

The 4th Nagasaki Global Citizens' Assembly for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons

Plenary Session, **Towards the 2010 NPT Review Conference – Making Use of this Golden Opportunity**

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Greetings....

Is the 2010 NPT Review Conference a golden opportunity to make progress on nuclear disarmament, or will it be business as usual, an expensive waste of resources in which governments talk past each other, ignore the appeals from civil society and then either fail to agree on anything substantive or else, as in 2000, they adopt a final document with commitments – such as the famous 13 steps -- that the major states do not really intend to fulfil.

Why should states bother negotiating another set of commitments, many of which will resemble what was agreed ten years ago?

Because nuclear disarmament matters for global security. Because nonproliferation is unsustainable without disarmament: how can countries like Japan, Brazil and even Iran renounce nuclear weapons if they can see others gain security value, status, power projection or even deterrence from retaining, acquiring and developing such weapons and technologies?

To prevent the deeper erosion of NPT credibility and halt the further spread of nuclear weapons in the 21st century, it is necessary to diminish the value and legitimacy attached to these weapons of mass destruction as well as to bring the numbers down towards zero.

Following discussions with some NGOs and government representatives (and I would particularly like to pay tribute to John Burroughs and Middle Powers Initiative in this regard), I have been putting forward to many governments the following elements for debate and consideration – not only for the 2010 NPT Review Conference, but beyond. These have received more interest than the 20 steps suggested by ICNND, so I want to share them with you as well!

Many measures are immediately familiar – the CTBT, a fissile materials production ban, enhanced IAEA inspections, a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East, to name a few. These are essential components of both disarmament and non-proliferation already on the agenda.

There are two key differences in these proposals that take forward what was agreed in 1995 and 2000. One is the priority given to the thematic emphasis on reducing the role of nuclear weapons in security policies and doctrines as necessary for devaluing nuclear weapons and making progress. And the second is the recognition that reducing nuclear weapons and other incremental steps must be directly and explicitly integrated with a comprehensive and practical mechanism to facilitate the

governments in achieving the world free of nuclear weapons. In October 2008, the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, put forward a clear five point plan of action that would enable this objective to be achieved in a rational, safe and timely manner. As part of this plan, he suggested negotiating a framework of mutually reinforcing instruments or “a nuclear-weapons convention, backed by a strong system of verification, as has long been proposed at the United Nations”.

Proposed elements for an Action Plan on Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation

Reducing the Role of Nuclear Weapons

- reaffirm commitments to diminish the role of nuclear weapons in security policies and military doctrines;
- affirm that, pending their total elimination, the sole purpose for nuclear weapons is to deter the use of nuclear weapons;
- reaffirm commitments to lower the operational status of nuclear forces and implement practical steps to take nuclear weapons off hair-trigger and high alert configurations;
- end deployments of nuclear weapons outside the territory of possessor states;
- phase out extended nuclear deterrence and strengthen non-nuclear deterrence approaches and regional cooperative security mechanisms;
- universalise positive and negative security assurances, extending legally binding obligations on all nations and individuals not to use nuclear weapons, to come to the aid of people and countries threatened or attacked with nuclear weapons, and to hold perpetrators and their suppliers to account under international law;
- delegitimise nuclear reliance and reinforce the nonproliferation regime by declaring the use of nuclear weapons a crime against humanity.

The Disarmament Process

- reaffirmation by the nuclear weapon states of their NPT 2000 unequivocal undertaking to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals;
- support US-Russian negotiations and agreements on bilateral deep reductions to follow-on from START, and encourage all nuclear-armed states to undertake unilateral reductions in their respective arsenals, with a view to commencing mutual, plurilateral disarmament negotiations;
- reaffirm the principle of irreversibility, with commitments by the states with nuclear weapons not to increase or modernize their nuclear capabilities;
- reaffirm the principles of transparency, verification and accountability in fulfilling NPT obligations and agreements;
- support the establishment of a comprehensive, UN-based accounting system covering size of nuclear arsenals, nuclear weapon delivery systems, fissile material stockpiles, and spending on nuclear forces;
- commit to commencing preparatory work leading to negotiations on a universal convention or framework of instruments for the sustainable, verifiable and enforceable abolition of nuclear weapons worldwide.

Non-Proliferation, Security and Creating the Conditions for a World Free of Nuclear Weapons

- support ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) by the remaining Article XIV states without conditions, leading to entry into force no later than 2015, and call for nuclear test sites to be dismantled and environmentally cleaned up;
- consider ways and means to make progress on the NPT commitment of a ban on the production of fissile materials for weapons purposes, taking into account the need to cap, reduce and ultimately eliminate stockpiles of high-enriched uranium and plutonium;
- support initiatives to promote a zone free of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons in the Middle East;

- explore practical initiatives to provide safe and secure multinational alternatives to national fuel cycle facilities, and join and support the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA);
- pursue practical initiatives to improve NPT governance and accountability;
- encourage universalisation of the IAEA Additional Protocol, in conformity with Article III of the NPT, and accept this inspections standard as a condition of nuclear supply.

Beyond 2010: the Need to Look Forward

The step by step agreements undertaken since the end of the Cold War have reduced the major arsenals, but have done little to diminish the core drivers that fuel proliferation and insecurity. More attention must be paid to delegitimising and devaluing nuclear weapons as preparatory steps towards the universal prohibition and abolition of nuclear weapons. This will be neither quick nor easy, but a verifiable nuclear weapons convention is technically, legally and politically feasible. If underpinned by an early agreement to make the use of nuclear weapons a crime against humanity, the process of bringing states together to work towards a coherent security architecture for the universal abolition of nuclear weapons can reinforce nonproliferation and facilitate progress on long-sought but obstructed steps such as the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and fissile materials cut-off.

We must work together for the 2010 Review Conference to be a substantive success, while at the same time, civil society needs to recognise that whether or not the RevCon is a procedural success, we must be prepared to look beyond and keep working for nuclear weapons abolition. I've been working with ICAN to develop a strategy to put the concept of a Nuclear Weapons Convention into the mainstream, both now, in the run-up to May, and beyond. I do not have time here to go into detail, but here is the summary:

ICAN Civil Society strategy for the 2010 NPT RevCon and beyond

Phase 1

- 1) In the months leading up to the RevCon, encourage and pressure as many governments as possible to support the concept of a Nuclear Weapons Convention – a comprehensive, verifiable, irreversible, phased treaty to outlaw and abolish nuclear weapons; or similar abolition framework; in their NPT statements and working papers.
- 2) If governments are already supportive, then encourage them to identify target dates, such as:
 - a. negotiations on an NWC be commenced by 2015, and
 - b. concluded by 2020

Phase 2

- 3) An **International Nuclear Abolition Action Day on 5 June 2010**, when civil society groups all over the world will carry out globally-coordinated locally implemented actions which respond to the NPT RevCon outcome – whatever it is – and call for negotiations on a Nuclear Weapons Convention
- 4) Building civil society + government partnerships to prepare for and push for negotiations on an NWC to commence.

I hope in the Q & A we can discuss these ideas more fully.

Domo arigato gozaimasu!