EDITORIAL: CORNERSTONES
Allison Pytlak | Reaching Critical Will of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom

On Wednesday, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) released its annual and highly respected report on global military expenditure. Ambassador Jan Eliasson, Chair of the SIPRI Governing Board, noted that continuing high levels of world military spending “[u]ndermines the search for peaceful solutions to conflicts around the world.”

Indeed it does, and the costs of nuclear weapons modernisation and development are staggering. It is confounding to juxtapose the spending trends in the SIPRI report with the emphasis that several states parties gave to the urgent importance of socio-economic development during their interventions under cluster three just one day before. Developing countries are not by any stretch the largest military spenders but often are disproportionately impacted, including economically, by armed conflict and violence. Nuclear energy, often framed as a cleaner and better alternative to other energy sources, is in reality both expensive and dangerous, through each and every step of the fuel chain. It is not compatible with the concept of sustainable development and can pose grave risks for the environment, both human and natural.

The environment of NPT-meetings was the focus of a specific issues session on Wednesday that discussed “improving the effectiveness of the strengthened review process.” In an editorial published in this report earlier this week, we spoke to the necessity of improving ways of working so as to take pressure off of the review conferences, enable progress, improve transparency, and better address compliance. Quite a lot of very solid suggestions were put forward in this vein by states on Wednesday, many of which drew from a working paper published by the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative and are described in greater detail separately in this edition. Others, like disarmament education, have received scant attention in governmental statements. This is despite the presence of numerous youth delegations attending the PrepCom with the express purpose of learning about disarmament and diplomacy. “New generations have the knowledge and the necessary tools to be inserted effectively in the different spaces where disarmament is discussed, so that they strengthen the debates and facilitate the conclusion of agreements,” emphasised Mexico. It is a missed opportunity to not allocate more time to disarmament education in NPT conferences or, more importantly, in society generally. More than once over last two weeks I have heard stakeholders talk about the necessity of doing more to build knowledge about the NPT among newer diplomats, the media, or the general public—as it can contribute, as Ireland noted, to “broadening the discussion on nuclear weapons beyond the silos of narrow security concerns.”

Such a human-centric approach to disarmament allows for greater diversity of perspectives. Despite a larger number of delegations during calling for gender diversity in nuclear disarmament and recognising the gendered impact of nuclear weapons, the plenary room has not been diverse, particularly through the second week of the conference during which only around one-third of statements each day have been delivered by women. An article published earlier this week describes the phenomenon of the “marticle” which is a “cousin to the manel, or the all-male panel...a regular feature of the nuclear policy world, but subject to more focus and criticism.” It highlights the gender, and racial, bias rampant in this field. “The quality of the NPT review process and the NPT itself can only be strengthened by increasing the diversity of our perspectives,” Australia pointed out. We challenge states parties to tackle this problem head-on between now and the next PrepCom, in continued on next page
Editorial, continued

their programming, activities, delegation planning, and more.

Today, the PrepCom Chair Ambassador Bugajski will release his summary report of this PrepCom. Chairperson’s reports are meant to capture what has been discussed at a given PrepCom and can provide an element of continuity for the next PrepCom. While not open to negotiation, states parties will nonetheless criticise the report if they feel it does not reflect accurately what has been put on the record. Given the sometimes-tense atmosphere of this PrepCom, the summary report will need to navigate carefully as if across a delicate tightrope. The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) has been welcomed including for its complementarity to the NPT by over 45 delegations including some regional or other groupings; only a few have openly criticised it. Yet, in other fora, this small group of objectors has prevented even innocuous references to the TPNW. It cannot be “blocked” in the same manner here; given the function of the PrepCom report, the TPNW should be reflected in line with how the majority of NPT states parties have presented it (i.e. favourably). Other areas of Treaty implementation where there are dissenting views and differences of opinion, particularly relating to disarmament, and the Middle East, similarly must be treated fairly. There have also been subtleties among the general welcoming of recent developments regarding the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea stepping back from developing nuclear weapons, in which optimism, cautious or otherwise, has been mixed in with harder lines and condemnation of past actions. It is said very, very often that the NPT is a cornerstone. Cornerstones are meant to be built upon, however, and join other things together—without those other elements a cornerstone would serve no purpose. Viewing the Treaty this way, rather than as end in itself, would be useful as we move toward the end of this conference and toward the next.•

These diagrams have been prepared by Maaike Beenes of PAX, drawing on data from www.reachingcriticalwill.org. The diagram above compares sex disaggregated participation at the 2017 and 2018 NPT PrepComs based on speakers lists. The diagram on the right captures the sex of speakers during the 2018 PrepCom general debate.
Among the recommendations generated by the Eminent Persons Group initiated by Japan is the call for more interaction during sessions of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review cycle. The pattern of repetitive, predictable statements, that in the words of one observer, appear to have simply been shuffled and randomly selected from a drawer marked “NPT Review Process” does not result in much credit to the proceedings.

One way of introducing that elusive interactivity into Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) proceedings is to devote time to considering the reports submitted by delegations. Such reports represent substantive reflections on a given theme on the part of one or more delegations. As such they constitute a natural source of information and opinion on which to prompt commentary and clarifications. They also contain the elements of potential common ground on which to fashion the proposals that eventually could feature in Review Conference (RevCon) outcomes.

The prospect of having some meeting time devoted to considering the material submitted to the PrepCom would also provide a desirable incentive for states to prepare such submissions on points of substance and/or their implementation record. The type of regular and comparable reporting called for in the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative Working Paper 26 for example would be that much more likely to obtain support if states were assured that their efforts in preparing such reports would be rewarded by having a PrepCom dedicate specific time to their consideration and discussion (as indeed envisaged in para 11 e) of working paper 26).

A participant of this PrepCom has commented on the importance of ensuring that all delegations are comfortable with the proceedings. While this is true up to a point, a little discomfort is also a healthy condition for delegations to experience. Without this it is all too easy to fall back into complacency and the tried and tired practices of the past. Few would dispute that NPT meetings have untapped potential. It is necessary for chairs and delegates alike to exert themselves a little to realise these latent benefits for the strengthened review process.

An initiative with a certain potential for enhancing the review process is contained in the NPDI’s working paper #24 entitled “Action to strengthen the review process for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons”.

The core of this paper is the rather modest proposal to establish a working group at the 2020 RevCon or sooner that will consider suggestions for “efficiency-oriented ideas for enhancing the review process”. Some might say that it would have been preferable for the NPDI to put forward specific proposals for enhancement itself. Indeed, individual reform proposals have been outlined in the past, including ideas for empowered, but shorter annual meetings of states parties, provision for convening emergency meetings, continuity via a standing bureau or chairs’ circles and a dedicated implementation support unit.

These and similar ideas have not been able in the past to command universal support and have tended to be eclipsed at RevCons by other issues perceived as more important. If better results are intended, it is necessary for states to come to grips with their working methods and determine as the Chair noted whether they really are “fit to purpose”.

The NPDI seems to have opted for creating a working group rather than champion specific ideas at this stage. Such a working group need not wait until 2020 to be established, but should be activated by the next PrepCom at the latest. Only then would it be feasible to generate a slate of proposals that can actually be forwarded to the RevCon for consideration and adoption. Setting up a working group should not be merely a symbolic gesture, but a real vehicle for generating practical reform measures.
Mayors for Peace held its Youth Forum on 26 April as a side event to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Preparatory Committee (PrepCom). Representatives of young generations from around the world came together to share their efforts and wishes for peace.

Anja Kaspersen, Director of the Office for Disarmament Affairs of the United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG) opened the Forum by delivering remarks on behalf of Michael Møller, Director-General of the UNOG. She noted that states, and especially nuclear-armed states, have a responsibility to work towards a world without nuclear weapons and that youth have the potential to become powerful advocates in favour of this objective and wished them success in this endeavour.

Kazumi Matsui, Mayor of Hiroshima and President of Mayors for Peace, continued the opening session by reminding everyone of the tremendous efforts of Hibakusha to share their stories with the world and asked all the youth to ensure that their experiences are not lost with time. He finished his remarks by stating his hope that this Forum will spark momentum toward freeing the world from nuclear weapons.

Nobuharu Imanishi, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, pointed out that he strongly encourages young people to develop their own views regarding the world they wish for and wished them success in all their activities throughout their week in Geneva.

The audience heard five powerful presentations from high school students from Hiroshima and Okinawa, and a Nagasaki youth delegation. The creative activities that were presented were very impressive for the youth to hear. Some of them study in schools that had been totally destroyed during the atomic bombings and are very active in raising awareness among other students and inviting them to become peacemakers. They underlined how decisive it had been to hear the stories of hibakusha in their engagement for a world free of nuclear weapons and how important it is to echo their voices. These presentations ended with hopeful messages affirming that young people have the power to change the world. Four further presentations were delivered from young people from the United Kingdom and Spain, as well as from organisations based in the Netherlands and Germany. Best practices to engage youth in the field of nuclear disarmament were shared during a question and answer session.

In conclusion, Satoshi Hirose, Vice Director of the Research Centre for Nuclear Weapons Abolition, Nagasaki University (RECNA), who served as a facilitator, noted that while he had heard a lot of discussions about how to bridge the gap in the NPT PrepCom, he felt there was no gap to bridge here. The closing remarks were delivered by Tomihisa Taue, Mayor of Nagasaki and Vice-President of Mayors for Peace, in which he reminding everyone of the need to communicate this message widely and the importance of further collaboration between youth from all over the world.

Photo: Mayors for Peace
The focus of this side event was a draft treaty for a zone that has been developed under a project with the decidedly upbeat title of “Achieving the Possible”. In his opening remarks, Irish Ambassador Tom Hanney noted that those concerned with establishing weapon of mass destruction (WMD) free zone in the Middle East have to move beyond annual sessions of bewailing the lack of progress and concentrate on what can be achieved. On the twentieth anniversary of the Good Friday Accords he recalled the power of political will to overcome even the most intractable of problems. Paul Ingram of BASIC acknowledged that the zone constituted “a wicked problem” but its importance warrants a renewed effort to bring it about.

Tariq Rauf recalled an earlier effort of the International Atomic Energy Association (IAEA) that led after several years to the convening in 2011 of a forum of Middle East states on the global experience of nuclear weapon free zones (NWFZs). Regrettably, this event was a one-off, although all might benefit from the “keep it simple” approach that yielded the forum. Hassem Elbahtimy noted the resurgence of interest in nuclear energy programmes in the Middle East and argued for discussions amongst actors now on how to conduct nuclear governance in the region.

Sharon Dolev elaborated on the process that has produced the 25-page draft treaty (copies of which were available at the event) and stressed that civil society has been the driver for this exercise and states need to catch up. She rejected the “what comes first—peace or disarmament?” debate, arguing that those wanting to see progress could not await either condition. A Middle East Treaty Organization (METO) could already be established. Eimat Kiyaei flagged the importance of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) as a successful example of multilateral nuclear diplomacy. He noted its significance, not only for resolving the nuclear dispute with Iran, but also for strengthening the non-proliferation regime as a whole.

The discussion segment generated several observations on how the process concerning the zone might be advanced. The differing priority accorded to the exercise by various actors was also discussed. It was noted by one of the panellists that the 2015 Review Conference had “crashed” over the zone issue and if no remedial effort was mounted the same fate could be expected for the 2020 conference. This was a very well attended side event which attests to the continued interest the subject has for states and non-state actors alike, notwithstanding the issue’s intractable nature.
## CALENDAR OF EVENTS

### Thursday 3 May

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<th>When</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:00-10:00</td>
<td>Progressive disarmament measures to prevent a new arms race</td>
<td>Room XVI</td>
<td>Mission of Ireland and Arms Control Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00-12:30</td>
<td>Lessons learned from the CTBT and NWFZs: A blueprint for stability on the Korean Peninsula</td>
<td>Room XVI</td>
<td>CNS</td>
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<td>13:15-14:30</td>
<td>HEU minimisation in civilian application—a permanent threat reduction</td>
<td>Room XI</td>
<td>Mission of the Netherlands</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:15-14:30</td>
<td>Lessons learned from the CTBT and NWFZs: A blueprint for stability on the Korean Peninsula</td>
<td>Room VIII</td>
<td>Mission of Kazakhstan</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:15-14:30</td>
<td>Nuclear Weapons and Environmental Law</td>
<td>Room I</td>
<td>Mission of Ireland</td>
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### Friday 4 May

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<tr>
<td>13:15-14:30</td>
<td>Working methods in disarmament diplomacy (part 3): Preparatory processes</td>
<td>Room XVI</td>
<td>Geneva Disarmament Platform</td>
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<td>13:15-14:30</td>
<td>Nuclear disarmament verification: Prospects for the upcoming Group of Governmental Experts</td>
<td>Room XII</td>
<td>Mission of Norway and Office of Disarmament Affairs</td>
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