Russia and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Agenda: Towards the 2015 NPT Review Conference

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PIR Centre: 04 October 2014
NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

2015 landmarks:

- 45th anniversary of the EIF of the NPT
- 20th anniversary of the indefinite extension of the Treaty
- 20th anniversary of the Resolution on the Middle East
- 15th anniversary of the unequivocal undertaking by the NWS to achieve nuclear disarmament
- 5th anniversary of the agreement on the ‘64 actions’ across the three pillars of the Treaty
NPT RevConf is the “sovereign” of the Treaty – (late Fritz Schmidt, long-time Chair of the Zangger Committee) – responsibility of all States Parties to strengthen the authority and integrity of the Treaty
NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

2014 NPT PrepCom: Arrangements for 2015

- Dates, venue *(New York 27 April-22 May 2015)* ✔
- Draft rules of procedure ✔
- Election of President and other officers
- Appointment of SecGen *(Tom Markram)* ✔
- Provisional agenda ✔
- Subsidiary bodies to MCs ✔
- Financing (+ division of costs)
- Background documentation ✔
16. Review of the operation of the Treaty, as provided for in its article VIII(3), taking into account the decisions and resolution adopted by the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference, the Final Document of the 2000 NPT Review Conference, and the Conclusions and Recommendations for follow-up actions of the 2010 NPT Review Conference
17. Role of the Treaty in promoting the **non-proliferation of nuclear weapons** and of **nuclear disarmament** in strengthening international peace and security, and measures at strengthening the implementation of the **treaty** and achieving its **universality** (incl. strengthened review process, disarmament & non-proliferation education)
NPT Review Conference 2015
(New York: 27 Apr-22 May)

- President: ... ?

- Chairs of the Main Committees

  - MC.I – Enrique Román-Morey (Peru) nuclear disarmament and security assurances
  - MC.II – Cristian Istrate (Romania) safeguards, NWFZs, regional issues, including with respect to the Middle East and implementation of the 1995 Middle East resolution
  - MC.III - Peter Woolcott (Australia) peaceful uses of nuclear energy, strengthened review process, withdrawal
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- **Main Committees and Subsidiary Bodies (SB)**
  - by now established practice to have SBs under each MC – no need to waste time or fight on this
  - in 2000 and 2010, SBs had their own Chairs – outcome was successful (forward-looking) – but the MC outcomes were not (focus on ‘review’)
  - MC Chairs were somewhat neutered and overshadowed by SB Chairs – result was failure to find agreed text on the review
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- Review
  - Strive to reach agreed text on review: necessary and mandated by Decision 1 (1995 NPTREC)
  - Many foreign ministries are reviewed by Auditors or Inspectors General – corporations are reviewed – annual reports cover past activities and outline future plans
  - So, why are NPT SPs serially failing to agree on a review of the past quinquennium – recommend that review reflect both diverging and converging views
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- Attributed to Einstein, but said by Rita Mae Brown (Sudden Death):
  - “The definition of insanity is continuing to do the same thing over and over, and then expecting different results”
- Verbal diarrhoea – longer and longer statements, longer working papers, and longer outcome documents:
- 2000 NPTRC: Final Document: 189 paras
- 2010 NPTRC: 91 paras
- 2012 NPTPC: 100 paragraphs
- 2013 NPTRC: 101 paragraphs
- 2014 NPTRC: 17 paras under 5 headings
NPT Review Conference 2015

- **2015 Outcome Document -- success**
  - If consensus not achievable – reflect converging and diverging views
- **Forward-looking elements** – to promote the implementation of the Treaty and 1995/2000/2010 outcomes, including universality, security assurances, regional issues: Middle East, South Asia, Korean Peninsula
- **2015 NPTRC: keep it short – realistic, SRP**
Contentious issues:

- Middle East NWFZ conference: 1995 Resolution mandate
- US /Russian allegations of violation of INF – impact > (JVC)
- Russia/US interaction on strategic nuclear arms control
- Nuclear disarmament – NSNW
- Humanitarian Initiative
- IAEA safeguards: State Level Concept, Compliance, (Iran, DPRK, Syria)
- Universalization of the AP: three APs (CSA/VoA/-66)
- Nuclear security, Nuclear safety
- Security assurances
- Peaceful uses inalienable right, fuel cycle, export controls
- Withdrawal
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- **Fake Issues:** 😞
  - Withdrawal
  - Annual Conference

- **New (Old) Ideas** 😊
  - Advisory Group: Presidents Circle: past Presidents, PC Chairs
  - Financial support for President/PC Chair consultations (combination of support from NWS, EU, NAM, etc., and ODA budget)

- *NPT RevConf is the “sovereign” of the Treaty* – (late Fritz Schmidt, long-time Chair of the Zangger Committee) – *responsibility of all States Parties to strengthen the authority and integrity of the Treaty*
“P-5 Statements”

Much is made of these ...

“NWS Statements” – NPT makes no reference to P-5

Importance exaggerated ... Russia/US key; minor NWS (France, UK) largely irrelevant –

Glossary of Key Nuclear Terms; Reporting Framework

Deterioration in Russia-US, Russia-EU relations ...

Cold War groupings: WEOG, EEG, NAM – zero sum negotiations

Other groupings: NAC, NPDI, de-alerting, HI

Friends of the President: non-democratic, non-representative, leaves vast majority of SPs in the cold –

2000: NAC/NWS; 2010: 16+ cross regional
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Regional Issues

- DPRK
- Iran
- Syria
- Middle East: NWFZ/WMDFZ-DVs
- Ukraine
- India
Critical Issues

- ‘New Cold War’: future of classical nuclear arms control
- Preservation of existing nuclear arms control treaties and frameworks
- Nuclear modernization – extending nuclear weapons to the 22nd century?
- Managing the ‘New Cold War’ – lessons from the Cold War, Cold Peace
- ‘Sacred cows’: Russia (NW), USA (BMD)
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Critical Issues

‘Deterrence and Strategic Stability:

- interrelationship of offence/defence
- strategic/non-strategic nuclear weapons nuclear and long-range
- conventional precision-guided weapons
- common terminology for nuclear weapons
- transparency
- principles for regional missile defences ...
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Critical Issues

- CTBT
- Space and Strategic Stability: PAROS, ASAT, CBMs
- New Nuclear Disarmament Initiatives: ‘Humanitarian’; OEWG; GGE-FMCT
- Fuel Cycle: front-end, back-end
Projected consequences of nuclear war

If 1% of the nuclear weapons now ready for war were detonated in large cities, they would utterly devastate the environment, climate, ecosystems, and inhabitants of Earth ... a war fought with thousands of strategic nuclear weapons would leave the Earth uninhabitable...

http://www.nucleardarkness.org/index2.php
http://www.nucleardarkness.org/warconsequences/fivemilliontonsofsmoke/
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