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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

The Viennese Gossip Column

- Rhianna Tyson, WILPF

Day Seven of the Conference has come and gone, and still no agreement on an agenda, no convening of Main Committees and no commencement of substantive work.

While the General Debate prattles on to a near empty conference hall, most NPT watchers are firmly planted in the Vienna Café, amidst the cigarette smoke and the noise of the espresso machine, poised to receive and spread the latest scuttlebutt on the Conference and President Duarte's seemingly endless search for consensus.

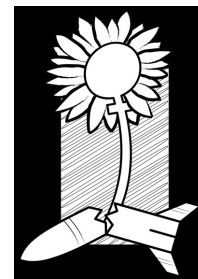
On Tuesday morning, word at Vienna was that agreement on agenda was almost there; States parties were collectively waiting on word from Cairo that the Egyptian government rescinded on their position, and were nearly ready to accept the proposed agenda.

By that afternoon, the rumor had devolved into a sadder state of affairs; Egypt was *not* ready to agree to the agenda nor to the announcement by President Duarte upon the adoption of it. In addition to their insistence on the words "taking into account" over "in light of" (see *News in Review*, No. 6), Egypt is now refusing to agree to an agenda that does not specifically call for substantive focused discussion on regional issues, in particular, issues relating to the Middle East.

With agreement on agenda that much further away, the level of anxiety is decidedly growing. One Viennese rumor spread that the General Debate will be artificially prolonged, in order to provide a forum for informal discussions and to keep the opportunity for substantive work alive. Another speculates that the Secretary-General himself, Mr. Kofi Annan, is going to get involved to try to impel the political will needed to get going on substantive work.

All of us, in the meanwhile, will be doing what we can to muster said political will. The Non-Aligned Movement and the New Agenda Coalition continue to meet informally (and respectively) to try to bring Egypt, a member of both powerful groupings, into the mainstream. The Western Group continues to try to nudge the US out of their equally adamant position *against* discussing the Middle East in a focused manner. President Duarte continues to meet with *all* of them, seeking diplomatic solutions to one of the greatest diplomatic challenges these smoky corridors have seen in a while.

For our part, the NGOs will remain in the GA and in the Vienna Café, seeking out the truth amid the gossip that floats along these smoky corridors, and exerting the necessary pressure from below that will translate these rumors into action.



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**Reminder! NGO Presentations to the Delegates is Today
at 3 PM in Conference Room IV**

press conference at UNCA Press Club at 10:30 AM

Ensuring Space Security

- Mary Ann McGivern, WILPF

The Canadian Campaign to Prevent the Weaponization of Space has won a great victory. On this past February 24th, Prime Minister Paul Martin announced that Canada would not join the US missile defense program. The May 9th side event at the NPT, *Space Security: Definitions and Demonstrations*, took a careful look at how to build similar campaigns around the world.

Steven Staples of the Polaris Institute identified three strategies developed by the Canadian Campaign: political, communication and organizing civil society. Underlying them all is an understanding of the hard science of star wars and an ability to translate the technology into concepts politicians, journalists, and civil society can grasp.

USING SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

At the moment, there are no offensive weapons in place. The campaign's purpose is to prevent the weaponization of space, to stop what hasn't happened yet. Outer space,

however, is already militarized. The space-faring nations, which all signed the Outer Space Treaty banning WMDs in space, all use space for military purposes. They have spy and military communications satellites; intercontinental ballistic missiles, if ever used, would fly through space, and, furthermore, they've been tested in space.

Sarah Estabrooks at Project Ploughshares has developed a Space Security Index that puts space weapons in the broader context of security. The index identifies eight elements: the space environment; space security laws, policies, and doctrine; civil space programs and global utilities; commercial space; space and terrestrial military operations; space system protection; space system negation; and space-based strike weapons. The plan is to engage stakeholders in an annual review of funding laws, debris tracking, etc, to develop a comprehensive base of data. The database has given politicians, journalists and grassroots organizers new language and new tools for analyzing the weaponization of space.

The communications strategy of the campaign made sure journalists, local organizers and friendly politicians mastered the scientific data and were able to make the scientific case against weaponizing space.

THE POLITICAL STRATEGY

In Canada, organizers used parliamentary debate, governmental committees and electioneering to keep the issue of weaponization of space in front of both politicians and voters. The Campaign polled extensively to counter assumptions that the public didn't care about these issues, and to identify the most telling arguments that favored withdrawing from past agreements with the United States. A nine-minute movie of how the Canadian politicians shifted views is at www.ceasfire.ca.

Meanwhile, Wolfgang Schlupp-Hauck informed the audience that in Germany, when he and Regina Hagen organized *continued on page 5*

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Inheriting a Different World: Youth Perspectives and Outreach

- Hongwei Chen, WILPF

On May 9th, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) hosted an open discussion, led by a mix of medical students and doctors, on the "Nuclear Inheritance Program," an IPPNW project that both brings students and physicians in dialogue with decision makers as well as with each other. The program trains interested students around the world in issues relating to nuclear weapons, then sends these students to schools in other countries to share their knowledge and opinions with other students in order to educate the next generation about the world problems that they are about to inherit.

Danish student Caecelie Buhman noted that the Nuclear Inheritance Program, which started with 4 students, now spans 3 continents with about 200 trained student moderators and has reached out to about 2000 students. The discussions that they facilitate enable other young people to question their world and their assumptions.

According to Inga Blum, a student from Sweden, these discussions have been immensely successful. Many students that they talked with were pro-nuclear weapons at first, but then slowly began to shift their opinions as others expressed their perspectives. Students changed from being reserved about their opinions to actively engaging in discussions.

After Inga's account, the four students engaged in a mock discussion where three of them pretended to be nuclear weapons supporters from Pakistan. They first stood firmly to the line that Pakistan needed nuclear weapons to prevent India from invading, but after many questions from the participants, which mainly consisted of other young people, they started questioning their convictions, eventually agreeing that everyone should disarm at the same time.

The mock discussion gave an example of how to make people question their worldviews without imposing one's own opinions on them. Students Stefanie Berkman and Jenny Immerstrand pointed out that one needs to find common ground with others in order to sustain a productive discussion. Questions like "what does security mean to you personally?" and "how is that different from what the government and mainstream media label as security?" help reach for common values from which to begin.

As Dr. Gunner Westberg, co-president of IPPNW-Students, believes that the success of the Nuclear Inheritance Program lies in its emphasis on independent learning. For him, traditional teaching methods, such as lecturing, were unsuccessful because they maintained a unidirectional teacher-student relationship, one that does not encourage students to think for themselves. He noted that

while facts are forgotten quickly, emotional experiences of learning are never forgotten.

The ensuing discussion was mainly carried out by young participants, and covered many issues relating to interpersonal communications about political issues. Participants talked about ways of being inviting instead of imposing in conversations about nuclear weapons, how to or whether one should broach such topics with disagreeing or uninterested friends, and the effectiveness of students educating other. The older people in the room affirmed that these interpersonal issues are relevant to all activists, regardless of age.

The conversational tone during the entire event was friendly, as participants let their guard down, speaking *with* other participants instead of speaking *at* them. The success of this type of discussion in Conference Room E sparks hope that programs like IPPNW-Students can convince future generations to reject their nuclear inheritance and seek ways to free their world from the scourge of nuclear weapons.

Disarmament and Development: **Can International Treaties Promote Their 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)
EVERYONE WELCOME - LIGHT LUNCH PROVIDED

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Using SMART Security in Anti-Nuclear Work

- Peter Bergel, Oregon PeaceWorks

As the Bush administration seeks to make good on its promise –expressed in the 2002 Nuclear Posture Review -- to deepen the U.S.'s reliance on nuclear weapons, peace advocates are being forced to turn their attention back to the issue.

Specifically, the administration plans to design and build nuclear weapons, not for their deterrence capability, but to actually be used in battle. The leading edges of this effort are the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator (RNEP), aka the “nuclear bunker-buster,” and a planned return to explosive nuclear weapons testing at the Nevada Test Site.

Allies

Fortunately, nuclear opponents have some strong allies in this struggle and it is one we should be able to win.

First, there is Rep. David Hobson, R-OH, who serves as Chair of the House Energy and Water Development Appropriations Subcommittee. On his initiative last year, the funding for new nuclear weapons and increased readiness for nuclear testing was eliminated. However, that funding is back in the Bush administration's requested budget this year, with Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld acting as chief apologist for Armageddon. No-nukers will have to give Hobson a lot of cover to help him stand his ground this year.

Then there are the many organizations that have played anti-nuclear roles in the past — many of which continue to do so today. At the national level these include, to name a few, WILPF, Women's Action for New Directions, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Nuclear Information and Referral Service, Center for Defense Information, Peace Action, United for Peace and Justice, Alliance for Nuclear Abolition and many more.

And then there are ranks of individual activists who worked tirelessly on the issue in the 1980s. Indeed, many thousands were arrested at the Nevada Test Site registering their profound opposition to nuclear weapons and for most, this experience stimulated a fierce hunger for environmental justice and sanity. Their real effectiveness, however, derived from the unglamorous, determined outreach and lobbying work they did in their home communities. That work set the stage for 1992's moratorium on funding for explosive nuclear testing, which – though now endangered by Bush's plans – is still in place

today.

How SMART Fits In

It is time to re-connect with those motivated, powerful home-town heroes. This time around, though, we have a new paradigm in which to embed our anti-nuclear work to make it do double and triple duty. It is called SMART Security. SMART stands for Sensible Multi-lateral American Response to Terrorism. It is the brainchild of Ira Shorr of Physicians for Social Responsibility.

Having marshaled the support of many national and regional organizations, including WILPF, the SMART Security plan provides a pro-active framework into which we can place our often necessarily reactive work. Our anti-nuclear weapons work is a case in point.

The SMART Security platform calls for:

Framing our anti-nuclear work in the SMART Security context holds up a vision of peace, a vision of what we are for.

1. Strengthening international institutions and supporting the rule of law to prevent acts of terrorism and future wars.
2. Reducing the threat and stopping the spread of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.
3. Changing budget priorities to reflect SMART Security needs.

If we frame our anti-nuclear work in the SMART Security context, we can hold up a vision of peace – a vision of what we are “for” – every time we say “no nukes.” Why do we oppose nuclear weapons? Because they make our nation and our world less safe (Russian and Chinese weapons are still pointed at us and Russian nukes are insecurely held), could fall into the hands of terrorists (as though they haven't already) and provide us no real security (real security addresses real threats like lack of health care, pollution, hunger, etc.). What would make our world more secure? Items #1 and #3 above, the pursuit of which points us down the road toward genuine world peace.

For more information on SMART Security, please visit Oregon PeaceWorks' website at www.oregonpeaceworks.org. This part of the anti-nuclear struggle is very winnable, but we are the ones who must forge the victory. ☺

Peter Bergel is Executive Director of Oregon PeaceWorks, based in Salem, OR and editor of The PeaceWorker newspaper. He is a veteran of decades of struggle against nuclear power and against nuclear weapons. In 1985 he was one of the founders of the American Peace Test which brought tens of thousands to the Nevada Test Site to protest nuclear weapons testing.

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 de Alba (Mexico)

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 9 AM- 10 AM

Contact: Rhianna Tyson, RCW

NGO Presentations Press Conference

Where: UN Correspondents' Association

When: 10:30 AM

Contact: Susi Snyder, WILPF

International Youth Meeting

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 10am-1pm

Space Security Continued from page 3

a conference about what makes a good space mission, the European Space Agency didn't grant travel permits to its scientists, a telling sign that the politicians were unwilling to draw a line between military and civilian use of space. Galileo, the European counterpart to Global Positioning Systems, wanted to ensure independence from the US in case of war or other crisis. Galileo couldn't raise enough investment money from the business community so developers accepted military restrictions in return for military euros. Wolfgang assessed that European leaders, like those in the US, want to be masters of space as well.

Korea, Norway, China, Russia, the UK and Japan all had similar accounts of the impact of space weaponization on politics and the role of politicians in framing debate and establishing policy.

A PUSH-PULL STRATEGY

Dave Knight from Global Network against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space, proposes a push-pull strategy wherein civil society pushes State governments- as the Canadians did - while the United Nations pulls countries along, encouraging a moratorium on weapons in space and a definition of space weapons, supporting additional protocols to the Outer Space Treaty, encouraging the efforts of Canada, China and Russia to take the process forward, and refusing to allow nation-states to accept the weaponization of space as inevitable.

Mary Ann McGivern is the Director of WILPF UN Office.

Contact: Felix Grädler, International Law Campaign, Germany

German NGO Caucus Meeting

Where: CCUN, Drew Room

When: 1pm

Preventing Nuclear War: Preventing War

Where: UN Conference Room E

When: 1:15- 2:45 PM

Contact: Felicity Hill, GAPW
www.globalactonpw.org

NGO Presentations to the Official Conference

Where: UN Conference Room IV

When: 3-6 PM

Contact: Rhianna Tyson, RCW

Reception hosted by the Government of Japan for the civil society (by invitations only)

Where: Delegates' Dining Room 6 (4th floor of UN)

When: 6:30 PM

Side event-South Korean Workshop US Military-KOREA: PEACE & SECURITY

Now Iraq, Then North Korea?

All Koreans are brothers and sisters! North Korea is NOT the enemy!

When: 5/10 (Tue) 10:00 am – 1:00 pm

5/12 (Thr) 3:00 pm – 6:00 pm

Where: UN conference room E

subject 1: US preemptive Strike Policy on
North Korea

subject 2: The struggle against the expansion of the
US bases at Pyongtaek

Contact: Solidarity for Peace and Reunification of Korea
(SPARK)

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Who's Who: Senator Douglas Roche, MPI

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

The present crisis is the worst in the 35-year history of the NPT. Many observers see a two-class world of nuclear haves and have-nots becoming a permanent feature of the global landscape. In such chaos, the NPT is eroding, and the prospect of multiple nuclear weapons states, a fear that caused nations to produce the NPT in the first place, is looming once more. Of course, the international community wants to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons to Iran, North Korea or any other state and to shut off the supply of nuclear fuels to terrorists. But the only way to get all states to cooperate in strengthened measures is to address all sides of the Treaty: nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation, and safe access to nuclear energy

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

For the Middle Powers Initiative, the greatest priority is to encourage the New Agenda Coalition to work closely with the eight NATO states that supported the NAC resolution at the U.N. General Assembly in 2004. Strengthening the center of the nuclear weapons debate – the NWS at one polarity and the Non-Aligned Movement at the other – can lead to the implementation of discrete steps to show that the NPT Review Conferences of 1995 and 2000 are bearing fruit. There's no time for recriminations. The middle-power states should use their collective weight to press forward to build an effective bridge between the NWS and the NAM. It is extremely unhelpful for any state – whether it is Iran or the United States – to be isolated at the end of the RevCon.

In your view, what would be the best

outcome of the Conference?

The best outcome would be a Final Document with some teeth in it. That's not likely to happen. But there could be agreement on specific steps, such as the start of negotiations for a FMCT, the U.S. and Russia taking their strategic weapons off alert status, and a new committee at the Conference on Disarmament to deal with nuclear weapons. Such agreements on specific matters might constitute an "acceptable" outcome. The worst scenario would be if there is no agreement on anything. Probably that will not happen either. So we will have to weigh carefully the actual outcome and see whether it quali-

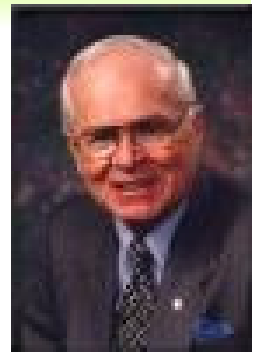
fies for "success" or "failure." A Review Conference that clearly fails (I don't want this to happen) will likely lead to end runs around the Treaty, such as an "Ottawa Process" in which a number of states may try to bring a Nuclear Weapons Convention into being without the cooperation of the NWS. However desirable a NWC is, such an approach would further undermine the NPT, particularly in the critical years 2005-2010 when an effective NPT/IAEA needs to be able to stop proliferation. The NPT is the only legal instrument we now have to lead to a Nuclear Weapons-Free World. All states must work together to make it effective.

The worst?

In the case of the worst scenario, how will the international community handle the crisis of nuclear weapons if the Review Conference should fail to significantly strengthen the regime?

You have worked in both the governmental as well as non-governmental spheres. With all of your expertise and experience, how do you think that NGOs be more effective at these NPT meetings?

First, the NGOs already are effective.



They are stalwart in their dedication, many have traveled to the RevCon at their own expense because of the continued deprivation of funding by foundations, and a considerable number of NGOs know more about the issues than some diplomats. They must keep up the pressure. Unfortunately, the general public is asleep. It is paradoxical that just when the voice of civil society is most needed to wake up governments to the increasing dangers of nuclear weapons the public voice is muted. The public is by no means uncaring about war; they just do not see the connection between retention of nuclear weapons and the likelihood of mass destruction ahead.

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

In a long career as a parliamentarian, diplomat and educator, I have come to the conclusion that the abolition of nuclear weapons is the indispensable condition for peace in the 21st century. As a grandfather, I fear for the kind of life my grandchildren will have if governments and humanity don't get a handle on this paramount moral and legal problem of our time.

Senator Roche was Canada's Ambassador for Disarmament from 1984 to 1989. He is currently Chair of the Middle Powers Initiative and the Canadian Pugwash.

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