Editorial: Momentum and mobilization

Ray Acheson | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

The second preparatory committee (PrepCom) of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) marks the half-way point in the treaty’s review cycle. It provides space for all participants to assess where we are and where we need to go ahead of the 2015 review conference. To ensure success for 2015, we must capitalize on recent events and the momentum that is building among civil society and governmental actors in favour of nuclear abolition.

Just two months ago in Oslo, 127 governments, several UN agencies, and many civil society representatives took a close look at what would happen if a nuclear weapon were detonated today. The overwhelming conclusion was that no agency or government would be able to effectively respond to the humanitarian and environmental catastrophe that would be created by the use of nuclear weapons. The conference was a stark reminder—or for some, a first realization—that the effects of nuclear weapons are catastrophic, and that the threat posed by their existence is real.

Many Oslo participants will likely be coming into the NPT PrepCom with renewed determination to ensure these weapons are outlawed, eliminated, and relegated to history. The information and analysis generated for and by the Oslo meeting will provide an excellent catalyst for our work here in Geneva. Other initiatives and accomplishments should also give impetus and direction to our work. The open-ended working group on nuclear disarmament will soon to start its substantive work here in Geneva, hopefully providing a venue for governments and civil society to articulate concrete proposals on getting to zero. The recently adopted Arms Trade Treaty, while containing loopholes and limitations, provides an example of what governments and civil society can accomplish when they commit to developing international law aimed at preventing human suffering. In July and August, Nuclear Abolition Week and Nuclear Free Future Month, respectively, will provide opportunities for civil society groups around the world to demonstrate their thirst and dedication to achieving a world free of nuclear weapons. In September, the high-level meeting on nuclear disarmament, to be held on the margins of the UN General Assembly, will give government officials a chance to demonstrate their similar commitment.

But right now, for the next two weeks, our work will be focused on the NPT. A flawed treaty suffering from lack of implementation, the NPT indeed requires much work. PrepCom participants should use these two weeks to evaluate implementation of the NPT action plan and to start discussions on the commitments necessary for 2015. A simple reaffirmation of the 65 actions developed in 2010 would be wholly unacceptable at the next review conference. The development of next steps must begin now, and should build off the momentum provided by recent events.

Reaching Critical Will has contributed to the assessment of where we’re at in terms of NPT implementation. Our 2013 NPT Action Plan Monitoring Report provides a clear assessment of the status-so-far. Our research indicates that progress on the plan’s 22 actions related to nuclear disarmament has been the most eagerly anticipated but also the most disappointing. Our update to last year’s report on nuclear weapon modernization, Still Assuring Destruction Forever, confirms this view, as the plans and investments in modernization undermine any minimal arsenal reductions.

At the same time as the nuclear weapon possessors have been failing to comply with their disarmament obligations, tensions have been mounting over threats of nuclear war from non-NPT start party the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. Some nuclear weapon possessors have decided to use this as an opportunity to bolster support for their retention of their nuclear arsenals. In reality, this situation is a clear indication that no country should have these weapons of terror and that they must be banned once and for all, for everyone.

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In Oslo, the conclusion drawn by many delegations—and by all of the civil society groups attending the meeting—was that the elimination of nuclear weapons is the only way to prevent the catastrophic consequences that would result from their use. In keeping with that conclusion, several countries called for a ban on nuclear weapons, a treaty that prohibits their possession and development by all countries. As work begins in the NPT context, pursuing concrete ways to outlaw and eliminate nuclear weapons will be vital for achieving the core objectives of the Treaty and international peace and security. •

The views expressed in this publication are not necessarily those of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom or the Reaching Critical Will programme.
BEYOND
INTERNATIONAL
HUMANITARIAN LAW

Monday, 22 April 2013,
1:15 – 2:45
Room XVI, Palais des Nations, Geneva

Threat, deployment, and possession as well as use of nuclear weapons in light of human rights, the UN Charter, and the emerging concept of ecocide; implications for disarmament diplomacy.

Featuring:

Dr. John Burroughs, Executive Director, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy
Madeleine Rees, WILPF Secretary-General; former Head, Women’s Rights and Gender Unit, Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights
Amb. Paul Meyer, Adjunct Professor of International Studies and Fellow in International Security, Simon Fraser University; Senior Fellow, The Simons Foundation

Moderator: Rob van Riet, World Future Council


For more information, contact: johnburroughs@lcnp.org
At the beginning of March, the Norwegian government hosted a landmark conference in Oslo on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons and the inability of relief agencies to respond effectively in the event of a nuclear attack. More than 120 governments, the Red Cross, and several UN agencies participated. Their message came through loud and clear: the only way to ensure that nuclear weapons are never used again is to outlaw and eliminate them without further delay.

This unprecedented gathering of diplomats, experts and civil society actors was part of a new humanitarian-based approach to nuclear disarmament, which evolved out of the final document adopted in 2010 at the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review conference. There, the 189 parties to the treaty—including nuclear-armed Russia, the United States, United Kingdom, China, and France—had expressed their “deep concern at the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons”.

The NPT parties meet again this week in Geneva to prepare the ground for the 2015 review conference. Those that are genuinely interested in advancing the nuclear disarmament agenda will view this meeting as an opportunity to build on the momentum generated in Oslo, and to garner support for the follow-up conference on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons to be hosted by Mexico later this year or early in 2014. A humanitarian discourse

The governments of Norway, Switzerland, Austria, South Africa, and Mexico, among others, have been vocal in their support for a humanitarian-based approach to nuclear disarmament, arguing that the catastrophic effects of nuclear weapons on our health, societies, and the environment should be at the centre of all debates about these weapons. The global Red Cross and Red Crescent movement and the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons have also sought to emphasize the humanitarian impact.

Remarkably, the Oslo conference was the first time in the 68-year history of the nuclear age that governments had come together to address the problem of nuclear weapons purely through a humanitarian lens. Disarmament and non-proliferation discussions have traditionally focused on geopolitical and national security concerns. But as the processes that led to bans on landmines and cluster munitions demonstrated, adopting a humanitarian discourse is an important first step: new political coalitions can be formed and longstanding deadlocks overcome.

Disarmament diplomacy

Of the nine nuclear-armed states, only two—India and Pakistan—attended the Oslo conference. The permanent five members of the UN Security Council jointly boycotted the meeting, claiming that an emphasis on humanitarian consequences somehow diverted attention from the existing “step-by-step approach” to nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. But multilateral treaty negotiations to advance a nuclear-weapon-free world have been at a standstill for more than a decade and a half. The last major accomplishment in this field was the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996, which has still not entered into force.

Today the negotiating priority for the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament—often described as the sole multilateral disarmament negotiating forum—is a treaty to ban the production of fissile materials for weapons (although this is a non-proliferation measure, not a disarmament measure). In general, the nuclear-armed states have been unwilling to make legally-binding commitments to reduce their nuclear arsenals. However, Russia and the United States have agreed bilaterally to limit the number of deployed nuclear warheads in their forces.

The NPT review meetings remain the main diplomatic forum for disarmament and non-proliferation discussions, despite four of the nine nuclear-armed states not being involved—India, Pakistan, Israel, and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. The other five nuclear states have consistently refused to accept any timelines in relation to meeting their Article VI disarmament obligations. While paying lip service to the idea of a “world without nuclear weapons”, they invest tens of billions of dollars modernizing their nuclear forces with the clear intention of retaining them for many decades to come.

Towards a universal ban

The Non-Proliferation Treaty prohibits the 184 states parties without nuclear weapons from ever acquiring the bomb. In this sense, the treaty serves as a partial ban on nuclear weapons, complemented by several regional nuclear-weapon-free zones. However, the NPT does not expressly prohibit the use of nuclear weapons, nor their possession by the P5 nuclear-weapon states. Rather, it imposes an obligation on all states to pursue negotiations in good faith for nuclear disarmament.

Despite this disarmament provision, the nuclear-weapon states promote the view that retaining and

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modernizing their nuclear forces is entirely legitimate. They describe the attainment of a nuclear-weapon-free world as a centuries-long proposition. The negotiation of a nuclear weapons ban treaty—led by non-nuclear-weapon states—would powerfully challenge this status quo. It would delegitimize nuclear weapons for all states and help speed up the disarmament process.

Even without the support of the nuclear-weapon states, the benefits of a ban would be considerable. For example, it would strengthen the case against British renewal of its nuclear-armed submarines. It would put pressure on the five NATO states that host US nuclear weapons—Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Turkey—to end this practice. It would force countries such as Australia and Japan to rethink their participation in extended nuclear deterrence. And it would encourage banks around the world to stop financing companies that manufacture nuclear arms.

Conventions already exist to prohibit chemical and biological weapons, anti-personnel mines, and cluster munitions. All of these treaties have been influential in greatly reducing the stockpiles of such weapons. It is beyond time that nuclear weapons be prohibited also. As the Nobel Peace Prize winner Desmond Tutu remarked during the Oslo conference, “nuclear weapons are abhorrent and a grave danger no matter who possesses them ... threatening a city with radioactive incineration is intolerable no matter the nationality or religion of its inhabitants.”

Tim Wright is Australian Director of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (www.icanw.org).

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The Iranian Nuclear Crisis and Steps Toward a Middle East Zone Free of Nuclear Weapons And all Other Weapons-Of-Mass-Destruction

A panel organized by the Program on Science and Global Security Princeton University

Thursday 25 April, 15:00 – 17:00 PM
Room XVI, Palais des Nations

Speakers
Background, current status and prospects for conference on MENWFZ:
Amb. Hannu Kyröläinen (Deputy to the Facilitator on the conference on establishment of a Middle East WMDFZ, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finland)

Prospects for Iran and P5+1 negotiations and implications for MENWFZ:
Amb. Seyed Hossein Mousavian (former spokesman for Iran’s nuclear negotiators, now visiting research scholar, Princeton University, USA)

Confidence building and verification for a MENWFZ:
Professor Frank von Hippel (Professor of Public and International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, USA, and Co-chair, International Panel on Fissile Materials)

Education is key to changing perspectives about nuclear weapons and encouraging people to join us in working for a world free of nuclear weapons. In this spirit, the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation is convening a panel discussion entitled "Advances in Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education." It will be held on 23 April 2013 at the Graduate Institute of International Development Studies' Auditorium Jacques-Freyond (132 Rue de Lausanne) from 13:00 to 14:45.

The Ban All Nukes Generation, Graduate Institute Student Association, Graduate Institute's Students for Nuclear Disarmament Initiative, and Endignorance, with the support of the Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs of Austria, are co-sponsoring the event.

Speakers on the panel include: Ms. Beatrice Scarioni, Communications and Partnerships Officer, Endignorance; Mr. Christian N. Ciobanu, Geneva Representative, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation; Mr. Fujimori Toshiki, Hibakusha, Japan Confederation of A-and H- Bomb Sufferers’ Organization (Nihon Hidankyo); Mr. Kunihiko Sakuma, Hibakusha, Hiroshima Association of A-bomb Sufferers (Hiroshima Hidankyo); Mr. Hiroshi Taka, Representative Director, Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (GenbakuKyokai); Mr. Alyn Ware, Global Coordinator, Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament; and Dr. William Potter, Director, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies.
Across
1. David Krieger, NAPF President, defined what as the “ability to destroy humanity and other complex lifeforms.”
4. The first underwater nuclear explosions were part of which operation?
6. In 1958 who designed the logo of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (2 words)?
9. France carried out its first test of an atomic bomb in which country?
12. In 2005, which country released a white paper stating its government would not be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and under any circumstances?
13. What is the name of the summit at which, although talks collapsed, is seen as having resulted in the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty?

Down
2. Countries that possess nuclear weapons are sometimes referred to as what (2 words)?
3. What was the codename of the first Soviet nuclear test (2 words)?
5. Marie Skodowska-Curie died from an aplastic anemia, contracted from her long-term exposure to what?
7. As the only nuclear power to have used a nuclear weapon, what does President Obama say the US has?

Nuclear crossword

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Place des Nations, Geneva
Tuesday, April 23,
9:00-17:00

International Day of Action for Nuclear Disarmament


9:00-11:00 + animations
12:30 press conference of NGOs
2:00 p.m., 3:00 p.m., 4:00 p.m. puppet show "Punch and missiles"

Discussion Evening 18:15-21:30
Maison des Associations, 15 rue des Savoises (tram 15 to the Place du Cirque)
Snack offered.
Debate on the various planned actions, eg. the fasting action 6-9 August in Paris, Burghfield / Aldermaston, Büchel / Berlin

* CANVA ((Coordination of Non-violent Actions by the Communauté de l’Arche)
NPT NEWS IN REVIEW

Want to know what people are saying about the statement you just delivered?

Follow the NPT discussions on Twitter:

#NPTPrepCom
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CALENDAR OF EVENTS

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