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Reaching Critical Will
a project of the Women's International
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News in Review

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

"In Light of" Consensus

- Rhianna Tyson, WILPF

"Consensus," said Conference President Duarte last Friday, "is a very important tool in our work, and I would not sacrifice that."

And consensus President Duarte almost had by the close of last week. In the world of international disarmament diplomacy, however, "almost" just doesn't quite cut it.

With objections in the language of document NPT/CONF.2005/CRP.2, the document that the president is to read upon the adoption of the agenda, consensus remains just out of reach.

Until recently, most of the disagreement lay in the language contained in the agenda itself (document NPT/CONF.2005/CRP.1); many States parties were not willing to capitulate to the demands of the US and France to exclude references to the Final Document of 2000. Eventually, however, a watered-down version (based on a proposal from China) seemed to have been generally accepted; this proposal would have provided the Conference with a mandate to simply "review the operation of the Treaty", without specific reference to past Conferences and their outcomes, as was proposed by the Chairman of the Third Preparatory Committee in document NPT/CONF.2005/PC.III/WP.30.

As part of this compromise, President

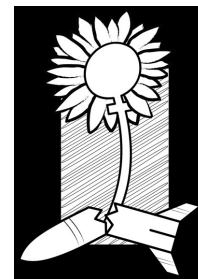
Duarte would have announced that "the review will be conducted in the light of the decisions and the resolution of previous Conferences, and allow for discussion of any issue raised by States Parties."

While many States are unhappy with all references to past Review Conferences completely omitted from the agenda, only Egypt took the floor in an attempt to strengthen this statement by President Duarte.

Egypt is insisting that the words "in light of" be replaced with the words "taking into account", and that the words "and the outcomes" be added after the word "resolution". The latter addition would, Egypt asserted, "cover what we have agreed by consensus", while the more active phrase "taking into account" would fortify the verbal reference to previous Conferences.

With this objection, Egypt aggregates all culpability for blocking consensus. Ironically, however, it is the power of consensus that Egypt is seeking to preserve. For how effective is consensus if agreements reached within its framework can be so easily discarded a few years later? Shouldn't more States— if not all— also be fighting for the preservation of consensus as such a "very important tool"?

President Duarte adjourned the meeting early on Friday, and announced the suspension of the Conference until Tuesday.



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WILPF UNO
777 UN Plaza 6th floor
New York, NY 10017
Info@reachingcriticalwill.org
www.reachingcriticalwill.org

The NAPF Brings Us Back to Basics

- Naomi Gingold, WILPF

On Wednesday, the highly respected newsman Walter Cronkite opened the panel, “Reviving Nuclear Disarmament in the Nonproliferation Regime,” hosted by the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (NAPF) in Conference Room IV. In his “Pitch for Peace,” Cronkite highlighted the overemphasis on proliferation and the lack of attention paid to disarmament in the NPT negotiations, as well as in the media. “Without fulfilling the obligations of disarmament, we cannot prevent proliferation,” he stated, claiming that the Nuclear Weapon States’ (NWS) refusal to honor their promises not only dampened their legitimacy but foretold the doom of the NPT as well.

Echoing the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation’s Eight Commitments for Reviving Nuclear Disarmament, Minister Marion Hobbes of New Zealand stressed the need for good faith, transparency, and honesty in negotiations and a timeframe for disarmament as the prerequisites to making progress. Calling for verification to be used as a tool to measure disarmament, not just as a means to prevent pro-

liferation, Minister Hobbes emphasized that the parties involved must understand each other’s standpoints and fears in order to find the common ground from which to base negotiations.

Famous whistleblower Daniel Ellsberg enunciated the stark discrepancy between the United States’ claims and its operational goals and policies towards the NPT. The US’s assertions that it had complied with and been a leader in carrying out its obligations under Article VI were further debunked by David Krieger, President of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation.

The US has never operated on the assumption that “a world of no nuclear weapons is better than a world with nuclear weapons,” Ellsberg stated. As disarmament would interfere with the US’s superiority, first strike capabilities and role as super power, the US has never seriously considered disarmament as an option. Ellsberg cynically urged the audience to remember, “negotiations that reduce nuclear weapons from 10,000 to 6,000 to 3,000 are a hoax.”

Douglas Roche, chair of the Middle Pow-

ers Initiative, reminded attendants of the hypocrisy inherent within the NPT; NWS retain their rights to nuclear weapons while they decry their procurement by others.

Too often, governments approach nuclear talks in an abstract way, Roche stated. The hibakusha bring a human face to the horror of nuclear weapons while the rest of civil society must supplement their efforts by constantly lobbying their governments to disavow nuclear weapons; an informed community would impel the momentum needed to jumpstart governments into action. Real governmental action would protect our environment, ensure a safe world for future generations, and free up much needed money to be used for development.

To do otherwise would ensure our collective destruction. “As a species,” Cronkite concluded, “we are not smart enough to live with nuclear weapons in our midst.”

Naomi Gingold is an intern with the Reaching Critical Will Project of WILPF UN Office.

What’s On: Today’s Calendar of Events

Daily morning interfaith prayer vigil

Where: Ralph Bunche Park, 42nd Street, 1st Avenue

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

Governmental Briefing- Ambassador Hu Xiaodi (China)

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 9 AM- 10 AM

Contact: Rhianna Tyson, RCW

German NGO Caucus Meeting

Where: CCUN, Drew Room

When: 1pm

The Nuclear Weapons Inheritance Project: Training the next generation of disarmament leaders

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 1:15- 2:45

Contact: John Loretz, IPPNW

Why Do States Abandon Nuclear Weapons Ambitions?

chaired by Hans Blix

Where: Conference Room IV

When: 1-3 pm

Contact: Daniel Nord, WMD Commission; co-sponsored by the Government of Finland

Light lunch served. UN passes, participation open

Space Security: Definitions and Demonstrations

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 3-6 PM

Contact: Dave Knight, Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space

WMD Commission Reception, Dinner and Dialogue (invitation only)

Where: Delegates Dining Room

When: 7-9 PM

STOCKPILE STEWARDSHIP: Nuclear Weapons Research and Production for the 21st Century

- Andrew Lichterman and Jacqueline Cabasso, WSLF

"[I]f my modeling and simulation really understands the environment in which that weapon will go to, I can do things with it that allow me to stay within the law which says that I have to leave the current warhead configuration as it is, but that I can take my 1966 Mustang, which is when most of these assets were made available to me, and I could put seatbelts, airbags, antilock brakes, GPS in it. I could do a whole bunch of things that would fundamentally change the characteristic of that stockpile." - General James Cartwright (USMC) Commander, US Strategic Command, remarks delivered at the Air Warfare Symposium - Orlando, Florida, February 18, 2005.

A significant part of the "revitalized defense infrastructure" called for by the 2001 US Nuclear Posture Review is the Department of Energy (DOE)/National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) nuclear weapons research, testing, and production facilities. To sustain this vast complex, the US is spending over six billion dollars a year on the "Stockpile Stewardship" program, including billions on new and more advanced nuclear weapons research and production facilities.

These include:

* The National Ignition Facility (NIF), now being built at the Livermore National Laboratory in California. The NIF is a laser driven fusion machine the size of a football stadium, designed to create very brief, contained thermonuclear explosions. It is slated to be used for a wide range of applications, from training weapons designers in nuclear weapons science to nuclear weapons effects testing. NIF experiments, together with other fusion research being conducted at the nuclear

weapons laboratories, could, in the long run, lead to the development of pure fusion weapons, not requiring plutonium or uranium.

* The Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrotest Facility (DARHT). This facility at the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico, will join several already existing facilities where mockups of primaries or "pits", the first stage of a thermonuclear weapon, are imploded while very fast photographic or x-ray images are generated, thus allowing

The US's multibillion dollar supercomputing program reaches beyond the weapons laboratories, seeking to incorporate the nation's leading universities into an effort to attract and train yet another generation of nuclear weapons designers.

scientists to "see" inside the implosion. DOE already is developing technology for an even more sophisticated "hydrodynamic testing" facility, the Advanced Hydrotest Facility.

* Pulsed power technologies: Further experiments exploring the extreme conditions created in a nuclear weapon explosion are studied using various types of "pulsed power," in which a large amount of energy is stored up and then released very quickly in a small space. The energy source can be chemical high explosives or stored electrical energy. Pulsed power facilities at both DOE and Department of Defense laboratories are used to explore nuclear weapons function and effects and directed energy weapons concepts, and could play a role in the development of a wide range of high technology weapons, including new types of nuclear weapons.

The data streams from these and other experimental facilities, along with that from "subcritical" tests which implode nuclear materials but have no measurable nuclear yield and the archived data from over 1000 past US nuclear tests, will be integrated via the Advanced Strategic Computing Program. This multi-billion dollar supercomputing program reaches beyond the weapons laboratories, seeking to incorporate the nation's leading universities into an effort to attract and train yet another generation of nuclear weapons designers.

In addition to the Modern Pit Facility, the DOE is pursuing a variety of programs to modernize its nuclear weapons production infrastructure. These range from a smaller pit manufacturing capability at Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico to upgraded nuclear weapon component manufacturing facilities at Oak Ridge National Laboratory and tritium facilities at Savannah River, Georgia. In addition, the government will be producing tritium for nuclear weapons at civilian nuclear power plants operated by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).

This article is an excerpt from the Western States Legal Foundation report, War is Peace, Arms Racing is Disarmament; the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the US Quest for Global Military Dominance, May 2005

The full report can be found at <http://www.wslfweb.org/docs/warisperace.pdf>

The summary can be found at <http://www.wslfweb.org/docs/warispacesumm.pdf>



Working Paper Envisions a Nuclear Weapon-Free World

- Alyn Ware, IALANA

On 29 October 2004, Malaysia hosted a roundtable in New York at which they released a draft working paper for the 2005 NPT review Conference which envisions a nuclear weapons world and encourages countries to consider the building blocks to achieving such a world.

A revised version of the paper, entitled “*Follow-up to the International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion on the Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons: Legal, technical and political elements required for the establishment and maintenance of a nuclear weapons free world*,” is now being circulated by Malaysia and Costa Rica to NPT delegations to seek co-sponsorship.

The paper reflects an understanding that key legal, political and technical issues need to be addressed before some States will be ready to negotiate for complete nuclear disarmament. As such, the approach presented by Malaysia is not to wait in hope that such issues will be addressed by themselves, but rather to call on States to identify these issues, discuss possible

elements or mechanisms that can address these issues, and take action to develop them. As such, the Malaysia paper appears to shun ideology or criticism of States in favour of a very pragmatic approach to nuclear disarmament.

The paper notes that some of these elements may already be in existence, albeit in an under-developed form or with limited application. This includes, for example, disarmament measures applied to a limited number of weapons, or fissile material controls and delivery system controls applied only to certain countries. Other elements have been proposed or are being developed, but again mostly on a limited basis relating more to non-proliferation and disarmament steps but not to complete abolition.

Consideration of the elements required for the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons would enable gaps to be identified, preparatory work undertaken and further steps completed, whether unilaterally, bilaterally, regionally, plurilaterally or multilaterally. To assist this process, Malaysia outlines some of the elements required drawing from the thirteen steps agreed in 2000, the New Agenda Coalition program and the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention. Progress on a number of these could happen without the requirement for agreement by all States Parties to the NPT.

In addition, the paper calls for States parties to the NPT to initiate negotiations which would lead to the conclusion of a nuclear weapons convention, and to invite States not parties to the NPT to join such negotiations. In proposing this non-discriminatory way to engage States not Parties to the NPT, the paper provides the most realistic approach to making progress towards universality of NPT norms, without ascribing any special status to the States non-Parties.

The paper acknowledges that achieving a nuclear weapons convention – either as a single treaty or package of agreements – would not likely be achieved in a single step. Instead an incremental-comprehensive approach is outlined indicating steps towards disarmament within a comprehensive disarmament framework.

There was considerable support given to the initiative at NGO forums last week with the hope that a broad cross-spectrum of delegations would respond favourably to the invitation from Malaysia and Costa Rica to join as co-sponsors.

Alyn Ware is a consultant with the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms - United Nations Office

Disarmament and Development:

Can International Treaties Promote These Goals?

THURSDAY - MAY 12th

1:15 pm - 2:45 pm

Dr. Clarence Dias,

Keynote Speaker

(International Center for Law in Development)

CHURCH CENTER, 777 UN Plaza, 2nd Flr.

(Across the Street from UNHQ)

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Internal Radiation: Nano-size Particles Causing Mega-size Damage

- Alex Sundberg, WILPF

No matter how distinguished your title or how fancy the label of your suit, after 30 minutes of listening to speeches we all start twisting and turning in our seats.

This was not the case, however, when Dr. Helen Caldicott and Dr. Rosalie Bertell spoke at HANWA's (Hiroshima Alliance for Nuclear Weapons Abolition) and NO DU Hiroshima Project's *Rethinking "Radiation" Inside-Out: From Hiroshima-Nagasaki to Iraq*-workshop on May 4th. As their intense presentations on the



photo courtesy of <http://www.web-light.nl/VISIE/gunther54.JPG>

Iraqi infant poisoned by depleted uranium

health effects of radiation on human beings went on, the only movement in the audience was all of us leaning closer towards them, not to miss out on a single word.

While radiation from depleted uranium weapons can't get through the skin into the body, breathing in the invisible, odorless metal fumes immediately affects the alveolus in the lungs. From there, the tiny particles go straight out in the blood system, small enough to slip through the filters that normally keep the human body clean. While some particles may be cleaned out



Depleted Uranium bullet

photo courtesy of www.firehixtime.org

through urine, risk is that the radiation stays inside the body indefinitely, cumulatively causing leukemia and other severe forms of cancer. In post- 1945 Japan as well as in Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War, radiation contaminates not only adults and children alive, but also causes severe deformation of yet unborn babies, causing suffering throughout lives that are more often than not cruelly short.

Cases of leukemia and deformation among Iraqi children have increased seven times since 1991, and significant numbers of Gulf War veterans in the US show symptoms which physicians without hesitation ascribe to DU radiation. Still, the US Government refuses to make the connection and even appointed a committee to prove the symptoms being only psychological.

Caldicott and Bertell are the ones with the knowledge, but even to someone without a medical degree it was fairly obvious that the pictures in Dr. Jawad Al-Ali's slide show from a pediatric clinic in Basrah that concluded the workshop were not portraying make-belief. Children without arms and legs, children with enormous swollen stomachs, children with faces and bodies deformed beyond imagination: the real and horrify-

ing proofs of inside-out radiation from depleted uranium.

Alex Sundberg is an intern with the Reaching Critical Will project of WILPF UN Office.

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RCW c/o the WILPF UN Office
777 UN Plaza
6th floor
New York, NY 10017

Phone: (212) 682-1265
Fax: (212) 286-8211
Email: info@reachingcriticalwill.org

www.reachingcriticalwill.org

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

Gordon Bennett, Global Wellness
Jacqueline Cabasso, WSLF
Naomi Gingold, WILPF
Andrew Lichterman, WSLF
Alex Sundberg, WILPF
Alyn Ware, IALANA

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

Who's Who: France's Ambassador François Rivasseau

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

We may well have to face this year some specific difficulties. Many believe, particularly after having learnt about developments in North Korea, findings about Pakistani A.Q Khan's networks, and the Iranian case, that NPT faces a crisis caused by the existence of proliferation clandestine nuclear programs, whose size and ramifications are not yet fully known. And many experts are insisting also that the NPT faces a crisis because of the lack of mutual thrust in the capacity of states parties to fulfill their treaty's obligations.

The main dangers for international peace and security are connected with cases of non-compliance with Articles I, II and III of the Treaty.

But I tend nevertheless to disagree with an over dramatization of the situation. We should remember that it is not the first time that the NPT regime is said to be in a crisis. In 1990, we had no final document, and it was not the first time. In 1995, everybody was openly wondering if the treaty could survive at all and, if yes, for how long. In 2000 we were told that the challenge to cope with nuclear disarmament was so strong that the treaty would be terribly damaged in case of no agreement. And this year is likely to be the same; emphasis will be put – and rightly so – on the challenges posed by non compliant potential or real proliferators. But the NPT regime has gone through a variety of such ordeals and I am confident that once again it will pull through. One thing is to show a great degree of concern, to show how much we value the NPT regime, another thing is to dramatize the situation for tactical reasons. Nobody can assert that, even in the case where we would have no consensus on a final document, we would face the deepest crisis in NPT history. Let's remember that, in the past five years, NPT has registered both successes as well as shortcomings. We know better about the situation in the field of proliferation; we have solved positively the Libyan case; peaceful uses of nuclear energy have been continuously developed. This is welcome at this particular juncture, where we all need, as a matter of priority, to reduce CO2 emissions without endangering more the economic situation of

developing countries; and last but not least, the global pace of nuclear disarmament has been maintained, if not increased through the Moscow Treaty. So I hope that everybody realizes the value of what we have achieved till now in the NPT framework: something worthwhile to be protected.

What is the greatest priority for your delegation at this Conference ?

I am a bit reluctant to identify different "priorities", as this idea means that there should be compromises and balance between allegedly opposed priorities. This should not be the case, and I very much hope that those who

fear to take the necessary new measures that the situation may require, will not argue as an excuse, that they refuse to do so because there may have been some shortcomings in the implementation of some other part of the treaty. We have to avoid linkages, and to work on every issue simply on the basis of its own merits. All issues deserve a careful examination.

That said, today's threats and challenges are not those which did exist five years ago, even less twenty years ago. Today's reality, seen through press reports, public opinion concerns, UN debates etc., is that the main dangers for the international peace and security are connected with cases of non compliance with Articles I, II and III of the treaty, with global ecological concerns, and lack of universality of the NPT. This is not a priority, this is a fact. This fact will certainly influence, for the best, our debates and the way we have to review the implementation of the treaty as a whole.

What, do you think, would be the worst outcome of the Conference ?

The worst case scenario would materialize if we are not able even to discuss, to have a good dialogue, to put ideas together and to make a serious attempt to get consensus on the points where consensus is most needed. If we are prevented to discuss substance in a constructive way, then we will have to assess why this has been the case and if this will

have or not a weakening effect on the NPT regime. But we can make progresses and enhance worldwide adherence to the NPT effectiveness, if we are able to avoid this kind of situation.



In your view, how can NGOs be more effective at these NPT meetings ?

I have a model in mind, which is the Geneva Forum, where interested states, international organizations and NGOs can gather and discuss all topics, ranging from issues of substance to procedure, in a constructive and not confrontational atmosphere. This supposes that NGOs will not only see their role as presenting states parties with a series of demands but that they could also help us in the reflection on how to solve the concrete problems we may face. This should be done in my view, without confusing everybody's own responsibilities. NGOs have a very special capacity and responsibility, States parties have another one.

I am happy to see that the quality of the dialogue with NGOs is steadily increasing, making it easier and more fruitful. I am confident that, through informal meetings and dialogue, the NGO community will make a valuable contribution to the success of this NPT RevCon.

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

Like many average French citizens, I took interest in these issues when France did join NPT in 1992. At that time, I was working in the ministry of foreign affairs in Paris dealing with transatlantic and European defense issues as a desk officer. On the other side of the corridor, colleagues of the same division were dealing with NPT issues, and we all used to keep doors wide open....That's how I began to learn about all that.

Since then, all my assignments have had some disarmament and nonproliferation dimension, including when I was working as Deputy Perm Rep in our representation in Geneva disarmament from 1995 to 1998.