Implementing the vision should not be a bridge too far
Beatrice Fihn | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

As the Main Committees (and in private, the subsidiary bodies) engage in discussions on the draft texts released on Friday, we will begin to get a better sense of which direction an outcome document will move. Some states are linking their consideration of issues across the three committees, perhaps gearing up for a cross-issue horse trade. Unfortunately, many delegations and regional groups have not yet established their position on these draft texts. In addition, several delegations have so far only been willing to make general comments in the Main Committee meetings, opting to submit their suggested revisions in written form directly to the Chairs of the committees and subsidiary bodies instead of debating their views in the open.

Even still, the Main Committee debates today did reveal a small picture of how far some states are willing to go in terms of actual steps and commitments.

In Main Committee I (MCI), the US argued that progress on non-proliferation and compliance is central to its ability to make “solid progress toward a vision of a world without nuclear weapons [emphasis added]”. Employing similarly underwhelming language to describe the goal of MCI, the European Union argued that the MCI draft text language concerning the obligation inscribed in article VI “presents some discrepancies” and suggested the text reaffirm “the commitment to seeking a safer world for all to creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons in accordance with the goals of the NPT [emphasis added].” This apparent undermining of the language of article VI by the EU, together with only a commitment to “progress towards a vision” from the United States, seems very far away from what the draft action plan on disarmament suggests. It remains to be seen what their written suggestions for revising the text will look like. The South African delegation called on the nuclear weapon states to recognize how long non-nuclear weapon states have been waiting for progress on nuclear disarmament and to agree to sufficiently strong language to move things along.

In Main Committee II, the EU requested that resolute and effective language addressing non-compliance cases should be included in the final text—and it specifically highlighted Iran as constituting such a case. This led the Iranian delegation to question the EU’s “genuine commitment to a successful conference.” Many western states argued that the draft reflected many of their priorities, but since the Non-Aligned Movement has not finalized its position on the draft yet, further disagreement on the draft’s provisions regarding safeguards and additional protocols is expected.

In Main Committee III, a few delegations criticized the one-sided view on nuclear energy, with the Norwegian delegation arguing that the draft text does not make it evident that nuclear power is not necessarily a sustainable technology and the Austrian delegation noting that the text also does not reflect that more than 100 countries are not interested in nuclear power as an energy source. Many other delegations highlighted diverging opinions on including issues of multilateral approaches to the fuel cycle and nuclear security in MCIII’s work.

In addition to these items, a parallel process is taking place on the implementation of the 1995 Middle East. Bilateral and multilateral negotiations on this issue have been kept out of the official NPT meetings so far, but the outcome will play a significant part in the Conference’s ability to conclude a final document.

So after two weeks of constructive dialogue, positive atmospheres, and encouraging rhetoric, governments are now entering the actual negotiations phase with some significant challenges to deal with in order to come up with an acceptable outcome document.

However, while adopting a strong outcome document is crucial for the success of this Review Conference, it does not automatically mean a successful outcome for continued on page 7
Australian students speak to the NPT Review Conference

Dimity Hawkins | International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons

On Monday, 17 May in Melbourne, Australia, mid-way through the NPT Review Conference, ICAN Campaign Director Dimity Hawkins and Learn Peace Education Coordinator Cat Beaton took half a day out to spend with a high school class in inner city Melbourne to conduct one of a new series of ICAN’s ‘Learn Peace’ presentations. The class were predominantly 15-16 year olds, studying an elective subject on the United Nations at Melbourne Girls College. Together they looked at the origin and development of nuclear weapons, the role of the United Nations and the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the history of devastation at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, bomb testing in Australia, and solutions for the future. Following many questions and general discussion on global nuclear disarmament, the students wrote the following statements which they wished to address to all delegates at the NPT Review Conference.

‘Nuclear weapons, they need to go, or our future children, we’ll never know. It’s the future of humanity at stake, A movement now, we have to make.’
-Mia O’Connor (15 y), Tess Shanahan (15 y)

‘For the welfare of humanity, we must make the world a nuclear-free space to keep this world full of sanity, to save the human race!’
-Rajnita Iyer (15y), Melisa Hasic (15y) and Casey Li (15y)

‘We want to be safe in our world; ban nuclear weapons’
-Lana Qantock (16y), Ella Rosetzky (15y) and Jessa Luckey (15y)

‘I think they should not have nuclear weapons, because I think it’s a horrible thing for anyone. They should disarm all of the weapons now.’
-Aaren Masangkay (15y)

‘Nuclear weapons are stopping our world from moving forward, it’s playground child’s tactics to threaten others when they don’t get their own way. It’s time to grow up’
-Tes Abrahams (15y), Ingrid Morton (15y) and Diva Poole (15y)

‘Make love, not bombs’
-Georgia Martin (16y) and Namrata Prasad (15y)

‘Take action to stop the reaction’
‘People go for days without food and water because of economic issues, there is tonnes of money poured into nukes. We want a change for their future and more money for those in need and less money for nuclear weapons’
-Camille Music (15y), Freddy Cook (15y) and Stella Harding (15y)

‘There is no need to threaten countries with nuclear bombs, there are other more effective ways to solve your problems’
-Jade Komimia (15y), Emily Wilson (15y) and Olivia Matherson (16y)

For more information on the Learn Peace education resource, visit www.icanw.org.
Main Committee I

Procedure for revising the text

- Several delegations, including the United States, France, and the NAM, noted that they would submit written suggestions for revising the text.
- France indicated that the subsidiary body has agreed upon three ambassadors to bring together different inputs provided by states parties on issues related to the action plan.

Overall text

- The EU encouraged the chairs to work together on developing a more harmonized structure for the reports and eliminating duplication and redundancy between the three reports.
- France argued that the document should not be based on the language of 2000 but should take into account of what has happened over the last ten years, particularly the steps NWS have taken on disarmament.
- The US highlighted the need for balance among all three pillars, noting that progress on non-proliferation and compliance “are central to our ability to make solid progress toward a vision of a world without nuclear weapons”.
- South Africa said it would have liked to have seen stronger language on a few issues, because in some areas, non-nuclear weapon states have been waiting for too long. It expressed hope that the nuclear weapon states will recognize this and agree to language NNWS can accept.

Elimination of nuclear weapons

- The EU argued that the draft’s language concerning the obligation inscribed in article VI “presents some discrepancies” and suggested the text reaffirm “the commitment to seeking a safer world for all to creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons”.
- South Africa called for “more direct language” on negative security assurances, noting that non-nuclear weapon states have fulfilled their commitment not to violate the legally-binding commitments that they have made. South Africa expressed hope that nuclear weapon states can move from political commitments to legally-binding commitments on this issue, because it is not fair that one side has legally-binding commitments to uphold while the other side only conducts its activities based on the “current atmosphere”.
- China suggested changing paragraph 3 on page 5 to read: “The Conference welcomes the commitment by a nuclear weapon state to unconditionally state it will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states or NWFZs and notes the statements by some NWS regarding measures related to strengthening NSAs.”

Nuclear doctrine

- China called for a reflection in the text of its call for nuclear weapon states to adopt no first use policies.
- France expressed hope that “gradually, nuclear doctrines will become strictly defensive ones, responding to extreme cases of legitimate self-defence as the French doctrine does.” France purported that no one can consider France’s nuclear weapons aggressive.
- Iran expressed concern over the nuclear doctrine of certain NWS that predict the possibility of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, noting that this is a dangerous approach that threatens international peace and security.
- The US argued that its revised assurances “reward non-nuclear weapon states party to the NPT that continued on next page
Few Americans know that more than forty years ago, in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, our country committed to eliminate its entire nuclear arsenal. In *Apocalypse Never*, Tad Daley traces the tortured history of this promise—and charts a course toward at last fulfilling it.

—Michael Douglas, Academy Award–winning actor and United Nations Messenger of Peace

“In a fresh, lively, accessible style, *Apocalypse Never* goes to the essence of complex issues of why and how to leave the age of nuclear weapons behind. Read, act, and survive!”

—John Burroughs, executive director, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy, and co-editor of *Nuclear Disorder or Cooperative Security?*

“In plain, understandable prose, *Apocalypse Never* makes a compelling case that the continued existence of nuclear weapons, regardless of their ownership, can lead to catastrophic disasters. *A must-read.*”

—Lt. General Robert G. Gard, Jr., U.S. Army, Retired and chair, Center for Arms Control & Non-Proliferation

“Finally, a book that explains in common sense language the process for bringing a nuclear weapon–free world from utopia to reality.”

—Congressman Dennis Kucinich, D-Ohio, 1997–present

Missile defence and space weapons

- China suggested adding this sentence to the end of paragraph 16 on page 4: “The Conference stresses that countries should not develop missile defence systems that undermine global strategic stability nor deploy weapons in outer space.”

- China also suggested adding this sentence to the end of paragraph 17 on page 4: “The Conference stresses the importance of the negotiation and conclusion of relevant international legal instruments as soon as possible so as to prevent the weaponization of and an arms race in outer space.”

Transparency, verifiability, and confidence-building measures

- The EU welcomed proposals in this area but said the content will need further discussion.

- China suggested deleting the last line of paragraph 15 on page 4, which encourages nuclear weapon states to increase the transparency of their inventories, arguing that it is better suited to the action plan because it is operational.

- Switzerland noted that other operational elements are contained within the review portion of the text and argued that the draft should be consistent in whether or not the review includes operational elements.

continued on next page
Switzerland also suggested the review should actually go further on transparency because in the action plan the Committee aims for an ambitious reporting mechanism that should be matched by a strong call in the review portion of the text.

**Machinery**
- China suggested deleting the reference to “an agreed programme of work” in the paragraph expressing concern about the CD’s inability to commence work.

**DPRK’s nuclear tests**
- China suggested revising the language on page 2, paragraph 10 to note the UNSC resolutions on the DPRK’s nuclear weapon tests and to take out the language on deploring the tests.
- Japan and the Republic of Korea voiced concerns that this would soften the language against the DPRK, arguing that the current language of deploring the nuclear tests was used in 2000 against India and Pakistan’s tests.
- China recognized their concerns but said it was trying to balance these concerns with the attempt to resume Six-Party Talks with the DPRK; it noted that the UNSC resolutions did deplore the tests so that language would be reflected anyway.
- The Chair suggested that China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea work out the language they would like to see reflected in the document and submit it to the Committee.

**Main Committee II**

**Procedural issues**
- Ambassador Yelchenko, chair of MCII, announced that he expected delegations to work as efficiently as possible, so the Committee can conclude its work by Friday.
- The Non-Aligned Movement and Iran stated that they were not in a position to submit comments on the draft text yet.

**General views on the draft**
- Australia and New Zealand noted that the draft reflected many of the priorities of their delegations.
- Switzerland, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and the US saw this draft as a good basis for further discussions and negotiations.
- The UK argued that while being ambitious, the draft text also needs to be practical and measurable.
- Australia and Canada argued that the forward-looking action plan should be refined a bit.
- Norway stated that the action plan should be a bit more concrete and that more specific steps on non-proliferation was needed.
- The EU argued that the action plan should be more concise and more focused, in order to clearly identify the actions to be undertaken.

**Compliance**
- The US delegation argued that the forward-looking action plan did not include any references to non-compliance, which they would like to see included.
- The US also wished to see language reflecting that potential violators must know that they will pay a high price if they break the rules.
- Canada suggested that the draft include stronger emphasis on the issue of full compliance with safeguards agreements.
- The EU argued that the role of UNSC as final arbiter should be strengthened, in order to take appropriate action in the event of non-compliance with the NPT.
- The EU was not satisfied with the way the draft deals with non-compliance, and argued that the cases of Iran and DPRK should be addressed resolutely and effectively.
- Iran responded to the EU’s “boring, repetitive, and provoking statements” by arguing that it caused serious doubts about the EU’s genuine commitment to a successful conference.

**Safeguards agreements**
- The US argued that a growing number of additional protocols in force means that a wide range of countries agree that it is important.
- Norway wished that the evolution of the IAEA safeguards systems would be better reflected.
- Argentina argued that the inclusion of the comprehensive safeguard agreement is essential, as this was agreed upon in 2000. Argentina also acknowledged the importance of an additional protocol but highlighted its voluntary characteristics and hoped that the draft text can become more balanced on this issue.
- Italy and the EU supported the proposals that suggest that the comprehensive safeguard agreement together with the additional protocol is the safeguard standard.
- Russia stated that it is satisfied with what the text suggests on the role of IAEA safeguards in regard of compliance, the importance of recognizing the comprehensive safeguard agreement and additional protocol as the standard verification, and for states to adhere to the additional protocol.

**Nuclear weapon free zones**
- Mexico argued that the NWFZ section of the action plan needs to be strengthened. It suggested that the draft should include a decision that meetings continued on next page
of the states parties to NWFZ should be held in the framework in the forthcoming RevCon.

- Russia, noting that the draft text stresses the importance of the signature and ratification by the nuclear weapon states of the relevant NWFZ protocols, argued that the Russian reservations to providing security assurances are only pending fulfilment of NWFZ states’ obligations of compliance.

### Nuclear security

- Russia and the EU called for a reference to the importance of full implementation of UNSC resolutions 1540 and 1887.

### Withdrawal

- The EU supported the adoption of measures for dealing with withdrawal, including arrangements for maintaining adequate IAEA safeguards on all nuclear materials, equipment, technologies, and facilities developed for peaceful purposes.

### Main Committee III

#### Structure of document

- Indonesia expressed surprise with the structure of the document, arguing that it was not what the Chair explained it would be last week.
- Egypt asked for clarification on whether the subheadings would be retained in the final document, saying that it has concerns about some of them and the order in which they appear in the text.
- The Chair explained that the subheadings are there to help guide discussions at this stage but will be considered further in the context of the final document.

#### Nuclear safety and security

- Norway noted that the draft text calls for the application of “high standards” of nuclear safety but encouraged a revision to call for the “highest standards available”.
- South Africa called for the text to avoid ambiguity, questioning what the phrase “highest standards” refers to.
- Indonesia argued that putting nuclear safety and security together is controversial and argued that it is redundant to consider nuclear safety in MCIII, as it is aimed at avoiding non-proliferation is thus discussed in MCII.
- Austria highlighted the importance of safety and security issues, arguing that it is important for everyone to have confidence in the responsible development of peaceful uses applications.
- Japan argued that it is fair to include nuclear security in the MCIII text because states discussed it in the context of peaceful uses, noting that it is important to ensure international scrutiny over the development of national nuclear power programmes.
- Brazil noted that the draft text linked safety and security with non-proliferation but said it also important to link them to the culture of safety in order to increase public acceptance of nuclear energy.
- Egypt noted that safety and security are cross-cutting issues for all three pillars of the NPT and called for closer Chair coordination on sorting out this issue.

- The Chair explained that all the Chairs are aware of this issue but argued that security is an issue relevant to the development of peaceful uses of nuclear technology; he indicated that any duplication with the other committees would be dealt with in the final document.
- Iran called for a differentiation between nuclear safety and security.
- Colombia said the document needs to be clearer about what the national and international responsibilities are on nuclear security.
- Chile welcomed the draft’s call for the universalization of relevant safety conventions and its mention of the US nuclear security summit.
- Russia urged the text to note the importance of creating and strengthening bodies for nuclear and radiation safety.
- Slovakia argued the text “falls short” on looking at the management of spent fuel and urged any revisions to take that into account.

#### Export controls

- Iran and France suggested the text include a reference to export controls.
- Iran urged the Chair to consider adding language regarding Iran’s suggestion of a standing committee on transfer denials.

#### Technical cooperation

- Egypt on behalf of NAM reiterated that the document should reflect that nothing should affect states parties rights to technical cooperation.
- Indonesia expressed general satisfaction with this portion of the draft text but said it needs to reflect the importance of the non-politicization of technical cooperation.
- Germany said it can go along in principle with the wording in this section but would like to be careful that any changes are in conformity with the IAEA Statute.

#### Multilateral approaches to the fuel cycle

- Indonesia noted that the only common ground on MNA issues is that they should be discussed
in the framework of the IAEA. It argued that the RevCon should send a political message to the IAEA that this issue needs more work.

• The Chair explained that he included MNA in the draft text because states discussed it last week in MCIII.

• The Republic of Korea argued that MNA must look at spent fuel and toxic waste management in order to make use of nuclear energy in an ecologically friendly, economically viable manner.

• South Africa called for a minimalist approach to MNA, arguing that there is too much detail in the draft text and that the RevCon needs to pay attention to political sensitivities and dialogue elsewhere.

• Chile said it could live with the language on MNA.

• Brazil argued the text on this issue is too prescriptive and suggested the text address it in a more general way to set a political message rather than a prescriptive one.

• Egypt complained that none of its suggested elements on this topic, which it said have not been challenged during MCIII debates, are not in the draft text.

• Germany said it thought the language in this section struck a middle ground between recognizing the issue and noting that discussions are ongoing.

• Russia urged the text to include a reference to the establishment of the International Uranium Enrichment Centre in Angarsk.

• Slovakia noted that MNA is not just about fuel supply but the total fuel cycle, including spent fuel management.

• Iran argued that the NAM and G77 positions on MNA are very clear and there should not even be a subheading on this topic in the text.

Nuclear transport

• Chile noted that the section of maritime transport of nuclear material was longer in 2000 but welcomed the recognition that international law had to be respected. It suggested the Chair might want to include a reference to the Maritime Organization’s code of practice as the 2000 document did.

Attacks on nuclear facilities

• Chile welcomed paragraph 47 on this subject, noting that it is important to include this.

Nuclear liability

• Brazil argued the text on this issue is too prescriptive and suggested the text address it in a more general way to set a political message rather than a prescriptive one.

• Germany suggested the wording might need to be changed in this section.

Fissile materials

• Norway suggested the draft text could include reference to fissile materials as the other two Committee texts do. Norway called for stronger reporting and transparency on all categories of fissile material stockpiles and production.

Nuclear energy applications

• Norway and Austria expressed satisfaction with the document’s references to non-power applications of nuclear energy.

• Norway noted that the document does not adequately reflect the problems of nuclear power, arguing that while the safety dimension is reflected, the document does not make it evident that nuclear power is not necessarily a sustainable technology.

• Austria noted that there are over 100 countries that are not interested in developing nuclear power but that this fact is missing in the document.

• Colombia argued the text should note the role that nuclear power plays in combating climate change.

• Chile welcomed the draft’s link between the NPT and economic development and its note that nuclear power can help achieve the MDGs.

Implementing the vision (cont.)

for the NPT regime as a whole—or even that any real progress towards a world free of nuclear weapons has been made. The outcome documents from 1995 and 2000 have been highlighted and “reaffirmed” many times over the course of the last two weeks, but the implementation of those agreements has not yet taken place. If a final document is agreed upon this year, it must avoid the same fate as previous agreements—it needs to have clearly defined commitments that can be measured and evaluated.

As the draft documents are being amended, we will see how far the nuclear weapon states are willing to go in order to achieve a world free of nuclear weapons. This time, we cannot let another “unequivocal undertaking” and “vision of a world free of nuclear weapons” be simply stated and then ignored. We cannot accept that retaining and modernizing nuclear arsenals is compatible with the NPT. We must insist on substantive and measurable actions for disarmament, including a commitment to negotiate a legally-binding instrument that will prohibit nuclear weapons.
What’s On
Today’s Calendar of Events

Main Committee II
Where: Conference Room 2, North Lawn Building
When: 10:00–13:00

Abolition Caucus
Where: Conference Room A, North Lawn Building
When: 10:00–10:30
Contact: Alice Slater, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

Cheaper, Deeper Security - Conflict Transformation and Second Order Change
Where: Conference Room A, North Lawn Building
When: 13:00–13:00
Contact: Diane Perlman, Mediators Without Borders

Where To Go From Here
Where: Conference Room A, North Lawn Building
When: 13:15–14:45
Contact: Jim Wurst, Middle Powers Initiative

Main Committee II
Where: Conference Room 2, North Lawn Building
When: 15:00–18:00

Whither Nuclear Weapons?
Where: Conference Room A, North Lawn Building
When: 16:00–18:00
Contact: Christopher Ford, Hudson Institute

Nuclear Crossword

Across
1. This treaty was opened for signatures on 11 April 1996 in Cairo and entered into force on 15 July 2009 (three words).
4. What are atomic bomb survivors called in Japan?
6. The Central Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty was ratified by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and ________.
7. Which country began a nuclear weapons programme in the early 1980s that was abolished in 1983?
8. The explosion of the first Soviet nuclear bomb took place in this country.
10. This intensive conflagration is an effect of a nuclear explosion.
11. This English Nobel laureate in physics discovered the neutron.
12. How many nuclear weapons states are there according to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty?
13. An acronym for the balance of terror that prevailed between the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War.

Down
2. This ship was active in supporting Greenpeace protests against nuclear weapons testing and sunk on 10 July 1985 (two words).
3. The father of the French bomb (two words).
5. What was the code name of the nuclear bomb dropped on Hiroshima (two words)?
9. From 1964 to 1996, 45 nuclear tests were conducted around this lake.
11. Which country detonated its first bomb on 16 October 1964?