



# Toward the 2022 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference

**International Peace & Planet Leader Appeals  
to Build Our Movements and Impact the  
NPT Review Conference**



Published by the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, New York Office, January 2022

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With support from the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

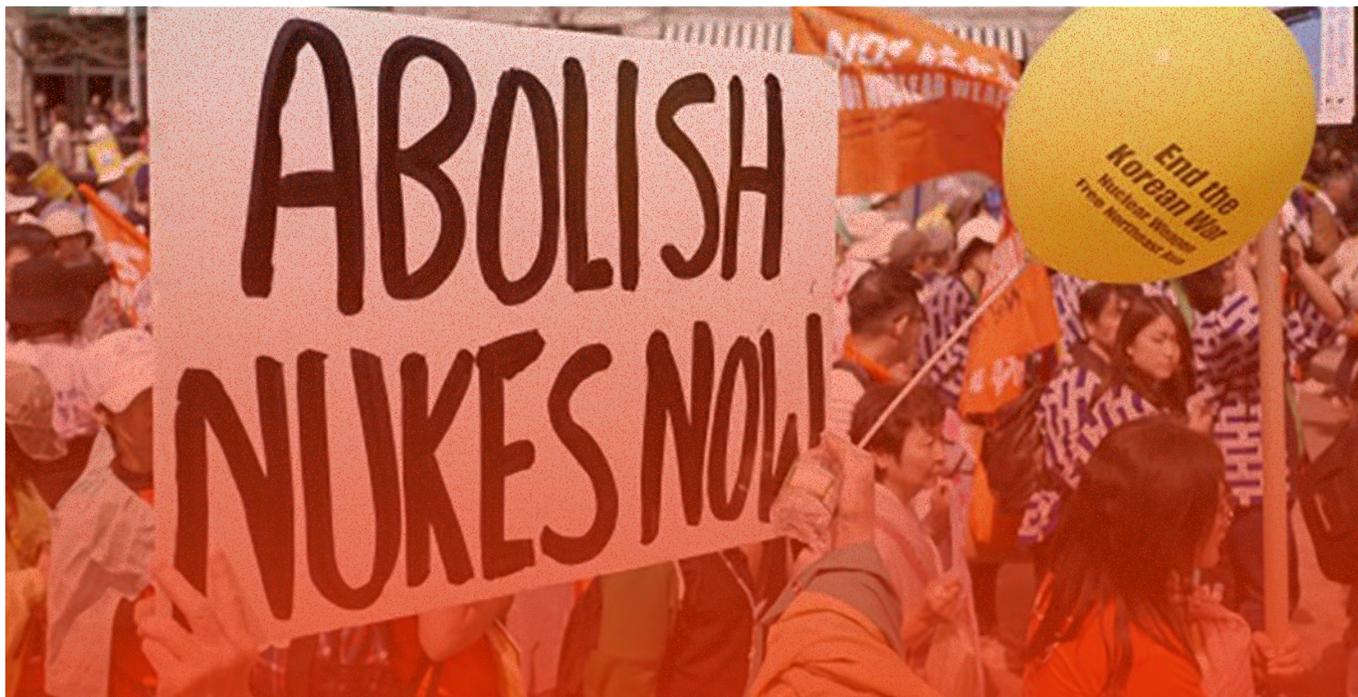
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The New York Office serves two major tasks: to work around issues concerning the United Nations and to engage in dialogue with North American progressives in universities, unions, social movements and politics.

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# 2022 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference

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# Greetings for the Tenth Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

By Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann

When the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons entered into force, now 51 years ago, it was an important step in limiting the nuclear arms race. At that time, it was expected that 25 to 30 states would acquire nuclear weapons in the next 20 years. Even though more states have developed nuclear weapons—avowedly or secretly—to this day, that number has remained much lower. This is an undeniable success of the treaty.

Nevertheless, the dissatisfaction of the non-nuclear-weapon states as well as of international civil society has grown over the years. After all, the treaty did not only contain the renunciation of nuclear armament by new states but also the obligation of the nuclear weapon states to nuclear and general disarmament. All too little has been done in this area in the past 51 years.

The international public must be all the more disappointed that civil society is to be left out of the Tenth Review Conference, which is now taking place several months late due to the pandemic. The publishers of this brochure—International Peace Bureau, Campaign for Peace, Disarmament and Common Security and the New York Office of the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung—want to use it to make the voices of civil society heard. We have asked people from all over the world to write down their views on the concerns of the conference. In this way, we want to bring the wishes and expectations of the people of the planet to the attention of the delegates. I hope that they will find open ears and thoughtful minds.

*Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann, President, Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung*

# The Urgency of the Moment and the Imperative of Fulfilling the NPT's Promise

By Joseph Gerson

With nongovernmental organizations excluded from the United Nations due to the Covid pandemic, representatives of nuclear disarmament movements and analysts from across the world planned an online international conference for January 4, 2022, the opening day of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference. Given the urgency of the continuing nuclear dangers and the importance of building movements and informing policy makers and diplomats, when the Review Conference was again postponed by the pandemic, we forged ahead with a truly remarkable conference.

This resource has been developed with our partners at the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung and the International Peace Bureau to make public the reports, analyses and proposals from our speakers and several others involved in the planning and execution of the conference. We hope that you will read it with interest, share it and take action based on what you read here.

As the diplomats prepare for the rescheduled Review Conference, now planned for August 2022, each of the nine nuclear weapons powers are upgrading and/or expanding their genocidal and omnicidal arsenals. In recent years, the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* has repeatedly conveyed the urgency of the moment by setting the hands of their Doomsday Clock to 100 seconds to midnight—the closest to catastrophe since the earliest years of the Cold War. It is widely understood that an accident or miscalculation amidst provocative U.S. and Chinese military operations near Taiwan or in the South China Sea could, like the 1914 shots in Sarajevo, easily escalate to nuclear war. Much the same is true as U.S., NATO and Russian forces confront one another in Europe and as Indian and Pakistani forces compete for influence and control in Kashmir.

We delude ourselves with the belief that nuclear weapons have not been

used since the unconscionably brutal 1945 atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. During wars and international crises, every nuclear weapons state has prepared and/or threatened to initiate nuclear war.

The Hibakusha, the tortured witness survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki A-bombings and other nuclear weapons victims have long warned that “Human beings and nuclear weapons cannot coexist.”

For more than 50 years, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), despite its faults—especially Article IV’s encouragement of nuclear power generation—has served as a bulwark preventing nuclear war and nuclear weapons proliferation. Yet the refusal of the initial nuclear weapons states to honor their Article VI obligation to engage in good faith negotiations for the complete elimination of their nuclear arsenals has severely undermined international respect for and the potential of the NPT. Add to this the flouting of the treaty as nuclear powers augment their first-strike or deterrent nuclear forces.

Joseph Rotblat, the Nobel Peace laureate and sole senior scientist to quit the Manhattan Project because of moral compunctions, warned that humanity faces a stark choice. It can either completely eliminate the world’s nuclear weapons or witness their global proliferation and the nuclear wars which will follow. No nation, he warned, will long tolerate what it perceives to be an unequal balance of terror. The insistence by the nuclear powers to maintain the nuclear apartheid system by resisting their Article VI commitments now drives pressures for proliferation from the Middle East to East Asia.

In desperation, and with hope, 122 countries negotiated and launched the Treaty on Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW). At this writing 86 governments have signed the treaty and 57 have ratified it. As you will read here, nuclear weapons states claim that the TPNW undermines the NPT, but the truth is that it's the nuclear powers’ refusal to fulfill their NPT obligations and the humanitarian consequences of nuclear war that led them to press the nuclear weapons states toward nuclear weapons abolition.

Preventing nuclear war and fulfilling the NPT’s promise of a nuclear weapons-free world can be done, but they depend on your actions.

Together for a nuclear weapons-free, peaceful, just and sustainable world.

*Joseph Gerson, President, Campaign for Peace, Disarmament and Common Security*

# The NPT Conference will be held without civil society. Will it also lack impetus for nuclear disarmament?

By Reiner Braun



International civil society groups including the diverse peace movements were excluded—despite protest—from the NPT conference beginning in January 2022. Corona served as a pretext; there is no other way to describe this decision, after all, as with other international conferences, other arrangements—online, hybrid, staggered, partial participation—would have been conceivable.

We were not wanted.

The critical voices, the manifold proposals, the intensive accompaniment, the diverse discussions, the interesting and innovative cooperation, but also the crucial observer role, will not be possible this time. This comes at a moment of great international confrontation, where social movements are a decisive factor in changing the political thought to increase cooperation between nations.

The nuclear weapon states, which permanently violate the spirit of the NPT, will be happy about it; the nuclear “rearmers” all over the world, especially those in the NATO states, will like to see it. This lack of a critical correlative is certainly not conducive to impulses for nuclear disarmament. It also lacked the voice that motivates governments to more commitment.

The already low expectations for this conference have certainly been lowered once again. The international climate of confrontation, the unchecked nuclear armament, the new nuclear weapons in all nuclear-weapons-possessing countries, the new nuclear war scenarios everywhere in the world are the opposite of the impulses we need for new nuclear disarmament steps.

Impulses from governments for nuclear disarmament are hardly recognizable and, when present, are often only one side of the coin. For example, initiatives that call for nuclear disarmament in Europe (especially from the other side) simultaneously want to maintain nuclear sharing in violation of international law, station new nuclear weapons and acquire new nuclear-capable fighter bombers. Unfortunately, Germany is not alone in this. Nuclear disarmament and the stationing of more troops and arms on Russia’s western border do not go together either.

What we need is a return to the basic ideas of the policy of common security: cooperation instead of confrontation, dialogue and negotiations instead of threats and armament.

Talking to each other, like Biden and Putin have done, is still a thousand times better than “shooting” even once—but it is not enough in view of the political situation and the quantum leap of weapons technologies. We need international negotiations again for new nuclear disarmament measures, concrete verifiable measures to zero, nuclear-weapons-free zones, and agreement on confidence-building measures. Initial arms control measures, for all their limitations, can be helpful. We need—in the spirit of Brandt, Palme and Kreisky—renewed trust, readiness and will for mutual understanding out of the realization that in the nuclear age security can only be achieved together and never against each other. Unilateral disarmament steps can be door openers.

Disarmament must once again be placed at the center of the international political agenda. The Secretary General of the UN is in full agreement with this demand that he has repeatedly made of the international community. The solution of the global challenges, the climate change, the pandemic, but also the achievement of the SDGs, is never possible with the unrestrained

nuclear and conventional armament. The world can simply no longer “afford” 2 trillion for armament and war.

Active social movements, especially the international peace movement, are called upon to intervene imaginatively in the opinion-forming process of governments through active and independent action. The World Peace Congress in Barcelona, organized by the International Peace Bureau (IPB), was an example of internationally networked peace engagement.

The further strengthening of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) is indispensable. With more signatories and more countries ratifying the treaty, this historic document can become a game changer for nuclear disarmament, for a world without nuclear weapons. Strengthening it also in New York is a core task in these unpeaceful times. Perhaps a small result of the NPT conference could be the objectification of the discussion on the TPNW, arguments could be exchanged, and blanket rejection without expertise, even defamation of the treaty, could be overcome.

The TPNW conveys the hope that we can get out of the deadly nuclear cycle. This hope is only illusion, if again the so-called step-by-step approach is formulated as alternative. These steps have almost all ended up in the nirvana of rearmament and confrontation. All governments of the world and international civil society are called upon to make their active independent contribution. The nuclear weapons powers are called upon to finally take their obligations under the NPT seriously—all of them!

IPB will do everything to ensure that at least some positive impulses will emanate from New York toward the big TPNW conference in Vienna in March 2022, where the future toward a world free of nuclear weapons will be seriously and realistically discussed, negotiated and acted upon.

A world without nuclear weapons is possible, what is missing is the political will.

*Reiner Braun, Executive Director, International Peace Bureau*

# Message to the 2022 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference and to the International Community

## From Peace & Planet



In 1955, at the height of the Cold War, the philosopher Bertrand Russell and the physicist Albert Einstein issued an appeal to the world to prevent nuclear holocaust. Most compellingly, their appeal stated:

“There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal as human beings to human beings: Remember your humanity and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death.”

Today, the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists’ Doomsday Clock, set at 100 seconds to midnight, warns that humanity stands at the brink of apocalypse

due to the twin existential threats posed by nuclear weapons and climate change. As stated by the Bulletin:

“Accelerating nuclear programs in multiple countries moved the world into less stable and manageable territory last year. Development of hypersonic glide vehicles, ballistic missile defenses and weapons-delivery systems that can flexibly use conventional or nuclear warheads may raise the probability of miscalculation in times of tension.” Continuing preparations for nuclear war by the nine nuclear powers and the climate emergency are compounded by “the continuing corruption of the information ecosphere on which democracy and public decision-making depend.”

Solutions to these threats are readily apparent: Fulfill the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty’s promise of a nuclear-weapons-free world; end the use of fossil fuels; and make massive investments in green energy alternatives.

The entry-into-force of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) is a landmark achievement of the international peace movement, anti-nuclear mayors, parliamentarians and governments. The realization of the TPNW demonstrates that the majority of the world’s nations stand in judgment—even outrage—at the failure of the original nuclear-armed states—joined now by additional nuclear powers—to fulfill their Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Article VI obligation to engage in good faith negotiations for the complete elimination of the nuclear arsenals. Trust has been further shattered by the nuclear weapons states’ failure to fulfill commitments reinforced by agreements made in connection with NPT Review Conferences in 1995, 2000 and 2010, including an “unequivocal undertaking” to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals.

The NPT’s disarmament obligations were universalized by the International Court of Justice, which in its 1996 advisory opinion issued an authoritative interpretation of Article VI, finding unanimously: “There exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control.”

Yet today, the nuclear powers are spending trillions of dollars to upgrade their omnicidal nuclear arsenals and delivery systems. Provocative military actions in the midst of increasing confrontations between the U.S. and NATO versus China and Russia, in Northeast Asia and in South Asia, heighten the danger that an accident, an unintended incident or a miscalculation could ignite military—potentially nuclear—conflicts.

The nuclear powers' failure to fulfill their NPT obligations, their increasing investment in and reliance on nuclear weapons, ongoing "first use" nuclear warfighting doctrines of countries including the United States and Russia, and development of overwhelming conventional high-tech weaponry, encourage political and economic forces in other nations to seek their own nuclear "deterrent," further increasing the dangers of nuclear catastrophe.

The U.S. and Russia are spending trillions of dollars in their 21st-century nuclear arms race to maintain and modernize every warhead and delivery system in their arsenals.

Britain has announced it is increasing the size of its nuclear arsenal by more than 40 percent, from 180 to 260 warheads, and is reducing transparency about its nuclear arsenal, and it joined the U.S. and Australia in promulgating the nuclear AUK–U.S. alliance in violation of Article VI of the NPT.

France has launched a project to develop its third generation of nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines, designed to hold the world hostage until 2090.

China is modernizing its nuclear arsenal and developing a nuclear triad for the first time, made up of new land- and sea-based missiles and nuclear-capable aircraft. In 2020 China increased its stockpile from an estimated 290 warheads to 320.

India increased its arsenal from an estimated 130 to 140 nuclear warheads in 2019 to 150 in 2020 and is threatening Pakistan and China with its nascent nuclear triad.

Pakistan is developing a nuclear triad of its own. Unlike neighboring India and China, Pakistan does not have a "no first use" doctrine, and reserves the right to use nuclear weapons, particularly low-yield tactical nuclear weapons, to offset India's advantage in conventional forces.

Diamona, a secretive Israeli nuclear facility at the center of the nation's undeclared atomic weapons program, is undergoing what appears to be its biggest construction project in decades.

In January 2021, North Korea pledged to expand its nuclear weapons arsenal and military potential. It declared its intention to advance its nuclear capabilities and strengthen military power. It has kept its promise to suspend nuclear and ICBM tests, but it continues missile launch tests including submarine-launched ballistic missiles.

Even short of nuclear attacks, nuclear weapons devastate human lives as

a consequence of radioactive poisoning from their production cycle and the diversion of essential human and financial resources: from stanching the Covid-19 pandemic and addressing other health crises; from the rising waters, devastating storms and massive fires of the climate emergency; and from hunger, homelessness and hopelessness.

The vision and possibility of a nuclear-weapons-free world have existed since the earliest calls from Hiroshima and Nagasaki A-bomb survivors, the world's scientists, international civil society and sobered national leaders and diplomats who understand that nuclear wars can never be won and must not be fought.

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## **We call for:**

Immediate fulfillment of their Article VI obligations and past agreements to abolish nuclear weapons by the nuclear-armed states participating in the 2021 NPT Review Conference.

- Commencement of negotiations between Russia and the U.S. for deep reductions in their nuclear arsenals, to be joined at the earliest possible date by the other nuclear-armed states to achieve the global elimination of nuclear weapons.
- A halt in the development and deployment of all new nuclear weapons and delivery systems.
- Significant reduction in spending for nuclear weapons and related systems, including dual-use “missile defenses” and hypersonic weapons, and increased spending to address the climate crisis and other urgent human needs through national and international just conversion plans and ambitions.
- Support, signing and ratification of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW).
- An end to nuclear sharing.
- Pursuit of settlement of conflicts through diplomacy and peaceful means based on the UN Charter and established international law and rules.
- Negotiations to fulfill the promise of the creation of a Middle East Zone Free of Nuclear Weapons and other Weapons of Mass Destruction

- Common Security diplomacy to reduce military tensions and to create an environment more conducive to nuclear disarmament negotiations.

## **We call on the peace movements of the world for:**

- Mobilization of people's voices and opinions to exert maximum pressure on our governments, especially nuclear weapon states and their allies, to sign and ratify the TPNW.
- Demanding our governments to cut the massive spending on nuclear weapons and military to save people's lives and living from the current pandemic through national and international just conversion plans and ambitions.
- Increased multi-issue international civil society collaboration to build the political pressure to achieve a nuclear-weapons-free world.
- Organizing and joining the January 4, 2022 International Conference to be held as the NPT Review begins to rally and demonstrate the people's demands and aspirations to achieve the elimination of nuclear weapons.

*Peace & Planet is an international network of organizations committed to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons*

### *Peace & Planet Network Participating Organizations:*

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament • Campaign for Peace, Disarmament & Common Security • Gensuikin, Gensuikyo • International Peace Bureau • International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War • International Trade Union Confederation • Mouvement de la Paix • Peace Action, Peace Action New York State • Peoples Solidarity for Participatory Democracy • Public Council of the South Coast of the Gulf of Finland • Stop the War Coalition Philippines • United for Peace & Justice • Western States Legal Foundation

# Biographical Sketches



**Srishty Aware** is a youth leader of the International IANSA Action Network Against Small Arms and a member the Indian Institute for Peace Disarmament & Environmental Protection. Prior to the Peace & Planet conference, she participated in the International Peace Bureau's World Peace Congress "Imagine Our World: Action for Policy & Justice" in Barcelona. She is an architect and graduate of the Priyadarshini Institute of Architecture and Design.

**Jacqueline Cabasso** has been Executive Director of Western States Legal Foundation in Oakland California since 1984. A "founding mother" of the Abolition 2000 Global Network to Eliminate Nuclear Weapons in 1995, she also serves as National Co-convenor of United for Peace and Justice and Executive Advisor to Mayors for Peace. She was the 2008 recipient of the International Peace Bureau's Sean MacBride Peace Award.

**Tarja Cronberg** is a Distinguished Associate Fellow with the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), she's currently working in the Middle East, with the objective to reduce tensions and to create conditions for dialogue. She has a long record of activities both as an academic in security and peace studies and as a politician in foreign and security policy, with special focus on nonproliferation and nuclear disarmament. As a member of the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee and

subcommittee for Security and Defence, she worked with the Iran nuclear issue as the Chair of the EP's delegation for relations with Iran (2011–2014). She is also a member of the European Leadership Network's Executive Board, the Chair of the Finnish Peace Union and a former Vice-President of the IPB, the International Peace Bureau.

**Maria Pia Devoto** is the Director of the Argentinean Public Policy Association and a specialist in international security and nonproliferation issues, disarmament, arms control and gender; she conducts advocacy activities and analysis and is an active member of various civil society networks. She is a founding member of the Argentine Disarmament Network (RAD); and the Latin American and Caribbean Human Security Network (SEHLAC), of which she is coordinator. Devoto is a member of the Governance Board of International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) / Cluster Munition Coalition (CMC), Administrative Chair of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN); board member of the Killer Robots Campaign and civil society representative to the Board of the Parliamentary Forum on Small Arms and Light Weapons.

**Alexey Gromyko** is a Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), Director of the RAS Institute of Europe, associate researcher at Ruskin College (2002) and associate visitor at St Antony's College (2005) at Oxford University, President of the Russian Association of European Studies, Chairman of Andrei Gromyko Association of Foreign Policy Studies, member of the Research Council for the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia and of the Research Council at the Russian Security Council, Editor-in-Chief, journal *Contemporary Europe*, Executive Editor, journal *Social Sciences and Contemporary World*.

**Emad Kiyaei** is a director at the Middle East Treaty Organization (METO), which seeks to eradicate all weapons of mass destruction from the Middle East through innovative policy, advocacy and educational programs. He is also a principal at the international consulting firm IGD Group, where he leads the peace and security sector. He is the co-author of *Weapons of Mass Destruction: A New Approach to Non-Proliferation*, published by Routledge. Formerly, he was a researcher for Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public & International Affairs and an associate at Columbia University's Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR). He served as executive director of the American Iranian Council (AIC). Kiyaei regularly contributes and provides interviews to national and international media, including *Al Jazeera*, *BBC*, *Business Insider*, *CBS*, *Foreign Policy*, *NPR* and *PBS*. He holds a Master's of International Affairs from Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs.

**Marion Küpker** is the spokeswoman for the “Büchel is everywhere! nuclear weapons-free now” campaign, peace officer on nuclear weapons at the Fellowship of Reconciliation Germany and international coordinator in the DFG-VK against nuclear weapons. She has worked for more than 20 years for withdrawal of the weapons from Germany. She is also working against the U.S. plan to spend \$12 billion to modernize these weapons, which are illegal under German and international law. She leads the annual Küpker is applying pressure on Germany to sign and ratify the new UN Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

**Fred Lubang** has almost three decades of experience in building peace through humanitarian disarmament, peace education, peace processes, weapons flow regulations and decolonization of humanitarian engagement. Fred is the Regional Representative of Nonviolence International Southeast Asia and the National Coordinator of the Philippine Campaign to Ban Landmines. He served on various advisory boards of global disarmament campaigns and is a recognized expert on humanitarian disarmament, a resource person on peace and conflict studies among international organizations, governments, universities and civil society. Recently, he ventured into social enterprise for persons transitioning from war to peace while pursuing his PhD on Decolonizing Humanitarian Disarmament.

**Sara Medi Jones** is the Campaigns Director for Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and an International Peace Bureau (IPB) council member. During her time at CND, she has organized numerous demonstrations, including with several of London’s anti-Trump marches and events. Medi Jones is responsible for CND’s briefings and reports and regularly writes articles on anti-nuclear issues. She has represented CND at numerous high-level events, including UN conferences. Prior to working at CND, Medi Jones worked at the European Parliament, where she specialized in environmental issues and relations with Palestine.

**Jasmine Owens** is the Lead Organizer and Policy Coordinator for the Nuclear Weapons Abolition Program at Physicians for Social Responsibility. She brings an extensive background in nuclear weapons with her master’s in Nonproliferation and Terrorism Studies from the Middlebury Institute of International Studies, and her professional experiences from Outrider Foundation, Council on Strategic Risks, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies and ReThink Media. Jasmine leads with an intersectional and progressive approach to nuclear abolition, guided by her previous positions as the Social Media Director for the West Coast Chapter of Women of Color Advancing Peace, Security and Conflict Transformation (WCAPS) and as an Advisory

Board member of the Nuclear Fusion Project. She graduated from the University of Wisconsin–Madison.

**Matthew Parks** is the Parliamentary Coordinator of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). He leads COSATU's engagements with parliament, government and the African National Congress on bills, policies, regulations, taxes and so forth at Parliament. As well as at Nedlac and in bilateral engagements with business and industry bodies and companies. He has long been involved in the ANC and its various formations and structures, including having previously served as the ANC's Deputy Regional Secretary for Cape Town and on its Regional Executive Committee. He is involved in a wide range of other policy engagements with government, from labor to finance, budget, taxes, agriculture and land reform to transport, police, home affairs, justice, basic and higher education, health, trade and industry. He graduated from the University of Cape Town and did post-graduate diploma at the University of the Western Cape.

**Peace & Planet** is an international network of organizations committed to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. It has organized major conferences, rallies and marches on the eves of Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conferences and arranged the presentation of millions of petition signatures urging nuclear weapons abolition to the presidents of the NPT Review Conferences and UN High Representatives for Disarmament Affairs. It has also held numerous webinars and serves as a means for international coordination among disarmament organizations. Initially created as a working group of the Abolition 2000 Global Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, Peace & Planet recognizes that the struggle to eliminate nuclear weapons is inextricably linked with movement for economic, social, and environmental justice and peace.

**Douglas Roche**, OC, KCSG, is a Canadian author, parliamentarian, diplomat and peace activist. He served as Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament for Edmonton–Strathcona from 1972 to 1979 and for Edmonton South 1979–1984. In 1984, he was appointed Canada's Ambassador for Disarmament, a position he held until 1989. He was appointed to the Senate of Canada on September 17, 1998, where he served until 2004.

**Alain Rouy** is the national secretary of Mouvement de la Paix, executive secretary of International Association of Educators for Peace and IAEP-delegate at UNESCO, co-chair French Teachers for Peace (Enseignants pour la Paix). In Mouvement de la Paix, Alain Rouy is in charge of international relations with UNO, UNESCO and the international peace organizations, especially IPB, No to NATO network, network against military bases and German peace organizations. He focuses on promotion of the United

Nations and multilateralism, alternative European security system, and peace education. As IAEP delegate at Unesco, Alain Rouy is involved in NGOs activities, especially NGO-UNESCO international forums.

**Lee Tae-ho** is a leading civil activist in South Korea. He is a Chair of Policy Committee and a Director of Center for Peace and Disarmament of the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD), a watchdog NGO based in Seoul. He also serves as Co-chair of the Steering Committee of the (CSONK), which has over 300 member CSOs.

**Liv Tørres** is the international secretary of the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions—LO Norway. She has worked on international humanitarian, peace and development issues for three decades. Before joining LO-Norway at the end of 2021, she was the director of the Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies, hosted by the Center on International Cooperation at New York University. She has previously served as Executive Director of the Nobel Peace Center and as Secretary General of Norwegian People's Aid. She is an expert on labor, development, peacebuilding and democratization issues. She has worked as a political adviser for Norway's Minister of Labour and Social Inclusion and was a member of the Norwegian Labour Party's International Committee for nearly 10 years. Ms. Tørres holds a PhD in political science from the University of Oslo.

**Yayoi Tsuchida** is Associate General Secretary of the Japan Council against A- & H-Bombs (Gensuikyo.) Long a leading member of the Japanese peace movement, she works closely with A-bomb survivors, organizes international conferences and represents Gensuikyo internationally.

# Less Than 100 Seconds to Doomsday...

By Liv Tørres



**W**e now have less than 100 seconds to midnight on the Doomsday Clock of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. A decade ago, we were at five minutes to midnight. We are in other words moving fast in the wrong direction. Our time to act is about to run out.

The 2022 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference will gather in a sobering setting. We have seen tensions growing over the past two decades. At the global level, tensions are increasing both between superpowers and between developing and developed countries. Climate change is threatening stability. Today's levels of income inequality pose another threat to peace. When inequality and economic isolation rise, conflict easily follows. We have seen that through history. Growing polarization and unrest in the past decade combined with low trust in leaders and institutions does not make the picture more optimistic. And the bleak scenarios we had before Covid-19 grew considerably more pessimistic during the pandemic. Covid-19 intensified inequalities within and between countries and increased tensions and polarization to a level we are still to see the consequences of.

Most of our global leaders say that they seek peace. Yet, their strategies and tactics to get there seem to be increasingly in contradiction to peacebuilding and disarmament. The nuclear powers are spending trillions of dollars to upgrade their nuclear arsenals and delivery systems. Increasing great power tensions in several areas, among them pertaining to Ukraine and Taiwan, heighten the danger that an accident, an unintended incident, or a miscalculation could ignite military—potentially nuclear—conflicts. Some experts say we will be lucky to survive more than a few decades without another Nagasaki or Hiroshima. The superpowers arms race with current massive and increasing investments in the development of high-tech weaponry, encourage also, as the organizers of the People & Planet conference say, political and economic forces in other nations to seek their own nuclear “deterrents,” further increasing the dangers of nuclear catastrophe.

So, when expectations are raised for the NPT 2022 Conference, it must be pertinent to say that we expect leaders to act in accordance with their visions and statements. They say they want peace. It must surely be relevant also to ask world leaders to act on and respect their NPT obligations. And it must safely be presumed that we expect leaders to act in accordance with their own people`s wishes—and people do want peace.

We have engaged in disarmament before. We know how it is done. We have had several treaties entered between leaders of superpowers before. It can be done again. The 2010 pact between Presidents Obama and Medvedev to cut U.S. and Russian nuclear warheads by 25 to 30 percent was aimed to lead to talks on deeper nuclear reductions. The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, entered between Iran on the one side and EU, Germany and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council on the other, is another example of initiative and political willingness to act. While disarmament and nonproliferation talks have stalled over the past decade, these historic initiatives show that it is indeed possible.

Ten years ago, the world gathered in Oslo for the Conference on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons. The gathering spearheaded the discussions and deliberations that paved the way for the later UN Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty (2017). Several other initiatives demonstrate the same: that small states and small groups of states, together with civil society actors, can pave the way for major disarmament efforts.

Nuclear weapons pose an existential threat. The arms race also diverts resources from areas much needed to repair the massive costs of past injustices and the current pandemic. Limiting arms spending will be an important part of a just transition process. The money now spent on arms

could be far better spent on climate change mitigation, public services, social justice and decent work. And the just transition needed for a greener and more peaceful future would need to include active labor market investments to assure new jobs and sustainable decent jobs.

The last NPT Conference in 2015 failed to produce an outcome. We cannot allow this to happen again. The responsibility rests first and foremost with the nuclear weapons states. They must step up if we are to turn the tide. Nuclear weapons arsenals are an existential threat to our very survival. Our leaders have brought us to the brink of disaster, where mere blunders and miscalculations may spell our very extinction. The most important task is now to bring us to safer grounds.

We call upon you to make the first move. The clock is ticking. We must make every second count.

*Liv Tørres, Head of International Department, Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions—LO Norway y Oksana Mironova*

# The Imperative of U.S.-Russian Disarmament Collaboration

By Alexey Gromyko

International nuclear arms races are in the making, although there is still a chance to reign them in. Unfortunately, it seems that it will get worse before it may get better. The 2022 Joseph Biden defense budget of the U.S. is a mammoth one even surpassing the last defense budget of Donald Trump. It is inevitable that the U.S. will press forward to modernize its nuclear triad. Russia to a large extent has already done so. It is a reverse situation in comparison to the Cold War era. This time NATO has an overwhelming superiority in conventional weapons, and Russia with its nuclear doctrine has to rely heavily on nuclear deterrence. Recently the UK has sharply raised the ceiling of its nuclear warheads. A new fundamental shift is occurring—a potentially radical increase in a number of Chinese ICBMs, which may put in question the Russia-U.S. dialogue on the future of strategic stability. Moreover, within this dialogue there are competing aims—the U.S. wants to embrace all strategic and non-strategic nuclear weapons. For its part, Russia wants the dialogue to cover all offensive and defensive, nuclear and non-nuclear strategic weapons.

The disruptive technologies are another complicating factor. Hypersonics are a real concern should such systems be deployed in the proximity of Russia. The same relates to the new INF systems, which are being quickly developed by the U.S. In Germany there is already a revived NATO military infrastructure, closed in the aftermath of the 1987 INF treaty, and designed for operating INF systems. In the eyes of Moscow there is a high probability of a new Euromissile crisis exploding in two to three years if Russia's proposals for a moratorium are not responded to in a rational way. Nuclear posturing on all sides, including NATO nuclear sharing, may change for worse more quickly than that if recent Russia's proposals on security guarantees, handed over to the U.S. and NATO, are not taken seriously. If the NATO—Russia Final Act, or what is left of it, is jettisoned, the U.S. will have the right to move its tactical nuclear weapons, for example, to Poland, and Russia—to Kaliningrad or/and Belarus. What Moscow considers to be a non-negotiable red line is a non-deployment of strike systems in Ukraine and on the territory of other Russian neighbors. If these developments occur, they can lead to the worst scenario, a change of the deterrence doctrines of

both Russia and the U.S. from a counter- or a second-strike capability to a pre-emptive one.

The corrosion of the non-proliferation regime also occurs due to the further spread (or the potential growth) of nuclear technologies, which is an obvious risk inherent in the AUK–U.S. adventurism. The U.S. strategy of a new cold war with China envisages the creeping involvement of India in the anti-Beijing military alliance, which will inevitably spur a nuclear arms race between Delhi and Beijing. Pakistan would be inevitably involved in it. The more the official nuclear powers brace for more competition with each other, the less they coordinate their efforts in stemming proliferation in the Korean peninsula, and the less they work on the return of the U.S. to the JCPOA. Meanwhile Iran is raising the enrichment of uranium to 60 percent.

Is there a chance that in present circumstances the RevCon can achieve progress? There are certain elements that could help to bring it about. In the core of this lie the responsibilities of the P5 states, which at last should convene a P5 conference as was agreed in 2020 before the pandemic struck. In Vienna the talks on the JCPOA should move forward with an active support of the U.S., which is responsible for the current crisis. The return of the U.S. and Iran to the deal would defuse a looming nuclear arms race in the Middle East among Iran, Saudi Arabia and Israel. The U.S. and NATO should strive to work with Russia on achieving mutual guarantees of security ruling out deployment of nuclear or/and conventional strike systems in the proximity to each other. Only the U.S. and Russia working together in goodwill can persuade China to refrain from destabilizing steps with respect to its nuclear arsenal. On its part, China should clarify if there are changes in its nuclear doctrine, which can breach its nonproliferation obligations. As to the nuclear doctrines of the U.S. and Russia, it should be a logical step on the basis of the Putin-Biden Geneva statement that a nuclear war can never be won and must never be fought to proceed to embrace sole purpose as being understood to be a deterrence-only and no first use posture.

*Alexey Gromyko, Corresponding Member, Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), Director, RAS Institute of Europe*

# Call for Global Action Demanding a ‘World Without Nuclear Weapons’

By Yayoi Tsuchida



**T**hank you for giving me this opportunity to speak before you.

We carried out nationwide actions across Japan on January 4 when the Tenth NPT Review Conference was scheduled to begin. Together with the Hibakusha, we took to the streets in all major cities to resonate the desire of the Japanese people for the elimination of nuclear weapons and Japan’s accession to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) by exhibiting the photo panels of Hiroshima and Nagasaki A-bombing and collecting signatures for the abolition of nuclear weapons.

On the occasion of the NPT RevCon, we demand the confirmation and fulfillment of Article VI obligation and past promises of NPT to achieve “a world without nuclear weapons.” In spite of strong resistance, the 2000 NPT Review Conference agreed by consensus on the “unequivocal undertaking” to “accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals”; and in 2010 on the pledge to make “special efforts” to establish a “framework” to

“achieve the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons.” We sincerely hope this RevCon will be a starting point for these agreements to be implemented without any further delay. We also call on the RevCon to seriously discuss the TPNW, which was established by the overwhelming majority of countries to promote their implementation.

The Hibakusha, whose average age is about 84 years old, hope to see the elimination of nuclear weapons in their lifetime. Nuclear weapons do not bring “safety” nor “peace,” but only pose a danger of annihilation to humanity. Continuing to rely on nuclear weapons runs counter to the UN Charter, the UN first resolution to eliminate nuclear weapons, and all the agreements of the NPT.

In order to drive nuclear-weapon states and nuclear-umbrella states to take actions, we have to overcome their clinging to nuclear deterrence. While saying that it shares the goal of the elimination of nuclear weapons as the A-bombed country,” the Japanese government, relying on nuclear deterrence theory, is opposed to the TPNW and is hindering the way to reach the goal. In the intensifying hegemonic competition between the U.S. and China over the South China Sea, East China Sea and Taiwan Strait, the U.S. promised Japan to use “all kinds of U.S. capabilities, including nuclear weapons,” to support “Japan’s defense.” In response, Japan promised to strengthen its defense capabilities and mobilize SDFs in the event of a “Taiwan emergency.” Reliance on nuclear deterrence only increases the risk of an endless arms race, war and the use of nuclear weapons.

In this regard, the TPNW empowers us. It proposes a shift from “security depending on nuclear weapons” to “security of a world without nuclear weapons.” The existence of the treaty has led the overwhelming majority of the international community to believe that it is not right for humanity to be in constant danger of annihilation that may occur at any time. Doubt about security based on nuclear deterrence is increasing.

There is high public support for the TPNW even in nuclear-weapon states and nuclear-umbrella states, with 59 percent in UK and 70 to 90 percent in NATO member countries such as Belgium, Spain and Italy saying that their governments should ratify the treaty. In Japan as well, 71 percent support Japan’s accession to the treaty and 85 percent said it should participate in the first meeting of state parties to the treaty in March this year.

We are also witnessing the ratification of the TPNW being placed on the political agendas of many countries. We are encouraged by the developments that led the new governments of Norway and Germany to decide to join the first meeting as observers.

In the general election held in Japan in October last year, in their common policy, four opposition parties appealed for a government change, for Japan's ratification of the treaty and for participation in the first meeting as an observer. We called for public support for creating a government that would join the treaty. Unfortunately, the transition of power did not happen, but we laid the groundwork for pushing the TPNW issue up on the political agenda.

Nuclear-weapon states and nuclear-umbrella states are being cornered by these moves. The Kyodo news service reported on December 20 that the U.S. Biden administration had officially requested Japan not to participate in the first meeting as an observer.

The key to advancing these moves and to making these states take action is the development of public opinion and peace movements in each country. We have launched the action campaign from January 4 to 28. This will be solidarity action with all governments and civil society representatives who stand for the same goal at the NPT RevCon. We will send voices of the majority of the people and sovereign nations to the international community, including the governments that oppose the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. Please join us in this campaign.

*Yayoi Tsuchida, Japan Council against A and H Bombs (Gensuikyo)*

# Reintroducing the Nuclear Weapons Convention in the NPT Context

Jacqueline Cabasso



**D**uring the 1995 Review and Extension Conference of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), I was a “founding mother” of the Abolition 2000 Global Network to Eliminate Nuclear Weapons. Article VI of the NPT, which entered into force in 1970, states: “Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament....” Five years after the end of the Cold War there was no indication that this obligation was being taken seriously, and NGOs from around the world drafted a statement demanding immediate governmental action on disarmament. As its number one demand, the Abolition 2000 Statement called upon all states, particularly the nuclear armed states, declared and de facto, to: “Initiate immediately and conclude by the year 2000, negotiations on a nuclear weapons abolition convention that requires the phased elimination of all nuclear weapons within a timebound framework, with provisions for effective verification and enforcement.”

The NPT was extended indefinitely in 1995. The extension decision was coupled with a package of non-binding Principles and Objectives including, “[T]he determined pursuit by the NWS of systematic and progressive efforts to reduce nuclear weapons globally, with the ultimate goals of eliminating those weapons....”

The Abolition 2000 Statement inspired the drafting of a Model Nuclear Weapons Convention (MNWC) by international lawyers, scientists and activists, coordinated by Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy, International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation, and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. The MNWC outlines a comprehensive framework of the legal, technical and institutional measures to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world. It was circulated in 1997 by the UN Secretary-General to UN member states, updated in 2007 and again circulated as an official UN document.

As the year 2000 approached, with no convention on the horizon, Abolition 2000 enrolled more than 2,000 organizations in 90 countries and continued its advocacy. There’s no doubt in my mind that the Abolition 2000 Founding Statement and the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention laid the groundwork for the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), which entered into force on January 22, 2021.

At the close of the five-year NPT Review Conference in 2000, the nuclear-armed states committed to an “unequivocal undertaking...to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals.” For the first time in the NPT’s 30-year history, they dropped qualifiers like “ultimate goal” regarding their nuclear disarmament obligation. They also agreed to “a diminishing role for nuclear weapons in security policies to minimize the risk that these weapons will ever be used and to facilitate the process of their total elimination.”

The MNWC was submitted to the 8th Review Conference of the NPT in 2010 by Costa Rica. The final agreed 2010 Review Conference document included the following commitment: “All States need to make special efforts to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons. The conference notes the Five-Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, which proposes *inter alia* the consideration of negotiations on a *nuclear weapons convention* or a framework of separate mutually reinforcing instruments backed by a strong system of verification.” [emphasis added]

In the quarter of a century since the extension of the NPT, the 1995, 2000 and 2010 disarmament commitments remain largely unfulfilled. The role of nuclear weapons in the security policies of the nuclear-armed and “nuclear

umbrella” states has been expanding. All of the nuclear-armed states are qualitatively modernizing and upgrading their arsenals, and some are increasing the size of their stockpiles. The scale and tempo of war games by nuclear-armed states and their allies, including nuclear drills, is increasing. Ongoing missile tests, and frequent close encounters between military forces of nuclear-armed states exacerbate nuclear dangers. With potential flash-points over Ukraine and Taiwan, the risk of another use of nuclear weapons is as high as it’s ever been.

While many nuclear-weapon-free states have demonstrated their commitment to Article VI of the NPT by negotiating and joining the TPNW, the same cannot be said of the P-5 nuclear-armed states, who in a joint statement in 2018 declared: “[W]e reiterate our opposition to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.... The TPNW fails to address the key issues that must be overcome to achieve lasting global nuclear disarmament.”

The 1995, 2000 and 2010 commitments must be reaffirmed and implemented in good faith by *all* states. It’s time to refocus on the nuclear-armed states. Against this background, a reconsideration of the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention is in order. Consideration of the elements that nuclear-armed states might need to negotiate helps to make “the key issues that must be overcome to achieve lasting global nuclear disarmament” concrete—or to reveal where those key issues lie elsewhere than in the legal and technical requisites for disarmament.

*Jacqueline Cabasso, Executive Director, Western States Legal Foundation, USA*

#### Citations

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# Abolition Is the Only Way: CND Challenges Britain's Breaches of the NPT

By Sara Medi Jones



**T**hank you to Peace and Planet for inviting me to speak today. I'm Sara Medi Jones, a campaigner for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, a UK-based organization that has been campaigning against nuclear weapons since 1958.

CND has been represented at every Review Conference and Preparatory Meeting of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty since the agreement entered into force, and we're hugely disappointed the Covid-19 pandemic has kept us away from New York this time, but delighted to be able to participate in this event online.

CND focuses much of our energy campaigning against Trident, Britain's nuclear weapons system. At any one time, the UK has up to 40 nuclear warheads patrolling the seas providing what it terms a 'continuous at sea deterrence.' Now it's bad enough that the UK signed up to the NPT and thereby committing to disarm in 1970 and yet still possesses nuclear

weapons over fifty years later. But an announcement last year had made the situation even worse and showed the government's complete disregard for this international agreement.

In March 2021, the government published its long-awaited Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy. The document included a commitment to increase the number of nuclear warheads in the UK's arsenal for the first time since the Cold War. The document also included a change in use posture—the government will consider using nuclear weapons in response to non-nuclear threats, including “emerging technologies,” which could mean a cyber-attack. The government is also rejecting transparency, now intending to “no longer give public figures for our operational stockpile, deployed warhead or deployed missile numbers.” This will, of course, make it even harder to scrutinize the cost of developing these weapons of mass destruction.

CND immediately responded, arranging protests and actions. We also commissioned a legal opinion by experts from the London School of Economics, which concluded that this development was a breach of international law, specifically the NPT.

We took this legal opinion to a meeting with the President of the Review Conference. Ambassador Gustavo Zlauvinen congratulated CND on our work and emphasized the importance of grassroots campaigning to secure international nuclear disarmament. The ambassador read the legal opinion, and we discussed ways forward for our mutual aim of achieving a world without nuclear weapons.

We now hope that the UK government's breach of the treaty—alongside all the other nuclear-armed states, none of which are honoring their commitments to the NPT—can be raised over the coming weeks.

The Review Conference should discuss the failure of the UK and other nuclear-armed states to get rid of their nuclear weapons and indeed, as in the case of the UK, to instead increase its stockpile. Because as the last two years have shown us, nuclear weapons will not keep us safe in the face of the real threats we face today.

In terms of national security, nuclear weapons are irrelevant. The world is reeling from a coronavirus pandemic that has changed our lives in an unprecedented fashion. It's an indisputable fact that the government should have been more prepared. The UK government's 2015 National Security Strategy highlighted pandemics as a tier-one threat, but this analysis was not reflected in the government's policies. When Covid-19 hit, there were

not enough ventilators or personal protective equipment for nurses and others caring for our most vulnerable. But we have two hundred useless nuclear bombs.

The discrepancy between planning for a pandemic and planning for nuclear war exposes a flaw in the government's strategic thinking. It should be a government's priority to keep its citizens safe. But the concept of true security in the 21st century should be re-evaluated. Climate change and its repercussions also pose a serious threat to international stability. Ensuring our security is no longer centered on military scenarios, but rather on increasingly complex and ever-changing factors, and the government should plan accordingly.

Most of the world's states understand this. And most of the world completely rejects nuclear weapons, as was made clear when 122 countries supported the establishment of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW). This treaty has now entered into force and makes nuclear weapons illegal in the countries that sign it.

The UK has acted shamefully in regard to this agreement, refusing to participate in the negotiations and even issuing a hostile statement attacking it. CND is launching a campaign later this month calling on the UK government to attend the first meeting of the TPNW states' parties as an observer. It needs to realize that its nuclear weapons system is not making anyone any safer, but in fact the opposite.

Britain getting rid of its nuclear weapons system could not only provide political leadership to the rest of the nuclear-armed states but would be a practical guide for how to do it, a blueprint for the rest of the world drafted by our experts and politicians. This would be the first step in Britain rethinking its approach to security.

We don't have any time to waste, politicians have to act urgently. The threat of nuclear war is higher than it has been in years. There is a danger that misunderstanding, miscalculation or mistakes could lead to the use of nuclear weapons. The UK needs to stand by its commitment to disarmament, as a signatory of the NPT. The only way to prevent nuclear war is by getting rid of the weapons completely.

*Sara Medi Jones, Campaigns Director, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), and council member, International Peace Bureau (IPB).*

# The Nuclear and Conventional Arms Race in the Indo-Pacific Region and a Solution to the Nuclear Conflict on the Korean Peninsula

By Lee Tae-ho



The historic Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) became live last year (2021), signaling a significant step toward a world without nuclear weapons. However, the reality is that any progress toward nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation is actually stagnating, and some would say retreating. In particular, the arms race and conflict in the Indo-Pacific Region, an area where the nuclear-armed states are concentrated, is undermining any vision for a world free of nuclear weapons. Centered around the political, military and economic conflict that the U.S. has labeled “U.S.–China Strategic Competition,” nuclear-armed states such as Russia, the UK and India are increasing their nuclear weapons in the name of military alliances or military cooperation. The U.S. is enhancing its nuclear arsenal. Australia, the U.S. and the UK announced that they plan to assist

Australia in acquiring nuclear-powered submarines through the AUK–U.S. alliance. China is strengthening its military cooperation with Russia in the Western Pacific region whilst increasing its nuclear weapons stockpile, justifying it as compensation for its inferiority in nuclear capability when compared to the U.S.

In the midst of this vortex lies the conundrum of possible nuclear conflict on the Korean Peninsula, where the armistice has continued for more than 70 years. The precarious armistice on the Korean Peninsula and the DPRK's nuclear weapons and missile programs are serving as a catalyst for the nuclear and conventional arms race in the region. Add to this the problems of the Taiwan Strait. There have been several opportunities to block the DPRK's ambitions to develop nuclear weapons and fundamentally resolve the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula following the end of the Cold War. However, several important agreements were not implemented, and the DPRK is not solely responsible.

In the 1990s, following the collapse of communism, the U.S. was half-hearted in implementing the Agreed Framework between the U.S. and DPRK, anticipating that the DPRK regime would soon implode. In the 2000s, the U.S. neglected negotiations to resolve the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula, believing that it could control "rogue states" by force. In 2001, President Bush unilaterally terminated the Clinton administration's U.S.–DPRK Joint Communiqué and formalized a policy of preemptive nuclear war. It caused great controversy, as it shook the foundation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) system. Above all, this policy effectively terminated the Agreed Framework between the U.S. and DPRK (1994), in which the DPRK was given a guarantee that the U.S. would not use its nuclear weapons against the DPRK and in return the DPRK would give up its nuclear programs. Even in the Obama era, the U.S. continued to impose sanctions and apply pressure in the name of "Strategic Patience" rather than focusing on negotiating with the DPRK on the nuclear issue, while concentrating on perfecting the ROK–U.S. joint military plan in preparation for the anticipated internal collapse of the DPRK regime.

However, despite many subjective predictions, the DPRK regime has survived. During this period, the DPRK pushed ahead with six nuclear weapons tests and tests of multiple means of delivery, challenging the international nuclear nonproliferation system. During the same period, events in the so-called "rogue states," as identified by the U.S., sent a frightening message and provided an excuse for the DPRK to claim its right to "self-defense by nuclear weapons."

In 2018, not only the people of the Korean Peninsula but also others eagerly

anticipated great strides toward peace. The U.S.-DPRK negotiation process was considered to be the last chance to prevent the DPRK from possessing nuclear weapons and could provide important momentum toward stopping the international tide moving toward a new Cold War order. Negotiations engendered great interest from all those who yearned for a peaceful world without nuclear weapons.

However, the negotiations have been stalled following the collapse of talks about the level and scope of corresponding measures at the DPRK–U.S. Hanoi summit in February 2019. The two years that have followed saw not only the cessation of progress but a period emerged of growing distrust and an ever-increasing number of obstacles to resolving the problem. While negotiations are halted and sanctions continue, the DPRK’s nuclear material stockpiles are increasing and its means of delivery improving.

Time is short. We need to find fundamental solutions to the problem and intensively encourage comprehensive peace negotiations.

Firstly, a strategy centered on actively improving relations and encouraging cooperation should be adopted instead of the unrealistic and failed strategy of trying to force the DPRK to abandon its nuclear weapons program through sanctions and pressure. The DPRK has been using the period of increased sanctions and stalled negotiations as an opportunity to further develop nuclear weapons. Moreover, it should be noted that severe sanctions that ban even the importing of needles in a pandemic era and blocking trade in daily necessities has had a catastrophic humanitarian impact, not entirely unlike nuclear weapons.

Secondly, the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula needs to be pursued through practical and comprehensive peace negotiations that also reduce mutual military threats in both directions. As of 2020, the annual military expenditure of South Korea amounted to 1.5 times total GDP of North Korea. Total military expenditure of South Korea since 2000 is greater than Total GDP of North Korea over the same period. This figure excludes U.S. Forces in Korea and U.S. augmentation forces available in the event of contingencies. The war scenario on which the ROK and U.S. base their joint military exercise involves provocative plans such as preemptive strikes, massive punishment and retaliation, and the occupation and stabilization of the DPRK. The end of the Korean War, the establishment of a peace treaty, and the improvement of the DPRK-U.S. relations should be prerequisites, or at the very least binding parallel conditions, for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, rather than as a result of denuclearization.

Thirdly, the meaning of “denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula” should

be clarified. The denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula jointly declared by the ROK-U.S. and the DPRK-U.S. It should be interpreted as making the Korean Peninsula a nuclear-weapons-free zone by not only dismantling the DPRK nuclear programs but also dismantling the U.S. nuclear option on the Korean Peninsula and the ROK military strategy that relies on the U.S. nuclear umbrella.

Finally, the parties to the negotiation must make genuine and concerted efforts to resolve the nuclear conflict on the Korean Peninsula. The more they delay or marginalize the negotiations with the excuse of responding to “U.S.-China Strategic Competition,” the more the DPRK’s nuclear militarism will gain strength.

Where do we begin?

Suspending the ROK-U.S. joint military exercises and starting to revise an aggressive military strategy against the DPRK could be the minimum incentive needed to bring the DPRK to the negotiating table. It has already stopped testing nuclear and ICBM. Adopting an albeit symbolic declaration to the end of the Korean War and starting to improve relations could also be the beginning of serious negotiations. The most important precondition is that the U.S. and ROK, which possesses overwhelming nuclear and conventional military power, should take the initial steps toward reducing tensions and building trust. Among the sweeping sanctions against the DPRK that are ineffective and can cause serious humanitarian disaster, certain sanctions that affect people’s livelihoods should be lifted or eased.

Anybody wanting a world free from nuclear weapons should oppose the failed strategies that include sanctions and military pressure and instead urge the relevant parties to engage in comprehensive peace negotiations toward a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula and a nuclear-weapons-free zone in Northeast Asia.

*Lee Tae-ho, Director of Center for Peace and Disarmament, People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD)*

# Sources of Hope in the Face of U.S. Intransigence

By Jasmine Owens

Over the course of this pivotal Tenth NPT Review Conference, when asked why the U.S. has stalled on its Article VI commitments, you will hear the U.S. delegates claim that we must “create the environment for nuclear disarmament,” and that such an environment does not yet exist. If we are to entertain this notion that there could be a perfect environment conducive to nuclear disarmament, what the U.S. fails to take into account is that this environment will not magically appear out of thin air. It takes genuine and sustained effort to illustrate to adversaries—and the world—that we are fully committed to maintaining peace. The U.S. has done no such thing. Instead, we have continued to modernize and upgrade our nuclear arsenal, something that is both a blatant disregard of our Article VI commitments and serves only to encourage other nations to do the same. We have continued to stoke hostilities with Russia and China instead of committing ourselves fully to diplomacy, transparency and confidence-building measures.

What we have in our midst is not just a failure to act, but a failure to lead, and a failure to hold ourselves accountable. The U.S. prides itself on being a global leader; and yet, the only leading it has done is down the path toward a new nuclear arms race. Moving forward with a multi-year nuclear weapons modernization project while making little to no effort to ease tensions with our adversaries—these are not characteristics of a good leader. And if the U.S. believes itself to be a leader, then it cannot act shocked and surprised when other nuclear weapon states follow suit. The same goes for Russia and China, who also strive to be global leaders.

We are sick and tired of hearing that the time is not right to focus on nuclear disarmament. We cannot afford to wait for some future, mythical “right time.” The time to act is now. When the U.S. says we must defer disarmament because the timing isn’t right, this is not in the interest of the people but of key stakeholders who benefit from maintaining these weapons to line their own pockets. It’s time for the U.S. to actually live up

to its Article VI commitments and make genuine efforts to move the needle closer to disarmament and not nuclear war. The United States can adhere to Article VI without unilaterally disarming all at once. This can be done by implementing a no first use policy, which is a simple yet powerful action the U.S. can take to illustrate that it truly is committed to peace. Additionally, the United States must also work alongside other nuclear-armed states to begin negotiating the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals.

What gives me hope moving into 2022 and beyond is people like you. There are courageous and committed individuals all across the world who are holding the nuclear-armed countries' feet to the fire, standing up and saying "we've had enough." One such effort is the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW). The entry into force of the TPNW is a monumental achievement to bolster the NPT regime and say to the nuclear weapon states that "we see right through your facade," that we will no longer sit idly by while you all play games with our lives.

What also gives me hope is the growing understanding that we must build an intersectional nuclear disarmament movement if we truly want to succeed. Here in the U.S., organizations like my own Physicians for Social Responsibility understand that we must create the links between nuclear weapons and more proximate security issues for everyday citizens, because only then can we build support and start demanding access to resources and funds that belong to the people but are currently being wasted on weapons that threaten the very existence of humanity itself. Only then can we leverage our power to force governments to listen to the people, not a few vested interests.

As we enter a new year, fraught with danger as far as the eye can see, we must remain hopeful. The entry into force of the TPNW was just the beginning; a seed planted that is growing quickly, spreading its roots across the world, becoming more powerful each day. We, the people, planted that seed and we, the people, will watch it flourish, watch its beauty mesmerize us all and wrap us into the folds of its leaves, giving us the support we need to continue this fight for a world free of nuclear weapons.

Thank you.

*Jasmine Owens, Lead Organizer and Policy Coordinator, Nuclear Weapons Abolition Program, Physicians for Social Responsibility*

# Germany's NPT Violations and the Campaign to Remove U.S. Nuclear Weapons from Germany

By Marion Küpker



## German Nuclear Weapons Background Information

Our network *Abolish nuclear weapons—start with us!* consists of over 70 peace organizations which together pressure the government for three goals: 1) withdrawing all U.S. nuclear bombs from Germany; 2) seeing Germany ratify the 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW); and 3) cancellation of plans to replace the current B61 hydrogen bombs with the new B61-12 bomb, now being produced in the U.S.

Although the Cold War ended 30 years ago, about 20 U.S. B61 hydrogen bombs are still deployed at the German air force base Büchel. German pilots are trained to take off with these H-bombs in their Tornado fighter/bombers when the order comes from a U.S. president, through NATO, to detonate them on their targets. This horrifying vision is part of a “nuclear

sharing agreement” within NATO, which includes a nuclear first-use option. Germany’s new coalition government decided in November 2021 to acquire new nuclear weapons carrier aircraft from the United States at an estimated cost of up to \$9 billion.

In 2016, our German umbrella network started the campaign *Büchel is everywhere! nuclear weapons free now*. Civil resistance actions have led to more than 100 court trials where protesters have argued that the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)<sup>1</sup> and other treaty law must be recognized and obeyed by the courts. Since 2008, fourteen complaints/appeals have been made to Germany’s Constitutional Court, which has refused to consider them. In November 2021, for the first time in 25 years of protests in Büchel, Stefanie Augustin and I (Marion Küpker) filed a formal appeal with the European Court of Human Rights based on the German court system’s unfair refusal to acknowledge the applicability of international treaty law including the NPT to the question of Germany’s stationing of U.S. nuclear weapons.

## Germany and the NPT

By stationing U.S. nuclear weapons in Germany, the government is in violation of Articles I, II and VI of the NPT, which it regards as international treaty law to be applied domestically under Article 59.2 of Germany’s Basic Law. And all such treaties are recognized as the supreme law of the land in the Basic Law at Article 25.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons in Germany violates Article 3 of the September 12, 1990, Two-Plus-Four Treaty<sup>3</sup> (Treaty on the

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1 Article I: “Each nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; and not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce any non-nuclear-weapon State to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or control over such weapons or explosive devices.”

Article II: “Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to receive the transfer from any transfer whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.” (<http://www.un.org/disarmament/WMD/Nuclear/NPTtext.shtml>)

2 Article VI of the Constitution of the United States: “This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.” Article 35 of the German Basic Law states: “The general rules of international law shall be an integral part of federal law. They shall take precedence over the laws and directly create rights and duties for the inhabitants of the federal territory.”

3 “2 + 4” Unification Treaty, August 31, 1990; [https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage\\_id=546](https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=546)

Final Settlement with Respect to Germany), in which Germany renounced the possession of nuclear weapons, and reaffirmed its commitment to the NPT. Article 5, paragraph 3 of the Two Plus Four Treaty explicitly forbids the placement of nuclear weapons in Germany. It says:

“...units of German armed forces assigned to military alliance structures [NATO] in the same way as those in the rest of German territory may also be stationed in that part of Germany, but without nuclear weapon carriers. ... Foreign armed forces and nuclear weapons or their carriers will not be stationed in that part of Germany or deployed there.”

Despite overwhelming German public support for the removal of the U.S. nuclear weapons, including the Bundestag’s March 26, 2010, cross-party resolution calling for the government to negotiate their removal, the government has agreed to replace today’s U.S. B61-3 and B61-4 thermonuclear weapons with new H-bombs (known as B61-12s) beginning in 2024, which would be in direct violation of Article VI of the NPT. Art. VI obligates Germany (and the U.S.) “...to achieve at the earliest possible date the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to undertake effective measures in the direction of nuclear disarmament.”

Under the UN Charter, which Germany has adopted as a treaty, it is a party to its Article 93, the Statute of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), which has also been adopted as a treaty. The ICJ is the world’s most authoritative tribunal regarding law among nations, and its 1996 advisory opinion on the legal status of nuclear weapons unanimously agreed that Article VI of the NPT<sup>4</sup> is binding upon all parties to the treaty, finding without dissent: “There is an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control.”<sup>5</sup>

In spite of binding treaty prohibitions and ICJ directive, regular planning and rehearsals for attacks with the U.S. nuclear weapons in Germany are conducted by German Tornado jet fighters. For example NATO announced on October 18, 2021, the start of its annual nuclear attack practice named “Steadfast Noon.” German Tornadofighter/bombers participated. According to NATO’s statement, “Steadfast Noon involves training flights with dual-capable fighter jets,” meaning war planes that carry nuclear weapons.

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4 NPT Article VI: “Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.”

5 United Nations International Court of Justice, Advisory Opinion, 8 July 1996, § 105 (2) F

“This exercise helps to ensure that NATO’s nuclear deterrent remains safe, secure and effective.”<sup>6</sup> Likewise, news reports from October 2020 declared: “NATO Holds Secret Nuclear War Exercises in Germany,” and “German Air Force training for nuclear war as part of NATO.” From 2017, “NATO nuclear weapons exercise unusually open.” In 2015: “NATO nuclear weapons exercise Steadfast Noon in Büchel.”<sup>7</sup> U.S. and German military personnel further prepare for nuclear weapons attacks in educational courses at the Defense Nuclear Weapons School of the U.S. Air Force Nuclear College, which operates a branch at Ramstein Air Force Base in Germany.<sup>8</sup> According to its website, this school “is responsible for delivering, sustaining and supporting air-delivered nuclear weapon systems for our warfighters...every day.” But the hydrogen bombs at Büchel can only produce uncontrollable, indiscriminate and unnecessary mass destruction by heat, blast and radiation.

In order to end its multiple violations of the NPT (and to comply with the International Court of Justice’s 1996 Advisory Opinion regarding nuclear weapons), Germany must see that all nuclear weapons are permanently withdrawn from the country, and must demand cancellation of the planned United States replacement of the current B61 bombs with the new B61-12.

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More information in German is at [www.atomwaffenfrei.de](http://www.atomwaffenfrei.de); and at [www.buechel-atombombenfrei.de](http://www.buechel-atombombenfrei.de)

*Marion Küpker, Spokeswoman, Büchel is everywhere! nuclear weapons-free now, Peace Officer on Nuclear Weapons, Fellowship of Reconciliation Germany, and International Coordinator in the DFG-VK against nuclear weapons.*

*The text was written with John LaForge, Co-Director Nukewatch, USA. December 29, 2021.*

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6 Hans Kristensen, “NATO Nuclear Weapons Exercise Over Southern Europe,” <https://fas.org/blogs/security/2021/10/steadfastnoon2021/>; Oct. 20, 2021

7 “NATO Holds Secret Nuclear War Exercises in Germany, Ignores Turkey,” Oct. 15, 2020, <https://see.news/nato-secret-nuclear-war-exercises-germany-ignores-turkey/>; “Stop ‘Steadfast Noon’ Nuclear War Exercise Now!” Oct. 14, 2020; 2019 “Secret nuclear weapons exercise ‘Steadfast Noon’”, <https://www.bundeswehr-journal.de/2019/geheime-atomwaffenubung-steadfast-noon/>; 2017, “NATO nuclear weapons exercise unusually open,” <https://www.bundeswehr-journal.de/2019/geheime-atomwaffenubung-steadfast-noon/>; 2015, “NATO nuclear weapons exercise Steadfast Noon in Büchel”, <https://augengeradeaus.net/tag/steadfast-noon/>

8 See U.S. Air Force Nuclear College: <https://cs3.eis.af.mil/sites/OO-AQ-MC-95/default.aspx>

# Building our Movements and Impacting the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference

By Matthew Parks

## Introduction

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) represents more than 1.6 million members in 17 affiliate unions organizing across all economic sectors, including security sectors and industries. It has been part of South Africa's liberation movement and in Alliance with the African National Congress (ANC) since its founding. COSATU and its predecessors were opposed to the Apartheid regime's nuclear weapons.

## Economic Context

South Africa like other countries is facing its deepest recession in a century. Unemployment in South Africa has passed 46 percent with millions losing wages. The world needs to focus on creating jobs and saving lives, not building nuclear weapons.

## South Africa's Nuclear Weapons Era

South Africa's nuclear weapons were developed by the Apartheid regime in secrecy during the Cold War with the active support of Israel. The Apartheid regime viewed itself as part of the Western anti-Soviet alliance. By the 1980s it had developed six nuclear weapons. They served as a threat against liberation movements and sympathetic states in southern Africa.

## South Africa's Nuclear Disarmament

South Africa's nuclear disarmament was done quietly in 1993 during the transition to democracy and announced afterward. South Africa's government was pressured by the United States to do so partly in fear of a nuclear-armed government led by the ANC that had enjoyed close ties with

the Soviet Union. The ANC and COSATU did not support South Africa's nuclear weapons and did not oppose disarmament.

## **Democratic South Africa's Nuclear Program**

Since becoming a democracy, South Africa has had no interest in developing nuclear weapons. Nuclear energy is a key pillar of South Africa's energy mix with debate taking place on the merits of further investments in nuclear energy. These have often been surrounded by corruption allegations against European countries wanting to receive contracts to expand South Africa's nuclear energy capacity. Nuclear technology plays a key role in health facilities for cancer treatment as well.

## **Democratic South Africa's Defense Needs**

Democratic South Africa's defense force personnel and budgets have decreased with a shift to developmental needs and a focus to support South Africa's policies of:

- Non-alignment and supporting peace in Africa;
- Active participation in United Nations, African Union and regional peacekeeping missions (Congo, Burundi, Sudan, Comores, Mozambique);
- Solidarity for Southern Africa, e.g., Mozambique floods and terrorist insurgency; and
- Support SA police during domestic disasters and emergencies.

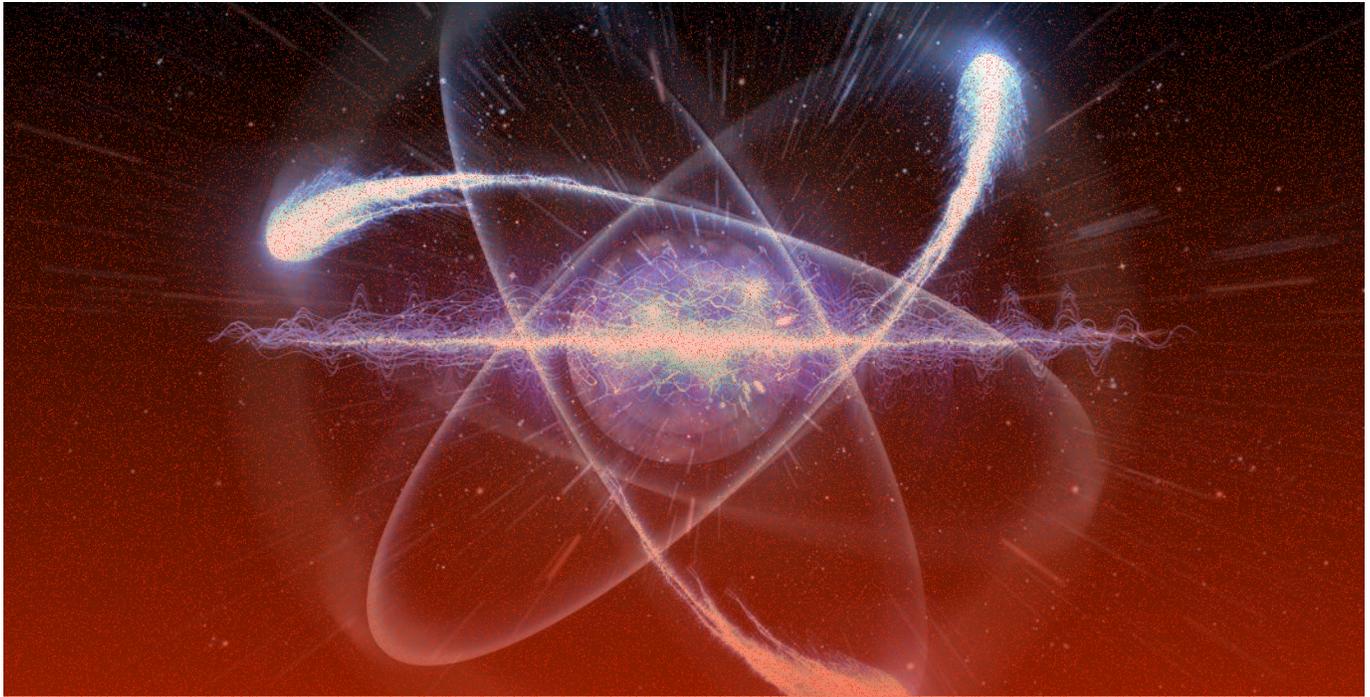
## **Conclusion**

South Africa's nuclear weapons moment was part of an era that has long passed. There is no interest in building nuclear weapons again. South Africa is opposed to nuclear weapons proliferation but recognises its role in energy and health. There is a global need to shift from defense expenditure to peace investments. There is a need for just transitions for affected defense industry workers and military personnel, and a need for professional, agile and capable defense force for peacekeeping and emergency support. The world needs to focus on saving lives and livelihoods. There can be no saner call then for all nations to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

*Matthew Parks, Congress of South African Trade Unions: Parliamentary Coordinator*

# Latin American Perspectives

## By María Pía Devoto



In these first days of January 2022, we should be in the beginning of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference, but it was postponed once again due to the new variant of COVID from January 2022 to August. The uncertainties with which we are living, and the lack of planning are not helping the world to advance on nuclear disarmament.

There is a nuclear disarmament framework, and the NPT is the main pillar. The treaty was conceived to:

1. prevent nuclear proliferation, one objective where the treaty succeeds,
2. guide nuclear disarmament (not achieved), and
3. encourage development and cooperation on nuclear energy under the supervision of the IAEA with many efforts (mostly achieved).

Latin America, and the Caribbean region are unanimously recognized as leaders on humanitarian disarmament. Nuclear disarmament is not the exception. We witnessed nuclear tests, and the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 was a direct and dangerous confrontation between the

United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. It was the moment when the two superpowers came closest to nuclear conflict.

So, because of this:

With Mexican leadership, Latin America and Caribbean region negotiated the Tlatelolco Treaty, which became the First Nuclear Free Zone, even before the adoption of the NPT.

The president of the NPT Review Conference, Ambassador Gustavo Zlauviden, stated publicly that he is pursuing a fruitful and meaningful outcome from this year's Review Conference, and he expects discussion of every article of the NPT. It remains to be known if fruitful and meaningful prove to be the same for members of the NPT as it is for civil society.

What we have learned after all these years is that nuclear powers will continue hiding behind the belief that the NPT gives them the right to possess nuclear weapons.

What can we do to change this?

First, continue advocating in every country of the world, including those protected by nuclear weapons.

CALL on countries committed to nuclear disarmament to PUT pressure for enforcement of every article of the NPT in the Review Conference.

And enlarge the membership of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW).

We know we are the majority; We are one voice, and we only need to speak louder.

*María Pía Devoto, APP/SEHLAC Argentina, Peace & Planet Conference, January 4, 2022*

# Mouvement de la Paix Demands Disarmament and Peace

By Alain Rouy

I speak on behalf of the French Mouvement de la Paix and for the Tenth Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference. I come from a country, France, which unfortunately has never played a positive role in previous conferences. France signed the NPT only in 1992, 22 years after its entry into force. Successive French presidents have never questioned the doctrine of nuclear deterrence that justifies the possession and permanent modernization of nuclear weapons.

It is hard to believe, but the issues of nuclear weapons and deterrence are never debated in the French Parliament, and we are constantly told the same propaganda about France's independence and security. And despite the media's wall of silence on these issues, despite the official lies about independence while France has totally realigned with NATO, despite all this, the majority of French people declare themselves to be in favor of nuclear disarmament. A July 2018 poll indicates that 67 percent of French people want France to actively engage in the process of banning nuclear weapons, in accordance with the commitments contained in Article VI of the NPT. The majority oppose the modernization of the nuclear arsenal and favor of the Ban Treaty.

Our role, our responsibility as peace activists, is to express this demand ever more strongly. Today we are confronted with immense crises, the pandemic of Covid, the climate crisis, inequalities and injustices. Conflicts and wars are persisting and UNICEF and the UN are warning us about the spread of famines. These different crises undermine peoples and our social systems. In such a situation, we need our governments to concentrate financial, economic, intellectual, scientific and technological priorities to advance peoples' well-being.

We expressed this demand last September 25 by organizing marches for peace, climate and social justice in dozens of cities and villages in France. We will do so again on January 9 in Brest, Brittany, where the French presidency of the European Union will bring together the 27 defense

ministers and the 27 foreign affairs ministers of the European Union to talk about a European army. The French president is calling for a military Europe and for new arms spending at a time when our hospitals and social protection systems are in a state of collapse.

In the mobilizations and also in the presidential election debates, we ask that France be the holder of another policy, a true policy of peace. France must play a positive role in New York. It must also participate as an observer in the Conference of States Parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) in Vienna, in March 2022. By actively working against nuclear weapons, our country would be adopting a coherent policy. It would give itself the means to work for climate, for social justice, for human rights and for peace.

We will try to use the electoral campaign to highlight these issues because we are convinced that it is necessary to increase the population's awareness of the need for numerous and united popular mobilizations in order to achieve our demands. We believe that it is necessary to act locally with the population and to put constant pressure on decision-makers and institutions at all levels: local, regional, national and international.

In the Mouvement de la Paix we believe that our visibility is not high enough at the national level, but the same is true at the international level. We need more unity and visibility. We need more common mass actions, more common expressions of the international peace movements. The UN Day for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons, September 26, could be used by all peace movements to call for a global day of action against nuclear weapons on the same date around the world. If we are to achieve our goals, we must be concerned with making our initiatives more convergent.

The Covid-19 pandemic has been a great challenge for all of us, but at the same time it has proved us right. We need to get rid of weapons and bombs if we want to solve the problems of humanity. Let us keep hope! As Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner who has just passed away, said, "Hope is being able to see the light despite the darkness."

*Alain Rouy, Le Mouvement de la Paix, France*

# We Can Do It: A WMD Free Zone in the Middle East

by Emad Kiyaei



**T**he Middle East might seem to be the last place on earth to establish a weapons of mass destruction–free zone in the Middle East (WMDFZ or the Zone)—that includes chemical, biological and nuclear. It will also be the first Zone free from all WMD and not just limited to the already established Nuclear Weapons Free Zones. But the potential benefits in striving to achieve this goal far outweigh the risks involved. The WMDFZ would eventually cover a vast geographic area of about 15 million square kilometers (approximately one and a half times the size of the United States) and include all 22 Arab countries in the Middle East and Africa in addition to Iran and Israel (with a total population of more than half a billion), stretching from Iran in the east and north to Mauritania in the west, and as far south as Comoros.

Realizing the Zone is a key obligation by all state parties to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) agreed upon to the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995! Since then, regrettably, there has been little progress toward the Zone. The key challenge is that the process to establish a WMDFZ in the Middle East has been mired in fractious disputes over how (technical) and

when (process) to create this Zone, despite near-universal support for the proposal. Compounded by geopolitical rivalries, stakeholders to the Zone have heightened awareness of the obstacles more than of the opportunities it offers.

But there is hope, particularly with the 2018 United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) resolution calling for annual conference on the Zone. Both the inaugural 2019 conference and subsequent one in 2021 (2020 canceled due to the pandemic) were a success with participation by all 22 Arab countries, Iran and representatives of the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council (with the notable absence of USA and Israel).

The bottom line is to advance a WMDFZ in the Middle East through a treaty-based approach, involving three components: (A) WMDFZ Treaty text freely arrived at by relevant governments and stakeholders through an inclusive process. (B) Regional organization to oversee the treaty's eventual implementation, verification and compliance. (C) Civil society engagement and movement ensuring governments deliver on their commitments to nonproliferation and human security.

Instead of waiting around, a coalition of civil society activists and practitioners started this effort by crafting a living and adaptive draft treaty text to form the basis for discussion, and we established a preparatory regional organization named the Middle East Treaty Organization. Our goal is to rid the Middle East of all weapons of mass destruction, as a gateway toward regional security and peace. We advance our goal through policy, advocacy and education. We envision a peaceful, integrated and thriving Middle East built on human and environmental security.

METO works to inspire governments to take practical steps toward transforming the vision of the Zone into reality. The draft treaty remains a draft only as a tool for dialogue, to invite stakeholders to participate in the pragmatic, hopeful process of negotiation and consensus-building.

METO's approach combines our evolving draft treaty text with advocacy work to show governments a feasible path forward. Our public outreach campaigns and educational programs strengthen these efforts at a grassroots level, alongside building partnerships with a broad coalition of civil society organizations.

Our message to all activists and supporters across the world is this: If we are going to achieve the Zone, it will not only impact the Middle East but beyond—that is why we need the support of the international community in three ways:

- Speak with the Middle East not *at* the Middle East: In doing so, support the solutions coming from within the region as the Middle East is best suited to know and figure out the problems the region faces.
- Support the initiatives that are already on the way in achieving the Zone: These include the obligations under the NPT indefinite extension; the annual UNGA conference on the Zone; UNIDIR project on the Zone; and the civil-society-led efforts by METO.
- Partner with us: As CSO and activists, contact us whenever you need to discuss or take position on the WMDFZ or the Middle East. By partnering with us, we can work together to frame your messaging at the NPT Review Conference or to your respective governments.

Finally, it is important for us all to support the revival of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) or the Iran nuclear deal. It is a key pillar for disarmament not just for Iran but also across the region. It will place a cap on the current regional drive toward nuclearization—in particular the UAE, Saudi Arabia and continued Israeli nuclear weapons arsenal.

*Emad Kiyaei, Director at Middle East Treaty Organization (METO)*

# Disarmament and Common Security for the NPT Review

## By Douglas Roche

The high-water mark of the Non-Proliferation Treaty's 52-year history was the 2000 Review Conference where an "unequivocal undertaking" to the total elimination of nuclear weapons was made via a program of 13 Practical Steps. This was achieved because of the successful negotiations between the New Agenda Coalition (NAC) and the nuclear weapons states. As the 2022 Review Conference of the NPT gets underway, every effort should be made by states, nuclear and non-nuclear, which are heavily invested in the success of the NPT, to find credible solutions to the present nuclear disarmament impasse.

It ought to be credible for the world community to agree on comprehensive negotiations for a legally binding Nuclear Weapons Convention to eliminate nuclear weapons on a phased, verifiable basis, but that appears to be a bridge too far in today's polarized world, in which a new nuclear arms race has broken out. Yet the situation is far too dangerous to wait for a more cooperative world community to emerge in order to take meaningful nuclear disarmament steps.

The chairman of the Third Preparatory Conference for the NPT Review Conference (held in 2019), Ambassador Syed Mohamad Haskin of Malaysia, has offered a way forward. He submitted a number of recommendations (document NPT/CONF.2020/PC.III/CRP.4/Rev.1), which, though not adopted at the time, comprise the most notable amalgamation of nuclear disarmament views across the world.

His first recommendation was: "Reaffirm the commitment by all States parties to the full and effective implementation of Article VI of the Treaty, and the unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear-weapon States to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals leading to nuclear disarmament, to which all States parties are committed under Article VI of the Treaty and call for immediate action by the nuclear weapon States to comply with their relevant obligations."

That recommendation should be the starting point for the Tenth Review Conference. In other words, it is in the interests of all parties to the NPT to save what has been accomplished in the past and move forward in the “good faith” called for by Article VI of the NPT. The 64-point Action Plan of 2010 needs to be re-presented in the light of the current modernization programs by all the nuclear weapons states.

The deterioration of nuclear disarmament in recent years must be overcome by a new commitment, as was agreed in 2010, “to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons...(including) consideration of negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention or a framework of mutually reinforcing instruments backed by a strong system of verification.”

It is precisely because past commitments have been so blatantly ignored that the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) came into existence. In unequivocal language, the TPNW declares that “any use of nuclear weapons would be abhorrent to the principles of humanity and the dictates of public conscience.” This historic treaty exposes and stigmatizes nuclear weapons and their use as standing outside the norms of international humanitarian law. It challenges nuclear weapon states to finally act on their NPT commitments, including the promises to “diminish the role of nuclear weapons” and to “reduce the risks of accidental use.” The TPNW reinforces the urgent need for nuclear weapon states to undertake and conclude nuclear disarmament negotiations, with non-nuclear weapon states also at the table. A conference of experts in Ottawa, in 2021, welcomed the “moral authority and legal mandate” of the TPNW.

Ambassador Haskin tried to steer the NPT PrepCom toward acceptance of the TPNW. He recommended: “Acknowledge the support by many States parties for the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and its complementarity to the NPT. ” This recommendation should be pursued at the NPT Review Conference. The simple recognition that the TPNW is an aid to, not a detractor from, the NPT would itself act a bridge between the nuclear and non-nuclear states.

The world cannot go on with such harmful divisions that pose catastrophic consequences. The participants at the NPT Review Conference should be urged to take very seriously the words of UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres:

“Humanity remains one misunderstanding, one misstep, one miscalculation, one pushed button away from annihilation.”

*Douglas Roche, former Canadian Senator, former Ambassador for Disarmament, author of Recovery: Peace Prospects in the Biden Era*

# In the Gap Between Ditching and Keeping the NPT: RENEGOTIATE IT!

By Tarja Cronberg

The NPT RevCom to celebrate the 50 years of the treaty will start today. The deliberations will hardly provide any innovative thinking; preserving the status quo will require all the energy. The meeting will be seen as a success if it confirms the 1985 statement by U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev that “a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.” A no-first-use policy will hardly be promoted, not to talk about defining any timelines for nuclear disarmament. The P5 will defend deterrence, although the tone will be not as aggressive as before.

Based on my recent book *Renegotiating the Nuclear Order: A Sociological Approach*, I propose that the NPT be renegotiated as a third way between either to ditch or to keep the NPT. The “ditchers” want to move beyond “a severely hypocritical nuclear order, in which a few states claim the right to wield their nuclear weapons while proscribing this right to other states.” The “keepers” want to protect the NPT as “taking a sledgehammer to one of the few remaining arms-control agreements would be reckless.”<sup>1</sup>

Arguing for a renegotiation I will first reflect on the clash of norms emerging since the TPNW has entered into force. Secondly, I will comment on the erosion of the NPT’s legitimacy. Thirdly, I will indicate a process by which the states in the nuclear-weapon-free zones (NWFZ-states) could initiate a renegotiation.

## The Clash of Norms

For 50 years nuclear disarmament has been the central norm of the NPT. In the ‘60s the non-nuclear states had to fight to move disarmament from the preamble to a separate article. Nevertheless, opposition by the two superpowers prevented the definition of any concrete timelines or measures.

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<sup>1</sup> See articles by Joellen Pretorius and Tom Sauer “Ditch the NPT” and Matthew Harries, “Response: Keep the NPT” both in *Survival* 63:4, 103-124.

Approval of the TPNW has created a stronger norm of prohibition expected to stigmatize, delegitimize and finally to eliminate nuclear weapons. While a critical mass of states has approved this norm, the critical actors, the P5, have rejected it.

Nevertheless, the nuclear weapon states have had to openly defend deterrence. The NPT enables nuclear deterrence for the P5 indirectly, by defining a nuclear weapon state. More directly the NPT makes deterrence invisible, as it was left outside the three pillars (non-proliferation, disarmament, peaceful uses). The approval of the TPNW has brought the very conflict between deterrence and disarmament/prohibition into focus.

## The Erosion of Legitimacy

Legitimate regimes are universal and non-discriminatory. Common rules are accepted as right and correct instead of being based purely on self-interest, coercion or habit. The TPNW is the most radical indicator of the demise of the NPT-disarmament norm. The fact that the P5 are modernizing their weapons further confirms this.

Furthermore, the “inalienable right” is being restricted. When promoting the treaty in the '70s the United States affirmed that member states could construct the complete infrastructure for nuclear weapons without manufacturing an actual device. Today there are efforts to prohibit both uranium enrichment and plutonium reproduction.

Erosion of legitimacy is strengthened, as some states deliberately do not comply with the NPT. The U.S. is cooperating with India on nuclear technology, a state outside the NPT. Recently the UK and the U.S. agreed, in breach of the NPT, to provide know-how to Australia on nuclear-driven submarines.

## The Sociological Perspective

Could the NPT regain its legitimacy through a renegotiation? The initiative would require a group of non-nuclear states well organized, with a common interest and willing to challenge the NPT's legitimacy by threatening with withdrawal. The obvious choice is the NWFZ-states, over 100 states covering 39 percent of the world's population. They have a double commitment to nuclear-free status both as members of the NPT and a regional treaty. No member state has ever withdrawn from a regional zone, no nuclear-weapon programs exist, and all have signed IAEA safeguards agreements.

These states have a common interest of not being attacked by nuclear weapons. Negative security assurances were to be integrated in the NPT but exist today only in annexed protocols to the regional treaties. Not all P5 have signed the protocols, the legal status of which is also questioned. Furthermore, new reasons for nuclear attacks are being introduced by the P5 (other WMD, critical infrastructure, de-escalation of conventional warfare).

In operational terms the NWFZ-states would have to threaten with withdrawal unless these assurances are issued collectively to all the NWFZ-states in a renegotiated NPT. The potential withdrawal of over 100 states should be enough to convince the P5 of radical changes.

## The Long-Term Consequences

This would create a new norm in the nuclear order (NWFZ-states cannot be threatened by nuclear weapons) and would increase the fairness and legitimacy of the NPT. This would no doubt increase the attractiveness of these zones among the other non-nuclear states and lead to new NWF-zones.

An early UN resolution from 1965 required a balance of responsibilities and obligations between the nuclear and non-nuclear states. This balance has been distorted in the past 50 years as the nuclear weapons states have maintained their rights while abstaining states have been targeted with further restrictions.

For the nuclear weapon states, this would end the ambiguity of the NWFZ-states security guarantees, dramatically limit the geographic area open for deterrence policies and even reduce the attractiveness of deterrence-based security strategies. If the rest of the world would be part of regional NWFZ-treaties, this would essentially mean that the superpowers would only deter each other.

Finally, if the NPT would be renegotiated, there are questions that would demand answers such as: The P5 monopoly was intended to be temporary, should it be discontinued? Should different interpretations of the “inalienable right” be clarified? Given that there is now a new disarmament/proliferation treaty, should the renegotiated NPT only be seen as a non-proliferation treaty?

*Tarja Cronberg, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*

# Action for Peace, Disarmament and Common Security

By Srishty Aware

From the very beginning, India has presented the world with a philosophy for uniting mankind and erasing artificial barriers, and based on our ancient philosophy, the concept of "*vasudhaiva kutumbakam*," the whole world is one family, is at the core of our civilization. Today, this concept is at the core of India's vision for the world.

I cannot underscore this enough. As we all know, the world is going through a particularly disruptive phase. But there are also unprecedented new opportunities for technology, global growth and prosperity. The only way for us to take advantage of these opportunities so as to ensure sustainable peace and security, is to navigate these disruptions and underlying fault lines through a pragmatic and constructive approach.

The challenges we all face today, whether they be the traditional security issues such as nuclear proliferation, armed conflicts or newer non-traditional issues such as terrorism, migration, refugee flows and environmental degradation, all require multilateralism. We are registering robust, young, dynamic, proactive and constructive approaches to emerging global challenges. But at the heart of our global engagement is urging diplomacy to enable security, development and prosperity for people globally. Proactively, the promotion of global peace and security will contribute to enhancing the world's energy security and combating climate change.

The nuclear weapons age began when the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki put beyond argument that nuclear weapons are the most indiscriminately inhumane ever devised. But, 75 years later, the distressing reality we have to face is that the risk of nuclear catastrophe and that the goal of achieving their elimination from the face of the earth is as far from achievement as it has ever been. The greatest danger we face is the possibility of a catastrophic nuclear attack by a terrorist group that does not have a return address and therefore is unlikely to be deterred. Indeed, we are in a race between cooperation and catastrophe.

In modern thermonuclear war, nobody will be victorious. Due to the accelerating spread of destructive military weaponry, especially nuclear

weapons, we are standing on the edge of destruction. We are masters of the decision of whether we live in peace or annihilate the human race.

It is said that if you are planning for the future, educate your children. India has one of the largest educational systems of the world with the largest number of primary and secondary schools where peace education should be introduced widely. There is a necessity for such training sessions, which introduce awareness, human rights concepts and the necessity of interactive learning through peace education.

People are forgetting human values. Hence peace and people's welfare face new challenges. It is believed that war and violence occur due to unresolved conflicts. We have to accept that if nuclear weapons elimination is to be achievable, it must be on an incremental basis, building into the process a series of way-stations.

Every nuclear weapons state should make an equivalent "No First Use" declaration about their nuclear strategies except in response to and in defense against a nuclear attack or to deter others' action. Leaving open the possibility of a nuclear first strike, nuclear states force their potential adversaries to prepare for that possibility, reducing trust and increasing the risk of accidental nuclear war.

Progress toward a nuclear-weapons-free world is possible if we adopt an ACTION PLAN pursuing both disarmament and nonproliferation and indeed in many other policy contexts. It is important for all of us to:

- educate youth in peace education,
- spread awareness about loss of life in terrorism,
- utilize national budgets for health, food, education, science and technology,
- educate about the use of nuclear energy for common people as a source of clean energy with respect to environmental protection.

The initial efforts of focus, if not on "elimination," should be at least "minimization," leading to a world with very low numbers of nuclear weapons. This would still be very far from being perfect, and no one should think of settling for that as the endpoint. But a world that could achieve these objectives would be a safer one than we live in now. I believe these major risk-reduction objectives are achievable within a reasonable time frame by staying optimistic and by having an action plan.

"A nuclear war can never be won and must never be fought."

*Srishty Aware, Youth Leader, Indian institute for Peace, Disarmament and Environmental Protection-IIPDEP-28.12.2021*

# From Colonial Legacies and Domination to a Nuclear-Free World

By Fred Lubang



**T**hank you for this opportunity to be able to remind everyone this: When power is still defined by what kind of weapons we have (be it a sword centuries ago to nuclear weapons or killer robots now), we will never make this world a peaceful place. This kind of mindset is the most destructive legacy of colonialism and imperialism. Humanitarian disarmament should be done alongside decolonization work.

Centuries ago, not knowing much about this planet Earth, trying to explore other areas to find resources to survive is fully understandable. But to dominate others, to colonize others and to rule over others, to take advantage of the weakness of others until now is unjust and just pure greed. The moment we knew we only have one planet to share should have been the tipping point of our history toward a sustainable and just world.

The legacies of colonialism are still at work in our daily lives. And for the past decades since the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapon Treaty was put

in place, we have never taken much courage to accept that what was done then was not enough to make this world better. Yes, better for those who have nuclear weapons, better for those who kept their power. But not for everyone.

Some may impress that there has never been another set of victims of nuclear weapons and so the NPT has been working well. This is misleading. While landmines, small arms and light weapons and other conventional weapons have taken their victims on a daily basis, nuclear weapons victims have a far more devastating impact. Nuclear weapons' primary victim is our current global system of governance. It continues to dominate our multilateral system toward the wrong direction, and we continue to be in this system. It is a kind of system that destroys rather than builds. It corrupts rather than cures. It takes advantage of the weakness of others by defining what kind of strength states should have rather than the weak defining what strength they need to have fair chances in life as others. We need to create an alternative system. How? That's for the younger generation to take on to reclaim their future, but we cannot only pass on the responsibility, we should help pave ways and break down barriers for them to fulfill dreams of a better future.

So again, just another reminder that awaits another set of peace advocates to keep the struggle toward this alternative world.

Thank you.

*Fred Lubang (Philippines), Nonviolence International Southeast Asia*

