A HIGHER WAGER

The pool was up to about $35. Dozens of NGO representatives, having already lost their money after placing bets on times like 6:45, 7:09, 7:45, even 8:05, threw in a few more dollars, betting this time on perhaps 10:30 or even midnight. Even a governmental delegate or two, fleeing the increasingly banal discussion inside of Conference Room IV for a cigarette, got in on the bet.

The bored and frustrated NGO representatives, hovered over potato chip laden tables and watching funny anti-nuclear video clips c/o the UN's wireless Internet service, placed $1 bets on what time the delegates would finally reach agreement on something, and open the doors to civil society to officially take decision on, well, whatever it is they could take decision on. Throughout two weeks of one of the most tense, frustrating, and least interactive PrepComs, the number of possible points of agreement seemed to shorten each day.

Even though one NGO rep (who shall remain nameless) walked away with the $35 bucks, nobody officially won the bet, since decisions were never officially taken in a public meeting. When the delegates started to filter out from the Conference hall at around 8:30, we stood confused amidst our empty beer bottles and Greenpeace nuclear puzzlers- this isn't how it was supposed to end! The PrepCom's own rules of procedure state that decisions of the Committee should be taken in public in order to make them official. Yet here they were streaming out of the room, some looking battered and weary, others looking deliriously pleased that it was at long last simply over.

Alas, the many points of contention that had gripped the PrepCom into near paralysis were never reconciled, even in the late hour. Even before the PrepCom started, most believed that agreement on substantive recommendations- as mandated to the PrepCom by the Review Process- would be an unattainable goal; Chairman Sudjadnan hoped instead to prepare a Chair's Summary à la Molnár, to be affixed as an appendix to the Final Report. Even this compromise- which took some pre-PrepCom persuasion for the U.S. to agree- never materialized. In fact, it seemed from the hall that the only agreement that did prevail in the PrepCom was that most every State was unhappy with the Chairman's Summary. Some, such as the United States, frustratingly laughed it off as nothing more than a NAM document; others were disappointed that some parts were verbatim repetition of the 2003 Chairman's Summary.

Other predictable contentious points included references to Iran, vertical proliferation, NGO participation, security assurances and other oft-discussed issues from the past two weeks.

With so many disagreements over so much of the Chair's text, and with no State Party possessing the will or desire to see it through, the compromized Chairman's Summary was compromised again; rather than an appendix to the report, the summary was demoted to that of a Chair's working paper, which lacks the authority and clout of an official Chair's Summary.

The Committee failed to reach agreement on a number of other important procedural issues as well, including an agenda, non-governmental participation, and background documents. After what seemed to be a short but heated debate inside of the closed conference room, it was decided that the NGO attendance that marked this PrepCom would, in the words of the final report, "not constitute a precedent." (paragraph 12(c) NPT/CONF.2005/PC.III/CRP.4) The United States' staunch rejection of any reference to the 2000 Final Document- a move repeatedly warned against by South Africa (see News in Review, No. 10)- blocked the adoption of that historic document's inclusion into the Final Report, which, two weeks after the close of the PrepCom, is still not available.

In closing, Reaching Critical Will would like to offer our deepest wishes of luck to President-designate Duarte, who faces one of the greatest diplomatic challenges in the post-Cold War world. He will undoubtedly be traversing the globe in the upcoming months to hold consultations with dozens of governments, with a view to agreement on an agenda as soon as the Conference opens next May.

We also extend our best wishes of luck and support to our NGO colleagues around the world, as they hurriedly begin their preparations for the 2005 Review Conference as well. There are mayors to sign up to Mayors for Peace, lobbying to be done in our capitals, letters of support to write to States like South Africa, Mexico, Brazil, Canada and others who held the line firm in their support for- and implementation of- the 13 Steps. There are demonstrations and rallies to organize in protest of vertical proliferation and the continued reliance of nuclear weapons in national security strategies.

continued on page 7
The Third Session of the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) for the 2005 Review Conference of the NPT closed in disarray around 8 pm Friday May 7, 2004, with adoption of only parts of its final report containing the most minimal agreements to enable the 2005 Review Conference to take place. States Parties were unable to take decisions on important issues such as the agenda and background documents, in large part because the US delegation was determined to oppose and minimise references to the consensus final document from the 2000 Review Conference, which had resulted in the ground-breaking 13-step plan of action on nuclear disarmament. The United States, actively abetted by France and Britain, with the other nuclear weapon states happy to go along, wanted to rewrite the NPT's history by sidelining the 2000 Conference commitments, at which they had made an "unequivocal undertaking... to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals". A majority of other states, by contrast, wanted the 2005 Review Conference to build on both the ground-breaking agreements from 2000 and the decisions and resolutions from the 1995 Review and Extension Conference.

The meeting, chaired by Ambassador Sudjadnan Parnohadinigrat of Indonesia, was expected to be difficult, but was made more so by the ideological US obstruction to anything that mentioned the CTBT or the 2000 agreements. The nonaligned states, frequently spearheaded by South Africa, a key player in both 1995 and 2000, refused to capitulate, though far too many of the western non nuclear weapon states appeared ready to roll belly up and settle for a lowest common denominator trade-off. Most notably, as the meeting went through its motions, a significant number of parties showed preference for 'waiting out' the problem, in the hope that time, further consultations and, most importantly, more constructive political circumstances (which many associated with possible regime change in the United States in November), might make consensus more reachable before the 2005 Conference opens.

Throughout the meeting, there was much stating of positions, but little stomach for confrontation or compromise. After two weeks of lacklustre debates, with much repetition and very few new ideas, the last day of the meeting turned into a bad-tempered shambles that ended in near farce, with a series of confused decisions taken without interpretation, with the majority speaking English but two delegations insisting on French. The PrepCom even failed to abide by its own rules whereby, if discussions have been held in closed session, the meeting is opened to the public for formal decisions to be properly taken.

Along with the rest of civil society, the Acronym Institute was outside the room throughout the long day, gleaning information from a series of frustrated delegates as they wandered back and forth for cigarettes or coffee. As debates went round and round in circles, messing up earlier agreements on access for nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), adding and subtracting words to slide just one outstanding - but importantly context-establishing - paragraph on the agenda past the US blockage, it was clear that many delegates, including, some complained, the Chair, had lost the plot. Their confusion about what they were doing even extended to the final decisions, as illustrated by contradictory reports of what occurred at the end.

President-Elect Ambassador Sergio Duarte of Brazil may have to wait some time before there is full clarity about what was decided and what he will have to do over the next year to create the conditions for the Review Conference to get to work in May 2005. Certainly, the PrepCom failed to agree any substantive recommendations and refused to annex the Chair's summary of the meeting, which will be issued merely as a chair's working paper, with no authority. The Chair's summary, issued late on Thursday evening, was - as with its predecessors - challenged by several states, including the United States and Iran. Canada was angry that the summary had failed to mention initiatives on strengthening the Treaty's enforcement mechanisms; there were complaints that text on nuclear energy and safeguards provided by the Vice Chairs had been ignored. Illustrating the difficulties of walking this Chair's tightrope, the summary provoked grumbles from some states that it too closely resembled the chair's summary issued by Ambassador Laszlo Mőlnár of Hungary the previous year, while others complained that it read like a NAM (non-aligned states) document, of which Indonesia is a prominent member.

As it turned out, however, the chair's summary was little more than a sideshow, paling into insignificance as states parties realised
Now that the PrepCom is over, any last thoughts or feelings that you left with?

Last night I watched, completely by chance, a stunning program on my local public TV station. “In Our Hands” by Robert Richter and Stan Warnow is a film about the 1982 march on Central Park for nuclear disarmament (see <www.richtervideos.com>). There were one million people in New York City for the event, the largest peace time demonstration in US history, and seeing the images of all those dedicated people brought tears to my eyes. There were so many people demonstrating that by the time the Great Lawn of Central Park was filled, marchers were still passing the United Nations. Many more thousands were filling up 2nd Ave, 3rd Ave, Lexington, all the way over to the west side. It was immense, peaceful and beautiful. And according to the police, not a single arrest was made that day. Compare this to the near military state tactics of the NYPD today at anti war demonstrations. Back in the 80s there was a real and broad movement for nuclear disarmament, and watching the film my tears flowed partly in solidarity with other human beings for nuclear abolition, but there is also a great sadness. Sadness that today with more Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) there is less consciousness about the issue. Sadness in thinking about what transpired at the NPT PrepCom. And sadness that after nearly 60 years of nuclear misadventures the NWS seem less willing than ever before to negotiate a treaty on disarmament...

NGOs have worked tirelessly on holding NWS accountable for implementing the hard won 13 steps. Now we no longer have them as goals for the next RevCon. The fact that NGOs do not have open access to the meetings is another problem. And that we do not have a powerful agenda full of disarmament objectives for the 2005 RevCon will make it more difficult to realize a world free from nuclear weapons. All this was on my mind as I watched images of Central Park...Sadly, the NWS would like for those of us who have remained in the movement for nuclear disarmament to disappear. But we will not, and as low as the consciousness is about current nuclear dangers among ordinary folk, the time for nuclear disarmament is now, and again the people of the earth will rise.

With such a barebones outcome of the PrepCom, what’s the best that we can hope for next year?

Next year is the 60th anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. To honor the dead and those who survived, we need to remind NWS of the wish of all Hibakusha, that there be no more Hiroshimas and Nagasakis. The Director General of the IAEA, Dr. ElBaradei, himself has said that many people have forgotten the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I think this assumption is too true. How else could the Bush Administration authorize the development of new tactical nuclear weapons, the so-called mini nukes? There is nothing minute about the usage of nuclear weapons. Given the half-life of radioactive materials born of nuclear explosions, future generations will continue to be haunted by the carcinogenic and mutagenic effects of radiation. This alone should recall the fact that nuclear weapons are not useful as military tools. That is, even if one believes in the use of force, the use of military might, nuclear bombs as tools to achieve domination and control are flawed from the outset. The contamination of the environment knows no political or ideological affiliations. And the indiscriminate death of combatants and non combatants alike contravenes all notions of humanitarian and international law. Moreover, the near timelessness of radioactive poison makes nuclear weapons the most unethical and immoral invention man has ever made. A nuclear war is not only fought in the devastation of present time, but effects future generations. How can any rational human being prepare to wage a war on the future? We need to focus our attention on the simple fact that nuclear weapons are immoral, that they are indiscriminate death machines that have the capacity to wage war on the timescapes of future humans, plants and animals. They have the capacity...
I sat in the UN basement, along with about 20 other NGO representatives, waiting for what I was sure would be a disappointing outcome to the 3rd NPT Prepcom. I knew that agreement on an agenda was unlikely, and was only a little surprised to hear that some States were having a hard time agreeing on where or when to have the Review Conference at all. Why would States want to review their obligations, when close scrutiny will only demonstrate their illegal actions? When the PrepCom ended with no fanfare (and no opening of doors to those patiently requesting transparency and accountability), it was with resigned indignation that I went to the Nevada desert, for the Mother's Day Action for Nuclear Abolition.

The Nevada Test Site (NTS) is set amidst the beautiful mountain ranges of southern Nevada. A 1300 square mile facility, NTS has seen over 828 full scale nuclear weapons tests. The site opened in 1951 after the forced relocation of more than 100 Western Shoshone families, a violation of the 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley. According to the Western Shoshone National Council, this treaty of peace and friendship is still in force. In 1987, the Western Shoshone National Council (WSNC) exercised their sovereignty and challenged U.S. jurisdiction by issuing WSNC Land Use Permits to participants of anti-nuclear gatherings at the Nevada Test Site. Since that time, no simple trespass actions onto the Test Site have been prosecuted.

Civil resistance has been taking place at the Nevada Test Site before it even opened in 1951. In 1950, 100 Western Shoshone families peacefully tried to resist forced relocation. On August 6, 1957, eleven members of Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons were the first civil resisters arrested at the test site. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, American Peace Test organized mass demonstrations- bringing thousands to the desert to peacefully protest the ongoing destruction caused by nuclear weapons testing. The largest anti-nuclear arrest scenario in U.S. history took place at NTS in 1988; of 8,800 participants, 2,067 were arrested between March 12-20, 1988. Protests continue to be organized several times a year by the Nevada Desert Experience (www.NevadaDesertExperience.org) and the Shundahai Network (www.Shundahai.org).

Mother's Day celebrations at the NTS are done in the spirit of Julia Ward Howe's original Mother's Day Proclamation. Protestors cry "Disarm! Disarm!" to the winds, to the desert animals, to the sage brush, and to the private security officers and Nye County deputies who detain them one by one. Demanding that treaties be upheld- the NPT, the CTBT, the 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley- protestors risk arrest at what are affectionately called "the gates of hell".

More than 1000 nuclear weapons tests have taken place at NTS, detonated above and below ground. Subcritical testing continues there today, with at least 20 tests since 1997 (the Unicorn and Armando tests are planned for this Spring). The Bush Administration has asked the test site to reduce their readiness time to as soon as 18 months. If you take the NTS tour, you will visit the "Icecap" test, the one that Bush Senior put on hold when he announced the full scale testing moratorium in 1992. Also on the tour, you will be taken into the Sudan Crater- made by a nuclear explosion that threw people out of their Las Vegas beds 60 miles away. The Department of Energy (DoE) advises that pregnant mothers avoid visiting the site.
After the impressive presence and statements of the Mayors for Peace delegates at this year's PrepCom, many NGOs are asking how they can support MfP and help Mayor Akiba achieve his aim of 1,000 members by the year 2005 (400 more members than they have now). The idea of determined mayors working for a nuclear-free world has great potential for NGO involvement, especially on the grassroots level. This has already been done in Germany - perhaps other groups may find it useful to take it on at your home town and/or NGO.

Last year the "Pressehütte Mutlangen" (Press Hut Mutlangen) and the "Gewaltfreie Aktion Atomwaffen abschaffen" (Nonviolent Action Abolish Nuclear Weapons) organized a "Peace Summer", an action tour through Germany. The tour started at Mutlangen, where Pershing II nuclear missiles were stored in the 1980s, and ended at Büchel, where there are still US nuclear bombs today as part of the nuclear sharing arrangement of NATO. In each city, activists handed over letters by Hiroshima’s Mayor Akiba to the mayors of the municipalities, inviting the local mayors to take part in the Mayors for Peace network. In the end, we helped MfP gain 22 new membership signatures for Mayors for Peace to Mayor Akiba and our campaign continues. Since last summer, we have "ordered" more than 50 personal letters for mayors of German cities and their twin towns from Mayor Akiba - hoping that until next year, there’ll be even more membership signatures to be handed over!

Local NGOs can be of vital importance in raising awareness on the nuclear weapons issue and in supporting the process of local mayors joining the Mayors for Peace. After requesting the letter and handing it over to the local mayor, they can also ask their local religious leaders to support the local political leaders. They can follow up the decision making process (which otherwise may get "forgotten") and get the issue into the press, e.g. by organizing information events, rallies etc. Other options for grassroots support include:

- holding a letter writing contest on issues of nuclear disarmament;
- a drawing action/contest on bits of cloth that can be used to welcome the delegates of the Review Conference next year. (The German member-network of Abolition 2000 is going to do this on the topic "What I would not want to lose in a nuclear war").

- carry on the International Law Campaign that has been started by the student's group from Heidelberg, and let people sign building blocs for the protection of international law (www.aktion-voelkerrecht.de).

If it makes sense in your own context, please do copy the idea. We are also happy to help you with getting personal letters from Mayor Akiba to your local mayors.

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**GRASSROOTS PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR MAYORS**

- Julia Kramer, Press Hut Mutlangen

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Again, every bit helps and we hope you consider supporting this valuable work.
they were in danger of not being able to take the necessary decisions to enable the 2005 Conference to be held. After much to-ing and fro-ing it appears that the disputed parts of the report dealing with the more fundamental issues of agenda, background documents and subsidiary bodies will now be turned into a chair’s working paper that will be forwarded together with the bare bones of a report that were agreed.

In view of the confusion and the lack of reliable documentation on the decisions, a more substantive analysis will be published by the Acronym Institute once the decisions have been clarified and the statements and documents have been further analysed.

**Background**

The NPT PrepCom opened at the United Nations in New York on April 26, 2004, and ran for two weeks. The meeting was required to come up with recommendations for the 2005 Review Conference, but seemed just to go through the motions, managing only to adopt a timetable of work at the end of the first week. On Friday, April 30, the decision was taken to enable NGO representatives to attend and receive statements and documents from the so-called ‘cluster debates’, on the non-transfer and acquisition of nuclear technologies and nuclear disarmament, safeguards, and nuclear energy for non-military purposes. The objections to the timetable centred on whether there should be ‘special time’ allocated to the issues of security assurances (in accordance with which the nuclear weapon states commit not to use nuclear weapons to attack states without nuclear weapons) and the Middle East.

It was finally decided to fold the security assurances discussion into a session devoted to consideration of the practical pursuit of nuclear disarmament measures, and to include the Middle East question in a session on regional issues. For 'equity' among the three 'pillars' of the NPT, it was also decided to devote a session to ‘the safety and security of peaceful nuclear programmes’. Symptomatic of the lack of real progress at this PrepCom, it turned out that many statements to these special sessions merely repeated, with slightly more detail or argument, on points already given in general debates.

As anticipated (see Rebecca Johnson, The NPT in 2004: Testing the Limits, Disarmament Diplomacy 76), the main focus of interventions from the United States has been noncompliance by North Korea and Iran and the need for stricter measures to deal with NPT parties who use the Article IV provision on nuclear energy to fulfil nuclear weapon ambitions. At the same time a large number of states, including many US allies, highlighted the importance of fulfilment of disarmament obligations - with emphasis on core agreements such as the CTBT - while also raising concerns about new developments in nuclear weapons or doctrines. States lined up to support Additional Protocol, and suggestions were put forward for how to manage nuclear fuel cycle supply, restructure exports in sensitive technologies and materials and provide better institutional tools for states parties to strengthen the treaty's implementation.

The General debate heard interventions from: Mexico on behalf of the New Agenda Coalition; New Zealand; Ireland on behalf of the European Union; China; Britain; Algeria; Mexico; Malaysia on behalf of the Group of Non-Aligned States Parties; Australia; Peru; Indonesia; South Africa; Egypt; Bangladesh; Republic of (South) Korea; Switzerland; Japan; Syria; Venezuela; Canada; Belarus; Kazakhstan; Bahamas and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The General Debate continued on Tuesday and Wednesday with statements from France; Brazil; the Holy See; the United States (John Bolton); Norway; Iran; Russia; Viet Nam; Burma/Myanmar; Cuba; Ukraine; Morocco; Egypt on behalf of the Arab Group; Nepal; Chile; Argentina; Serbia and Montenegro; Mongolia; Saudi Arabia; Kyrgyzstan; Cuba; Nigeria and Ecuador. As a result of the decision to open the cluster debates to NGOs, these statements are also obtainable from the website of http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org.

In one three hour session, the PrepCom was addressed by thirteen civil society representatives, including the Mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Senator Patrik Vankrunkelsven from Belgium, the Mayor of Kiev, Olexandr Omelchenko, the Hon Bill Perkins, the Deputy Majority Leader on New York City Council and attended by a host of others. The full texts of the NGO statements, as well as a daily news review with summaries of the many civil society panels held during the first week, are also available from reachingcriticalwill.org.

The 2005 Review Conference will be held from May 2 to 28. A fuller analysis of the third PrepCom will be published in Disarmament Diplomacy 77, due out in June.
A Higher Wager continued from page 1

While this difficult chapter of the NPT closes- albeit in a fuzzy, confusing way- it opens up a new phase of work for all of us: diplomats, analysts, lobbyists and organizers. And if agreement cannot be reached the next time around, the gamble will be much higher than a dollar.

For when the United States attempts to negate consensus-based agreements, they hold the entire international security regime at risk. When governments permit negotiating machinery to implode in the dearth of political will, they are placing bets on the very real risks of nuclear proliferation. When key U.S. allies- such as their NATO partners and Japan- look the other way as vertical proliferation undermines the entire disarmament regime, they are betting that another Hiroshima can be averted anyway. When the smaller Nuclear Weapon States pay their usual lip service that "they've done everything that they can" and are now waiting upon the Big Boys to make further cuts, they are betting that their populations and the populations of neighboring States can withstand another few years of nuclear risk, nuclear accident, nuclear waste, or nuclear war.

And when the governments of the world come to New York again in 11 months time, what will be the wager on further inaction?

We're placing bets now. Do you want to bet that all of us can continue to live under the specter of nuclear annihilation for another two, five, twenty, hundred years? Or do you want to bet that the people of the world have had enough, and that something is stirring in civil society? Do you want to bet that proliferation can be contained by a 35-year-old treaty that has failed to bring disarmament to the world? Or do you want to bet on the exigency for disarmament propelling the majority of governments to negotiate a final abolition of these genocidal and suicidal weapons?

Go on. Name your wager.

-Rhianna Tyson,
Reaching Critical Will

One Woman’s Journey continued from page 2

women not take the tour, claiming that the long bus ride- rather than radiation- will have adverse effects on them. While the dangers of radiation are never broached by the DoE, they do not permit electronic devices, including radiation detectors, on the test site tour, a sorry fact I discovered in 1998, when I attempted to bring a radiation detector with me and was forced to leave it in Las Vegas. (However, I did check the tire area of the bus on it's return, and found radiation levels 25% higher than background.)

Speaking to over 100 participants at "Peace Camp"- directly across Interstate 95 from the Test Site entrance- I told them about the NPT Prepcom, why the NPT is important (many already understood this) and what had happened in New York. Excited by the slight move toward transparency that the correct interpretation of the rules of procedure had provided, disappointed by the Nuclear Weapons States’ lack of political will to disarm, my presentation was a mixed bag of hope and sorrow. One participant asked me "why do you bother talking to diplomats, when you know they don't care about our people here in the desert?" I replied that some do hear it, that some diplomats do see the human faces impacted by their actions. I told this 16-year-old girl that we are all in it together, working for a nuclear free world. "Is what we're doing really worth it?" she asked, and I said yes. Yes! I returned to the dark and smoky halls of the UN infused with the scent of desert sage, carrying a renewed commitment to ban the bomb and a strengthened sense of purpose. If a 16-year-old girl is willing to risk the wrath of her parents and family and get arrested for her beliefs, the least I can do is carry her message to those who might fulfill her simple, peaceful wish- no nukes now.

---Final Edition---

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to destroy all life. They eat up resources at an alarming rate that could be better used on education, health care and cleaning up the environment. These are the real issues of security that need to be added to the woefully lacking agenda of the 2005 RevCon. Let us begin at long last, and in the very year that we remember the atrocities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to enact a nuclear disarmament treaty.

You’ve worked a bunch of PrepComs and/or RevCons by now. It’s thirty years after the NPT entered-into-force and the nuclear crisis is increasing, rather than decreasing. Maybe it’s time for a whole new approach. Any ideas?

I think that the NGOs and Non-Aligned States (including NAC and middle powers) need to work very closely together to demand that we begin a convention for nuclear disarmament. There is a draft treaty sitting at the UN as a discussion document. This Nuclear Weapons Convention should be adopted and enacted. If there are no concrete steps taken, or agreed to under a set timetable, then the NGOs and disaffected member states should leave the treaty. Maybe this move will finally get NPT proceedings covered by the media, and finally garner the attention it deserves. And from the ashes of the NPT will rise another global disarmament movement and this time we will persevere. Indefinite extensions about unequivocal undertakings that change like weather patterns should not be tolerated by NGOs and non nuclear states alike. This is our world. If the NWS do not abide by their treaty obligations, we should leave the treaty and demand through a new instrument the complete and irreversible abolition of all nuclear weapons. The NPT is not "the only thing we've got". It is something and if it can preserved in a real and effective manner well then power to our elbows. But if it continues to generate nothing more than broken promises and un-upheld obligations, I say break it and start anew.

If you have a message to the NNWS governments, what would that be?

Endeavour to persevere.

What is your message to NGOs around the world?

The most exciting thing for me during the NPT PrepCom was an event I organised with my youth group SANITY (Students Against Nuclear Insanity and for Tomorrow’s Youth), through ESR Metro, entitled: Youth Voices: What I want to say about Peace and Nuclear Disarmament. We held workshops with keynote presentations attended by over 200 NYC high school students. In the afternoon we descended upon Conference Room IV and heard songs, spoken word and performance centered on the central theme: abolish nuclear weapons now. It was full of hope and anger and joy. Many of the students gathered were coming to the issue for the first time. Their sincere and heart felt demand that they too deserve a future was an inspiration for all who gathered. My message to NGOs working for disarmament is best described through the words of Arundhati Roy. We took her essay The End of the Imagination and rearranged it into a read aloud, performed by members of SANITY.

I am prepared to do anything. Because, in the circumstances, silence would be indefensible. So those of you who are willing; let’s pick our parts, put on these discarded costumes and speak our second-hand lines in this sad second-hand play. But let’s not forget that the stakes we’re playing for are huge. Our fatigue and our shame could mean the end of us. The end of our children and our children’s children. Of everything we love. We have to reach within ourselves and find the strength to think. To fight.

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