



# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

People's Decade for Nuclear Abolition  
Act to make the world safe for people



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A Monthly Newsletter for Strengthening Awareness of Nuclear Abolition.

This page includes independent news coverage which is part of a project supported by Soka Gakkai International

This newsletter brings you independent news by IPS correspondents, in-depth reports and analyses by partners as well as columns by experts, news from international NGOs and a review of the global media for a glimpse of what is happening on the ground. Join us in helping strengthen awareness about the abolition of nuclear weapons – and encourage your friends and colleagues to subscribe to this free monthly newsletter.

## Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime Has Triple Standards

Says JOHN BURROUGHS of the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy in an interview with Thalif Deen: The abolition of nuclear weapons - and a halt to the spread of the deadly armaments - will be a major talking point at the month-long Review Conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), scheduled to take place at the United Nations beginning next week.

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## Is the U.S. Going Soft on Israeli, Indian & Pakistani Nukes?

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## Hollywood Documentary Calls for Zero Nuclear Weapons

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### Challenges Ahead for Security after the Nuke Summit

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### Toward a Modern Nuclear Security Enterprise

Transformation of the U.S. atomic weapons complex into “a modern, sustainable 21st century nuclear security enterprise” forms the nucleus of President Barack Obama’s agenda manifested in the new START Treaty, he and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev signed in Prague on April 8.

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### Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime Has Triple Standards

Thalif Deen interviews JOHN BURROUGHS of the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy

John Burroughs



UNITED NATIONS, Apr 29, 2010 (IPS) - The abolition of nuclear weapons - and a halt to the spread of the deadly armaments - will be a major talking point at the month-long Review Conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), scheduled to take place at the United Nations beginning next week.

The conference, held every five years, comes at a time when the administration of U.S. President Barack Obama has pledged the near-impossible: ushering in a "world without nuclear weapons".

The promise may fall short of reality since the world's declared and undeclared nuclear powers have given no indication of either abandoning their weapons or agreeing to jettison them - at least without any preconditions.

John Burroughs, executive director of the New York-based Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, says civil society has mobilised on a scale not seen since the 1980s, gathering over 10 million signatures on petitions calling for negotiations on a global nuclear abolition agreement.

But he warns that the NPT Review Conference, due to take place May 3 through May 28, "will not be the place where the confrontation over Iran's nuclear programme is resolved, or North Korea's acquisition of nuclear weapons is reversed".

In an interview with IPS U.N. Bureau Chief Thalif Deen, Burroughs said the ingredients for a good outcome at the Review Conference do exist.

"There is determination on the part of most countries to reverse the decade-long slide toward disintegration of the NPT," he said.

He said President Obama has eloquently explained nuclear dangers, articulated a vision of a world free of nuclear weapons, and set in motion what he says are steps toward that goal.

And most notably, the United States and Russia signed a treaty Apr. 8 that would again apply verification to reductions of long-range nuclear weapons, Burroughs pointed out, "although the reductions themselves are quite modest, leaving in place society-destroying capabilities, while the United States in the meantime is increasing spending on weapons production facilities".

Excerpts from the interview follow.

**Q: What are your expectations of the month-long conference? And what would you consider the benchmark for measuring success?**

A: I would consider the conference a success if the key past commitments were affirmed, concrete steps were agreed on multilateralisation of reduction and elimination of nuclear arsenals, and support was expressed for strengthening controls on non-proliferation like the Additional Protocol (where each non-weapons state would agree to provide more access and transparency of its nuclear activities).

But negotiations will be intense and difficult in three main contested areas. One concerns an action plan for nuclear disarmament. It probably won't be that hard to affirm updated versions of past commitments made at NPT conferences in 1995 and 2000, including bringing the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty into force; starting negotiations to ban production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons; applying the principle of irreversibility to reductions of arsenals; and diminishing the role of nuclear weapons in security policies. >>>



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### **Q: What are the other stumbling blocks to a successful conference?**

A: A second contested area will concern strengthening of measures on preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, including: enhancing the IAEA's (International Atomic Energy Agency) inspection powers through adoption of the Additional Protocol, multilateral controls on the production and supply of fuel for nuclear reactors, adding restrictions on withdrawal.

Many non-nuclear weapon states resist such measures, contending that they have already paid for disarmament by joining and complying with the NPT. But it is possible that agreement could be reached on weaker commitments, for example encouraging states to adopt the Additional Protocol.

A third contested area will concern advancing the achievement of a zone free of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons in the Middle East, as promised by a resolution adopted by the 1995 NPT conference. This is vital to Arab states and it could also be helpful in resolving the dispute over Iran's nuclear programme. Here the signals are promising. It appears that agreement may be reached on convening an international conference in the next one or two years.

### **Q: Do you anticipate any other barriers during negotiations?**

A: Also complicated will be negotiations concerning a commitment to multilateralisation of reductions of nuclear arsenals, bringing states with nuclear arsenals beyond the United States and Russia into the process. The Obama administration has endorsed this approach in principle, but offered no concrete near-term mechanisms. Something may be possible along these lines.

### **Q: Will the conference succeed in adopting a final document - considering the fact that the 2005 Review Conference ended without any substantive agreement?**

A: Whether the Review Conference can adopt a final document by consensus will depend not only on reaching agreement in the contested areas, but also on whether certain states want to disrupt the outcome for their own purposes. If consensus is not possible, ways other than a final document could be found to signal broad agreement.

### **Q: Why is there a perception of hypocrisy and double standards by the United States and other Western powers trying to penalise Iran for nuclear weapons it does not possess when they have a different set of rules for the three undeclared nuclear states: India, Pakistan and Israel?**

A: The non-proliferation regime has a fundamental problem of double, indeed, triple standards. The NPT itself is a two-tier system, with some states acknowledged to have nuclear weapons but obligated to negotiate their elimination, and others subject to a verified obligation of non-acquisition. Then there are the states with nuclear arsenals outside the NPT: India, Pakistan, and Israel, and recently North Korea.

This puts considerable strain on some states inside the NPT required not to obtain nuclear weapons. The Nuclear Suppliers Group exemption for India pushed by the United States exacerbates the uneven application of standards. It permits nuclear commerce with a state that has not even formally accepted the disarmament obligations and commitments undertaken by the nuclear weapon states within the NPT.

Meanwhile, a non-nuclear weapon state in the NPT, Iran, is scrutinised and penalised due to a programme suspected of aiming at making it capable of producing nuclear weapons. There is only one solution to the problem of triple standards: the creation of a global system with one rule applying to all states, non-possession of nuclear weapons.

While there are many different views on how and when to achieve this, the basic point is increasingly accepted in many quarters, elite and popular, North and South, peace activists and national security experts. ■



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### Is the U.S. Going Soft on Israeli, Indian & Pakistani Nukes?

By Thalif Deen



President Barack Obama holds a bilateral meeting with Prime Minister Syed Yousuf Raza Gilani of Pakistan at Blair House in Washington, Apr. 11.  
Credit: White House Photo/Pete Souza

UNITED NATIONS, Apr 15, 2010 (IPS) - When a much-ballyhooed two-day nuclear security summit ended in Washington early this week, there were several lingering questions that remained unanswered - even by the host of the high-powered 47-nation gathering, U.S President Barack Obama.

Will the United States call on Israel to declare its nuclear weapons programme and will it push the Jewish state to sign the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)?

Will the Obama administration try to convince India and Pakistan to sign the NPT?

On all three counts, the United States made little or no progress at an unprecedented summit meeting where the primary focus was to prevent nuclear weapons from falling into

the hands of terrorist groups.

"The summit reached useful agreements on such matters as securing nuclear materials that could be used in nuclear explosives within four years; strengthening security at nuclear facilities; and reducing the amount of bomb-usable highly enriched uranium in use and circulation," said John Burroughs of the New York-based Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy.

"But, given the presence in Washington of 47 governments, most represented by heads of state, it missed a unique opportunity to make a start on ridding the world of nuclear weapons altogether," he added.

As most news reports rightly pointed out, Obama "ducked" the questions on Israel, when he pointedly told reporters: "As far as Israel goes, I'm not going to comment on their (nuclear weapons) programme."

"What I'm going to point to is the fact that consistently we have urged all countries to become members of the NPT. So there's no contradiction there," Obama said.

"And so whether we're talking about Israel or any other country, we think that becoming part of the NPT is important. And that, by the way, is not a new position. That's been a consistent position of the United States government even prior to my administration," he added.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu himself "ducked" the summit at the eleventh hour apparently due to concerns that his country's secretive nuclear weapons programme could be a subject of discussion at the meeting. But it wasn't.

The three undeclared nuclear powers - India, Pakistan and Israel - have all refused to sign the NPT, as against the five declared nuclear powers, the United States, Britain, France, China and Russia.

A month-long review conference of the NPT is scheduled to take place at the United Nations beginning May 3.

Burroughs told IPS: "As to Israel, President Obama, as is the usual U.S. position, did not comment on whether it has nuclear weapons."

What did not come up is that progress on achieving a Middle East zone free of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons will be key to whether the NPT Review Conference in May yields an agreed final outcome, he pointed out.

One proposal now being seriously explored, Burroughs said, is that U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon would convene a conference to launch a process regarding such a zone. >>>



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"The decision to indefinitely extend the NPT in 1995 would not have taken place absent a resolution on a Middle East zone to be promoted by the three depository parties for the NPT, the United States, United Kingdom, and Russia," he added.

Asked about Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme, Obama went soft. "I don't think Pakistan is playing by a different set of rules," he said. "I think we've been very clear to Pakistan, as we have been to every country, that we think they should join the NPT."

But he pointed out that he has "actually seen progress over the last several years with respect to Pakistan's nuclear security issues".

"I want to lower tensions throughout South Asia when it comes to nuclear programmes," Obama said. "And I think that the fact that Prime Minister (Yousuf Raza) Gilani came here, signed on to a communique, and made a range of commitments that will make it more likely that we don't see proliferation activities or trafficking occurring out of Pakistan is a positive thing."

"Do we have a lot more work to do? Absolutely. But I think that Prime Minister Gilani's presence here was an important step in assuring that we do not see a nuclear crisis anywhere in South Asia," Obama added.

In contrast, Obama took a relatively tough stand against North Korea (and its nuclear testing) and Iran (accused of trying to develop nuclear weapons).

Burroughs told IPS that both India and Pakistan are producing fissile materials for nuclear weapons.

Pakistan is bringing two new weapons-grade plutonium production reactors online, and is blocking commencement of negotiations on a Fissile Materials Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

At the summit, President Obama reportedly talked with Gilani about the FMCT, but gained no commitment to allow negotiations to begin.

"Nor did the summit itself deal with production of fissile materials for weapons," Burroughs noted.

When asked at a press conference about Pakistan's expansion of its nuclear programme, Obama said only that Pakistan has made commitments regarding prevention of proliferation activities like smuggling and that the U.S. position is that Pakistan should join the NPT.

Meanwhile, the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy said civil society will use the NPT Review Conference next month to remind delegates that, since each nuclear weapon state, whether inside or outside the NPT, seems determined to maintain its nuclear arsenal as a deterrent against every other such state, the vision of a nuclear weapons-free world will remain a chimera.

This will remain so, as long as the elimination of all nuclear weapons is not approached in a universal mode, as required by the International Court of Justice in its Advisory Opinion of 1996. ■



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### **Hollywood Documentary Calls for Zero Nuclear Weapons**

**By Pratap Chatterjee**

WASHINGTON, Apr 8, 2010 (IPS) - Hollywood and Silicon Valley leaders have teamed up with Middle Eastern royalty and high-level U.S. diplomats to send a message to heads of state who are gathering here in Washington next week: the world needs to reduce its nuclear arsenal to zero as soon as possible.

Next week, U.S. President Barack Obama will host leaders of 47 countries in Washington - including Russian President Dmitri Medvedev, Chinese President Hu Jintao, French President Nicolas Sarkozy and German Chancellor Angela Merkel - to discuss how to keep nuclear weapons out of terrorists' hands. India and Pakistan are expected to attend but Iran and North Korea have not been invited.

In advance of this "Nuclear Security Summit", the directors of a months-old campaign called "Global Zero" held a press conference in Washington on Thursday.

The centrepiece of the event was a new film "Countdown to Zero" directed by Lucy Walker, a British filmmaker, and produced by Lawrence Bender, who also produced the acclaimed climate change film "Inconvenient Truth" and several Quentin Tarantino films like "Inglorious Basterds."

The film was financed by Jeff Skoll, Canadian-born billionaire founder of eBay, the online auction site, who has funded a number of political films like "Food, Inc." as well as dramas like "Charlie Wilson's War".

Film publicists say that the documentary - which includes interviews with former heads of state Jimmy Carter, Mikhail Gorbachev, Tony Blair, and Pervez Musharraf - concludes that "our only option is to eradicate every-last nuclear missile".

"Nuclear weapons have lost their political and military utility," said Richard Burt, a former U.S. ambassador who was the chief negotiator in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) with the former Soviet Union in 1991.

"The danger today is not nuclear conflict but the spread of nuclear materials," he added as he introduced a range of speakers like Queen Noor of Jordan and General John J. "Jack" Sheehan, former Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic for NATO.

At the peak of the Cold War, the Soviet Union and the U.S. possessed 19,000 nuclear weapons, enough to destroy the world hundreds of times over. The two countries have reduced this number to a ceiling of 2,200 weapons each - but a new treaty signed in Prague today by Obama and Medvedev will cut the number of nuclear warheads to 1,550 over the next seven years.

President Obama also unveiled a new Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) two days ago that will significantly limit the circumstances under which Washington would use nuclear weapons. This new strategy forbids the use of nuclear weapons against signatories in good standing of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), puts a stop to the testing of nuclear weapons and development of new nuclear warheads, and requires the White House to seek Senate ratification and the entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). >>>



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At the signing ceremony in Prague, Obama and Medvedev ratcheted up the pressure on Iran and North Korea, neither of whom are signatories to the NPT, suggesting that they could face retaliation if they did not join the treaty. Obama called for "smart" and "strong" sanctions by the United Nations, while Medvedev said: "Unfortunately Tehran is not reacting to an array of constructive compromise proposals. We cannot close our eyes to this."

The two presidents did not agree on everything - they parted ways on U.S. plans to build an anti-missile shield in Europe to counter Iran.

Film producers Bender and Skoll say they would like to break through this global leadership stalemate by getting as many people to sign a statement calling for a complete elimination of nuclear weapons and a lockdown on loose nuclear materials.

In a teaser clip from their documentary film, which is scheduled to be released on Jul. 9, world leaders and ordinary citizens say one after the other: "Zero".

Asked if he would take the film to countries like Iran and North Korea, Bender said he would be more than willing to. Queen Noor of Jordan, who also spoke at the press conference, and who regularly visits Syria said she would be happy to try and encourage Middle Eastern leaders from throughout the region to view the film and sign the pledge for zero nuclear weapons.

Anti-nuclear activist groups say Obama himself could also do more. They say that while Obama is using the nuclear posture review, the START treaty and the nuclear security summit to paint himself as a nuclear dove, his actions on Iran and North Korea show that he could further reduce the threat of nuclear proliferation.

"It is, in other words, a very hawkish nuclear posture - a hawk dressed in dove's feathers," says Greg Mello, executive director of the Los Alamos Study Group (named after one of the key sites at which the U.S. government first developed nuclear weapons). "This posture review attempts to reconcile liberal ideals with the hawkish realities of current U.S. nuclear policy. Those policies are to continue almost unchanged."

Mello put the Prague agreement in perspective by noting that to date - on a numerical and a percentage basis - Obama's stockpile cuts have been surpassed by the previous administration of George W. Bush. "This posture review aims for nuclear stability worldwide as a background for the continued application of U.S. 'hard power,'" Mello said. ■



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### Challenges Ahead for Security after the Nuke Summit

By Ernest Corea



WASHINGTON DC (IDN) - The Nuclear Security Summit convened by President Barack Obama attracted 47 high-level participants – over 30 of them heads of state or government – who collectively agreed on several small but important steps on the path towards global safety from a “rogue” nuclear attack. This could be mounted by “non-state” sources or by a state that does not observe the rules.

“The agreement of 47 nations to specific steps to safeguard nuclear materials and technology has to be welcomed especially in averting the dangers of nuclear weapon proliferation and non-state actors acquiring them,” says Ambassador Jayantha Dhanapala, who presided over the 1995 Non-Proliferation

Treaty (NPT) Review and Extension Conference. Formerly the UN Under-Secretary General for Disarmament (1998-2003), he is President of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, and Jennings Randolph Senior Visiting Scholar, U.S. Institute of Peace.

“Norms with regard to this had already been established by the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials and Nuclear Facilities and its Amendment. The problem of nuclear terrorism had also been addressed by the Security Council Resolution 1540 and the International Convention for the Suppression of Nuclear Terrorism,” Dhanapala added.

“Unfortunately,” he pointed out, “not all the 47 countries participating in the Washington Summit have signed and ratified the two conventions I have mentioned. We must also remember that the problem really lies with nuclear weapons for which there are neither wrong hands nor right hands”.

The assessment that the real problem lies with the continued existence of nuclear arsenals is consistent with Obama’s view, as stated in his speech of April 2009 in Prague where he articulated a commitment “to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons.”

Security from the theft or loss and use of nuclear material is but one segment of the broader search for a nuclear weapons free world to which men and women of peace aspire.

#### **OBLIGATION**

The U.S. is considered a potential target of a “rogue” terrorist attack because Al Qaeda has openly said that it considers the acquisition of material for a nuclear weapon a prime obligation.

Other countries are also vulnerable to such attacks. Imagine, for example, the extent of destruction that would have been caused had the Mumbai terrorists possessed a “suitcase nuclear bomb.”

More than 18 cases have already been recorded of highly enriched uranium or plutonium being lost or stolen. Over 2000 tons of plutonium and highly enriched uranium exist in several countries, some of which have no safeguards against theft.

With those stark realities in mind, summit participants agreed that “nuclear terrorism is one of the most challenging threats to international security, and strong nuclear security measures are the most effective means to prevent terrorists, criminals, or other unauthorized actors from acquiring nuclear materials.”

So the goal of the nuclear security summit was to start moving towards a regime in which materials that can be used to manufacture a nuclear device are protected to the fullest extent possible.

Obama told a news conference at the conclusion of the summit: “I said this morning that today would be an opportunity for our nations, both individually and collectively, to make concrete commitments and take tangible steps to secure nuclear materials so they never fall into the hands of terrorists who would surely use them. >>>





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"This evening, I can report that we have seized this opportunity, and because of the steps we've taken -- as individual nations and as an international community -- the American people will be safer and the world will be more secure."

An official summary of the summit communiqué sets out its highlights. The communiqué:

- Acknowledges the need for all vulnerable nuclear material to be secured in four years;
- Proposes that focused national efforts be made to improve security and accounting of nuclear materials and that regulations concerning plutonium and highly enriched uranium be strengthened;
- Seeks to consolidate stocks of highly enriched uranium and plutonium and to reduce the use of highly enriched uranium,
- Promotes universality of key international treaties on nuclear security and nuclear terrorism;
- Notes the positive contributions of mechanisms like the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism to build capacity among law enforcement, industry, and technical personnel,
- Calls for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to receive the resources it needs to develop nuclear security guidelines and provide advice to its members on how to implement them,
- Seeks to ensure that bilateral and multilateral security assistance would be applied where it can do the most good, and
- Encourages the nuclear industry to share best practices for nuclear security, at the same time making sure that security measures do not prevent countries from enjoying the benefits of peaceful nuclear energy.

In addition to the communiqué, the summit produced a work plan, and a reference guide to the work plan.

## **INITIATIVES**

The summit also provided participating governments with the opportunity to announce initiatives some of them had already taken, or would be taking. For instance:

Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton signed an update to a 2000 agreement calling on each country to dispose of 34 metric tons of weapons-grade plutonium by burning it as fuel in nuclear reactors. Additionally, Russian President Medvedev re-confirmed plans to close a plutonium production reactor.

Ukraine announced that it would give up its 90-kilogram stock of highly enriched uranium and convert its research reactors from highly enriched to low-enriched uranium. It intends to accomplish these goals by 2012.

Canada informed the meeting that it would be returning a large amount of spent highly enriched uranium fuel from its medical isotope production reactor to the U.S.; championing the extension of the G8 Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction; funding highly enriched uranium removals from Mexico and Vietnam; hosting and funding a World Institute of Nuclear Security best practices workshop in Ottawa; and providing \$100 million in new bilateral security cooperation with Russia.

India made known its decision to establish a Global Centre for Nuclear Energy Partnership, to create and disseminate the knowledge required for nuclear security.

Chile, Kazakhstan, and Vietnam agreed to dispose of highly enriched uranium used in civilian facilities.

This is only a representative sampling. Taken together, undertakings of specific action by individual governments suggest that the momentum towards nuclear security has actually begun. >>>



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### **NON-BINDING**

Critics will undoubtedly argue that the main outcome of the summit is merely a non-binding communique, and therefore hardly worth the drafting effort.

Others have already complained that the summit neither discussed nor agreed on action against Iran whose nuclear enrichment program they consider the greatest potential source of nuclear insecurity.

It could also be said that clandestine nuclear stockpiles, such as that said to be possessed by Israel, were not addressed and that Obama, in fact, glided away from the question when it was raised at his news conference.

The fact that participation at the summit was selective – selected by the U.S. Government – and not universal, will also be seen as having weakened the event.

### **SUPPORTIVE**

These are significant issues and will continue to be raised. The fact that a non-binding communiqué came out is not really a crippling infirmity, however, because even “binding” agreements are known to be broken. Moreover, a communiqué signed by over 30 heads of state and government cannot be easily shrugged off.

On the other side of public opinion, meanwhile, there have been a number of supportive assessments such as the comment from former Senator Sam Nunn, a genuine expert on nuclear matters and for many years a supporter of nuclear disarmament: "we are now closer to cooperation than catastrophe."

Britain's foreign secretary (minister) David Miliband, said that the summit had successfully broken “a culture of cynicism” about matters connected with nuclear issues. Daryl Kimball, Executive Director of the Arms Control Association, and Peter Crail, a Nonproliferation Analyst at the association, said "the summit was also able to point out that this risk of nuclear terrorism is a shared one and is not just a threat to the U.S." They called on the "U.S. Congress to fully support programs aimed at enhancing nuclear security around the globe and combating illicit nuclear trafficking".

For Obama, the nuclear security summit was one more action point to be marked off on an agenda leading towards the goal of total nuclear disarmament that he set out in his Prague speech of April 2009. He reaffirmed that goal during a visit to Japan in a “Joint Statement toward a world without nuclear weapons.”

A year after that initial exuberance of a Prague Spring, the U.S. Government has sought to nurture more of that spirit. The U.S. issued a redesigned “Nuclear Posture Review” that reduces dependence on nuclear weapons while committing itself to strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; signed a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) with Russia that reduces the number of strategic arms on both sides; and convened the nuclear security summit. Next comes the NPT Conference in May 2010.

Two years from now, a nuclear security summit will be held in South Korea. The extent to which the promises and hopes of 2009 and 2010 – in their full dimensions -- have been fulfilled by all parties, or are approaching fulfilment by 2012, will show whether the world is ready for nuclear disarmament, including nuclear security, or whether the great hopes and initiatives of today are the great disappointments of tomorrow. (IDN-InDepthNews/15.04.2010)

JAPANESE >>>[http://www.polyglot.indepthnews.net/pdfs/Challenges\\_Ahead\\_for\\_Security\\_after\\_the\\_Nuke\\_Summit.pdf](http://www.polyglot.indepthnews.net/pdfs/Challenges_Ahead_for_Security_after_the_Nuke_Summit.pdf)

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The writer has served as Sri Lanka's ambassador to Canada, Cuba, Mexico, and the USA. He was Chairman of the Commonwealth Select Committee on the media and development, Editor of the Ceylon 'Daily News' and the Ceylon 'Observer', and was for a time Features Editor and Foreign Affairs columnist of the Singapore 'Straits Times'. He is on the IDN editorial board. ■



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### **Toward a Modern Nuclear Security Enterprise**

**By Ramesh Jaura**

BERLIN (IDN) – Transformation of the U.S. atomic weapons complex into “a modern, sustainable 21st century nuclear security enterprise” forms the nucleus of President Barack Obama’s agenda manifested in the new START Treaty, he and Russian President Dmitriy Medvedev signed in Prague on April 8.

The new nuclear security enterprise will cost the taxpayer \$7.6 billion per year by fiscal year 2015. Additional \$9.9 billion are expected to be spent on missile defense in 2011, almost \$700 million more than in the fiscal year 2010. A twenty-first century nuclear security enterprise is regarded not only critical to maintaining the U.S. nuclear deterrent, but also essential to supporting a number of other nuclear security missions, including nuclear nonproliferation, nuclear counterterrorism, emergency response, and support to the intelligence agencies.

With this in view, the U.S. will invest in “revitalizing the intellectual infrastructure that serves as the foundation of our capabilities in addition to recapitalizing an outdated physical infrastructure,” according to a 67-page official briefing book released to coincide with the ‘Prague spring’. The task to “maintain and enhance the safety, reliability and performance of the United States nuclear weapons stockpile,” in addition to broader nuclear security missions, enjoins by law on the Department of Energy’s National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA).

“The President’s budget request for NNSA for fiscal year 2011 reflects the Administration’s commitment to the Nation’s nuclear deterrent and the Nuclear Security Enterprise that enables it. The President’s budget includes more than \$7 billion for Weapons Activities and associated infrastructure, up 10 percent from fiscal year 2010,” the ‘New START Treaty U.S. Senate Briefing Book’ points out.

A joint product of the U.S. Departments of State and Defense, the publication spells out the budget request: Increased funding for directed stockpile work by 25 percent to ensure the safety, security and effectiveness of the nuclear weapons stockpile, including:

- full production of the W76-1 to extend the life of the warhead for an additional 30 years;
- a life extension study for the B61 gravity bomb to extend its service life, enhance its safety and use control features, and ensure compatibility with modern aircraft;
- a study to explore future options to maintain the W78 warhead; and
- continued maintenance, surveillance and certification for all weapons systems.

The budget request also envisages increased funding for science, technology and engineering by more than 10 percent to ensure the ability to assess and certify the stockpile without underground nuclear testing utilizing advanced scientific capabilities, including the world’s fastest supercomputers, and stepwise development of the predictive framework capability.

The Obama administration plans to reinvest in the scientists, technicians and engineers “responsible for a successful stockpile stewardship and management program and recapitalization of the physical infrastructure, including major long-term construction projects to replace aging facilities that house essential capabilities for plutonium and uranium”. Obama also plans to sustain and augment stockpile stewardship and management investments into the future, with funding for these programmes increasing steadily, to \$7.6 billion per year by fiscal year 2015.

“Through these investments, NNSA’s Nuclear Security Enterprise will ensure a highly specialized and trained technical workforce, committed to maintaining the U.S. nuclear deterrent through safe and security operations and stewardship of the environment, while leveraging their capabilities to address cross-cutting national security mandates through scientific innovation,” states the briefing book. The briefing book vigorously points out that the New START Treaty does not contain any constraints on testing, development or deployment of current or planned U.S. missile defense programmes or current or planned U.S. long-range conventional strike capabilities. >>>



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“The United States is developing and fielding missile defenses to defend the United States, our forces abroad, and our allies and partners against the threat of ballistic missile attack,” the document informs and goes on to add: “The New START Treaty contains no limits on our ability to continue developing and fielding missile defenses. But the Treaty does contain a statement in the preamble acknowledging the interrelationship of missile offense and missile defense, as President Obama and President Medvedev agreed in their Joint Statement of July 2009. This provision is not a binding obligation.”

The briefing book refers to an important point of disagreement between the U.S. and Russia that may at a later stage become a source of serious contention. As was done in the case of START, Russia has made a unilateral statement regarding missile defenses. “Its statement is not legally binding and therefore does not constrain U.S. missile defense programs. In fact, we have also made a unilateral statement, making clear that nothing in the Treaty will limit current or planned U.S. missile defense programs. Such unilateral statements are documents associated with the Treaty, but are not part of the Treaty. These statements will not be subject to Senate advice and consent, though they will be shared with the Senate,” notes the briefing book.

The Treaty prohibits the conversion of ballistic missile defense interceptor launchers to intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) or submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) launchers, and vice versa. However, according to the document, “this provision has no effect on our ability to develop and field missile defenses.” The briefing book informs that the United States is currently building 14 Ground-Based Interceptor (GBI) silos at Ft. Greely, Alaska. New construction of silo launchers for missile defence purposes at Ft. Greely, Vandenberg Air Force Base, or anywhere else is not limited by the New START Treaty.

“The five existing GBI silos at Vandenberg Air Force Base, which were converted from ICBM silos prior to treaty signature, are grandfathered under the Treaty, and thus are not constrained by the Treaty.” Undeterred by any criticism, the document vows that the United States will continue to invest in improvements to both strategic and theater missile defences, both qualitatively and quantitatively, “as needed for our security and the security of our allies”. The Administration’s approach to sustaining and enhancing the ballistic missile defence programme is detailed in the February 2010 ‘Ballistic Missile Defense Review Report’ and reflected in the FY 2011 \$9.9 billion request for missile defence, almost \$700 million more than FY 2010.

## **NUCLEAR FORCE STRUCTURE**

The document further points out that the New START Treaty “ensures our own military the flexibility to deploy and maintain our forces – including bombers, submarines, and missiles – in ways that best meet U.S. national security interests”. An early task for the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) was to develop U.S. positions for the New START negotiations. The Treaty’s lower strategic force levels are based on analysis conducted in 2009, at the initial phase of the 2010 NPR process, which also considered how U.S. forces should be structured at the levels established by the new agreement. The NPR reached the following conclusions:

- Stable deterrence can be maintained while reducing U.S. strategic delivery vehicles by about 50 percent from the START I level and reducing deployed strategic warheads by about 30 percent from the 2002 Moscow Treaty level.
- Contributions by non-nuclear systems to U.S. deterrence and reassurance goals should be preserved by avoiding limitations on missile defenses and preserving options for using heavy bombers or long-range missile systems in conventional roles.
- During the ten-year duration of New START, the triad of ICBMs, SLBMs, and nuclear-capable heavy bombers will be maintained, keeping all 14 Ohio-class strategic submarines (SSBNs) in the force at least for the near term and “de-MIRVing” all Minuteman III ICBMs to a single warhead each to increase stability in a crisis.

The FY 2011 budget request includes funds to sustain the Triad, including: continuing the Minuteman III life extension program; developing new technologies to replace the current fleet of Ohio-class SSBNs, which begin to retire in the 2027 timeframe; and investing over \$1 billion over the next five years to support upgrades to the B-2 stealth bomber.

The New START Treaty affirms the right of the United States to determine the composition and structure of its strategic offensive arms within the Treaty’s overall limits. This will allow the U.S. to adjust its force structure over time as appropriate to the strategic circumstances. The Treaty limitations take effect seven years after the date the Treaty enters into force.

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### **Dramatic Arab Appeal for a Nuclear-Free World**

**By Fareed Mahdy**

ISTANBUL (IDN) - Call it perfect timing or a sheer historical coincidence; be it because they feel caught between the Israeli nuclear hammer and the Iranian might-be atomic anvil or just because they truly want it, the fact is that the leaders of 22 Arab countries have launched an unprecedented massive and pressing call to free the world from nuclear weapons.

During their summit in Sirt, Libya, Arab leaders had to deal with a heavy agenda centred on the Israeli-Palestinian crisis, Tel Aviv's ongoing challenges to the world community and its progressive violation of international law by further building colonies on occupied territories and East Jerusalem as well as the Darfur conflict, the threatening instability in Yemen, the Somali drama and, above all, the need for more coherent, collective Arab policies, among other key issues.

Nevertheless, they devoted an important chapter to nuclear concerns. In fact, the rulers of some 350 million people living in the oil wealthiest and most conflictive region on Earth have issued a clarion call at the end of their 22nd summit in Libya, for a nuclear free world.

Specifically, in their final declaration on March 28, 2010 following the two-day meeting, the Arab leaders "reaffirmed that all Arab countries that are signatories to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) demand the international community to undertake immediate actions to free the world from nuclear weapons."

The summit declaration stressed the need "to translate international initiatives aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons from the world into concrete, binding and time-tabled programmes".

The Arab leaders also underscored that progress towards achieving this goal "requires, as a first step, the 'universalisation' of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty".

This strong Arab stand was spelt out few days after the announcement of U.S.-Russia agreement to reduce their nuclear arsenal by 30 percent, which is due to be sealed on April 8 in Prague, and shortly ahead of the Nuclear Security Summit, scheduled on April 12-13 in Washington, as well as the NPT review conference May 3-28 in New York.

With an eye on the later, the Arab declaration reaffirms "the importance of respecting the rights of NPT member states to possess and develop nuclear technologies for peaceful use, rejecting any restrictions to these rights under any argument".

#### ATOMS FOR PEACE

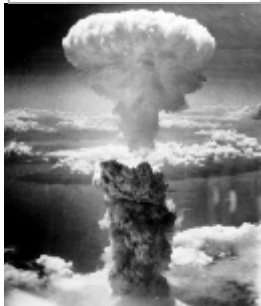
This position is in line with that of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which in a nutshell tantamounts to: Nuclear Power 'Yes' – Nuclear Proliferation 'No'.

It also fits in the growing interest shown by several Arab countries, including the oil-rich ones, in developing nuclear power for peaceful use. The U.S., UK, France, and Russia, among other industrialised countries, have been encouraging this trend in Arab countries and some of them have already signed substantial commercial deals to install nuclear plants in a number of Arab states.

The oil-rich United Arab Emirates, for instance, announced in October 2009 its decision to build nuclear reactors on its soil. This unleashed a frenetic, politically backed competition between giant corporations from France, U.S., Japan and South Korea, to win the 40 billion dollar bid for this project

At the same time, the French government has reportedly promised assistance to Qatar and Morocco, to launch their own nuclear programmes. Egypt and Jordan were reported to be heading for building nuclear plants. Also Saudi Arabia announced plans to develop nuclear power for peaceful purposes. >>>

The Fat Man mushroom cloud resulting from the nuclear explosion over Nagasaki rises 18 km (11 mi, 60,000 ft) into the air from the hypocenter. Credit: Wikimedia Commons





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### **NUCLEAR ISRAEL**

Back to the Arab declaration, the Arab leaders demanded that the NPT review conference “adopt clear decisions and build up practical measures to make the Middle East a nuclear-free region”. Israel, the sole nuclear power in the Middle East with reported 200 nuclear weapons, has systematically refused to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

On this issue, the Arab leaders warned that “Israel insistence on refusing to join non-proliferation treaty and submitting its nuclear facilities to the full guarantees system of the International Atomic Energy Agency, will lead the region to an arms race of dramatic consequences”. In this regard, and coinciding with the Arab declaration, the Jerusalem Post daily reported on the same day, March 28, that the Israeli government will present “no concessions” at the nuclear security summit in Washington in April regarding its policy of maintaining “ambiguity” around its nuclear weapons, according to an Israel military official.

### **ARAB AND WORLD CAMPAIGNING**

The issue of achieving a nuclear-free Middle East is not new. In fact, Egypt launched 36 years ago an active campaign aiming at the establishment of a "nuclear free Middle East". In 1990, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak revitalised the Egyptian initiative through a new, larger plan to declare the Middle East a "weapons of mass destruction free region", including nuclear weapons.

The Egyptian initiative has drawn support from most Arab countries and has been reaffirmed by Amre Musa, Secretary General of the League of Arab States, representing all the 22 Arab countries, who continue to repeat: "It is a must to free the Middle East of nuclear weapons." The Arab support for the nuclear free Middle East initiative has gathered added strength particularly in the Gulf Arab countries in the wake of the U.S., Israel, and Europe alleging that Iran intends to build nuclear weapons.

Moreover, during a Washington summit between Mubarak and U.S. President Barack Obama in August 2009, Egypt categorically rejected a U.S. offer to guarantee defence of the region against atomic weapons through an extended 'nuclear umbrella' and as part of a comprehensive Middle East peace plan. The plan did not specify whether Israel would dismantle its nuclear arsenals. On the other hand, 10 Arab countries situated in Africa, who are members of both the League of Arab States and The African Union, are parties to the African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone, which entered into force in July 2009. These are: Algeria, Djibouti, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, Chad, and Tunisia.

In addition, some outstanding Arab personalities have joined the worldwide campaign launched by 100 international figures for the abolition of nuclear weapons, known as 'Global Zero, for a World Without Nuclear Weapons'. Queen Noor of Jordan, for instance, has been actively campaigning for the abolition of nuclear weapons, within the Global Zero initiative. In this regard, the Jordanian queen affirmed: "The sheer folly of trying to defend a nation by destroying all life on the planet must be apparent to anyone capable of rational thought. Nuclear capability must be reduced to zero, globally, permanently. There is no other option."

### **GLOBAL CHORUS**

Meanwhile, the world has been witnessing a growing number of active international campaigning for the elimination of all nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth. The initiatives range from civil society and grassroots organisations to Nobel Laureates and city mayors – such as Tadatoshi Akiba, Mayor of the City of Hiroshima, which together with Nagasaki continues to suffer the atrocious consequences of U.S. nuclear bombs during World War II – as well as world religious leaders among so many others.

One of these is the Soka Gakkai International – a Japanese Buddhist organisation with 12 million members around the world – that promotes peace and has launched an active international campaign aimed at abolishing nuclear weapons. Among numerous international personalities campaigning for a nuclear-free world is Jayantha Dhanapala who presided over the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference, and was UN under-secretary-general for Disarmament Affairs from 1998-2003.

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## Translations | Adaptations

### **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime Has Triple Standards**

Says JOHN BURROUGHS of the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy in an interview with Thalif Deen: The abolition of nuclear weapons - and a halt to the spread of the deadly armaments - will be a major talking point at the month-long Review Conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), scheduled to take place at the United Nations beginning next week.

**Arabic** > <http://www.ipsinternational.org/arabic/nota.asp?idnews=1846>

**Japanese** > [http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Japanese/Japanese\\_Nuclear\\_Non-Proliferation\\_Regime\\_Has\\_Triple\\_Standards.pdf](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Japanese/Japanese_Nuclear_Non-Proliferation_Regime_Has_Triple_Standards.pdf)

### **Is the U.S. Going Soft on Israeli, Indian & Pakistani Nukes? [P-IPS]**

When a much-ballyhooed two-day nuclear security summit ended in Washington, there were several lingering questions that remained unanswered - even by the host of the high-powered 47-nation gathering, U.S. President Barack Obama. Will the United States call on Israel to declare its nuclear weapons programme and will it push the Jewish state to sign the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)? Will the Obama administration try to convince India and Pakistan to sign the NPT?

**Arabic** > <http://www.ipsinternational.org/arabic/nota.asp?idnews=1835>

**Dutch** > [http://ipsnews.be/index.php?id=35&no\\_cache=0&tx\\_uwnews\\_pi4%5bart\\_id%5d=28177](http://ipsnews.be/index.php?id=35&no_cache=0&tx_uwnews_pi4%5bart_id%5d=28177)

**Japanese** >

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**Spanish** > <http://www.ipsnoticias.net/nota.asp?idnews=95161>

### **Hollywood Documentary Calls for Zero Nuclear Weapons**

Hollywood and Silicon Valley leaders have teamed up with Middle Eastern royalty and high-level U.S. diplomats to send a message to heads of state who are gathering here in Washington next week: the world needs to reduce its nuclear arsenal to zero as soon as possible.

**Arabic** > <http://www.ipsinternational.org/arabic/nota.asp?idnews=1828>

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## Civil Society's Perspective

### The Nuclear Bomb is 65: Time for Compulsory Retirement

ICAN Press release: April 27, 2010



More than 30 foreign ministers, including US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, will meet on Monday at the United Nations in New York for the beginning of the month-long nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review conference.

The last review conference took place in 2005, and was deemed a failure because the parties to the treaty were unable

to reach a consensus on any path forward. "Our aim at the conference is to shift the debate from nuclear arms control to nuclear abolition," said Tim Wright, a spokesperson for the UN office of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN). "If governments are serious about realizing their vision of a nuclear-weapon-free world, they will agree at this conference to begin negotiating a comprehensive ban — a nuclear weapons convention."

Roughly 1500 civil society representatives from across the globe are registered to attend the conference. "The nuclear bomb is now 65 years old. The message we're taking to the conference is that it's time for compulsory retirement," Wright said. "Governments must agree to negotiate a comprehensive treaty outlawing and eliminating all nuclear weapons within a specified timeframe and under strict international control. The nuclear powers are legally obligated to disarm, and an abolition treaty is the most obvious and realistic path to zero."

"A repeat of the failed 2005 review conference would be devastating for the already fragile Non-Proliferation Treaty. Unless the nuclear-armed nations are prepared to support concrete, verifiable disarmament steps, the countries without the bomb are unlikely to accept more stringent non-proliferation measures. The result would be further paralysis, which is in no one's best interests."

ICAN is an umbrella campaign representing more than 200 non-government organizations in 60 countries. It was launched internationally in 2007 with the aim of galvanizing public and political support for a nuclear weapons convention banning all nuclear weapons. Four Nobel Peace Prize winners, including His Holiness the Dalai Lama, have added their voices to the campaign. Jody Williams, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997 for her work to ban landmines, will speak at an ICAN event at the UN on Friday, May 7.

Thousands of people from around the world are expected to take to the streets of New York this Sunday, May 2, in advance of the review conference to call on governments to back a global ban on nuclear weapons. The rally and march will begin in Times Square at 1:30PM and conclude at the United Nations Headquarters. ■

### Australia – To Russia with Nukes

ICAN Media Statement - Melbourne, 23 April 2010:

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear weapons (ICAN) is deeply disappointed at Foreign Minister Stephen Smith's announcement that Australia will ratify a new agreement allowing uranium exports to Russia.

The move will see Australia supplying uranium to a nuclear weapons state whose nuclear security is poor, whose facilities are off-limits to international inspectors, and whose record on disarmament is woeful.

"Despite Smith's assurances that the uranium will only be used for peaceful purposes, the reality is that Australia would effectively be relinquishing responsibility for supplying the raw ingredient for bomb fuel to a nuclear weapons state with an acknowledged lack of transparency in its civil/military arrangements," said ICAN spokesperson Dr Bill Williams.

Williams noted the government's position is out of step with 75 per cent of Australians who agree that nuclear disarmament should be a top priority for the Australian government according to a Lowy Institute Poll from 2009.

"The clear wishes of the Australian public are poorly served by an Australian government opening the door to uranium sales to nuclear weapons states."

"This move sees Australia rejecting a key recommendation of its own JSCOT report not to sell to Russia. The Australian government is relying on the under-equipped, under-funded International Atomic Energy Agency, IAEA, which has acknowledged that Russia's military sites are off-limits to IAEA inspectors."

"This is incompatible with Prime Minister Rudd's expressed desire for a nuclear weapons free world. Australia should not be selling uranium to states which are non-compliant with their international treaty commitments to get rid of their nuclear weapons - we are simply throwing fuel on the fire." said Williams. ■





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## Civil Society's Perspective

### **Labour Manifesto Excludes 76bn Nuclear Weapons From Defence Review**

Monday, 12 April 2010

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament today expressed disappointment with Labour's election manifesto which not only commits to maintaining British nuclear weapons in the face of US/Russian disarmament moves, but has excluded any reconsideration of this policy in the upcoming Strategic Defence Review. For the relevant section see note 3.

Kate Hudson, Chair of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, said "With the world's largest nuclear powers agreeing major disarmament moves only last week, it is particularly disappointing that Labour are committed to excluding Britain's nuclear weapons from the Strategic Defence Review. Any real review of the country's defence needs should re-evaluate our security needs in the light of changed circumstances. Pretending that the US/Russian reductions aren't taking place, ignoring progress made at Obama's nuclear summit this week and disregarding the changed context after next month's major review of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, makes it look as though billions are being committed to nuclear weapons not because of any security consideration, but because of a desire to appear 'tough' on defence.

With costs upwards of £76bn, replacing Trident has huge opportunity costs - especially at a time of spending cuts. What Labour is saying is that other projects - both social and defence - can be cut, but that Trident is the one immovable MoD spending commitment around which everything else must fit. Instead of sticking their heads in the sand and pretending there is no progress on nuclear disarmament, the Labour government could have made a significant step towards their deficit reduction goals in one single move - as well as enhancing global security. Cancelling Trident would prove hugely more popular than the salami slicing of schools, hospitals and other public services that will be necessary as a direct consequence of keeping this ruinously expensive Cold War weapons system. ■

### **CND Welcomes New START Treaty**

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament today welcomed the signing of a new nuclear arms reduction treaty between the US and Russia, describing it as "positive first step on the road to a nuclear-free future".

Kate Hudson, Chair of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, said "This is a very significant day and a positive first step on the road to a nuclear-free future. The cut-backs are welcome but their real significance is in building the trust that can open the way to further rounds of cuts. World leaders must now build on this momentum, tackling nukes already kept in deep storage and bringing the other nuclear weapon states into the process. With both Obama's Nuclear Security Summit next week and the review of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in May, this is a timely advance which must be developed to the full."

She continued, "Britain has its role to play too. Gordon Brown has said that 'as soon as it becomes useful for our arsenal to be included in a broader negotiation, Britain stands ready to participate and to act' - now is that time [see note 3]. Were Britain to put Trident on the negotiating table at the NPT Review Conference this could be a real game-changer. Scrapping the ruinously expensive Trident and any replacement would put pressure on France and China to consider parallel cuts.

"It is a year this week since Obama committed the US to building a world free of nuclear weapons. Today's agreement is just the sort of concrete step needed to achieve that goal, but we will need to see many more such steps before the world is released from the threat of nuclear doomsday. All nuclear weapon states, Britain included, must show their commitment to Obama's worthy aim and push for the biggest strides possible at the forthcoming summit meetings. As the President has noted, this is exactly what the five long-established nuclear powers committed to when they signed the NPT, which came into force 40 years ago last month." ■





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## Civil Society's Perspective

### Obama's Nuclear Posture Review Sees 'Timid' Progress

Tuesday, 06 April 2010

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament described today's United States' Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) as timid, with the modest advances not living up to the ambitious goals the Obama administration has set itself.

Whilst there is progress in many areas, such as the reduction of the role of nuclear weapons in US national security strategy and the strengthening of assurances to most non-nuclear weapon states, Obama has failed to completely rule-out the possibility of using nuclear weapons against states that do not themselves possess them. The fact that the alert posture of all US nuclear forces is to remain unchanged, despite the lack of a nuclear threat to the US, is a great disappointment. Likewise, is the failure to withdraw American nuclear weapons deployed in Europe.

Of particular significance to Britain, the NPR eliminates the Tomahawk, nuclear-equipped, sea-launched cruise missile (TLAM-N). This destroys any notion that supposedly cheaper cruise missiles could provide a replacement for Britain's Trident missiles. With the most comparable US system being retired, the creation and maintenance of an equivalent system by the UK alone could only come at vast expense. This completely undermines the arguments of those who wish to replace Trident with another form of nuclear weapons system.

Kate Hudson, Chair of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, said, "Whilst there has been some progress on reducing the circumstances where the US would consider using nuclear weapons, creating exemptions significantly weakens the impact this will have. A strict policy of ruling out the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states would have set a strong example to others, for instance to Britain, which made clear its readiness to use Trident against non-nuclear Iraq in 2003. It is welcome that no new nuclear warheads will be designed, but the fact that most of the existing types of weapons are to be retained leaves us perilously close to the status-quo. It is far from the sort of forward advance Obama promised last year in Prague. Taking missiles, bombers and submarines off alert would have been an easy confidence-building measure that would have eased further arms reduction talks with Russia and others, but Obama has chosen to leave these almost unchanged.

"The US still keeps hundreds of nuclear weapons in Europe. Despite the governments of several host countries - Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands - all calling for their removal, the review draws back from seriously contemplating their elimination, instead claiming it to be a NATO decision. Bizarrely, for an arrangement that clearly breaches the principles of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the review claims these unwanted Cold War legacy bombs 'contribute to Alliance cohesion'. Can the distribution of hundreds of city-destroying nuclear weapons across Europe and Turkey really be justified on such vague grounds which have nothing to do with genuine security concerns? It is vital that Europe is cleared of these tempting targets for terrorists when NATO reviews its own Strategic Concept later on this year.

"We had hoped this review would mark a sea-change in US nuclear policy. The result is markedly disappointing. There is some progress, it is a timid document. With the signing of the new START treaty later this week and the review of the Non-Proliferation Treaty at the UN next month, this review really shows why positive momentum is vital if we are to reach Obama's stated goal of a nuclear-free world. All countries must now redouble their efforts to bring to an end the threat that could extinguish humanity in a moment." ■





## **What Others Say**

### **Background to the NPT Review Conference: UN Perspective**

The 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) will meet at the United Nations in New York from 3 to 28 May 2010. The President-elect of the Conference is Ambassador Libran Nuevas Cabactulan of the Philippines.

The Treaty, particularly article VIII, paragraph 3, envisages a review of the operation of the Treaty every five years, a provision which was reaffirmed by the States parties at the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference and the 2000 NPT Review Conference.

At the 2010 Review Conference, States parties will examine the implementation of the Treaty's provisions since 2005.

The NPT is a landmark international treaty whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament. The NPT represents the only binding commitment in a multilateral treaty to the goal of disarmament by the nuclear-weapon States.

Opened for signature in 1968, the Treaty entered into force in 1970. Since its entry into force, the NPT has been the cornerstone of global nuclear non-proliferation regime. Adherence to the Treaty by 189 States, including the five nuclear-weapon States, renders the Treaty the most widely adhered to multilateral disarmament agreement.

Since the 2005 Review Conference, one state has through succession joined the Treaty: Montenegro (2006). India, Israel and Pakistan have not yet chosen to join the Treaty. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which announced its withdrawal from the Treaty in 2003, has not yet decided to re-join the Treaty.

#### **History of the Treaty**

From the beginning of the nuclear age, and the use of nuclear weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, it has been apparent that the development of nuclear capabilities by States could enable them to divert technology and materials for weapons purposes. Thus the problem of preventing such diversions became a central issue in discussions on peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Initial efforts, which began in 1946, to create an international system enabling all States to have access to nuclear technology under appropriate safeguards, were terminated in 1949 without the achievement of this objective, due to serious political differences between the major Powers. By then, both the United States and the former Soviet Union had tested nuclear weapons, and were beginning to build their stockpiles.

In December 1953, US President Dwight D. Eisenhower in his "Atoms for Peace" proposal, presented to the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly, urged that an international organization be established to disseminate peaceful nuclear technology, while guarding against development of weapons capabilities in additional countries. His proposal resulted in 1957 in the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which was charged with the dual responsibility of promotion and control of nuclear technology.

IAEA technical assistance activities began in 1958. An interim safeguards system for small nuclear reactors, put in place in 1961, was replaced in 1964 by a system covering larger installations and, over the following years, was expanded to include additional nuclear facilities (INFCIRC/66 and revisions). Subsequently, efforts to strengthen the effectiveness and improve the efficiency of the IAEA safeguards system culminated in the approval of the Model Additional Protocol (INFCIRC/540) by the IAEA Board of Governors in May 1997.

Within the framework of the United Nations, the principle of nuclear non-proliferation was addressed in negotiations as early as 1957 and gained significant momentum in the early 1960s. The structure of a treaty to uphold nuclear non-proliferation as a norm of international behaviour had become clear by the mid-1960s, and by 1968 final agreement had been reached on a Treaty that would prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, enable co-operation for the peaceful use of nuclear energy and further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament. >>>



## **What Others Say**

The Treaty provided, in article X, for a conference to be convened 25 years after its entry into force to decide whether the Treaty should continue in force indefinitely, or be extended for an additional fixed period or periods. Accordingly, at the NPT Review and Extension Conference in May 1995, States parties to the Treaty agreed—without a vote—on the Treaty's indefinite extension, and decided that review conferences should continue to be held every five years.

### **The NPT Review Process**

Conferences to review the operation of the Treaty have been held at five-year intervals since the Treaty went into effect in 1970. Each conference has sought to find agreement on a final declaration that would assess the implementation of the Treaty's provisions and make recommendations on measures to further strengthen it. Consensus on a Final Declaration was reached at the 1975, 1985 and 2000 Review Conferences, but could not be achieved in 1980, 1990, and 1995.

Differences centred on the question of whether or not the nuclear-weapon States had sufficiently fulfilled the requirements of article VI (nuclear disarmament) as well as on issues such as nuclear testing, qualitative nuclear-weapon developments, security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States by nuclear-weapon States, and on cooperation in the field of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

The 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference had two objectives: to review the Treaty's operation and to decide on its extension. While not being able to agree on a consensus review of the Treaty's implementation, States parties adopted without a vote a package of decisions. These decisions consisted of (a) elements for a strengthened review process for the Treaty, (b) principles and objectives for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, and (c) the indefinite extension of the Treaty; as well as a resolution on the Middle East.

The 2000 Review Conference demonstrated the strength of the new review mechanism and the concept of accountability which had been agreed upon when States parties accepted the "permanence of the Treaty" and extended it indefinitely. For the first time in 15 years, States parties successfully concluded their deliberations with agreement on a Final Document that assessed the Treaty's past performance and on a number of key issues pertaining to nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, nuclear safety and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

The Final Document reaffirmed the central role of the NPT in ongoing global efforts to strengthen nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament and reflected consensus language dealing with virtually all the major aspects of the Treaty. In addition, after noting that the Conference deplored the nuclear test explosions carried out by India and Pakistan in 1998, the Document reaffirmed that any new State party to the Treaty will be accepted only as a non-nuclear-weapon State, regardless of its nuclear capabilities.

The most critical and delicate achievement was the incorporation in the Document of a set of practical steps for the systematic and progressive efforts to implement article VI of the Treaty. These steps provide benchmarks by which future progress by the States parties can be measured. One of the most frequently quoted among them is the nuclear weapon States' agreement, for the first time, to undertake unequivocally to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals leading to nuclear disarmament.

The 2005 Review Conference was unable to reach agreement on a substantive outcome, though States parties were able to engage in useful discussions on a range of issues. Some key disagreements that contributed to this outcome included whether disarmament or non-proliferation should be prioritized and the status of past decisions and agreements, including those reached by the 1995 and 2000 Conferences.

### **Towards the 2010 Review Conference**

The Preparatory Committee for the 2010 NPT Conference, established pursuant to General Assembly resolution 61/70 of 6 December 2006, held three sessions in the period April 2007 to May 2009. As in the previous review cycle, the Preparatory Commission devoted the majority of its meetings to substantive preparation for the Conference and considered principles, objectives and ways to promote the full implementation of the Treaty, as well as its universality. In this context, the Committee took into account the outcomes of previous Review Conferences, including the 2000 Conference, the decisions and the resolution on the Middle East adopted in 1995, as well as developments affecting the operation and purpose of the Treaty, and thereby considering approaches and measures to realize its purpose, reaffirming the need for full compliance with the Treaty. >>>



## **What Others Say**

The Committee agreed to nearly all of the organizational and procedural arrangements for the 2010 Conference, including its provisional agenda. The Committee also agreed to the draft rules of procedure, the elections of the President and other officers, the date and venue, financing, the nomination of a Secretary-General, background documentation, and the chairpersons of the three Main Committees to be established at the Conference. Accordingly, Main Committee I should be chaired by a representative of the Group of Non-Aligned and Other States, namely, the Chairman of the third session of the Preparatory Committee (Zimbabwe); Main Committee II should be chaired by a representative of the Group of Eastern European States, namely, the Chairman of the second session of the Preparatory Committee (Ukraine); and that Main Committee III should be chaired by a representative of the Western Group, namely, the Chairman of the first session of the Preparatory Committee (Japan). The Committee decided to defer consideration of the final document to the Review Conference.

According to the agreement reached in 2000, the Preparatory Committee was expected to make every effort to produce a consensus report containing recommendations to the Review Conference. Despite devoting several meetings toward this end, due to the persistence of divergent views, the Committee was unable to reach agreement on the substantive issues under consideration. The Review Conference is expected to consider a number of issues, including those discussed at the 2005 Conference: universality of the Treaty; nuclear disarmament, including specific practical measures; nuclear non-proliferation, including the promoting and strengthening of safeguards; measures to advance the peaceful use of nuclear energy, safety and security; regional disarmament and non-proliferation; implementation of the 1995 resolution on the Middle East; measures to address withdrawal from the Treaty; measures to further strengthen the review process; and ways to promote engagement with civil society in strengthening NPT norms and in promoting disarmament education. ■

## **NPT Review Conference 2010: Pakistan's Perspective**

**By Alam Rind | The News International**

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) encompasses non-proliferation, disarmament and peaceful use of nuclear energy. The treaty was signed on July 1, 1968 and was enforced in 1970.

Some 189 countries have ratified the treaty. Four countries which are out of the ambit of the treaty being non-signatories include India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea. In fact, North Korea withdrew from the treaty under its Article X.1, after having ratified it.

This article introduced by the USA allows states to exercise their sovereign right to withdraw on the basis of other states or parties not complying with their obligations. Out of these countries, India and Pakistan have demonstrated nuclear weapon capability, North Korea has acquired nuclear explosion capability and Israel's nuclear programme is shrouded in ambiguity. Each country has its own reason for pursuing their nuclear programme primarily stemming from their security concerns. The discriminatory nature of the treaty is obvious from the fact that Nuclear Weapon States (NWS), which include China, France, UK, the USA and USSR, are only exhorted, as treaty parties, to negotiate the reduction and elimination of their weapons. In contrast, Non-Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS) are totally forbidden to acquire such weapons.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is empowered to enter into arrangement with them and to verify that there is no deviation from peaceful purposes. The discriminatory nature of the treaty is causing tension among the NPT member states.

Since 1970, a review conference is held after every five years to assess the implementation of the treaty. The eighth NPT Review Conference is scheduled from May 3-28 this year. This conference has attained added importance due to heightened terrorist concerns, North Korean defiance, the Iran factor and above all climatic changes.

The very foundation of the NPT was shaken when in March 2006, the US and India, a NNWS, concluded a "civil nuclear deal". Under the deal, India has committed 14 of its 22 nuclear power plants as being for civil use, retaining eight to produce weapon grade fissile material. >>>



## **What Others Say**

On August 1, 2008, the IAEA approved the Indian Safeguard Agreement and on September 6, 2008, India was granted the waiver at the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) paving way for nuclear trade with other willing countries. All these exemptions have been extended to India while she is a non-signatory of the NPT and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). These developments highlight artificiality of the vision of having Nuclear Weapon Free World propagated by President Obama. Previously, the disarmament scenario put forward by many NNWS was dismissed by former Prime Minister of Britain Margaret Thatcher terming it a "pie in the sky".

During April, the Nuclear Security Conference at Washington, French President Nicolas Sarkozy brushed aside the idea of giving up nuclear weapons, stating that, "I cannot jeopardise the security and safety of my country". The Pentagon and retired commanders of Nato countries also see "no realistic prospect of a nuclear-free world". Rather the first use of nuclear weapons is recommended to remain in the quiver of escalation as the ultimate instrument to prevent the use of weapons of mass destruction.

The recently concluded treaty between the US and Russia to limit the number of nuclear weapons to 1,500 each and putting forward a vision of having a nuclear weapon free world while highlighting horrific nature of these weapons are the efforts to gain higher moral ground so as to be able to insist upon the NNWS to refrain from going nuclear.

It will also help in slapping sanctions on the states aspiring to acquire nuclear capabilities like Iran and North Korea. There is a strong belief that this approach also won't succeed. Not out of the desire to have nuclear weapons but to combat environmental changes and the ever-increasing energy prices. As the demand for nuclear energy is increasing, The NNWS want to have access to the nuclear energy under article IV of the NPT, which recognises the inalienable right of all parties to the treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination."

At present, approximately 15 per cent of the global electricity need is being met by 436 operational nuclear reactors. Fifteen more are under construction with nine of them in the NNWS. As per the World Nuclear Association, an additional 130 nuclear reactors are planned and another 250 proposed. It clearly illustrates that with the passage of time more and more countries will have nuclear capability. A scenario where instead of non-proliferation there will be nuclear proliferation.

Cheap and abundant energy holds key to human prosperity. Not that it only ensures development; it also places a tool at human disposal to survive unfolding harsh climatic changes. At the core most of the countries of the world seem convinced that they ought to have peaceful nuclear capability to meet their present and future energy needs. Under the circumstances, Pakistan needs to take a firm stand on her nuclear policy. Pakistan's nuclear programme was necessitated by her security compulsions and growing energy needs. In the two areas, the situation has changed from bad to worse.

However, in the process Pakistan has become a nuclear weapon state, a stage where the country can benefit from the achievement of her scientists. At this particular juncture, Pakistan must pursue her desire to have access to civil nuclear energy to improve the quality of life of her people.

Resolution of regional disputes like Kashmir and the water issue with India cannot be deferred. These, in fact, are cardinal to the lasting peace and their resolution will take the region off the nuclear flashpoint map. Pakistan under no circumstances should agree to undo her achievements. She should only agree to sign the NPT if accepted as a nuclear weapons state. The resolution of these issues will certainly put Pakistan on course to development. ■



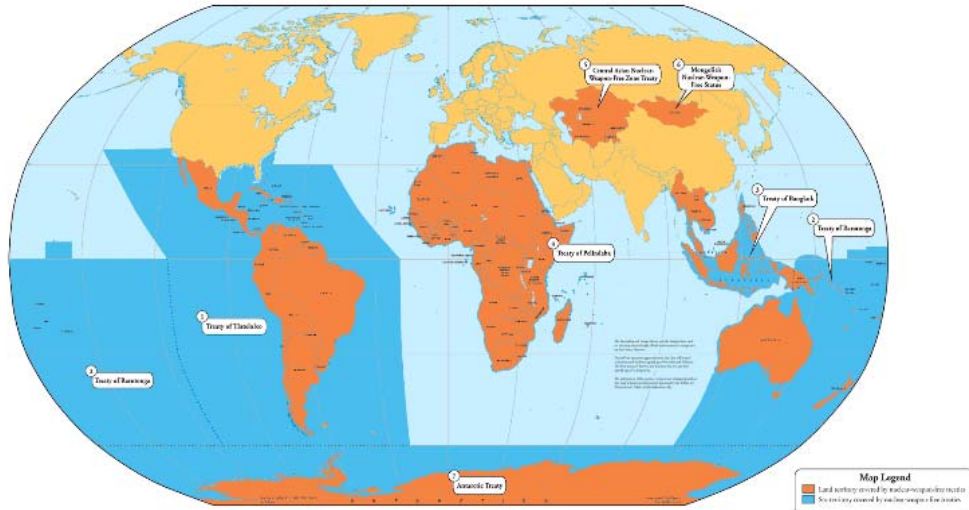
# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

People's Decade for Nuclear Abolition  
Act to make 1975 the Year of Nuclear Abolition



## NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE AREAS

Demarcation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, nuclear-weapon-free status and nuclear-weapon-free geographical regions



### TREATIES ESTABLISHING NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE AREAS



- Nuclear-weapon-free zones**
- 1 The 1967 Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean
  - 2 The 1985 South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty
  - 3 The 1995 Treaty on the South-East Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone
  - 4 The 1996 African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty
  - 5 The 2000 Treaty on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Central Asia
- This resolution affirms the nuclear-weapon-free status, inter alia, but nuclear-weapon-free status is the acquisition, possession, placement, testing and use of such weapons.
- Nuclear-weapon-free status**
- 6 In 1992, Mongolia declared its nuclear-weapon-free status, which is internationally recognized and prohibits, controls, the acquisition, possession, placement, testing and use of nuclear weapons on its territory.
- Nuclear-weapon-free geographical regions**
- 7 The 1999 Antarctic Treaty, inter alia, prohibits any testing of military nuclear on the continent of Antarctica, including any testing of nuclear weapons.
  - 8 The 1967 Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, inter alia, prohibits placing nuclear weapons in outer space, including in orbit around Earth, on celestial bodies, on the Earth's surface or in outer space, as well as launching such weapons into outer space in any other manner.
  - 9 The 1971 Treaty on the Prohibition of the Employment of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea, Under the Sea and in the Subsoil of the Sea and in the Subsoil of the Seabed and in the Subsoil of the Seabed, prohibits the employment of nuclear weapons on the basis of the continent and in the subsoil thereof.
  - 10 In 2005, the above-mentioned area of different signs with regard to their signature, ratification and entry into force, as well as with regard to the signature and ratification of their standard protocols requesting assistance from the nuclear-weapon States.





## 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)

3-28 May 2010

NPT Text	UN & Disarmament	Disarmament Issues	Resources
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"A world free of nuclear weapons would be a global public good of the highest order."

*United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon  
in his address to the East-West Institute, 24 October 2008*

The 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) will be held in May 2010 at UN Headquarters in New York. The President-elect of the Review Conference is Ambassador Libran N. Cabactulan of the Philippines.

The NPT is a landmark international treaty whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament. The NPT represents the only binding commitment in a multilateral treaty to the goal of disarmament by the nuclear-weapon States.

Conferences to review the operation of the Treaty have been held at five-year intervals since the Treaty went into effect in 1970. Each conference has sought to find agreement on a final declaration that would assess the implementation of the Treaty's provisions and make recommendations on measures to further strengthen it.

The 2010 Review Conference is expected to consider a number of key issues, including: universality of the Treaty; nuclear disarmament, including specific practical measures; nuclear non-proliferation, including the promoting and strengthening of safeguards; measures to advance the peaceful use of nuclear energy, safety and security; regional disarmament and non-proliferation; implementation of the 1995 resolution on the Middle East; measures to address withdrawal from the Treaty; measures to further strengthen the review process; and ways to promote engagement with civil society in strengthening NPT norms and in promoting disarmament education.

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