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

News in Review

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

Aaaannnd..... ACTION!

The first day of this much-anticipated Review Conference opened rather anticlimactically. Sure, there were hordes of NGOs- estimated at about 2000 individuals- who arrived at the United Nations only to be met with extemporaneous rules governing their access to the debate. Yes, it was true that the President of the Review Conference, Brazilian Ambassador-at-large Sergio O. Duarte, announced that, despite months of consultations, there was still no agenda. And yes, the NGOs who *did* make it up to the gallery collectively guffawed when Stephen G. Rademaker, speaking on behalf of the US delegation, announced that the Non-Nuclear Weapon States parties to the Treaty benefit from knowing "that their neighbors also do not possess nuclear weapons." (The snickers of disbelief from some Canadian NGOs were particularly loud.)

All of these challenges, disappointments and surprises seemed a bit torpid in the shadow of the largest public demonstration for nuclear disarmament in over twenty years.

On Sunday, May 1, approximately 45,000 people from New York and the world marched through the heart of Manhattan to Central Park, demanding total nuclear abolition. Activists from all corners

of the world- from Malaysia to Europe to the Pacific Islands- shared a stage with dozens of musical and cultural acts, overlooking throngs of people sprawled out on the lawn or interacting with educational booths set up around the area's perimeter.

That's an act that's hard to follow.

States parties to the Review Conference must, however, heed the demands of this massive outpouring of civil society support for the Treaty's objectives. Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, opened his remarks to the Conference by highlighting just a few of the catastrophes engendered by a nuclear attack: "Tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of people would perish in an instant, and many more would die from exposure to radiation...Carefully nurtured collective security mechanisms could be discredited. Hard-won freedoms and human rights could be compromised." Tens of thousands of people marched in New York to prevent the exact type of scenario so hauntingly predicted by the Secretary-General.

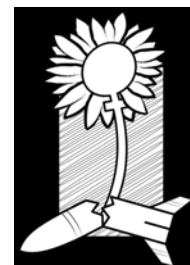
For their part, States and observers have already put forth ideas and prescriptions for strengthening the Treaty, so often hailed as the "cornerstone of disarma-

ment." Germany's Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, for instance, highlighted four important areas upon which the Review Conference should make progress, including: universalizing the Additional Protocol; ensuring civil nuclear energy is not misused for military purposes; providing security and physical protection of nuclear weapons and material; and strengthening enforcement against "severe violations of the Treaty."

Germany was one of many delegations, including Canada, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Ireland, Brazil and New Zealand, which reaffirmed the 13 Practical Steps as "the basis for and benchmarks by which we will measure" nuclear disarmament progress, as noted by Foreign Minister Fischer. These reaffirmations are a particularly significant element of these opening speeches, at a time when some delegations have worked hard to undermine the agreements reached in 2000.

New Zealand's Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control Marion Hobbs, speaking on behalf of the New Agenda Coalition (NAC), called for stricter adherence to the 13 Practical Steps, including entry-into-force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty

continued on page 5



Inside this issue:

New Disarmament Publications	2
Freeing the Middle East from WMD	3
Rejecting Counterproliferation	4
What's On: Today's Calendar of Events	5
A Middle Powers Strategy	6
May Day! Disarm!	6

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If you would like to submit an article or graphic to the *News in Review*, contact the Editor.

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International Control of Tritium for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament

Author Martin B. Kalinowski, Assistant Professor, Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Key Features

- Explores the role of tritium in nuclear weapons programs
- Discusses opportunities for integrating tritium control into an international nonproliferation system
- Makes the case for carefully designed tritium control that will slow down and reverse nuclear proliferation

Table of Contents

- 1- Dealing with the civilian/military ambivalence of tritium.
 - 2- Diversion path analysis.
 - 3- Verification of an international tritium control agreement.
 - 4- Technical assessment of an international tritium control agreement.
- App A. World tritium facilities, inventories and production capabilities.

Audience

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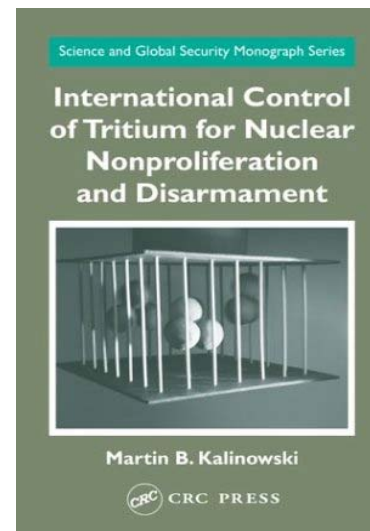
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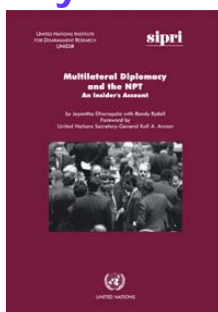
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W W W . C R C P R E S S . C O M

New book by 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference President, Jayantha Dhanapala



From 17 April-12 May 1995, States parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) gathered in New York to decide on the extension of their treaty. Born of the desire of the international community to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world, the NPT entered into force on 5 March 1970 for an initial period of 25 years, thereafter to be renewed—indefinitely or for additional period(s)—as determined by a majority of parties at a specially convened conference.

Although intense diplomatic activity leading to the Review and Extension Conference (NPTREC) had seemingly forged consensus amongst a majority of participants in favor of indefinite extension, the permanent extension of the NPT was by no means assured, with strong counter-currents taking shape already from the opening remarks of the Conference. In the event, only enlightened compromise and skilful conference management allowed the treaty to be indefinitely extended without a divisive vote that risked damaging its legitimacy, although, as a reminder of the ongoing challenges facing even a permanently extended NPT, the Conference—which also served as a Review Conference—failed to agree on a Final Declaration.

Insider's Account, is an analytical account of the NPTREC, its preparatory process and its aftermath. More than a personal memoir, the book focuses attention on the issues and difficulties attending the NPTREC and the discussions, points of view and understandings that made possible the indefinite extension of the treaty without a vote, while placing these squarely within the context of the challenges and opportunities of multilateral diplomacy. The NPT, contends Mr. Dhanapala, is a living treaty that has evolved in response to the challenges of history and will continue to do so in the future—though whose permanent extension must never be taken for granted or put to the test.

Authored by Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala, President of the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference, with Randy Rydell, Multilateral Diplomacy and the NPT: An

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To obtain copies of the book, contact the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research.

Freeing the Middle East Region of All Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Elimination Worldwide

- Ambassador Abd El Raaouf ElReedy, Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs and Dr. Morad Ghaleb, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization

The 2005 NPT Review Conference will be convened ten years after the Review Conference of 1995 which adopted by consensus a programme to observe and implement "principles and Objectives for Nuclear non-proliferation and Disarmament" and a "Resolution on the Middle East" to develop the region into a zone free from all weapon of mass destruction (WMD). It will be also convened after five years of the 2000 NPT review Conference which agreed on "unequivocal undertaking" to implement 13 steps leading to the abolition of nuclear weapons and also confirmed the necessity of eliminating all WMD from the Middle East.

In reviewing, at present, the implementation of these agreements and their resolution, as well as, the state compliance to NPT. We conclude that the prospects of nuclear weapon proliferation and the possible production of new nukes and their use have increased very much. Also, attempts are underway to invalidate the final document of the 2000 Review Conference, mainly the steps towards the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Moreover, WMDs could be acquired by terrorist groups. This new threat has been used as a pretext to undertake military actions and invade other countries. The missile raid which destroyed a Sudanese Pharmaceutical factory and the invasion of Iraq, falsely undertaken in the name of war against terrorism and with utter disregard of international legality, are clear examples. Contrary to their alleged claims, these actions could lead to dramatic escalation of terrorism.

A balanced implementation of the NPT is a necessary condition to face up to these dangers. Proliferation of nuclear weapons and their possible acquisition by terrorists will continue unabated unless faithful efforts are undertaken to implement article VI of the NPT, which calls for nuclear disarmament.

Article IV of the NPT on "the inalienable right of all the parties to the treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes", including "the possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information" should be observed. This article has been an essential element of the bargain that led to the conclusion of the Treaty. Access to the technology and know how for the peaceful use of nuclear energy is vital for the economic development of all parties to the Treaty.

Some attempts are made by some nuclear-weapon States to use the UN Security Council as a legislative body in order to allow it to virtually

amend Article X of the NPT on the withdrawal from the treaty. A special NPT amendment conference should be the only body which can amend the Treaty.

More efforts should be made by Parties to the NPT and the NGOs to ensure practical implementation of concrete steps towards the total and verifiable elimination of nuclear weapons. To this end, support for the Mayors' campaign seeking agreement on concrete steps by the year 2010 and their implementation by the year 2020 is very much needed.

The international scene has changed since the end of the cold war. Nuclear deployment by nuclear weapon States, official and de facto, in the Middle East, South Asia and North East Asia has exacerbated major conflicts which, at present, may lead to nuclear confrontation. Among major steps to deal with this situation is the establishment of zones free of nuclear weapons, reduction of nuclear risks and the prevention of nuclear threats to the security of the countries and peoples of these regions.

Of great importance in this context, is the establishment of the Middle East zone Free of all WMDs. The US administration and other NATO member States pinpointed this region as the main source of terrorist groups and the possible acquisition by some of them of WMDs. They consider this development as the main threat, to their security and to world peace.

We utterly refuse these claims because terrorism is a world phenomenon and is not confined to the Middle East. Delegates to the 2005 NPT Conference can put an end to these concerns by simply implementing the "Resolution on the Middle East" sponsored by US, UK and the Soviet Union at the NPT 1995 conference which has dealt with WMDs as part of the package, which was unanimously approved by consensus.

The resolution calls for "the establishment of an effectively verifiable Middle East Free Zone of weapons of mass destruction, nuclear, chemical and biological, and their delivery vehicles". Support for this resolution was confirmed by the 2000 NPT Conference which also called Israel to accede to NPT and place its nuclear activities under the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. All other States of the region, Arab and non-Arab, have already adhered to NPT.

Already, Egypt put forward an initiative to free the

Middle East from all WMDs. President Mubarak of Egypt declared this initiative in April 1990 urging all countries of the region to make equal and reciprocal commitment in this regard. All Arab countries are committed to implement the initiative. They are negotiating a draft Treaty within the league of Arab States that will translate this initiative into a concrete text. The Arab Summit in Tunisia in May 2004 called for convening an international conference on a zone free of WMDs in the Middle East.

If we were to compare this positive Arab attitude to that of Israel we shall find that the latter insists on maintaining hundreds of nuclear weapons in its arsenal.

Therefore, the NPT 2005 Review Conference is requested to monitor the implementation of the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East and the provisions pertinent to the Middle East in the final document of the 2000 Review Conference. An effective mechanism is needed and can be established by the 2005 conference to ensure their practical implementation together with other steps adopted for the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

There is another urgent matter. At present, intensive efforts are exerted to reach a peaceful settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict. A settlement can not be achieved under the umbrella of Israeli nuclear weapons.

Therefore, negotiations to free the region from WMDs should be part of the resolution of this conflict. This fact has been emphasized by the "High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Changes" appointed by the UN Secretary General. Its document states, "we recommend that negotiations to resolve general conflicts include confidence building measures and steps towards disarmament". It further "recommends that peace efforts in the Middle East and South Asia launch nuclear disarmament talks that could lead to the establishment of nuclear free-zones in these regions".

A window of opportunity is available for the implementation of the "Resolution on the Middle East" adopted by your conference of 1995. It will bring to an end the concerns of the US administration and the European governments about the possible possession of WMDs by terrorist groups, and remove the pretext used by certain governments to launch wars. Contrary to these policies, the implementation of the resolution will enhance the process of durable peace in the region and contribute to the efforts for the elimination of all WMDs.

**"A special NPT amendment
conference should be the only body
which can amend the Treaty."**

Rejecting the Logic of Counterproliferation

- Hongwei Chen, WILPF

On Monday, May 2nd, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND-UK) hosted a panel on “Rejecting the logic of counter-proliferation”, featuring Jenny Jones, a representative of the Mayor of London, Dave Knight, Vice-President of CND, Jackie Cabasso, US coordinator of Abolition Now, Yayoi Tsuchida, of the Japanese disarmament organization Gensuikyo, and Yues-Jean Gallas of France’s Mouvement de la Paix. The speakers unanimously condemned Nuclear Weapons States’ (NWS) attempts to use the NPT to legitimize their own growing arsenals as well as the strategy of using threats of war to deter proliferation. The ensuing discussion focused on strategies that NGOs could pursue to reintroduce questions of disarmament to NPT negotiations as well as the necessity of the disarmament movement to form coalitions with both peace and anti-globalization movements.

Jenny Jones highlighted the direction that US and UK nuclear policy has taken in the five years since the 2000 Review Conference, pointing out that both the US and UK non-proliferation policies are almost entirely focused on preventing other countries from acquiring WMD using all means necessary, even threats of war. Policies such as the US’ Nuclear Posture Review, which stress the necessity of modernizing its arsenals weapons actually make proliferation more likely by granting political value to nuclear weapons. Jones calls for an end to this “nuclear hypocrisy” by balancing nonproliferation and disarmament goals.

Yuen-Jean Gallas argued that it is necessary to combat the attempts by Nuclear Weapon States to sideline discussions of vertical proliferation and of Article VI; the NGOs must do their part and “push the action in this direction.”

Jackie Cabasso argued that the US has led other Nuclear Weapons States in severing non-proliferation from disarmament by focusing exclusively on non-proliferation efforts. The United States assumes that it is in full compliance with the NPT and therefore declares that terrorists and rogue states are the only treaty concern. However, the US is in clear violation of Article VI, which calls for good faith efforts towards disarmament. Despite cuts in the quantity of weapons as per the Moscow Treaty, the total funding for nuclear weapons programs has increased since 2004. In addition to indicting US nuclear policy, Cabasso warned against peace activism that focuses narrowly on one weapon system while “the [war] machine is churning on.”

Yayoi Tsuchida began her presentation by refuting the United States’ reliance on the Moscow Treaty as a way of fulfilling NPT obligations. The problem with this treaty, she maintained, is that the cuts in US and Russian arsenals are reversible, allowing the two countries to re-deploy their weapons after the treaty expires in 2012. The best way to stop proliferation, she concluded, is through total nuclear disarmament.

Dave Knight pointed out that the title of the event is in fact a misnomer—there is no “logic” to counter-proliferation, only a psychological dependence on nuclear weapons, deluded by the idea that invulnerability is the only path to

continued on page 6



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WagingPeace.org, our education and advocacy website;

The Sunflower, a monthly e-newsletter resource providing news, information and analysis on nuclear and international security issues;

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www.wagingpeace.org
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What's On: Calendar of Events for Today

Daily morning interfaith prayer vigil

Where: Ralph Bunche Park, 42nd St & 1st Ave

When: May 2-6, 7:30 AM

Contact: Caroline Gilbert, Christian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Abolition 2000 Morning Caucus

Where: United Nations Church Center (44th street and 1st avenue), Boss Room, 8th floor

When: Daily, 8 AM- 9 AM

Contact: Monika Szymurska, Global Coordinator

Mayors for Peace Planning Session

Where: TBA

When: 10-1 PM

Contact: Aaron Tovish, Mayors for Peace

Depleted Uranium Workshop

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 10- 1 PM

Contact: Tara Thornton, Military Toxins Project

2005 NPT Solidarity for a Nuclear-Weapon

Free World

Where: SEIU 1199 (310 West 43rd St.)

When: 1:00-3:30pm

Contact: Yayoi Tsuchida, Japan Gensuikyo

The Legacy of Nuclear Weapons and Future Proliferation

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 1:15-2:45 PM

Contact: Marcus Atkinson, International Peace Walk

Mayors Conference at the United Nations

Where: UN Conference Room 4

When: 1:15-2:45 PM

Contact: Aaron Tovish, Mayors for Peace

Youth Meeting

Where: UN Church Center, 44th street and 1st avenue, Drew Room

When: 2:15- 3 PM

Mayors for Peace Planning Campaigning Event

Where: Japan Society (333 E.47th St., b/w 2nd and 3rd aves)

When: 3:30-6 PM

Contact: Aaron Tovish, Mayors for Peace

Should the International Court of Justice judge compliance with Article VI? Options for returning to the World Court

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 4-6 pm

Contact: John Burroughs, Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy

Building a Nuclear-Free, Secure and Peaceful World: A dialogue with trade unions on the challenges, options and strategies

Where: UN Church Center, 44th street and 1st avenue- 2nd floor

When: 3 to 5 PM

Contact: Gemma Adaba, ICFTU United Nations Office

Mayors for Peace Reception: "Back to the Garden Arts Initiative"

Where: TBA

When: TBA (evening)

Contact: Aaron Tovish, Mayors for Peace

Action continued from page 1

(CTBT), verification and irreversibility, as well as universalization of the NPT and strengthening of and support for Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones (NWFZs).

For the NAM, represented yesterday by Malaysian Minister of Foreign Affairs Syed Hamid Albar, the Package of Decisions reached in 1995 are equally important agreements that should not be so easily forgotten or discarded. The NAM, for instance, very much want a subsidiary body to focus on issues pertaining to the Middle East, one of the main features of the 1995 Package of Decisions.

For many of the States that spoke yesterday, as well as for NGOs, a major priority of this Review Conference will be to "pursu(e) ... nuclear disarmament as a fundamental tool in addressing the international community's deep concern about proliferation," as asserted by Minister Hobbs. To these delegations, the crisis of the NPT lies not only in suspected proliferation by Iran and North Korea, but also, as Minister Albar pointed out, "the lack of balance in the implementation of the NPT" as well as the Nuclear Weapon States' "continue(d)...believe (f) in the relevance of nuclear weapons" which they "continue to develop and mod-

ernize..., threatening international peace and security." Minister Albar insisted that "(w)e must all call for an end to this madness and seek the elimination and ban on all forms of nuclear weapons testing as well as the rejection of the doctrine of nuclear deterrence."

In an effort to meet these demands for accelerated nuclear disarmament, the US went to great lengths to produce several glossy brochures and pamphlets on their Article VI compliance, though none of these good-looking documents offer anything by way of new nuclear reductions.

Not all delegations were as alarmed by the lack of nuclear disarmament, however. Australia, coordinator of the next CTBT entry-into-force conference scheduled for September, focused their statement nearly entirely on the proliferation threats to the Treaty's integrity, citing nuclear terrorism, Iran and Libya as the main causes for concern. Australia parted ways from its American ally, however, when it maintained that negotiations on a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT) "should include measures to verify that parties are complying with their obligations," measures opposed by the United States government.

We are sure, however, to hear more statements along the lines of Canada's position, a NATO State under that alliance's nuclear umbrella that remains nevertheless an adamant nuclear disarmament advocate. Canada continued to press for its notoriously "Canadian" priorities that strengthen both disarmament and non-proliferation goals, such as regular reporting, increased NGO access and participation and a strengthened review process. Interestingly, Ireland's Foreign Minister Dermot Ahern voiced support for the Canadian proposals to replace Preparatory Committee meetings with annual General Conferences, which would have the authority and mandate to make decisions as required by international events.

Of course, it will not be one singular proposal that will save the cornerstone of disarmament. Rather, "action is required on many fronts," as asserted by the Secretary-General. If May 1 is any indication, we already know what type of action that civil society is prepared to take. Just what actions this Conference will take remains to be seen.

- Rhianna Tyson, WILPF

A Middle Power Strategy

- Kristin Dedmond, WILPF

The Middle Powers Initiative (MPI), a coalition of eight non-governmental organizations (NGOs), organized a lunchtime panel on "How to make the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Process Successful," featuring the Chairman of the MPI, Senator Douglas Roche, Ambassador Sergio Q. Duarte, President of the Review Conference, Hon. Marion Hobbs, the Minister for Disarmament from New Zealand and Ambassador Paul Meyer of Canada.

As an event of the MPI, which seeks a balanced approach to strengthening the Treaty, the discussion focused on the three crucial elements of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), all of which were outlined by Ambassador Duarte: the non-proliferation regime, disarmament and nuclear energy. He asserted that the responsibility of Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) to work toward disarmament constitutes one of the most fundamental elements of the non-proliferation regime. For many Non-Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS), many of which are developing nations, the option to pursue nuclear energy is considered crucial to the achievement of energy independence and economic subsistence, and therefore remains a critical element of the NPT.

Minister Hobbs, one of the most inspiring diplomats on the disarmament and non-proliferation circuit (whose country New Zealand is currently Chair of the New Agenda Coalition), characteristically discussed how to stay positive during the review process despite the challenges that plague it, and highlighted the successes that the treaty has already accomplished. She noted the positive role the coalitions have played in advancing disarmament goals, noting in particular her own New Agenda Coalition, as well as Mayors for Peace, the Atlanta Consultation II and regional Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones.

Canada, which demonstrates a prime example of the type of leadership role undertaken by a "middle power" country, asserted that, "Success, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder". To rebalance the NPT, Ambassador Meyer stated, the world must not be complacent nor unimaginative. The Non-Proliferation Treaty cannot be disputed or denigrated for past decisions- an erroneous strategy that will only take away from the successes of the 1995 and 2000 Review Conferences.



Artwork by Becca Yates
Becca_Yates@hotmail.com

Canada, as many know, has been advocating for an overhaul of the NPT review process, which they believe is inadequate to deal with sudden crises to the regime, such as another future withdrawal. The review process, they believe, is limited in its ability to measure progress on treaty goals and objectives and to advance dialogue and negotiation between the five-year Review Conferences. Ambassador Meyer reiterated the strengths of Canada's proposal for review process reform, which was spelled out in their working paper submitted to the Third PrepCom.

Ambassador Meyer also reiterated his country's unwavering commitment to greater NGO access and participation in the NPT process as well as increased reporting by States on their progress toward compliance with the NPT.

At a time marked by political stalemate and polarized positions, it just may be these types of "middle power" approaches that highlight the common road forward to a strengthened Treaty and increased security for all.

- Kristin Dedmond is a member of the Los Angeles County branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

May Day! Disarm!



International representatives, such as Dr. Ron McCoy of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, address 45,000 people in Central Park on May 1, the largest anti-nuclear demonstration in New York City in over 20 years. Photograph by John Loretz, IPPNW.

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The *News in Review* is edited by Rhianna Tyson, WILPF

"Rejecting Counter-proliferation" continued from page 4

security. In fact, the counter-proliferation efforts that threaten pre-emptive strikes against countries developing WMD reinforce the image that military might is effective in achieving national security. In addition, he says that given the current political situation, it would be better if the 2005 Review Conference did not produce a final document rather than roll back on 2000 commitments.

The panel presentations were followed by a lively discussion, which centered mainly on the question of NGO strategy. One participant mentioned that since NGOs are excluded from most of the NPT negotiations, they should unify with Non-Nuclear Weapons States in order to magnify their voice. Other participants, along with Cabasso and Knight, voiced that it is necessary for the disarmament movement to form connections with peace and economic justice movements. Knight concluded the discussion by noting that nuclear weapons are not simply part of a larger system of military and economic violence, but are *integral* to its existence. Thus disarmament can be a vehicle for building a long-term multi-issue movement.

- Hongwei Chen is an intern with the Reaching Critical Will project of WILPF UN Office.