

# News In Review

A collection of NGO views on the NPT Review 2000



12 May 2000 - No. 14

**UN Office**: 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017. phone (212) 682-1265 Fax: (212) 286-8211 E-mail: wilpfun@igc.org **Int Secretariat:** 1, rue de Varembe, C.P.28, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland. Phone: (+41 22) 733-6175 E-mail: wilpf@iprolink.ch

# Taking Note

esterday the NPT Review Conference Main
Committee 1 on non-proliferation, disarmament and international peace and security concluded its work, making decisions on three texts: the Main Committee 1
Chairman's Working Paper, the Subsidiary Body 1 Working Paper and the Draft Report of Main Committee 1.

Ambassador Reves of Colombia, Chairman of Main Committee 1, indicated that some contradictory opinions remain, and proposed that the Committee "take note of" and place the Chairman's Working Paper before the conference for consideration. Ambassador de Icaza of Mexico identified some areas of disagreement including paragraph 9 in which the "conference deplores the nuclear test explosions carried out by India and then Pakistan in 1998", whereas the UN Security Council was able to actually *condemn* the tests. Mexico also lamented that the Conference *notes* rather than welcomes the ICJ decision, and that the document states that many rather than thousands of nuclear weapons remain on high alert (as mentioned in the UN Secretary General's speech). On welcoming "the significant unilateral reductions measures taken," Mexico noted "significant" depends on your reference point, and ended by saying that there is no justified need for these weapons whatsoever.

Clive Pearson of New Zealand then presented his Working Paper on Subsidiary Body 1. Noting the narrow time constraints, he presented a compact, finely balanced package and communicated his clear understanding that delegations wished to continue their work in order to reach a consensus outcome and considered the Working Paper a framework for further deliberations.

There are several paragraphs that have caught the attention of NGOs in Ambassador Pearson's Subsidiary Body 1 working paper. The following paragraphs are most likely to receive the greatest amount of attention over the next six working days.

Para 5. The early entry into force and full implementation of START II and the conclusion of START III as soon as possible while preserving and strengthening the ABM Treaty as a cornerstone of strategic stability and as a basis for further reductions of strategic offensive weapons, in accordance with its provisions.

The majority of this language is taken directly from the joint statement of the five nuclear weapon states. The consensus nature of this document was only possible because of differing interpretations of the word "strengthening". Strengthening does not necessarily mean modifying but that is how the US is interpreting this language. An unfortunate consequence of the N-5 agreeing to common language is the rest of the states parties being reticent to comment on the danger of US plans for a National Missile Defense which could spark a new arms race. The essence of the ABM was a recognition that reduction of offensive weapons requires a limit on defensive capabilities. The US government Talking Points document leaked two weeks ago in which the US advised the Russians to maintain between 1,000 and 2,000 nuclear weapons to have "the certain ability to carry out an annihilating counterattack..."

Para 11. Annual reports within the framework of the NPT review process by all States parties on the implementation of Article VI and paragraph 4 (c) of the 1995 Principles and Objectives for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament.

NGOs support an annual reporting mechanism and propose that there be a standardised format or structure to the annual reports to streamline the information provided and to avoid the proliferation of glossy propaganda and self-serving or selective reporting. The reports should cover the number of weapons dismantled, in storage and deployed. The reports should also detail nuclear doctrines and policy changes that relate to, facilitate or obstruct nuclear disarmament.

News In Review is funded by Ploughshares Fund, The Simons Foundation, The Ford Foundation & others

All articles contained in News In Review are the sole responsibility of the author or organisation submitting the pieces. The opinions herein are not necessarily those of the Editors, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) or the Reaching Critical Will project.

### DAILY ANALYSIS Cont...

Para 13. Measures to de-alert and de-activate nuclear weapon systems, the removal of nuclear warheads from delivery vehicles and the withdrawal of nuclear forces from active deployment for the maintenance and promotion of strategic stability.

Even though de-alerting was identified as the first step towards disarmament in the Canberra Commission, it is still being resisted. NGOs continue to demand that nuclear weapons be taken off hair trigger alert status and that immediate steps be taken by nuclear weapon states with regard to de-alerting.

Para 14. A diminishing role for nuclear weapons in security policies to minimise the risk that these weapons ever be used, to facilitate the process of elimination, to enhance strategic stability and to contribute to international confidence and security.

This paragraph was originally targeted at NATO's renewed nuclear posture, but has since been broadened to include any state that is explicitly increasing reliance on these weapons. On face value this paragraph might appear positive but it contains contradictions. The diminishing role of nuclear weapons in security policies is necessary for disarmament, however, the addition of "to enhance strategic stability" cannot be supported by NGOs because this language reinforces a minimum level of possession of nuclear weapons. Strategic stability and the abolition of nuclear weapons are mutually exclusive notions.

Para 17. An unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear-weapon States to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals and, in the forthcoming NPT review period 2000-2005, to engage in an accelerated process of negotiations and to take steps leading to nuclear disarmament to which all States parties are committed under Article VI.

Currently the last paragraph in the document, NGOs believe that this "unequivocal undertaking" is in fact one of the most important elements of the working paper. This language reflects Operative Paragraph 1 from the New Agenda Coalition's Working Document on Nuclear Disarmament, tabled on the first day of the Conference. An "unequivocal undertaking" is the language proposed to replace the "ultimate goal" language of the 5 Nuclear Weapon States. "Ultimate" means: last or last possible, final. This explains why many states and all NGOs are fairly suspicious of the word ultimate. An undertaking is an action, not a promise, which would then translate into a faster process than we have seen in the past thirty years of the existence of the NPT. Once there is a demonstrated commitment to the total elimination of nuclear weapons, the consequences will be an accelerated programme of action.

Felicity Hill Director UN Office WILPF



"Sunflowers instead of missiles in the soil would ensure peace for future generations"

Sunflowers have been adopted by the anti-nuclear community around the world to symbolise hope and peace.

### Nuclear Proliferation and Dual-Use Technology

a case from the Netherlands

Even though there is no nuclear weapons programme in the Netherlands, the Dutch nuclear industry has somehow contributed to the development of nuclear weapons in other countries, in at least three ways.

First, the participation in reprocessing programmes in France and in the UK has induced commercial contracts with the same companies which have supplied plutonium to the military programmes, notably Cogema in France. In Britain, it is clear that the commercial company British Nuclear Fuels (BNFL) has benefited from subsidies and the R&D carried out for the weapons plutonium user, the Atomic Weapons Establishment (AWE).

Secondly, when one looks at the legal aspects, according to the European nuclear community agreements (Euratom), special fissile materials in the European Union are the property of Euratom. However, Euratom lets each member country manage its own fissile materials. The Netherlands has sent its spent nuclear fuel — which contains uranium and other radionuclides, including plutonium — to France and to the UK. Both these countries have developed such an intricate industry that nuclear materials for civil and military uses are in some conditions mixed together. There is no legal constraint, no bilateral or multilateral agreement, nor any technical constraint which could have forbidden or prevented the use of Dutch materials in the French nuclear weapons programme. Admitting this fact for Dutch authorities was an implicit participation in the French nuclear weapons programme. The situation is similar in the UK although it has no operating fast reactor to convert plutonium.

Thirdly, the Dutch-British-German company URENCO, which operates a uranium enrichment plant at Almelo in the Netherlands has acted as a covert conduit of weapons usable nuclear technology know-how. Blueprints for centrifuge technology to enrich uranium — which can be used to generate highly enriched uranium for military programmes — have been obtained illegally by both the military programmes in Iraq and in Pakistan.

Mycle Schneider excerpts from WISE-Paris Plutonium Investigation

### Richard Salvador

Pacific Islands Association of NGOs

### 1. What are your hopes or expectations for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Review 2000 Conference?

Shortly after the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference, international negotiations were set in place for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. This was an important achievement for a region of the world used by others for devastating nuclear testing whose legacy we in the Pacific region are still trying to address. What I hope to see emerge from this current Conference is for Nation-states to begin negotiating a treaty to cease development of the US National Missile Defense System. If this system is approved in June, a Micronesia lagoon on Enewatok in the Marshall Islands will be used to test missile defense. Hasn't America done enough damage already during its nuclear testings in the Marshall Islands? This is military colonialism pure and simple. It needs to stop! The NPT, in addition to addressing the issue of nuclear proliferation, must also address missile development and proliferation. My next hope is to see the NPT States Parties initiate negotiations for a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

#### 2. What topics do you work on most or find the most interesting in this forum?

I have no choice but to work on the physical legacy of the nuclear age on fragile Pacific Island ecosystems. How can entire nations participate in poisoning the food source of Pacific Islanders and then either undermine or deny the true extent of these damages? The Hague Appeal for Peace utilized the model of "New Diplomacy" wherein communities and peoples affected by conflicts and violence must also sit and participate in decision-making circles. This is a good model and should be supported in every way. Pacific Islanders, being victimized in the process of perfecting weapons of mass destruction, should be allowed to participate in nuclear disarmament. I find this level of involvement most satisfying and appreciate very much the efforts of so many around the world who make it possible for us to speak in key decision-making arenas.

#### 3. What led you to be doing the work that you are doing now?

My naive hopes and dreams for democracy were shattered as a young person from Belau (Palau) when we were forced to acquiesce to US military demands and then had to change our Nuclear-free Constitution to allow US nuclear stationing rights on our island nation. But it was not until the beginning of my doctoral training that a young woman from Samoa, Kilali Alailima, recruited me to become involved in American Friends Service Committee peace work in Hawaii and subsequently with Abolition 2000. Kilali planted a seed in my heart that quickly grew and blossomed into a flowering of activist tendencies against more and more nuclear developments. Xanthe Hall from IPPNW Germany commented, in a previous NGO Profile space, that now the work is in her bones. I would like to think that the work is now in my blood!

# Who's Who - Diplomat Profile

## Christopher Westdal

Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament Chairperson for Subsidiary Body II

### 1. What are your hopes or expectations for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Review 2000 Conference?

We hope for reaffirmation of confidence in this essential Treaty; for reinforced principles, updated objectives and a concrete programme of action; for an enhanced review process to keep the promise of accountability made in indefinite extension in 1995; and for greater NGO and public awareness, access and participation to heighten the public profile of the Treaty and the political impact of the Conference. We want this meeting to send a signal of concern and commitment strong enough to escape the confines of the UN and to reach governments and citizens around the world. We expect that some good part of these hopes might be fulfilled.

### 2. What topics do you work on most or find the most interesting in this forum?

As you know, I accepted President Baali's invitation on the second day of the Conference to chair the Subsidiary Body of the Main Committee II to examine regional issues, including the implementation of the 1995 Resolution of the Middle East. That work has taken most of my time since - and I certainly find it interesting. I am hopeful that we will be able to craft text acceptable to all states parties and thus contribute to the success of the Conference.

More generally, I am most interested in public and political attitudes toward nuclear weapons and how these might change to hasten progress in nuclear arms control towards disarmament.

#### 3. What led you to be doing the work that you are doing now?

There was no coherent plan. Quite by chance, I gained a lot of multilateral experinece - UN, Commonwealth and other - in the early years of my career. It was on that basis, primarily, that I was given the opportunity five years ago to head our delegation to the NPT Review and Extention Conference. I was soon thereafter posted to Ukraine where nuclear issues were important in my mandate. When the prospect opened of work as our Geneva-based Ambassador to the UN Conference on Disarmament, I was delighted to accept the assignment.

# Secrecy - the Enemy of Public Health

The long history of official secrecy about the health effects of the production and testing of nuclear weapons has been a betrayal of public trust that has left a legacy of illness and death that will continue for decades. This withholding of information and denial of problems has characterized the nuclear weapons industry in East and West alike for more than half a century. People who are unaware of dangers are not able to take actions to avoid or mitigate their risks and may be unable to connect illness and suffering to the factors that caused them. Furthermore, people are unlikely to maintain records of a specific exposure because a disease may not appear for many years. Promises of compensation ring hollow to those facing death.

Policies were similar in all the NWS to w0.ithhold from the public the information that nuclear testing would release radionuclides that could cause immediate sickness and long-term health problems including cancer. In the US, people near the sites of atmospheric nuclear tests were not warned to protect their children from radioactive Iodine (I-131) being released from the tests, despite the fact that Eastman Kodak was notified so that they could protect their films. Children ingest I-131 through drinking milk from cows that grazed on fields contaminated with fallout. The radioactive Iodine is taken up by the thyroid, where it frequently later causes thyroid diseases including cancer. Because I-131 has a half life of only 8.5 days, avoiding milk for two or three weeks would have greatly reduced the dosage received by children. Research released in 1997 (fifteen years after it was ordered by Congress), estimates the fallout generated between 10,000 and 75,000 cases of thyroid cancer among Americans.

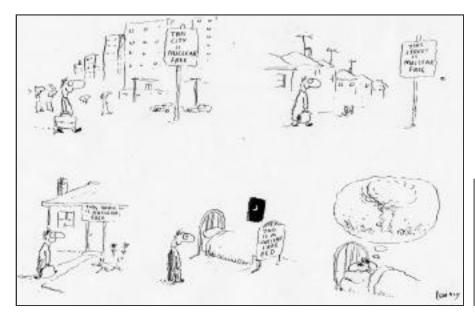
In Russia, nuclear tests at Karaul, Kazakhstan were carried out without evacuating the villagers before the explosions. People in Karaul were moved after their animals were found dead in the fields. Officials admitted decades later that they were studying the effects of radiation on those exposed at different distances from ground zero. In Kazakhstan, as in the US, the pattern of official response to public alarm about illness was first to deny that there was any association between the tests and the increased incidence of cancers, birth defects and other illnesses. Then officials claimed that records had not been kept properly or were missing, or that there was no money to carry out the necessary studies.

French testing in the Pacific is an example of the flagrant disregard for the human rights of indigenous peoples. French tests were only stopped as a result of overwhelming condemnation and boycotting of French products all over the world. French officials still refuse to release the medical records of people exposed to decades of testing. The disease burden of Polynesia may not be revealed for some time to come, but will be testimony to the callous policies of their colonial rulers.

The few examples above do not give the breadth and scope of devastation caused by nuclear weapons' production and testing, but they are typical of countless instances in each of the nuclear weapons states. Surely

the dictum "above all do no harm" should apply to the way that a state treats its own citizens. Surely it is time to abolish these weapons and start the long and difficult clean up.

Dr. Mary-Wynne Ashford Co-President International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War



nuclear free world?

### Leunig cartoon

from his collection:
"A Bag of Roosters"
Angus & Robertson Publishers

## Los Alamos National Laboratory

Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL), home to the Manhattan Project where the world's first nuclear weapons were designed and built, began operations in 1943. The site was established partly on lands taken from Pueblo Indigenous people with the promise it would be returned after World War II (evidently it was not). The official history of the period does not mention the Pueblo land claims.

The Los Alamos labs continue to play a key role in US plutonium policy, both in warhead design and development and more recently in experimental mixed oxide fuel (MOX) manufacture. In the past two years, the US Department of Energy (DOE) has allocated \$3.425 million for MOX fuel fabrication R&D work at LANL and another \$10.075 million for a collaborative program (with other DOE labs) to irradiate test pellets made at LANL. However, a March 1999 LANL report called into question the ability of the lab to successfully fabricate MOX test fuel using weapons-grade plutonium, because the morphology of weapons-grade plutonium differs significantly from that of reactor- grade plutonium

LANL has taken the lead for many years in pushing for development of accelerator-driven transmutation technology (ATW) for the long-term treatment of plutonium-bearing irradiated fuel. (Visit: www-adtt.lanl.gov/) A DOE report to the US Congress in early November 1999 on the ATW of nuclear waste found that a program to treat 87,000 tonnes of commercial irradiated fuel would cost about \$280 billion over its lifetime and would take 117 years (visit: www.rw.doe.gov).

In 1999 the reputation and integrity of LANL, which is operated by the University of California under contract with DOE, were severely impaired by allegations of espionage and lax security (see also: www.lanl.gov). According to the *Plutonium Investigation*, Los Alamos currently houses 2.6 metric tonnes of weapons-grade plutonium.

edited from *Nuclear Wastelands* (Makhijani et al) and *Plutonium Investigation* (www.pu-investigation.org)

## BNFL/Cogema Update

British Nuclear Fuels' (BNFL) largest customer, British Energy, has called for an immediate end to nuclear reprocessing as Norway came out in support of an international political move to close the plants at Sellafield, in the UK, and La Hague, in France.

Michael Kirwan, British Energy's Finance Director said, "As far as we are concerned, reprocessing is an economic nonsense and should stop straight away."

The company has contracts worth \$4 billion with the beleagued BNFL, which accounts for around one third of the base load of the giant Thermal Oxide Reprocessing Plant at Sellafield. British Energy believes that by moving to direct storage of spent nuclear fuel these costs could be cut by two thirds. Greenpeace International nuclear campaigner Mike Townsley said: "The reprocessing industry is now caught in a pincer movement between economic reality and international outrage over its radioactive discharges and pollution. The Governments of Britain and France which own both British Nuclear Fuels and it's counterpart, Cogema, can no longer turn a deaf ear to the international community or nuclear industry executives who say reprocessing has got to

stop now."

from Greenpeace International Press Release 11 May 2000

According to a press release from the **Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety** (CCNS) based in Santa Fe, New Mexico, the Santa Fe National Guard had been called in to help the firefighters in Los Alamos. KOB Radio further announced yesterday that Army Commandos are standing by to remove plutonium and explosives from the site if necessary. There are concerns that the fire has reached Technical Area 16 which is likely to have contaminants such as depleted uranium, high explosives, mercury and toxic substances. If fire spreads to these grounds, some of the contaminants could then be dispersed into the atmosphere. Spokespersons from CCNS are demanding that the DOE inform the public of all potential hazards.

Greg Mello of the **Los Alamos Study Group** said last night "More than one hundred houses have burned down, the lab itself is on fire, and the public knows little about exactly what is burning. As terrible as this fire is, it is nothing like a single nuclear explosion. If there were anything good that came out of this fire it would be that the people who design and build nuclear weapons would be better able to empathise with their targets."

Peggy Prince of **Peace Action**, New Mexico declared that, "The lab is now closed due to the fire. It should never re-open".

For updates visit the following websites or telephone:

- Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety: ph: (505) 986-1973 <www.radioactive.net>
- Los Alamos Study Group: ph: (505) 982-7747 <www.lasg.org>
- Peace Action, New Mexico (505) 989-4812

# Transparency

OR

# PROPAGANDA?

The controversial US display at the NPT Review 2000 Conference is said to have cost US\$100,000

### NGO Recommendations

We have been featuring recommendations from last weeks NGO presentations each day this week.

### Statement on the "Peaceful" Uses of Nuclear Energy

- 1. Recognize and act on the fact that ending nuclear proliferation and eliminating nuclear weapons, the two major goals of the NPT, require the end of nuclear energy. In a safe and sustainable nuclear weapon free world there is no space for the bomb or the reactor.
- 2. Demand that the IAEA give up its flawed mandate to promote nuclear power, and serve us without conflict of interest solely to prevent the proliferation of nuclear bombs.
- 3. Resolve that NPT parties foreswear nuclear power and instead establish a Global Sustainable Energy Agency.
- 4. Institute an immediate halt to all programs of above-ground subcritical tests involving fissile material now taking place at the weapons laboratories of at least some, if not all, of the nuclear weapon states.

Alice Slater, Esq.

#### **Global Resource Action Center for the Environment**

### Public Health and Environment as the Victims of the NuclearAge

Recommendations that would address the concerns [outlined in Prof. Yablokov's presentation] include the following:

- 1. To call upon nuclear countries to open all classified materials connected with human health and radiation exposure in China, France, Russia, Kazachstan, US, GB and other countries;
- 2. To support independent investigation of Chernobyl and other radiation catastrophes, with attention to the consequences for populations and environmental health;
- 3. To support an independent inventory (and investigate the real consequences) of world-wide radio-pollution of the ocean (including lost nuclear weaponry, sunken nuclear reactors with spent nuclear fuel, etc);
- 4. To support independent geological and hydrological studies of the consequences of the underground liquid radio-wastes depositories in Russia, France and the US;
- 5. To support independent epidemiological analysis of the health situation in the wind direction around nuclear power plants in the populated areas in North America and Europe;
- 6. To stop any reprocessing of the spent nuclear fuel;
- 7. To stop the export and import of spent nuclear fuel and hold every country with nuclear reactors accountable for the consequences of its activities;
- 8. To prohibit depleted uranium munitions;
- 9. To amend the Agreement between the IAEA and the WHO (Res. WHA12-40 of 28 May 1959) to make all health studies independent of pro-nuclear pressure.

ProfessorAlexey Yablokov Centre for Russian Environmental Policy

### Regional Proliferation and Universality: South Asia

- 1. There is an important role for other countries, especially the NNWS to intervene to prevent further deterioration in the South Asian nuclear situation. The NWS or the countries which are their military allies have no credibility in calling for South Asian roll-back or disarmament when their own nuclear-related behaviour has been so bad. However, the other NNWS, especially the NAC should have no qualms about making their political opposition to south Asian nuclearization, as unequivocally, as aggressively and as repeatedly as possible. Indeed, their doing so will have important effects on elite and general public opinion in India and Pakistan. It can only do good for the cause of regional disarmament.
- 2. The other area for movement must be the strengthening or (perhaps more accurately) resurrection of the post-Cold War disarmament momentum. This means holding the line on the ABM, not letting it get weakened or scuppered, getting the CTBT fully ratified, pressing for the emergence of some kind of multilateral body empowered to discuss, if not negotiate global disarmament, going forwards in the FMCT negotiations, duly addressing the issue of stockpiles, pushing NATO to revise its doctrine, questioning and rejecting NATO nuclear sharing arrangements, negative

### What's On

12 May 2000

### **Event:**

"Principles, Values and Global Security" A Framework for the Future

### Place & Time:

Conf Room 6 @ 1.15 - 2.45 pm

### **Plenary Meeting:**

Sessions begin @ 3pm

### **Main Committee 1:**

No further sessions

### **Main Committee 2:**

Sessions begin @ 10am

### **Main Committee 3:**

Sessions begin @ 10am

Please check venue and times against daily schedule as these may change

security assurances issue, etc. In short, all the things that need to be done to tighten up and strengthen the NWS's commitments to Art. I, II, and VI of the NPT as well as the other restraint and reduction efforts going on or pressed for. In one sentence, to push (with the help and strengthening of forces like the NAC and their connections with NGOS) for a shifting of the focus from non-proliferation.

**Achin Vanaik** 

#### **Movement in India for Nuclear Disarmament**

### Nuclear Weapons Can and Must be Banned: The View from Russia

- 1. Nuclear weapons can and must be eliminated in the foreseeable future. They are immoral in essence because they are primarily directed against the civilian population and carry an inherent threat to life on Earth.
- 2. The overall current situation in Russia is such that it is not conducive to peace-promoting tendencies. Most likely, it is the opposite: a new arms build-up cycle can emerge, which will encompass, among other things, nuclear weapons.
- 3. Only international forces, and first and foremost, the United Nations, are capable of combating militarism. As for the United States, having emerged as a world leader, it must play a primary role in the peace process, in the process of disarmament.

Dr. Lev Feoktistov Former Soviet nuclear weapons designer