Editorial: “Creating conditions” for nuclear disarmament

Beatrice Fihn | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

As the general debate concluded, discussion under cluster one on disarmament started on Thursday morning. Most states discussed implementation of article VI, the 13 steps, and the disarmament-related actions of the 2010 action plan. Most non-nuclear weapon states noted that while recent reductions of arsenals are welcomed, failure to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines, lack of progress on the operational status of warheads, ongoing modernization of nuclear arsenals, and the continued placement of nuclear weapons outside nuclear weapon states’ territories means that disarmament obligations are not fulfilled. This assessment is supported by Reaching Critical Will’s research report on the implementation of the 2010 NPT action plan, which concluded that only five out of the 22 actions on disarmament can be considered implemented at this point.

The nuclear weapon states did not discuss the level of implementation on specific actions. However, a joint P5 statement was “pleased to recall” that the group met in July 2011 “with a view to considering progress on the commitments made” at the 2010 Review Conference. In individual statements, the United Kingdom, France, and the United States reported on their disarmament-related efforts over the last decade and argued that these undertakings are clear evidence of their implementation of disarmament obligations.

But despite lists of past achievements from nuclear weapon states, approximately 19,500 warheads remain today and continue to play a central role in national security doctrines of the nuclear weapon states. In addition, modernization programmes are underway in all five nuclear weapon states. As the 16 nations statement on the catastrophic humanitarian consequences noted on Wednesday, the horrendous effects of any use of nuclear weapons such as immeasurable suffering, environmental disaster, and global famine makes it difficult to see how any use could be considered compatible with the rules of law. It is clear that the use of nuclear weapons would violate international law, such as the UN Charter and the Geneva Conventions. As the ambassador of New Zealand noted, that the testimonies of hibakusha at the NPT PrepCom should “leave us in no doubt that the use of nuclear weapons would be unconscionable.”

Perhaps as a response to the recent high-level attention to the humanitarian effects of nuclear weapons, such as the resolution of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the announcement of a conference on the topic by Norway, and the 16 nations statement yesterday, both the United Kingdom and France used their cluster one statements to address this issue. The UK stated that since “the threshold for the legitimate use of nuclear weapons” is extremely high, it would only consider using such weapons in extreme circumstances of self-defense, including defense of NATO allies. Also France stated that its deterrence policy is in line with international law, and both states argued that the International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion in 1996 rejected the argument that use of nuclear weapons would necessarily be unlawful in all circumstances.

That nuclear weapon states feel the need to respond to the arguments regarding catastrophic humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons and international law is in fact a positive sign. Just as the work of civil society and many states during the last review cycle successfully mainstreamed the idea of a nuclear weapons convention, the increased attention around the catastrophic humanitarian consequences has placed this issue firmly on the agenda of civil society and governments.

This is a clear signal that the debate on nuclear weapons is shifting focus, away from traditional concepts such as deterrence and national security to a broader discussion of utility, consequences, and environmental aspects from a global perspective. By continuing such debates and focusing on the catastrophic consequences of nuclear weapons and international humanitarian law, we can truly create conditions for nuclear disarmament.
Highlights from the general debate

**Disarmament**
- Cuba, Iraq, Qatar, Sri Lanka called for negotiations to eliminate nuclear weapons.
- Kazakhstan noted that its Astana declaration calls for the elimination of nuclear weapons and that its head of state issued support for the goal of a nuclear weapon free world at the UN General Assembly.
- Cuba called for a high-level meeting on ways and means to eliminate nuclear weapons.
- Cuba and Nigeria called for nuclear weapon states to implement action 5 and the 13 practical steps.
- Argentina noted that only the commitment on non-proliferation by the NNWS has been complied with so far, but no progress on the disarmament pillar has occurred.

**NWS actions**
- The NWS issued a joint statement in which they reported on their meeting in Paris in June 2011 when they discussed “issues of transparency, mutual confidence, and verification, and considered proposals for a standard reporting form;” “decided to continue working on an agreed glossary of definitions for key nuclear terms;” and promoted CTBT and FMCT.
- The NWS announced that they will hold a third P5 meeting in Washington on 27–29 June 2012.

**Nuclear weapon free zones (NWFZs)**
- Singapore said it supports NWFZs but argued that unless and until the basic structures of international relations change, states will give “security” the foremost place in their strategies; therefore “pragmatic, not purist” approaches must be taken toward establishment to NWFZs so that security isn’t threatened.

**Non-proliferation**
- Lithuania and Spain argued that the CSA and AP should be the verification standards today.
- Viet Nam highlighted that it has signed the AP with the IAEA.
- Cuba argued that non-proliferation isn’t an aim in itself but a step to achieving nuclear disarmament.
- The NWS argued that proliferation undermines the security of all states, “sets back the cause of disarmament,” and “imperils the prospects for strengthening international cooperation in nuclear energy.”

**Middle East**
- Qatar argued that the NWS had special responsibility for ensuring a successful conference on the Middle East in 2012.
- The NWS expressed “hope for a successful Conference to be attended by all States of the Middle East.”

**Iran**
- The NWS called on Iran to reach an agreement with the IAEA on a structured approach to resolve outstanding issues.

DPRK
- The NWS called on DPRK to fulfill its commitments under the 2005 Joint Statement of the six-party talks and reaffirmed firm support for resumption of these talks.

**International humanitarian law (IHL)**
- Iraq argued that any use of nuclear weapons would be considered breach of international law.

**Universalization**
- Argentina stated that lack of universalization of the NPT seriously distorts the security of non-nuclear weapon states.
- Singapore argued that it is essential to find ways to encourage the NWS and nuclear-armed states outside NPT to abide by the same rules and safeguards; and that relevant countries should work toward addressing the non-NPT states’ perceived security concerns, as only then will they consider disarming and only then will the international community be able to justify demanding others don’t pursue nuclear weapons.

**Nuclear energy**
- Viet Nam announced that it has signed an agreement with Russia to return spent nuclear fuel.
- The NWS recognized that all states would benefit from a “rigorous peer review process” on nuclear safety.

Highlights from cluster one debate
- The NAC expressed concern with the lack of progress on reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons stationed outside the territories of the NWS and called on NWS to report on steps taken or future steps planned to reduce and eliminate the role of nuclear weapons in collective security doctrines.
The NAC called on the NWS to fulfill article VI through “concrete, systematic and progressive efforts, in accordance with the agreements reached in 1995, 2000 and 2010” and called for the development of “adequate and efficient nuclear disarmament verification capabilities and legally-binding verification arrangements.”

The EU issued support for the “significant steps” taken by its two nuclear weapon states but called for the continued reduction of nuclear weapons, especially by the US and Russia.

Japan urged the NWS “to make an early commitment to reducing, or at least not increasing their nuclear holdings.”

Japan urged all states parties to report on their implementation of the recommendations on disarmament and non-proliferation education.

The Republic of Korea called on the NWS to demonstrate “a higher standard of compliance through sustainable nuclear disarmament measures.”

Austria, New Zealand, Switzerland, Ukraine, and the De-alerting Group highlighted the importance of reducing the operational status of nuclear weapons.

Ukraine, Austria, Malaysia, Norway, Algeria, South Africa, Iran, Egypt and others called for reduction of the role of nuclear weapons in national security strategies.

Switzerland expressed concern that reductions of the global stockpile will not be negotiated any time soon.

Australia reiterated that NPDI will convene experts’ meetings this year to discuss technical issues relating to an FMCT.

Egypt called for the commencement of “serious negotiations to develop a plan to achieve an overall reduction of the global stockpile of nuclear weapons of all kinds, and to continue to reduce the role of nuclear weapons and their importance in military and security policies.”

Iran argued that limited reductions of arsenals mostly don’t go beyond decommissioning and thus don’t abide by principle of irreversibility.

Norway argued that by 2015, the number of nuclear warheads must be substantially lower than today.

Malaysia criticized nuclear sharing agreements, arguing it was a clear violation of the NPT.

**Modernization**

The NAM noted that in connection with the entry into force of New START, domestic commitments to nuclear weapon modernization undermines the minimal reductions agreed therein.

The NAC expressed concern with the continued modernization of nuclear arsenals and the “vast resources allocated for this purpose, which runs contrary to the NPT undertakings.”

South Africa expressed concern that the “development of new categories of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems provide a clear indication that some of the NWS continue to harbour aspirations for the indefinite retention of these instruments of destruction, contrary to their legal obligations and political commitments.”

Switzerland expressed concern that one nuclear weapon state seems to be increasing its arsenal while all are in the process of modernizing their forces.

Iran argued that by replacing Trident the UK is “launching a nuclear rearmament rather than nuclear disarmament.” Iran also argued that by saying its nuclear weapons are a key element in Europe’s security, France is “seeking new roles for its nuclear forces in order to justify their continued retention.”

Iran called for a NWC and said that until its conclusion NWS must refrain from nuclear weapons R&D; threats of use; modernization; and deployment in other territories.

Austria argued that NWS must restrain themselves in development and qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons.

Malaysia and Algeria expressed concerned with nuclear weapons modernization programmes.

**IHL**

The NAM and the NAC stated that the use of nuclear weapons would violate IHL and the UN Charter.

Austria, Norway, South Africa, Switzerland, and New Zealand reiterated their commitment to including discussion of IHL in the NPT.

The NAC said there is need to explore and consider the catastrophic humanitarian consequences associated with nuclear weapons, “including consistency with international law and particularly” IHL.

The UK said that the “use of nuclear weapons is governed by the same principles of international humanitarian law that govern the use of other weapons.”

The UK also argued that the ICJ “rejected the argument that use of nuclear weapons would necessarily be unlawful in all circumstances.”

**From the NWS**

The UK said it has a “strong record of fulfilling our disarmament commitments and of meeting our international legal obligations which flow from our membership of the NPT as a Nuclear Weapons State,” but also that while nuclear weapons exist, “and while the future security environment remains so uncertain,” it “remains committed to retaining a credible and effective minimum nuclear deterrent.”

The UK gave highlights from its 2010 Strategic Defence and Security Review, which stipulates that by the mid-2020s, it would: reduce the number of warheads onboard each of our submarines from 48 to 40; reduce the requirement for operationally available warheads to no more than 120; reduce the number of operational
The issue of nuclear weapons modernization is increasingly gaining more attention both within the NPT and outside. At a side event on Thursday, a new publication by Reaching Critical Will (RCW), *Assuring destruction forever: nuclear weapon modernization around the world*, was presented. Ray Acheson, director of RCW, chaired the event and outlined the general idea behind the research project. She emphasized that in order to assess the nuclear weapon states’ compliance with the NPT, it is crucial to discuss on-going modernization of nuclear weapons.

The first panellist, John Ainslie of Scottish CND—the author of the chapter on the United Kingdom—emphasized that the UK’s nuclear modernization programme is closely linked to the US. While most public attention have been focused on the renewal of Tridents submarines, Mr. Ainslie argued that warheads, missiles, and navigation systems are part of a broader modernization programme which consciously has been played down by the UK government. However, Mr Ainslie also emphasized that new developments on both international and domestic levels can have an effect on the future of the UK’s nuclear arsenal, such as the financial crises and the upcoming referendum of Scotland’s independence.

Andrew Lichterman of the Western States Legal Foundation gave an overview of the US modernization programme and explained that by looking at the budget allocations, research, and technology development, it is clear that the US is planning on keeping its nuclear arsenal at a “civilisation destroying size” for the foreseeable future. He noted that the US modernizing plans provide for the possibility of re-armament. Mr. Lichterman also noted that the debate in US Congress in regards to modernization has focused on a very small part of the total budget allocated to the US nuclear arsenal.

Tim Wright, director of ICAN Australia, presented the outcome of the ICAN publication *Don’t Bank on the Bomb*. Mr. Wright highlighted the 20 largest banks that invest in nuclear weapons programmes, most of them located in the US, UK, and France. He argued that many of these banks see investments in nuclear weapons as legitimate and therefore made recommendations on how civil society can challenge this. Mr. Wright provided some successful examples from prior divestment campaigns, such as the 1980s General Electric boycott and the cluster munitions campaign.

The final speaker on the panel, John Burroughs of the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy, spoke about how modernization relates to international law. He argued that while nuclear weapon states have supported quantitative disarmament, they have at the same time resisted commitments on the issue of qualitative modernization. Mr. Burroughs lamented the non-existence of an international institutional mechanism for the assessment on nuclear disarmament or any enforcement mechanism of NWS compliance. He concluded by arguing that if the NPT had more adequate institutional capability, it could prevent the NWS from manipulating international law for their own benefit.

During the Q&A, issues such as the discriminatory language of the NPT and the motivation of the military-industrial complex to maintain nuclear weapons were discussed.

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**News in Brief, cont’d**

- Japan reiterated its commitment to no first use and called on NWS to adopt this policy and to stop nuclear sharing arrangements,
- China called on all NWS to commit to the prohibition of nuclear weapons and to undertake disarmament following the guidelines of “promoting global strategic stability” and “undiminished security for all”.
- The US said it is “conducting the follow-on analysis called for in the 2010 U.S. Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) to set goals for future nuclear reductions in line with strategic requirements.”
- The US also said its “nuclear community” is “exploring the technical steps needed to ensure irreversibility, verifiability, and transparency as essential building blocks of nuclear disarmament” and considering how to collaborate with other NPT parties in this undertaking.
- The US said by 2009 it had reduced its nuclear stockpile to around 4500 warheads.
- France reiterated the recent reductions it has taken, cutting one-third of its airborne component and reducing to less than 300 warheads total.
- France also reiterated that it stopped producing fissile materials for use in nuclear weapons and has dismantled the relevant facilities.
- France argued that disarmament “relies first and foremost on mutual confidence among States and on the general perception of security, arguing that disarmament can’t “be decided while disregarding the strategic context in which we live.” –
**Side event report: New START implementation**  
*Elin Liss | Swedish Section of WILPF*

This seminar on the implementation of New START, arranged by the US and Russian delegations, included presentations by Rose Gottemoeller, US Department of State; Mikhail Ulyanov, Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; William Charles Vogt, US Department of Defense; and Alexander Troshkin, Russian Ministry of Defense, as well as a Q&A session with seminar participants.

Mr. Charles and Mr. Troshkin made presentations on the implementation progress made during the first year of New START, signed on 8 April 2010 and put into force on 5 February 2011. According to them, the US and Russia have: exchanged large numbers of notifications on information, data, and materials about reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, had mutual inspections, and exchanged telemetric information. Moreover, they have discussed issues related to the implementation of the Treaty through the Bilateral Consultative Commission (BCC).

All panel participants stressed the successful implementation of the Treaty during the first year. According to Ms. Gottemoeller, New START constitutes a win-win situation for both countries. Another aspect that was emphasized was that the US-Russian relationship has strengthened during the negotiations of the Treaty and that it has continued to do so during the beginning of the implementation process. Mr. Ulyanov also pointed out that nuclear disarmament does not occur in a political vacuum and that the environment for disarmament is becoming more and more favourable.

Several important issues were raised during the Q&A session. For example, the potential of initiating negotiations on non-strategic nuclear weapons, the operational readiness of nuclear weapons, and missile defence site inspections were put forward. Furthermore, the contradictory relationship between modernization plans and the START agreement was highlighted, and a seminar participant argued that reductions of nuclear weapons mean little if the arsenals that remain are being modernized leading to increased capacity. This issue was also discussed further in a parallel seminar where the Reaching Critical Will report Assuring destruction for-ever: nuclear weapon modernization around the world was launched. Obviously, disarmament and modernization do not go hand in hand. •

**Side event report: 2012 conference on the WMDFZ in the Middle East**  
*Emma Bjertén | Swedish Section of WILPF*

This seminar hosted by the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA) examined the prospects for the 2012 Conference on the Middle East Free Zone of Nuclear Weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. Ambassador Libran N. Cabactulan, Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the UN, Ambassador Khaled Shamaa, Egypt’s Ambassador to Austria & Member of the IAEA Board of Governors, Ambassador Wael Al-Assad, League of Arab States, and Rebecca Johnson from the Acronym Institute discussed how to go forward with the conference, which they see as one of the successes of the Review Conference.

With all respect to the achievements and the hard work at NPT meetings, Ambassador Wael Al-Assad asked what the criteria of success for the NPT is. Is it a document that most states have no ambition to refill? He said that the agreement on a conference was made in 2010 but stressed that we only can call it a success when the agreement is fulfilled. He expressed concern that it took a year and a half to come up with a facilitator and a host state. Ambassador Wael Al-Assad pointed out that we still don’t know what the agenda will be, what the structure will look like, what date it will take place, or what the expected outcomes are.

Rebecca Johnson focused on what should be done after the conference. She emphasized that we don’t want this conference to be just another event but that it should change the nature of the debate in the Middle East on how to get a region free from all weapons of mass destruction.

Ambassador Cabactulan stated that he did not see durable peace as a condition for a WMDFWFZ. This view was shared by Ambassador Wael Al-Assad, who stressed that states need to see the conference as an opportunity and not as a threat.

All the panelists emphasized the importance of the civil society. Ambassador Cabactulan said that civil society has a major role in pushing their governments. Dr. Johnson spoke about how the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) works in several states in the region and welcomed the statement on humanitarian consequences, which changes the nature of the debate.

Ambassador Khaled Shamaa said equality should be underlying discussion of the conference. He urged us to keep the Arab spring in mind when the youth in Egypt requested equality in terms of income, security, and job opportunities. He sees last year’s events as a reason for why we should move towards securing well-being and stated that the conference aims to maintain the security of everyone in the region. •
From March 23-27, 2012, some 30 international and regional civil society representatives from Egypt, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, as well as governments, the UN and Arab League officials convened in Civitavecchia, Italy and on board Peace Boat in the Mediterranean Sea under the auspices of Peace Boat’s Horizon 2012 Project to discuss the conference on the Middle East Nuclear Weapons and All Other Weapons of Mass Destructions Free Zone (NWMDFZ) scheduled for later this year in Finland.

The initiative, Horizon 2012, is a creative and comprehensive program of multi-track strategy-building, advocacy and diplomacy in the Middle East that seeks to build upon the decision by the 2010 NPT Review Conference to convene an international conference in 2012 on the establishment of a Middle East NWMDFZ, through building confidence and understanding within the region of the value of such a conference and the concrete possibilities and benefits offered by a future MENWMDFZ.

Horizon 2012 is an attempt by civil society to contribute to this process, in accordance with the role of civil society recognized in the Final Document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference, by providing a platform for civil society information sharing and confidence building in order to bring the issue of nuclear disarmament onto the agenda of civil society movements for peace, democracy and human rights in the Middle East. The project aims to develop and improve mechanisms for the coordination of CSO strategy, advocacy and outreach in the lead-up to, during and following the 2012 international conference.

It also seeks to facilitate discussions and enhance mechanisms for regular interactions and dialogue between civil society and decision-makers at the local, regional and international level, including government officials, representatives of regional and international organizations, as well as the facilitator for the 2012 international conference, Ambassador Jaako Laajava.

Implemented through series of meetings, the project brings together all stakeholders in the process (including NGOs representatives, academic institutions, parliamentarians, lawyers, former military officials, journalists, medical doctors, and key regional and international officials involved in the diplomatic process) to contribute with their first-hand experience, on the ground analysis and expertise, and strategic thinking on issues ranging from encouraging CSO participation in the lead-
up to and during the 2012 international conference to contributing key substantial elements to be negotiated in the process toward the creation of a MENWMDFZ.

During Horizon 2012’s series of meetings held in March 2012, participants engaged in direct exchanges of information and views, deliberations, as well as negotiations over a set of recommendations addressed to the 2012 international conference facilitator Mr Jaakko Laajava and to political leaders in the Middle East on the process towards the 2012 international conference.

Affirming that ownership of the process towards the establishment of a MENWMDFZ lies with the peoples of the region, participants identified basic principles that should guide deliberations at the 2012 conference and other future efforts to establish a MENWMDFZ — notably on the scope of participation, the substance of deliberation, the process for the establishment of the zone, as well as on the role civil society should play in this process.

Participants insisted that the Helsinki conference was not an end in itself but a first step in a long process towards the establishment of a MENWMDFZ and nuclear disarmament. Therefore, they called on governments to set a roadmap to achieve concrete practical progress by 2015, including an agreement over a timeline for the establishment of the zone by a given year.

In terms of agenda, participants recalled the need for parallel roadmaps to deal simultaneously with the establishment of an Israeli-Palestinian/Israel-Arab peace on the one hand, and the question of the global non-proliferation and disarmament regime on the other hand.

Stressing the importance of participation of all states in the region, as well as the Nuclear Weapons States, they noted that the success of the process lied not only in their presence, but also in the active, positive engagement of all stakeholders.

In substance, the zone should seek to achieve a total prohibition, including the development, production, possession, deployment, or use within the region of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction, as well as the means of their delivery. The process should be reinforced with effective mechanisms of transparency, verification and inspection.

Convinced that local, regional and international CSOs have a decisive role to play in determining the future of the region, participants called for CSOs to be given space to play an active role, including being granted public representation at the Finland conference itself.

They also discussed ways in which civil society can and should play a meaningful role in the process, including by reframing the debate, engaging with all stakeholders, improving outreach and coordination among existing CSO strategies, and developing new forms of creative engagement.

Among the proposals figured highlighting the humanitarian and humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons and WMDs, notably through the voices of victims of nuclear and chemical weapons; integrating issues such as human rights, health, environment, gender and culture into the disarmament debate, in addition to peace and security; and holding a civil society conference parallel to the Finland conference, so as to demonstrate the significance of civil society, highlight the many common points on which most CSOs in the Middle East can agree on, and act as a confidence-building signal to governments.

Read the full set of recommendations addressed to the 2012 international conference facilitator Mr Jaakko Laajava at http://bit.ly/horizon2012recommendations

For more Information about the project, including the Summary Report of the meeting, visit http://bit.ly/horizon2012

Horizon 2012 is a project of Peace Boat, supported by the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) and in partnership with the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) and IKV Pax Christi.

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**Nuclear cryptoquote**  
*Puzzles by Lily Gardener*

The following jumbled sentence is a quote by a Nobel Peace Prize recipient. Each letter represents another letter - there is a pattern!

PQNEPEJNENE, SEIJUGQJIPWE. SEIJUGWEEHJPIUKGATZMTUGEPIZEGTDEJUIGIJUTZEMTZEUGIV23,000VDKNEIJZIPGEISJ, NQWE 23,000EXEJTHEIVSPIQUQVRATZIMITMEVUTAISKZENEIJVEIJJ. SEIJUGQJQVKUESIVSSHIZDEZTVBXUGTJEPGETZEAKEKUPETHTVJTA MIJJSEJUZDKUQTVQVJUEISJASEJUZTXQVRUGEM, IVS BXUGTJEPGETZEIKGXEIZINNTKIUEUEVTABQNNQTVJASTNNIZJUOEZUQKINHTZNQAEZIUQTV.
28 Japanese NGOs call for an End to Japan’s Reprocessing Plans: Emphasis Put on Preventing Nuclear Weapons Proliferation

Takao Takahara | Peace Depot

On April 30, 2012, coinciding with the commencement of the First Preparatory Committee Meeting in Vienna for the 2015 NPT Review Conference, 28 Japanese NGO representatives and academics released a statement titled “No More Plutonium Production: Japanese NGO Joint Statement; Stop Plans for Reprocessing—Prevent Nuclear Weapons Proliferation”. Issuance at this time was intended to influence the ongoing overall review of the Japanese Nuclear Energy Policy.

The title of the statement succinctly embodies the content of it. Serious pursuit of nuclear disarmament requires looking into the so-called “peaceful use” of nuclear energy, as has repeatedly been pointed out. The statement calls on Japan, as a country that has experienced Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and that appeals for nuclear weapons abolition, to “immediately cease any policies which would reverse international efforts to this end,” and thus calls for the Japanese Government to “cease its plans for reprocessing of spent fuel.” Halt of the already moot program to establish a nuclear fuel-cycle is the case in point.

The statement points out that plutonium, which is created through reprocessing of spent fuel from civilian nuclear reactors, is known to be usable also for nuclear weapons. Japan already owns some 45 tons of separated plutonium, a large portion of which is located in UK and France where reprocessing had been conducted. If full-fledge operations at the Rokkasho Village Reprocessing Plant in Aomori Prefecture, Japan, were to commence, Japan could produce enough plutonium for a maximum of 1000 atomic bombs annually. The statement highlights that plans for use of this plutonium are not in place, and that this goes against the fundamental policy of the Japanese Government of promoting abolition of nuclear weapons.

The statement expresses concern over international implications. If the reprocessing program at Rokkasho proceeds as planned, Japan becomes the only non-nuclear weapon state with facilities to fully produce plutonium. This is likely to undermine the nuclear non-proliferation regime if other countries express their right to obtain the same technology as Japan. In the statement, warnings are made that Japan pursuing reprocessing plans would “cause confusion to global efforts to strengthen the nonproliferation regime,” including measures relating to countries and areas of concern.

The statement will be delivered to relevant Japanese Government agencies including the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Environment, and Industry, and the Atomic Energy Commission. It will also be distributed to State and NGO representatives present at the Vienna PrepCom.

Endorsement is also welcome from individuals or groups both in Japan and overseas. Expressions of endorsement should be sent by email with name, affiliation and country to nuclear.abolition.japan(at)gmail.com by Friday, May 11, 2011. The full text and list of co-signatories can be downloaded here:

http://www.peaceboat.org/english/content/documents/20120501_PlutoniumFNL.pdf

Note: The actual outcome of the ongoing review of the basic energy policy of Japan, specifically on what to do with the current reprocessing program, will be released in the form of a report from a subcommittee of the Japan Atomic Energy Commission in the middle of May. It will be publicly discussed through June. Meanwhile, on May 5, the last running nuclear reactor in Hokkaido will be turned off and enter an idling status for inspection that is required by law. This means that all the 50 reactors in Japan will be stopped and Japanese electricity shall be denuclearized. (Japan used to have 54 reactors, but the damaged 4 in Fukushima were formally decommissioned recently.) In Japan, May 5 is the “Children’s Day,” a national holiday. Now that the majority of the Japanese are for closing down of the nuclear power plants, this year’s Children’s Day is likely to be commemorated as a day of preemption for the future generation.

Disarmed Bomb of the Day
The Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation in cooperation with the International Panel on Fissile Materials (IPFM) and Princeton University organised an impressive line-up for this session.

Former Iranian ambassador Hossein Mossavian gave a personal analysis of the current state of the debate on the Iranian nuclear programme. German Ambassador to the UN Rüdiger Lüdeking reflected from the perspective of the E3+3 countries. In a friendly atmosphere, both speakers did not shy away from challenging each other’s statements. Both shared the hope that Iran and the international community will resolve the existing issues.

The convenors of the session also used the opportunity to discuss possible compromises that may end the current tensions. IPFM Chair Professor von Hippel proposed that the E3+3 recognise Iran’s right to enrich uranium and end the current sanctions in exchange for three steps from Iran:

- Full access for the IAEA to sites and cooperation with the IAEA in resolving outstanding issues;
- An agreement on limitations to Iran’s nuclear programme, including limitations on levels of enrichment and on the stockpiling of LEU (Uf6); and
- No reprocessing.

Von Hippel pointed out that this package would be in conformity with the 2005 package deal proposed by Iran and approved by Ayatollah Khamenei.

Hossein Mossavian responded with five additional recommendations to the E3+3 to enhance the chance of a preferable outcome of upcoming negotiations with Iran, planned to commence in Baghdad later this month:

- Recognize and acknowledge Ayatollah Khamenei’s repetition of the fatwā on the production and use of all WMD. Discuss with Iran how the fatwā is implemented.
- Depoliticise the debate. The Iranian nuclear programme has become a major issue in the US election campaigns, which further politicises the issue, and that is not helpful.
- Be careful not to further undermine the credibility of the IAEA. Wikileaks documents implying that IAEA Secretary General Amano “is solidly in the US court,” and the use of intelligence data provided by the US and others to the IAEA have fed Iranian concerns about the political independence of the IAEA.
- Make clear to Iran that restoration of normality through a comprehensive package with a clear end-state is the aim of the negotiations. This includes the resolution of outstanding questions, but also a clear picture of how and when sanctions are lifted.
- Keep in mind that Iran is not the only country with enrichment or reprocessing issues. Singling out Iran is not a viable strategy in the long run. A model developed to deal with the issue now could help in the future to deal appropriately with similar issues in the future.

Nuclear wordsearch

*I. Gardener

V N O I S S I M M O C E D C E
O E Q C A E S I U M B G K Y L
Y C N E R A P S N A R T G Y B
M E L T D O W N U I D W O O A
R V W A M I H S U K U F A Q T
N O I T C E P S N I L P N K I
H A G C H E R N O B Y L T G B
E T A N I M A T N O C E D V A
I D C M I T A E H R E V O Y H
I K A R K Z U V K R P U M H N
S J Z X I Q I L T E P C O G I
Q U P G S U N F X L Z T Z N
Z C F L V V I P O K F T C W U
D G F M A R C S X I X F C O M
N R E T S A S I D V N B N F O
In this seminar arranged by the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (NAPF), facilitator Rick Wayman of NAPF asked speakers David Krieger, Alice Slater, and Christian Ciobanu of NAPF, Jackie Cabasso of the Western States Legal Foundation, and Douglas Roche of the Middle Powers Initiative (MPI) to elaborate on the consequences of continued failure in the disarmament regime and potential action that could be taken in order to overcome these consequences.

According to David Krieger, the direct and indirect consequences of nuclear weapons, explored by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) in their report *Nuclear Famine: climate effects of regional nuclear war,* clearly show the need for immediate action from both Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) and Non-Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS). If the NWS have not engaged in negotiations of a Nuclear Weapon Convention before the 2015 NPT Review Conference (RevCon), Mr Krieger encouraged NNWS to boycott the RevCon and to start the process outside the traditional nuclear disarmament structure.

Jackie Cabasso emphasized that the financial, political and ecological crisis of the present world order increases the risk of conflict involving NWS. Still, nuclear weapons programmes are being modernized and nuclear disarmament especially manifested in the New START agreement from 2010 has come to mean lesser but more modern nuclear weapons. According to Ms Cabasso, reliance on nuclear weapons in security strategies and modernization of nuclear weapons by some NWS lead to proliferation of modernization programmes to other NWS.

Alice Slater underscored the interdependency between nuclear weapons and nuclear power. She argued that the promotion of nuclear power for civilian use has constituted a situation where several states have been able to develop material that could be used for nuclear weapons. Thus, the acceptance of nuclear power greatly increases the risk of nuclear weapon acquisition. Furthermore, the recent accident in Fukushima dramatically highlighted the risks related to nuclear power, and the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of this short-time solution to the over-consumption of energy of certain parts of the world.

Christian Ciobanu stressed the role of International Humanitarian Law in forthcoming disarmament negotiations, and welcomed that the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons have been brought to the fore in the nuclear disarmament sphere. According to him, there are several important steps that need to be implemented in order for further progress to be made, especially manifested in the outcome document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference.

According to Douglass Roche, continued failure cannot be considered a possibility, since the risks related to this are too serious to accept. Mr Roche is very concerned that generations growing up today have not understood the dangers of nuclear weapons and have merely accepted nuclear weapons as a reality of the world. According to him, the NPT is not enough and the only way to move forward is to build a legally binding ban on nuclear weapons.

Abolition 2000 Annual General Meeting

On Saturday 5 May the Abolition 2000 network will gather in Vienna for the 2012 Annual General Meeting. All are welcome, and encouraged to join.

The meeting will take place at the Kulturzentrum Amerlinghaus (Stiftgasse 8, 1070 Wien) from 9am – 6pm. Map and more information: www.abolition2000.org
The NPT’s “nuclear club” extends beyond the P5 to encompass the entire NATO membership, along with Japan, South Korea, and Australia. Nuclear-allied nations give weight and credence to nuclear weapons by participating in extended nuclear deterrence. In many cases, they contribute in practical ways to the maintenance of the US nuclear-war-fighting apparatus, including by hosting nuclear weapons on their soil.

Although all have adopted rhetoric in favour of a nuclear-weapon-free world, few have been willing to take meaningful steps to advance that goal. At this NPT Preparatory Committee, as at previous NPT review meetings, nuclear-allied states have emphasized proliferation problems and ignored modernization programmes. They have offered unreserved, and undeserved, praise to the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, and France for their efforts on disarmament.

The 10-nation Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative includes seven nuclear-allied nations. This is reflected in its modest disarmament agenda, which is concerned primarily with greater stockpile transparency. On Monday the initiative congratulated the P4 on their disarmament progress. It is not clear what Chile and Mexico—which have much stronger disarmament positions than those expressed by the group as whole—hope to gain from being part of the initiative.

Nuclear-allied nations have generally resisted the push for a global ban on nuclear weapons, even though in many cases their citizens have mobilized to demand leadership on nuclear disarmament. In Japan, for instance, more than 20 million citizens have signed petitions since 2009 calling for prompt negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention. Yet, the Japanese government continues to reject the idea, stating that it is premature and unlikely to succeed.

The Canadian public is also eager to see its government play a prominent role in negotiations for a nuclear weapons ban. 578 recipients of the Order of Canada, the nation’s highest civilian honour, have signed a statement appealing for work to begin on a convention. This initiative has resulted in a landmark resolution being adopted by the House of Representatives and Senate, with cross-party support, urging the Canadian government to advance a nuclear weapons convention. It has so far refused to heed this call.

A similar initiative in Australia has garnered the support of more than 700 Order of Australia awardees, including past prime ministers, governors-general, High Court justices, foreign ministers, defence ministers, military chiefs, and some of the nation’s most celebrated actors, artists, authors, businesspeople, and community leaders. But the Australian government, even under Labor rule, remains uncommitted to a ban.

The 146 nations that now support a nuclear weapons convention should exert greater pressure on nuclear-allied nations to come on board with this proposal. Their continued support for nuclear deterrence is clearly hampering disarmament.

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**Come and observe how**

**We negotiate a Nuclear Weapons Convention**

Sat, May 5 2012 10 am-1 pm, 3-6 pm
Sun, May 6 2012 8:45–11:45 am, 1–3:30 pm

at
Universität für Bodenkultur Wien (BoKu)
Gregor Mendel Haus (Main Building)
Gregor Mendel Straße 33
Auditory/Hörsaal VI

Chairs:  
Alfredo Labbé  
Ambassador of Chile  
and  
Alyn Ware  
PNND Coordinator

Participants:  
36 German university students

36 German university students simulate the negotiation of a Nuclear Weapons Convention. In four sessions, they will negotiate Article III (Declarations) of the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention (UN document A/62/650).

**Come to observe for an hour or the whole day!**

Contact: Regina Hagen, INESAP Disarmament Consultant and simulation organizer (Technische Universität Darmstadt); regina.hagen@jugendsstil.da.shuttle.de; mobile +49-172-630 13 14
This event was arranged by the UK Ministry of Defence, and featured Ambassador Jan Petersen, Head of Mission at the Norwegian Mission to the UN Vienna; Dr. Steinar Höibråten from the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment; Helen White from the Atomic Weapons Establishment; and Jessica Murphy from the UK Ministry of Defence. The seminar was chaired by Jo Adamson, UK Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

For the last five years, UK and Norway have been cooperating in an initiative (UKNI) to research and develop possible verification techniques for nuclear warhead dismantlement. A verification regime will be crucial for any future disarmament process in accordance with article VI of the NPT. Warhead dismantlement is only one of many parts that need to be put in place in order to implement the obligations according to article VI, and the UKNI is only addressing a fraction of all the technical work that needs to be done. However, the two governments argue that the initiative should be recognized as an interesting project that not only centers on technical development, but also includes increased knowledge on other key disarmament issues such as confidence building and the need for further discussions between nuclear weapons states (NWS) and non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS).

The UKNI carried out “managed access” exercises in 2008/09 and 2010. In addition to this, a workshop on verification techniques was carried out in 2011 during which 12 NWS were represented. The exercises used the format of a role-play, based on scenarios including two fictional states, one host and one inspector state. In addition to investigating technical challenges, the purpose has been to identify and move forward on procedural challenges and possibilities relating to verification processes.

The speakers noted that many questions have been raised in relation to UKNI workshops and exercises. One of them is the initialization problem in the verification process. How do you know that the container in front of you contains the nuclear weapons that the host says it does? Other problems include the issue of confidence: as the inspectors cannot be completely confident that the inspection result is accurate, it is hard to know how much confidence is “good enough”. There is also the question of non-proliferation. As non-proliferation is a legal obligation, it was asked how parties can work to better understand proliferation without proliferating?

According to the speakers, one of the lessons learned from the UKNI exercises is that “national security and proliferation concerns permeate through everything”. However, even if national security interests must be recognized, as one of the participants said, “they should not hold us back”. Important to remember is that security interests are not fixed, and that confidence-building measures are crucial for security concerns.

It was made clear during the seminar that the UKNI “will remain bilateral for the foreseeable future”. However, the panelists nonetheless emphasized that the UK and Norway will continue to interact with the international community as much as possible, and reports on further efforts will be given at coming NPT PrepComs as well as at the 2015 RevCon. Representatives from the initiative also encouraged states to do more research and development on verification, and they emphasized that disarmament “should not be done only by government officials and experts,” pointing to the need for innovative efforts in education and research. The UKNI representatives welcomed further engagement from the academic community as well as from NGOs. •
Side event report: Civil society strategies for establishing a nuclear free Middle East
Susi Snyder | IKV Pax Christi

It is not that often that panels about the Middle East region include active and engaged campaigners from that region. This panel was different. Instead of hearing prescriptions for success from outside the region, this panel presented some actual campaign efforts taking place in Egypt, Turkey, Bahrain, Syria, and Israel. Speakers at the session sponsored by ICAN and the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation included Akira Kawasaki, David Krieger, Ahmed Sa’ada, Arife Kose, Nasser Burdestani, Ghassan Sharour, and Sharon Dolev.

Akira Kawasaki of Peace Boat chaired the meeting opening and described the track two efforts of the Horizon 2012 project to bring civil society together to create a zone free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East. By bringing civil society actors from around the region, Peace Boat has offered a venue to further discuss and build campaigns around this issue.

David Krieger of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation spoke about the relationship between the current efforts to create the zone and past NPT review cycles, particularly the 1995 Review and Extension Conference. He noted the hypocrisy of the US in its failure to condemn the Israeli nuclear weapons programme; he reiterated that the US does officially support the creation of the zone, but questioned its sincerity.

Ghassan Sharour, from Syria, emphasised the importance of this discussion when so many are over-armed and so many more are over-hungry. From a Syrian context, he called for inspections of all nuclear reactors in the region by the IAEA. This was especially important after the Fukushima disaster, as a nuclear accident knows no borders. Mr. Sharour also talked about efforts to train professional experts in the region. He highlighted that the public opinion in the region, in Qatar, and other places, are in favour of disarmament.

Sharon Dolev of the Israeli Disarmament Movement noted that the coming Finland conference is something that has been hoped and wished for for many, many years. She argued that success would include an understanding that this conference is not the end, but the beginning of a process. Ms. Dolev reminded those in the room of the need to talk about universality. She said that it was important to remember that Israel is looking at Iran, that Iran is looking at Pakistan, that Pakistan is looking to India, India to China, China to the US, the US to Russia and so on. She argued that the only security is truly a nuclear weapons free world. She also described how including the global risks of a limited nuclear war in her educational activities was a campaign game changer, as it allowed people to continue owning their fear, while recognizing that it is a part of a global problem—it is far more than a regional issue. She argued that this is why we must outlaw nuclear weapons, just as chemical and biological weapons have been outlawed already.

Regarding the Finland conference, Ms. Dolev hoped that both Iran and Israel will come to the table with good will and engage in the start of a process. She suggested that the conference should establish a few confidence-building measures, such as announcing all missile tests.

Ahmed Sa’ada from Egypt expressed the importance and necessity of empowering youth. He explained that the changes across the Arab region have been a result of youth activity, of effective use of social media, and education around key issues. He talked about the responsibility to protect lives and that this is made impossible with the continued existence of nuclear weapons.

Arife Kose from Turkey highlighted how important it is to include NATO nuclear weapons in any discussions about the issue there. While she is campaigning for a nuclear weapons free world, educating the public about the need to remove the weapons in Turkey is a primary goal. This is especially important, as there is a great desire for the Prime Minister to play a significant contributing role towards the establishment of a weapons free zone in the Middle East. However, she argued that for Turkey to be an honest broker and serious contributor to that, the US weapons must be removed.

Nasser Burdestani comes from the financial sector in Bahrain and spoke of the newly expressed desire in Gulf countries to develop nuclear energy programmes. He argued that some suggest that this push for nuclear technology is because those in the Gulf look with two eyes, one at Iran and one at Israel, and this might be a way to hedge against a proliferating region. Mr. Burdestani suggested that it is time for NGOs to really take the lead and hoped that there would be an opportunity to engage with more NGOs from Iran on this issue in the near future.

The session continued discussing strategies for supporting the creation of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East and the urgent need for a global nuclear abolition treaty.
# Calendar of side events for Friday, 4 May 2012

*See www.reachingcriticalwill.org for a complete listing of events and regular updates*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When</th>
<th>What</th>
<th>Where</th>
<th>Who</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:30</td>
<td>Interfaith prayer vigil</td>
<td>Square outside the VIC</td>
<td>Christian CND UK</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:00–8:50</td>
<td>Abolition Caucus</td>
<td>CR M2</td>
<td>Abolition 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00–9:50</td>
<td>Government Briefing: Iran</td>
<td>CR M2</td>
<td>Reaching Critical Will</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00–13:00</td>
<td>Increasing transparency of nuclear-warhead and fissile material stocks</td>
<td>CR M2</td>
<td>International Panel on Fissile Materials</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00–11:30</td>
<td>Tour of CTBTO in French <em>Reservation required</em></td>
<td>Meet: M01 Exhibition Area 2</td>
<td>RSVP to <a href="mailto:pablo.mehlhorn@ctbto.org">pablo.mehlhorn@ctbto.org</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00–17:00</td>
<td>A-Bomb Exhibition “Under the Mushroom Cloud”</td>
<td>Near main entrance zone of the University of Vienna</td>
<td>Gensuikyo</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:15–14:45</td>
<td>Nuclear Weapons Abolition: the roles of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Japan</td>
<td>CR M2</td>
<td>Mayors for Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:15–14:45</td>
<td>Bringing the CTBT into Force</td>
<td>CR M3</td>
<td>Mission of Mexico in Vienna</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:15–14:45</td>
<td>Supporting New Nuclear Power Programmes in Developing Countries</td>
<td>CR M6</td>
<td>International Atomic Energy Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:15–14:45</td>
<td>International cooperation by EU in support of peaceful uses of nuclear energy</td>
<td>CR M1</td>
<td>EU delegation to the NPT PrepCom</td>
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<tr>
<td>14:00–15:00</td>
<td>Testimony of A-Bomb Survivors</td>
<td>MoE Exhibition Area</td>
<td>Gensuikyo</td>
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<tr>
<td>15:00–17:50</td>
<td>The modernization of the nuclear arsenals - a new arms race?</td>
<td>CR M2</td>
<td>IALANA and INES</td>
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<tr>
<td>16:30–18:30</td>
<td>A little more action, please</td>
<td>Vigil at UN entrance</td>
<td>BANg</td>
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<tr>
<td>17:30–19:00</td>
<td>Reception</td>
<td>MoE Exhibition Area</td>
<td>Mayors for Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>18:00–18:50</td>
<td>Preparing for simulated NWC negotiations</td>
<td>CR M2</td>
<td>INESAP, Technische Universität Darmstadt, und Universität Hamburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:00–21:30</td>
<td>Public event: Discussion of the Thursday symposium with politicians</td>
<td>Banquet Hall, University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, Gregor-Mendel-Straße 33</td>
<td>IALANA</td>
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## Weekend events

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<th>When</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturday, 5 May</td>
<td>Abolition 2000 Annual General Meeting</td>
<td>Kulturzentrum Amerlinghaus, Stiftgasse 8, 1070</td>
<td>Registration online at abolition2000.org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00–18:00</td>
<td>Simulating negotiations on an NWC</td>
<td>Universität für Bodenkultur Wien</td>
<td>INESAP, TUD, and Universität Hamburg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saturday, 5 May</td>
<td>ICAN flashmob</td>
<td>Stephansplatz</td>
<td>ICAN</td>
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<td>10:00–18:00</td>
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<td>10:30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sunday, 6 May</td>
<td>Simulating negotiations on an NWC</td>
<td>Universität für Bodenkultur Wien</td>
<td>INESAP, TUD, and Universität Hamburg</td>
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<td>8:45–15:30</td>
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