

The 2010 NPT review conference & Russia: implications for nuclear disarmament



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Overview

- n The 2010 NPT Review Conference:
 - n General observations
 - n Agreements and disagreements
- n Russia's role at the Review Conference
- n The way ahead: Russia and Global Zero



The outcome of the 2010 NPT review conference

- Only the fourth of eight review conferences that ended with agreement on consensus Final Document
- Good atmosphere:
172 participants, 75 working papers

The **Final Document**

- takes note of article by article “review of treaty“
- consensus agreement on a forward-looking 64-point Action Plan



General observations

- The agreement on a Final Document is a **success** despite the lack of clear commitments to reduce nuclear weapons and strengthen nonproliferation instruments.
- The outcome is **fair and balanced**: It represents the current state of affairs on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament.
- **NWS**, including Russia, do not actively support Obama's *Global Zero* initiative (with the possible exception of China)
- **NNWS** demand more binding and specific disarmament measures.
- Regional conflicts can no longer be ignored (esp. Middle East)



Agreements on disarmament

Action Plan disarmament (22 specific actions)

- commits NWS to accomplish total elimination of nuclear weapons, “accelerate” progress on nuclear disarmament
- “encourages” US and Russia to achieve deeper reductions in their nuclear arsenals
- supports Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty
- mandates UNSG to convene high-level meeting in Sept. 2010 to support CD
- demands more transparency: regular reports by the NWS



Disagreements on disarmament

- No timelines for nuclear disarmament (not even international conference in 2014)
- Vague obligations to disarmament
- No endorsement of a Nuclear Weapons Convention
- No specific mentioning of non-strategic weapons, no mentioning of the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of NNWS



Agreements on Nonproliferation

- 24 specific actions
- Lukewarm endorsement of stronger safeguards (Additional Protocol)
- Recognition of nuclear security as problem

Disagreements on Nonproliferation

- No naming of Iran
- New supply arrangements: NPT membership is not a condition of supply
- Additional Protocol neither verification standard nor condition of supply
- No additional commitments on nuclear security



Agreements on peaceful uses

- 17 specific actions
- Recognition of right to peaceful uses & right to close the fuel cycle
- Importance of technical cooperation reaffirmed

Disagreements on Peaceful uses

- No agreement on multilateral fuel-cycle controls
(only taking note of Russian initiative to host nuclear fuel bank)



A Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction

- n “reaffirms the importance of **Israel’s accession**” to **the NPT**, “placement of all its facilities under nuclear safeguards”
- n “The UN Secretary-General and the co-sponsors of the 1995 Middle East Resolution, in consultation with the States of the region, will convene **a Conference in 2012**, to be attended by all States of the Middle East, on the establishment of a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of destruction ...”
- n “Appointment ... of a **facilitator** ...”
- n Israel’s reaction: “hypocritical”, will not participate in conference



Proposals that fell by the wayside

- No strengthening of **institutional process**, no treaty support structure:
Another five years without action?
- No raising of hurdles for **withdrawal**: What will happen if there is another North Korea?
- No unanimity on **universality**:
Will Pakistan and Israel also get access to nuclear technology?

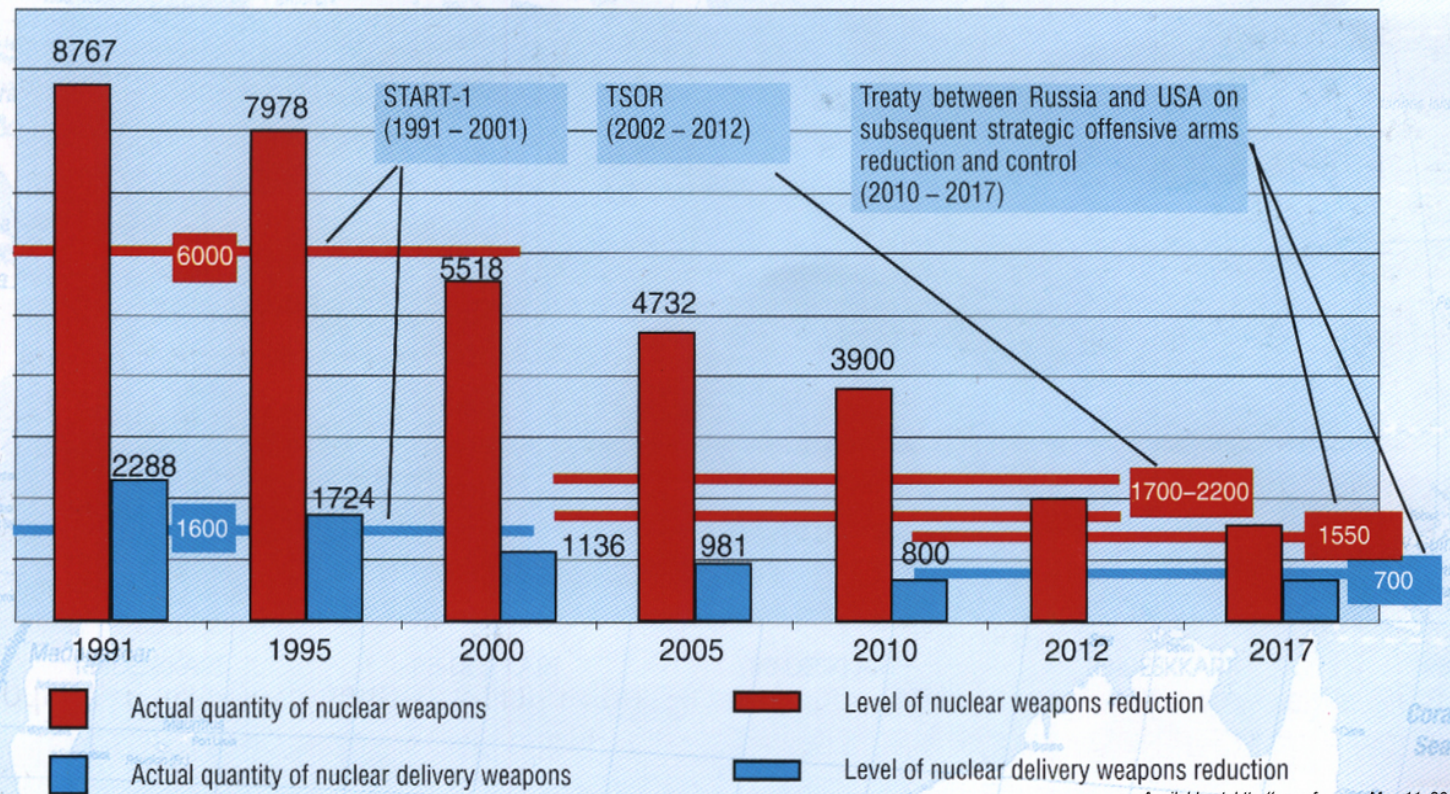


Russia at the Review Conference

- Three working papers
 - Article X/withdrawal (with Ukraine)
 - HEU relocation (with Romania)
 - Nuclear energy development (with Belarus)
- + P5 statement
- Special responsibility for Middle East resolution (as depositary and co-sponsor of the 1995 resolution on the Middle East)
- Support for resolution of the Iran crisis

Russia's (lack of?) transparency

Progress in reduction of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles and nuclear warheads under the START, the SORT and the Treaty on measures for the further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms.



Available at: <http://www.fas.org>, May 11, 2010

Source: "Practical steps of the Russian Federation in the field of nuclear disarmament", New York, 3-28 May 2010



Russia and Global Zero: what next?

New START follow-on

- n Russia & US intend to ratify soon
- n United States wants to begin negotiations once *New START* has entered into force
- n Is Russia ready to join these talks?
- n Russia wants “smooth involvement” of other NWS. What does that mean?



Russia and Global Zero: what next?

Tactical nuclear weapons deadlock?

- n NATO is debating withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from Europe but Russian reciprocity is a requirement for many states
- n Dmitry Rogozin, Russian Ambassador to NATO, May 19:
 - “First, the US must bring their tactical nuclear weapons home. Only then would we consider reducing our own arsenal.”
- n Russian proposal for a „globalized INF treaty“



Russia and Global Zero: what next?

Reducing the role of nuclear weapons

- n Russia's *Basic principles of state's policy in the area of nuclear deterrence through 2020*, Feb. 2010
 - “Russia reserves the right to use nuclear weapons in response to a use of nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction against her and (or) her allies, and in a case of an aggression against her with conventional weapons that would put in danger the very existence of the state.”
- n U.S. *Nuclear Posture Review Report*, April 2010
 - “[T]he United States is now prepared to strengthen its long-standing ‘negative security assurance’ by declaring that the United States will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapons states that are party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and in compliance with their nuclear non-proliferation obligations.”



Russia and Global Zero: what next?

Broadening the agenda

- n Russia wants to discuss
 - US missile defense plans
 - conventional imbalances
- n These issues need to be discussed but nuclear disarmament must not wait for their resolution
- n Russia is increasingly perceived as an obstacle to nuclear disarmament
- n US and Russia still hold more than 95% of the world's nuclear weapons
- n There is enough space for further reductions!



Thank you!

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