

#### NEWS IN REVIEW

A Collection of NGO Views on the NPT PrepCom 2004



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Women's International League for Peace and Freedom-

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## NON-EXISTENT ISSUES SPARK NON-EXISTING DEBATE

With the General Debate officially over as of noon on Wednesday, NPT States Parties now turn to the difficult task of finding agreement on a number of critically important issues, substantive and procedural.

While agreement on a universal, unconditional and legally binding instrument on negative security assurances remains an utmost priority for many of the Non-Nuclear Weapon States, including the Non-Aligned, the Nuclear Weapon States are equally adamant in their position against such codified assurances.

If potential for movement on this issue can be measured from the intervention delivered by the United Kingdom on Monday, the NNWS are in for a slog. The UK, and presumably other NWS (with the exception of China) believe that Security Council resolution 984 should constitute the assuranes that the NNWS seek. (All statements, by the way, including that of the United Kingdom, are available on the Reaching Critical Will website at: www.reachingcritical-will.org.)

NNWS will also be pushing hard for a subsidiary body at the 2005 Review Conference to focus substantively on nuclear disarmament, the creation of which is the responsibility of this Preparatory Committee. However, if we are to believe the statement made by the United States on Tuesday, such a body would not have anything to discuss. As Under-Secretary of State John Bolton so eloquently stated, "We cannot divert attention from the (horizontal proliferation) violations we face by focusing on Article VI issues that do not exist."

We presume that Mr. Bolton is referring to the following issues:

\* the research and development of the Robust Nuclear

Earth Penetrator;

- \* modifications of existing warheads;
- \* the resumption of plutonium pit production at the Savannah River site;
- \* the rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and acceleration of preparations to resume nuclear testing at the Nevada Test Site:
- \* the increased role of nuclear weapons in national security strategy;
- \* targeting Non-Nuclear Weapon States in the Nuclear Posture Review.

With limited space in the *News in Review*, we urge you to refer to the NGO presentation on "Vertical Proliferation" delivered yesterday by Jacqueline Cabasso of the Western States Legal Foundation, for a complete review of these and other "non-existent" Article VI issues.

However, States might not even have the opportunity to delve into substantive issues such as NSAs, nuclear disarmament, nuclear-weapon-free-zones and the nuclear fuel cycle. States have not yet been able to reach agreement on the rules of procedure, a debate that may continue for days into the PrepCom. If the conference indeed falls into a procedural quagmire, the States Parties will rob themselves of the opportunity to address the serious challenges facing the NPT, and the international disarmament and security regime as a whole.

Some States believe that it is not in their interest to ever begin discussion on the substantive issues. Since, after all, they believe that these issues don't exist.

- Rhianna Tyson, Reaching Critical Will, with the gracious assistance of John Loretz, IPPNW

#### Who's Who-Profile

#### Jennifer Nordstrom, Global Action to Prevent War

Tell us a little about your organization, the Global Action to Prevent War.

Global Action to Prevent War (GAPW) is a comprehensive integrated program of disarmament, peacekeeping and conflict prevention, designed to eliminate genocide, war and internal conflict.

That seems like a rather large scope of activities. What priorities has the organization set for the first phase of action?

Immediately, we are advocating for full implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 on Women Peace and Security and creating a Conflict Prevention Committee in the General Assembly that could circumvent the veto in the Security Council. We are also working towards the establishment of an all-volunteer, UN rapid reaction peacekeeping service.

What exactly is resolution 1325?

Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was adopted by the Security Council in 2000 under the presidency of Namibia. This resolution is particularly important to GAPW since we work in both conflict as well as post-conflict situations. The two most important elements of 1325 to us is that it enforces women's participation in peacekeeping so that you have women making decisions at the top level as well as on the field. It also ensures that women will be at the table in negotiatons in post-conflict situations, thereby ensuring a more lasting peace... women, after all, are trained to be peacemakers because of the roles relegated to us by society.

What role do nuclear weapons have in the Global Action Plan of Action?

The idea behind GAPW is to increase confidence in multilateral settings through better UN peacekeeping as well as through more effect conflict prevention. With that greater confidence in the ability of the United Nations, States would be more willing to get rid of the weapons. Global Action believes that the 13 Steps are the appropriate way to start eliminating nuclear arsenals, as that plan calls for de-alerting measures and the decreased role of nuclear weapons in national security strategies. Confidence building measures such as these must be taken if the existing arsenals are to be verifiably and irreversibly reduced and eventually eliminated. The elimination of nuclear weapons will be impossible without the elimination of the war system. With the tension and conflict that grips the world today, people are going to be too frightened to dismantle their weapons and renounce the perceived security that they bring.

You know that a lot of the NGOs that are here today would probably disagree with that assessment.

I realize that, and Global Action does not say that abolition of nukes or war should come first. We do not believe that war will be eliminated before the elimination of nuclear weapons, but rather that these two goals must be pursued in tandem. In order for us to irreversibly dismantle them, small arms and other weapons cannot be justified as their replacement.

What have been some of the highlights for you so far at this PrepCom?

I thought the NGO presentations on Tuesday were amazing. I was really interested and intrigued by the reaction of the delegates to many of the speeches, especially the one delivered by Jacqueline Cabasso of the Western States Legal Foundation, in which she identified each of the ways in which the Nuclear Weapon States are vertically proliferating. Several delegates told me that they were very impressed with the amount of information that was contained in the body of NGO presentations. I think that these were very effective, and the delegates from the Non-Nuclear Weapon States truly appreciate the vast amount of information that we bring, and our courage to name the guilty parties by name.

What advice would you give to governments as they head into the closed meetings?

I would tell them to urge for the implementation of the 2000 Final Document, and to resist the calls to alter these decisions, "update" them, or risk losing the strength of the 13 Steps in any way. They must insist on implementation. And I would let them know that U.S. citizens are doing everything they can to get G.W. out this year.

For more information on GAPW, see www..globalactionpw.org

### A UN CONFERENCE ON THE NONPROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND THEIR ELIMINATION:

AN INITIATIVE PROPOSED ON BEHALF OF THE EGYPTIAN COUNCIL FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- By Dr. Mohamed Shaker, Vice Chairman

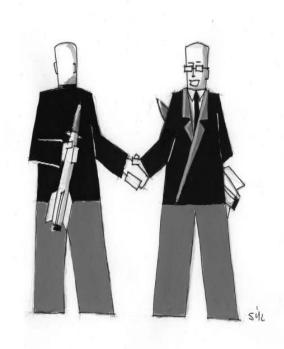
The problem of the spread of weapons of mass destruction is a top item on the agenda of major countries of the world. For years, we have failed to convene another special session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, or a UN conference on disarmament. In view of the latest developments in the Middle East (Iraq, Iran, Libya, not to mention Israel, South Asia, India, Palestine) and the far East (North Korea) and in view of the increasing possibilities of using weapons of mass destruction in terrorist activities, there is a great need for an international conference under the UN auspices to discuss the issue of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their elimination, which would allow the international community to reassess the different regimes of non-proliferation with a view of filling the gaps and improving machineries.

Over and above, discussing the creation of zones free of weapons of mass destruction in different regions of the world, including our own zone, the Middle East, the conference would also be an opportunity to discuss ways and means of preventing and dealing with the potential use of weapons of mass destruction in terrorist activities. It is no longer in the realm of science fiction but a potential threat that ought to be taken seriously.

With a regard to a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East, it must be said that the League of Arab States has developed this initiative launched by President Mubarak in 1990 into a preliminary draft treaty that may need to be further elaborated upon. Dealing with the issue of weapons of mass destruction and their elimination should not be left to major powers alone to deal with. A concerted effort is needed and a conference in this area could be well prepared and go through a preparatory phase and could be convened a year after the forthcoming NPT Review Conference in 2005. The latter conference could be a vehicle for launching such an initiative. This initiative can also be launched during the forthcoming UN General Assembly next fall, thus triggering the preparatory phase that would take us well into the year 2006.

The elimination of weapons of mass destruction as an integral part of this projected conference should secure the links between the current attempts to adopt a new Security Council resolution on non-proliferation and the need to disarm and more particularly in the nuclear field in compliance with Article VI of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968.

The Third Session of the Preparatory Committee of the 2005 NPT Review Conference is invited/welcomed to consider and support this new initiative. There should be no delay in undertaking this task. On behalf of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs, I'll be at the disposal of any delegation that wishes to explore further this initiative.



## Panel Spotlight: Economy and Security

by Jen Geiger, WILPF US

As the NPT and CSD meet concurrently, the most oft heard question seems to be "who will make explicit the link between economy and security?" I am proud to say the WILPF US Disarm Campaign workshop "Mil-Corp ConneXion and Nuclear Proliferation" on Wednesday morning helped to provide tools for all of us work to end the military-industrial complex, clearly connecting the role of corporations with the threat of proliferation.

In the most energetic panel so far, Frida Berrigan of the Arms Trade Resource Center began the discussion describing the overlap between the leadership in top US defense contractors and US government officials, which begs the question - who benefits from continued weaponization? Think tanks, industry executives, and Bush Administration officials form an interchangeable roster of profiteers.

As the US government is a major nuclear power in the world, its vertical proliferation is of enormous concern. WILPF US and Veterans for Peace board member Ellen Barfield described current initiatives in the US Congress to curb the Bush administrations movement toward more "usuable" nukes, including robust nuclear earth penetrators, "mini-nukes," and other advanced concepts. Her cochair in the WILPF US Disarm campaign, Carol Urner, then excited the group with the presentation of a new resource to DO SOMETHING about it - the Mil-Corp Study/Research/Action Manual. Including a positive vision of what we want for the world, as well as crucial information about the plans of Bush administration officials, the manual then gives ideas for how we can counter the drive for more nuclear weapons.

Chaired by WILPF UN Office Director Susi Snyder, an open discussion followed allowing participants to exchange different approaches for grassroots people's action for disarmament - acknowledging that the corporate system is a fundamental piece of the puzzle.

#### **TODAY**

#### at the PrepCom!

At 8 - 8:50 AM, Abolition 2000 holds their daily Strategy Session on the 8th floor of UNCC

From 9- 10 AM, Mayors for Peace will be holding a open briefing in Conference Room A.

At 10 AM in Conference Room A, students from the International Law Campaign from Heidelberg, Germany, will be talking about their campaign directly before the start of the the International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation panel, "Developments in Delivery Systems and Space Weapons"

From 1:15- 3 PM, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament hosts a forum: "Opposing Vertical Proliferation: The Danger of the Development of New Nuclear Weapons" also in Conference Room A

At 3 until 6 PM, the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, together with the Civil Network for a Peaceful Korea will be hosting a panel on "Denuclearizing North Korea: Technical and Policy Options" in Conference Room A.

From 6- 9 PM, there will be a closed meeting of the 2000 Global Council Meeting.



International Law Campaign's Wall, the People's Growing Movement

## Panel Spotlight: The Quest for Security

by Jon Loretz, IPPNW

The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (NAPF) sponsored a panel called "Nuclear Weapons, Non-Proliferation and the Quest for Security" on Wednesday, April 28. Canadian Senator Douglas Roche, Chair of the Middle Powers Initiative, opened the presentations by reflecting on the role he has played both as a parliamentarian and as a representative of civil society. The public, Sen. Roche said, is not impervious to information about the significance of the nuclear threat, but diplomats will never respond adequately to the problem of disarmament without a massive public clamor. Building bridges among countries that are prepared to take serious measures to implement the NPT is an important part of the solution.

Kate Hudson of the UK Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament offered a critique of the US-UK Mutual Defense Agreement (MDA). While the UK claims to have an independent nuclear force, Ms. Hudson said, the country's nuclear weapons infrastructure appears to be inextricably linked with that of the US. "It is unlikely that the UK could remain a nuclear weapon state without the support of the US," she said.

Jacqueline Cabasso of the Western States Legal Foundation challenged NGOs in both the US and internationally to recognize that the nuclear and other security policies of the Bush administration, while far more extreme than those of previous administrations, are really a continuation of them. Democratic Party policy advisors to Sen. John Kerry have drafted a policy document that is similar in many respects to current US policy, and endorses the current level of spending on US nuclear weapons. Ms. Cabasso concluded that we need to redefine security, "throwing out the outdated model completely and to replace it with a human security model."

Justine Wang of NAPF reviewed the range of non-proliferation initiatives that are currently on the table and offered an alternative set of proposals, including commencement of negotiations on a Nuclear Weapons Convention; declarations of no first use by all the nuclear weapon states; universal application of the NPT to all states under a strict timetable; and cessation of efforts to improve existing arsenals; among others.

#### Answers to yesterday's

#### Pop Quiz

- 1) "Verification is not enough. The most air-tight verification regime in the world is worthless if confirmed violations are ignored." The United States
- 2) "After all, the Treaty can only be as strong as our will to insist that states comply with it." The United States
- 3) "An abject lack of political will to pursue disarmament, paired with an obsession with perceived proliferation threats, has tipped the balance of the NPT agreement away from the real threat to our world: the 30,000 nuclear weapons held by a handful of states, which, until they are eliminated, guarantee continued instability rather than 'undiminished security for all.'" NGO presentation, "The thirteen steps: a Living Document"
- 4) "News is revealed of technology developed within a country, or stolen, or sold, either openly or coverlty, by nations, or by a whole network of black market nuclear suppliers...a frightening scenario of nuclear proliferation run rampant." NGO presentation, "Finding the Common Thread"
- 5) "We stand for a balanced approach to the PrepCom work. We would not like to see undue focus on some issues, although quite important, at the expense of others." Russian Federation
- 6) "In our view, the expression 'non-proliferation' contained in the Preamble is meant to apply both to the horizontal and the vertical aspect of proliferation." The Holy See
- 7) "Those actively breaking the rules should not be entrusted with enforcing the rules." The United States
- 8) "The PSI reflects an evolving and welcome understanding of the NBC weapon threat. In essence, it regards NBC weapon related shipments as contraband." NGO presentation, "Beyond the NPT"
- 9) "The nuclear bomb represents a danger to the country which has them." Moammar Qaddafi, as quoted by John Bolton

# Panel Spotlight: PSR on Counterproliferation

by Sarah Estabrooks, Project Ploughshares

Use of the term 'counterproliferation' is portrayed by some as a simple semantic shift, but others suggest it is the basis of a much more ominous policy. In a briefing yesterday, entitled, "Counterproliferation Policy and the Future of the NPT," Martin Butcher of the Physicians for Social Responsibility discussed the current American policy of counterproliferation and its implications for the future of the NPT. He identified three challenges posed by the Bush adoption of a counterproliferation policy: negative security assurances have been undermined to the point that they are meaningless; to counter perceived terrorist threats, the US is seeking new nuclear weapons - contrary to its Article VI obligations; and the prospect of renewed nuclear testing looms in the not so distant future.

The second panelist, Ambassador Thomas Graham, Jr. considered options to be taken at the Review Conference in 2005 to sustain the bargain of the treaty. He proposed a series of resolutions that could be adopted in 2005 to demonstrate political will to finalize an FMCT, conclude a space weapons ban, legalize negative security assurances, make deep nuclear reductions, bring the CTBT into force, ratify remaining Nuclear Weapons Free Zones protocols and bring India, Pakistan and Israel into a framework of international controls moving toward disarmament.

These measures are short-term steps that will in no way solve the deeper problems of the inherent imbalance of the NPT. Graham asserted that ratification of the CTBT, deep reductions, and adoption of a no-first-use policy will be necessary for the long-term viability of the non-proliferation regime. But further still, real security will only be possible when the connection is made between security, and poverty, sustainable development, political and social rights.

## Panel Spotlight: A Northeast Asia NWFZ

by Jennifer Nordstrom, GAPW

At the NGO workshop "A Model Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone Treaty: Pave the Way Beyond the Crisis", panelists discussed the pros and cons of a model Northeast Asia NWFZ Treaty in the context of the current situation on the Korean Peninsula. The model treaty, drafted by the director of the Peace Depot in Japan, Hiromichi Umebayashi, would create a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone out of the national territories of Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, including their land, air and sea, creating a NWF "Intrazone". It also requires any Nuclear Weapons State transporting nuclear weapons to "notify in advance and have a prior consultation for approval" to travel in the Intrazonal territory with the weapons. This is more demanding than many NWFZ treaties, which do not require the advance notification and consultation. Panelist Cheong Wooksik representing the Civil Network for a Peaceful Korea even recommended strengthening this provision to disallow passage with nuclear weapons.

The treaty allows for the peaceful use of nuclear energy, a current sticking point for the United States and the DPRK, but requires that these uses conform to the NPT safeguards and IAEA Additional Protocol. It also suggests the States Parties cooperate to develop more sustainable energy sources, although without any requirement to do so.

Perhaps most interestingly, the treaty extends to the elimination of dependence on nuclear weapons security policies, therefore outlawing US use of nuclear weapons in defense of Japan or the Republic of Korea. States Parties would include Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as Intrazonal states, and China, Russia, and the United States (because it has military and weapons in the area) as Neighboring Nuclear Weapons States. The treaty would go into effect after all three Intrazonal states and two of the three Neighboring Nuclear Weapons States deposit their instruments of ratification.