

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

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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

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

- *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 ✓



Provisional Agenda 2015 RevConf

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



Provisional Agenda 2015 RevConf

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



NPT Review Conference

- **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

NPT Review Conference

- **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



NPT Review Conference

- 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:
- 1995 NPTREC: Decision 1: SRP – 7 paras. Decision 2 – P&O: 7 PP, 20 OPs under 7 headings
- 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**
- **Review** of the operation of the Treaty 2010-2015, taking into account the outcomes of 1995, 2000, 2010
 - 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**

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NPT Review Conference 2015

➤ **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

NPT Review Conference 2015

- **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)*
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NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

➤ “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

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

➤ Regional Issues

- **DPRK**
- **Iran**
- **Syria**
- **Middle East: NWFZ/WMDfZ-DVs**

- **Ukraine**
- **India**



NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

➤ 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)**

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

➤ 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 ...**



NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

➤ 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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