



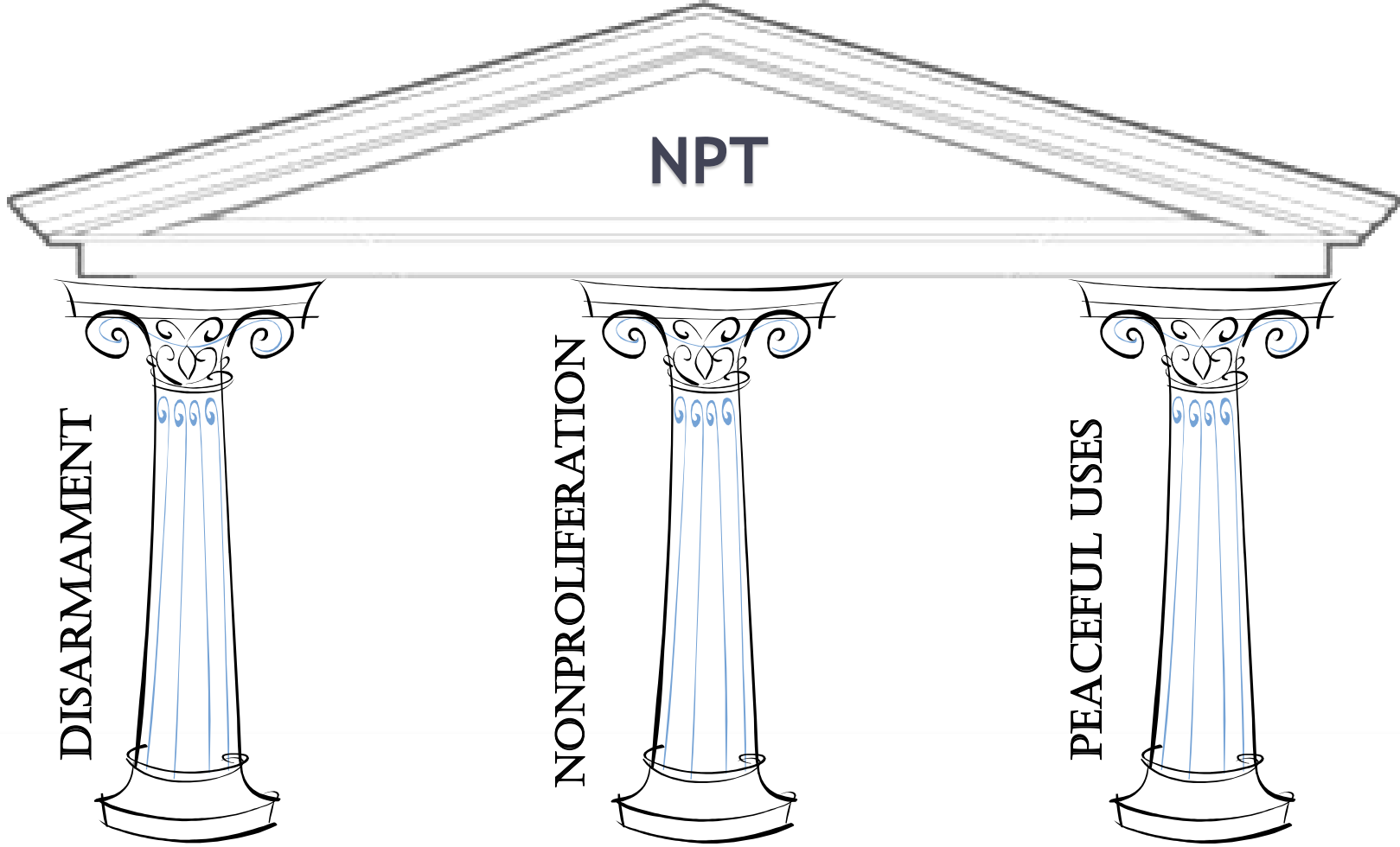
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# Prospects for the 2015 NPT Review Conference

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December 9, 2013  
Washington, DC

# NPT: A Reminder

- June 12, 1968: UN General Assembly approves NPT text
- July 1, 1968: signed by 62 states
- Depositaries: UK, US, USSR/Russia
- March 5, 1970: enters into force
- May 11, 1995: extended indefinitely
- Parties as of 2013: 190
- Non-parties: India, Israel, Pakistan, South Sudan
- North Korea withdrew in 2003



# NPT Bargains

- “Haves” and “Have-nots”
  - Non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS) not to acquire nuclear weapons (Article II)
  - Nuclear-weapon states (NWS) not to share or assist in acquiring nuclear weapons (Article I)
- All parties to pursue negotiations in good faith towards nuclear disarmament (Article IV)
  - No time frame
  - No verification
- Nuclear tech to be shared for peaceful uses (Article IV)
- NNWS subject to IAEA safeguards to ensure compliance (Article III)

# NPT Review Conferences

- A novelty devised for the NPT:
  - off-set imbalance in obligations of majority (NNWS) and the few (NWS)
  - review and assess the Treaty's operation
  - produce conclusions for further action
- Varying success
  - 1975, 1985, 2000 & 2010 RevCons adopted Final Documents
  - No Final Document in 1980, 1990, and 2005
    - 1995 Rev Con: a set of decisions

# Review Process

- Review Conference (every 5 yrs) + Preparatory Committee meetings
- Strengthened review: assessing the past and planning for the future
- RevCon: Main Committees
  - I: Disarmament and Security Assurances
  - II: Nonproliferation
  - III: Peaceful Uses (since 1985)
- Subsidiary Bodies
  - E.g. on disarmament, Middle East
- Final documents: by consensus

# 2010 RevCon: A Breakthrough

- Buoyed by the “Arms Control Spring”
  - Prague Speech
  - New START
  - Nuclear Security Summit
- NWS-NNWS divisions still deep, but the sense there *had* to be a final doc
- Central issues: Disarmament and Middle East
- Compromise: separate review and forward-looking sections
  - Review: non-consensus
  - Conclusions and Recommendations: an “action plan”

# 2010 Action Plan

- 64 action items across three pillars
  - Only the disarmament section conceived as an action plan initially
- Most actions in section 1 apply to NWS
  - Action 9 deals with NWFZs
  - Action 22 on disarmament education
  - Action 20 – reporting by all parties
- Progress, but...
  - Vague formulations
  - Lack of deadlines
  - How to measure implementation?
- Nonproliferation compliance, Article X, institutional reform remain on the agenda



# Disarmament Action Plan: A closer look

- Action 2 – irreversibility, verifiability, transparency
- Action 3 – further efforts to reduce and eliminate NW, incl. through multilateral measures
- Action 5 – “accelerate progress” on a range of issues through NWS engagement
  - Reductions – incl. all types of weapons
  - Diminish role of NW in security concepts/doctrines
  - Prevent accidental use
  - Enhance transparency
  - Report on progress in 2014
- Action 16, 17, 18 – declare, verify, dispose of excess fissile material; dismantle production facilities
- Actions 6, 7, 15: CD to negotiate FM(C)T, “deal” with nuclear disarmament and NSAs

# Middle East Recommendations

- UN Secretary-General to convene a Middle East Conference in 2012
  - States of the region + UK, US, Russia
- UNSG to appoint a Facilitator
  - Support implementation of 1995 Middle East Resolution
  - Consultations, preparation for 2012 Conf
  - Report to PrepComs and RevCon
- Consider other offers, parallel process

## (2012) Middle East Conference: Status

- Terms of Reference: 1995 Middle East Resolution
- Host Country: Finland
- Facilitator: Ambassador Jaakko Laajava
- Date: Postponed (no new date)
- Multilateral consultations in progress
- Challenges
  - Full participation?
  - Agenda?
  - Outcome/next steps?



# Challenges and Questions

- NPT vs regional security
  - Israel's NPT status and nuclear weapons program
  - Arab-Israeli conflict
- Questions about Iran's nuclear program
  - Implementation of recent deal might help
- Status of other WMD treaties in the region
  - Chemical Weapons Convention
- The “Arab Spring” and regional instability

# Implications?

- Middle East steps central to the 2010 RevCon compromise
  - Undermining entire outcome
- Egypt walked out of the 2013 PrepCom
  - Will other Arab States follow in 2014, 2015?
  - Region's longer-term future in the NPT?
- What if a Middle East Conference is a success?
  - Effect on demands regarding disarmament, other issues

# Disarmament: Progress to date

- Overall progress limited, uneven across NWS
- No state reported on the number of dismantled warheads
- Fissile material in excess of military needs: no new declarations
- Many measures showing progress planned or started before the adoption of the action plan
- Actions that require a change in behavior and policies saw little/no progress

# Disarmament Progress (cont'd)

- Modernization of nuclear arsenals
  - Extended ranges, “effectiveness,” service life - long-term reliance on NW
  - Though no “hot testing,” new warheads produced
  - The objective of nuclear disarmament?
- Most important for NNWS: the role of nuclear weapons in all military and security concepts
  - Sets context for other concrete steps
  - No significant improvement during the reporting period

# “P5” Consultations

- London, 2009: Transparency, verification
- Paris, 2011: NPT RevCon follow-up, Action 5
- Washington, 2012; Geneva, 2013: NPT priorities
- Working group on terminology
- Verification discussions
- Low expectations for 2014 reporting



*Photo: US Department of State*



# (Re)New(ed) Debate: Humanitarian Dimension

- Human security: focusing on the people, protecting humans, not only security of state
- Beyond “traditional” discourse, entrenched rhetoric
- Widening the circle & the debate
  - Involving humanitarian organizations
  - Energizing the public

# 2010 NPT RevCon Final Document

- Conclusions and Recommendations chapeau:

*“The Conference expresses its deep concern at the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons and reaffirms the need for all States at all times to comply with applicable international law, including international humanitarian law.”*

# Gaining Momentum, Changing the Discourse

- 2012 NPT PrepCom: 16-Nation statement
- 2012 UNGA First Committee: 34-Nation statement
- 2013 NPT PrepCom: 80-Nation statement
- 2013 UNGA First Committee: 125-Nation statement (and a 17-Nation statement)
- 2013: Conference in Oslo
  - Focusing on detonation effects and response
  - NWS: boycott
  - Next meeting in Mexico (February 2014)



## Oslo 2013



- “...unlikely that any state or international body could address the immediate humanitarian emergency caused by a nuclear weapon detonation in an adequate manner...
- While political circumstances have changed, the destructive potential of nuclear weapons remains...
- The effects of a nuclear weapon detonation ... will not be constrained by national borders...”
- Next conference – focus on long-term effects

# Nuclear Weapons Ban



- Proposal from civil society
- A treaty banning development, possession, stationing, use of nuclear weapons
- No dismantlement program (yet)
- Negotiations open to all, NWS not required
- Why? To establish a norm
- NWS, many NNWS oppose the idea
  - “useless without weapons possessors”

# Other Initiatives

- Fall 2012: Very active UNGA First Committee
- Group of Governmental Experts on FMCT
  - Start in 2014
- High-Level Meeting on Nuclear Disarmament
  - September 26, 2013
- Open-ended working group on multilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations (OEWG)
  - Open participation
  - Flexible agenda
  - Three weeks in 2013

# Open-Ended Working Group

- First substantive, interactive discussion in years
- Debate about approaches to, elements of nuclear disarmament
- Civil society participated equally
  - Submitted working papers
  - Contributed to discussion, report
- NWS boycotted, call it “distraction”
- No OEWG in 2014, but possible in the future



# Summing Up...

- NNWS frustration
- Rift over the humanitarian dimension, other initiatives
  - NWS vs NNWS
  - (Some) NATO NNWS/US allies vs other NNWS
- Entrenchment: Russia, France
- Middle East Conference necessary
- Progress by 2015: What is going to be “enough”?