAP

H.E. Ambassador Rastam Mohd Isa
Permanent Representative of Malaysia
to the United Nations

H.E. Ambassador Bruno Stagno Ugarte (invited)
Permanent Representative of Costa Rica
to the United Nations

H.E. Ambassador Paul Meyer (tentative)
Permanent Representative of Canada
to the United Nations

Alyn Ware
IALANA Consultant

Co-sponsored by the Permanent Mission of
Malaysia to the United Nations

Who's Who: Tiphaine de Champchesnel, CESIM



Do you believe, as many do, that the NPT is at its greatest crisis in history?

I can't answer without asking a question myself: what does that mean? If this statement is based only on the review process and especially this Review Conference, I would say no, the NPT is not at its greatest crisis. There is a kind of pressure on the issue of the Conference, with the idea that without a final document, the Review Conference would have failed. The issue of the Conference is seen as a reflection of NPT's health. I disagree with this view, especially because the NPT has already survived two conferences without final document (1980 and 1990).

I will not contest that the regime has to face a serious proliferation and non-compliance crisis but it is not itself in crisis for two reasons. First, its member States, that is almost all countries around the world, bring a strong support to the Treaty. Second, it is true that the Conference has encountered several tensions of particular significance this year. But I think that they are unavoidable in a regime such as the NPT, in which national interests have to come together in view of improving international security.

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

First of all, I came here to follow the work of the Review Conference. As a research fellow, I think that such an experience of the review process is of paramount importance to understand its functioning. Secondly, and most importantly, I am conducting a research project on NGO involvement in the Review Conference for the CESIM Center. My objective is to draw an overview of these NGOs, which are very numerous, active, and diverse. This diversity is the specific reason why I am focusing my research on the various NGOs' perceptions. How do they assess their actions in the review process and those of NGOs in general? How do they imagine to be perceived by official delegations? How do they contemplate the future of NPT?

What is the purpose of your organization?

The CESIM (Center for International Security and

Atoms for Cancer

- Alice Slater, GRACE

It is disheartening to hear so many delegates at this conference continue to insist on their inalienable right to so-called "peaceful" nuclear technology despite the widely documented hazards to health and the environment inflicted

by nuclear power and the obvious implications for nuclear proliferation. Countless studies report higher incidences of birth defects, cancer, and genetic mutations in every situation where nuclear technology is employed- whether for war or for "peace". Tens of thousands of tons of nuclear waste accumulate at civilian reactors with no solution for its storage, releasing toxic doses of radioactive waste into our air, water and soil and contaminating our planet and its inhabitants for hundreds of thousands of years.



What does it take for a country to be willing to inflict the toxic assault of nuclear waste on its own people in light of the lessons we have learned during the past 60 years of the nuclear age? One delegate shared quite frankly at an NGO panel that his country was unwilling to forego its "inalienable right" under the treaty because their scientists wouldn't want to be left behind in "state of the art" knowledge. They need to play in the major leagues of science with the big boys. So despite the promise of clean, safe abundant energy from the sun, the wind and the tides, many Non-Nuclear Weapon States have linked their equal rights to the dark fruits of nuclear technology. Will this kind of scientific machismo, which has created so many gruesome chapters in world history, be supported at the expense of the health of so many people and of the very survival of our biosphere? Will we satisfy our scientists' dangerous thirst for knowledge and status despite the obvious possibility that the "peaceful" nuclear reactor can readily be converted to a bomb factory?

The NPT is a flawed bargain. That is why NGOs are proposing a protocol to establish an International Sustainable Energy Fund that would finance a country's ability to access its own abundant safe energy sources, distributed indiscriminately across the planet. Yet not one nation has yet been willing to sponsor such an initiative. Governments have collectively spent more than \$200 billion of taxpayers' money to prop up aging, unsafe and economically unviable fuel technologies, while only a scant, *one-tenth* of that funding has been allocated to the development of new environ-

continued on page 6

continued on page 6

Who's Who continued from page 5

arms Control studies) was created in 1998 to respond to the lack of French research structures in the field of arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation. Specializing in arms control, CESIM is a network of international and French experts, working with Bernard Sitt, its director. Recently, CESIM was engaged in several international projects, as the *International Expert Group on Global Security* (IEGGS). This group focuses on arms control mechanisms to respond to new threats (maritime transport security for example). The motivation of proliferators constitutes another main issue considered by CESIM within the framework of an interdisciplinary study group (GSPP). CESIM also develops a network of young fellow researchers.

www.cesim.fr is currently under construction.

Why Women? continued from page 3

ences continue; after the 1998 nuclear tests in India one leader said that “we have proved that we are not eunuchs any more,” even though we all know that radiation has a terrible effect on the health and effectiveness of testicles too.

Carol Cohn gives one example of a man who told her, “At one point, we remodeled a particular attack, using slightly different assumptions, and found that instead of there being thirty-six million immediate fatalities, there would only be thirty million, and everyone was sitting around nodding saying, “oh yeah, that’s great, only thirty million,” when all of a sudden, I heard what we were saying. And I blurted out, “Wait, I’ve just heard how we’re talking – Only thirty million! Only thirty million human beings killed instantly?” Silence fell upon the room.



Nobody said a word. They didn’t even look at me. It was awful. I felt like a woman.” The physicist added that henceforth he was careful to never blurt out anything like that again. This is internalized self-censorship, leaving out a whole range of inputs from deliberations, because they are wimpish, because they are marked as feminine and soft and therefore don’t belong where hard security issues are on the table. So at this more hidden level, the question of how masculinities and femininities, relations, inequalities and perceptions shape and are shaped by armament and disarmament policies and practice is also essential to take into consideration.

The full transcript of this speech can be found at: <http://home.student.uu.se/fehi0382/photos/spas/blix%20statement.doc>

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Atoms for Cancer continued from page 5

mentally sound alternatives.

The failure of governments to finance a just transition to renewable energy will force the world to pay billions in clean-up and liability costs, as well as other intangibles such as the cost to public health and safety, and the danger of further nuclear weapons proliferation. Promoting a sustainable future, based on abundant local sources of energy, equally available to all on the planet, is an idea whose time has come. Yet in view of the shocking non-compliance of the US with its prior promises for disarmament at this 2005 NPT Review, a sustainable energy initiative will fail to convince many countries to forego their inalienable rights to “peaceful” nuclear technology. They’ll need to see good faith efforts by the nuclear weapons states to move more rapidly towards nuclear disarmament while offering them negative security assurances. Only this week it was reported that Venezuela, which has been treated harshly by the US, is now seeking a national nuclear development program for “peaceful” purposes.

For more information, see <http://www.gracelinks.org/energy/docs/ISEF-Statute-final.pdf>.

Alice Slater is the President of the Global Resource Action Center on the Environment.



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