Some witnesses to the NPT PrepCom Cluster One debate might find themselves instilled with a surprising sense of hope. After two sessions of debate on disarmament and non-proliferation, it would seem that there is a near total consensus on many of the most important issues facing the international disarmament regime today. Almost every State that spoke yesterday voiced support for separate subsidiary bodies on security assurances and nuclear disarmament at next year’s Review Conference, two of the most important possible outcomes of a successful Third PrepCom.

States were also nearly unanimous in voicing opposition to the vertical proliferation undertaken by some Nuclear Weapon States. Cuba, Iran, Algeria and Brazil all expressed deep concern over military doctrines that continue to reassert the role of nuclear weapons. Many also called for full implementation and further elaboration of the 13 Steps of the 2000 Final Document. While New Zealand provided a brief overview of the lack of progress on many of these steps, Iran went one step further to call for “negotiations on a phased program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons within a specified time limit, including a Nuclear Weapons Convention.”

From the emboldened statements delivered over the past few sessions, it is obvious that disarmament remains an utmost priority for the majority of the world’s governments, and, with such a near critical mass of political will, progress on this front should seem to be within reach.

Unfortunately, a near critical mass just doesn’t do it. Just as a critical mass is needed for nuclear weapons to unleash their abhorrent destructive power, the same criticality of political will is needed for their abolition.

The system is set up so that nearly every single State can express support for- or opposition to- an issue. As long as a certain set of States (in some cases even one) do not agree with the overwhelming majority of their neighbors, movement on the issue is just not possible.

Take the case of the recently adopted Security Council resolution 1540 on non-proliferation. As reported in the News in Review, No.1 (April 26, 2004), over a quarter of all UN Member States addressed the Council in an open debate, with a vast majority of them expressing serious reservations and concerns with the draft resolution. While these States were given the opportunity to voice their concerns in an open debate, the true efficacy of these interventions remains dubious at best. The resolution was adopted in spite of the wishes and apprehensions of the majority of States that spoke, and democracy evaded the international security regime once more.

Meanwhile, over in Conference Room IV, the U.S. remains resolute in its hard-line position against the creation of subsidiary bodies on the issues of NSAs and nuclear disarmament for the 2005 Review Conference. For the U.S. to send over 30 representatives, all under strict orders to ignore the concerns of their contemporaries, appears to make a mockery of diplomacy and of multilateral fora such as the NPT and the United Nations.

Yet hope is not entirely lost. The near critical mass continues to fester- inside and outside of the Conference hall, amongst the diplomats, in their capitals, and, most visibly and strongly, in the streets. NGOs are becoming increasingly restless as they watch another PrepCom convene and adjourn without any concrete, visible and effective results. Many are starting to think that thirty four years is long enough for a treaty to go unimplemented. As South Africa said on Monday, it is most likely this “failed determination to fully implement all of the provisions and objectives of the Treaty” that has led to “the threat of proliferation that has so starkly confronted us (since) 1995.”

For the world is concerned not only about the proliferation of nuclear weapons, but indeed their very existence. This near critical mass will not remain stable enough to continue to be subdued into complacency. For even in a nuclear reaction, a near criticality results in a powerful energy that cannot be controlled forever.

-Rhianna Tyson, Reaching Critical Will
The panel "Nuclear weapons and preventing war" organized by Global Action to Prevent War (GAPW) focused on ways to coordinate efforts leading to complete disarmament and to introduce mechanisms that will create standards and norms for global peace.

Jennifer Nordstrom, coordinator of GAPW, opened the panel and outlined the Global Action agenda. The group focuses on coordinating existing efforts that consist of disarmament, conflict prevention and peace-keeping initiatives. Global Action plans to eventually create a civil society database and directory that will help to coordinate the global disarmament campaign more effectively.

Jonathan Dean, member of the Executive Committee of the US Steering Committee of Global Action, argued that the NPT is faltering, because nuclear weapons states fail to reduce arms. He urged that a general strategy is needed that ties all existing initiatives together into a single integrated strategy for global peace. Jonathan also introduced a three-staged plan for complete nuclear disarmament, including the freeze and reduction of warheads, the exchange of information on national arms stocks, and the introduction of verification mechanisms.

Jackie Cabasso, Western States Legal Foundation, argued that in the US nuclear policy the distinction between conventional and nuclear weapons is increasingly blurred. The US clearly contemplates using nuclear weapons, even in non-nuclear attacks and for preemptive strikes. This becomes clear by examining the military's strategic triade: while in the past nuclear weapons constituted one part of the strategy, the current strategic triad deploys different kinds of nuclear and conventional weapons almost interchangeably. While she strongly supports all disarmament initiatives, she argued that there is a clear lack of political will to address the issue currently.

Alyn Ware, Coordinator of the Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament, concluded the panel by presenting on alternative mechanisms to achieve complete disarmament, such as a Nuclear Weapons Convention. He argued in favor of treaty mechanisms, such as adjudication, sanctions, and peace-keeping, rather than the resort to violence and explained that the failure of non-violent mechanisms in dealing with nuclear weapons is often based on the insufficient use of these alternative approaches. A nuclear weapons convention could help to develop norms to create a culture of peace and would eliminate nuclear weapons and nuclear capabilities without the use of force.

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**Quote of the Day**

"The whole edifice of disarmament and non-proliferation has been undermined by the emergence of new strategic and military doctrines based on the development of new nuclear weapons, and on possibility of the use of such weapons on a pre-emptive basis, even against non-nuclear weapon states. This is a clear example of how those who treasure nuclear weapons can easily have the impulse to seek new motives to stick to them. But one cannot worship in the altar of nuclear weapons and raise heresy charges against those who want to join the sect."

- H.E. Mr Sergio de Querioz Duarte, Ambassador at Large for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Matters, Brazilian delegation

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A year ago, on 23. February 2003, the pupils' spokesmen and women of nine Heidelberg schools initiated the International Law Campaign. Our basic idea was to give everybody the possibility to manifest his or her determination that there is never any reason to break the renunciation of violence, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. And it reached further than we could ever imagine: Today, almost 17,000 people joined the campaign by adding their own “brick for peace” to the “peoples moNEWment for International Law.

But let's start at the beginning:

When the war on Iraq was announced but not yet started, we, the pupils' spokesmen and women in Heidelberg, felt obliged to symbolically show to the whole world that we did not agree. Convinced that this war would be a violation of the Charter of the United Nations' renunciation of force, committed by the political leaders of the militarily most powerful nation in the world, we looked for ideas to make it possible for everyone, and especially for pupils, to join us and to personally stand up for an unrestricted adherence to the stipulations of the Charter of the United Nations.

We wanted to make our manifestation permanently visible and we got the idea: to build a symbolic protective wall for International Law, consisting of thousands of little wooden bricks. Each brick was meant to represent one person, declaring his or her complete refusal to use force as a means of politics. With the personal design of a brick (one can simply write one's name and hometown on it, paint something or inscribe it with a personal statement - just however the person would like his or her own brick to look), the person signs an open letter directed to political representatives from all nations and the German government with the appeal to bring them together in order to re-enact the will of all people to renounce force, corresponding to the Charter of the United Nations.

First, we realized this idea at our schools and presented it to the pupils, giving them the possibility to sign and join us. But the reaction at the schools was lower than we had thought. However, at some schools, we managed to collect hundreds of bricks, whereas some came only with a few dozen.

After some days of collecting signatures and handing out blocks, the Max Planck Institute for Human Rights and International Law invited us to answer questions and to give us more knowledge about the topic. Besides listening to and discussing with the scientists there, we put together all the small parts of the wall from each school, which the student representatives brought with them and "raised" our "growing moNEWment" in front of the institute. The protection wall now had the size of about 5 meter in length, with 1 meter throughout in height, which is equivalent to about 1,300 single bricks.

Encouraged by the scientists, and aware of the fact that more and more people were willing to openly declare their disagreement with the actual policy of the war coalition, we decided to continue with our campaign and to try to reach more people outside of the schools. However, our campaign never was to be considered as a statement against one nation in particular but FOR the Charter of the United Nations and the enshrined renunciation of violence, which is valid for every member state.

Our building bricks get signed from all over the world

With the support of the city of Heidelberg, we could raise our wall right in the heart of Heidelberg, at the Bismarck Square. There we build up the monument and a information stall to collect signatures. During the first days of the war on Iraq, it became a symbol of peace and a meeting point for all different kinds of people who were against that war. At night, several people even brought candles with them to place them in front of the symbolic wall.

We also created the possibility to participate via internet (www.aktion-voelkerrecht.de), which made it possible for continued on page 4
people to sign without coming to Heidelberg, and we gained support from all over the world.

The protection wall grew from day to day, and the group of initiators was supported by many volunteers. However, the International Law Campaign always remained a project run completely by students.

But over time, the weather damaged the bricks and it took a lot of time to keep the protective wall in shape. Fortunately, in autumn, the public library of Heidelberg gave us the possibility to put the wall inside its building. Grown to about 16,000 bricks, which is equivalent to about 64 meters in length, it was still growing, and we arranged a permanent table where the library’s visitors still could sign and paint their bricks.

We bring our action to New York
In November, we received the peace prize of Heidelberg and several TV stations and newspapers reported on our campaign. From December we began to consider the international campaign of mayors for peace and tried to support them through convincing the mayors of Heidelberg and several towns nearby to join them. Through these activities, we contacted a group of German peace activists, the “Friedenswerkstatt Mutlangen”. They helped us to realize our biggest dream, to bring the wall to the United Nations in New York, as they invited us to accompany them to the NPT PrepCom. As we think that nuclear weapons are clearly not in line with the principles of the United Nations, and that, as even the International Court of Justice declared in its advisory opinion, that International Law demands nuclear (and every other) disarmament, we find it a suiting context for bringing our protection wall to the United Nations.

There, we hope to find a possibility to hand over our monument right to the United Nations, perhaps even personally to the Secretary General Kofi Annan. And we also look forward to meet the representative and initiator of have in mind to manifest our support for the campaign of Mayors for Peace, whose chairman, Mayor Akiba from Hiroshima, we look forward to meet at the conference.

Just before the deconstruction of the wall for the transport to New York, we counted more than 16,900 signatures and the length had grown to about 68 meters. People from over 60 countries had signed our open letter and helped us to bring our campaign to the success it has today.

Now we hope that YOU will come to visit our mNEWment for International Law, add a personal stone, and work within this and every other conference for the strengthening of International Law to realize abolition and thus to create a more peaceful world.
Across
1. You need to enrich this to make a nuclear weapon
5. Chairman of the Prepcom
8. A comprehensive, irreversible bilateral process for nuclear weapons reductions that was nullified in June 2002.
10. One of the most important international institutions that, regrettably, is not permitted to formally address the prepcom.
11. Head of the U.S. delegation
12. Promotes “peaceful uses” while investigating for possible proliferation
15. The only process that will save the world from complete annihilation.
17. The experts that were, until last Friday, excluded from the meetings.
19. Stands for “Peace, Justice and Solidarity in the Americas
21. What keeps long-term disarmament discussers going (2 words)
22. Evidence of the risks posed by 7 Down.
23. Shrub.
24. The recent A5 proposal might get this group going.
26. What the world will be filled with when a nuclear weapons convention is signed, ratified, implemented and verified
28. Something seriously missing from the NPT and other major disarmament fora; could be partially achieved through implementation of 9 Down.
31. What one does with a badge
34. International legal instrument.
36. A fraud of a reductions treaty which lacks verifiability and irreversibility.
37. What states show tremendous support for creating in the Middle East.
38. UK NGO represented here by Sam Akaki and Dr. Kate Hudson.

Down
2. State with the second largest nuclear arsenal.
3. Japanese word alleged to mean “Your question cannot be answered because it depends on incorrect assumptions.”
4. What is needed to halt the U.S.’ 2020 Vision.
6. Heavy metal used in some munitions.
7. Faustian bargain leading to horizontal proliferation.
8. What the General Debate consists of.
9. One of the best and most practical ways of promoting a culture of transparency.
13. What millions took to the streets to prevent on 15 February 2003.
14. Treaty “ripe” for negotiations but still lacking the political will to start.
16. Type of Russian missile recently modified to “maneuver” around any missile defense system.
17. You can get one if you are part of 37 Across.
18. The UK panel on Friday was about how to do this.
19. Advisory issued by the ICJ that said even the threat of use of nuclear weapons is wrong.
20. Their nameplate sat in Ambassador Molnar’s pocket during the 2nd PrepCom.
22. A foolhardy- and increasingly popular- way of curbing nonproliferation; a policy that displaces the role of disarmament.
24. Acts as the NGO liaison to the PrepCom, a project of 31 Down.
27. They work to prevent the spread of Chemical Weapons.
29. The only thing to do with nuclear weapons.
30. “_____” of a treaty, or another name for 36 Across.
31. They had a birthday party last Wednesday.
32. What the world will do if the NWS don’t disarm.
33. When the NNWS take one of these, they are a superpower.
35. Answers will be revealed in tomorrow’s News in Review.
Citizens Inspections: Authorisation

CWI/2003/CM.2
August 9, 2003

Authorisation for Citizens Inspections pursuant to the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Pursuant to International and Humanitarian Law, and particularly to the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), and the 1996 Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice on the legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons, We, the Undersigned, in discharging our responsibilities as Citizens of Countries which have signed and acceded to the NPT, do hereby authorise weapons inspections to be carried out on our behalf by voluntary teams of Citizens Inspectors.

In conformity with the Citizens Inspection Mandate (CWI/2003/CM.1), adopted on July 4, 2003, we authorise the Citizens Inspectors, to inspect, non-violently, declared and undeclared facilities suspected of violating obligations and agreements of international and humanitarian law, specifically the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, including consensus agreements adopted by States Parties on May 11, 1995 and on May 24-25, 2000, as contained in documents NPT/CONF.1995/32 (Part I), and NPT/CONF.2000/28 (Part I), in conformity also with the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice on the legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons, as contained in United Nations General Assembly document A/51/218 (1996).

Of particular relevance for these Inspections, Document NPT/CONF.2000/28 (Part I) requires States Parties to comply with "An unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear weapon states to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals leading to nuclear disarmament"; "further reductions of non-strategic nuclear weapons"; a "diminishing role for nuclear weapons in security policies to minimise the risk that these weapons ever be used and to facilitate the process of their total elimination"; and commitments to the principles of transparency, irreversibility, verification and regular reporting.

Under the terms of their mandate, the Citizens Inspectors are authorised to inspect for evidence of the presence of nuclear bombs or nuclear weapons-related programmes or delivery vehicles, including evidence of continuing research, development, manufacture, production, testing, siting, deployment, training and exercise, use or threatened use of nuclear weapons. Information is to be gathered on the number and type of any nuclear weapons or nuclear weapon facilities; their provenance, ownership, controlling authority, condition and security measures; and the schedule for removing, dismantling, decommissioning, elimination or closure. Also centres of Command, Control, Communication and Intelligence are subject to inspections.

We expect and require that the civilian and military bodies responsible for the sites designated for Citizens Inspection will provide full cooperation with the Inspectors, enabling them to investigate premises and speak with personnel, as necessary in fulfilment of these Inspections, without let, hindrance, arrest or penalty.

In the interests of Transparency, Open and Accountable Government and the Responsibility of Citizens for ensuring Full Compliance with International Law, the Citizens Inspectors will make public their reports.

Sign the authorisation:

Name: __________________________________________

Position: _______________________________________

Organisation: ___________________________________

Town and Country: _______________________________

Email: __________________________________________